

Official Language vice Shri Krishan Datt Sultanpuri resigned from the Committee."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT) : I, on behalf of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh.....

MR. SPEAKER : We will take it up later on because they have got the ballot. Mr. Suresh Kurup, you have got the first priority in the ballot. So, you initiate the discussion under rule 193.

11.19 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE : SITUATION ARISING OUT OF SERIES OF BOMB EXPLOSIONS IN DELHI AND OTHER PARTS OF NORTHERN INDIA AND FAILURE OF INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN THE COUNTRY

[English]

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the whole country is taken aback by the dastardly attacks by the extremists. Now, in the Capital City of Delhi and in other parts of North India, we see a very well thought out plan which is being systematically done by a very well organised centre of extremists. On two whole days, Friday and Saturday, the whole country was witnessing dastardly attacks by these extremists. One important thing which comes to our notice is that even though the extremists were well planned and they were organising it for the last so many days, for the last so many ways, the

whole intelligence machinery of government.....

MR. SPEAKER : Just a minute, Mr. Kurup. I will have to inform the House that there is already a discussion in the Upper House at four o'clock. We have to finish this off before four o'clock, because the Home Minister is supposed to be there also. We have to discuss this according to the time available.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : He has understood. He can speak till then.

SHRI SURESH KURUP : The important thing is the whole machinery of our Government failed in tracing them out, though they have been planning this. Already there were reports in the Press that such and such a thing was being planned by the extremists and there were enough rumours. I do not know why our intelligence agencies failed in tracing out this well thought out plan of the extremists.

Sir, before the Blue Star Operation, it was generally believed and it was also believed by the intelligence agencies that the Golden Temple was the centre of these extremists, and the Government after a long delay tackled these extremists, and cracked down on the Golden Temple and the Blue Star operation took place. After that, I would like to know whether the Government has traced out any other centres of these extremists activities. All these incidents in the capital city and other parts of India show that there is a well-organised centre for this activity. Which is it? Who is behind it? All this shows that some hundred or a few trained armed guerillas can come over to the capital city and make it a playground of their activities. That is what exactly happened here in New Delhi but the authorities are keeping mum. The authorities say that they had taken stern measures and all, but

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in spite all that their activities have gone off well-planned and they have escaped.

And now we find from the Press that, in one paper it is reported that the Police authorities have requested not give the names of the persons who were arrested. But in some other papers the names of some of the arrested people, an advocate who is involved with the extremists, have been given

This only shows that even as we have begun a conciliatory move, or when this problem was on the verge of a political solution, it is systematically done to thwart those attempts. I do not join that quarter and say that it is a right move. Some suggestions are already being made that all these activities are happening because the Government has made some conciliatory move, as the Government has shown some initiative to solve the problem, or to find, a political solution. This exactly shows that the masses are—and were—with the Government. That is why the extremists have resorted to these activities. A majority of the Sikhs from all over the country have welcomed the move taken by the Government to find a political solution to this problem.

It is to scare away the masses and to arouse communal feelings in our country that this time is chosen by these extremists for bomb explosions and all these activities. The Government or the Home Minister cannot wash their hands because it happened right in the capital city of the country i.e. Delhi. I again and again ask : What happened to our intelligence agencies ? Were they not aware that some sort of activities could occur while such a conciliatory move was on ? You know that whenever there was a move to find a political solution to this problem, such types of attacks occurred. Already these have been occurring. The Lok Dal leader and a former Member of Parliament, was

killed two days ago. Quite naturally our intelligence sleuths should have expected that such a thing could happen in our country. But nothing was done. Already hundreds of people have died. Some hundreds of people are now in hospitals in various parts of the country. I would like to know what measures the Government have adopted to tackle this situation. I know what the Members of the Treasury Benches would have said if such a thing had happened, in any one of the non-Congress ruled States of the country. What to talk of this type of incident, even if a small type of incident had occurred in any one of the non-Congress States, they would have demanded the immediate dismissal of the Government and Centre's intervention. For full two days extremists were playing havoc with our country, with the innocent people of our country and the Government was doing nothing. I would like to know what compensation are you intending to say to those poor people who suffered from these extremists attacks, who were killed in bomb blasts and who are suffering from injuries in hospitals ? I would again like to remind the Government not to retreat from the move to find a political solution and not to retreat from this conciliatory move. I would also appeal to the leadership of the Akali, whoever it may be—I do not know whether the leadership is now under the founding father of Bhindranwale or Longowal and company—to condemn this dastardly act of these extremists. This is the demand of the hour. This is what the people of the country expect them to do. This house without any political differences, join hands in condemning these extremist attacks. I demand the Home Minister to explain what measures the Government have taken to deal with the situation and what happened to our intelligence agencies

[Translation]

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD  
(Bhagalpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, no words could suffice to condemn the

orgy of violence and the incidents of killings of innocent people by cruel beasts, which have taken place for the last three days from Lucknow to Ganganagar. The question arises why this has happened. It is quite obvious that certain people wanted what riots should break out between Hindus and Sikhs in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and all other parts of the country outside Punjab and Hindus of these regions are increased due to this violence and they could retaliate by attacking the Sikhs and killing them so that the Sikhs are compelled to flee to Punjab. In the same way, the Hindus in Punjab are also attacked so that they may also flee from Punjab. They wanted that the massacre of Hindus and Sikhs should be started throughout the country and thus the unity of the country be jeopardised. Mr Speaker, Sir, this has not happened. The terrorists have failed in their first motive; the people of Delhi, Ganganagar and the farflung areas of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh did not retaliate by murdering innocent people but they remained cool and calm, because under the policy of Government which Indiraji formulated which is being pursued by Shri Rajiv Gandhi also, it is being emphasised continuously, that there is no dispute between the Hindus and Sikhs. This issue has been raised not by the Sikhs but by some such leaders of the Akali Party, who used to place before us religious demands as well as some other demands, but the real intention behind them is their political ambition. Otherwise, why should all these things be taking place even, when the late Shrimate Indiraji had conceded their religious demands and today "GURBANI" and "SHABAD" are being broadcast.

Actually these were religious demands. The other demands of the Akali Party, not of the Sikhs, are related to the establishment of a religious State for the Sikhs. They say that they have no dispute with the Hindus of the country or those of the Punjab

and that their dispute was with the people of Delhi. In fact who are the people living in Delhi? In Delhi the representatives of the Indian people reside; there is the Parliament and democratic Government in Delhi. Shri Rajiv Gandhi is the Prime Minister of that Government. Why is there a dispute with Government? The dispute with Government is because Government say that they have accepted their religious demands and they have also accepted the demand for transfer of Chandigarh to them, but so far as the issue of water and the transfer of other areas is concerned, that question did not pertain only to Punjab, it pertained to Haryana also, since these people lived in Punjab as well as in Haryana; so, both the States were aggrieved; the problem could not be solved according to their wishes but could be solved through an impartial inquiry only. All their other demands have been accepted and I do not want to reiterate them. Everybody is aware of them. Actually their other demands are the demands of a few members of the Akali Party and these demands have backing not only from some quarters in the country but from Pakistan as well as from America, the patron of Pakistan. Today they are demanding a religious State and say that their quarrel is with the rulers in Delhi and not with the Hindus of Punjab and the country. But the people of India are not so naive as not to understand the motive behind it. The people are aware of their designs and know fully well that those who are supporting them are those elements who have always acted against India. It is unfortunate that some people of our country have joined hands with them.

I do not say that Government should withdraw the measures taken but I would like to say that the question is not that of Sikhs, not that of moderate people but it is a question of terrorists. This challenge has not been thrown by the Sikhs or the moderate faction of the Akalis but by a

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handful of terrorists whose intention is to disintegrate the country and to make Punjab recede from India. So there are two questions before us. First, Shri Rajiv Gandhiji, should pursue his policy and we shall support him; secondly a challenge has been thrown by the terrorists to the country and the Central Government and this challenge must be met boldly. A section of the people says that these people should be persuaded to come around to our views.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, our late leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi particularly tried to foster good relations with them. I remember the day when she called a meeting of her Cabinet. I was also present there. Indiraji came to the meeting and she said that she had tried her level best till the last moment to persuade the Sikhs brothers in Punjab and the Akalis to have reconciliation but she was very much pained to order the Army to enter into the Golden Temple. After her saying this, tears rolled down her eyes. I saw tears in her eyes for the first time. She was a mother as well as the leader of the country. But for the sake of keeping the country united, she had to take this step.

Now Shri Rajiv Gandhiji is the Prime Minister of this country. He had two alternatives before him. He could have pursued the same policy or he could have made certain changes or modifications in it.

I think it is easy for the Prime Minister to pursue the earlier policy as without making any efforts he would have got applause. But the young Prime Minister of this country came forward and boldly offered to hold talks with them. If anyone takes it as weakness, then he is sadly mistaken.

I would like to submit to the hon. Prime Minister that the Sikhs of Pun-

jab, the Akalis of Punjab are also part and parcel of India. We want to keep them in India. If further talks have to be held with them, it could be done again. You should negotiate with them and persuade them, but there cannot be any compromise with the terrorists.

The Hon. Prime Minister, therefore, had only two alternatives. Our Hon. Prime Minister does not indulge in hypocrisy. He has not done anything to earn cheap popularity. He made certain changes in the policy. Those who think that it was a wrong step, forget the fact that the hon. Prime Minister is the Prime Minister of the country. He is the Prime Minister for Punjab as well. He is the Prime Minister of those Sikhs and Christians as well who live in the country. So the hon. Prime Minister has taken an initiative to resume the dialogue with them and to bring those persons to the negotiating table. But the terrorists should be dealt with firmly as they have thrown a challenge before the nation.

My friends say that this negotiations should be held with the Akali Party. I am unable to understand with whom the Prime Minister should hold negotiations. Should be negotiate with the Akali Party of the Longowal or with Tohra, who has again taken charge of his post, or with Shri Badal who has resigned? In other words, the moderates have left the party. There is no person in the Akali Party with whom negotiations could be started. Today the persons holding daggers with them have come to the fore front of the party. The extremists who have bombs, grenades and fire-arms with them have come to the fore front. The transistors which are means to entertain people with love songs and devotional songs are being used to kill innocent people.

I do not know about the moderate or the extremists in the party. The question is with whom the talks should be started. These are Hindus as well

as Sikhs in Punjab. The hon. Prime Minister should try to find out who their leaders are. The question of the moderate section or the extremists section in the Party may be kept aside.

The persons who murdered our late Prime Minister are being garlanded today in the country. Negotiations can never be held with such murderers.

These terrorists will have to be reminded that the country is not a piece of wood or iron which could be destroyed with any explosives. The strength of the country lies in the people and that strength cannot yield to the terrorists. We shall have to make this clear to them. The Hon. Prime Minister will have to assure the country and he is still assuring that Government shall not bow before the terrorists in the country. On the one hand so the issue is to negotiate with them and on the other hand to deal with the terrorists firmly. It is an hour of trial for the country. We are not bothered about the threats of guns and bombs. But if it is thrust upon us, then we know how to retaliate. This is the need of the hour. The policy of consensus is talked about time and again in this country. Shri. Madhu Dandavateji, kindly listen to me. I am not criticising anyone but want to convey my feeling. Whenever this issue came up in the Lok Sabha at the time of Indiraji and whenever the question of implementing the policy arose or whenever some Congress Members raised the issue whether the Army be sent to the Golden Temple, and whether the temples, mosques, gurdwaras and churches are meant for worship or these are places for amassing weapons, then, Dandavateji, no one said anything. No one asked who lived in the temple and whether murderers were living there and this place be inspected. A Member from

those benches had asked, "We do not know, you take a decision on this question, but the Army should not be allowed to enter the temple". I was surprised to know that an Opposition leader stayed in the temple at Amritsar for five days. There was accumulation of arms and ammunition in that temple which even a blind person could see. But that Member of the Opposition returned after staying there for five days and said that there were no arms and ammunition. The people defeated him in the elections. His name is \* \*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No name should be mentioned.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : A prominent leader of that party visits that place these days also. He tours Pakistan as well and indulges in tall talks. But he does not condemn terrorism and violence. Even today he visits that place. Who will not say that we should have consensus in this matter ? By following double standards or hypocrisy, this problem cannot be solved. This problem has one farm in the country and yet another farm outside the country. To say simply that the terrorists should be eliminated because all this is happening due to them will be wrong. The terrorists can be eliminated in the country. In Punjab they have the support of Pakistan. They have the support of America which had sent its Seventh Fleet and Padma and Sunderban ships loaded with arms to Pakistan and they had said that transistor were being carried in the ships. I cannot forget the evening of 1971 when our Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh arrived at Delhi airport by Boeing from America, after attending a luncheon meeting in a guest house. He said

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that very cordial talks had been held. All countries in the world came to know that Padma and Sunderban ships loaded with arms and ammunition were heading towards Pakistan. The policy maker of the country of the Statue of Liberty should not forget what type of hegemony will bring them reputation. Long ago, we consumed the wheat supplied under P.L. 480. Today our wheat is there for the suffering and starving people of America. We have grown it. They do not forget the fact that India has to safeguard four thousand miles of the border on land and four thousand miles of the border on the sea front. Pakistan has no such problem. What are these submarines meant for? It is said time and again that these are meant as a safeguard against the army of Afghanistan. I have come to know that the American imperialists say that in spite of gaining such a massive mandate there is instability in India. If USA wants to thrust their Patton tanks and Sabro jets, which have already failed in Vietnam and Cambodia respectively, on India, then India will not be a battle-field for them. If they try to attack us, our brave men, our Christian brothers, brave Hameed will give them a befitting reply in Khemkaran and such arms will be dumped on the soil of Lahore and not on the soil of India.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, these foreign powers which are supporting the terrorists, as also capitalist America and the feudalists want to establish a new state Khalistan using Pakistan as a medium but they will never be allowed to succeed in their nefarious designs. Never, never, never. We think the policy of the Hon. Prime Minister is correct. The Hon. Prime Minister should not change the present policy due to such type of criticism. The Prime Minister should tell the people and the world that there is difference between the terrorists and the people

at large and we are anxious and eager to hold talks with the people of Punjab but side by side we will deal with the terrorists firmly.

We should all agree unanimously to this. I want to say to Madhu Dandavateji—

*Sumar she:h hal,  
nahin pap ka apradhi hat vyadh,  
Jo tata:sha hatn,  
samay g:nega unka bhi apradh.*

It is, therefore, necessary that we should follow our policy like reciting the Vedas at the same time carrying a quiver on our backs.

*Aham Brahman, Aham Chhatram,  
Shadapi Sharadapi,*

In this way we should follow our policy, and if necessity arises, we are sure Government would implement their policy through *Shadapi* and *Sharadapi* also. The country would remain one hand united. The terrorists cannot disintegrate this country. We would emerge successful in the end.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazi-pur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to express my sympathy with the people who have been killed and injured in the incidents of bomb explosions in Delhi, Haryana and in U.P.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, after returning to power and even before that when we were contesting the Lok Sabha elections, our Hon Prime Minister had made a clear declaration that the solution of Punjab problem would get top priority and after formation of government with such a huge majority, he accorded top priority to this issue. A massive majority which the people had given to him and the power which was given to him was not utilised to

caush and suppress the people in Punjab, but instead he utilised the power in such a manner that a peaceful solution could be found to the Punjab problem and whatever grievances those were in Punjab might be removed. That is why he took an initiative of his own to open the doors for a dialogue in Punjab. He made certain announcements to improve the economic condition of Punjab. He released the imprisoned Akali leaders and removed the ban on the All India Sikh Students Federation so that an atmosphere could be created for holding talks on Punjab, but what was the outcome of all these actions? Mr Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to say that the intention with which our, Hon. Prime Minister had taken all these action has not been responded to by the leaders of Akali Party in the same spirit. When the Akali leaders were released from the Jails, they made such statements which ended the possibility of any talks. Moreover, when our former Prime Minister was brutally murdered, some Akali leaders, instead of condemning her assassination, started appreciating the assassins indirectly hunting that such type of action was inkeeping with the tradition of the Sikhs. It appears to me that the good intentions of Government have been taken as a weakness of Government by the Akali leaders and the extremists and they have tried to take full benefit out of it.

