

[Shri P. Appalanarasimham]

immediately sanction Rs. 10 crores for these people. Sir, there are many schemes initiated by the Govt. the development of the down trodden. There are many corporations for this purpose. The poor people are the backbone of the country. The displaced poor at VSL are part of the teeming millions of the poor in the country. Hence the Govt. should have the responsibility for their development and sanction the amount. Similarly Government should also concede to the request made by the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Shri N.T. Rama Rao for providing compensation for the land acquired at market prices. I hope the hon. Minister would do justice to these poor people by conceding to this request.

Sir, finally request the hon. Minister to appoint only such person as Managing Director who is well conversant with Telugu language and the local conditions. Only such an officer will be in a position to deliver the goods.

Sir, I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak.

16.00 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Appalanarasimham, please resume your seat. The Minister will reply tomorrow.

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#### DISCUSSION RE : GROWING THREAT OF TERRORISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : We now have got a discussion under Rule 193. Mr. Sobhanadreeswara Rao and Prof. K.K. Tewary will raise discussion on the growing threat of terrorism and its implications.

HON. MEMBERS : Before you start the discussions...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Sir, are you initiating the discussions from the Chair ?

MR. SPEAKER : I am taking some

cues from you, Professor Sahib, certain times.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar) : He is terrorizing...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Far from it. My name indicates that I am incapable of terrorism.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Our Speaker is not so weak.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : He wields a strick dipped in honey.

I wanted to say that this subject should not be discussed in a partisan manner or should not be confined to only one point of view. The subject will affect and is affecting all of you and the entire country.

This is my appeal and this is my desire from the care of my heart. There is a feeling of pang which erupts sometimes from my heart and I say a few words to ventilate it. It is a malaise which is to be diagnosed and cured by all and not single handedly. Our paths can be different but our goal is the same and all of you should endeavour unitedly to achieve that goal.

There can be many reasons for it. Keeping in view the fact that we have chosen the path of democracy, what is happening is more dangerous because violence and democracy cannot go together. These are two diametrically contradictory trends.

Now we have to think whether we shall be able to protect the system and the values that we have adopted. If the Government is run by the barrel of the gun, then there will neither be Shri Madhu Dandavate nor Shri Tiwari and for that matter there will be no speaker of the House. Then there will not be any rule of law.

We cannot tolerate it because our martyrs have given us this much after undergoing innumerable hardships. How can we forget those brave men, who had gone to the gallows smilingly and had laid down their lives ? Rajguru, Sukhdey

Bhagat Singh, Ashfaqulla. Madan Lal Dhillon, Ram Singh, Azad—they are countless, whom will you remember and whom will you forget? You will have to keep in mind all these things.

The most despicable thing is that terrorism is sowing the seeds of communalism. For this, religion is being misused. Religion is there to purify the soul, to teach us to live together and to help others.

Some of you might have or might not have seen the happenings because you were in distant places. But I had seen it in its most abominable form as I come from an area which is just 4 miles away from the Pakistan border. I had seen the horrifying scenes. I had seen the caravans which had been deprived of every thing. I had seen in those caravans crying children, the children who had been suckling their dead mothers' breasts, whom I had brought home. I had seen the mothers being separated from the children and the children from their fathers and the brothers from their sisters. I had seen women becoming widows. I cannot express what can happen. I had seen the man turning into beast.

Why is the man becoming beast again? I cannot comprehend. I fail to understand.

After paying such a heavy price, if the country is made to pay it again, it will be a blunder and the people would say that nothing has been learnt from past experience.

Therefore, I appeal to you to think unitedly and destroy this malaise completely. Communalism should not be allowed to exist because it is a poison. Democracy and communalism cannot co-exist. We all are Indians. We have our rights and there should not be any discrimination against anyone.

It is true that we have to formulate our social, economic and educational policies. We have to provide equal rights to all but then we have to ensure that we should work unitedly so that everyone may feel that when the need arose, the Parliament raised its voice and saved the country from the impending danger of disintegration. We all should keep these things in mind.

I pray to God to grant you strength to speak with one voice. You should do everything with firmness and unitedly and forget all other things. You should bear in mind that you are Indians first and party affiliations come later.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Before the discussion starts, I want to raise a point of order just to help the House. I do not know whether you had carefully read the manner in which the agenda has been drawn to raise a discussion on the growing threat of terrorism and its implications. In the Business Advisory Committee, we had decided to discuss the situation in Punjab in the context of terrorism. You have made it such a wide subject. Of course, thank God it is not the situation in the world; it is restricted to India only... (Interruptions).

But you see that it completely takes away the context of Punjab; and we will follow up what instructions you have given. I think it should be made clear.

MR. SPEAKER : I think it is very clear that we are basically concerned with Punjab.

Mr. Sobhanadreeswara Rao.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to initiate the discussion on this vital subject which is agitating the minds of millions of people in our country. The entire nation was very happy when our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the President of Akali Dal Party, late Longowal signed the Punjab Accord on 24th July, 1985. Barring a very few people, a very few organisations, almost all sections in our country have expressed their happiness and support for the historic Accord; and one and all expected that the agony and turmoil will come to an end and a new beginning will be made in Punjab. But it is most unfortunate for the nation and for Punjab in particular that we had lost Longowal. He had displayed a very rare courage.

We know that there are some people who are not for the Accord, there are some people who are not for peace and prosperity

[Shri V. Sobhanadreeswara Rao]

in Punjab, there are some people who want to create obstacles for the country's unity and integrity. Knowing that thing, he had acted courageously and he tried to build up the public opinion especially in Punjab for the implementation of Punjab Accord in letter and spirit. Till his last breath he was doing it, paid the highest price and sacrificed his life for the same. But events which are taking place for some time are causing a lot of worry. Unfortunately, the terrorist activities have increased manifold. They are killing innocent people. They are killing just to create a scare. They are killing Akali leaders. They are killing sons of Akali leaders. And some police officers have also lost their lives. These terrorists are looting armouries also as happened in the Railway Police headquarters at Taran Taran and Ferozepur. But till now only a very few of the terrorists have been nabbed and only a few criminals who are connected with these terrorist activities could be taken to task. Now, the people of this country are very much worried about a strange coincidence that these terrorist activists could take shelter in the holy Sikh shrine *i.e.* Golden Temple, in Amritsar and the people are very much astonished to find this happen when the Akali Dal Government is there in the State. Of course, Shri Barnala cannot be blamed for the present state of affairs, because several events which have taken place in the past has culminated in the present state. If we take the statistics, just in three months more than 80 people have lost their lives and three police officers were killed.

Why it is happening in Punjab, a land which contributed the largest number of people to defend the frontiers of this country, who have a proud history behind them? They stand first in the entire country in their sacrifice and suffering for the unity and integrity of this country as well as keeping a vigil on the borders. Punjab's contribution in other fields in second to none, as the House is quite aware. When there were wars with Pakistan and China, people in those border villages used to extend all cooperation to our jawans. But now when these terrorists who are trained in Pakistan, supplied arms, given money to de-stabilise the democratic system in our country, are deliberately moving

hither and thither, why are people keeping quiet? It is a thing which should be examined by one and all. I feel that the Sikh psyche was hurt. After Madam Gandhi was assassinated, which was the most heinous crime, unfortunately, people who have close connections with political parties, who are very near the positions of power, they encouraged some people to retaliate, to take revenge against the assassination of our late Prime Minister, as well as of the killings of several innocent Hindus who were travelling in the buses, who were travelling in the trains. Several thousands of Sikhs who were not connected with Madam's assassination or with the terrorist activities, were murdered, were burnt, their properties were completely destroyed, their complete belongings, their savings of the entire lifetime were ruined in flames, and unfortunately these incidents had a bearing on the common Sikh's mind to some extent. Also during the Asiad, which was a great event, of course, when Sikhs were coming to witness the games, unfortunately, some governments had taken too much burden on themselves and tried to check them, tried to insult the feelings of gentlemen Sikhs and, in some cases, indignation was heaped on Sikhs who are serving in the Army, those who had shown their identity cards were also not spared. We should keep these things in our mind as to why the present situation is there. I pray with folded hands that such things should not happen again in the best interest of the nation. We should also learn lesson from our past mistakes. Who was responsible for making Bhindranwale a hero who was not a force in those days?... (*Interruptions*). I am not going into it but we should never commit such mistakes again by encouraging that type of destructive forces, the terrorist forces, even for slightest political gains. There are some instances where it is clearly established that Pakistan are running training camps along our borders. They are supplying ammunition and sophisticated and latest arms. They are training people in subversive activities. Our Government should expose these nefarious activities of Pakistan in all international forum and it should tell all countries about this and try to bring public opinion in our favour so that Pakistan may give up this type of interference in our internal matters and in the running of our nation.

The Centre and the State should act quickly before it becomes too late. This is my submission. I feel that already some ground has been lost. But still there is plenty of scope. We should strengthen the hands of the State Government, Shri Barnala's Government. The Prime Minister and Government of India should extend its fullest support to the Barnala Government; if need be, they must send the latest arms to prevent such types of terrorist activities. Sir, the non-implementation of the Punjab accord has, to some extent, resulted in the weakening of the hands of Mr. Barnala and strengthened the hands of these terrorists who are continuously making an anti-Government propaganda all the time. They have gained to some extent. So, the Punjab Accord must be implemented within the shortest possible time and without any delay. I make an appeal to our Akali friends also. In the Punjab accord it is clearly stated in clause 7.2. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has always stated that when Chandigarh is to go to Punjab, some Hindi speaking territories in Punjab will go to Haryana. A Commission will be constituted to determine the specific Hindi speaking areas which should go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. But what happened? The Mathew Commission could not give a decision because of this word 'contiguity'. Though that commission identified 83 villages and 2 towns (which are at present in Punjab but which are majority Hindi speaking areas) it could not give a decision. The name of Kandukhera village was cited. The word 'contiguity' came in the way. I appeal to our Akali friends to cooperate; I request them to give fullest cooperation for implementation of this accord in the true spirit in which this accord came into being. Through mutual negotiations all these things should be decided. If it could not be decided, at least another Commission may be appointed immediately without any further loss of time. I appeal to our Government to seal our borders immediately. Government should deploy as much defence personnel as necessary to see that not a single fellow or terrorist crosses the border. We have got some information that Pakistan personnel in the guise of terrorists also are coming and doing all these operations. So, no stone should be left unturned and similarly, all the foreign nations like the U.K., the USA and

Canada in particular, from which countries some Sikhs are giving their helping hand to the terrorists in our country, those countries should be requested to take necessary steps for extradition of those people, when it is clearly known that such and such a person is responsible for the connections with the terrorists in our country. And all countries should come forward to form an international coordinating committee to combat terrorism because it has become a phenomenon not only here, but elsewhere also. But much so we are worrying because this is the land of Gautama Buddha and the land of Mahatma Gandhi, and all countries should join together to combat this terrorism firmly and to take practical measures for improved Intelligence, sharing of law enforcing activities and to convene regular international conferences on terrorism as a way to increase awareness of the problem. And we from our party will extent our fullest cooperation for the peaceful and amicable solution of the Punjab problem, and we wish it will be achieved soon, and from our Party we are ready to take whatever endeavours that are needed.

With these words, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

PROF. K. K. TELWARY (Buxar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for getting the debate toned up, and I was expecting that this serious matter would be kept above partisan considerations and no amount of cankerousness will be allowed to be inducted, because we wanted this House to give the relevant message to the nation and all those who are interested in destabilising our country through the instrumentality of terrorism. Unfortunately, the previous speaker made certain remarks, which were not actually relevant to the spirit today in which we want to discuss this matter. However, I do not join issue with him, I take this matter at levels which it deserves, and try to respond to it in an appropriate manner, so that people in the country understand that this House, which is the supreme body for expression of the determination of the Indian people, the patriotic masses of India, will not allow any contentiousness to be inducted when it is a question of integrity, unity and freedom of the Motherland.

[Prof. K.K. Tewary]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, terrorism as a factor today of destabilisation, destruction of our country, is staring us in the face. Punjab, of course, is in the focus, but in other areas also terrorism is raising its ugly head and that indicates the dimension of this problem. I am very happy that this House and the country are aware now of the clearer threat perceptions to the unity of this nation. Sir, only recently it has been reported that in Tripura TNV Volunteers were supplied weapons of Chinese make. They were made available to them through the good offices of Bangladesh, so far a very friendly neighbour. It was also reported that a couple of Pakistani intelligence officials were also involved in passing on of these weapons to the terrorists there. Therefore, the threat from terrorism today, to this country is not confined to one area. It is a total assault, I take it, whether it is a terrorism in Punjab or North East. It is a total assault on our unity and we have to frame a suitable response to resist and meet this challenge. In this connection, we must not lose sight of what is happening and who are those operating in Punjab. I would not be indulging in any recrimination, for, that should not be the spirit of the debate today. But let us have our perspectives clear. Across the borders, we have been hearing, there are terrorist camps and we have authentic information from different channels and from the Punjab Chief Minister himself. Who are the people who have organised this, who are funding and financing and running these camps? Now it is clear that with the forces of destabilisation from outside and forces of terrorism, subversion—from inside, the threat is multiple. Therefore, the preparedness and the response should also be equally alert and clear. Forces of imperialism operating in our neighbourhood are active and in Punjab—why Punjab was chosen? You made a reference which is very relevant to the debate today. The reference was regarding the danger of allowing religion to become the dominating factor of politics of any political party in the country. Punjab was chosen because fanatical forces had been aroused, the concept of Dharm Yudh was announced and all irrelevant old symbolisms and miseries of past were resurrected and an agitation was launched. What happened thereafter. The ground has been traversed *ad nauseam*. I

would not go into the details of all that.

Sir, when we discuss Punjab terrorism in relation to the unity of the country, then we must—of course, not in any revengeful mood but for setting the perspective right clear, we must—to deal with who are these people, whether they are inside. It is because, now it is clear and the students of modern history know specially what is happening in the third world countries. They must analyse these factors. Forces of religious fanaticism, I would term them as Philistinism, the Philistines, forces of anarchy, forces of mayhem and murder were unleashed in the name of religion. Unreal and imaginary grievances were created in a particular part of the country, with full preparations and connivance of the foreign powers. This continued for three years. A reference has been made to the ghastly assassination of Madam Gandhi and all that happened after that. The country was passing through a terrible crisis, a crisis perhaps of a terrible dimension and the nation arose as one man. The credit goes to the people of India that they realised that this juncture will not allow partisan factors to intervene or to colour our judgement and they voted our Party and the Prime Minister to save this country and the signals should have been clear to everybody.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : It is a non-partisan approach.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : The Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi—and my friend has referred to it—in his reverent openness to the democratic processes in the country and keeping the question of unity above everything else, suspending completely the considerations which every national leader or leader of a political party has, for the prospects of his party, took the stand. Many discordant voices were raised and the people were opposed to election. But, Shri Rajiv Gandhi demonstrated a judgment which is historic. Now even looking in retrospect, it is a historic judgment and historic courage has been shown. The leader of the nation would not allow Partisan considerations to be inducted into its affairs, where the unity of the nation is concerned. What followed was the historic accord. Sant Longowal and his friends, Shri Barnala and others, have also demonstrated exemplary courage and without allowing persona factors, without allowing the immediate past which had vitiated the atmosphere in the

country, they agreed to come to Delhi and after a round of negotiations, an accord was concluded. What happened after that? I am a little intrigued and a little amazed also when some voices are raised in certain quarters—again I am very soft—that all this mayhem, all this blood-bath and the wanton killings are taking place in Punjab now because the accord has not been implemented. What can be more hollow, what can be more deluding and misleading than this statement? Do we remember that one of the authors of the accord namely, Sant Longowal, was brutally murdered for reaching this accord with the Prime Minister? The people who murdered Longowal, the people who rejected this accord out of hand, and the people who said that Longowal and the Akali Party, which has reached this accord, is not acceptable to them, the people who assembled in the Golden Temple on 26th January in unauthorised Sarbat Khalsa meeting, and rejected this accord, are now indulging in this violence.

So, may I know from the House where is the connection between implementation of the programme although the implementation of the programme has not been ignored, and the violence that is now taking place? Can there be such an alibi for encouraging and extending support to terrorists and to traitors who are playing not only with the innocent lives of the people but playing with the unity and integrity of this nation? It is unfortunate that these forces are now operating in Punjab. Punjab election was a historical election. The fight was absolutely clear. It was a fight between the forces of peace, people who wanted communal amity, people who wanted peace in Punjab and people who at the behest of their mentors in Washington, in Rawalpindi and other countries wanted to destabilise this country. Therefore, the historic mandate to the Akali Party. Why people have been trying to find fault with us? Why a party which lost the election, welcomes the victory of an opposition party? This also goes to prove that we, as a party of a century, we as the party which has led this country to freedom, and consolidated the freedom of this nation would not be swayed by partisan considerations and we welcome this victory of the Akali Party—not of Akali Party as such but welcome the judgment, the sane

judgment of the people who had rejected terrorism out of hand, who had rejected communal fanaticism out of hand and had given their mandate to a particular political party to bring Punjab back on the right track and restore amity and peace in that strife-torn State. Now, the Akali Party's bounden responsibility is to bring prove equal to the challenge and prove equal to the task. So far as the Central Government is concerned, right from the day—you do not have a parallel example in our history of free India—from the time we started fighting elections and forming governments under different umbrellas nowhere you find a Prime Minister of a particular Party leading the country extends all support and he congratulates the Akali Party and goes out of his way in saying 'Whatever help you need, the help is at your disposal. Please discharge your constitutional obligations to the nation, discharge your constitutional obligations to the people who have put you in power.' Now there are limits which Constitution permits. There are limits to the patience of a nation.

Unfortunately lately many things have been happening which are not very welcome and I would like the House to respond unitedly to the fact there. Let us not try and I am repeating that I will never try to take any partisan interest or partisan advantage of it. What happened? Unfortunately a section of the Akali Party would not agree. That is also unfortunate. We want the Akali Party to set its house in order because what is happening there is not an ordinary situation. There are opposition parties ruling in other parts of the country. But what is happening in Punjab is an extraordinary situation. The nation is threatened with division. Therefore, our response is so great and unqualified that we are prepared to do anything to strengthen the Akali Party to meet their constitutional obligations. But, unfortunately, what is happening? Again I say that I would not like to rake up old things. For 3 to 4 years the extremists tried. The only attempt of the extremists was to bring about a communal divide in Punjab. But the age-old ties between the Sikhs and the Hindus stood the onslaught and I am prepared to say that we have never taken every Sikh as an extremist. Far from it. The history of the Sikhs' heroism, the Sikhs' patriotism is therefore everybody

[Prof. K.K. Tewary]

to see. But the people who are trying to destabilise the whole situation are to blame. Unfortunately for 3 years they did not succeed in dividing the people. During 3 to 4 months time after Barnala Government took over, this division, unfortunately, has become visible. These clashes between Hindus and Sikhs are extremely unfortunate and this shows that there is at some level a lack of perception, a lack of will and a lack of determination to fight the challenge of the extremists. What happened? How did the Golden Temple which we all revere pass into the hands of the Damdami Taksal and the AISSF? That is another history, a story which the Akalis will do well to understand and to solve that problem. How come that Khalistan flag is still fluttering atop the Golden Temple. I am told that an agreement has been arrived at between Mr. Kabul Singh who is now President of the SGPC and the Damdami Taksal about the control of the Golden Temple and other shrines spread all over India. What will this mean? This will mean putting at the disposal of extremists crores of rupees and other wherewithals to organise themselves and to find respectability and to influence the mainstream of Sikh masses. This is a very dangerous development.

Sir the, Akali Party called 'Sarbat Khalsa' the highest Institution of the Sikhs. This Sarbat Khalsa was called at Anandpur Sahib and this Sarbat Khalsa gave certain directions to the SGPC and to the Akali Party for action, evicting unauthorised and irreligious elements who have entered the Golden Temple. So far no action is visible. Nothing has been done. They continue to sit there in the Golden Temple and you understand the authority of the persons who exercise control over the highest seat of religious authority in Punjab. I treat this as a failure and we must try—of course we are giving all help, extending all goodwill to the Akali party but this does not speak very high of the determination of the party to tackle this problem.

There is a certain amount of equivocation and ambivalence and I want make it abundantly clear that if the equivocation continues..(Interruption) what happened the other day? Opposition leaders want to the Prime Minister and a united decision

was taken by the parties cutting across party line.

(Interruptions)

You were invited, all right. You deserved the invitation. I do not grudge your being there. They were invited by the Prime Minister. They also, understanding the seriousness of the situation, joined the Prime Minister and our party appealed serenity in Punjab, decided to external all help through their units there to the Barnala Government and to Mr. Barnala. What was the response? Next day Mr. Barnala made the Punjab Assembly adopt a resolution saying that all those who were detained for waging a war on the Union of India, should be granted general amnesty. That was the response. When the Bains Committee recommended the release of hardened criminals...the consequence and the results are for everybody to see. We are extending all cooperation and support to Mr. Barnala and his Government, not just because Mr. Barnala is the Chief Minister of a party there, but Mr. Barnala is facing a peculiar and extra-ordinary situation there and what is involved in Punjab is the unity of the nation. Therefore, we prize unity of the nation more rather than partisan interests. Hence I speak with clarity of mind and from the core of my heart that Mr. Baranala's Government deserve all support. But Mr. Baranala, his colleagues, the Party and the SGPC must try to fight the challenge and must try to discharge the constitutional obligations which have been thrust upon their shoulders by the patriotic people of Punjab. The best way to tackle the situation for the political parties represented in this House is to maintain this unity and from this House a message should go, a united message without any division, without reference to what happened in the past. Many wrong things happened. Let us now start afresh and with united resolution let us appeal to the people of India about the challenges which are looming large on the horizon. The national scenario is getting darker and darker. Therefore, I appeal to this House to make it a united voice which is felt in the country, so that we can face the challenges before the nation.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL  
SECURITY (SHRI ARUN NEHRU) : Sir,

I would like to make a submission with your permission.

I would like to reiterate our stand of full support to the Chief Minister in his fight against the terrorism. Although it may be a little premature at this stage to mention this, in the last three days the signs are extremely encouraging. The Chief Minister has given very clear cut instructions that hard action will be taken.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** You could have told this to Prof. Tewary beforehand.

**SHRI ARUN NEHRU :** The facts of the case are that four terrorists have been apprehended and shot, three have been arrested and yesterday we have found a reasonable quantity of arms. The BSF and the Para Military have also found nearly Rs. 11 crores worth of heroin on the border, which is the single largest catch that we have had for the past few days.

As you know Mr. Rebeiro who was the Special Secretary in the Home Ministry has gone as the D.G. of Police. Already, under the instructions of the Chief Minister, various plans are being made for reorganising and making the police more effective and the initial action certainly indicates that they are on the right track.