The President of the Akali Party, Shri Longowal first expressed his happiness that some of his demands have been accepted and he would postpone his Morcha till the first of June. But the result of the postponement of his Morcha is all that we are seeing today in Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Does he want to postpone his Morcha by indulging in such cowardice, by murdering innocent and place-loving citizens and by murdering and injuring people who have nothing to do with such acts at all? What purpose do

they want to serve by indulging in such activities of violence and what is their intention?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, not only myself, but the entire country has come to know that the Akali Dal does not want to have talks any more. Their intention seems to be something else. The Akali Party wants to disintegrate this country. It wants to destroy the unity and integrity of this country. It is wrong to say that a section of the Akali party is moderate and there are a few extremists in the Party. Even if the Akali Party has certain moderate Members, they do not have any say in the Party. The Akali Party is under the complete control of the extremists and if there were any moderate members in the Akali Party, they have become ineffective today in the Akali Party, in the politics of Punjab and in the Sikh politics. Now we would have to understand that the Punjab problem is not going to be solved through negotiations, because it is not only the Akali Party or the Sikh extremists behind this, but its strings are somewhere else. Somebody else is controlling the strings. Our Government and the people would have to identify those people who are controlling them from behind the scene.

A few days back, the Budget was presented in Lok Sabha and the Press of the Western Countries had praised the Budget very much. President Reagan had himself praised the Budget and had said that a new economic era was beginning in India. The Western media had also praised Government that a new beginning was being made in India. But when a combination of the All India Congress Committee was held recently and the Hon Prime Minister made a clear announcement that we would march on the path of socialism and we would follow the path shown to us by Nehruji and Indiraji to make our country self-reliant and to strengthen the economy.

[Shri Zainul Basher]

of our country, we would continue to tread upon that path, the Western countries started criticising us. The process of weakening the Government of India and destabilising the country started. Therefore the Western Countries are working behind the scene to aggravate the situation and the extremists in Punjab are under their control and the extremists in Punjab are simply dancing like puppets controlled by them.

Recently it was published in a section of the Press that Pakistani Commanders have infiltrated into Punjab and into Kashmir. They are not just a handful, but they have infiltrated into India in hundreds and thousands. We had tried to raise this issue in this House, but in your wisdom you did not allow us to raise this issue. But it is a fact that they are receiving their training in Pakistan, methods of terrorist actions are being taught to them in Pakistan and what has happened in our country during the last two days as also in Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and in Rajasthan shows that these people have been sent here after their having been giving complete training. These persons are not immature people, they are fully trained and they have received formal training in their task and they have utilised their training to create terror and panic in the country.

Why are they creating terror? They want that incidents of violence should start not only in Punjab, but in other parts of the country as well, why do they want this? It is their clear intention that the harassed Hindus of Punjab may migrate to the other parts of the country and the harassed Sikhs from the other parts of the country may migrate to Punjab. That is why they are creating panic among the people.

After the murder of Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, those people

had thought that due to harassment, the Hindus of Punjab would shift out of Punjab and the Sikhs living in other parts of the country would migrate to Punjab, but their malicious designs did not succeed. This was their intention and they had indeed passed a resolution to this effect. We have to keep this factor in our mind.

I am very happy to note that the people of the country had expressed sorrow on the incidents of bomb explosion but they did not react to them. I want that we would praise the people of this country for this. Mr. Speaker, Sir, Today the things have crossed the limit and in this situation we feel suffocated. To save us from suffocation and for removing this water, government should take some stringent action.

It is a matter of regret that much a great tragedy had occurred and our intelligence did not know anything about it. It is really a matter of great surprise. We should, therefore, strengthen our intelligence, because these people would not indulge now in such type of action, but they might choose any other method and any other other and they might indulge in some fore, type of activity. We should therefore remain vigilant in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we know that the unity and integrity of this country can never be destroyed. whereas Rajiv ji was a kind heart, he has a strong hand also. It is my submission to him that the people have seen the result of this kind heartedness, now he would have to use this strong hands. If you do not use your strong hands, you will not be meeting the aspirations of the people of the country, who have sent you here with such a massive majority. You should now use your strong hand which you had shown at the Ramlila Grounds. With these words, I would request you once again that it is right time that you use your strong hand.



[English]

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, my good friend Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad has rightly referred to what has happened at the Ram Lila grounds. There were two meetings. In the first meeting the people who loved this country, who want the integrity and unity of this country demonstrated their loyalty to our national leader—leader who has been chosen in General Elections in open contest with all parties which are all functioning in our country. They have avowed their loyalty to our leader.

In the second meeting, an opportunity was taken by one of the opposition parties to demonstrate whether they are willing to accept the democratic decision of the masses in our country or whether they would like to pursue an undemocratic ; obstructionist, disturb-loving or street-loving politics. My hon. friend, Shri Vajpayee has chosen to go the wrong way. I warned once when he happened to be here as leader of his party against pursuing or continuing his wrong policies of being too much in haste to get to power, to return to power and, therefore, pursuing wrong policies towards our country. He does not seem to have learnt a lesson even after the people have demonstrated so clearly against his party and that party's policies.

12.00 hrs.

I was rather unhappy, Sir, when this morning our friends of the Opposition thought that there should be an adjournment motion in order to get this discussion on in the House. Where is the need for even the thought of an adjournment motion ? Adjournment motion means censure of the Government.

AN HON. MEMBER : No.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : If they did succeed, they would have demonstrated that strong differences, irreconcil-

able differences, exist between the Government and the opposition on this question. That is why an adjournment motion is needed. What do they think of it ? This is essentially the occasion when every patriot in this country should support the Government. I for one would have expected the opposition to be of one mind with the ruling party, with the congress, and then say, we are all together, let us think of some way, some means, some collective means, by which we can demonstrate the unity of purpose, the unity in the country, among the masses today. Instead of that they thought of this adjournment motion. That shows that they have yet to learn to fall in line with national interest, national priorities.

AN HON. MEMBER : Are we anti-national ?

PROF. N. G. RANGA : They have not been able to demonstrate enough strength in this House to be able to move an adjournment Motion. These enemies of our country would have gone on propagating that Indian Parliament is not united and opposition wants to censure the Government in regard to this particular matter. I am glad, Sir, that this discussion has given us an opportunity for both the opposition and the Government—to demonstrate that we are all together. Sir, are we not all together, determined to fight terrorism ? Are we not of one mind in believing that through terrorism in this country, no party no group of parties, no section of people, can possibly destroy this determination of the Indian people and Indian democracy ? Is it not a fact that we are all opposed to the anti-patriotic, uncooperative, un-Indian way in which the Akali section has been behaving after our new Prime Minister has taken charge ? My hon. friend Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad has already told the country how our government has taken initiative to be liberal towards them and to

[Paof. N. G. Ranga]

try to negotiate with them. But then they have not been following the path of peace. One of their leaders had the temerity to say—I say it advisedly temerity—that he was going to wage war in his own way, according to his own concepts, against Delhi. What did he mean by that? Does he mean to say that they are going to wage war against Delhi Government here, against this Parliament? Do they want to destroy the unity of the country and then hold the whole of India to ransom and to make the whole of India fall at the feet of their *Takt*? Is that what they mean? If they do so I wish to warn them that they are asking for the impossible. We are not living in the age of the moghuls. We are not living in the days of the British; we are living in the days of Indian democracy where 700 million people are silently behind our national leadership and our Parliament where Indian people are prepared to shed what all they can shed by way of sacrifice in order to see that the unity and integrity are maintained and that India and Indians are going to serve this country.., in the noble manner, in the historic manner in which Indiraji had served us by shedding her own life, precious life, life that is reflected in the hearts and the minds of 700 million people, people who have voted for the Opposition, who have voted for us, all Indians of all castes, of all religions, are united in standing by our Indian democracy, India's unity and India's integrity. Therefore, let these friends take warning from the lessons of our democracy.

Then, Sir, I would also like to appeal to the Sikhs as a whole. Do they mean to say that all the Sikhs are Akalis? The non-Akalis are sensible enough, patriotic enough, generous enough, decent enough, comradely enough with all the other Indians and they do not shout in such

harsh manner as these friends have been doing. They are also Indians, they are also Sikhs and let them take a vote in democratic manner, whenever the time comes, they will find themselves, these Akalis, in a manner even in Punjab itself, we are prepared to take a challenge whenever the time comes. Apart from these Sikhs, Hindus are there including the Sikhs in Punjab as well as in the rest of India. Should they not think of all these lakhs and lakhs of enterprising, energetic, progressive, forward-looking Sikhs who have settled down in the rest of India? Should they not think of their own freedom, their own safety, their progress and their interests? I warned them three years ago about them. But they seem to be dead towards all these. I would like to appeal to all these Sikhs all over India, in the rest of India to assert themselves that the time has come now for them to demonstrate that they are not going to be dictated by one Pope just as the Christians had the necessity at one time to defy the dictatorship of one Pope for the whole the world. So also, the time has come for the Sikhs also to realise that it is not through that half a dozen priests, and the political leaders to dictate to them. They are also Sikhs, they are also religious minded people, they also swear by their own ten gurus and they have got the right to stand by mother India because they have chosen Punjab as their motherland and you similarly. I wish to contragulate the Hindus in Punjab for having remained so loyal towards their own mother-India during all these three years of trouble and turmoil, terrible fears and threats coming from every side and actual violence that was heaped upon them, yet they have remained loyally by the side of India. They have not run away from there. They have not sought asylum in any other part of India. They have remained courageous people. I am proud of them. I wish to pay my tribute to them. Now, to the rest of India, including my hon.

friends in the Opposition, notably my friend, Prof. Dandavate, I appeal as stand by these people, the Hindus as well as Sikhs who are there in Punjab—I appealed to them long ago and I repeat it again—let us all stand together against these terrorists. My hon. friend, Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad has already warned us. Indeed Indiraji had been warning in the past three years. Some of our national leaders of different political parties who had to be responsible, had found themselves to be taking irresponsible position and accusing Indiraji of unnecessarily raising this bogey of foreign powers. Are these foreign powers interested in the defeat of India, in the destruction of India's unity? Are we so blind to what is happening all over the world? Ten or twelve years ago when my hon. friend Shri Darbara Singh was Foreign Affairs Minister, he was then working for peace in the Indian ocean. Ever since we have been fighting for it, but the Indian Ocean today is an area of warfare and rivalry. Who is responsible? Not Russia, but America. Russia only follows suit. They are rivals against each other. We are not opposed to either of them, but we are friends with Russia, because Russia has always been generous enough to stand by us, but that does not mean that we are opposed to America, but America has made it a point to oppose us, and to pursue a policy which is against the humanity as a whole.

My appeal to all of you, to the opposition in this House as well as outside is that let us demonstrate to the rest of the world that just as our Defence forces are united behind us, just as all our police and other forces are trying their best to stand by us, so is the Parliament in India. Though ours is a democratic Parliament, where there are so many political parties, but irrespective of our political differences and partisan attitudes against each other, we are all together. Just as we stood with Lal Bahadur Shastri at the time of invasion by Pakistan,

just as we stood with Jawaharlal Nehru when China invaded us, we in Parliament are one irrespective of our political differences. Let us demonstrate that we are all together, we stand by India and together India can never be defeated by the United State of America and their allies as also others who are thinking in those terms.

[Translation]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabard): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very much pained to participate in the discussion on this subject. We never thought that an adjournment motion was a Censure Motion. I did not know that through this medium Government were to be put in the dock. Well, there is nothing bad in drawing attention to Government's shortcomings. We did not intend to ensure Government. If someone says that we have brought this adjournment motion with the intention of censuring Government, he has gone senile. I do not agree with him. The rules are very clear, because the discussion which is taking place now is more or less a discussion on the adjournment motion. It is another thing that there will be no voting, as we have adjourned the business.

My submission is that it is a very painful thing. Two or three days back, many people were killed in bomb blasts in Delhi and other States, innocent lives of children, old men and women have been lost, what was their fault? Someone was travelling from here to Pilani, another was travelling to Meerut by bus, still another was travelling by train, someone was travelling by auto-rickshaw. What was the intention behind killing them? Why did they do it? Why does a man behave like this? I think the people concerned are very much frustrated and they did not get what they wanted and consequently they took to terrorism. I totally agree

[Shri C. Madhav Reddy]

with what Shri Azad has said that there is a central organisation which guides them and gives them training. They go to Pakistan and nobody stops them at the border. The Border Security Force is of no assistance in this regard. We are aware of all this. But, we should ponder over it that they are able to do all this because there is some weakness in us. There is some weakness in our Government, particularly in our intelligence agencies. Today, all the people ask why we had not anticipated the happenings in advance and why the agents of our intelligence department did not infiltrate into them? What happens in other countries is that the intelligence agents infiltrate into the camps of the terrorists where terrorist activities take place and inform Government of their activities which enable the Government to take timely action. 15 to 20 days back, it was reported from Punjab that some terrorists had arrived there and trouble was likely to be created there. But, in spite of that report, no action was taken by Government. It shows that our intelligence men are sleeping. What is needed today is that they should be activated. Your Home Ministry also needs to be activated, because the changes brought about yesterday evening are not sufficient. You have inducted a Minister of state in the Home Ministry and have entrusted some responsibility to him, but it is going to be of no avail. My submission is that there should be a separate Ministry for internal security.

[English]

There should be a full-fledged Minister who completely in charge of Internal Security.

[Translation]

Who should not handle other matters in the Home Ministry, such as, political matters or appointment and transfers, etc.

[English]

He should be completely in charge of law and order.

[Translation]

This task is difficult as long as it is not done in this way.

A lot of discussion has taken place here on Punjab. We have no intention to convert this debate into a debate on Punjab. It is not proper at the moment to go into the causes of what has happened in Punjab and why it has happened there and I do not consider it proper too. Shri Azad has certainly said something which tempts me to reply to that, but it is not necessary to go into that discussion at the moment. We are all with you. I can assure you on behalf of my party that we are with you in whatever step you take to solve the Punjab tangle and I am happy that the Hon. Prime Minister has been making efforts continuously for the last two months to reach a settlement. A number of meetings were held with the Opposition leaders as part of his efforts to solve this problem somehow or the other. I support his efforts in this regard but request at the same time that terrorism must be curbed. You think over what is to be done and what steps are required to be taken to deal with it. If you want to take advice on the matter, take it from whomsoever you want, but it has got to be curbed, because nobody has sympathy with the terrorists. I think even the Akalis are against them. They know what would be their position in the event of an escalation in terrorist activities. Therefore terrorism should be seen in isolation and should not be mixed up either with the Akali demands or with the Punjab problem. You take firmly whatever action you want to take against terrorism. We are with you in whatever action you take in this regard. But, do not mix up the Punjab problem with it.

You have taken some steps to solve the Punjab tangle. There is no need to hold a dialogue with anybody because nobody is there at the moment with whom talks could be held. Shri Azad was telling just now that nobody was there at the moment with whom talks could be held. Then, with whom to talk? Therefore, there is no need to hold talks. To solve this tangle without holding talks with anyone on the steps taken by the Prime Minister after a through consideration is a very right approach. You keep the promises made in your announcements. Whatever you want to give and concede to Punjab, concede it. If you yourself take the initiative of doing it, the people of Punjab will support you and the people of Punjab will not side with the terrorists once they know the treatment which you will be giving to them in that case. I do not consider it necessary to add anything more to it.

One thing I want to make clear once again—we had no intention to censure Government by bringing forward a Censure Motion in the House, but we only wanted to have a discussion on it.

[English]

PROF. K. K. TEWARY (Buxar) : The bomb blast in Delhi and several other places are not a simple case of bomb blasts in which certain people have been killed. I am told about 100 people have been killed, and more than 200 people have been maimed, and they are in the hospitals. This phase of the ugly terrorist design is a stark reminder of what is in store for us, for this country. It is an outright attack, it is in assault on the freedom of this country, on the unity of this country; and the sooner we face this challenge, the better it will be for the entire country, and for the Sikhs themselves.

So, in the light of this . . . (Interruption)

Sir, I am sorry I am interrupted by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. What I was saying was that on this question, the entire House agrees; most of our Opposition Members, those who have spoken already have supported the line that this is a challenge to the nation as a whole, and that if we do not act in time, things might go out of control, might go out of hand. But mere condemnation of this violence, a mere condemnation of this mindless terrorist, fascist action by a handful of people in Punjab will not suffice, is not enough. We have to adopt a common line, a national line, a patriotic line to face this challenge which is threatening the very basis of the nation-State, the values that we have cherished, values that we have evolved over decades after the freedom struggle. They are under assault; they are under attack. It is not only a question of incidents here and there. For this, I think it is necessary for us to analyze the whole background of what has gone into this movement which was started in the name of *Dharam Yudh*. It was not a political movement.

What the Prime Minister has recently declared—the whole House commends it. In fact, the Prime Minister has received fulsome praise, spontaneous praise for actions that he took to defuse the tension. Let us not forget that this nation and the people of India have made the supreme sacrifice, the greatest sacrifice that we could have made. The former Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi sacrificed her life to maintain the unity and communal harmony of this country. After that, the people in India demonstrated that this country is not a sitting duck the Congressmen in particular, those who have fought for freedom and the Opposition friends also who have stood for the unity and integrity of this country, have not allowed the grasses to grow under their feet. They will face all challenges, whether it comes from the terrorists inside, or their

[Prof. K. K. Tewary]

mentors abroad. But while I say this, I would also like this House to go into the genesis of this crisis. This has started, the trouble in Punjab started as a *Dharam Yuddha*. What is the motive? It was to give a communal shape, a communal colour to the entire process of their political agitation. Demands were not important. A fascist gang took over the leadership. Initially, the Akalis were making noises; but from the very start, this fascist group led by Bhindranwale took the leadership. And I maintain—many of you may not agree with me but to me—there is no basic difference between the Akalis as such, and the so-called extremists. The difference is only what is there between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. There is no difference. When Akalis speak, the threat to our unity, the threat to our integrity is being given by the same people who in one voice talk of a peaceful settlement, and next time when they speak just after a couple of minutes, whenever they have an occasion to speak, they harp on the same thing which is being perpetrated by the extremists, that is Akalis; they provide theoretical framework. Now this concept of martyrdom, they say that all those who laid down their lives in the cause of the Panthak unity, in the cause of the Panth, they will be treated as martyrs; and in pursuance of this policy, this dangerous, this medieval, this barbaric policy, Mrs Indira Gandhi's assassination was glorified and is being glorified. So, whenever you start negotiations, whenever you think of negotiations, you have to think of the people with whom you have to negotiate. What are you negotiating? Are you negotiating the very principle on which this nation has survived or this nation is constituted? India's Unity rests on very fundamental of secularism, democracy and integrity of India and what Akalis say runs counter to all these things for which we have made sacrifices and

thousands of people in this country have laid down their lives and made heroic sacrifices, to strengthen these basic values. Therefore, let us be very clear what we are going to negotiate. Are we going to negotiate on these basic values? I am very happy that some of my opposition friends, particularly the Communist party in the House, have been taking a stand which is directly in condemnation of the extremists' activities. Of course, they have demanded that Akali leadership should dissociate itself from extremists. Where is the scope for dissociation? They cannot dissociate themselves. And now what remains in Punjab? Akali leadership has suddenly melted into thin air; Akali leadership does not survive anywhere. It is only extremists prompted, supported, funded and financed by their mentors in Pakistan, in America and U.K. who are controlling the extremist group; and in the light of this whole framework, the whole range of policy towards Punjab needs to be reviewed; whether a particular political party in the name of certain political grievances can utilize Guadwaras can utilize, temples, can utilize Churches to launch this kind of murderous agitation, agitation whose philosophy is justified in the name of religion, murder is justified in the name of religion and history of the religion is traced. It is said, all those down the ages, who had attacked this religion or attacked those who propounded the theory of this religion, met the same fate.

The leader, who is lionised by many people in this House and outside, Longowal came to Delhi. What did he say regarding assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi? What did Mr. Toral say after his release from jail? What did Mr. Badal say? They all said unanimously. You think over it; the country has to think over this, not on this demand. It was shocking, an harrowing experience, when all these leaders, with whom people say negotiations should be started, they said and Longowal particularly that the

wicked sinner has been punished this should be a revelation to people, this should open eyes of the people of this country. He said, the wicked sinner has gone and all those who will follow her policy will meet the same fate. This man, how is he different from the extremists, who take guns in their hands, bombs in their hands and kill innocent people? Therefore, if you asks me my honest opinion, I will tell you that the whole range of policy, the attitude, the calculation regarding Punjab, have to undergo a change, because what is happening in Punjab is not a set of demands for river water or a few acres of territory or few miles of territory in Haryana or a few concessions to the Gurdwaras, the whole thing, the whole thrust and you also remember, and let this House also remember that this kind of an approach is calculated approach; because if I speak about this aspect it will take lot of time, therefore, I confine myself to one or two submissions about this. The process of destabilisation as I said last time also in this House, is as strong inside as it is outside.

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Therefore what comes handy in India is religious fanaticism, revivalism, obscurantism of fascists and religious groups. Those who are encouraging the holocaust in Ahmedabad, for them these people have come handy for they want to subvert our system and Punjab was picked up, selected carefully by our enemies and therefore religious fanaticism was promoted and Akalis willingly—I will not say unwillingly—have played into the hands of the extremist elements right from there. And many people in the Opposition Prof. Dandavate, I know the moment I touch upon his party he will get up, I am not going into unnecessary polemics.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I have decided not to take cognizance of him.

MR. SPEAKER : I hope so, to maintain the equilibrium.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Prof. Dandavate says that he does not take cognizance of him. But the people, the whole country is taking cognizance of what these leaders are saying. When we were all condemning these revivalist groups, and the use of Gurdwaras, is it not a fact that people who public opinion, or the people who claim to be leaders of political parties they went \*\* are a couple of others from the Janata Party went and stayed in the Gurdwaras and when these murderous operations, widespread operations were happening, when they were going in, and coming out to Gurdwaras and Janata Leaders did not find any extremists there. And, now in the light of these activities, what the Home Minister has to say?

We have come across disquieting reports about the role of certain political parties. Again, the Janata Party leaders when this agitation was in sight, as I said \*\* visited the Golden Temple, \*\* of course — had gone—and simultaneously \*\* and \*\* had visited Pakistan and held discussions with President Zia-Ul-Huq. What happened after that? I would like to know from the Home Minister straightaway, what is your information? Is it not a fact? (Interruptio:is) I am not making any allegations.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He cannot mention names like that.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : We have heard all these number of times.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : The Prime Minister also said something in the recent elections.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Now you please sit down Let me handle this.  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : If you just allow me to do something, I want to say something. You do not want to listen to me. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Tewary, we have all agreed that we are going to put up a united front to fight this. So, confine yourself accordingly. Please do not make any acrimonious remarks. Names will not go on record.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Is it of any use to brush dirt under the carpet, till the carpet gets bumpy? I would like to know... (Interruptions)

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : We will also say so many things.  
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. Nothing is going to be fruitful by this. We want this to be a fruitful debate.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I want to know from the Home Minister : Is it not a fact that these terrorists from Punjab are being trained in the same camps in Pakistan which have been opened for the training of Mujahiddin, who are fighting in Afghanistan? Is it not a fact that about \$3 billion worth most sophisticated weapons have been supplied by CIA to these Mujahiddin groups through Pakistan Government which is acting as a conduit? The same terrorist training camps are being shared by Mujahiddin and these terrorist who are

now out to create panic and disruption in our country. Very recently, I raised this matter on the floor of this House and this has come out in *The Times of India* of 30th April. I quote :

"The Congress Member, Mr. K. K. Tewari,...

[Translation]

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : This is totally...\*\* (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : This is not proper what the Member has said.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : You should exercise restraint.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is already the c. It is already quoted here. It is a 'Quotable Quote' :

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I am quoting :

"...demanded discussion in the Lok Sabha on the alarming disclosures by the alleged assai-lant of the AICC general secretary, Mr. R. L. Bhatia, that 300 terrorists with commando training in Pakistan had infiltrated into Punjab..." (Interruptions)

I am merely quoting the article. What is there to laugh? (Interruptions)

These matters have been debated on the floor of the House. I wonder why the Home Ministry has no information about these aspects.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.



These activities are being organised not only here but also.

MR. SPEAKER : This has been a aidtime and again.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : The present challenges thrown to the Government and the unity of country have acquired a very sophisticated level. Therefore, there needs to be a change in our response and in the instrumentalities also. The Home Ministry has to change its approach. There should be more sense of anticipation because the pattern of terrorist gangs are well-known. In the light of these experiences I think the Home Ministry has to revamp the whole structure of intelligence system because new challenges are really terrifying. So, I strongly condemn the terrorists action and caution the Government that many more gangs are still out, those who have been arrested, and they are bent upon creating trouble in the country at the behest of their foreign mentor. Therefore, a very serious view should be taken and negotiations about Punjab should not take place, because there is no one with whom you can negotiate. And the issues which have been raised by this agitation are really dangerous and there should be no negotiations on these issues.

MR. SPEAKER : I will request the hon. Member to please take up some new points. There is no fun in repeating those points which have already been covered. They may please take up new points so that we can cover more grounds and more people can participate.

[Translation]

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House is debating a very serious problem. This House is aware of the way communalism is doing a naked dance and having a bath in human blood for

the last three to four years. Most of the time of the Seventh Lok Sabha in session was spent on this Punjab problem. The question is why they are having blood bath and why these extremists and communalists are raising their ugly heads. It is now 38 years since India attained Independence. All went well for 34 to 35 years. What special they has happened suddenly during these three years? There was a dispute between Punjab and Haryana. The demands were squeezed from 45 to 3 or 4. Our late Prime Minister had said that we were ready to handover Chandigarh to Punjab but Haryana would get its due share in return. We are prepared to refer the river water dispute to the Supreme Court. But, their intentions are *malafied*. They do not want to have a settlement. The forces working behind them have their Chamber and gurdwaras in the U.S.A. and Canada and their temples and shivalayas in China. This needs to be given thought to. Shrimati Indira Gandhi tried her best to solve this tangle. The cruel hand of death has snatched her away from us. Those forces were under the impression that Shrimati Indira Gandhi's murder would result in the disintegration of the country, the Hindu-Sikh issue would take a communal turn in the country and bloody violence would follow, the Hindus would be head the Sikhs and the Sikhs would be head the Hindus. Sir, the Sikhs are spread in all parts of the country. The Hindus and the Sikhs are the branches and leaves of the same tree. The people of India and Punjab deserve congratulation as they did not allow those enemies and those forces to see their dream come true and nowhere arise such a situation which could be termed as a Hindu-Sikh issue. The burden of the 70 to 72 crores of people fell on the young shoulders of Shri Rajiv Gandhi who had the dead body of his mother lying in his house awaiting her funeral. In spite of all that, he went to Lt. Governor's bungalow at midnight, took a round of the affected colonies, visited the telephone exchange

[Shri Chiranji Lal Sharma]

and controlled the fire within 24 hours which was going to engulf the entire country. Nobody had thought that Shri Rajiv Gandhi would be able to control so soon the fire which had broken out in so many cities of India. He overcame that and presented himself before the people. Then elections were held. The masses of the country supported the policies of Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I). The support was so tremendous that the Congress party got unprecedented majority. The elections were held very peacefully. After the elections were over, our hon. Prime Minister gave evidence of his broad-mindedness and took bold steps. So the Akalis were released unconditionally by a unilateral discussion. At that time a Committee of three Senior Cabinet Ministers was constituted to solve the Punjab problem. They went to Bhagat Singh's *Samadhi* and later met Shri Tohra and others and gave them ample opportunity to exchange views. I have been given to understand that the Government of India left no stone unturned to reach a settlement with the Akalis and even arranged a Round Table Conference. But the matter by then had gone out of the control of the Akalis. The terrorists had over-shadowed them. When Shri Longowal came out of prison, he visited the residence of the assassin in Niran-kari Baba and started speaking in the same tone as Bhindrawale so that he could maintain its leadership as he was afraid that if he did not speak in that way, he might become a victim of the extremists. If you go through the speeches of Shri Tohra or Shri Talwandi you will find the same thing. Our friends from the Opposition ask us to make a compromise with the Akali Dal for an early solution to the Punjab problem. But the question arises with whom we should hold talk and who should be treated as the authority and under whose leadership the settlement should be arrived at. Only yesterday, Shri Vajpayee in his speech at the Ram-

lila Grounds levelled charges against Government and said that Government had failed on this front. I would like to mention here that BJP had played a major role in the fall of the Janata Government. I recall a couplet of Akbar Hyderabadi in connection with what BJP people say. It goes like this :

*"Akaebee mazhab mujhse  
poochhie ho unni*

*Shia ke sath shia aur sunni  
ke sath sunni*

Today even Vajpayeeji is speaking in the same tone. If he peeps into himself he will come to know where he stands. I have just now come across a news item in which it was stated that a Lok Dal leader had demanded that the Prime Minister should dismiss the Government, but why ?

Why should the Prime Minister who has got the People's mandate and support loosen his grip or dismiss Government merely because a handful of communal terrorists and extremists are bent upon staging a blood bath and are conspiring to set on fire the silent shores of the country afresh. This type of demand is being made by those leaders who do not want that this problem be solved. Can it be denied that Shrimati Indira Gandhi did not take the Opposition into confidence and it is not a fact that the Opposition parties supported the Akalis and whether it is also not a fact that the Janata Party leaders stayed as guests in a gurudwara. It is irresponsible to allege that Government should be dismissed as Government are inefficient and their intelligence agency is weak or the like of it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can say it with authority that the way the terrorists are at work and the type of training they are getting, the weapons seized in the recent bomb explosions in Haryana carry Pakistani markings, and I would request the hon. Home Minister to enquire into whether

in the recent bomb explosions in Har- yana, bombs and guns seized had Pakistani markings on them? Therefore, it is all due to the persons who are coming back after receiving training in Pakistan. Then how do you say that Government should plant police on the top of every tree and the army behind every bush but they fail to understand that it is the duty and responsibility of each one of the Indian citizens to co-operate with Government in maintaining the country's unity and integrity. I would like to say that what to speak of the intentions and programmes of terrorists no power on the land, cyclones in the sea and thunderbolts in the sky can come in the way of Rajiv Gandhi. He has come out with his liberal attitude and shown his generosity and if those people do not take the benefit of his generosity and bring about an amicable solution, then Rajiv Gandhi's hand are strong enough .. (bell). If you had followed me two to four minutes more I would have covered by points.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no more time could be allowed now.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : All right, I shall conclude now. I appeal to the whole House that the matter is so serious that all of us should co-operate and strengthen the hands of the hon. Prime Minister irrespective of party affiliations, castes and social barriers so that these strong hands are able to frustrate the evil designs of terrorists and extremists. Sir, I have done.

DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI (Sitapur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are not only having a discussion in a changed scenario in Punjab but also keeping in view its after-effects on the country. Finally, whatever has happened in the last two days, the whole House has outrightly condemned it and the whole country should also know about it. These extremists activities do not have any place in the

policies of the country. How can there be place for the cult of violence and the ways of extremists in our country's democracy? I feel that these activities cannot have any place in our democracy. We are always ready to sit across the table and try to settle each and every issue through negotiations.

Earlier too, our former Prime Minister was trying to solve the Punjab issue through negotiations but the terrorists did not give in but instead took shelter in the Golden Temple and indulged in terrorist activities from there. Government were forced to undertake "Operation Blue-star" to flush them out and a large number of people belonging to these extremist groups were also arrested and stringent action taken against them at that time. Government at that time took firm action. But as it always happens after some time a new Government came to power and they once again gave thought to the plan of action in respect of this matter. When the new Government took over, the hon. Prime Minister once again appealed to the Akali leaders to settle this issue and even lifted the ban on AISSF and tried to solve it through negotiations. Just now, one of my friends from the Opposition while initiating the discussion emphasized the need for having a dialogue. We too agree that talks should be held. Nobody has any objection to it. Negotiations are already going on with them, but the extremists activities that are taking place day in and day out are not good on their part as many innocent people have lost their lives as a result of such activities. If they think that they can cow down the Government by indulging in violence they are sadly mistaken and I would like to tell them that Government cannot bow before the extremist forces.

There is a national consensus on this matter that the Government should take firm steps to deal with the situation. The "Operation Bluestar" and also the flushing out of thousands of people from 'Harmandir Sahib' and

[Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai]

'Akal Takht' was a proper thing to do. I would like to quote from the Chandigarh Tribune dated 11th instant.