I think, we should take this opportunity to wish Mr. Barnala well for the future and also for the Punjab police and the para military who are assisting them. They have also given a substantial shopping list in terms of various equipments, in terms of communication, weaponry, transportation. This is not something new, this has been happening in the past also. We will try to help them to the extent that we can.

For the benefit of the House I would like to indicate certain steps that we have taken in the Home Ministry in our dealings with Mr. Barnala for the past few months which will be followed in future also. We have shared total information with Mr. Barnala. I cannot divulge the details; but under broad headings I can certainly indicate to you what sort of action we have taken at both our ends. We have indicated clearly the strategy which the extremists are using

and also what their mentors want. We have given in detail the position existing in Punjab in most of the Gurudwaras. This is a matter for very serious concern.

We have given the linkage of terrorists and also their possible locations. We have brought to attention of the Chief Minister the provocative and anti-national utterances which have been made by various Ragis and Dasis in many villages of Punjab. This is inciting the communal passions and creating enormous amount of problems.

We have requested the State Government to look at this in a very serious manner. In addition to this, I don't want to mention any organisation's name we have also given details of three or four various political parties or political organisations which have been indulging in anti-national statements. We have also requested the Chief Minister, to which he has agreed, for joint interrogations and also for the operation of the CBI outposts on the border. The latter is still under discussion; but we feel that it is very relevant.

Sir, we have also requested the Chief Minister to be extremely careful in terms of hasty releases of the detenus who are currently in the Punjab jails. We are willing to share all the information. We have shared information on this and we have certainly requested them to exercise extreme caution.

We have also made a specific request to the State it is for the State to follow that the provisions of NSA and the Terrorist Act should be followed with hardened criminals.

Sir, much has been said in regard to the border. I would to briefly tell the Members that late last year and early this year, the Central Government has sanctioned very large expansion schemes both for the western and for the eastern borders. We would be virtually doubling our current strength, our border outposts, our observation posts and we have also provided our people with the most up-to-date equipment. Sir, it is difficult for me to divulge all the details in this regard. But I would like to mention that in the past two and a half months we have apprehended nearly 2200 people on the western border. We have

[Shri Arun Nehru]

pushed back 2050 and 150 have been handed over to the Punjab police. In addition to this in the last 75 days with increased surveillance there has been a great deal of activity on the border. The BSF has challenged various parties which are trying to infiltrate and during the last six weeks 43 people have been killed by our security forces.

We have also instituted a joint interrogation committee for inter-State crimes which Punjab Chief Minister has agreed to and this is meeting every month. This involves Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana and also Delhi. Now in the last six months we have caught nearly 20-30 terrorists—I am deliberately not giving the exact figure—and their clear links with Pakistan have been established.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Shame. Shame.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU : I can not, Sir, mention what time they went to Pakistan and came out because it will only help the others. But what I can tell you is that—our External Affairs Minister has left—we have conveyed this to the Ministry of External Affairs who are taking it up with the Pakistan authorities. We have given details of camps. We have given details of names, locations, training schedules and the type of assistance Pakistan has given to these terrorists. It is a matter of serious concern. We have explained to the Ministry of External Affairs that this may be taken up in the hardest possible manner with the Pakistan authorities.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : It is an hostile act.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU : Sir, I had spent two days in Punjab. We had extensive talks with the Chief Minister. I would like to bring to the attention of the House that one of the most disturbing features was not the fact that all this is going on because severe action has been taken but the disturbing feature was when we met many groups of political parties; many groups of individuals and many groups of citizens. There was always talk of the Sikh psyche. There was talk of the

Hindu psyche. Very few people mentioned of the Punjab side...

AN. HON. MEMBER : Indian psyche.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU : I think it is much better if we refer to the Indian psyche rather than the Sikh psyche or the Hindu psyche because this is really creating the communal cleavage in the whole affair. I would like to mention that we are talking today of sending para-military forces; we are talking of sending weaponry and also other things to Punjab but if this communal divide persists then nothing is going to help. We have had occasion to discuss this matter with the leader of Opposition and, I think, all of us must sit down and evolve a joint strategy, if necessary make joint visits to Punjab. I am sure the Chief Minister with the stand he has taken will be able to tackle the terrorists' problem but we must see—and, I think, this is our prime responsibility—that this communal divide which is coming to the fore is totally eliminated.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Sir, may I seek a clarification at this stage? Certain very apprehensive points have been brought out by the Minister. So I would like to know whether there is an offer, I believe, for exchange of the officers of intelligence of both the sides—India and Pakistan—to meet...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No. No.

MR. SPEAKER : Order. Order.

19.00 hrs.

AN HON. MEMBER : We should not allow their Intelligence officers to come here. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Minister will reply. Why do you reply?

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Sir, he can clarify whether there is an offer or not, because that will help us. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Let the hon. Minister reply. Why are you taking the reply on your shoulders? He is there to reply and he will reply.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU : I don't see how any exchange of intelligence officers is going to help anyone if they continue to train terrorist against us in their camps,

**MR. SPEAKER :** Before you proceed, Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary, Mr. Minister, I would like to say something. You have pointed out about the preachings from the religious platforms which try to agitate the minds and the passions of the people. But this must be tackled by the whole House on a war footing and there must be stringent measures to curb all these from outside or inside, wherever it is, in whatever capacity and whatever place it is, whether this place or that place. Otherwise, we will be failing in our duties. There, they must be concerned only with the religion, preaching peace, amity and everything. Otherwise, either inside or outside, you must come out strictly against the treason, whatever may happen. That is the only solution of it. The late you come with it, the worst it would be.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) :** Sir, though the motion has been admitted in the name of growing threat of terrorisms and its implications, you have rightly said and we have also understood that the debate on Punjab problem will take place. Now, Sir, there are no two opinions that the situation in Punjab is very serious and the whole country is facing a trying time in this part of our country. Now, this situation requires restraint from everybody, also wisdom and courage. Sir, the hon. Minister, Mr. Arun Nehru, has said something about reramping the Administration. Over and above that, what I want to emphasise is the need for all of us to organise the people, particularly in Punjab so that they are mobilised to fight back terrorism. Without the active participation of the people in Punjab, and full cooperation of the people from all over the country, this problem is very hard to tackle. It is not only an administrative problem. I am happy to hear that certain measures have been taken. These are very important. For a Chief Minister who has the sanction of the people to fight terrorism, to see that the peace is restored in Punjab, if he is to bother himself all the time with different kinds of other things then that concentration does not remain there. But now on one thing I reserve my comments. This is about the appointment of the Governor, Mr. S.S. Ray, in Punjab, I would point out that is a spectacular news to us.

**PROF. K.K. TIWARY :** Who are you worried about that ?

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY :** I am not worried about that at all. I am a little bit worried about what will happen to the Civil Liberties Cell of the A.I.C.C.

**THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND TOURISM (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT) :** You have no business to comment on this appointment.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY :** If you say that I cannot comment anything on civil liberty, then I do not say about that. Now, Sir, we express our fullest support to any measure that the Government in Punjab is going to take and the Central Government is going to take to combat terrorism. From our party we express our full support.

The other point is that now, it is no use blaming anybody for what happened in the past, but we have to draw a lesson so that we are able to take effective political steps which will help to curb the terrorism in Punjab. We have to take a back look into what happened in the past without naming anybody or blaming anybody.

The recent rise of terrorism in Punjab can be attributed to so many thing, but I would like to recollect only certain vital things. It was during the Akali morcha when Akalis intensified the religious appeal to convey their point of view that they lost the initiative to Bhindranwale. Who was this Bhindranwale ? Who propped him up ? If I say the puling party who propped him up then there will the protest from you. But I want to declare that if it was our party, then the people have every right to spit on us. That was a crime done on the country. The lesson to be drawn is that there is every danger when politics is mixed with religion and we have to avoid that. I have every sympathy for those Akali leaders who are trying to normalise the political situation. Those who are nationalists, those who carry with them the traditions of martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh, traditions of Ghaddar Party, and traditions of Bhagat Singh will rise to the occasion and will take conscious measures to separate religion from politics.

I must also recall what happened on the 26th January. What did the protagonists of

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Khalistan do and what transpired there? They said that Sikhs were slaves in India and they wanted an independent Khalistan. A Khalistan flag was also hoisted. Even challenges are being thrown to the elected body, SGPC. This type of challenges were not there during the time of Bhindranwale even. This needs to be taken serious note of. Then, first the SGPC wanted to hold their Sarbat Khalsa in the Golden Temple, but then the threat came and they shifted it to Anandpur Sahib. We did not like sit very much, but we were told that they had to avoid a confrontation. It appears to us that they had abridged the authority of the elected body. In that Sarbat Khalsa, a decision was taken to get the Golden Temple vacated from the extremists. But that has not been implemented. They have a duty to see that this is done immediately, otherwise it will again complicate the situation.

There is another very menacing and dangerous thing. While the extremists are adopting their usual methods, counter-communalism is coming up in the name of Shiv Sena and that is very very dangerous. I want to make an appeal. All the national parties have a duty to see that no one from any of the party associates himself by any means with any of these kinds of organizations. That is our national duty. When Rajiv-Longowal Accord was signed, we all supported it. The President of the party and the Prime Minister of the country signed it. But I want to ask. Is this a responsible behaviour that even inside Parliament, even from that particular party, which hailed that Accord, they spoke with different voices. One may say that this is the proof of democracy. I say, Parliament is not the political conference room of any political party. Settle it inside the party and come out with a unified voice and say that the Accord has to be implemented.

*(Interruptions)*

Again, it is not only one particular party. All of us should be conscious about these things. What is happening in Haryana? What is going on there in the name of 'Samast Haryana'. We are not at all happy with it. We are against it. I say we have to show wisdom.

*(Interruptions)*

I am not going to name anybody. This is the need of the hour. We have to understand this and we have to take proper action.

Now, the role of the Government is very important in bringing peace to Punjab and in effectively combating terrorism. Inside this House, I heard a view one day that non-implementation of the Accord and delaying the Accord is not responsible for the growth of terrorism. One may say like that. But our feeling is that the extremists are gaining ground because of this delay. Those who are trying to sabotage the Accord, are able to tell the people that Chandigarh has not come and so on. Well, it cannot be taken as a plea that because Chandigarh has not come, one should take to terrorism. But what are the factors that are contributing to it? We have to understand this aspect. There is so much of mishandling. You all know this and I am not going into it. In the Accord, the contiguity factor, the village basis and then the language basis, all these things are there. But in the Mathew Commission, how did the other factor come? Nobody understood it. The Prime Minister said that was a mistake. But nobody rectified it. Is this a responsible thing that we are doing? I do not know. Can you prove that this is a responsible thing to do?

Now, let us come to the Akalis also. Some confusion is created by some of them regarding the SYL Canal. That also contributed to the other communalism—counter communal forces. They have to be very serious also in their commitment and they should see to it that the SYL Canal project is implemented.

Now the question about Chandigarh comes up. The Mathew Commission failed and it ended in a fiasco. So many months have passed now. But what are you thinking about it? Are you trying to solve that particular aspect of the Accord? Chandigarh will go to Punjab and some Hindi areas will go to Haryana. What is happening to that? How can confidence grow in the minds of the people that the Accord is being implemented in its full contents. How? No attempt is made to construct the capital of Haryana. That is also important. If some activity is there in

this direction, people will understand that the Accord is being implemented.

Now I come to another aspect, which is very vital. That is about the foreign connection. They are all exploiting the situation and that is very serious. So much has been talked about it. Government never rose to the occasion. Why don't they come up with a White Paper? Whose hands are there? You told that so many terrorists had been nabbed. They have a definite connection with Pakistan. Shri Barnala is saying that Pakistan is giving them training. The involvement of a foreign hand is a common knowledge. Take the people into confidence. It is not the case of only innocent people misdirected towards terrorism. You tell the truth in the people and you rekindle that spirit of fight against imperialism. That patriotism has to come into the minds of the people. And you have a duty.

Now, Mr. Howe, the Foreign Secretary has come. Have you received any commitment about curbing terrorists in that country and about extradition? It is said that they would take stern action there but not extradite the terrorists. They may be saying that they will be firm may be they have an interest, they are trying to sell that junk 'Hermes'? We have to see that there is a method behind it. During the earlier occasion, *viz.* the discussions on External Affairs. I said that there was a method. We talk of Pakistan. It is not Pakistan alone. The Big Power is there behind it. There was a blueprint drawn up by a Pakistani Colonel. I referred to that report which came in 'Hindustan Times' of 2nd February. I wonder things are happening in that direction. Their aim was to create terror; capture the Golden Temple; kill people; kill VIPs; prop up a figure like Bhindranwale, and give arms training. All these are happening in a calculated manner.

Then will be a time when they will recognize Khalistan, and they will intervene. How dare they say that? They cannot say that, without a big support behind it. You have to understand this.

One may say that I am exaggerating things. No; I am not exaggerating.

AN HON. MEMBER : You are absolutely correct.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : I referred to another report. What is the reaction of the Government? I referred to a report that CIA has set up a Sikh department, a Muslim department etc. I am not going into other aspects. You should come out and tell us what is the real thing happening.

Now, in the United Kingdom they are giving shelter to terrorists in the Council House. They are giving doles. To whom? A list containing some names was submitted by our High Commission to the British Home Department, saying that they were hardened criminals. (*Interruptions*) British Courts did not hand them over to our court but they give them doles. What a good friend?

We have got this report also : In USA, the states the Khalistanis enjoy in official circles is similar to that enjoyed by Contras, Mujahideens of Afghanistan, and counter-revolutionaries of Angola and Mozambique. I am afraid of that time to come when as Mr. Reagan has said; 'I am also a Contra.' Some day, he may say : 'I am also a Khalistani'. I hope that day does not come. Today, I believe that everybody has seen "The Statesman". Warren Unna has written what Reagan has told the U.S. Congress on 4th February this year; he said about moral and material assistance to be given to topple four Governments including Kampuchea, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. We all know about their covert actions. I am not trying unnecessarily create a certain kind of psychology. But things are very serious, more serious than what we can just now think of.

I do not want to take much time. What I want is : You tell us concretely what you are going to do about Chandigarh and about the transfer of the territory. That is the first thing. The river dispute is there. That Bill has been passed. Then we have the SYL Canal. Akalis will have to see that it is done. Then we have the foreign connections. Are you ready to come out with a White Paper? That is very much needed.

I again appeal to all, including myself; We have to show restraint. We have to go to the people of Punjab. Our party is organizing with the Left parties, to have a campaign for

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"Save Punjab, Save India Day" in Punjab from the 5th April. That is the only weapon. If people are mobilized in support of the unity and integrity of the country and against terrorism, then terrorism can be affectively combated. There is no other way.

With these words, I conclude.

[*Translation*]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, issue of terrorism in Punjab is being discussed in the House. Punjab, or the land of five rivers, has produced great freedom fighters like Lala Lajpat Rai, Sardar Bhagat Singh and Udham Singh, Punjab is a leading state of the country; it ushered in the green revolution and is producing maximum foodgrains in the country. It provides funds to the centre. This is the Punjab where once love and affection prevailed and where big temples and Gurudwaras have been built. There was a time when Punjab was praised all over the country. Unfortunately, terrorism is at its peak in that very Punjab and the situation has reached a stage that this House had to consider and discuss this matter.

It is clear that when this issue is before the House, it is not confined to Punjab alone. Terrorism has become a national problem. We remember that period of early fifties, when PEPSU was not in Punjab. Naxalites had spread a reign of terror in Punjab and the Centre had deputed Shri Rao to deal with the situation. He was able to eliminate the naxalites and that reign of terror also came to an end.

Unfortunately, today also similar circumstances prevail in Punjab and the Centre had to depute D.G. Police to Punjab. After all, what is the reason? Just now I was listening to an hon. Member of the opposition who had said earlier that non-implementation of Rajiv-Longowal Accord was the main reason of terrorism or extremism in Punjab. (*Interruptions*). He has already spoken on this subject. I have also spoken at length on the subject at the time of discussion on the President's Address and on the Ravi-Beas Bill, I do not want to repeat it now.

But I want to know is whether there was no violence or terrorism in Punjab before the Rajiv Longowal Accord? Were they not terrorists who assassinated a great personality like Longowal who was one of the signatories to the Accord? All these people were against the Accord and did not want restoration of peace in Punjab. Now how far is it right to say that non-implementation of the Accord is the cause of violence. Out of 11 points of this Accord, 9 have already been implemented. Chandigarh was to be transferred to Punjab on 26th January and Mathew Commission was appointed by the Government for this purpose. But as per the findings of the Mathew Commission, Chandigarh cannot be transferred to Punjab unless Hindi-Speaking areas of Punjab are transferred to Haryana. Government of India wants that both the Chief Ministers should discuss this matter to find out an amicable solution but no solution has been found till now. Now, again a commission will have to be appointed.

It is also mentioned in it that Punjab will complete the Yamuna Sutlaj Canal work by 15th August. Are these the two issues of the terrorists in Punjab on account of which they have taken to the path of terrorism? Some foreign powers including Pakistan and some western countries are responsible for it because they cannot tolerate our rapid progress and want to destabilise our country. They want to disturb our peace so that we may not progress rapidly. Who are these miscreants? They are Indians. I will not say Sikhs because a Sikh can never kill a Hindu. They are human beasts who are bereft of humane considerations. Shri Barnala had recently said that they were being trained in Pakistan and I do not want to repeat it. It is the duty of our Government and just now our Home Minister has also expressed his views on the subject. After the Accord, elections were held peacefully and a popular government was formed. Our Prime Minister expressed his happiness over the peaceful elections in Punjab irrespective of the fact that Akali Dal had won and congress had lost it. It was hoped that peace would be restored in Punjab but could not be restored. The people of Punjab demonstrated beyond doubt that they were against terrorism.

Peaceful elections are an evidence of the fact that the people of Punjab did not yield to terrorism and consequently there were no disturbances. But after the formation of the popular Government, terrorists again started their activities. Whenever any effort is made to normalise the condition, these terrorists start their anti social activities. It seems to be a well planned conspiracy. This is not a question of Sikhs or Hindus, as is said quite often. Attempts are, of course, being made to inflame communal feelings in the name of religion in temples and Gurudwaras. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is easy to set aflame dry grass but it is very difficult to put it off. Extremists also cannot in succeed in realising their nefarious designs. After the assassinating of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, some untoward incidents did took place at different places, but within 24 hours, our young Prime Minister had controlled the situation with a firm hand. There was a sense of uncertainty about the country's future and there was fear of civil war after Indira's assassination. But the Indians acted very wisely and in Delhi the Hindus came to the rescue of their Sikh brothers. Sikhs have themselves admitted that their Hindus neighbours had helped them. So it is a conspiracy to start a civil war in the country but they will never succeed. India is a great country with the towering Himalayas in the North. Lanka in the South and where rivers like Ganga and Yamuna are flowing. There the people speak diverse languages and profess different religions. They are wrong if they think that they can create communal disharmony and tension or that they can start a civil war.

The question is what is the responsibility and duty of our government in such circumstances. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Shri Surjit Singh Barnala is a wise advocate and works with great patience. But I am sorry to say that one cannot rule with folded hands. A thief will never admit his crime, if the S.H.O. offers him seat and enquires respectfully whether he is guilty. This way you cannot stop thefts and dacoities. Shri Barnala had thought of winning over the terrorists with love. But it did not succeed. Just now our Home Minister told us that two thousand sixty two cases were withdrawn, 1900 persons were released and scheme were prepared for the rehabilitation of the deser-

ters. And now there is a demand that the deteneues of Jaipur, facing charges of sedition be released. This way, you cannot stop terrorism. You can only stop it by show of strength which is evident not only from the History of India but also of the world. The Indian Government is doing its duty. Law and order is a State subject. Whenever, we raise a question regarding any of the States, it is said.

[English]

You cannot touch Punjab. You cannot touch Bengal and so on and so forth.

[Translation]

But the State Government can ask for assistance from the Indian Government. Shri Barnala had asked for help and Indian Government helped him. At present we have 200 companies of Para-military forces deployed in Punjab to fight terrorism. We want to extend all support to Shri Barnala. Government of India feel that they should help a State Government, whenever they are in need of it. Para-military forces are sent to other States also in similar situation. Just now Shri Arun told us that 43 persons were killed. Contraband arms and ammunition were also recovered from the intruders, smugglers and terrorists. This shows a pre-planned conspiracy. It should be checked with the help of para-military forces as well as Armed Forces. Borders should be sealed, as is envisaged in Bangladesh, to prevent any infiltration from across the border.

It is not possible to combat terrorism by taking recourse to legal means or by force. There is need to instil a feeling of love in the people. There is no wedge between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Punjab had never faced this type of problem before. Hindus and Sikhs have a common lineage. The elder brother sports a beard and the younger is clean shaven. There are instances where one brother-in-law is Sikh and other is a Hindu. Even our Government does not distinguish between a Hindu and a Sikh. In practice also, there is no difference between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Our constitution, our practical working as well as our day to day functioning do not reflect any discrimination. It is heartening to note that the opposition have also promised to extend

[Shri Chiranji Lal Sharma]

their full support. Alas, they had condemned terrorism from the very beginning! On the contrary they pleaded in favour of their demands. This only resulted in encouraging such elements and the situation went out of control. The prevailing situation in the country and particularly in Punjab is bound to come to an end as it happened in the case of Naxalites and Anand margis. Now there is peace in Assam, Mizoram as well as in South. Such type of situations do arise. In Kashmir also a lot of problems were created and even terrorism is raising its ugly head there. Previously, the then Chief Minister Shri G.M. Shah, who was supported by Congress, had used his office for nefarious purposes and he encouraged anti national elements. He wanted to consolidate his position by using such elements. In that situation, what was our duty and responsibility as an Indian citizen. Recently, Sikhs gathered in large number in Bangla Sahib and they took out a silent procession. I suggest that not only in Delhi, but in every big city of Punjab also like Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur, silent processions should be taken out not only by Sikhs but also jointly by Sikhs and Hindus. An atmosphere should be created there to calm the prevailing tension. The leading personalities of all the communities and religions should come forward for this purpose. I must tell you that Gurudwaras are being misused. I am not talking about the Gurudwaras of Amritsar alone but of all Gurudwaras. The terrorists, after killing people, take refuge there. This is very dangerous. It was sometime after operation Blue star that people came to know about the reality. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I must tell you, respectfully, that previously Gurudwaras used to resound to the hymns of Guru Vani and devotional songs which used to enlighten us and guide the world. But now Gurudwaras have become haven for terrorists, who kill innocent people. What is their fault, who are being killed? They do not bear any enmity with them. Their only aim is to create disturbances and unrest in the country. I want to say it emphatically that the agents of big Powers are active in our country. I do not want to name the countries. Some of the Western Powers are pumping huge funds into this country to finance such activities. This money is used

against the interests of our country. The Government should look into it.

[English]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : I have to interrupt my hon friend. Sir, Today we are discussing how to strengthen the national forces and isolate the terrorists. He should not generalise and say about Gurudwaras and all that. Today our main aim is to isolate those elements who are enemies of the country and so we have to speak on that. Please do not generalise all the Gurudwaras.

[Translation]

It is not correct to talk about the Gurudwaras in such a manner. It is possible that one or two Gurudwaras might be engaged in such activities but what you are saying is....(Interruptions)

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : I want to point out one thing...(Interruptions). I am only talking about the foreign powers who are pumping money into India. I did not say that Gurudwaras from outside are sending money. I only mentioned the foreign Powers who are sending money to use black sheep in our country against our interests. Such black sheep are found everywhere and they also exist here.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please wind up.

[Translation]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : Mr. Deputy Speaker, 'Vakt Kotta, Kissa Tulani'. It is a long tale but time is short. I do not want to disobey you by prolonging my speech.

Under these circumstances, I would like to give a suggestion. Our Prime Minister had invited the entire Opposition in order to find a solution to the Punjab problem. This House is supreme in the country. We must move forward as Indian citizens and must rise above religion and caste considerations and party politics. What to talk of terrorism, the opposition and foreign powers...(Interruptions)

One speaks of reality subconsciously.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** You do not feel at ease without condemning the opposition parties.

**SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA :** What to speak of foreign Powers, even the cyclones and lightning and thunders cannot stop us and we can bring terrorism to an end. With these words I take my seat.

[English]

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Speaker in his initial observations has cautioned a spirit of restraint in this debate and I also must keep in mind the very high non-partisan standard that is set up by my colleague, Prof. Tewary. And against this background, I do not want to rub various political parties on this issue, but try to analyse the problems that are created because of terrorism in Punjab and elsewhere.

In this very House, on three occasions I had initiated a discussion on Punjab, and I do not propose to repeat some of those points which were mentioned in the earlier debate.

It was hoped that after the formation of the Akali Government in Punjab, there will be relaxation of tension, a new atmosphere will be created. Sir, I must admit that, as a result of the elections in Punjab, two things were clearly established. Of course, there was a difference of opinion as to whether the elections should be held at that time or they should be postponed. But once the decision to hold the elections was there, excepting the extremists nobody boycotted those elections. I was among those who campaigned vigorously during the election campaign, visited almost all the constituencies, and I had felt the atmosphere of the campaign, and two things emerged out of the election campaign. Though there was a difference on whether on a particular date the elections should be held, ultimately when the elections were held, only the extremists boycotted the elections and therefore, a large turn out of the voters in the elections and the victory of the Akali Dal in the elections—that was the first defeat of the extremists by the democratic method of the ballot box in the Punjab, and I think that is the most welcome phenome-

non in Punjab.

There is one more aspect. I came to study the composition of each constituency in Punjab and if you take into account the composition of the electorate in each constituency, urban as well as rural, if there were to be no Hindu-Sikh combine in Punjab elections, Akali Dal would never have won the absolute majority in Punjab. Sir, I am not saying this as an after-thought. The *Tribune* had put forward my conjecture on the front page one day prior to the elections that had taken place, and I said that on the basis of my experience of various constituencies in Punjab, I feel that in urban constituencies there may be some communal polarisation. But, in the rural areas, people want peace and people understand that only through Sikh-Hindu amity, peace can be achieved. In a large number of rural constituencies, Sikhs as well as Hindus combined and voted for Akali Dal. If you see the composition of electorates, because now the voting pattern in various booths is available, you will find another welcoming feature of the election result. That is, especially in the rural constituencies of Punjab, the Hindus as well as the Sikhs voted for the Akali Dal and the Akali Dal emerged with an absolute majority. So, it was not only the defeat of extremists on one side but, on the other side, the positive achievement of the elections was, Hindu Sikh amity, especially in the rural areas of Punjab, which to my mind is the greatest achievement of this election.

I felt that probably after this victory, the extremists will be so much pushed to the wall that all tensions would be reduced to the minimum and, as a result of that, terrorism gets defeated. But again we find that there is recurrence of violence and, therefore, now the problem before us is how to sort out the issue. Of course, there is a pattern in the terrorism. We find that in Ludhiana Jalandher, Amritsar, Chandigarh, and of course, Anandpur Sahib, violence took place, and the violence was directed towards one single purpose. The extremists have not appreciated the Akali Dal coming to power because in the heart of their heart, the victory of Akali Dal was a defeat of the extremists. And, therefore, they want to terrorise and they want to blackmail the Akali Dal in Punjab. You will find that they are not so much interested in

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

attacking the Hindus. They are interested in attacking the liberal leaders of Akali Dal. At Anandpur Sahib, their main target was the Chief Minister. After the Accord and before the elections, Sant Longowal was the target. After the Accord was signed and after the Chief Ministership was established in the hands of Akali Dal, they wanted to make the Chief Minister of the Akali Dal Government as the main target. Fortunately, they failed. But there is a certain pattern in the terrorism that has taken place. No doubt, both the aspects are there. One aspect is that some terrorists are moving from Punjab to Pakistan territory, and some trained terrorists are coming from Pakistan to India, coming to Punjab. But in addition to that, there is one more factor which to my mind is more dangerous. I do not want to reveal what happened at the meeting convened by the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. But there is one aspect which I have consulted the Home Minister also that it is not a secret aspect. I asked one pointed question: When you got hold of a terrorist and the arms that you had seized, were they necessarily arms with the foreign stamp? I was told by the Home Minister that it was found that a number of arms that were seized from the terrorists happened to be the arms that were snatched from the Punjab police. It is a very dangerous phenomenon. I do not allege that the Punjab police handed over the arms. I do not say that like Bhoo Dhan, there was Arm Dhan. I am not saying that. But whenever there is an attack on the police station and wherever the police were got hold of, their uniforms were taken away. What a tragedy is this! That in some of the places in which the CPI leader was murdered and massacred, some terrorists went in police uniform and they attacked the person. Two of them died. The body-guard of the CPI leader was also killed. It is a very dangerous proposition. For instance, in Delhi or elsewhere, if any uniform policeman or so-called uniform policeman comes to our house and if we open the door and we saw that he happens to be a terrorist who has come to attack us, what security is bound to be there. If a crowd comes, one can at least lock up the door. If the crowd comes, the police can come there. But if some person goes in police uniform to an innocent person's house and attacks him and kills him, it is a very

dangerous proposition. Here, the intelligence has to work more carefully. Therefore, I feel that even the nature of terrorism, attack and violence that has taken place, we have to take note of them.

I have brought to the notice of the Speaker, through a calling-attention notice, one very interesting aspect and the dangerous aspect, which I would like to touch upon today.

News had come in one Hindi newspaper and it was very prominently flashed, that an officer, who was a former Intelligence Officer and who was a former Embassy Officer of Pakistan, was stationed in Delhi. He was hiding in the Gurdwara. The news has come. The news might be wrong. But, I will insist that when such information is given, a Member of Parliament given a notice of a Calling Attention Motion. Even if my Calling Attention Notice is not admitted in the House, I do not worry about it. But at least the Home Minister should write to us and point out to us whether there is any fact behind it, because if the former Intelligence Officer of Pakistan, and who was formerly stationed in Delhi as one of the Embassy Officers, is supposed to be lodged in the Gurdwara and is taking advantage of it, probably unknowingly, and if he is trying to carry on an espionage activity at a place supposed to be a holy place, not only he will destroy the country, he will also destroy the sanctity of the Gurdwara. I think even the sanctity of the Gurdwara will be destroyed. From that point of view also, this must be gone into and when the hon. Minister replies to the debate, I would like him to clarify it though he did not accept my Calling Attention Notice.

There is one more aspect, to which I have to refer, and that is the Bhindranwala phenomenon. In history, the entire episode is now recognised as Bhindranwale phenomenon. On this Bhindranwale phenomenon, I must warn this House, the ruling party as well as the Opposition party and the Akali Dal, I do not know how I describe it—here there is the Opposition party and there is the ruling party—but the opposition party and the ruling party have to realise that we politicians, whether we belong to the ruling party or the opposition party, sometimes we are tempted to take political advantage of certain phenomenon

that rise. I do not want to rub any political party the wrong way. But I have said on two occasions in this very House, and that was not contradicted that whenever the elections were there, whether it was 1980 elections or 1979-80 SGPC elections or whether it was elections of the other type or whether it was agitation by the Akali Dal, different types of people try to play on the sentiment of Bhindranwale and try to capitalise on it for short-range gains. Sometimes we try to take advantage of Bhindranwale and a man of that type, but later on, when they become Frankenstein and they try to destroy the very stability of the State and they threaten the unity and integrity of India, then only we realise with what type of forces we are playing for narrow, sectarian and partisan ends. Many have played with it. I do not want to put the responsibility on any political party. But some have exploited for agitation, some have exploited for struggle, some have exploited for pseudo-religious gains, and some have utilised them for political ends. This is a lesson for the future that whatever be the objective, if terrorists are utilised for narrow, partisan ends, they are bound to grow into Frankenstein and ultimately destroy the very pattern, and the very system in which we are working.

As far as the situation in Punjab is concerned, it is threatened by terrorism. I would not like to link up the problems created by terrorism, the problems posed to law and order situation and the political problems. I am not one of those who say that, because certain difficulties have been created in the implementation of Punjab accord, terrorism is created as a result of this. No. But when some terrorist activities are going on, ultimately the terrorist activities thrive on discontent and if the accord is not properly implemented and it is not implemented in the time-frame that was prescribed in the accord, in that case, the entire extremist lobby will try to expose the Government of India, and they will try to expose the liberal leadership of Akali Dal and they will go and tell the youngsters "We had told you earlier that the problem can never be solved at the table." They will say that the problem will be solved only with the barrel of the gun. They have been telling the youngsters that "We were warning you Do not sign the agreement with the Prime Minister of India."

He is not going to settle the problems. Do not be trapped by the other Opposition parties. Do not try to cooperate with the negotiations on the table. It is only through struggle, and that too a violent struggle that you can solve this problem." That is what the extremists have been telling the youngsters throughout Punjab. That is what the AISSF leadership has been doing in Punjab, and when actually some sort of difficulties are created in the implementation of the accord, they will go to them and say "We had already told you and warned you that Chandigarh will never come to us on 26th. As if it were to come on the 26th, the terrorists would have become non-violent. Far from that. But they take it as an excuse and they gain some ground to increase their terrorist activities. I do not say that the entire terrorism has grown only due to this. But if we try to see that there are fissures to the implementation of the Punjab Accord, then problems are likely to be created. At the same time, I would like to say that I do not want to take up any chauvinistic posture. I must say that there is not only Punjab, there is Haryana and there is Rajasthan. They are also involved. Then after the Accord has been signed, no less a person than the Prime Minister of India announced from a number of platforms and press conferences and from the floor of the House also, that even while implementing the Punjab Accord, we will keep in mind the interests of Haryana and Rajasthan. They have made it extremely clear. They say that when the canal is dug and when enough water is available, if some aberrations that might have taken place as a result of the distribution formula, those aberrations can be corrected and you can rely on us and given the goodwill, we can remove those aberrations that might be created as a result of the present formula that has been evolved or as a result of the final judgement that will come regarding the distribution of waters'. So that being the posture taken by the Government of India, and I welcome that Posture, and if that be the posture and a solemn assurance given to Haryana and Rajasthan that there is not the question of only territorial problems but the question of water is there, the question of use of water and in regard to solving those questions if there are certain aberrations and distortions which are likely to take place

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

and create any discontent—ultimately we all belong to the same country and I have not the least doubt that if we sit with the liberal Akali leadership and try to show that within these parameters we have to eliminate these distortions, it will be possible to see that the Punjab Accord is implemented respecting at the same time the aspirations of Haryana and Rajasthan regarding the distribution of water. I have full confidence that the assurance given by the Government of India, if given the goodwill on all sides, can be implemented.

I wish to point out to you that there are a number of demands. I am happy that both before the Accord, during the Accord and after the Accord a number of points, which were discordant points have been settled. The Centre-State relationship almost settled. River Waters dispute—sent to a Tribunal. Relay of kirtans in Gurudwaras in the All India Radio—that has been settled by seeing that it is relayed on the Jalandhar station of the AIR. The All India Gurudwara Act—only in the case of historical Gurudwara, and that too with the consent of the concerned Gurudwara, a unified law will be there. That has been settled. Inquiry into the riots—that has been settled. Interpretation of Art 125—I was one among the few in the House. I welcomed the statement of the Law Minister when he came up and said 'We are prepared to leave the interpretation of Art 125 to legal experts and various Sikh organisation.' I said 'You are agencies to do the right thing at the wrong moment. Had you done it earlier, perhaps the agitation would not have started.' So that issue also has been settled. Then the question of army deserters—without dishonouring the integrity of the country and the honour of the Army, some way has been found out and if that much assurance given in the Accord is implemented, it will go a long way. I think if we these were implemented, at least the ground below the feet of the extremists will be cut off and at least extremism will not grow to that extent and, therefore, that also has to be done.

Then, one more thing: If the Barnala

Government does not take any firm attitude, one more complication is likely to take place and I may sound the House about it. There is a feeling in the country that probably unless the military or the para-military forces land in Punjab, law and order may not be established. If that feeling grows in the country, then there will be a demoralisation of the Police force in Punjab. I think it is the greatest threat to the morale boosting of the Police force in Punjab. Therefore, the moral strength and the moral fabric of the Police Force of Punjab has to be preserved and, therefore, the Government must go out of the way and the state Government must go out of the way to see that the morale of the Police is not disturbed. Tomorrow, for instance, if the terrorists attack some religious congregation or they attack some Gurudwara or they attack the Akali Dal office and or they try to burn some Akali Dal records and if at that time the Police force are forced to resort to firing and as a result of that somebody dies and then if we come out with a statement bothway—on the one side we say that a strong attitude on law and order must be taken and if the Barnala Government takes a firm action, we also condemn the firing and demand a judicial inquiry,

18.00 hrs.

in that case the morale of the police can never be maintained. Therefore, we have to ensure—we, on the Opposition side and those who are sitting there, because they are also the Opposition Party in the State of Punjab, and all of us here, the Ruling Party at the Centre and the Opposition here, both of us are Opposition Party in Punjab—and we should not feel tempted to put the Barnala Government in a corner like condemning some of the police action. We demand judicial enquiry. That will create the problem.

Lastly, there must be coordination between para-military forces and the State police force. Even during the riots we have seen during the communal riots we have seen that when CRPF forces are inducted there and the State police forces are there, sometimes as a result of clashes, a tense situation is created. Minorities are loyal

to one type of forces; the majorities are loyal to another type of forces, as a result of which complication takes place. Therefore, some sort of combination must be there. I will end my speech by making a concrete suggestion. We must see to it that in bringing about law and order situation with the help of the Opposition Parties and the Ruling Party, we should try to help the Akali leadership in ensuring—though it is their internal problem, we should give them fraternal assistance. Leaving aside those who are not extremists, they are dissatisfied due to some reasons. They may be men like Mr. Badal, I may differ with Mr. Tora. But Tora are men like Mr. Tora and there is the Chief Minister of Punjab. They must be brought together. The tension between them must be removed and they must be told—Mr. Tora, Mr. Badal, Mr. Barnala : if you do not hang together, the terrorists are likely to hang you separately. Therefore, in the interest of Punjab and in the interest of Unity and integrity of India, you must close up your ranks and come together. Only two divisions are in Punjab—those terrorists who are threatening the unity and integrity of India in Punjab they are on the one side and those who stand unflinchingly for unity and integrity of the country, they must be on the other side. Such a broad-based united efforts must be there.

I have not the least doubt that in this country we inherited certain values during freedom struggle led by men like Mahatma Gandhi and still I think there is no erosion of the values to the extent that nationalism get destroyed or destructed and therefore in the name of all the values for which we have stood in the freedom-struggle days, we will have to evolve a broader unity of all the forces there in Punjab and to see that anarchy, chaos and terrorism is thwarted and unity and integrity is ensured.

**SHRI ARJUN SINGH (South Delhi) :**

The main speech of Professor Dandavate for unity of purpose and action and broad coalition of national forces to combat the menace that we face in Punjab is very welcome. The hon. speaker himself has set the tone for discussion and we are grateful to him for that. I would only like to take the House a little into the past. Well, I would like to make it clear, it is not my intention to trade any political polemics

because the occasion does not demand it. I am going into the past with only one intention so that we are able to feel apprehensive about the dimensions and the danger that this nation is facing. It has been our proud privilege that this august House on numerous occasions where our national polity was threatened from within or without, stood up solidly as a single member and faced and overcame it. Therefore, I consider it my duty to say that what we are witnessing in Punjab is not the off-shoot of any one incident or one policy-statement or one single event which may have happened here and there what we are witnessing in Punjab today is the execution of a grand design for the destabilisation of India. What we see in Punjab today is a plan which has been put into operation, which has as its objective the destruction of those values, those principles, for which our democracy stands. This effort did not start six months ago, seven months ago, one year ago or two years ago. Many senior Members in this House who are much more experienced would bear a testimony to this, I have seen that this concerted attempt started in 1960 with great intensity.

Sometimes in recent past, though it is a part of the history, escapes are noticed and we come to learn lessons from it only decades later when we ourselves have passed into history.

Sir, our late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi fully realised the dimension of this threat. She made every effort to educate the nation about the dimension of this threat and at the same time she made every effort that within the country differences of opinions of perception, of problems, events are reconciled, so that any irritant that there may exist would be taken care of within the system that this country has adopted for itself.

As I said, I would not like to go into political issues; but the fact remains that inspite of our effort, inspite of our consistent endeavour on this account, certain forces who are fuelling this design were able almost to take great and valiant people of Punjab to the edge of secession from this country. We should not minimise what actually the country was saved from. I know the actions taken were extreme, the actions

[Shri Arjun Singh]

taken were unpleasant, but when a nation is threatened, when its sanctity is threatened, when the values which we cherish, which are sacrosanct to us, are threatened, every action that a nation takes is justified and I know what a great anguish we had when our great leader sacrificed even her life.

After her assassination, in the aftermath of a great tragedy, in the agonising moments which this nation went through, the mantle fell on our young Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. It is very easy to be wise after the event. Sometimes it is very easy to give advice also. But if we are to visualise what he faced in Punjab when he assumed the prime ministership of this country, let us not forget that the great emotional trauma which the nation had gone through, which he personally had gone through could not have been totally absent from his mind. Yet he made the commitment after receiving the mandate of the people that one of the first priorities he had was the solution of Punjab problem. I am saying this, so that this august House places on record certain events which go into the labyrinth of history and perhaps whose true import is missed by us when we are witnessing history. I would like to say that the compassionate manner and the way he approached the whole problem, in the manner he put across his own intentions built those bridges of trust and faith, which alone in democracy are viable. That is the reason why the accord with Sant Longowal was signed.

It had been my humble privilege, Sir, to witness these events unfold, and I can say that there have been very few moments in the history of our nation, where such a compact of faith and trust was attempted and consummated with so much dedication and so much commitment. The courage which late Sant Longowal displayed is a courage which is very rare, and much less rare, in people who have practically spent a life-time in confronting the system of the party, or the person with whom they at one time in national interest are prepared to sit down and write a moment in history, which can be said a turning point in the history of nations in our sub-continent.

Having said all that, it is certainly topical to know how and where did we

go wrong? I know there are voices and not only the extremists, Mr. Deputy Speaker, who would like us to believe that the accord was a great mistake; who would like to say that the attempt was a futile one. I know perhaps at this moment this need not have been said, but I am saying this because as Prof. Madhu Dandavate has said—other Members who spoke have said—we want to create a climate where partisanship, where inhibitions, where lack of faith and trust no longer have any relevance. So I want to say that inspite of these voices, there is nothing better that the Prime Minister could have done to regain the faith of the people of Punjab, and to promise them a future which was very much what they deserved.

The elections were held. I am very glad to note here, and I would like to express my admiration for what Prof. Dandavate said, when he recalled his own opposition to the holding of the elections. What the Prime Minister said at that time was that in this elections it is not which party wins or loses. The question is whether India wins or India loses; whether Indian democracy wins or loses and events proved beyond a shadow of doubt...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Even those of us who were opposed to holding elections early we said if the elections are held we will fully participate in that.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH : I am sorry for not mentioning that part of your statement. Kindly excuse me. But I have taken the spirit in which you have said which, I think, is much important. I might have missed a word here and there.

Sir, in the elections all the apprehensions that had been raised were belied and I may tell you no one should take credit for that as if it was the sole achievement of any administration because no administration in this country can replace the inspiration of the people. It is they who realised that they had an opportunity where they could put behind years of fruitless and senseless violence and demonstrate that in this country there are democratic options which people can take when the time comes. And it was this option which people of Punjab exercised freely and elected a Government of their choice. Power is vested in every Government

according to our Constitution and naturally it flowed into the hands of the Akali Dal, which secured the majority of seats in those elections. I would only say at this juncture, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that perhaps at that juncture a certain complacency crept in, not only on the part of victors, but perhaps also on the part of common citizens in Punjab. But the design had been foiled by the will of the people and those who are defeated temporarily are only whiling away their time. We have witnessed since November and December, more so in December, the recurrence of violence, the attempt to subvert the peaceful life of the State, and here I must say that whatever be the other circumstances, no Government worth the name has the right to say that maintaining law and order and peace in the State is contingent on anything else. The accord has been referred to, as if there is doubt whether it would be implemented or not. This House knows that out of the 11 items in the Accord, 9 have been implemented as Prof. Madhu Dandavate himself was referring to. The other two are also in the process of being implemented. Only two days ago, the Beas-Sutlej River Water Disputes Amendment Bill, was passed, which is an effort to implement another point of the Accord, that is, the Inter-State sharing of water, and I am sure the Commission that will be established under this new Act, would certainly make a very conscientious review of the whole situation and adjudicate fairly to everyone concerned.

So, far as the question of transfer of Chandigarh is concerned, the Home Minister and the hon. Prime Minister have been making repeated attempts to get some kind of bilateral agreement on that, so that by mutual consent we could adopt a method where the aspirations of both Punjab regarding Chandigarh and Haryana regarding territory could be satisfied. The time comes when the Prime Minister feels that the accord can no longer be pursued, I am sure he will take the right step. About this, we are not in doubt, this House will not be in doubt and I would like to say that nobody in Punjab will be in doubt, about the total commitment of the Prime Minister to the implementation of the Accord (*Interruptions*).

So far as the escalating violence is concerned, there is a problem. It is not a

problem of the balance of terror and I would like to say that while the State uses terror at moments to subdue totally anti-national forces, which is very well justified, the democracy has to accept that there is limit to the use of force. There cannot be unrestricted, unlimited use of force in a democratic system and, therefore, all those factors which may be affecting certain section of the people, whether it is the youth the unemployed, the people of Punjab in their daily lives, in their daily vocations, in their economic activities have not been lost sight of. One of the biggest dams in that area, the Thein Dam, which was in the doldrums for nearly 15-17 years, was brought to a stage where the Prime Minister laid the foundation and a commitment has been made that this dam will be completed within six years, whereas it would have normally taken nine years.