[English]

"The All India Sikh Students Federation yesterday asked the Chandigarh Police to desist from implicating innocent youth in false cases. In a statement, Mr. Harinder Singh Kalhan, Converer of the *Ad-hoc* committee of the Federation said : 'The arbitrary arrest and torture of innocent young men must stop immediately. The AISSF had full faith in the leadership of Baba Joginder Singh The Federation also decided to reopen its office at Shree Harmander Saheb in Amritsar where Mr. Charanjit Singh had been appointed Office Secretary, Mr. Kalhan said.'"

[Translation]

I would like to bring to the notice of Government that when Bhindranwale was allowed to stay in 'AKAL TAKHT' no action was taken against him and we had to pay a heavy price for that. Now the AISSF wants to reopen its office at Shree Harmander Saheb and they should not be allowed to do so. The reason being that we have to decide once for all whether the Constitution will prevail in this secular Country or the *Hukumnama*. The country would be ruled by the Constitution of India and it applies to every citizen of this country whether he is Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian and it would not be ruled by the Sikhs as '*Hukumnama*'.

Sir, who are these high priests who allow, the people playing with the lives of innocent people, to stay in the 'Akal Takht'? If Government take action, it is said that the young men are being harassed and tortured. Today, when these youngmen have killed

about 100 innocent men, women, children and old people in Haryana, Punjab, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh in order to create a panicky situation so that people may lose their patience, we have to give a second thought to the situation.

Besides, I would also like to bring to the notice of Government that Punjab is leader-less today. Negotiations can be held with any political party, but how can negotiations be held with the extremists who have overcome the Akali leaders ?

The rebuilding of 'Akal Takht' has posed fresh danger before us and I would like to draw the attention of the Centre to it.

[English]

It was reported :

"The Executive said the glorious and self-respecting Panth cannot accept the shrine built on a contract-basis by an ex-communicated Sikh."

[Translation]

We all know the circumstances under which the action was taken and the Akal Takht' was rebuilt. Baba Santa Singh of 'Badh Dal' along with thousands of Hindu and Sikhs rebuilt it. The move to demolish the Akal Takht once again is aimed at giving a new turn to the situation. If a top leader at the instance of a handful of extremists, makes such a statement or the Executive passes such a resolution, then what is the duty of Government ? I feel Government should take timely action to prevent the opening of their office there so that the Akal Takht might be protected. If even a single brick of the Akal Takht falls, then again the responsibility falls on Government because they are expected to take timely action. I think we should also mobilise public opinion and simultaneously we should prevent

them from doing this with the help of other forces. If the "Akali Takht" is demolished again, its effect is going to be very bad.

We the members of the Congress and our Party believe in Hindu-Sikh unity and all the Sikhs have shared these views.

Last month, Congress members had started a movement. To promote goodwill among the people, the Congress Party arranged public meetings in different places in Punjab and thousands of people came from far away places to attend those meetings. They heard us. When we talked of goodwill, they used to nod their heads in support. We talked to the people separately and they told us that they wanted a solution. They are fed up with such incidents. There should be peace in Punjab

When the Hon. Prime Minister announced bonus for the farmers, at Hussainiwalla there was a surge of happiness all over Punjab. The Prime Minister announced the setting up of an integral coach factory there. That also made the people happy because that will help in the economic development of Punjab. People had been demanding a big dam for quite a long time. Announcement was made that another big dam would be constructed like the Bhakra dam. But the present political scenario in Punjab is creating fear in the day to day life of the people and constructive and developmental activities are not finding any place there.

Through bomb-blasts, our attention has been drawn towards this. We shall have to think over this. What I feel is that there is a nest of plot against our country. It is a hidden invasion by our neighbouring country. Some people are being trained and equipped with arms and ammunition there and they are indulging in these

activities. This needs to be stopped with a heavy hand and ban on the Sikh Students Federation which has been lifted should be reimposed. The people who are indulging in such activities should be shown their place again.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I think I should now take the sense of the House. Is it the sense of the House that we dispense with the lunch hour so that more speakers can be accommodated ?

HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : I am quite conscious of the fact that in the sensitive and explosive situation which obtains today anything that we say in this House and anything that we say in the Parliament will find its echoes outside the House and none of us will be able to shirk our responsibility for what happens as a consequence of the word that we utter in this House. Therefore, I will be very careful in making my observations.

Even while making a plain-speaking I would prefer to avoid acrimony on this occasion. The very extent of the blasts and explosions that had taken place is something that must teach us a lesson. Look at the manner in which the explosions have occurred. They occurred at public places, in bazaars and at the bus stands and we are shocked to find that they have also come at the gates of the Parliament. They are now only to enter the Parliament. That is all. We find that the situation is such that transistors are kept here and there and any one who tries to toy with the transistor gets killed. Transistors that play sweet music have actually been humming with the music of death and this music of death has made us conscious that we must face the situation as a nation and not merely as parties. Whether anyone accepts our

[P of. Madhu Dandavate]

*bona fides* or not, we are born in this country. We are proud of this soil and if we want to stand united, it is not because that we belong to the ruling party or the opposition party but we belong to the land where we are born and this is the very land where we have to end our life. Therefore, we have to defend this land. The ruling Party and the Opposition Parties have unequivocally condemned these explosions and brutalities.

I am fully one with my friend, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad who showed a great balance in the expression of his views and he said let us not put all the eggs in one basket. I will not like to put all the Members of Akali Dal in one basket. The situation is such, the call of conscience is such, the humming of death is such that even the most frozen heart and frozen mind is bound to be affected by such explosions and they will find their echoes even within the Akali party and I am glad that the echoes have been found in the Akali party itself. Those who in the past were talking with tongues in cheek about violent incidents and terrorism, I am glad, that they have picked up the courage to openly say something.

Sir, I was in Chandigarh the other day and while I was moving in the train the explosions were taking place. Only when the police came to search our coaches I realised that something has happened in Delhi. When I was there in Chandigarh I made some anxious inquiries with Badalji and others. He was not at home. He met me and put down a letter expressing his strong point. With your permission—It does not contain any defamation. On the contrary it contains something that will heighten the dignity of man—I will read that letter written by Badalji. This letter was written on 11th May, 1985 ;

“My dear Shree Madhu Dandavate Ji,

During your visit to Chandigarh on 11th May, 1985, you had made anxious enquiries about my and Akali Dal's reaction to the ghastly explosions that occurred in Delhi, Haryana and elsewhere.

I must tell you that I am deeply shocked by these explosions resulting in the death of innocent persons. Since these ghastly explosions have taken place almost in an identical way, I have a strong suspicion that this is the handiwork of some foreign elements interested in destabilising our country. I strongly condemn these atrocious actions.

I would like the Government to have a thorough inquiry into these incidents of explosions so that the country may know the truth”

Sir, I welcome this.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : Why a private letter and not a public statement ?

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE : I anticipated what you have said. I have also brought a statement from Mr. Badal and I will now take the liberty of reading out the statement which he has issued. It is very interesting. Every word is interesting.

Sir, you and I issue such statements, Bhagwat Jha Azad issued the statement. The Prime Minister issued the statement but Badal issuing the statement has some relevance. Since he said do not read private letters ; this was not a love letter sent to me. This was a letter which has public import and, therefore, with your permission I took the liberty of reading. it.

MR. SPEAKER : Madam is not here. otherwise I would have taken her to task.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, you are only justifying her absence. This is the statement, Mr. Sethi, former Home Minister, please listen. This is the statement by Mr. Badal, former Chief Minister, Punjab and Balwant Singh, former Finance Minister, Punjab :

“The wide-spread violence erupting all over northern India is obviously aimed at destabilising the country and undermining its solidarity and integrity. The Shrimoni Akali Dal strongly condemns these activities of forces inimically disposed towards India. It is very sad that certain sections have tried to attribute these criminal acts to the Sikhs adding to their sense of insecurity and creating doubts about their patriotism. We take this opportunity to call upon the Government to bring the guilty to book and to unmask the forces striving their hardest to promote Hindu-Sikh<sup>h</sup> riots both in Punjab and rest of India. Shrimoni Akali Dal reiterate its resolve to maintain communal harmony at every cost.”

Sir, I am happy that this statement has come.

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY : Are you sure it will not be contradicted tomorrow ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Unfortunately, Sir, I am born in the land of Mahatma Gandhi where faith in human dignity and human being is the basis of our life and I would not like to dis-believe anyone unless proved to the contrary. Don't try to disturb the atmosphere which we are trying to create all of us together. Don't try to fallow Tewary.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I think you will be much wiser if you follow me on this. The public statement which you are talking will be contradicted tomorrow.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI) : I wish to say, Sir, that we are all fortunate to have been born in this land, not unfortunate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Thank you. Sir, I told you that there has been a universal condemnation. While many of us here, including those who have spoken from the other side, particularly Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, would welcome any change among the sober minded Sikhs in this country, I would like to warn every one in this House that let us not take it for granted that all Sikhs are Akalis and all Akalis are Extremists. That equation has to be ended. You will find that gradually that equation is ending. I think that is a happy augury. What is the past experience of the extremists ? On this occasion I would like to recall that. Fortunately or unfortunately I had the unique privilege of participating in all the tripartite talks in the past and also the meeting that was convened by the Prime Minister, meeting with the opposition parties ; and I can narrate one experience from my personal experience. Every time either through tripartite talks or through unilateral announcement by Prime Minister, or by opposition's talks with some leaders of the Akali Dal, when an atmosphere was created that a break-through is likely to come about, and their problems are likely to be settled in a peaceful atmosphere, then, the extremists always activated themselves and tried to destroy the atmosphere of settlement and they deliberately tried to provoke the entire atmosphere.

It happened when the talks were taking place in the past, you may recall. And almost at the last round of the talks when some trouble took place and all of a sudden we had to disperse, for the second time, when Prime Minister made certain unilateral welcome announcements, again they felt that this will pacify the rank and file of the Akali Dal and probably we will be

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nearer the solution, then, the Extremists again intensified their strive for terrorism. And once again, when the members of the opposition parties had a talk with Shri Longowal and Shri Barnala in Bombay, and following these talks, when the Prime Minister invited the leaders of the opposition parties and we tried to explore the possibility of bringing about a settlement, again a climate was created both through our talks and the way in which coverage was given in the Press, again the extremist elements found out that the Prime Minister is likely to succeed in bringing about a rapprochement between the Akali Dal and the Government. And again, when that type of a feeling of break-through was there, again, you find that extremists struck and again you found dead bodies in Haryana, Delhi and elsewhere. Therefore, this is a very interesting thing to be noted that every time a break-through was driven in this country on the question of Punjab, the extremists have intensified their game. Sir, from the manner in which these explosions have taken place, I too have a suspicion like Badalji, that there seems to be some foreign element involved in this...

AN HON. MEMBER : Also foreign...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Throughout I have been saying that extremists have been indulging in this kind of terrorism. But along with the extremist terrorism what we find is this. They are not only mad, but there is a method in their madness ; and this method in their madness is not satisfied with the indigenous activities, but, probably they are trying to take help from foreign elements and that is a dangerous dimension that is added to this problem. Therefore, that has to be probed. I am glad that Mr. Badal also thinks that this should be gone into. I am sure that it will be done.

Then, Sir, I would like to say a word about intelligence. I am saying it with a desire that whatever failures and shortcomings may have been there in the past, they should be avoided in the future. I do not want to undermine the morale of intelligence. I am the last man to try to undermine the morale of the police and the army. It is because once their morale is destroyed, in that case, there is no question of defence and security. But I am saying it in a constructive perspective, that there are certain failures. Bhindranwalle was not only an individual but he was a phenomenon. I would like to remind my friend Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azed that on 4-4-85, I initiated a discussion on Punjab in this very House. I have made a frontal attack on the extremists and Bhindranwalle phenomenon and I said that Gurdwara is a holy place and it can never become the arsenal for arms and no induction of arms should have been permitted as far as Gurdwaras are concerned.

In this connection I would like to recall your attention to that debate. Mr. P.C. Sethi was the Home Minister then. I spoke on 4-4-1984 and on that occasion, I had said that by the end of February, 1984, at the hands of the extremists in Punjab, 220 innocent men were killed. I put a question to the Home Minister and I wanted to confirm it and I remember my words, either confirm it or deny it, because I had gone to Punjab and the press had reported that by the end of February, 1984, at the hands of extremists when 220 innocent men were killed, not a single culprit was prosecuted, not one culprit was prosecuted. Sir, two children of a Defence Department Officer in Delhi were killed. The young girl was raped and the boy was killed. Within a few days Ranga and Billa were arrested and they were sentenced and hanged. In the Abhyankar multiple murder case in Poona, the youngsters were detected and they were hanged. But here 220 innocent lives were destroyed, not one man was prosecuted. This is the failure



of the police, failure of the Intelligence, failure of the Administration. I am not very happy to say this that 220 men should be killed and not one man should be prosecuted. It is a matter of shame that in each one of those cases, probably those who were running the Police Department and Administration become the part and parcel of frightened atmosphere and they did not come forward to arrest the extremists. But all the same, not one man was prosecuted when 220 men were murdered.

Mr. Prime Minister, don't misunderstand me when I say that when innocent men in the bus were killed, when near the Parliament House 10 bombs were discovered thank God that day the Parliament was closed and we did not go by that door. Otherwise, instead of making the speech on Punjab you would have been required to make an Obituary reference first. So, that would have been the stage. When all these things were happening, what is the Intelligence doing? Please excuse me for saying it. Even the Members of Parliament like us whether they belong to the ruling party or not, we go by airplane, for the security purposes each one of us is tested. Of course, Ministers might be exceptions. But each one of us is tested. The ruling party Members are also tested with metallic detectors. But here what was the Intelligence doing in the country? Such a widespread plan was hatched and about 80 men were killed and the Police Intelligence did not get a glimpse of it. Sir, I shudder to think and God's will was that it should not happen that way. Tomorrow if a foreign country invades our land and prior to that some spies come to the country and indulge in some sort of subversive activities and if the Intelligence is unalert, what will happen to the security of the country? I am more worried on that. Therefore, I would request the Prime Minister kindly to tighten the Intelligence machinery so that all these things are not allowed to go through.

About the induction of arms, I would like to draw the attention of this House to what happened after the 'Blue Star Operation'. I remember that day, just as one of my hon. colleagues, Mr. Azad, narrated his experience in the Cabinet, that I would like to narrate my experience with Mrs. Gandhi when she convened a meeting of the Opposition leaders after the 'Blue Star Operation'. She gave all the details. She told us how many arms were inducted and I asked her plain and simple question. I said "Madam, Prime Minister, every day on the Television, you are displaying arms that have been captured. But shall I ask a humble question? With your administration in Punjab, how all these arms were allowed to be inducted and she instinctively said: it is a failure."

But the Defence Minister came to the defence of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister said: "No, it is not a failure. What is to be done? The arms were not openly inducted into the Gurudwara. They were taken below the food materials in trucks and they were taken in a hidden way." I asked a simple question: "Tomorrow if the enemy tries to smuggle arms into India, will they take out a banner and procession and say that they are coming with smuggled arms, beware". They will always smuggle arms hidden below the hay, below the food trucks, and they is how they tried to do. If you can check us at the airports, why did you not allow every truck going to the Gurudwara to pass through an electronic frame, so that whenever there was a signal, you could have stopped that van only, taken out all the arms and then allowed the truck to go to the Gurudwara. But that was not done. Why were these arms allowed to be inducted into the Gurudwara? That is the question.

Now, the original demands of the Sikhs were almost getting settled. That is an important point. I want to recall that the relay of kirtan in *gurbani*

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is already settled through Jullundur radio station. Then, Centre-State relations is agreed to be referred to the Sarkaria Commission. River water dispute is agreed to be settled under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act. Then, there is the interpretation of Article 25 of the Constitution. I am one of those who feel that Article 25 of the Constitution is in support of the Sikhs to retain their identity. Dr. Ambedkar said it in the Constituent Assembly also. But they have doubts. I congratulate the Home Minister, who said on the floor of the House that they have decided to refer the interpretation of this Article to the experts and various bodies of Sikhs including Akali Dal. Some people condemned the Government, but I congratulate the Government. I only said one thing that you have the genius to do right things at the wrong moment. But as I said, it is a correct step. Immediately, the next day when agitation stopped, even that problem was solved. Almost all the original demands were getting settled.