There have been efforts to provide gainful employment through setting up of factories; there has been an effort on the agricultural front by the Government of India to give the farmers better dispensation by way of better prices for their produce; there has been an effort on every front to see that the people of Punjab feel that this nation and this Government care for them as well and as much as it cares for any other State, for any people of any State. That has to be pursued vigorously, but that cannot be an alibi for escalating violence that we see in Punjab.

We paid a visit to Punjab a few days ago and I must say that something which was never witnessed before in Punjab, we did have a very painful look at. It is easy to sermonize, it is sometimes easy to rationalise, but when emotions are involved, it is always prudent to sympathise, and in that sympathy shall flow out the concern of every corner of this House, which will be evident by the collective opinion of this House, the feeling that the people of Punjab should get our sympathies, our help and that we share their anguish, wherever they may be beleaguered by violence or intolerance. I am sure, it shall have a very soothing effect on the people of that State. I would suggest that immediately this discussion is finished, a certain plan must be made out where every section of the House, by direct participation, enables the

[Shri Arjun Singh]

people of Punjab to feel that the collective will of Parliament which is represented here is in the vanguard of their protection and this House which represents the national will see that divisions which are sought to be made between brother and brother, the effort that is a foot to destroy the credibility of our democratic national institutions are met boldly and I am sure, they shall be met successfully.

I would not like to take much of your time and would only in the end say this much. This is a time, in my opinion, and I am sure, in the view of every hon. Member of this House, for the Indian democracy to close ranks; it is time when the Indian democracy has to demonstrate, and all of us, who are votaries, to demonstrate, through personal conduct, that it is not only lip service that we pay, but that we are prepared to meet the ultimate sacrifice if need be, so that democracy in this country survives, so that the national will is able to thwart and defeat the grand designs of destabilization which has been set afoot by certain powers and certain elements.

I was amazed by the conduct of certain big powers, who would not hesitate to take the world to the brink of a World War in an apparent attempt to counter international terrorism, but would grandly shut their eyes to the growth of terrorists in their own State directed against another nation.

18.25 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Is this kind of thing to be allowed? Or are we to stand up and say that we should not and shall not any longer suffer this kind of a thing? Anybody who has the good of India at heart will have to demonstrate that India is indivisible. India is proud and India shall march forward with her head high, defeating all the enemies. We shall see that there is proper dispensation of justice to the people of this country, and our commitments to the future generations of this country are met in such a manner that they would not say that there was a time, there was an occasion, when this threat came, people in their narrow

view or in their effort to score a point here and there failed to rise to the occasion in saving the Indian nation. I am sure today this debate set the tone for all of us to go in that direction and I am sure that this will put the problem of the Punjab in the correct perspective and give to that strife-torn State a dispensation of new hope and belief.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (*Gabli-chettipalayam*): The nation is now facing yet another grim crisis, within 16 months of the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Actually, Punjab is burning with extremists and terrorists and communal situation is explosive today. They are trying to divide the country emotionally and otherwise. It is also self-evident that the extremists and terrorists are determined to promote the Hindu-Sikh conflict. In this process, Pakistan is helping the unemployed Sikh youth by giving them training. Financially also, they are helping the Sikh youth. And I have come to know that Pakistan is helping the Khalistan Movement also in order to divide the country.

Sir, I say that tall structures cannot be erected on weak foundations. We know that fully well. So, the foundation should be strong. If the foundations were to be strong, we must be united first of all. Only when we are united, we can face any kind of terrorism and any amount of extremism. The terrorists and extremists have gone to the extent of aiming a shot at the Chief Minister, Shri Barnala. There was an attempt to kill him. When our hon. Chief Minister heard the news he sent a message condemning the violence, terrorism and extremism which are prevailing in the Punjab.

I will put forth another suggestion. The country needs an integrated solution to this very complicated issue. The situation in the Punjab today is an off-shoot of a series of blunders committed at different times at different levels in 'free for all' competitive politics. I put it to the hon. Prime Minister that he should take stern action in order to isolate the terrorists.

In some cases, petty criminals and dacoits have conveniently jumped into the band-wagon of terrorism. Smugglers and

manufacturers of illicit liquor are operating in the border areas with Pakistan, under the new label terrorism, taking full advantage of the situation prevailing in the Punjab. Even the narcotic smuggling is going on and a large section of unemployed youth are finding terrorism both adventurous and profitable. That is the main thing. The Punjab situation is getting from bad to worse. At this juncture, on behalf of the All India Anna DMK, we give the fullest cooperation to the Chief Minister of Punjab to fight terrorism and extremism and to isolate those people from this country.

[Translation]

**THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (S. BUTA SINGH):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion in the House today centres on the present situation in the country and lays special emphasis on the acts of terrorism and violence which are being committed in order to destroy the peace and harmony of our nation. The House is taking a serious note of the situation. This House and the nation is grateful to you for initiating this discussion and showing direction to the hon. Members, because of which the level of today's debate has risen to the national level and there have been no political recriminations. All the hon. Members, whether they belong to the Opposition or this side, have laid emphasis on the unity, integrity, brotherhood and amity among the people of the entire country. This has to be so, because of the upheaval that Punjab has been witnessing for the past three or four years and the mayhem taking place there which do not fit in with the history of the State.

Punjab is the 'Gateway' to India. Our National Anthem begins with the name of this province—"Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravida, Utkala, Banga". This State is so important that it can form the subject of discussion in the entire country. Yet in this State such abhorrent and barbaric incidents are taking place. The perpetrators of these demoniacal activities have no regard for any religion, moral values or human values. Innocent people, who have no links with any political party or any other clique are being murdered mercilessly. When we read about these killings in the newspapers, we are filled with shame for a while, and wonder whether this

is the country about which Professor Puran Singh had said :

*Chote Vadde ranjhre de veer sare  
Punjab sara Jhunda hal Guru de sahare.*

He had said that all the people of Punjab, whether big or small, young or old, are the younger brothers of Ranjha and they look to only one 'Guru' for sustenance. This means that the people of Punjab have the feeling of making sacrifices for each other. The teachings of Guru Nanak Dev not only inculcated the feelings of sacrifice in the minds of his followers but also made no discrimination between a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh.

Dr. Iqbal has written some beautiful lines on Guru Nanak Dev :

*Aa gayee shame hakiki phir mijaze  
rang men  
Vusten palda lagin hone jahane  
tang men.*

With the advent of Guru Nanak Dev it appeared that the narrowminded world had gained in dimension, because his mission was the mission of true love. He had love for the entire humanity. The religion initiated by Guru Nanak Dev, known as the Sikh religion, is being associated with terrorism. The Sikhs are being condemned as terrorists, and are portrayed as anti-national forces in the newspapers published from within the country and abroad. When we read such news items we remember the teachings of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Govind Singh which always preached love.

*Sanch Kahun sun lehu sabhi  
jin prem kiyo  
Tinh prabhu payo.*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the heinous crimes being perpetrated in Punjab in the name of Sikh religion are destroying human and moral values. These terrorists who are playing with the religious sentiments of the Sikhs are miles away not only from human values but also from the Sikh religion and from its sacred tenets. They have no relationship with Sikh faith. There is no place for violence in the teaching of Guru Nanak.

India is now passing through a phase when she is trying to make a place in the

[S. Buta Singh]

international field. A country which was in shackles and a colony thirty to thirty five years ago, is a strong and self-sufficient nation today. Our agricultural development is a matter of discussion for the world today. The developed nations want to know the secret of our rapid progress. Today, India is not only feeding her own population but also those who are facing shortage or near-famine conditions. When some parts of Africa are famine-stricken, our Prime Minister sends foodgrains produced by our farmers to help those countries. The countries in the world are feeling sore over the prosperity of India. So, many rival nations are making all possible efforts to create trouble for India, particularly in her border States like Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Eastern States like Tripura and Mizoram. What do these prove ?

It proves that Punjab is being converted into a base by such foreign powers, from where anti-national activities can be spread to balkanise our country. The unfortunate part of it is that part of India and a section of the nation is being used as tool which held a place of pride in the country for their significant contribution to the freedom struggle.

I recall the history of the Akali movement. Akali movement was inspired by the feelings of patriotism. It contributed significantly in the crusade of Indian people against the British rulers. During that phase, another movement made itself felt. This was the Babbar Akali group which was active during 1923-24. This movement had very pious intentions but it took to the path of terrorism.

Sir, even during that period, the S.G.P.C. and the Akali Dal, had only passed a resolution against the Babbar Akali group but had also warned them. The book that I am presently holding in my hand is written by Giani Pratab Singh who was a Jathedar of our Akal Takht and was killed by the terrorists. In this published document he has written that in 1923-24, the Shromani Akali Dal and the Shromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee had warned the respective district units not to cooperate with the Babbar Akali faction. The Akali Dal clearly stated that although the motives of

the Babbar Akali movement were pious, yet the means that they had adopted could not be justified. In spite of the fact that this extremist group only killed those who gave evidence against the nationalists and freedom fighters and gave information regarding their whereabouts, yet the Akali party and the SGPC never accepted it. They felt that violence was against the very principles of Sikhism. In other words, Sikhism does not preach violence. Guru Nanak Dev had said that those who indulged in violence were destined to go to hell. Nanak preached that a terrorist had no place in human society, he fails to find a place not only in the mortal world but also beyond that. How can these people call themselves Sikhs and spread violence in the name of Guru Nanak Dev when the founder had himself said that there was no place for violence in his teachings, in his propagation of the Sikh faith. Even during that period, the Akali Dal and the SGPC had issued warnings to its district units against helping such elements. Will the present Shiromani Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee learn a lesson from it? I am not saying this with any feeling of rancour but we feel sorry and sad on account of the conditions prevailing in Punjab for the last 3 to 4 months.

During elections in Punjab in September, the leader of the nation, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had given a message to the nation about which a reference has been made by Shri Arjun Singh also. I would like to quote a small portion of the text. It clearly shows how deeply he reels about the people of Punjab and how much confidence he has in them. He was asked why he was holding elections in Punjab because it would be harmful to him. He had replied :

[*English*]

"Either all the political parties unitedly face the challenge of terrorism by strengthening the democratic process or they succumb to the threat of terrorism and extremism in Punjab. All else is secondary. How individual parties fare is of little consequence. It does not matter who wins or who loses. What matters is that the lamp of democracy is not extinguished. What matters is that India wins."

**[Translation]**

When the Prime Minister said these words, the unity and the very existence of India was question. It is a matter of happiness that the people of Punjab who had been crushed under extremist activities for the last 3 to 4 years formed a Government with one voice and this was done not by Sikhs alone but by all those who lived in Punjab.

Just now Prof. Dandavate said that Shri Badal, Shri Tohra and Shri Barnala should have remained united. It is an internal matter of their party. We cannot comment upon that. That was their business. But one thing is certain that Sant Longowal while reaching the Accord with Shri Rajiv had the same feeling which the Prime Minister had referred to in his statement. Certain elements opposed the Accord from within the Akali Party. Sant Longowal was not only the president of the Akali Party, but was also the dictator of the Party. The Party had conceded it. At that time there was neither any working committee nor any district unit, he was all in all. The top leaders of the Akali Party had questioned his authority to reach the Accord. This means there was no unanimity in the Party at that time. If the Party was not unanimous then it was the duty of his successor to see that either the opponents of the Accord were brought in line with his thinking or those people should have been isolated and singled out who had openly opposed the Accord so that the Punjab Government could undertake the work of rebuilding Punjab with full authority. What happened was just the opposite. It was the internal matter of their Party and we are not aware how they resolved the issue but tickets were given to the people holding divergent views and a Government was formed. The Government should have been invested with full authority with full support from the party. The Government in Punjab was manned by those who controlled SGPC also. In such a situation this duly constituted Government should have taken steps to provide succour to the people and to assuage the hurt feelings of the people instead of passing resolution in the Shiromani Committee to demolish the Akal Takht. It is their internal matter in which no one is going to intervene. They could have demolished it

at their will but there should be some process for it so that it creates unity, peace and amity among the people. After that they could have done whatever they wanted.

**[English]**

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI : Why do you go into all that ?

S. BUTA SINGH : Then should I sit down ? We must at least see some of the reasons why this thing is continuing.

**[Translation]**

They should have created such type of atmosphere. After that they would have been all in all. Who would have stopped SGPC and according to my information the Punjab Government had advised that they should go slow but no need was paid to that.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala) : Sardarji, you may tell us what you should have done.

S. BUTA SINGH : What we should have done is known to the entire world. From the beginning I have been of the view that no Indian is more loyal than a Sikh. I am of the view that the Sikhs, in comparison with their brethren, have always been in the lead whether in the freedom struggle of the country or contributing to the development of the nation...

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars) : You can say, they are second to none.

S. BUTA SINGH : They are second to none and whatever I have done was inspired by the feeling of service alone. But I am sorry that my brethren have done everything in the name of religion. Had they done in the name of politics I would have no reason to mind it as it is the right of everyone to participate in politics but they involved such innocent people who were totally ignorant of the politicking in Punjab. The people sitting in other States were not aware of the type of politics in vogue in Punjab. Those innocent people got involved in this nefarious design because of their respect in the Sikh faith which consequently brought them miseries and all the parties of the entire country

[S. Buta Singh]

including the Akali Party are now trying to combat the situation thus created. What I intend to say is that we should have created such conditions in Punjab as would have been helpful to the Punjab Government and the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee in solving the internal problems of Punjab. They were capable of doing this. They had no rivals. But this was not done because of which the insurgents, extremists, anti-national elements and the enemies of the country got encouraged. That is what I want to say. The SGPC and the Punjab Government should have isolated such elements instead of allowing them to hold meetings. The result is that the entire complex is under their control and it is well known that these are the elements who created difficulties, be it the murder of Sant Longowal or other extremist activities. Knowing all these things, such elements were allowed to go on with their activities. I am against this. The Punjab Government and the Akali leadership should have understood this. To bring home this idea to you, it was not necessary that a serious happening should take place such as firing at Anandpur Saheb when you were holding a conference there. It should have been clear to you that when you had taken the responsibility of building the future of Punjab, you could have taken any step necessary in this direction and you should have isolated these elements. I am of the view that these elements can be in any State. The worst thing in terrorism is that you cannot tackle them with bullets. They have to be isolated by the countrymen.

After all what is the matter? It is the same Punjab where during war with Pakistan not even a single infiltrator from Pakistan, who were air dropped into our territory, could escape. The people of Punjab had caught each of them and had lynched them. What the people of Punjab fail to understand is that today those very Pakistani infiltrators who failed in their mission at that time are now misleading the people of Punjab by offering them money and arms to achieve their nefarious designs. At that time the people of Punjab had apprehended those infiltrators and had beaten them up severally with the result that not a single infiltrator could indulge in any nefarious activity in Punjab. Today the people of Punjab are the same. Then why is there change of attitude

now? Why are the terrorists getting support, shelter and places to hide now? They are supplied with all sorts of material help. I would say the maximum responsibility is that at the Akali leadership because they are ruling Punjab. They should, therefore, take firm action. Shri Arjun Singh also said that he was sad to see the feeling of communalism in Punjab. This atmosphere has been prevailing in Punjab since 1980 but such a thing had never happened before, not even when the 'Morcha' was launched. Many minor incidents took place during the 'Morcha' but Hindu-Sikh riots never took place. The extremists and the enemies of the country have opened a new front and that is to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Sikhs. But I know that the people of Punjab are tolerant and they will not be trapped in such a plot. As I said at the very outset, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims have faith in the 'Guru' and all pay equal respect to the 'Guru Vani'. Therefore, their plan is not going to succeed in Punjab. This new plot of making Hindus and Sikhs fight with each other is not going to succeed there. Who will forget that at the time of martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur it were the two Hindus—Bhai Matidas and Bhai Satidas—who laid down their lives with the Guru. Then how can this happen? Therefore, I believe that in Punjab, peace, unity, feeling of mutual trust and of sacrifice for each other are in existence because of 'Guru Vani'. This world can come to an end but not the 'Guru Vani'. Therefore, I am fully confident that the people of Punjab who have a glorious past will remain in the lead. In the field of agriculture also, in which I am serving presently, the farmers of the Punjab have made notable contribution during the last 4 to 5 years. The Punjab farmer is leading in the matter of producing foodgrains. We have given him full support—be it the matter of payment of special bonus or spraying his crops or controlling the floods. Our Prime Minister has always provided liberal assistance in all these matters. All these things prove that the people of Punjab are always ready to defend the country as they love their country and its unity. No enemy of the country can weaken the people of Punjab.

I, therefore, appeal to the ruling party of Punjab, the Akali Dal, to look at its history and the achievements made in connection with the unity and freedom of

the country and serve Punjab the way our respected Gurus, Martyrs and patriots served it. The Prime Minister is taking along with him all the big political parties of the country in this House and has inspired all of us. It is, therefore, the duty of all the hon. Members and all the political parties to make Punjab strong because if Punjab is weakened the country will be weakened. The question is, therefore, not confined to Punjab alone. And as Shri Arun Nehru has said, the Centre will extend all possible help to the people of Punjab. Just now I had mentioned about the agriculture. I would say that for the development of Punjab, for its integrity and unity and for its future, the Centre has always been and will always be helping Punjab. Punjab will always earn sympathy and help from the Centre and I am quite hopeful that the way the hon. Members have unanimously expressed concern over Punjab and its integrity, the people of Punjab to will, as has been their history, keep up the tradition of unity, love and affection.

**SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV** (Varanasi): Mr. Speaker, Sir the whole country is concerned over the unabated terrorism and extremism in Punjab. When The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi took courage and signed an Accord with Sant Longowal, it was hoped that it would pave way for the elections and that an elected Government in Punjab would take over. He accepted a number of demands put forward by the Akalis. It was hoped that with the signing of the Accord, peace would return to Punjab. But, the way Sant Longowal was assassinated soon after that, it was clear that terrorism has not yet been stamped out; it has very deep roots. The recent elections in Punjab have shown that the people are opposed to terrorism. The elections also made it clear that the masses of Punjab are opposed to such politics. They are opposed to all such elements who want to encourage terrorism and extremism.

▲ number of hon. Members including Shri Arjun Singh who was the then Governor of Punjab have expressed their views in the House on this issue and have said that since the formation of the new Government in Punjab, almost all of the eleven clauses of the Accord have since been implemented. If two clauses have not been

implemented, it was not because of any lack of will on the part of the Government of India or the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi for that matter. He tried his best to see that their conditions are met, but due to some reasons, these could not be fulfilled. One of these conditions was the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and some Hindi speaking areas of Punjab to Haryana. The Commission that was set up for this purpose failed to reach any conclusion. But, thereafter, some developments have taken place in Haryana to which Prof. Dandavate has just now referred. I think, the responsibility for creating such an atmosphere in Haryana today goes to the opposition parties. The way one of the parties organised 'Samast Haryana' and tried to flare up the sentiments, raises an apprehension that Haryana has got reservations on the implementation of the Accord, although the Prime Minister has assured that he will fully safeguard the interests of Haryana and Rajasthan. I think, this assurance should suffice. Recently, an amendment was accepted by the Centre on the question of sharing of river waters. But, if at all, there is any weakness in that Accord, it is on the part of Punjab Government which does not seem to be eager to implement the Accord. If the Accord is to be implemented, it has to be implemented in full. The Punjab Government is not paying any attention to the construction of SYL Canal which forms part of the Accord so far as it applies to the river water dispute. They must pay attention to it.

Sir, the responsibility for restoration of peace in Punjab and stamping out of terrorism is clearly on the Punjab Government. Therefore, the Government of Punjab is free to adopt any method to root it out. I agree with S. Buta Singh that the whole country is greatly concerned that the Punjab Government is not meeting the threat of terrorism and extremism as firmly as was expected of it. It is showing slackness. The way the extremists were allowed to enter the Gurudwaras and seize control, the way Regis are wondering singing songs in the villages and the way the terrorists are roaming free and the police is not taking action against them; these are the things the responsibility for which lies with the Punjab Government. On its part, the Central Government are extending full cooperation

[Shri Shyam Lal Yadav]

to the State Government, the details in respect of which have just been given to the House by the Minister of State for Home Affairs. We appreciate their efforts. The Central Government are doing everything they can do, whether it is the question of providing resources in the form of Para-Military Forces or in the form of material or in the form of providing information. They are providing all such assistance. But it is for the Punjab Government to utilise these resources to expose and to isolate the terrorists. On the one hand, the States demand more powers and on the other, they shirk their responsibilities. I think the Government of Punjab should not use laxity in this matter.

One more point I want to mention here. It has been said, and the Chief Minister of Punjab has also admitted it, that the foreign powers are harbouring the terrorists and are imparting training to the extremists and thus are helping them to sneak into the country. I do not understand why the Punjab Government does not stop the infiltration of the extremists? Do they not have enough power to stop the infiltration of the extremists from Pakistan into the country? This is now the politics the world over that each country wants to take advantage of the weaknesses of the other country. They consider it their right to weaken their adversary through underhand means. Secret agencies are engaged in such activities the world over and it is our responsibility to counter them and to check their activities. Therefore, I would like to impress upon, especially the Government of India to take all steps to seal the border with Pakistan in such a way that not a single person is able to infiltrate into the country. They should pay whatever price is required to be paid for this purpose. It is not going to help registering protests with Pakistan and condemning imperialism, as many of my friends have been doing. We have to be on our own to protest ourselves and to meet this threat. If we cannot do it, it is no use merely blaming them. There is one more point which I want to make. Those who are involved in terrorist activities should be tackled on two fronts. One should be the political front. This is to be done in the same way as canvassing was done from village to village during the

elections and public opinion moulded in its favour. The public opinion should be moulded against them and a climate in the entire State should be created whereby whoever comes across a terrorist should come forward to extend his cooperation in tracking him down. On the other front, terrorism can be tackled through force. I do not agree that this cannot be done. When extremism and naxalism was growing in Bengal, the man who has now been appointed Governor of Punjab suppressed it through force and by arousing public opinion against it. If you loose heart, the terrorists will become dominant. I hope, force in full measure will be used in putting down terrorism.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :  
There is a ray of hope.

AN HON. MEMBER : For Khalistanis ?

[Translation]

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : If Khalistanis continue to raise their heads like this, they will have to be put down with a heavy hand and the public opinion will have to be mobilised against them. I am hopeful and so is the entire country that the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi will succeed in this endeavour. We are against any move to remove the present Government there. The Prime Minister has the power and capability and he is giving assistance to the Punjab Government but I would say that he will have to impress upon them and persuade them to come forward to counter the threat posed by the terrorists at political level as well as at social level and use force if need be.