In the end, I would say, what is needed is flexibility and firmness. I agree with Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad. But the question is if negotiations are to be conducted, with whom are they to be conducted? Longowal has resigned; Badal has resigned, I think, to express their silent protest against the manner in which the extremists are behaving. Let us wait and watch what emerges. If something emerges, settlement can be done, but as far as the extremists and foreign elements are concerned, be very firm, and through you, Sir, I may tell the Prime Minister that the Government may be yours, but the nation is ours. In this land of Gandhiji, Hindu-Sikh unity is the dream of all of us. The bomb may destroy our lives, but our dreams will never be destroyed, a dream will continue and we will live upto the dreams.

[Translation]

SHRI BRAHMA DUTT (Tehri Garhwal) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, all eyes of the country are on this Supreme House in which we are discussing this subject and the country expects that this Supreme House will not only discuss this issue, but would also give a new direction to the country.

I would like to draw the attention of this hon. House towards one basic question. Today we are talking of certain terrorist activities, bomb blasts or certain other happenings but the basic question is how the terrorism comes into existence. Terrorism comes into existence when we lose faith in the democratic set-up of the country and the minority wants to terrorise the majority. Another reason is that certain people, within the country and outside the country want to spread anarchy in our country.

13.24 hrs.

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

I am happy and I want to congratulate Government that they have welcomed a discussion on this subject. I also want to thank all those hon. Members who have participated in this discussion with great instraint. But one thing I would like to submit is that all the political parties, whether in power or not, will have to ponder over this question whether if they are not in a majority and their views are not accepted by the majority, they can resort to terrorism. We have seen that terrorism is being resorted to in Punjab on certain issues but it is not confined to Punjab alone. In today's papers we have read that a former Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir has stated that if the present Government of the State is not dismissed, they will launch an agitation and the leadership of the agitation, after a few days, may go into the hands of the terrorists. It is a

matter for very serious concern. What happens is that some parties appear different from outside. Apparently they talk of politics but from within, they are in collusion with the anti-social elements who believe in terrorism. We have seen that in the past, certain political leaders had contacted the terrorists. We also saw that the relatives of the terrorists had been honoured. No one at that time condemned those activities. I appeal to Government, specially to the Hon. Prime Minister, to ensure that after Punjab the leadership of the agitation in Jammu & Kashmir does not slip into the hands of the terrorists. The evil should be nipped in the bud.

It is the responsibility of the police to maintain law and order in the country. We had constituted a police commission. We have its report with us. Many suggestions have been given in it. Amongst them, there are certain suggestions which, if accepted, will neither require any change in law nor any expenditure by Government. We should accept such suggestions immediately and implement them. The State Governments should be involved with their implementation. Because it is the responsibility of the State Governments, they should be involved. The Chief Secretaries and the Directors-General of Police should also be involved in this task. If some financial provision is to be made, that should also be made. Prevention is better than cure. We need a strong police system in our country. We need to update our intelligence organisations also.

With a view to maintain law and order in our country, along with the police and intelligence services, we need a citizens security machinery also. In any security arrangement, the citizens also play an important role. We have constantly been observing how much help the citizens can give to Government to curb the activities of the anarchists and terrorists. The help given by the citizens is unparalleled.

Certain incidents took place after the assassination of our Prime Minister and attempts were made to shed the blood of innocent people and to dismember the country but these attempts were failed by Government's to vigilance and firmness. In spite of the killings of certain innocent people recently, the country has remained calm and these incidents did not evoke any adverse reaction from the people. We shall have to find out solutions of the problems in a democratic manner whether they relate to reservation or any other matter or some problem of any State. For solving our problems we have not to encourage terrorism, nor are we to hold talks with terrorists. Talks should continue with others. It is imperative for all political parties, including those who have never raised their voice against the Punjab terrorists. It is a good thing that all parties are condemning them today. We should encourage this tendency. Whereas we need to suppress terrorism with firmness, it is also necessary that these elements, whether they are in foreign countries or are being helped by unfriendly powers, should be isolated. For this, we should definitely expect all the political parties to form their own code of conduct stipulating that neither they will take any help from the terrorists nor would they give any help to the terrorists.

Once again, I would like to respect what the former Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir has said, His statement has been published in today's papers. He has demanded that the present Government should be dismissed and if it is not dismissed, an agitation will be launched against it. He has further said :—

[English]

“The Movement launched by us will pass into the hands of those over whom I have no control. In case this happens, there might as well be blasts in Jammu and Kashmir, as we are witnessing in Delhi and other States.”

[Shri Brahma Dutt]

[*Translation*]

From this, it looks as if he intends to start an agitation for the dismissal of the Government there. Whenever the dismissal of a Government through an agitation is talked of, such a situation arises. The place to bring down a Government is the Legislative Assembly and not the streets nor the means for it is the launching of an agitation. Moreover, this shows that such elements are present there which will take over or will be handed over the leadership of the agitation. It is a very serious matter and I am referring to it as an example only. Today it has happened in Delhi and its surrounding areas and Jammu & Kashmir is a very sensitive area into which enter outsiders and where we have to be vigilant. If responsible leaders of that area utter such things, it cannot be said to be a right thing. I would like to appeal to the Hon. Opposition leaders to think seriously among themselves and decide that they will condemn terrorism, violence and the use of force where ever they may arise. I appeal to Government to deal with the terrorists strictly and at the same time, take into confidence the saver elements of every community whether they are in the country or outside the country and strengthen their position. I also demand that those foreign powers who want to create destabilisation in our country should also be warned. India is in a position to do this. India is not merely a country, it is a big market where those people have economic stakes. We can raise our voice against them but the utmost need is to strengthen our internal security. For this, even if you have to create a separate Department of internal security (Intelligence), you should do it and appoint a separate internal security Information Minister. The persons who may work in this Department should be equipped with modern equipments and resources. We should consider the report of the Police

Commission. We have our Internal Security Academy at Mt. Abu. There is a lot of information available in it. We should make use of it. A new force should also be created whose job should be to gain the confidence of the people, to strengthen the internal security of the country and to modernise the civil security arrangements. Whether it is the foreign invader or the internal enemy, the citizens can help us most ; they can inform us about the impending danger and can also help Government to face that danger.

With these words, Sir, I hope that this discussion will give a new direction to the country and Government and the people will be able to rise above party politics and political intrests and will provide make some concrete contribution so that in future we shall be able to fight terrorism and violence and the internal and external enemies of the country.

SHRI LALIT MAKEN (South Delhi) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is neither a political issue nor an ideological one. For the last several years the incidents occurring in our country prove that there is a plot to disintegrate our country and the aim of the recent happenings was the same. They want that the negotiations should stop and gradually the leadership should slip from the Akalis into the hands of the extremists. I feel that the extremists have succeeded in their designs. In a way, the negotiations have reached a deadlock and you must have observed that the moment the talks are going to begin, some incident takes place, some person is killed or some leaders is murdered and the talks do not start. Recently when the talks were going on and an atmosphere to create congenial conditions in the country was being formed, a murderous attack was made on Shri R. L. Bhatia and the aim behind the recent incidents in which hundreds of people were killed and injured was also to create an atmosphere which might force Govern-

ment to refuse to participate in the negotiations and in this way a feeling of frustration might be created among them so that they might withdraw to the background and the extremists might take over the leadership from them. The manner in which Mr. Badal and Mr. Longowal tendered their resignations proves that the extremists are trying their best to succeed in their aim gradually. Now, the question is whether it will be beneficial to hold talks with the Akalis in such an atmosphere. It is said that they have made sacrifices. I am not prepared to accept that Mr. Longowal or Mr. Badal has made any sacrifice. I would like to say that they are coward and timid. In my view it is an unfortunate thing that today there is not even a single Akali in India, who would dare say that the extremists are doing wrong things or who would strongly oppose them. There will not be a single Akali leader in the country who can vehemently oppose them. Government took a unilateral decision and released the Akali leaders and removed the ban on the Sikh Youth Federation. I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. Home Minister towards the fact that if it is observed carefully and minutely you will find that the number of incidents of murder, etc. has increased from the time of their release till today. I do not say that every Akali is an extremist. There are many Akali leaders who do agree that what is happening is wrong. Many Sikh brothers agree that the efforts which being made to disintegrate the country are wrong. But it is a great misfortune that there is not even a single Akali leader who would say openly that he is ready to face the extremists and the Hindu-Sikh Unity in the country will not be allowed to be disrupted. Under these circumstances Government will have to decide whether it is proper to hold talks with the Akalis or not. The meeting of the Akali Dal scheduled to be held on 17th has been postponed. I feel that Bhindrawale has tried to disintegrate the country and created

circumstances under which Indiraji was murdered. If his father is made the leader of Akali Dal, will Government be prepared to hold talks with them? I would like to point out that handing over the leadership of the Akali Party to Bhindrawale's father means that they do not want to hold talks with Government. They do not want a solution of the problem. They only want conflict. They want to create Khalistan in India to implement the demand raised in Britain and U.S.A. in this regard. How long would we have to wait for these Akali leaders to have some sense? How long would we have to wait for the Akali leaders to vehemently oppose the extremists and hold talks with Government? We have been seeing this thing for the last four years. During the period of these of four years, hundreds of persons had been done to death. Indiraji had also sacrificed her life, because Government wanted to hold talks with the Akalis. The Akalis do not have courage. Out of fear they are hidden in their houses. They dare not oppose the extremists. Arms were continued to be collected and stored in the *Gurudwaras* and hundreds of persons were done to death before their eyes, but they dared not to oppose them. Talks about the country's unity cannot be held with those having no leadership in their hands. If you hold talks with those persons, who cannot oppose violence in the country, then I would like to say that these talks are not going to prove beneficial. The Problem will continue to remain as it is. I would like to ask the head priests as to when they issue *Hukamnama*. Innocent persons were done to death throughout the country before their eyes. Even then they kept mum. Bomb blasts occurred at many places. Even then the priests kept mum. Now, they will not issue *Hukamnama* against such incidents. They will do so when the President of the country or Sardar Buta Singh is to be declared '*Tankhalya*' Murders will continue to be committed in the country, but they will not oppose. They

[Shri Lalit Maken]

will not issue 'Hukamnama' to Akalis to oppose the extremists. Under these circumstances, I would like to say that guns have been placed at the back of the priests and out of fear the priests and the Akali leaders cannot raise their voice. Hence, the holding of talks with them by Government is totally meaningless.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, secondly, I would like to say that it is high time that the Central Government do not allow religion, to mix up with politics. Recently, I read in the newspapers that the priests have decided that such and such persons will be made the leader of Akali Dal. I would like to know whether the Akali Dal is under the control of priests. Similarly, Jagatguru Shankaracharya may start saying tomorrow that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi may not be made president of the Congress Party. If so-called protectors of religion start deciding who should be made president of a particular political party, then it will become difficult for government to function. Now the time has come when we have to take a clear-cut decision to keep religion away from the Constitution. If we have to enact some law to separate religion from politics, we should do that, otherwise such incidents will continue to happen in the country and the so-called protectors of religion will continue to issue such statements.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I strongly demand that all the communal parties in the country like the Sikh Youth Federation and other communal parties, which have no concern with politics, should be banned, and a new law should be enacted to bring all the religious places under the control of Government and the so-called protectors of religion, who want to disintegrate the country in the name of language, religion, etc., should not be allowed to indulge in politics openly in

these religious places. Government should take over the management of all the religious places in their hands by enacting a law in order to ensure that nobody creates disorder in the name of religion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the extremists arrested so far and found possessing illegal guns and bombs or found indulging in such illegal activities should be directly awarded death sentence under the provision of a new law. The sentence should not be less than that, because it is amply clear that a person who keeps illegal arms and ammunition in his house intends to kill at least 10 to 20 persons and no sentence other than death sentence is adequate for a person who intends to kill 10 to 20 persons. If you want to curb the extremists' activities strictly, I urge that it is high time that a new law be enacted in this regard nothing less than death sentence should be awarded to those from whose houses illegal arms and ammunition and other explosives are recovered.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I do not want to condemn anyone, but if we say that the extremists are being helped by foreign countries and they are not getting any help from the Indian people and no Indian leader is at their back, it will be wrong and it will be like closing our eyes to the realities. We should go into it in depth and try to find out whether some political parties and certain political leaders are involved in the deterioration of the conditions in the country today, and whether irresponsible statements are being made to catch votes, without even caring to both about whether some people are being done to death. Are such people responsible for such chaotic conditions? When Indiraji was alive, the leader of the Bhartiya Janata Party, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who is not a Member of this House at present, used to say again and again that Indiraji was sleeping and she was not taking any

action and when she took strong action and sent the Army to Punjab, the same leader of the B.J.P. Shri Vajpayee changed his tone after a few days and said that there was no need to send the Army there and the police could themselves have dealt with the situation. Similarly, with the intention of getting a few votes, the President of the Janata Party, Shri Chandra Shekhar also opposed the sending of army to Punjab. His statement has appeared in the press also. It has been said therein that this action of sending the Army to Punjab is wrong. Does it not encourage the extremists? These extremists used to pile up stocks of narcotics and arms and ammunition in the name of religion. Does it not assure the extremists that certain political parties are at their back in the country? Does it not provide encouragement to them? The leaders of the B.J.P. even expressed their will to plead the cases of the extremists in the Supreme Court. I feel that all ethical limitations have been surpassed. When a leader of the B.J.P., Shri Lekhi decided to plead the case of the assassin of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, he has violated all limits of ethical self-restraint in the world. I would like to point out that nobody in any country of the world would dare plead the case of the assassin of the Prime Minister of that country. He agreed to do so under the circumstances when Jagjit Singh Chauhan announced in Britain that the person, who would kill Indira Gandhi, would be given a reward of one lakh dollars. The leader of the B.J.P. did not make any statement prior to and after that. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi said a few days before her death that the country was facing danger from internal and external forces, they said that there was no danger to the country from internal or external forces, but the danger was from Shrimati Indira Gandhi. A few days before her death, Choudhary Charan Singh said that country's biggest enemy, if any, was Indira Gandhi. I would like to point out that only that type of political

atmosphere which was created by them was responsible for Indira Gandhi's murder. The same political atmosphere took the life of Mahatma Gandhi. A communal atmosphere was created, due to which Mahatma Gandhi and Indira Gandhi lost their lives. I, therefore, would like to say that these political parties are fully responsible for making this problem more complicated. The extremists are fully assured that if they kill somebody, certain powerhungry parties involved in vote-catching politics will support them.

Today we organise meetings at the Ramlila Grounds and demand the dismissal of this government as it has proved inefficient. I would like to tell these vote-hungry parties that they have tried to build their palaces over dead bodies and whenever they had got an opportunity they had tried to please the people of one community or the other. But the Congress people and our Government never thought that someone would get displeased with them. Shrimati Indira Gandhi was aware of the risk to her life and she knew that any bullet from any side might pierce through her body any moment, but she did not care for that and ultimately she sacrificed her life for the sake of the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in the end I would like to point out that the vigilance department has shown an utter failure in this regard. Bombs were planted at dozen of places in the country and I feel that at least 200 persons might have been hired to do this job and our intelligence department could not come to know about their activities. It is a very strange thing. I would, therefore, like to urge that intelligence should be strengthened in the country to such an extent that such a situation may not develop again.

With these words I demand that the designs of the extremists should be thwarted completely. At present the

[Shri Lalit Maken]

Akali Party is without any leader. The father of Bhindranwale, who is responsible for Indira Gandhi's murder, is going to become the leader of the Akali Party. In these circumstances, Government should decide and they would not hold talks with the Akalis, and that they would not hold talks with extremists. The agitation must be crushed so that the unity and integrity of the country could be maintained.

[English]

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH (Surendranagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I, share, along with the other Members of the House and the bereaved families, the grief for those who have lost their lives in the incidents of Friday and Saturday. By waiving of the Question Hour and admitting the discussion under Rule 193, the Government have acted very wisely, and this very fact shows the concern which the leaders have as far as this issue is concerned.

The question arises who are the extremists. We have been hearing different theories, different definitions. Akalis have been denouncing extremism but, at the same time, they have been honouring those very persons who have been committing these acts of extremism, of violence. When Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated, the Akalis came out with a statement of condemnation but the next day they withdrew it and kept quiet after that. Sant Bhindranwale, who had been the genesis of violence in Punjab, has been hailed as the hero of the struggle of Sikhs. Mr. Longowal, at one time, had condemned the violence but the second day when he was on a round of Delhi, he hailed the very assassins of Mrs. Gandhi who had been the traitors of this country. The dividing line between the Akalis and the extremists has become so thin that we really do not know whom to call Akalis and whom to call extremists. I do

agree with Mr. Madhu Dandavate when he says that all Sikhs are not Akalis and all Akalis are not extremists. But the very utterances of the Akali leaders create a doubt in the minds of the people of this country as to what does the Akali Party stand for. Does it stand for the unity of India? Does it stand for peace and prosperity of Punjab? Whatever they may say but by their acts they have proved to the contrary.