Now I come to my last point. An hon. Member has said that Punjab is facing the problem of unemployment. But I would say that the problem of Punjab is its prosperity. Today, Punjab tops in income in the country. No other State has so much production and employment potential as in Punjab. The people of no other State earn so much in foreign countries as the Punjabis. Therefore, prosperity is proving to be a curse for Punjab. I am of the view

that mixing of religion with politics is the by product of the prosperity of the State. Therefore, steps should be taken to carry the country forward keeping in view this prosperity. They should also refresh their memories about the history of Punjab which is still eulogized. Punjab has no labour force of its own, it is the people from other States who come and work for them.

With these words, I hope the Prime Minister will succeed in eliminating terrorism from Punjab with the same courage and boldness with which he had signed the Punjab Accord and the whole country will be with him in this endeavour.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing, in all seriousness, a very big challenge of history—growing threat of terrorism—which the country is facing today. Not only that, the eyes of the entire nation are riveted on this House to see as to what attitude is adopted by the Members of this House in the historic moments of the country.

The history of the Akali Dal bears ample testimony that Akali Dal has always stood for non-violence, discipline and patriotism at the cost of the greatest sacrifice. That was why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru courted arrest while participating in the Akali Dal Morcha; during his tenure as the President of Congress Party, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya had recorded in the history that every family should have a Sikh to sacrifice his life for the country. Similarly, in 1920 and 1922-23, Maulana Azad and Pattabhi Sitaramaiah had enlised our cotribution towards the attainment of independence after facing great sufferings. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi had sent a telegram to us. That telegram has perhaps, been burnt. That telegram was there in the records of the Akali Dal. He had writted therein that the Gurudwara movement was a good augury for the independence of the country. This is what Mahatma Gandhi had said.

Therefore, I think, the present Akali Dal Government is serving in Punjab with the legacy of Guru Gobind Singhji Maharaj, Guru Nanakji Maharaj, Lord Krishna, Lord Rama, the Ganga, the Jamuna and the

sacred culture of India. All the leaders, M.Ps, who spoke here praised the sincerity, loyalty and wisdom of the Akali Dal. We might be having some compulsions ...(*Interruptions*)...We might be having some shortcomings.

Sir, I was saying that the problem in which all of us are entangled had its beginning in 1980. We tried our level best to solve this problem. I may tell you that you might have seen something happening in a praticular city, but we have seen those times also when the entire Punjab was under curfew, the entire communication system had come to a grinding halt. Even the villages were under curfew. There was no movement of any sort, not even of rickshaw and bicycles. The Punjab was handed over to the Army. But the malady aggravated with successive remedies. Why did it happen? We have to ponder over this aspect also.

I may tell you that the unity and integrity of the country is as much dear to us to any other person and even to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is present here and I would like to make one submission before you. Whenever any Member of our Party participates in the discussion here, he tries to see that each word uttered by him should be so clear as may not have a different connotation. We take care of that.

When "Operation Bluestar" took place, I was also inside the Golden Temple. On 5th June, I was sitting by the side of Sant Longowalji at 6.00 p.m. At that time, three persons armed with self-loading rifles intruded into the room of Sant Longowalji. The fact that I was present there with Shri Longowalji has never come to light. The intruders had a small transistor-like machine with them and they said to Longowalji, "Santji, declare Khalistan, the Indian army has committed aggression." I can recall the atmosphere prevalent at that time when firing was going on, bombs were being hurled, the communication system had snapped, when none was there except us. But I appreciate Santji. Sant Longowal said, "You can shoot me but I shall not make a declaration of Khalistan." Even at that time, he had said so. I was witness to that since I was present there. They could have

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

done anything to us at that time. Therefore, I want to tell my countrymen that even the last drop of our blood is and shall remain for the unity of the country. At the same time I would also say, as Shri Arjun Singh has also said, that excessive use of force, perhaps, is not the remedy. Now I want to say that some aspects are not coming to light, there are some good aspects also. There are 12,800 villages in Punjab, out of which 11,000 villages have 90 per cent Sikh population. The villages are situated at a distance of 10 kilometres from the cities, but there is no communal tension in those villages even today. Shri Arun Nehruji might be having data with him. Our Hindu brothers have their shops in each village, 7 to 10 small shops are there in each village, but the villagers never attack anybody. Attacks are the handiwork of the organised people who escape after making an attack, but I do not know why all this is happening in the cities where Sikhs are in minority. It has to be looked into. I do not take guarantee for everything, but we shall have to see why the disturbances take place only in those places where Hindus are in majority. I would also like to say that we should also see what the extremists want. Our party sometimes do intervene to find out what exactly the extremists want. Extremists want this country to break up. They want that the design of a neighbouring country, which is not friendly with us, to take a revenge comes true. Extremists want the Barnala Government to fall and the issue of Sikh *versus* India to come up and the people of India should understand it and thereby they could say that the conflict was between the Sikhs and the Hindu Government. These are their words and not mine. This is what they want. That is why I want that we should take every step and every decision very cautiously lest they should take advantage of a word uttered by us and achieve their objective and thus we may play into their hands. Therefore, I want to submit that the common man wants that there should be peace. The killings of innocent people in Punjab are a blot on the country. But they have caught hold of some talking points which they are making use of. The riots which took place in Delhi are also a blot on the country, but we should set the record straight. They have got these talking points. The extremists,

while speaking from big Dlwans and in the meetings, say that the killings taking place in Punjab are being condemned in Parliament, but why the killings in Delhi were not condemned in Parliament. If those killings were not condemned we should see to it.

MR. SPEAKER : They were always condemned.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : They have always been condemned and condemned strongly. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : All right, if they had been condemned, homage might not have been paid, it might have been lost sight of. But they do make use of it. I do not mean any dishonesty on anybody's part.

MR. SPEAKER : Bad deeds are always bad. Ramoowaliaji, bad deed is, of course, bad, whosoever is affected by that, whether it is done to us or to our brothers. It should not be done to anybody. It should always be condemned.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : Condemnation is all right. Now, in conclusion, I want to say what is to be done further. The country feels and naturally much is being said about it that it is the responsibility of the Akali Dal within as well as without the country. But, what is to be done now. These two to three points I would like to submit in 3 to 4 minutes. The foremost thing is that the political leaders should not make irresponsible and provocative statements. When a political leader speaks, it is covered by Radio, Television and newspapers. One of my Friends—I would not refer to his name because he is a very big leader and a nice man from one of our States—has said this. It is not my intention to hurt anybody's feelings.

[*English*]

Haryana has firmly and categorically told the Centre that Chandigarh will not be allowed to be transferred to Punjab unless Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab are transferred to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh and Ravi-Beas water actually starts flowing in the SYL.

[*Translation*]

Is it there in the Accord that Chandigarh would be transferred only when the water starts flowing? That is why I say that by the big people some discipline... (*Interruptions*) I shall not say further. I want to make a submission that an impression has gained ground among the Sikhs that they are being painted wrongly. I am speaking with an open mind. If a hundred fools have joined hands, formed four gangs and are indulging in killings by procuring something from foreign countries and 99.9 per cent Sikhs are very much pained over what is happening, then you should not paint all wrongly.

MR. SPEAKER : It is not so.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : What I am saying is that a remedy should be found out. I am not blaming anybody. I am rather grateful to the Centre because Shri Arun Nehru and Shri Arjun Singh visited Punjab in all seriousness. The extremists were jubilant that they had attained their objective because two persons were coming and that Barnala Government would fall. They went there and said that that was a national problem and that we had to extend our support. The Opposition and the entire country extended their support. I am not blaming anybody... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : They are also in the Opposition in Punjab.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : The Sikhs should not be painted wrongly. Through you, Sir, I want to tell the Hon. Prime Minister that there is an influx of Sikhs in the Punjab. Many of them have already gone there. Yes can say that we are inviting them. You can also say that we are giving them incentives. I want to say that there are some compulsions also. I am not speaking politically, I am saying this as a brother. Has even a single Chief Minister from the Congress ruled States so far gone to Chandigarh and asked the Sikhs who have migrated there to return to their homes? Nobody has done that; they should do so. Something must be done in this regard... (*Interruptions*) I can be wrong also. What happens is that a person goes there and settles in a village and

explains his bitter plight to everybody there. Therefore, something should be done about it. There are about 500 persons in Jodhpur Jail. ... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI ARUN NEHRU : I would just like to mention one point. The Punjab Government has also been giving advertisement. We have discussed about this that this practice should not be encouraged.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : I would like to point out that yesterday the Finance Minister gave a statement in Punjab that even if a single Hindu brother left Punjab, they would go to bring him back. I was talking about Jodhpur. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI SUKHBANS KAUR : Have you gone to bring those persons back who have left Punjab ?

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : If some people have left, then we shall go to bring them back. You should also declare that you would also do likewise... (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Both of them agree that nobody should leave and those who have left should be called back.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : If a ticket is given to somebody, it should be return ticket.

MR. SPEAKER : They may come to meet their relatives, but not to settle.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : The detenus in Jodhpur Jail include some women and employees of Shiromani Prabandhak Committee. Through you, Sir, I want to submit to the Prime Minister that he should get the matter looked into and if there is some case against them, they may be detained, but if there is no case, then something should be done about them because these innocent people and the employees of the Shiromani Prabandhak Committee had gone there to celebrate Guru-Parva on the martyrdom day

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia] of Guru Arjun Devji Maharaj and they were arrested there. You kindly look into their cases also because they had gone there as delegates. Similar is the case of Sikh soldiers who had deserted their barracks. Many of them have been released but somehow it should be brought on record as to how many of them have been released and the rest of them should also be released. I am saying this with all humility, because they have got many points of irritation. I sincerely say that the common Sikhs, other than political leaders—there is, of course, no scope for having any doubts about Sadhus and Saints—say about soldiers that they have done it for the sake of religion, why don't you get them amnesty. Extremists say that you have been cheated and that you will be cheated again. They want that the Accord should not succeed and we have repeatedly gone on record that the Accord should be made successful and we are saying this vehemently even today. Therefore, I want that you should act magnanimously and more expeditiously about the Sikh soldiers also. The Accord should be implemented, but something should be done about the foreign powers where our borders are loose and where some lacunae is there. Of course, Shri Arun Nehru has just now said that sufficient arrangements have been made, but still the people are coming from that side of the border. I have just read that six persons had crossed over from Rajasthan border: some people have crossed through Jammu and Kashmir border also... (*Interruptions*)... Even if they have been nabbed, they did cross over.

When the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh ended here... (*Interruptions*) I am putting forth my views before you, and how you take them it depends on you. I have already said that whatever you do, you should do it with an open mind. Of course, Morarji Desai Sahab, about whom it is said that he speaks quite grudgingly about Punjab, had also issued a statement, wherein he had said that there was a need to bring round these misguided youth through love and affection. I had also a chance to be there for a short period, but all of them are young blood, the old and experienced and wise people never indulge in such activities. They select only youth in the age group of 16 to 18 years and entrust

them with some task by whispering something in their ears. Now foreign powers are sending the youth here after entrusting them with a particular task, Pakistan entrusts them with a task and sends them telling them that such and such person has to be killed and such and such work has to be accomplished. All these things are being remedied and should be remedied with all the more vigour.

I would conclude after making a mention of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A stage of confusion had arisen following his death. The Britishers were very cunning whereas our Government need not at all act like that. The Britishers somehow brought the entire Sikh Community under their control. I do not want our present day Government to be that cunning. I would say that they are very serious and they should somehow adopt such methods as could win over the misguided youth. There must be a general amnesty, the reason being that all the extremists outside Punjab, *i.e.* in Delhi, Kanpur, Bokaro etc. want that the Sikhs should be victimised; they want that the shops belonging to the Sikhs should be burnt down. This is what was recently witnessed in Una, Ambala and Jagadhari. So their intention is that such things should happen. I would, therefore, like to appeal to the entire country that some arrangements should be made by Government whereby the people who indulged in hooliganism during riots in Delhi and who are even today roaming about and saying.....

[*English*]

SHRI ARUN NEHRU : I thought we had decided we will not go into all these aspects.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA : You may also look into the report that we have received from Dehradun which says that cases of murder have been registered against four Sikhs whose family members were killed. You should also look into it. I do not say anything with a view to blaming anybody, but you do see to it that no wrong is done. I, therefore, appeal to you in the end that you should extend to us help and support liberally, so that the Akali Dal could in all sincerity

discharge its responsibility in respect of the security and integrity of the country and could meet the challenge posed by terrorism.

[*English*]

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : (Hoshiapur) : Sir, it has been a miracle. You have been the saving grace, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : It is there all the time. Don't worry.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : This Monday I approached the Prime Minister and gave him a letter. He killed me with a smile but allowed me to give notice to you under Rule 193. That is how we have had this debate today. This is the strength in the House. Punjab is burning.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Don't look to them. You address me. You have to learn. You cannot address, you cannot look and refer to the galleries. You have to address me and not the galleries.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : I am sorry, Sir, I had prepared quite a few points for this debate. Since I came to know that I will not be initiating the debate and I might get just ten minutes or so I have cut down more than half the points and I will not bother you with the statistics.

(*Interruptions*)

I will start from the year 1982 when I was in the Soviet Union being trained on an aircraft which was to fight F-16. Lala Jagat Narain was shot dead. I knew that dark days have come for Punjab.

In 1984 while Punjab was hot with the scorching heat I was operating from Leh operating to safeguard Siachen glacier and our northern borders from China to Pakistan, when in Hoshiarpur Principal, Om Prakash Bagga was a right hand man of my father was murdered, and that was a blow to my own father. But the Opposition Members, some of them were there even at that time. Name of them ever reached Hoshiarpur though they were with my father for year. They talk a lot in peace

rallies, in newspaper columns but nobody had the time to go there. Anyway Army was brought out. Operatise Blue Star took place.

SHRI AMAL DATTA : Take out your statistics.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : I hope you all know.

MR. SPEAKER : Kamalji, let us be realistic and our approach should be to the main point of the debate. Please concentrate on that.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : Sir, people do not know what was happening in Punjab. That is what I want to point out. Anyway, when the army came out in Punjab, it became all quiet. Thereafter there was no bloodshed.

I will now move ahead to September 1984. I was at Air Force Station, Amritsar, Pakistan had fortified their side of the border. The border was sealed. When we war flying, we were immediately recalled and asked to land back. We got the sad news that the Prime Minister of the country was shot at. There was rather an apprehension immediately that most probably she was no more. Then started riots. I don't want to mention much about it. But I would give a case in Shivpuri where my sister's brother-in-law who was a Sikh was murdered; he was just burnt alive. Even his ashes were not seen by anybody. My father sent me to Shivpuri asking me if I was confident enough to go there unarmed. I drove down to Shivpuri with a friend of mine. While we were getting frantic calls from them, that nobody should come. My sister was in Canada making frantic calls whether she should come down here. I asked her to come down to India and told her that I would safeguard their interests and save their lives. I moved out of Shivpuri and came back.

I will give you another incident what happened in Shivpuri. The uncle of the murdered boy who was an old man about 70 years old cannot with a sword in his hand. Another man came with him with a scabbard in his hand, and a third boy followed them with a stick in his hand

[Shri Kamal Chaudhry]

chasing the more which was being helped by the people.

*(Interruptions)*

Kindly listen to me. Have some patience. I have lost about a quarter kilogram of blood in the last few months and I have been saying what is happening there. These three people just saved their own house. It shows how brave they were. These terrorists and these extremists were playing 'gadka' with these three people. They were fighting with one stick against these people and that is exactly the case in Punjab. Sir, I would only ask you to give protection to these people who are brave.

Now, Sir, I would like to give my own family background. My paternal grandmother was a Sikh, my maternal grandmother was also a Sikh. I have two sisters who are married to Sikhs. I know more than you all know about Hindus and Sikhs.

Sir, thereafter, I was called at Delhi for briefing to escort the new Prime Minister at the time of the last journey of carrying the ashes of his beloved mother to Amarnath. I was airborne in Mig-23 and I may tell you that the same father of mine who fought against Shrimati Indira Gandhi all his life, was proud that I was selected to be with the Prime Minister to guard him and to save him from the attack of the enemy country. He was in Delhi when the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was murdered. When he came back to Hoshiarpur he was angry and furious and he mentioned about the shameful attitude of some people in this country when they distributed sweets and shops were opened in some areas in Delhi. He was the same man who had opposed all his the late Prime Minister. This was his character. You all should have shed at least some crocodile tears when he was murdered. Now comes the 10th March, 1985. There was an attempt at Hoshiarpur to start riots in Punjab. My father was loved by all. He had started his political career in 1937, when he was 19-20 years old. I was strapped up in a MIG 23 aircraft just about to be launched for an exercise with Jaguars at 0550 hours in the morning. That is the

time when my father was murdered. I reached the city within the next two hours. By that time about sixty houses were burnt and one man was stabbed to death and another was injured badly. This happened in the first one hour itself.

MR. SPEAKER : Please come to the point. I have got only little time at my disposal. Come to the point, so that we can focus attention on the main thing.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : I want to tell you, Sir, how things have built up. People do not understand.

MR. SPEAKER : They know. The question is how to tackle this.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : Shri Arjun Singh and the Minister of State for Internal Security went to Punjab. I am happy that at least they saw the situation with their own eyes. It is better that I tell you what is happening over there rather than somebody else burns his hand over there.

MR. SPEAKER : Please suggest what you want to be done.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : Suggestion I have given; the suggestion was that.....*(Interruptions)*.

Tension was mounting at Hoshiarpur the next morning. I saw that there was going to be a total bloodshed and not a single Sikh was going to remain alive in that city. I rang up the Governor, Shri Arjun Singh Ji, but within 15 minutes shoot-at-sight orders were given. There was a 5000 strong mob which left their houses challenging the shoot-at-sight order and they were all round me. A little scared within the next two hours I rang up the Prime Minister. I want to tell you that when I rang up the Governor, I was trying to tell him that the situation was grim and that they must help me, as I could protect that city. The Prime Minister also listened to me very patiently for ten minutes on the telephone. I was lucky. But he asked me to go back to the Governor .....*(Interruptions)*. Curfew was lifted from Hoshiarpur immediately.

MR. SPEAKER : Please see that these words do not go on the record.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Kamal Ji, I again warn you. You have to say certain things which may positively help in the future. You are only going into the past and you have already taken your time.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : For the last couple of months, I had been knocking at everybody's door Sir; I had approached you also so many times, the Prime Minister the Home Ministers and so many others...

MR. SPEAKER : You cannot lives in the past; you have to march forward; you have to think of the future. That is the only way out. We all know what has happened. We sympathise with you for what you suffered, we sympathise with you for the death of your father. We know what happened but now we have to think of the future. And that is the general tone of this House.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : Thanks if the House has at learn now realised what was the problem in Punjab.

I had given a few suggestions. The first was.....(*Interruptions*). Of course! What are your security people doing today? What is the job of BSF? How did we win the 1962 war? Was it with folded hands? Then, how did we win the 1965 war and the 1971 war? Today, you are blaming Pakistan and America. We are permitting the extremists to go and shoot at somebody. If they shoot back, they just leave the scooter and go away! I have got the statistics if you are interested. That man into just leaves the scooter, walks and just vanishes into thin air. It is a shame! They are being permitted to do that. That is what I have been trying to tell.

(*Interruptions*)

If I could handle a MIG-23.....  
(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : You just give suggestions.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : Suggestions are plain and simple. You cannot allow the terrorists simply to go away just like that. Give an order that anybody found with a weapon will be shot at. I

have been telling you how I saved Hoshiarpur. There was one murder after the imposition of the curfew. I want to tell you about an incident and pardon me Sir, I will just take two more minutes. Last Sunday, I had organised a youth rally at Hoshiarpur. Somebody came to burn the institution which I have been presiding. 11.30 at night, I was out in the street with a revolver looking for those extremists. I rang up the Chief Minister of Punjab...  
(*Interruptions*)\*

MR. SPEAKER : This will not go into the record.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY : I geared up my people and roamed round the city. There was not a single policeman. That is all. I prevented bloodshed and burning ...(*Interruptions*)\*

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. Do not record. Whatever he is speaking now, that does not form part of the record.

(*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS AND TOURISM (SHRI  
H.K.L. BHAGAT) : Sir, I can understand the agony with which the hon. member Shri Kamal Chaudhry has spoken. I know what all he has passed through. I can understand that. When you go through the record, please see that what should not be said is expunged.

MR. SPEAKER : I have already done that. Shri Dhillon.

DR. G.S. DHILLON (Ferozepur) : Mr. Speaker Sir, I am participating in this discussion with some anguish. I am sorry to say that the last member's speech has scattered my ideas a bit, and I am trying to re-marshal them. I have full sympathy with Kamal. His father was an MLA and MP with me for many long years. I know with what pain he has been speaking.

Mr. Speaker, the only redeeming feature of today's speeches was Shri Ramoowalia's observations. Shri Tewary dealt with the facts in a very comprehensive way. Prof. Dandavate presented the case in a very able manner. All this time, I have been wondering whether this is the same Ramoowalia,

[Dr. G.S. Dhillon]

who used to speak in the Manji Sahib in the Golden Temple. I really congratulate Shri Ramoowalia. I congratulate him for this great transformation.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :  
Congratulate Mr. Buta Singh also.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-  
WALIA : My political career is 15 years  
old. Everybody knows that I had been the  
President of the All India Sikh Federation.  
I had been a nationalist, and I will be a  
nationalist. I am fighting these elements  
outright. See my record.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

You may say any thing you like, but it  
is wrong.

DR. G.S. DHILLON : I am just ad-  
miring you. I have listened to your lively  
speeches. I am happy.

[English]

I am very happy that he is a nationalist.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You  
were very young those days.

DR. G.S. DHILLON : I started my  
public life in the Congress. (Interruptions)  
This is the first time I have learnt, after  
listening to you, that I should do the thing  
which I did not do all my life, viz. to support  
your party (Interruptions) and your Chief  
Minister, because the subject is such that, as  
per the examples set by all the parties, it is  
our duty to strengthen your hands. Had  
you spoken in the (Interruptions) same old  
vein, perhaps it would not have come to  
passing in that spirit. Thank you very much  
for doing like that. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the subject as given  
in the agenda is only in general terms, viz.  
discussion on terrorism. About terrorism  
in which part of the country, the reference  
is silent. I mean that the major part of  
terrorism is in Punjab. May be it is there  
somewhere else also, (Interruptions) as  
referred to by some speakers (Interruptions)  
i.e. in Tripura and some other places. But

the major part of it is in Punjab. I am  
one of the few persons who have seen it  
emerging in North America, and also here.  
I am one of the persons, perhaps the only  
person who lives in the lion's den, viz.  
Amritsar. My home is in Amritsar. My  
constituency is in the next adjoining district,  
viz. Ferozepur. I have seen (Interruption)  
its various ramifications, both abroad and in  
India, and in Punjab. (Interruption) I could  
never imagine that things would come to this  
much. (Interruption)

Sir, he is disturbing me.