Mr. Madhu Dandavate has read out the statement of Mr. Parkash Singh Badal. The fact that he chose the floor of the House and not the Press to convey his feelings, is again a thing which creates a doubt in our minds. We would like to know how serious are the Akali leaders in condemning such acts of violence. To my mind, the Akali leadership has become so weak, they have become totally ineffective, that they really do not know where they stand today for what they had started. Sant Bhindranwale, who had created fear in the minds of the people at large, who had created fear in the minds of bureaucracy in Punjab and who was responsible for all that has happened in Punjab, is now being treated as a martyr. His father has been handed over the leadership of the Akali Party. Both Mr. Longowal and Mr. Tohra have said that they shall abide by the wishes of Bhindranwale's father. These are the people who have always believed in violence, who have always raised the issue of separatism, who have always looked beyond our borders for their help. We cannot take it very lightly. Nor can we ignore the doings of the extremists who have taken over the leadership of the Akali Party.

Shri Longowal had visited Delhi some time back and had held discussions with the Opposition leaders. We do not know what came out of those discussions, but the very next day he went out and called the assassins of Shrimati Gandhi as the martyrs. Therefore, this really creates doubt in



the minds of the people of this country whether the Akali leadership is really serious in curbing this violence.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate in his fine speech had mentioned lot of points, but when it came to suggesting ways and means of curbing this violence, he only said because there is no one in Akali leadership to negotiate, therefore, please wait and watch. This has been the attitude of the Opposition parties in our country. They have acted most irresponsibly whenever the occasion arose. They have condemned the Government for inaction, but when the time came to suggest a course of action, they only said please wait and watch and let things emerge by themselves. I would like to urge upon the hon. Prime Minister not to be guided by any opinion or any statement of any Opposition leader. The country has voted him and his party to power with a clear mandate. The way we have handled the Punjab situation, the way the Bluestar Operation was conducted had been widely received and the people of this country have given a clear verdict and a clear mandate and have approved the way this Government and the previous Government had handled the situation in Punjab.

I do not understand the role of the BJP also. They have called a Bundh today and people by and large must have responded to it, but at the time of such a crisis what we really needed was a clearcut support for the Government rather than creating such kind of divisive acts by which the mind and confidence of the people is further shaken up.

I have a point to say about our intelligence agencies. I would request the hon. Home Minister and our Prime Minister to have a look again at the functioning of our intelligence agencies. A number of crimes have been committed, a number of violent incidents have occurred, but we have

by and large failed to apprehend the people who have been behind all this. I would urge upon the hon. Prime Minister to deal with the extremists with a firm hand. There could be no compromise on these issues. I am sure the hon. Prime Minister will do the needful. We have total confidence in his leadership. I would request that some kind of people's participation to fight the extremists is called for. We have to organise the people and the civil defence forces. We have to train the people by and large about how to deal with such cases of violence. Therefore, I would urge the Home Minister to come out with specific proposals of civil defence so that this extremists activity is curbed.

The hand of foreign powers which the Akalis have started highlighting is definitely to be looked into. One of the hon. Members mentioned that one of the bombs which was recovered had Pakistani marking. If that is true, it is extremely serious and we are sure that our hon. Prime Minister will look into it.

14.00 hrs.

Sir, the political solution of Punjab is the only answer and by giving concession, the hon. Prime Minister moved in the right direction. We may have conceded this, they may have considered this as a weakness on the part of the Union Government, but it was a step in the right direction and we firmly believe that by giving such concessions we can expose the demands of the Akali Party. I feel they are only interested in power. They are not interested in the welfare schemes nor are they interested in the solution of the problem.

SHRI KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam); Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, on behalf of our Party and on behalf of the people of Tamil Nadu, we express our heart felt condolences to the bereaved families on account of blasts

[Shri Kolandaivelu]

and explosions. Actually, the recent episode, or I can say the recent explosions and blasts, is a challenge to the nation. It is a challenge to the young blood, our hon. Prime Minister, who is young, energetic and dynamic in his activities. But we have seen in history that extremism or terrorism will always fail and it will fail miserably. So it is the need for a consensus on the approach towards the terrorists' menace that is paramount now. There is no room for ambivalence in the present situation. I think the terrorists have got no interest at all in solving the Punjab problem. But their main aim is only to create panic, tension and chaos in the country. So, they are said to be criminals and are inimically disposed towards India. And I must say that the people of Tamil Nadu are always with the Prime Minister in order to help him in all the developmental measures and to put down extremism and terrorism. I would suggest that administratively the anti-terrorist machinery has to be toned up immediately. A lot must be done in this respect. It will be wrong to assume that criminals are murderous gangs and will repeat the same *modus operandi* everywhere. But they may switch over to adopt some other methods. So, this is the right time to put down terrorism and extremism. Terrorism in any form should be put down with an iron hand, if necessary. Whoever he may be, in whatever position he may be, if he is a terrorist he should be taken into custody immediately. I want to say sincerely that since our hon. Prime Minister is dynamic, and he wants to see the 21st century immediately and wants to see the country develop in all its aspects, he should put down such terrorism and terrorists who want to arrest the growth of our country. I beg to submit that we must make it clear that those who deliberately indulge in equivocation on the issue of terrorism will not be given legitimacy or respectability directly or indirectly.

That is the point I wanted to make on behalf of my party.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Shillong): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I stand in this House today and hang my head in grief, the grief for so many innocent people who paid with their lives for nothing that they were concerned with, for a cause, a diabolical cause of a group of people. I hang my head in shame that there could be such type of diabolical, sadistic, heartless people in this country. I hang my head in outrage.

Our intelligence agencies have failed to get the information. When I say that, I do not speak with any sense of rancour or any sense of criticism. I am aware of the difficulties we face. But here is a situation that has been with us for some years—two or three years, the climax of which was the Bluestar Operation and yet another climax over the climax was the assassination of our revered, beloved former Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi. It should be well-known to everybody, to our intelligence agencies especially that the hardcore of people behind these acts have not been reconciled in any way and especially in the last few days when the extremist group in the Akali Organisation had upstaged a number leaders of and taken over the affairs of the Akali Dal. It was only natural that we should have expected that they would not end just with the seizing of the leadership of the Akali Dal but they would be doing something else. Our intelligence agencies must have been involved in this question, all these months, all these years. They should have been able to find out the groups of these people, the circles in which they operate and it would have been only natural that they should have been able to infiltrate into these organisations and to know in advance what was going to happen, to warn the Government so that, preventive measures could have been taken. But we are all taken completely by surprise. I do not know, if the Government itself has

been taken by surprise. That is the first point I would like to make. I say this in a spirit of constructive criticism.

Another thing that we could make out by reading the papers is that when the first bomb exploded, this booby-trapped bomb, there was no word or very little of it sent round the city that this sort of thing has happened, and it could happen in other part of the city as well. We could have used our radio. We could have used other means to warn the public that this sort of thing has happened, and that they should be careful with these kinds of objects. These cowardly people have planted transistor booby-trapped radios in different areas. We failed in that again.

Having said that, I think, this discussion today has been useful and it has been right. It has been right that the Government itself had displayed its concern for what has happened by agreeing to do away with the Question Hour and to take up this issue.

Such things are not done normally unless we are all deeply concerned and perturbed with what has happened. I thought this is a good occasion when this House should again, as it has done before, demonstrate its anger, its outrage and its solidarity to combat these kinds of things that are perpetrated over innocent people and that pose a threat to this country in many ways. I had wished that the speeches had been less polemic and we used this occasion at least not to find fault with each other but to condemn this outrage in unequivocal terms and to say that we are behind the Prime Minister and that we are behind the Government in all kinds of their efforts in order to see and destroy this kind of outrage and these kinds of people. I would make a suggestion that before we end this debate whether it would be proper, I put it to you that this House adopt a resolution to condemn this sort of atrocious act and does so with one voice in unequivocal terms...*(Interruptions)*

We have only mourned the loss of innocent lives but we should resolve to condemn this and to combat it in all forms and that we register, that the Parliament registers its support of the Government and the Prime Minister in all their efforts to annihilate these people and these kinds of activities.

I have been struck by another thing. This sort of thing is a very well-planned operation. These people could not have done this sort of thing in an *ad hoc* manner—this transistor cabinet or casing, so many of them. There must have been hundreds of them. They must have planted them everywhere. There should have been places where these things are manufactured, these transistor casings and the booby traps and distributed. It should be possible for the Government—I am not saying that the Government should come forward and tell us where these things are done but I am sure they know what is being done. The arrest of a particular person yesterday and the nabbing of two terrorists in his house should be an indicator and should be the lead. But what I am driving at is that these terrorists must have a command centre somewhere. There must be a group of people who are directing and commanding these operations. Unless you are able to identify that and you destroy it at the source, you cannot combat this menace. Today it is the booby-trapped bombs tomorrow it will be something else. We are entering into a phase where these people have attained a certain sophistication. Only the other day we discussed about the briefing about the violation of human rights in India in American Congress. Certain imaginary things have been said and these people got a hearing. This is one type of sophistication to sell to the world this idea that the Sikhs in India have been discriminated against and that the rights of the Sikhs in India have been violated. We have to combat that sort of thing. If these people there in America or anywhere-else in the world say that

[Shri G.G. Swell]

these rights are violated, what about this kind of sadism that is being committed by these people ?

We have to meet that kind of thing at that level. The sophistication in their operations is also something that we have to content with also. It is for the government ; it is for the government agencies to find out. We the general public and Members of this House can only react. It is for the government to anticipate—we of the public cannot anticipate. But this is where again and again I have been saying that we fail in our anticipation of things—whether it is in the conduct of foreign affairs or in the conduct of Home Affairs and everything. Again and again we seem to have failed in anticipating things and taking steps to pre-empt certain things from happening. This is what I would like to put across to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. I do not have very much to say ; there is not very much to say really. Other Members have already said so much I would not like to point out that this man has said this thing or that thing. This is an occasion when we have to rise over our party differences ; our personality differences and stand like one man and give the government a hand. If the Prime Minister ever needs a hand, he needs at hand today and let us resolve to give him that hand in every possible way.

[*Translation*]

SHRI P. NAMGYAL (Ladakh) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I associate myself with my other hon. friends in condemning those people who are responsible for the incidents of bomb blasts in Delhi and the surrounding areas on the night of Saturday and Sunday, killing many persons including women and children. No words are strong enough to condemn this act.

In order to solve the Punjab problem, our Prime Minister announced many concessions and took the initiative for holding talks with them. He has accepted their demand of holding a judicial inquiry in respect of the riots which took place in Delhi and surrounding areas. The workers of the All India Sikh Students Federation were released. Despite that, these incidents have taken place. Some hon. Members have rightly said that whenever we take a step in the direction of finding some solution and whenever some rays of hope are visible, such incidents take place. The latest method of spreading terrorism is the use of transistor bombs. This point has been touched upon by many of our friends earlier.

We have read in the newspapers that about 200 to 300 extremists from the neighbouring countries have infiltrated into our country and it is not known where they may strike. It is not known at which place and in which office they have proposed to plant transistor bombs.

14.20 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *In the Chair.*]

Their method of striking has been different every time. Previously, railway stations were set on fire. Murders took place almost daily. Now, they have resorted to bomb blasts. In my view it was understood earlier that after "Operation Bluestar" the nerve-centre of terrorists activities has been destroyed. But, now I feel that their nerve-centre is located not in this country but in some foreign country. It has been shifted to some other country and after receiving proper training from there they infiltrate into this country and indulge in such activities. In my view it is not a minor conspiracy. International organised terrorism and planned terrorism are behind it. A big imperialist who wants to disintegrate our country is involved in it ; such things cannot happen o-

such a large scale without his help. However, we have to see how we can put an end to it. After receiving training from abroad many people have infiltrated into our country and they are creating disturbance here. It is said that there are about 8,000 diamond-cutters in our country. They have gone to Israel by obtaining visa from the Israeli consulate through Rome, because we have no diplomatic relations with Israel. They are getting training through "MOSSAD" which is a counter-part of C.I.A. It is alleged that some of them have a hand in Gujarat incidents also. It is for Government to see how far it is true. But it is being said that all this cannot happen without their help. Their intention is to create some sort of trouble in Assam, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Now, trouble has been created in Gujarat also. They are creating troubles, in some form or the other. So I think that the only alternative with us is to have negotiations. But the point is with whom talks should be held, as Mr. Longowal and other leaders have tendered their resignations as per the reports that have appeared in the press. Talks can not be held with the extremists. They should be tackled. Prof. Dandavate and some other colleagues have rightly said that every Sikh is not an extremist. There are many good people also. Most of them are nationalists and they do not want that there should be any sort of violence. The moderate and nationalist Sikhs should be organised and talks should be held with them in order to solve this problem through negotiations. We should take the help of all those people in the country, who do not want violence so that some sort of solution may be found. Mr. Speaker is ringing the bell again and again. I, therefore, suggest that all the nationalist Sikhs should organise themselves and help Government in finding out a solution to this problem in some way or the other. I express my sympathy with the kith and kin of those who were killed in the

bomb blasts or otherwise. With these words I conclude my speech.

[English]

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Sir, through you, I first of all put my question regarding the Intelligence of our country. As has been said elaborately, it is a very serious thing. We cannot leave aside the present situation when our country's is danger. The bomb blasts in Delhi and other Northern parts of India have been done by the extremists and terrorists which are a part of international game to destabilise this country. We cannot lose sight of that. I would like to give the background for the fresh spate of violence that took place recently. Sir, after a long time, the Government took some right steps in the right direction. The Government instituted for judicial probe into the incidents in Delhi which took place after Shrimati Indira Gandhi's assassination. The Government withdrew the ban on the All India Sikh Students Federation. The Government released leaders like Shri Longowal and Shri Badal and others. They are all steps in the right direction. Shri Longowal came to Delhi recently and he spoke something good that India is one and they do not want to divide India and they would remain in India. All that he said. But he was captive of events and circumstances. So, he had to speak some other things. Anyhow what the Government did was in the right direction. But the Akalis have not fully reciprocated them since they are placed in captive circumstances. All the right thinking people of India were thinking that the Government of India were trying to take proper steps. The present spate of violence was aimed to sabotage the entire process. Prof. Madhu Dandavate stated that whenever there was an occasion for solution between the two parties—the Government and Akalis—and whenever they were coming to certain compromise, there was a spate of violence. The present spate of violence

[Shri Narayan Choubey]

in Delhi and in other Northern parts of India was nothing but an attempt to sabotage the normal process of solutions which were going to take place. Now, it has left a series of emotions throughout the northern India. I want to bring to the notice of the Government that our Government and the people should not fall prey to the trap which has been laid by the extremists and we should not be provoked so that another November-type communal riot does not take place. Otherwise the extremists would speak out that Sikhs are not safe in India and they cannot live peacefully in India. This is the game played by them and we must be very strong in dealing with the situation. But at the same time we cannot fall a prey to the trap that has been laid by the extremists and, Sir, when we speak of extremists, we cannot forget foreign Governments and foreign nationals who are supporting the extremists. We cannot forget Pakistan and we cannot forget the USA. Since 1950s when India refused to join CENTO and SEATO, with the American imperialism in its struggle against Soviet Union and world communism, the USA has been annoyed with us. India continues to be neutral and the Americans have a dislike for India's neutrality. So, this is part of the total game of the US Imperialism towards the rest of the globe. We cannot forget that it is these Americans who wanted to sabotage the Conference at Bandung which was initiated on the basis of 5-Principles, namely Panch Sheel. Let us not lose sight of what took place in the earlier days and I beg to submit that what is happening in India is a part and parcel of the total game of the Imperialist countries. What should be done? The Prime Minister had called a meeting of the opposition parties the other day. I think, the Government should not lose patience, Government must be firm on the extremists. Already there are certain communal people who are say-

ing that the Government is coward, Government has failed to take proper action, and Government has released certain undesirable elements, and hence all these things are happening. They are all communal people, who want to fan the passions. But it is our good luck that most of the Indian people do not like these things. They want that India should remain united, they want that the forces of extremism should be curbed and at the same time they want that what had happened in Delhi and other places in November last be never repeated. The Government must take proper measures to see that these things do not recur again in India.