MR. SPEAKER : That is unparlia-  
mentary !

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-  
WALIA : I think it should be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER : Your suggestion is  
accepted !

DR. G. S. DHILLON : I am speaking;  
he is clearing his throat.

I have tried to have a proper and  
analytical assessment as to how it happened  
how terrorism has appeared. Since many  
years, rather decades, when I was in Punjab  
and here, we have been going through a  
number of *morchas*; if one *morcha* is offered,  
there will be another *morcha*, another  
*morcha*, another agitation, e.g. *rasta roko*,  
*sadak roko*, *station roko*, *rail roko* etc.  
which made people rather more agitation-  
minded, have less regard for law and order,  
and then to resort to repeat such agitations.  
Peaceful agitation can be a part of democracy.  
They are very much there, but not so much  
that it comes every six months or every  
year.

That makes people now-law abiding it  
products terrorists. By and by, it has come  
to anarchy and terrorism. What sort of  
terrorism ? In 1980, I was there in Canada.  
Mr. Narayanan was the Ambassador in  
Washington. I was in Ottawa. I was  
assaulted unknowingly along with the  
Counsel-General at Vancouver. Later on  
we came to know who were these people.  
Later, I came to know that there was a  
strong cell of would be promotor of terro-  
rism in India. We saw a picture of those who  
attacked us. The picture was by the Reuter

and they were the same people who came to Punjab and committed some murders, murdered police officers and civilians, and then they went back to Vancouver because they were the citizens of that country. I was also there. Mr. Narayanan told me about the secret meeting that was held in New York in Hotel Astoria between the then Jathedar of Akal Takhat Ajnaha who died later on Torasahib, Didar Singh Bains and some other people there. So, we assessed the position and we came to know it was there that the resolution or the decision about the support of Khalistan was taken. These are the facts that I am telling you. But when I came back to my country as a free citizen, without holding any office, I was faced with a situation which is worse in Punjab and my home District, Amritsar. It was a veritable hell to stay there for some time. I referred to that period when I heard Mr. Ramoowalia's speech. That is why I am happy to say that his done has changed so much. He is the same man. I feel like embracing you, Mr. Ramoowalia.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Without terrorism, he will be finished.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA : You are an old Akali. There is no harm in embracing you.

DR. G.S. DHILLON : I have never been an Akali.

MR. SPEAKER : It is not possible without my permission.

[*English*]

DR. G.S. DHILLON : I happened to be a member of the SGPC during the British time. I am not so young as I appear to be. We were members of the SGPC. The record is there. I did not seek it. Some people came and got my nomination paper signed when I was a political prisoner in Lahore Central Jail. I was elected. I voted for the Congress Group of Nagokakey. A number of times there were contests between Master Tara Singh and Jathedar Udham Nagokake. We were in the Congress. Don't think like that. You came many years there decades later, Mr. Ramoowalia. You are very lucky to be younger than I. The problem is that

youngsters, who are involved in terrorism; they are not all terrorists; very few terrorists are a hard core people, because, as I have seen from my observation, I spent some days in Punjab last week. My observation is that most of them are misguided young people, unemployed young men; and most of them are robbers and looters. I think, in the case of robbers and looters, it is the duty of the police to deal with them as they should deal with robbers and looters and not as terrorists. In the case of unemployed people, that should be a matter of concern for us. We should really think over this matter and see that most of these youngsters who are unemployed should be provided some employment opportunities either in public sector or self-employment or in any other way. They should not go jobless like that. But there is a hard core; it is neither yours nor ours; that is theirs who live thousands of miles away from us. I can vouchsafe that the directions come to them from overseas and from our neighbours. This is within my personal knowledge. What to do about them we should be concerned about that.

When I talk of Manji Saheb, that is in the Golden Temple complex where Sant Fateh Singh used to speak, Master Tara Singh used to speak, Bhinderanwale and your party men spoke from the same forum a number of times. Now you yourselves cannot enter those premises. I will be happy if you go there and speak from that forum again.

The Gurudwara Act as we had it in early twenties was amended a number of times and is not the same Gurudwara Act now. The Gurudwara Act was meant to administer and manage the Gurudwaras and religious places and to promote the teachings of Sikhism, their Gurbani and other preachings. Now I am surprised that the gentlemen whom you elected for 14 years as the President of the SGPC, Mr. Tohra—none in my memory remained so long; I have seen Master Tara Singh Kamji, Jathedar Mohan Singh and Sant Chanan Singh, Udham Singh, Ishar Singh Majhial; Prem Singh Lalpur, I have seen your men; none remained there for more than two, three years; Mr. Tohra was there for 14 years—was your top leader. When the crisis comes, he leaves the post and happens

[Dr. G.S. Dhillon]

over the Akal Takhat and management to those extremists and terrorists and just left, just deserted. It was your duty, also ours to help you in that, to get that holy place restored to your elected men. Now the SGPC is not functioning. It is a defunct body. Why not declare Gurudwara Act as a defunct Act and go ahead with something new which can be more suitable and practicable in the situation and circumstances than carrying on under the old defunct Act ?

There are a number of Gurudwaras and other religious places in Amritsar where you cannot enter. You had outlawed us. You had made our entry impossible. Now they have made your entry impossible in the same way. It is much better if we join hands together.

Who are those terrorists to come from the borders ? You had foreseen it much earlier. You had indulged in lawlessness for so long and given field to these people who are out of your hands now. That is why, Mr. Kamal mentioned about a new proposals. I do not think that martial law can solve any problem. I am also of the opinion that even the President's rule cannot solve this crises. The only solution is—I wish against my wishes—to help your party, to strengthen your party and Government. It is upto you how to receive our support. We cannot put guts in you. But we can support you.

Regarding dealing with our internal situation and how to face it, I am happy Mr. Arun Nehru and Mr. Arjun Singh went there to Punjab. My only regard is that they went on seeing opposition parties but did not see us. I went all the way to my home district Amritsar. I showed myself to him. He just said OK you have arrived. I thought when he goes to Ferozepur, another district which is my constituency, which is my other home, I will again be present, because when you meet people of other parties, it is your duty to meet Congress men also.

20.00 hrs.

They (opposition) man be happy that they did not meet us...*(Interruption)*,

**SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA** : At least I am unhappy.

**DR. G.S. DHILLON** : Not so happy, because there is not much of distance between you and us, at least for the time being, and if I embrace you, that embrace will not be short-lived, it will be a bit longer and may last even after till tomorrow. So, now we should take up at the level of our External Ministry very strongly this problem of terrorist activities being promoted abroad, whether it is U.K., Canada or USA. I want to tell you many things but perhaps it will not be in keeping with my experience as a diplomat. But they have to deal with those governments with a stern hand. Look here, on the one hand they are instigating our terrorists, they are financing and encouraging them and all that. On the other hand offering hand of friendship. I attended the Human Rights Commission. Give men with the colour of turbans like Mr. Ramoowalia's appeared there. They were not members of the Commission, they did not represent any State. They just moved in. The Ambassador was there with me. I said, "How you happened to be here ?" They said, "To raid our voice against you." That was outside the meeting hall. And to justify their appearance—I do not know on whose finances they came—when they went back to New York, they issued a Press statement that they spoke in the Commission. The Indian delegation was taken by surprise because nobody was allowed, nobody spoke, no problem for us. The result is that during the last seven or eight days, I have received a number of hasty letters. I do not care for them because they are against the fact and perhaps they are based on terrorist background. I have to die one day and if I die for a better cause, I will be more willing to offer myself. I have a number of things to say but Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to exploit your patience. I will do it on some other day.

**MR. SPEAKER** : We enjoyed it.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati)**: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House today has risen above the party affiliations in expressing its anguish over the deteriorating situation in Punjab. I do share this anguish with

greater affinity because coming from the State to which I belong, both our State and Punjab went through traumatic experiences for quite a long period. We had movements, difficult situations followed by two historical important accords. After the accord, democratic elections were held and two regional parties in both the States have come to power. Peace and tranquillity have come to our State and I wish that peace and tranquillity should prevail in Punjab also and the regional party which has been put into power in Punjab should succeed. I believe that the problem of Punjab today deserves to be dealt with at two fronts. One is to look it from the point of view of law and order but basically it is a political problem and must be tackled politically. So far as the law and order situation is concerned, the Barnala Ministry should be given all strength because weakening the Barnala Ministry at this particular moment will weaken the law and order machinery, and I am happy to note that the Minister for Internal Security, while intervening in the debate and also outside, has made it very clear that all help will be rendered to Barnala Ministry to tackle the problem of terrorists. This House also unanimously gives its full support to the Barnala Ministry though, as Dr. Dhillon has said, with some amount of unhappiness it has to be done by some. But I believe that on the question of political side, the political problems are to be tackled and one of the things that must be done is that the Punjab Accord must be implemented. I am not saying for a moment that the terrorists will cease their activities if the Accord is implemented but the fact remains that terrorism can be dealt with if it does not have the popular support, because then the terrorists can be isolated and action can be taken against them. If the terrorists are supported by people, if they have the popular backing, if a fertile ground is there, then the tackling of terrorism becomes extremely difficult. A feeling has grown rightly or wrongly in the minds of the Punjab people (as has been stated by Ramoowalia ji) that the Accord is not being implemented. One specific point has been the Chandigarh issue. But apart from Chandigarh, Mr. Arjun Singh has said in his intervention, the Accord is being implemented on a number of points. There are three points to which I wish to make a mention. Number one is

relating to compensation to innocent persons. Now it is not known as to what is the amount of compensations given to persons under the accord. It is known how many innocent persons have been given compensation. Why cannot we publish it and make it presentable before the people of Punjab to show that compensation has, in fact, been given to so many number of people so that they can ostensibly realise that the accord, so far as point No. 1 is concerned, has been implemented if not in full, in greater depth and detail?

Then point No. 4 says about the rehabilitation of those discharged from the army. Obviously the number is known. Have these people who have been discharged from the army been rehabilitated? The Minister has not said that they have been rehabilitated. Then in that case the accord has not been implemented. Then in that case I feel that the people of Punjab have a genuine grievance. But if they have been rehabilitated, then I don't think there is any difficulty for us to tell the Sikh people of Punjab and the country at large as to how many have been rehabilitated and the people of Punjab and Akali Government and Barnala will be in a better position to say: Look here, the Punjab accord, so far as Item No. 4 is concerned, has been implemented. The propaganda that is being made by the extremists that the accord has not been implemented is a false propaganda. I believe in this context that the entire media policy regarding Punjab should also be reviewed. The media should project as to what is being done in concrete terms for the implementation of the accord. The numbers, the factual position, all these should be stated in clear terms. I am in full agreement with Dr. Dhillon that this problem should not be merely tackled as a Law and Order problem. After all, there must be a channel of communication with the younger generation. Because, I do not believe that all the young people who are attracted to terrorism today are terrorists. We have seen the emergence of youth power in our State. I also know that in my State when the youth movement was there, the youths have been accused right and left that they are all anti-national that they are secessionists and so on. This creates a sense of alienation and people who are in the mainstream drifted away from it. ■

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

believe therefore that while isolating the hard core terrorists, we should try to maintain a channel of communication at the political level with the younger people. Because, I believe that the younger people in Punjab, with the rest of this country, are as national as all of us are. And therefore that channel of communication should be opened. In that context what I am saying is that the media policy becomes very important.

Mr. Ramoowalia was saying that there are 12,800 villages in Punjab; 90% of them have got majority of Sikh population. And at least the communal divide has not been apparent in those villages. The communal divide has been very sharp in the towns. But if we look to the media today, that positive projection we do not see in the media. Why cannot we have a media policy today to project that very positive side that, in spite the fact that tremendous effort has been made by a section of the community, by a section of people who want to re-stabilise this country, and create a communal divide in this country, they have not been able to touch the common people, people in the ground level, particularly in the rural areas. That is one aspect of the thing which at least the people of the rest of the country should come to know from either the All India Radio or the Television and other media. And I believe that a completely new orientation to the media policy should be there. I am fully in agreement with other speakers that on the question of foreign hands, the time has come when we should be very firm in this regard. We should tell Pakistan very clearly that the question of friendly relations of Pakistan is linked up with this question. This training of terrorists in Pakistan soil is a hostile act and the Parliament's view should be conveyed in unequivocal terms to Pakistan. The British Foreign Secretary is here today and in his statements I believe, he has avoided this question of the treaty of extradition and other questions. I believe that the External Affairs Minister should in very clear terms convey to the British Foreign Secretary the feelings of this House. We have got another responsibility and that is to see that this communal divide does not spill to the other areas, from Punjab to the neighbouring States, to the

other regions of this country, because the terrorists would like to see that attacks from Sikhs take place from outside Punjab, because in that case, they will get a further handle to create communal divide, or division in Punjab itself. Then, not only we speak, but we should see also that the other communal element is not given any encouragement in the neighbouring States, or in other States, and I believe all of us have the responsibility to say in this forum that—in my State, at least the State to which I belong, the Government and we will see that at no point of time the situation in Punjab is exploited in another direction, which may create complications in that State.

I believe, Sir, that these feelings of this House should be conveyed in a proper spirit to Punjab, and I believe that this debate itself can go a long way in healing the difficult situation in Punjab, because what Punjab requires today is the healing touch. Thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTAL OF INTERNAL SECURITY (SHRI ARUN NEHRU): Sir, if I can just clarify two points which the hon. Member has raised, in terms of the first point in the Punjab Accord, which is compensation to innocent persons killed, this has been fully implemented.

In regard to para 4, which is rehabilitation of those discharged from the Army, that has also been fully implemented. I am just mentioning this because you have mentioned it.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I think you should give a better projection.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU: Well, I am sure on point No. 1 the Punjab Government will do it, and on point No. 4, we have already done it thrice, we will do it again.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Publish it early. Don't wait for the 21st century!

SHRI ARUN NEHRU: No, Sir, we published it in the 20th century.

[Translation]

What can be done if you have not read it,

**SHRI SUNIL DUTT** (Bombay North West): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this August House on the Punjab problem. I have full sympathy with my colleague Shri Kamal Chaudhry who expressed his hurt feelings. There are people on both the sides who have been hurt. So, in order to heal the wounds... (*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER** : This is a common feeling.

**SHRI SUNIL DUTT** : Yes Sir, this is a common feeling. In order to heal such wounds, we all have gathered here and are discussing this matter. I am asked to express my views and especially about Punjab. While listening to the other hon. Members, I was thinking about which Punjab should I speak. Should I speak about the Punjab which was spread from Peshawar to Delhi, which produced a great saint like Guru Nanak Dev, the Punjab where Heer-Ranjha and Sohni-Mahival had sung their songs of love, the Punjab where Bhagat Singh sacrificed his life and Lala Lajpat Rai bore the brunt of lathi charge, where Sikhs made tremendous sacrifices for the country or should I speak about today's Punjab where blood of our own brothers is being shed. This thought made me sad. I was sad because the blood flowing in my veins does not permit me to differentiate between a Sikh, a Muslim or a Hindu. I am an Indian and being an Indian I am here. Shri Kamalji has told a story of his life. I also want to tell my own life story. It will not be possible to tell my story with the same fervour as he did. I have also been a victim of the partition. When Pakistan came into existence, I and my parents had to decide as to which was our country. We thought that India was our country. So, we came to India with the feeling that the whole of the country was our own. The boundaries of our country extend from Bengal to Maharashtra and upto Kanya Kumari in the South. As we were agriculturists, land was allotted to us at Jagadbari near Ambala. The next problem was of my studies and I decided to go to Bombay, which is a part of India. I did not claim any compensation from the Government for my studies but worked hard and continued my study. After completion of my studies, I took a decision about my career. I had learnt from my great leaders that India was one and we should fight for its unity

and integrity. As it is a secular country, the question of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian does not arise.

After my studies, I took to acting as a career in Bombay and fell in love with a Muslim girl. At that time, it did not strike me that I was the victim of partition and many of my relatives were killed by the Muslims. If I had been thinking in that direction, I would not have loved a Muslim girl. My leaders had taught me and had created a spirit that narrow communal feelings and conflicts were inhuman. It was my firm belief that no Hindu would kill a Muslim and no Muslim would kill a Hindu. That was why I loved a Muslim girl and married her.

Thereafter, all my children were born in Maharashtra. When I went to Bombay, Maharashtra State was not in existence. Now, sometimes, I just ponder who am I? My leaders had preached me that we were all one and there was no difference between a Hindu, a Muslim, a Sikh and a Christian. Our leaders had exhorted us to fight for our national unity and integrity. Now it is being said that only those can live in Maharashtra who are born there. I think if it happens, my children will remain in Maharashtra but where shall I go? When the land was allotted to me by the Government of Punjab, Haryana was not in existence at that time. If I return to Jagadhari, Haryana State will not accept me on the plea that it was the Punjab Government which had allotted land to me and they had nothing to do with it. That is why sometimes I think who am I? If I am an Indian and love my country, I have no place here but if I am a Hindu or a Muslim or a Maharashtrian or a Gujarati then I have so many places to live in. This is one thing which is taking roots all over the country and not in Punjab alone. We only talk about Punjab, but now that spirit of nationalism has disappeared from our minds, now we are thinking on communal lines and of regionalism. How is it that now we consider ourselves Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Punjabis or Haryanvis. Today we are quarrelling over the river waters which flow from the Himalayas to irrigate our land. When the issue of Ravi-Beas waters was being discussed here, some of my colleagues suggested that water could be taken from the river Ganga. I could not understand what was the difference between Ravi-Beas and

[Shri Sunil Dutt]

Ganga. Why should such issues be raised? I feel that such things should not be there. I am of the opinion that all the Members including our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi shares your injured feelings. He signed the Accord and is now implementing it in spite of the hurt feelings. There may be some delay in its implementation but it is not deliberate because a true nationalist considers national interest the uppermost. Therefore, I request you to think with cool mind, leaving aside the feeling of being a Sikh, an Akali or a congressman, because when it is the question of the country we are all one. During the national crises of 1962, 1965 and 1971 wars, we faced them unitedly. Today some foreign powers have realised it that they cannot defeat India through external aggression, so they are creating disturbances from within. It is an internal attack on us and we are not understanding it. We are destroying our own houses, we are not killing Hindus or Sikhs but chopping off our own limbs.

All of you are running this country. You are wise and intelligent people and you have to take this country forward. The contribution of each of you counts in the forward march of the country. Therefore, I request you to fight this internal war in the country unitedly. I am not speaking from the congress party platform but from this supreme House of the country and would like to state that our Government have signed the Accord with good intentions and for the unity and integrity of the country. Therefore, all of us should join hands with the Government for the progress of our country.

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central) : *Jis Desh main Ganga Behti hai.*

MR. SPEAKER : There should be no doubt about it. Be true Indians. No power of the world can make us swerve from this path.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Sir, this discussion is going on now for almost four-hours and many speakers have uttered very noble sentiments here for which I congratulate them. Unfortunately, these

noble sentiments will not be publicised because there would not be any press tomorrow. However, it will be on the record of the House. But the point is, this discussion perhaps would not have taken place just at this juncture if we, all of us, had not felt that the situation is really becoming very very serious. Fine words will not help us to avert what I consider to be a threatening catastrophe, if we do not act now in time. I know the great history and traditions of our country and all the crises which we have surmounted from time to time. Quite true. That is something which we can fall back on as our capital. But fine words and sentiments by themselves will not help us to save the country from what I think is quite an unprecedented threat and crisis that is facing us. Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir are border States and we all know what is there across the border on the other side. The break-down of administration and the break-down of law and order in this type of border State as something which cannot be tolerated in the interest of national security itself. I do not want to go into these specific measures which have been here explained by the Minister for Internal Security. He explained some of them to us the other day in the meeting which we had with the Home Minister, because it is very difficult for us to assess actually how efficacious these measures may or may not be. The Police, as far as I can make out, has been totally paralysed up to now. Everybody knows about it. The newspapers are full of it, how they do not go out from the Thanas, even when news comes up of some incidents taking place there. They do not want to go. They remain sitting in the Thana. That is the state of affairs. Call it demoralisation, or call it collusion or call it infiltration or call it anything else you want.

Here this incident took place last Friday at Ludhiana where the terrorists just mowed down about 12 or 13 people at one place in broad day light. All the reports point to this that the Station House Officer of the Police did not go to the spot for well over one hour after the incident took place. So this is one instance by which we can imagine what is going on in the rest of the State. You have sent a new Inspector General of police there who is a person renowned for his efficiency and the firm measures he takes but the force with which he will have to deal requires a great deal of—

I do not know—revival of morale and so on which, I think, is not a very easy task even for Mr. Rebeiro to perform. I do not think even the supply by the Centre of whatever equipments, the modern equipments, weapons, etc. that are required or the deployment of para-military forces will by itself change the situation unless the administration is willing to act firmly and promptly. There, of course, I do not want to repeat all that that has been said about the grave responsibility which rests upon the State Government at this juncture. I think Mr. Barnala has the most unenviable task on his hands. There is no doubt about that. He may not be a very strong character. As a person people say that he is a weak man but he is a good man. He is a good man but he is a weak man. But who is to replace him? There is nobody to replace him. The replacement may be even worse. So he has been elected by the people of Punjab who have given a big majority to his party. Therefore, I think, the main responsibility of the Akali Government in Punjab is to streamline the administration and the law and order machinery and to take courage in its hands and with the full support and backing of not only the Centre but all the political parties which are represented here in this House, to act firmly and quickly now at least and even at this late hour. Otherwise this impending catastrophe cannot be averted. I remember in the old days we used to think at one time when the partition of the country was being demanded that after all it would be averted somehow and that it would not come about. But ultimately it could not be stopped. There is no Gandhiji now. At that time Gandhiji was alive....

AN HON. MEMBER : We have a Gandhi now.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am talking about Gandhiji.

So, Sir, I must say one thing now. In all these discussions that are going on now for so long, about the implementation of the accord, whether it is implemented or not, it has nothing connected directly with the terrorist activity. There is no use saying that. It has to be stamped out ruthlessly and mercilessly if you have the capacity to do it. But it is a fact as many speakers have said

that the terrorists are able to get some kind of a passive support of sympathy, whatever it is, from large masses of people who are not themselves terrorists because they do have some sense of a grievance, rightly or wrongly and it is the job of the Government to see that those grievances real or imaginary, whatever they are, are removed. Otherwise sustenance for the terrorists will go on being provided. In this respect, I think the prime responsibility is not of the State Government, the prime responsibility is of the centre and of the Prime Minister who is himself a signatory to the accord. I think the possibility which had arisen of unifying and uniting the entire people of Punjab on the basis of that accord should not be missed. It is not a perfect document. Every sentence and every paragraph that is written in it is not 100 per cent perfect. But we have welcomed that accord at that time because in those circumstances it was the best possible thing to bring about peace and restore normalcy in that State. But now the question is of implementation. It is there I say that we have failed because it says that we must implement the Accord both in letter and spirit. One of the big weaknesses I should say now; but you can say that you are being wise after the event. It was obvious even at that time that it was inevitable. One of the biggest weaknesses, lapses, was that Haryana was never consulted, though it is an agreement.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI) : May I interrupt, Sir. Haryana was consulted right through before the Accord was signed. It was shown to Haryana. I was with the Chief Minister of Haryana till very late that morning before the Accord was signed. I would like to reiterate that we are committed to fully implemented that Accord both in letter and spirit.

One more thing. Unfortunately, everybody seems to feel that I forgot, what number that point is regarding Chandigarh that the Central Government, for some reason, has defaulted on that. But if you look at the words of the Accord and if you look at the spirit of the Accord, we have not defaulted one bit on that. Yes, there is some delay. We will try and rectify that. There has been a reason for the delay. I would not like to explain that to this House, it is better that I do not. I can, at a later date,

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

But there are also other clauses in that Accord which also need to be implemented not by us and the Accord is one Accord as a whole, it cannot be torn to pieces, nor can we say we will do 9 out of the 11 items now and the 2 items we will look at in 1989. The whole thing must be seen as one, although the items are not related, but it is one Accord.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Some clauses are time-bound. Difficulty has arisen about it.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The clauses I am talking about are also time-bound.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am glad to hear that the Chief Minister of Haryana was consulted at every step. I presume you mean by that he has given his tacit approval. If that is the case, you should pull him up now for all his irresponsible utterances and doings. You cannot have it both ways.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal) : He has not made any irresponsible statement.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : All right. People can judge for themselves.

*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the fact remains that there is a huge agitation going on in Haryana and at least I do not want—I am not a Punjabi nor do I belong to Haryana. So I have no prejudice or in favour of either of them. The point is that I do not want that one year from now or two years from now, we are faced with another problem coming from Haryana. This is a package deal. It concerns Punjab, but it also concerns Haryana and Rajasthan and therefore you see what has happened now, for example. I never said that the Centre had defaulted on the question of Chandigarh. I have not said that. But the fact remains that there was a time-bound clause in the Agreement which said that two things have to be done.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If you read the clause, it says that two things had to be done simultaneously and the Commission had to tell us what to do. Now, the Commission told us, if you remember the

Report, I do not remember the word, but if you remember the Report, the Commission's first suggestion was that some sort of mutual agreement between the two parties should be sought and the second suggestion was that another Commission should be set up to look into the issue.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Was a mutual agreement sought.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Yes, a mutual agreement was definitely sought. It took quite some time to try and get them together and a number of attempts were made to have a mutual agreement, a mutual settlement between the two Chief Ministers.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That means for the time being at least the prospects of mutual agreement are bleak. Therefore, we are left with the Mathew Commission which in the first Commission, I suppose, which failed to give any finding at all.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It started late.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Started late, of course. Now we do not know what is to happen. Mathew Commission has said another Commission should be appointed.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Perhaps we will.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You have not told us anything you have not told the country anything. Time is being lost. You have not told the country anything. The valuable time is being lost. You cannot afford to be complacent like this. Whatever you propose to do, now that the Mathew Commission turned out to be still-born you have to say what you propose to do. If you want to set up another commission with some terms of reference which are more intelligible, you should do it and not waste time.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If I may just clarify, the one aspect which does come up is that the terms of reference of the new commission cannot be exactly the same as those of the first commission; otherwise we

may end up where we started. To get a new set of terms of reference it does involve talking with Haryana and with Punjab and we have to get a unanimity of views on the new terms of reference.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That is why I am saying that because of this delay and the big agitation being worked up in Haryana, it will be all the more difficult now to get mutual agreement. I am not blaming you, I am explaining how complicated the situation is becoming due to the delay.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : But he says blame me !

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It is up to you. You tell the country, you tell Punjab and Haryana what you propose to do now and how you propose to settle this question of the transfer of the territory.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If you allow us, we might even tell you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : We will stay here all the night if necessary.

Then take the question of the waters. First of all for eight months no tribunal was set up. The other day we passed a Bill here, *i.e.*, the Ravi-Beas Waters Tribunal Bill. These waters, I hope and we all hope, will be life giving waters and not waters which are stained with blood. It should be waters of life and not waters of death. For eight months no tribunal was set up because of some administrative difficulties. That is the explanation given here during the debate.

Mr. Speaker, one cut-off date has been fixed in the Accord *i.e.*, 1.7.1985 saying that as on that date the three states will get water not less than what they were getting on 1.7.1985. I don't know what is the logic behind that date. I asked this question at that time, I tried to find out what exactly was the basis on which this particular date was selected; but no satisfactory reply has been given except that it has something to do with the monsoon season.

The point is that it is being propagated widely, rightly or wrongly that is the date on which Punjab was getting much more water than it normally gets.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I am clarify that Sir, because I did sign the Accord. The point was raised by Sant Longowalji that water should not be reduced. That means if farmers were getting so much water in any of the States they should not get less than that. because any cut back from water would not be acceptable to any of the farmer and we thought that this was a logical statement. So, this was around the middle of July if I remember rightly. We decided that the last date for which figures would be available was 1st July, so we fixed 1st July. There is no more or less logic.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Was it on an ad-hoc basis ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Well, it was to see that the farmers of the states don't get less than what they were getting. Just as a matter of fact, your information on the actual flows on that date may not be correct.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Depending on this, the sharing of remaining waters other than what was available on 1.7.1985 is to be determined by this tribunal. Unless the Sutlej-Yamuna link canal is ready—that is also time-bound, a stipulated date is there—all this exercise, of course, may be quite irrelevant and futile.

It is being said that unless the sharing of the remaining waters is decided, until it is known how much of water will actually be available for Haryana, it is no use digging a canal because we do not know what volume of water is required to flow through it. If more waters is required, a bigger and wider canal is required which is capable of carrying bigger volume of water. If a smaller volume is allotted to Haryana the canal should also be adequate for that. What is to be done ? Haryana farmers are also agitated very much. They need water.

It is argued by some people now. I contested that argument here made by a member of the Akali party the other day that Haryana is not a riparian State because Beas-Ravi do not flow through it. It is a strange argument. So long as Haryana was part of Punjab it was a riparian State. The moment it became separate State it ceases to be a riparian State. This kind of argument cannot be accepted. You will not be able

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

to convince anybody like this. So, there is delay. It is better to make a clean breast of it and say that for the following reasons unfortunately the implementation of the accord is being delayed but we will do our very best to hurry it up as soon as we can. Meanwhile I am afraid the terrorists will go on getting some foothold among the people in Punjab which otherwise they would not get. Therefore the political strategy which, I think, all of us agreed on is that it is necessary to isolate these people. How do we isolate them? How do we isolate them apart from Arun Nehru's modern weaponry and communications and all that? How do we politically isolate these people which much more important? One thing, of course, is that the whole position should be explained clearly to the people through the media and so on. They must understand what has been actually implemented. Here we are being told now that so many things have already been implemented in *toto* the question of compensation, the question of rehabilitate of Army people and so on. But I do not think the country at large knows about it. It has not been published. It should be made known to everybody what is being done.

Secondly the inactivity of police in Punjab is, I am afraid, matched by some excessive activity outside Punjab. That has to be remembered. There are people who are treat as suspects because they are Sikhs—young people and young outside Punjab. I am talking about those who are being dealt with in a way which will only aggravate the feelings more. There should be looked into. Mr. Ved Marwah's report has not seen the light of the day. Mr. Ved Marwah's report on what the police did or did not do during those horrible days in October 1984 has been put into cold storage. The Ranganathan Commission, of course, is apparently making a very very slow headway. This document is there, which is causing grievance, dis-affection in the minds of many ordinary people. Therefore, some steps must be taken to see that these irritants are removed. If they are not removed, these terrorists will continue to get a large measure of support.

Lastly I will say that we have to take our own action. We cannot go on meeting

like this. There was a meeting on the 24th of last month—only a week ago in Chandigarh which was a meeting of all the parties at the State level. That meeting was convened by the Secretary of our party but I am glad to say it was attended by all the parties and in that meeting they decided that all of them, all secular forces, all healthy forces and all peace loving forces must start a joint mass campaign at the grass root and they must go in for a joint approach to the people which we should think about. How we go to do it at our level here? We must work out some programme pretty quickly. We should go together down to the people and carry on a grass root campaign there. Mainly it will have to be done at the State level but we from the Centre can help them and we must lend our fullest support to them. These are the days when Jalianwala Bagh martyrs have also to be remembered this month. Bhagat Singh martyrdom we have crossed. Now Lala Lajpat Rai martyrdom is not very far off. These occasions must be utilised. Let all the forces which are willing to shed all traces of communalism and all communal prejudice because this communal polarisation is threatening to take place...I see a pattern in the terrorists activities which is now spreading out from the border districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur into the region south of Beas river. There is some method behind this madness and this communal cleavage is being deliberately created in order to produce a backlash outside Punjab. If you can't stop this, it will lead to absolute disaster and therefore I would only say, Sir, that all the parties which have expressed all the noble sentiments here should come together and launch a big campaign in the State among the people so that we can really isolate the extremists and the terrorists. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE  
MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS  
AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI  
RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Mr. Speaker,  
Sir, the House is discussing the growing  
threat of terrorism and it is natural that  
what is happening in Punjab should be  
uppermost in the mind of the hon. Members  
who participated in this debate. I have  
been following the trends of the opening  
remarks. The debate has been of a very

high order. It has been defused with a desire to improve things to make the debate as constructive as possible and I am sure what is said in this House as representing our great nation would surely have some effect in putting the healing balm over the situation in Punjab and also demonstrate the concern and the nation feels that the serious problem has to be solved and solved with the cooperation of all parties and persons. Sir, a lot of doubts have been raised about the implementation of the Accord. After our Prime Minister has said, I think there should be no doubt in the minds of anybody in the House, or outside that the Government is not serious to implement the Accord or that it has not done all that is possible to see that the accord is fully implemented. Other Members including Shri Arjun Singh who played an important role in bringing the Accord, has given some details and the way in which the accord has been implemented. I will mention all those points about which some doubts were raised. One was about the rehabilitation of those discharged from the Army and it is said that this not being implemented.

Sir, I would say with all humility, as was mentioned by Shri Arun Nehru, just now, that this has been just taken care of and I would like to say that the Accord was regarding rehabilitation of those persons who have been discharged. But, Sir, those who have been discharged were only 237, out of which 209 have already been recruited into the Defence Security Corps. Not, now Sir. I am quoting from a press release of the Defence Ministry of 17th August, 1985 and in the case of a few who remained for various reasons, some have not turned up or some were medically unfit. So, out of 237 who were discharged, 209 have already joined the Defence Security Corps which is a part of the Defence Ministry. So they have been fully rehabilitated and we have fulfilled the terms as early as possible.

Sir, another relevant question in this is about the recruitment to the Army. All the citizens of the country have the right to enroll themselves in the army and the merit will remain the criteria for selection. It was for a short time, after the 'Blue Star Operation' that the recruitment of Sikhs, only in the Sikh Regiment, was stopped for a short while. Even at that time, the

recruitment of Sikhs in the other regiments of the Army was not stopped. But even this order restricting Sikhs recruitment in the Sikh Regiment was revoked in December 1984, much before the accord was signed. You can see the sincerity and the seriousness of the Government in this particular question and there is no question of destructing the Sikh community as a whole or casting any aspersions on them. It was only for a very short time that the restriction was imposed. Very soon that small restriction was also removed. There was no restriction on the Sikhs for recruiting them in the other army.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It was not in the accord. Is it ?

MR. SPEAKER : It was before the accord.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : It is a general observation; all citizens of the country have a right to enrol themselves in the army. May be to remove certain doubts or to reassert certain principles, it was done. It is a general proposition. It does not mention even the Sikhs.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL : What about general recruitment in the general army, not in a particular unit ?

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : This is a very general proposition in the accord, not mentioning the Sikhs at all. That is what I have said. But as far as the Sikhs are concerned, the Government never thought that it should not take the Sikhs into the army and we have never done that.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL : You are perhaps confusing this matter. This is not for a particular unit or regiment or the Sikh regiment. You have imposed certain limits.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : I have said that recruitment of Sikhs was never stopped, Blue Star or no Blue Star. No percentage was fixed. Even now the percentage of Sikhs is much greater than the proportion of population and it will continue to be so.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL : What was the necessity of putting a clause in the accord ?

**SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA :** As was mentioned, it is not regarding Sikhs. It is a general situation regarding recruitment in the army.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** It was by way of abundant caution.

**SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA :** Yes, it was put by way of abundant caution, and as a future guidance as to what we can do in the future in this respect. But this should set at rest any doubt that could be raised on this point. I am sure the House would agree and you also, Sir, that we have done everything possible to implement the accord.

Some doubts were raised as to the backlash and what the Government is doing about it. Shri Indrajit Gupta mentioned it and Shri Dinesh Goswami also mentioned it. I would like to say that while the news of all the heinous killings were coming in, one day the Prime Minister was in a conference with senior officers and colleagues. One of the things that was uppermost in his mind was that there should be no backlash in the country. I think, I am not giving out any secret, if I say, that he telephoned me immediately and said that while they were looking to the other side of it, I should attend to it and contact all the State administrations and the Chief Ministers to see that this is to be ensured at all costs. His personal concern was so much that he thought of it all the time. We have taken steps and seen to it and I am happy to say that the response of the various State Governments and administrations has been very satisfactory. There has been no backlash and we can assure the House that we will see that nothing of this sort happens and we will have full cooperation of the States which we are having now.

To have it that way would be playing into the hands of terrorists. That is what they want. One of their aims is that Sikhs from other States should rush there and Hindus should be scared to leave Punjab; there should be an exchange of population and that is how they want to go, but the Government and the House is fully conscious of this grave situation. I can once again assure you that we will continue to do all the things that are necessary in this respect.

It cannot be denied that the situation is still serious there. But some very positive and hopeful signs are emerging. We can well say that the tide is now turning. The Punjab Government is gearing itself up to meet the terrorist menace. The Central Government is helping them in all possible ways, details of which were just given. The bluff of the terrorists was called off at Anandpur Sahib. The police and security forces have apprehended there persons involved in the heinous killings. They have had encounters with the terrorists in which the terrorists have suffered casualties. Preparations are being made and all this means that the situation is changing and hopefully the Akali Party is also now rallying round the leadership of Shri Barnala Ji, which process, I hope, will continue.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** They have also turned the tide.

**SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA :** Certainly. I regard these things as well as this a very positive development which are helping the situation to improve. This process has to be continued with the involvement of masses in Punjab and outside. Unless all classes of people involve themselves in this massive task, the real menace of terrorism cannot be eliminated. But in view of these positive developments and in view of the unanimous feeling of all the Sections of this House that this menace has to be fought, we will be able to do something. The Prime Minister has sought to evolve a national consensus of the situation and I hope that he and his Government will continue to receive the support and cooperation of all the sections of this House so that this distressing phase through which Punjab is passing and the whole nation is passing, will be put an end to.

**SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Parvathipuram) :** The Minister of State for Home Affairs just now reassured this House that the tide is fast turning. We are glad to hear these words from him. But we see reports in the newspapers every day and from people coming from Punjab about the horrendous happenings which are becoming worse by the day.

Sir, I must mention that though the main problem that the State is facing at this moment seems to be a law and order pro-

blem, I think the ultimate solution will lie in solving this problem politically.

Several members have spoken about this problem at length and they gave the background also. I do not want to make a repetition of what has already been mentioned. But I would like to say that I am certainly not one who feels that the implementation of the Accord done would stop the acts of terrorism. Sir, the tenor and the manner in which the terrorists have been behaving clearly show what they have been trying to achieve and their designs are well known to us. They have not only been killing Hindus, but Sikhs also. About a week back, I was told that in a village near Nakodar six Sikhs were killed by the terrorists.

20.57 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

So, it is not as though Hindus alone are facing the wrath of the terrorists. Sikhs are also being attacked by these groups of gangsters and free-booters, who want to create a situation of confusion and terror in the Punjab.

Sir, while speaking on this, I cannot but mention about the hasty and impulsive manner in which the Accord was signed. We all welcomed the Accord. The Accord was necessary. But when the Accord was signed, it was signed with Sant Longowal with the presumption that he was the sole representative of the entire people of the Punjab. First of all, I am not sure if Longowal enjoyed the confidence of the Akali Party entirely. Apart from that there are non-Sikhs in the Punjab and there are Sikhs who are not Akalis. I frankly feel that in a situation like that, it would have been fit if all these various sections who might have been minorities in that State, should have been consulted along with the Chief Ministers of the States of Haryana and Rajasthan and they should have been made a party to this Accord.

Apart from that, a time limit has been fixed, in situations which we know are sensitive and which are likely to take a longer time. I do not think that it was a wise decision to fix a time limit like this.

We have to mention these facts now because the non-implementation of the Accord is one of the please taken by the terrorists to gain sympathy from the masses in the Punjab.

Sir, when we are speaking about this political problem, all the members belonging to different sections in this House have said unanimously that we must strengthen the hands of the Akali Government and the Chief Minister, Shri Barnala. I also feel that this should be done. But it should be done not only on the floor of the House, but in practice also. The Congress (I) party today happens to be the ruling party here. They are a party to the Accord. The Punjab unit of the Congress (I) Party speaks in one tone; the Chief Minister of Haryana speaks in another tone and the Central leadership here, speaks in yet another tone. It must be made amply clear as to which is the line of thinking of the ruling Congress (I), which is a party to the Accord. And the Central leadership,

21.00 hrs.

may be the Prime Minister himself, should made it clear; not only make it clear, but also pull up the people who, by making these statements have brought about some disharmony and a kind of suspicion in the minds of the people of Punjab and the Sikhs.

Today there are two main problems on which action is being demanded. One is regarding the deserters from the Army; the second is about the people who are in the Jodhpur jail. I am told that among the people in the Jodhpur jail, many were devotees. Some of them were employees of the Golden Temple. There also may be some terrorists among them.

Even as far as Army deserters are concerned, there was then a kind of emotional euphoria. What one needs at this stage is a psychological appeasement of the Sikhs, of the people in Punjab; and not some solution by means of Accords or statements alone.

I would appeal to the hon. Minister to have a thorough enquiry or investigation to find out if some of the people lodged in jail, or some of the deserters from the

[Shri V. Kishore Chandra S. Deo]

Army who were genuinely not terrorists or who do not subscribe to such attitudes, could be rehabilitated, or taken back in some manner or the other. This is a process which would definitely lend some confidence to many of this category of people who might have been lured into doing certain things without actually meaning it.

I would also like to appeal, through you, to the Akali Government in Punjab to close their ranks. Mr. Prakash Singh Badal is there. He was a Chief Minister. I do not subscribe to the views of Mr. Tohra. Madhu Ji himself has mentioned it here, but I would like to reiterate what he said. First, I think the Central Government and also the functionaries from here could help in bridging the gap with in the Akali Party which, I think, would go a long way in bringing about a better situation in Punjab.

Today, right now Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala is not only a representative of the Sikhs, but of Hindus also. I am told that there is no proper Hindu representation in his Ministry. It is quite likely that there were not many Hindus elected from the Akali party. But I was wondering whether, in a situation like this, one could even think of the concept of reviving a Second Chamber in Punjab, a Council to accommodate people from various walks of life, eminent people, so that they could also participate in the process of the Government machinery and administration. This would improve the confidence of the people. It is only a suggestion. I do not know whether it is possible. I do not know about the technical difficulties that you may have. But I think this is also an effort which the Chief Minister of Punjab should be persuaded to make, as he represents not only the Sikhs, but all the other people who live in Punjab.

Most of the other points have been stated. I do not want to take the time of this House and say things which are irrelevant. Many friends have spoken about dangers from across the border. We have heard about the training camps in Pakistan, terrorists being let in and coming in, and given a task and then going back to Pakistan, and things like that. I think

that when we talk to these neighbouring countries whom we suspect, where we have the information that they are encouraging such anti-national activities from their territories, we should also make it a condition with them that unless they stop doing this, we cannot talk about better relations further, because what they are doing is actually indirectly resulting in worsening the situation, or threatening our national security and unity.

With these few words, I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity, and before I sit down, I would like again to tell the Home Minister that he should consider this in a firm and yet a humanitarian manner, and ultimately bring about a psychological appeasement among the Sikhs, and the affected people in that State.

[*Translation*]

PROF. NIRMALA KUMARI SHAKTAWAT (Chittorgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the increasing terrorism in the land of the Gandhi, Gautam and Budha, is a disgrace on this nation. This terrorism poses a great challenge to our country's unity and integrity and specially to the border States, such as Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. The increasing terrorism poses a big question mark before us.

Sir, innocent people are being killed there and the incidents in Jalandhar and Ludhiana are atrocious. Now the question arises, why this terrorism is taking roots in the country. There are some powers behind this terrorism, who want to disintegrate this country. When our leader, late Shrimati Indira Gandhi was alive, she had all along been warning us against some powers, who disliked our increasing strength and who wanted to paralyse our administration. But a lot of people did not need her warning. It was as a result of that rabid communalism that our great leader was snatched away from us. Sir, the same powers want to create civil-war in this country. They have *malafide* intentions and they are dreaming of engineering, communal riots in the country. But the patriotic citizens of this country will never allow their dreams to become a reality. It is strange that on the one hand, Pakistan

extends a hand of friendship and on the other hand, instigates terrorists. The arms with Pakistani markings were found at the places where riots took place in Ahmedabad and Verawal. I want to give an instance of Rajasthan.

Sometime back, the tourists from Pakistan had come to attend 'Urs' of Ajmer Sharief, where they unfurled Pakistani flag and also raised slogans. Our Government should take such matters seriously so that such incidents do not occur in any State especially in Rajasthan.

So far as the solution of Punjab's burning problem is concerned, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Longowal have emerged as peace emissaries before us. The Accord signed by them was welcomed not only by Punjab but also by the whole nation. It was only as a result of this Accord that 75 per cent people took part in elections despite incitement by the terrorists and a popular Government was formed in that State. 9 out of 11 clauses of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord have already been implemented. I would also say that Shri Barnala also sincerely wants to solve this problem. The peace loving people of the whole nation are with him. Therefore, he should fearlessly take necessary steps in this direction. The Government of India has also assured him all possible help but I fail to understand why his own partymen Shri Badal and Tohra are opposing and criticising him. I would also like to stress that it is not proper to adopt a mild attitude towards the terrorists. Ever since Shri Barnala took the reins of office, he believed that this problem could be solved peacefully. He, therefore, withdrew 2162 cases and released 1900 people including terrorists. I would say it was a blunder on his part. In my opinion, no responsible Government can employ army deserters in its police department. But he did so, which was a blunder. The present situation in Punjab could have been assessed earlier from the activities of the Damdami Taksal and All India Sikh Federation who declared that they would demolish Akal Takht and then rebuild it. These activities gave a foreboding of the shape of things to come.