Certain process of normalisation had started and it was taking a proper shape with the passage of every day, but the extremists want that this process be sabotaged. I hope, the Government will not be provoked and will not be afraid and will take sufficient steps to curb extremism. They must see that the process which had been started should continue though the situation has become somewhat complicated.

I do not want to deal with this subject in the manner in which Shri K. K. Tewary was dealing. But I would like to submit that all efforts of the Government within the Akali party have not given us good results. Longowal has resigned; Badal has resigned and other people are resigning. There is no man in the Akali Dal with whom you can talk. It is not a matter of elation, or to be glad on the part of the Government. You cannot get any person with whom you can talk at this time. You have to wait till the new leadership emerges. Had the middle group in the Akali Dal been strengthened, had not the Government tried to bring in Bhindranwale to weaken these people in the Akali Dal, perhaps the situation would not have developed like this. The Government's efforts to weaken the Akali Dal has been counter productive.

Our party, CPI, are proud to state that with whatever small strength we have got in Punjab, we have been trying to fight extremism and encouraging national integration and we will continue to support the Government whenever it takes proper steps. The entire nation will support the Government if the Government takes proper steps.

Whatever be the attempts of the extremists, the country will remain united and there would be no 'khalistan'. The Sikhs will be with us; the entire Punjab within India will prosper with us. But as I said, Government must take steps in the right direction.

**THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI)**: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would first like to offer our condolences to the people who have suffered during these last few days at the hands of the extremists or terrorists, whatever we would like to call them. We, all of us, view this extremely seriously. It is a new development, a new level of functioning, of operation by the extremists and it is to be taken very seriously. But still, it is sad that on an occasion that is so serious for the whole country, the opposition did not even have fifty people present in the House. It shows the importance they give to such issues. By and large from what people have said in this House, there is no difference in the mood of the House and in the feelings that are being expressed and this is one issue where the Opposition and the Government will be one to eliminate terrorism and extremism from this country.

The Home Minister will be answering this debate and I do not want to get into his territory. I am sure he will answer many of the questions that have been raised, the action that has been taken, the results that have been achieved, the special teams that he has set up, the arrests that he has made, whatever he has learnt about the particular devices and where they were made and so on. I do not know if he

could put all the information he has in front of the House today, but in case he has to hold back some for reasons of investigation or further follow-up action, I am sure he will be giving the House full facts as soon as he is able to do so without prejudice to the case.

One member has raised the question whether Government or the Delhi Administration and the other Administrations reacted fast enough to build public awareness that such booby traps were being placed and that there was a danger to people from those devices. I think the Administration did act fast enough because, although many devices went off, we have also got a large number of devices which the people recognised as booby traps after the publicity and they have been taken in tact. That is what is actually helping the investigations. So, this was not a shortcoming on the part of the Administration. In fact, they have to be commended on the speed with which this information could be spread and a large number of explosions of these booby traps were prevented from going off.

Members are justifiably apprehensive about the speed at which we are able to catch the terrorists. We have certain constraints and certain drawbacks. We have certain limitations by the laws that are available to us. And tomorrow, may be day after, we will be bringing some amendments to this House and we are looking into what we can do to counter terrorism as such. Are our laws good enough to handle terrorism? If they are not, we will bring in a Bill before the House to fight terrorism.

One member mentioned that we should have a Minister for Internal Security. I beg to state, Sir, that we do have one.

[*Translation*]

**MR. SPEAKER**: It is better, you have removed the doubt.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : They thought that he was in charge of Insecurity.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, we have been trying to get to the root of the problem that is there in Punjab. What we really have to fight is not the political aspect of it. That is where we must adjust and accommodate always, within the constraints of a united and integral India—that is where we must be flexible. But at the same time, we must be very rigid where there is any question of using violence towards those ends, where there is any question of using terrorism towards those ends, where there is any question of threat to our national unity or integrity and where there is a question of a fraction breaking away. There, we will be tough and we hope the whole House will stand with us, in taking both these lines simultaneously.

Sir, one party is talking about water, Chandigarh and territory.

But maybe, what they are really talking about is the whole territory of Punjab—how to sit in the Chief Minister's chair, while there is another group which is talking about the same territory in a different way ; about taking it away. We must fight the second group with everything that we have with us ; and we will do that.

Prof. Dandavate raised some points which, I think, need a little explanation. I do not want to go into the full details of what has happened in the last three years, because we all know that ; we have debated it a number of times. Most of the charges that he has made, have been answered more than fully on the floor of this very House. It is no use going into these again and again.

He did raise a point of arms being smuggled into the Golden Temple complex in food—well, he said food

trucks. But if I remember correctly, it was in food trucks ; but it was also inside bags of wheat, and bags of food I would like to point out that these trucks belonged to the SGPC, that these trucks were given specific clearances to go in and out by the SGPC at that time. SGPC has not charged much since then. So, although we all want to accommodate as much as possible, there are certain things we must keep in mind. We cannot forget that these actions could not have taken place without the full help of the SGPC. If people had gone into the Golden Temple, they were sitting inside the Akal Takht, they were sitting there because they had the permission of the management to go into that.

Now, there is one more small point. Prof. Dandavate Ji said : maybe, we can have a metal detector through which the whole truck can go. I would like to remind him that the trucks are made of metal. So, they would be detected.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I said electronic equipment, and metal detector for us ; and for them, electronic equipment.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Like I said earlier, one of the Members said that all the Akali leaders are not the same. All the Sikhs are not the same. All Sikhs are not Akalis ; all Akali Dal people are not extremists. This is true, and we know it. But Members have said that.

Prof. Dandavate Ji has read out a letter written by Shri Badal which, he said, was not a love letter. Maybe, some day he will read out one of his other letters. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If it were a love letter, I would not have read it here.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I said : maybe, some other day he will read out one of his other letters,



MR. SPEAKER : Do you expect me to allow that, Sir ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Not knowing his letters, I could not comment on this.

But I think this is a very important juncture for all of us ; and like many Members have said, members of the Akali Dal have come out openly, may be for the first time as strongly as they have. I think this is very positive ; and not only the Akali Dal, but also for the first time we have seen a large number of Sikhs coming out and condemning these actions, and I must congratulate our Sikh brothers and sisters for coming out or only against this action, for showing courage and guts—because they will, at some stage, have to face the terrorists as well ; and the whole House must congratulate all the Sikhs who have shown the guts and come forward and stood up against this. This is where we must rise above what we instinctively want to do, or feel that should be done. We must help them come out of their shelves. We have a choice today. We have a choice of countering a small group of extremists and terrorists and carrying the rest of the Sikhs in India with us. When I say 'with us', I do not mean the Government, I mean the House, the country. And we could very easily go wrong, a small false move, small error in our discretion or hastiness in our action could turn the whole group against all of us. And that is where we need to act with utmost restraint and utmost patience and really we are talking of what Gandhiji taught us right, non-violence to the ultimate degree. Let them provoke us. But like previous times, again many Members pointed out every time a discussion started, every time it started moving towards conclusions, and things started going well, something happened. We all reacted against that provocation. What was the result of that ? It was that whatever procedures had been started were abandoned. Now, we have to

show the guts to follow through with the action that we have started and we have to have the guts to bring out a conclusion and isolate the extremists from everybody else in this country. To do this we will need the help of every single person. And this is the time when Members in the Opposition specially leaders in the Opposition must not turn this into a political battle with the Government or against any party. It is too easy to do that. It is the easy way out.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : But do you find it that way ? Did you find the battle like that here ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I will come to that. I answer Prof. Dandavateji No, it has not taken place in this House. But I was going to come a little later to it in the debate, namely what is said must also be followed by actions. When immediately a *bandh* is called when immediately public action is taken, that is what is damaging, and that is what we must always be careful about. I am not trying to accuse because it would not be good to accuse anyone. We have to convince everyone who has any doubts, about the line of action that we are taking. It is in fact the only correct line of action, and there is no real alternative.

We have seen today, the leaders of the Akali Dal the traditional leaders of the Akali Dal, have taken a stand to an extent. May be we all wanted that they would have taken much stronger steps. But let us not forget, that just a few days ago they could not even have taken this much of stand. We must see the positive side and see how we help them build themselves up without helping in such a manner that we damage them permanently, but help them by our actions by not reacting, to what the extremists and terrorists want to see us react. They have wanted, right along, that a backlash comes and the whole community is alienated from the country. That is what we want to avoid here today.

[Shri Rajiv Gandhi]

It is also nice to hear from the Opposition Benches of a "foreign hand" involvement in these terrorist activities. But I would like to remind them that whenever the Treasury Benches have raised this issue they have come out very strongly and sarcastically about this. But the fact is that there is an involvement. You know it, and it does not help ignoring it. At the same time, it does not help giving it too much importance and pretending that it is the only problem. That is a much wider problem than that and we have to see it in all its aspects. One of our Members said that the Punjab was leaderless. I beg to differ with him. The Akali Dal might be having leadership problems, but I do not think, the Punjab is having any leadership problem. Another Member mentioned about the Akal Takht being broken down. I beg to say that this is entirely the business of the Sikhs and we should not interfere in what they want to do with their religious institutions. If they want to remove it, they are welcome to remove it. If they want to build a 24-storey structure, they are welcome to do it provided it is within the Municipal Committee rules there. So, they can do whatever they like to do.

The fact is that today there is no room for complacency. We have been facing terrorism in our country for the first time for the past two or three years. Last week, it has taken a new turn, a more serious turn. It was limited to young boys with guns or machine-guns going and gunning down people. Where they were or they could be spotted and they could be caught. This is a different type. It is laying booby-traps for the people to pick up, where it is not so easy to spot the person who is doing that. Wherever terrorism has come up in this manner, in whichever country it has come up, they have not been able to eliminate it in a very short period of time. It

has always lasted quite some time before they have been able to finish it off. And we must brave ourselves to face such a situation. We must build up our machinery whether it is intelligence, whether it is police, whether it is administrative, or some civil defence type structure, and create an awareness in the public, use voluntary organisations, use all our political organisations to try and identify where things are going wrong and where unusual objects are placed. There should be awareness. People should not go and grab things and pick them up and get themselves killed. This is something which we must think about and do something about it.

Terrorism comes up when there is a certain weakness. We must overcome this weakness. Our previous Prime Minister, Indiraji, had warned our friends in the Akali Dal that they must be very careful how they take their agitation. On the floor of this House, if I remember correctly, she said : "If you start going down a road from which you cannot turn, it is extremely dangerous." That is why, we must see that the statements and actions taken by us are not such that they help terrorists and extremists.

Although the Akali leadership have been positive in certain aspects, they have also during the recent past said and done things which have encouraged extremists and terrorists. They must stop doing that. Not just saying it ; they must stop saying it and they must also stop doing it. And here I would like our friends in the opposition, who know them well, to talk to them and convince them that if we have to fight these terrorists and extremists, we must all fight them together.

The terrorists will always have an advantage in such a situation. They choose their time, they choose their place. Today it is transistor radios, tomorrow it might be something else which might not be recognisable. We

have to penetrate and got to the roots of it. We have to really flush them out.

I am sure, the Home Minister has already taken strong steps and he will be taking stronger steps to see that this cancer is taken out from our society. This is the time for all of us to mobilise public opinion, not just one community but all communities, all regions, all religions, to fight this. Killings, such as these, leave scar on our democracy, and we must put an end to them. Violence has no place in our society. The integrity, and unity of India is supreme and we will not let anything happen that will affect it.

Lastly, we are all privileged to have been born in India, Gandhi Ji's, Pandit Ji's India, where they had faced British bullets, lathi charges, totally non-violently. It needs much more guts and courage to be non-violent than it takes to be violent, and the recent acts that we have seen are not acts of courage, they are acts of cowardice, and we must fight them with all the strength at our command. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI DIL KUMARI BHANDARI (Sikkim) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, most heinous crime has been committed by the perpetrators of these bomb blasts in Delhi and in parts of northern India, resulting in loss of many innocent lives and injuring lots of people. No words are strong enough to condemn this heinous crime. These acts have been committed at such a time when every citizen in our country was waiting for some positive response from the Akali Dal towards the recent steps taken by the Centre to solve the Punjab problem. This clearly shows that the path of persuasion has had no effect on these anti-national forces. So, I think the Government should come on these dark forces with a heavy hand and these forces should be rooted out once and for all. The situation is such that at this juncture, every citizen

should stand behind the Government for any action it takes to defeat these dark forces who are out to disintegrate our country. On behalf of Sikkim Sangram Parishad, I would like to extend our support to the Government and the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi, for any action they take to eliminate these anti-national and dark forces. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : Shrimati Krishna Sahi.

SHRIMATI KRISHNA SAHI (Begu-sarai) : I am running temperature, Sir, so I am going.

MR. SPEAKER : Shall I ask the Home Minister right away.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : Then I will call Shri K. D. Sultanpuri.

15.00 hrs.

[Translation]

SHRI K. D. SULTANPURI (Simla) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Prime Minister has explained in detail the position about Punjab. I would like to say only one thing. The extremists who initially started their activities in Punjab are now spreading them all over the country. Religious places in Punjab are not being utilised for the purpose they are meant for. I would like to say that the sanctity of all the Gurudwaras in Punjab is being violated and I would like to request the Hon. Prime Minister to take stringent measures in this regard. You will have to take strong steps in order to set the things right.

I came from Himachal Pradesh yesterday night. Efforts are being made to create disturbances in every Gurudwara of Himachal Pradesh. I would like to make a mention about,

[Shri K. D. Sultanpuri]

the Hoshiarpur District. I remained there from 5th April to 3rd of May and I visited many villages there. Hariavela Gurudwara is one of the many gurudwaras there. It was planned to recover arms and ammunition from that Gurudwara but our forces posted on duty there were not allowed to enter it. It should be enquired into, namely who want to disintegrate our country.

I would like to say one thing more. If Chandigarh is handed over to Punjab. Abohar and Fazilka should be transferred to Haryana. We have spent crores of rupees on the development of Punjab. Crores of rupees have been spent on the Thein Dam. A Railway Coach Factory is coming up in Punjab. A sizeable part of the country's resources is being spent on the development of Punjab. But we see that the canals were breached there and the farmers have been put to great loss. Who are doing all these things? Who are these people causing hindrance to the unity of the country?

I would also like to say that the Sikh Students Federation should be banned to protect the lives of our people. You will have to think and do something to ensure harmony between Hindus and Sikhs, Gurus did not teach us to fight among ourselves and generate extremism. My area is adjacent to Anandpur...*(Interruption)*... I would like to say that Government should take steps so that the people of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana may live in peace and comfort with these words I conclude my speech.

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI (Srinagar) : Through you, Sir, I would like to congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister for taking certain bold steps in respect of the Punjab issue. Certain sections, have described it as his

weakness. But I and my party, i.e., National Conference feel that the announcement made by him about judicial inquiry into Delhi riots and the decisions taken by him to release the Akali leaders and to construct the Thein Dam and his decision on other things about Punjab show his boldness.

When the situation had become the worst in Punjab in the last few years, the Opposition Parties had said that the moderates in Punjab should be helped in order to face the extremists, but at that time Government did not listen to them. We had criticised "Operation Blue star" and will continue to do so, but at the same time we feel that the condition had gone worse and Government had no alternative but to do so. Alas! Government could have taken some action before the condition deteriorated so much, so that the extremists could have been weakened. If timely action had been taken to seize their arms and ammunition, such conditions would not have developed. In the prevailing circumstances also, I would like to say that it is a misfortune of the country that "Operation Bluestar" had to be restored to. Thereafter incidents of bloodshed took place in Delhi and other parts of the country and due to those incidents this community has a feeling that atrocities have been perpetrated on them and injustice has been done to them, it would have been better if their psychology or feelings would have been appreciated. Today, the people are indulging in extremism and are killing innocent people, for which we all are condemning them, but the Hon. Prime Minister should also understand their psychology. Their feelings should also be appreciated, because they have also made great sacrifices for the freedom of the country and they have always played a leading role in maintaining the security of the country. They are people who had sacrificed their lives for the security of the country, people who

have this enhanced the prestige of this country. I would like to say that today there is a serious danger to this country, the Hon. Prime Minister, today \*\* are being considered as enemies.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : It is expunged.