I want to ask Akali Dal why action is not being taken to flush out the terrorists

hiding in the Gurudwaras. The dreaded terrorists Sukhdev Singh Sakhira was seen loitering with a Minister of Akali Dal cabinet. Why is it happening? Cannot you curb all this? Sir, today the nation is passing through a difficult phase. The whole nation is ready to cooperate with Shri Barnala in dealing with the secessionists. He should, therefore, take some strong measures.

Sir, just now Shri Inrajit Gupta told that failure to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab was the reason of this terrorism. It may be one of the reasons. But 9 out of 11 clauses of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord have already been implemented and there is no hitch in transferring Chandigarh to Punjab. But there is also a condition that Hindi speaking areas of Punjab will be transferred to Haryana and since it was not done, Chandigarh could not be given to Punjab on the 26 January. There is no doubt that Chandigarh will be transferred to Punjab sooner or later. If the terrorists are given Chandigarh there is no surety that they will stop their activities. Instead they will invent some other pretext to continue their activities.

Sir, the question of Punjab is a serious one and has a bearing on the national integrity. It is not only the duty of the Government but also of the people to find a solution to the problem. I appreciate your decision of sending para military forces there, because police have failed to deal with communalism. Police has been demoralized and it was also accused of shirking its responsibility. Therefore, our Government sent para military forces there to help Shri Barnala. I heartily welcome this step.

Sir, the decision to ban the entry of foreigners in Punjab upto 2nd July is also a welcome step. I feel that it will reduce the chances of providing help to the terrorists. I also suggest that our Government should issue identity cards to the residents of border areas, in order to stop the infiltration of foreigners into the country. Besides the Government, all the citizens have a duty to expose the foreign conspiracies and unholy designs. In this way we can show to the world that we are united and if there is terrorism in any part of the country the citizens of this country are not going to tolerate it.

[Prof. Nirmala Kumari Shaktawat]

21.15 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

No child of this country is going to tolerate it, even if he has to sacrifice his life for it. We take pledge in the name of our great leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who had to shed her blood, that if ever any harm befalls our country, every Indian would be prepared to sacrifice himself. We must check this tendency of terrorism which is taking a huge toll of human life. I think this is not only the task of the Akali Government, but also of all the patriotic citizens who must join hands to help the Punjab Government in solving this problem of terrorism. The steps taken by the Government of India in this direction have been commended by one and all. I also welcome them and hope that Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir will have a golden future when the Government and the citizens together put an end to the terrorist tendencies for ever.

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI (Srinagar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the first instance I welcome the Central Government's decision to co-operate fully with the Government of Shri Barnala. It seemed earlier that the Centre was disappointed with Shri Barnala and would not help him any longer. It is commendable that the Central Government have now decided to assist him in all respects, and we think it would be in the interest of the whole country. Let all of us, all the political parties, come together and help Punjab Government in its difficult period, and assist in solving the problem.

I would like to submit to you that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is bound to be affected by the unfortunate situation prevailing in Punjab. In Jammu, which touches the border of Punjab, some misguided young sikhs armed themselves with weapons and to meet their threat, Shiv Sena party was formed. As a result an atmosphere of confrontation has been built up there. Curfew was imposed in Jammu and there was loss of life and property also.

Unfortunately, the conditions were not confined to that area alone, but spread to the Kashmir valley as well and particularly Anantnag district was affected considerably.

It is to be regretted that Kashmir, which has always been the citadel of secularism, fell prey to this communal conflagration. Our National Conference party, which is the largest party in the state, would not allow such communal tendencies to grow.

The Central Government and all the opposition parties have come together at this juncture to tackle terrorism and to end the present crisis in Punjab. We will cooperate fully with them.

I wish to reiterate that these criminal tendencies were not limited to Punjab alone; it had spread to Kashmir also, but had not been successful there. Of course, it is to be regretted that our Press had exaggerated the situation. But the fact is that not much damage was done and not a single murder was committed. In the villages there was loss of property and some damage was caused to places of worship. But we find that in the country such incidents are on the increase and the Central Government must effectively counter the situation.

Recently, a judgement by the lower court regarding the Babri Masjid—Ram Janam Bhoomi temple case has widened the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims and it has vitiated the atmosphere of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. In Ahmedabad, which was already tense, the situation deteriorated further and there was a great loss of life and property. I think it is the duty, not only of the Government but also of the entire opposition to forestall the rapidly deteriorating situation which might create the conditions of 1947. It is possible that the foreign powers may like our people to get alienated from each other, but we are responsible for the internal situation which we have ourselves created and, therefore, we must counter it ourselves.

A little while ago Shri Arun Nehru had said that the terrorists are receiving help from Pakistan. The Government knows better. I would say if it is so it is regrettable because we are making every effort to improve our relations with this neighbour. It is the duty of the Central Government to take up this matter with Pakistan and do some plain speaking. Has the Centre ever given a piece of its mind to Pakistan, during

the course of its various dialogues, about the grim nature of the situation and the conspiracy behind it, as has been explained here by Government. I would like to ask the Central Government whether the foreign powers can really be successful in their attempts at destabilization and whether our defence, paramilitary and border security forces can resist those attempts? We are responsible for our defence and if our forces are not vigilant enough, it is a reflection of our weakness. If the terrorists trained outside the country are successful in infiltrating into India, if the army deserters, who crossed the borders to get training in Pakistan, are able to return and create terror in the country, we are also to be blamed to some extent. I would request the Government that it is its duty to seal all borders and it is the duty of our defence forces to counter infiltration in every way. The Defence Ministry also must share the responsibility in this regard. The Ministry of Home Affairs is also responsible because our Para-Military forces and Border Security forces are manning our borders.

If we have been a little successful in the past few days, it goes to the credit of the Government, Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry. If we can protect our borders at this juncture, Pakistan or any other nation cannot harm us. It is our duty to prevent infiltration into India.

Thirdly, the Accord has received support from every quarter. The Congress Party and the Prime Minister had signed the Accord with Shri Longowal who are killed by the terrorists for the same reason. It was an error on the Government's part to declare immediately after the Accord that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab as early as possible. The same was published in the newspapers not only within the country but also abroad, and an impression was created that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab on the 26th of January. The Fazilka-Abohar issue was not given much importance and Chandigarh received all the attention. But when the transfer did not take place on the 26th of January, I think it was a setback to the credibility of the Barnala Government. Either the two issues ought to have been linked or declared as separate from the very outset.

Secondly, I would politely submit, that your policy of conducting a census in Abohar and Fazilka was not right. In 1947, Punjab was partitioned on the basis of the number of Hindus and Muslims in each area, and I think that we must concede the fact that the census conducted recently was not done on the basis of language but on the basis of religion and both Punjab and Haryana got involved in the issue. Punjab, is a Sikh majority state, and in Haryana, the Hindus are in majority. As a result, emotional feelings in both the States were inflamed. Their confrontation led to the emotional upheaval of the peoples of the two states. The Mathew Commission, which had the Centr's full co-operation failed to rectify the situation. Neither did they present any report nor did they take any initiative regarding the Fazilka-Abohar issue. In fact, they were responsible for a lot of damage, as their action precipitated the tense communal situation already prevalent in Punjab. I would, therefore, say that the census held earlier in Punjab was better. If we really wanted to decide something about Fazilka and Abohar, then to hold a census was not the right way. The proper thing would have been that the representatives of the Governments of Punjab and Haryana should have discussed the matter with the Central Government and a solution found out. And that is what we are going to do at present. Your Government is now going to decide about the villages of Abohar and Fazilka through talks with the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana. But that is a belated step now. In what way holding of census there has benefited? Rather, atmosphere has become more tense and the situation has deteriorated.

Secondly, so far as Punjab is concerned, at present the terrorists are not discriminating between Hindus and Sikhs. Many of the Sikh intellectuals and honest and patriotic Sikhs have been killed and are being killed. To my mind, in the present violent atmosphere, mostly Sikhs are being singled out. Shri Barnala and his party leaders are being made the target. So far as the question of improving the situation in Punjab is concerned, you have taken a very good step of helping the Barnala Government. I would submit that the population of Punjab--whether Hindus or

[Shri Abdul Rashid Kabuli]

Sikhs—has not been alienated. The Hindus have been hurt a little and the Sikhs have also been harmed but Barnala Government can play an important role in your efforts in assuaging their feelings. I would like to remind you about the happenings in Bangladesh. In the 1971 Bangladesh war, one of the main reason for the defeat of Pakistan was that the people of Bangladesh had fully supported the 'Muktivahini'. Therefore, Pakistan could not face the challenge and had to retreat. Pakistan was humbled in the war. Therefore, in a democracy the important thing will be to gain the support of the people. I want that you should play a vital role. In Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs both are being killed. Both are in difficulty and victim of political uncertainty. I would like that you should take cautious steps in this regard.

Regarding Fazilka and Abohar, a round table conference should be held. The earlier it is done, the better it will be for the country, Punjab and Haryana as well. I think there should be a feeling of give and take. You may decide the issue after holding discussions with the Chief Ministers. I feel sorry that whereas the Barnala Government is fully cooperating, the attitude of the Chief Minister of Haryana is not helpful. It looks like a war cry. With this attitude he has harmed himself and the Accord as well. I would, therefore, like that the people of Punjab who have suffered and those people who suffered due to the events that took place in Delhi and in the entire country after the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi should be rehabilitated. No delay should take place in paying compensation to them. Win the hearts of the people; only then this menace can be combated.

Lastly, I would submit that Jammu and Kashmir is also being equally affected. I am particularly addressing Shri Arun. The hon. Minister is aware that Punjab is the life-line of Jammu and Kashmir. We have been facing difficulties for the last 4 years. Our tourism has been affected for the last 4 years. Resolve the problem of Punjab because the maximum benefit of this will go to Jammu and Kashmir. I assure you that whatever steps you take, the National Conference will give its full support to that.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanam-

konda) : Mr, Speaker, Sir, how the extremists and terrorists can be got rid of, this is being discussed in the House by all the hon. Members of all the parties. The water disputes, Chandigarh problem or other problems being created in other States are basically the result of forming the States on linguistic basis. One more chance has come our way to think on this problem. I came from Andhra Pradesh three days back. There also arms are being supplied from here..... (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER : Wherefrom ?

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : From Punjab to Andhra Pradesh... (Interruptions) Shri Madhav Reddi should not know but he is aware. There also arms supplied from here have been recovered. There is intense activity on Madhya Pradesh-Maharashtra border. The terrorists and extremists are planning to kill us. Otherwise this would not have happened. They are organising this secretly and sometime or the other it will take the shape of rebellion. The same situation is developing on Andhra Pradesh-Orissa border and in the forests of Madhya Pradesh. Many big journalists have reported about it. Para Military forces are receiving training there. One or two days back a statement by PUCL was issued that the method of killing the terrorists is not proper. Life is dear to every one. I want to ask Shri Tarkunde that if PUCL has any objection to the killing of the terrorists, what was it doing when innocent people were being killed ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Why do you drag in Shri Tarkunde.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : Reports of such killings are received sometime from Andhra Pradesh also. It is only when one suffers personally one knows the pinch. Recently, when the father of our friend died, how much hue and cry was raised in Lok Sabha. We know in Andhra Pradesh also terrorists are killing people. They are coming from here and terrorism is not confined to Punjab only. I feel it will spread to all the States. We are supporting Shri Barnala because Punjab is a border State. Had it been a State like Andhra Pradesh, instead of being a border State, President rule would have been imposed in the State

after dismissing the State Government. I went to ask whether Shri Barnala's statement in the Legislative Assembly about canal was not against the Accord? If Chandigarh has not been given to them or its handing over has been delayed, how can he say that not a single drop of water shall be given to Haryana and Rajasthan. It is not being done with the intention of driving a wedge between the two States and taking advantage of the situation? I want that the Barnala Government should implement the Accord fully on which Shri Longowal had signed.

I want to say one thing more. Just now Shri Indrajit Gupta had said that the police did not reach the spot even one hour after the murder of four persons. How can it be called a police force? People are afraid of the terrorists but police too is afraid of them. Why is it so? If the police personnel are so afraid, they should leave the police force... (*Interruptions*) It is said that the police is hand in glove with them. Even then the Central Government is helping the State Government because it is a border State. Had it not been a border State, the Central Government and the opposition parties would have collectively demanded dismissal of the State Government and would have asked for Presidential rule there. The activities in the border State affect the country and also being a non-Congress Government people are supporting it. If in spite of so much help Shri Barnala is unable to deal with the situation then some other method will have to be thought of. The Congress Members have appealed that the factionalism in the Akali Party should be ended and they should all come on one forum. We want that Shri Bhajan Lal should also be checked... (*Interruptions*).

[*English*]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : How do you rebuke Shri Bhajan Lal? He has committed no offence.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : No. He is praising.

[*Translation*]

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : You should end factionalism in your party also. If Shri Rajiv Gandhi has signed the Accord then

Shri Bhajan Lal should extend his cooperation in implementing the Accord. Similarly, when Shri Longowal has signed the Accord, all the Akali leaders like Shri Barnala, Shri Badal and Shri Tohra should implement the Accord collectively. When these three talk differently then the people think otherwise, and as one hon. Member has said, this can encourage the extremists to achieve their end. Therefore, all these three leaders should run the party unitedly. If they cannot run the party unitedly and instead, put the responsibility on the Government, then it will make them weak. Therefore, the problem will have to be dealt with by the Akali Party. From security point of view and also Punjab being a border State, para military forces should be alerted. People are saying that these extremists are being trained in Pakistan. They are getting training in Kashmir also. The Government of India should stop this... (*Interruptions*).

21.41 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MR. SPEAKER : You were referring to me or anyone else?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : We will give full support to the Government in dealing with the extremist... (*Interruptions*) Whatever assistance the Central Government wants to deal with the extremists, we are ready to provide.

[*English*]

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central) : We have come into this House with the hope that we can discuss and find out some solutions for the economic problems facing us like poverty, unemployment, the problems of the textile workers, etc. But it is really surprising and shocking that we had to discuss such type of communal, religious and provincial problems in the last 1½ years. Anyhow as workers we are not for caste, community or State and, therefore, we are not much concerned. But definitely as far as the national unity and integrity is concerned, I do support on behalf of our workmen such type of common solutions they are going to find out.

[Dr. Datta Samant]

What is happening in the last 3 months? About 82 people have died. Double that number have been injured. There were indiscriminate killings. Not only Congress (I) people but also CPI leaders and MLAs, migrated labour and police officers were killed. Some of the incidents I have heard. Of course, I have not gone there. In Kapurthala about 9 to 10 people were killed, double that number were injured and all happened in 22 minutes. They were operating indiscriminately in that area just opposite the house of the DSP. I do not know whether there is any Police force worth the name.

Mr. Barnala, the Chief Minister—I have all the respect for him. He is a good man, a religious man, respecting everybody. But he has taken it so lightly and he thought will all his good wishes, by kindness and by persuasion he could wean away the extremists. I think the steps which the Government are now taking should have been taken three month back. Had they taken these steps, all these things would not have happened.

Sir, I will not take much of your time. I am told people in Punjab live in perpetual fear. When the door bells ring, I am told, nobody opens the door. By 5 p.m. the shops pull down their shutters. Nobody sends their children to school without the parents. Outside the Golden Temple the paramilitary forces are operating. That is why it is good now that the Central Government is making all these things.

I have come across some of the articles of Frank Camper. They have appeared in the *Penthouse*. He has given the names of the States and the Sikhs who have approached him for training. They say that they have been trained and financed by Pakistan and China. That is the statement. I quote their names. Sukhdev Singh, Balraj Singh and So on. He further says that these people approached him and his wordings are—and I would like to state some of his wordings. "They say that they wanted to blow up all the three nuclear plants in India. If we can create another Bhopal, it will be very perfect." Then he asked him 'Have you interfered in Bhopal?' He says 'No, we have not done it. But we want something like

that. That is why we are trying to take this training.' It is a big article which he has published. If the Government is not having it, I can give him this article. I do not know—it maybe the Intelligence approach to keep the USA away from such incidents that they may be giving the names of China and Pakistan. Anyhow it is a fact that all these three States are involved and it is left to the Government—we are simple people—to find out which are the outside forces and how they are interfering....

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

DR. DATTA SAMANT : Only two minutes more. I will not take much time. It is not for the Sikhs. They are everywhere. In Bombay alone there are five lakhs Sikhs. They are well-placed and well-established. They got assistance from the Central Government. They are big people, they are controlling the transport, they are controlling big hotels. I am asking them in Bombay : 'Why do you want a separate Punjab or Khalistan when you are so much well placed?' Fifty per cent of Punjabis are all over India. I do not know what madness some people are having. I do not know what is the fraction that they are insisting. Of course it is a big joke, I don't like to quote. I told my Bombay friends, 'All of you go to Punjab and you can learn all these things.' Of course, I never mean it. But, Sir, the people are saying such type of things. Sir, I do agree on what traditions you have got. (*interruptions*). This is very important. Because of such pressures coming in the Punjab the other people are dominating under religious and provincial pretence and we are blamed for it. I am for the economic problems, but I don't like to mention here, all political parties including the Opposition also are taking advantage of this and holding the rallies in Bombay or somewhere and creating the counter-pressure there.

Sir, I only propose one thing that ultimately politicians are to be blamed for what is happening, for such types of things in this country. But one more point I would like to insist on, and which you have suggested, is that... (*Interruptions*) I am not against religions training, but religious trainees are now becoming fanatics for political gain and I have seen that children

of 2 years and 3 years and 4 years are trained. Now, I am not going into what religions are doing, you know it very well, Sir, and they are using youth. From 3 to 4 years the child's mind is moulded for fanaticism and political use. The Government should ban such type of fanatic training. At least after 12 or 13 years they can go for religious training, but the small children are sent for such a type of training which is creating fanaticism and politics. It should be banned. Such a type of Bill has to be brought. Thank you.

21.47 hrs.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT AND HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have had another very high level, very much restrained, discussion on a very sensitive situation. I am grateful to the Members who have participated in the discussion and made valuable contribution.

Sir, I shall not make a long speech, it is not at all called for because when the entire House is united on one point, one conclusion, there is hardly any room or any justification for going into details which are in any case known all over the country. The message that is going from this august House is loud and clear. No. 1 is, fullest support of the Parliament of India and therefore, the people of India to all the measures taken or to be taken by the Central and State Government to root out terrorism in Punjab. This has come out loud and clear. For a broad-based united effort on the part of all political parties to be made in whatever manner we consider necessary from time to time, consultations have been going on and we have actually intensified consultations amongst ourselves so that we come to a plan of action, actual plan of action. This is another conclusion which we have come to. We have demonstrated that the whole nation is one on this question and let no one entertain any doubt on this from across the border particularly.

Sir, having said this I must add, no one pretends that this is going to be easy, no one pretends that this can be achieved overnight. But then a nation like ours cannot and should not expect that at any

point of time in its history it is going to have a smooth sailing on all matters. We have to be ready to face situations as they come. As a matured nation we have to take them on as they come and with this unity which has been exhibited here I have no doubt in my mind that ultimately the triumph will be ours. The forces of destabilisation, the forces of terrorism which, I think, are in a desperate mood are not able to make any headway with the people. They know that and therefore terrorism is the last resort of such forces. It will not stand, it will crumble. But, perhaps, some price will have to be paid. We shall have to see that that price is the least possible and that is what we can do, all of us put together, the whole nation put together.

Sir, much has been said about the Accord. The Accord is the point on which all of us are united. The Accord is a Magna Carta, the Accord is a sacrosanct document for all of us and we are all committed to its implementation in toto, in letter and spirit.

The Accord is not just one; there are several items. My colleagues have already appraised the House of what is being done on most of the items. The one item which arises out of an item in the Accord, I would like to inform the House about what is being done on that particular item *viz.*, the off-shoot of Justice Mathew's Report. The Prime Minister has just told the House that efforts have been made for bringing about a settlement by mutual consultation and so on. Since that attempt did not yield results, I shall now place before the House what has been decided further in the matter.

Sir, the House is aware that pursuant to Paragraph 7.2 of the Memorandum of Settlement on Punjab, Government had constituted a Commission consisting of Shri Justice K.K. Mathew, a retired Judge of the Supreme Court. The Commission was to determine the specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which should go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh.

The Commission found that the villages and towns in the Fazilka-Abohar areas of Punjab identified by it as Hindi-speaking do not satisfy the criterion of contiguity. The Commission, therefore, could not recommend transfer of any of these areas of Punjab to

[Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao]

Haryana. In this context, in presenting its conclusions the Commission observed that it is for the Government of India to take such suitable steps as it deems fit including the appointment of a Commission.

Government of India, taking into account recommendations and observations of Shri Justice K.K. Mathew and paragraphs 7.2 and 7.3 of the Memorandum of Settlement, have decided to appoint another Commission consisting of Shri Justice E.S. Venkataramiah, Judge of the Supreme Court of India. A resolution constituting the Commission is being issued today. I hope it has been issued already.

The Commission will take into account the report of Shri Justice K K. Mathew and will determine and specify the other Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which shall go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. It shall follow the principles as laid down in Paragraph 7.2 of the Memorandum of Settlement. The Commission is to make its recommendations to the Government of India not later than 31st May, 1986.

It will also be provided that in terms of provisions of para 7.3 of the Memorandum of Settlement, the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and the areas in lieu thereof to Haryana will take place simultaneously as early as possible, and not later than three weeks of the Commission submitting its recommendations.

In taking this positive step towards the fulfilment of the Accord, I would request the House to recall the background in which the Memorandum of Settlement on Punjab was signed on July 24th last year. The Akali Dal raised a number of issues whose settlement was calculated to bring peace to Punjab and establish cordial relations between different sections of people and between Punjab and Haryana. An earnest effort

was made to adopt an integrated approach to the issues raised. Sir, the Prime Minister has just referred to this respect. The settlement is thus an integral whole which is cohesive and comprehensive. Its implementation has to be in its totality and not piecemeal. It is in this background that it has been reiterated that the Accord shall be implemented in letter and spirit.

I hope I have responded to whatever lurking doubts or question marks that were in the minds of the Members. I wanted to make a *suo motu* statement earlier in the House but certain consensus etc. had to be taken. So I am taking this opportunity to apprise the House of the decision taken by the Government and what is being done in pursuance thereof.

In the end I would again like to thank the Members and particularly you, Sir, for having given the main guideline of how the discussion should take place. I hope that with this unity, with this purposefulness, with this determination and with the goodwill that we have shown in the House and we are going to show everywhere in the country hereafter the problem of terrorism will be solved at the earliest although I cannot say that it will be solved within such a specified time but it will be solved as early as we can. The notification appointing the Ravi-Beas tribunal is also issued today. This is another piece of information which I would like to place before the House. Thank you very much.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you very much. The House stands adjourned to re-assemble tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.

21.57 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, April 3, 1986 / Chaltra 13, 1908 (Saka).*