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI : Some Newspapers, some forces indulge in such type of talks. We should not say any such thing.

The Hon. Prime Minister, Haryana's \*\*...of Maha Punjab...

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Kabuli, you should please listen to other's views also.

[English]

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI : I did not say 'all'. I said some forces in this country have said.

[Translation]

I would like to say that some forces want to create such type of disaffection. I would like to submit that Haryana's \*\*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No, no. Not allowed.

(Interruptions)\*\*

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI : Neither the Opposition, nor the ruling party should indulge in such type of talks.

MR. SPEAKER : You now resume your seat please.

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, if we have to fight against the extremists in Punjab, we can fight against them with help of the army or the police force. But we would have to gain the confidence of the majority of the Sikhs. We should gain the confidence of the majority of the people there

I think that it is necessary to maintain the integrity of India, but it is being weakened today. Your Governments last five years...

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Nothing goes on record. Now, Mr. Piyus Tiraky.

(Interruptions)\*\*

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government, in my opinion, have taken a right step. On behalf of my Party, the RSP, I would like to say that my Party is with the Government and the Prime Minister. One thing I would like to ask here. Many things have already been said. Terrorism is not Sikhism. Terrorism has no caste or no religion. The terrorists are a certain group, they are paid members. Terrorism is not only in Punjab, but also in the eastern zone. We have seen this in the Assam movement where some young people have been used by the money power or something like that.

So, it is not only Punjab but more or less all over India, in some part or the other, these kinds of activities are being seen. So the Government should be beware. Whenever the grievances come, it has been the practice of the Government that unless some sort of blood-shed takes place, it is not ready to sit or thing over the problem—

[Shri Piyus Tiraky]

whether it may be labour problem or territorial problem. So, the Government's attitude should change in this respect. Whenever something comes to any part of the country, the Government should seriously think over it and they should not be allowed to go too long and come to a bloodshed.

Now, we are speaking of a socialistic pattern of society. But what kind of socialistic pattern? I should be clarified because our young people are very anxious to know which side our country is going. It is because, especially the unemployed people should not be tempted with the money power coming from outside. With so many problems with our young people, they can easily be tempted because they have no work. So they can easily be tempted with terrorism. So, it is not the Sikhs who are doing this. At one time, we had the Naxalite movement and that Naxalite was not of Hindu terrorism or Hindu religion. So, why should the Sikhs be blamed for this terrorism just because it has been coming from Punjab. So, it should be made clear by the Government.

Whenever any trouble comes from any side, any corner of the country, the Government should be ready to think over it and go through it.

[*Translation*]

SHRIMATI VIDYAWATI CHATURBEDI (Khajuraho) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to express my sympathy with the people who have been murdered by the extremists and have met untimely death. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a fact, as the Hon. Prime Minister has said and Prof. Madhu Dandvate has also said that all Sikhs are not Akalis and all Akali Party members are not terrorists, but Mr. Speaker, Sir, you would have to keep one thing in mind. History is

witness to this fact that there has not been a dearth of Jaichands and Mir Jafars in India. They have been hesitated so disintegrate the country, to take the country to dogs or to harm the country for their petty, selfish interests.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not take much of your time, but I would like to put certain points before you. A letter of Badal Saheb was read out before us. I do not disbelieve it. He might have written it. It might be a fact, but one point is before us. Did Badalji protest or openly condemn it, when the murderers of Indiraji were being honoured or they were being called martyrs? This point is before us. Today many people have come from various parts of Punjab. I do not say that whatever they have said is correct, but they have said that it is feared that many Sikhs have cut their hair and shaved off their heads and have become Hindus. Such people are indulging in disruptive activities to defame the Hindus. These persons want to defame the Hindus. There should be a thorough enquiry to find out the factual position. It is also possible that these people want to create a rift among the Hindus and the Sikhs. It needs to be checked since some terrorists and extremists might be working in this direction.

Secondly, gurudwaras are places of worship. But these are being turned into forts. High boundary walls are being constructed outside the Delhi Gurudwaras. Big glass-pieces and lives are also being erected on them. Sir, these are the places of worship and these should not be converted into forts. When this is done, it creates doubts in our minds. All these things have to be looked into. Secondly, I would request the Hon. Prime Minister very politely that we would have to make our intelligence department more active and more efficient, because it is not an ordinary thing. Slackness in the Intelligence Department may

create a risk to the security of our country. Today different feelings are being created among the people in every village. Earlier it was limited to cities alone, but the reports reaching here now show that this poison of hatred is being spread in every village. Confusion is being created amongst women folk specially. By referring to Golden Temple, a feeling of hatred is being created among the women and the youth. If they really want to come to the mainstream of the country and the Akalis want to avoid terrorism, it is their duty that they should go to each and every village and isolate the extremists. With these words I conclude my speech.

[English]

SHRI S. M. BHATTAM (Visakhapatnam) : Sir, I take it that we are not discussing the problem of Punjab in general. We are particularly discussing the question of emergence of violence and terrorism. As far as the problem of Punjab is concerned we are happy to observe that the Prime Minister is good enough to take the Opposition into confidence and, therefore, any possible proposal or any idea which we would like to put before him we would like to make use of that forum for that purpose. So, let me state that we are happy the way in which the Prime Minister has held negotiations with the Opposition for achieving a negotiated settlement with Akalis.

Sir, the main aspect at the moment is the emergence of violence. In a democratic polity violence has no place. Violence and democracy do not go together. Violence destroys very democratic fabric of our country and, therefore, we are opposed to it and stand by the government in all their efforts to put it down with a heavy hand.

Sir, this point has been made sufficiently clear by all leaders of various political parties and by now it

must be clear that the entire Opposition including the ruling party which means the whole House is united and with one voice we condemn violence. We support the Government fully in all their efforts to put down terrorism in any part of the country.

Sir, one point that has to be taken into consideration is that all Sikhs are not people believing in belligerent methods resorted to by the terrorists. There are definitely moderate Sikh elements which come out openly and criticise the various pledges taken by them to indulge in violence in this part of the country.

Sir, one or two things which I would like to emphasise is that initially here and there violence used to take place against certain individuals. There were sporadic and individual attacks. Later it has got into a different phase altogether. Now, there is mass killing of innocent persons in public places. Apart from that the terrorists forces are resorting to sophisticated weapons which obviously means the indulgence of foreign elements. Without their support possibly this could not have been done. Therefore, we are very clear and categorical that the entire things requires to be probed and the elements which are behind this must be exposed and necessary steps taken at different levels. Apart from these things, not only in Punjab but in every part of the country the terrorist Sikh elements, may be in Rajasthan... may be in Haryana or in some other parts of the country. They think that they will not be able to do this and go a head with this activity. It is for the first that they could go ahead with the terrorist activities and that is the new phenomenon which we have come to know of and this is well-organised and well-directed and a centrally operated mechanism which is now in vogue. Therefore, it requires to be dealt with a firm hand and we, on behalf of our

[Shri S. M. Bhattam]

party, strongly and united stand by the Government with all our strength and efforts to put down all the terrorists activities.

[Translation]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir; After the balanced, sober and brilliant speech of the Hon. Prime Minister in this House, there remains to be said almost nothing. I would like to submit only this much that the happenings in and around Delhi and Northern India during the last two or three days are causing concern and they are deplorable. When we all would go back to our respective areas after the 17th instant, the people of our area may or may not enquire about anything else, but they would certainly ask what we had discussed about Punjab. I am happy that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has already explained the entire position. I would like to submit this much only that this is not the first effort at the disintegration of this country. Such efforts had been made on many occasions, earlier also. The seventy crores of people of this country have handed over the reigns of power to you and they have done this after careful consideration, this has not been done by them out of emotions. They have handed over power to you to represent those 70 crores of people. When the power of this country was in the hands of the older generation, it did not disintegrate. The world powers might have thought that now that power had gone in the hands of a boy, the country could be disintegrated now. Through you, Sir, I would like to tell the entire world that it is the good fortune of the country that it has got such a balanced leadership. I would like to congratulate Shri Rajiv Gandhi on behalf of the entire country for the statement which he has made. He has given a proper direction to all of us in this House.

I would like to conclude my speech

after referring to a serious point about Punjab. I would like to tell in very clear terms, those of my friends who do not make use of the opportunities for negotiations time and again. Here I would like to refer to the Akali Party and the terrorists who spoil every opportunity for holding talks. If they have to say anything, they would have to hold talks with Rajivji only. Though they have not allowed the elections to be held in Punjab and they have created such circumstances in which elections could not be held, even then the people of India have elected 401 such M.Ps., who are standing like a rock behind him. Whenever they want to hold talks, they would have to come to Rajivji for talks. At present they have to think if they are prepared to hold talks or not. What is their thinking now? In case they do not want to have discussions, we are helpless. When they have nothing to discuss, they indulge in such acts which lower the prestige of our country. Through you, Sir and through this House I would like to tell all such people that today Shri Rajiv Gandhi has adopted a soft attitude, and they should remember that if the Akalis or terrorists adopt a stiff attitude then only these people would be responsible for the consequences and not this House. I remember that moment and through you I would like to draw the attention of Shri Rajivji that though he might not be witnessing it. Yet when on 6th instant, Rajivji was speaking before a gathering of lakhs of people, the entire scene was before our eyes, when the Prime Minister of our country said on that day that we had adopted soft attitude; and if the country were to point out that we were adopting too soft an attitude, he had said that when required, he could work with an iron hand also. At that time, he was given a rousing avotion by this country, by the youths of this country, by the mothers and sisters of this country. The entire atmosphere was surcharged with slogans of appropriation in his support. Through



you, Sir, and through this House I would like to say only one thing that this is not the problem of Rajiv Gandhi Ji alone. This is neither the problem of the Congress Party, nor the problem of power...

This is the problem of 73 crores of people of this country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would never forget that utterance of yours which you had said in your personal capacity. I still remember that sentence and I have written an article on that sentence. You had said that when our country got Independence. Our population was 33 crores and now our population is 74 crores. Even if 40 crores of people sacrifice their lives to maintain the unity, integrity, freedom and emotional integrity of our country, the country would not be allowed to disintegrate.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these words I would like to welcome the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi on behalf of the new generation and he has given a balanced, sober and intelligent statement on the Punjab problem full of very high ideals. It is a feeling which we would carry with us from this sessions. When we go back to our constituency, we would tell our constituents that we has discussed this matter very forcefully in this House and the entire House is unanimous on the issue of Punjab and on the fight against the terrorists. With these words, I would like to express my thanks to you.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I must express my gratefull thanks to all the Hon. Members for keeping the level of the debate very high. We were apprehensive in the morning that if by any chance the adjournment motion comes for discussion, it may result into a kind of conflicting views when the need of the hour is unity, as we are passing through a very critical situation.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Home Minister, we are a very responsible House.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : When Chair is responsible, responsibility percolates down automatically.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : We had a vegy good discussion on this very delicate issue of the terrorist activities, which is a new phase in which they have entered.

The Prime Minister was good enough to intervene in the matter and all major issues have been dealt with by him. It will not be proper on my part to go on dilating on the same, but there are some other issues on which some information was sought by some Hon. Members and it is my duty to supply to the House the information to the extent it is possible.

Prof. Dandvate made a forceful speech and he said that before the Bluestar Operation, 220 persons had been killed by the terrorists and not even one case had been registered against them, and not even one person had been prosecuted.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : That was the position at the end of February, 1984 and it was confirmed by the then Home Minister.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I have the latest information with me ; it is for period 1.3.1981 th 31.3.1985. Persons killed : 427 ; criminal cases registered in connection with these killings : 285 ; cases ended in conviction : 3 ; cases ended in acquittal : 16 ; cases pending trial in courts : 98 and cases under investigation : 137. So, it is not a fact.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You have not contradicted me. Last time during the debate I got it confirmed. Upto February, 1984 end,

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

there were 220 killings and not a single man was prosecuted. It was given on 4th April, 1984.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : These are the figures upto the end of March, 1985. The Hon. Member was correct, when he said that in the past also, we found the same trend, which has been repeated this time that whenever the solution seemed to be in sight, some kind of terrorist activity was started, a number of people were killed and the entire atmosphere was vitiated with a view that no settlement could be reached. When the Akali leaders were released in spite of the fact that they spoke rather intemperate language, not expected of such people we could appreciate the circumstances in which they had to make those statements. But in spite of that, we were trying to have some kind of a ground prepared for negotiations.

A number of steps were taken by Government and before we took these steps, I think a number of people were consulted in the matter and a congenial atmosphere was created with a view to find a political solution to the Punjab problem. Hon. Members will be able to appreciate the fact that this was the very time when there was an increase in the terrorist activities. A large number of people have been killed and there is a spurt in the activity on the part of the terrorists because they suspected that there seemed to be a ground prepared now for negotiated settlement in the country. There was a view which was expressed by some of my colleagues also as to whom we are going to talk now. The Akali leadership seems to be in total disarray. Hardly any leadership is left. The entire charge seems to have been taken by the same Bhindranwale's father and the extremists and terrorists seem to be in charge of the entire thing. Are we to continue negotiations with them? Some

of our other colleagues also said that the Akalis will never come to the negotiation table for any kind of settlement because they themselves are afraid. If they were to come for negotiations, what is going to be their future—this seems to be worrying them. If you try to negotiate with the other people, then they will lay down such impossible conditions that it will be impossible for you to come to any settlement of the issue. I think it will be too early for any of us to draw any conclusion from the present situation prevailing in the Akali Dal leadership. Let us not go into it. We would rather like to wait and see what emerges out of it and whether they are in a mood to discuss matters with us. In fact, we are interested in finding a political solution to the Punjab problem at the earliest. But this does not mean that in the name of finding a political solution some other people would have to take law and order into their hands, indulge in extremist and terrorist activities and kill innocent people. This is a new thing that has come out, that in the frame of transistors they put some crude bombs with a peculiar kind of device, which resulted in the deaths of a large number of innocent people, those who were travelling in trains and buses and those who innocently took possession of that thing which ultimately resulted in their death. So, this is a new kind of an activities which they have started and as the Hon. Prime Minister has started this is not an end of it. They might adopt some other methods to create some kind of a chaos in the country. They are interested in creating conditions in which the amity which is prevailing among different communities in the country, and especially among the Sikhs and Hindus should be put a stop to. They want that a conflicting situation may be created and some kind of a violent reaction should come from every section or the other. That seems to be the very purpose for locating these bombs in very crowded localities so

that it may result in confusion and a mass reaction to state thereafter. I am one with some of the Hon. Member who said that we have to pay compliments to the people at large who did not react violently. They did not lose patience; they reacted in a very calm and collected manner. They wanted this kind of an amity to continue. Instead of having any kind of allegation against one another, they tried to help the Government. Twenty of these bombs were found, without being exploded. They were identified, they were handed over to the local authorities; and the experts defused these bombs, and no untoward incident could happen. This is because of the cooperation that we received from the members of the public, and also the very prompt action that we have able to take, in the prevailing circumstances. I must really say that the Delhi Administration, the Chandigarh Administration, the U.P. Administration, the Rajasthan Administration and for that matter, all the Administrations in different States which were affected in this matter, acted very promptly; and they did not allow conditions to deteriorate. They did not allow communal frenzy to take charge of the entire situation. In fact, that was the main objective of these terrorists. It is not with a view to kill innocent people, but to create confusion, to create some kind of a confrontation, and to create enmity between different sections of the people—that was the main objective: and we have to bear this in mind, viz. that this is a kind of thing which, if it were to come in some shape or the other, we should not lose patience but face the situation boldly, in a calm and collected manner, and without levelling any charge or allegation against one community or the other.

So, after the explosions, a large number of people were taken into custody. In Punjab, almost 600 of them have been taken into custody. In Delhi, about 200 people have been taken into custody. Almost 1000 to

1100 people must have been taken in custody so far. Investigations are on.

In fact, Hon. Members must have read the news items today about the Press conference which seems to have been given by one of our officers—the Police Commissioner in charge of Delhi. In fact, I hold the view that he should not have given it. But he seems to have given some kind of an information saying that such-and-such were the objects that we could recover, and so many people have been arrested. Fortunately, he has not named any person.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :  
Don't disown him from this platform.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : No; this is not the practice. In fact, these are very sensitive matter where normally when I also supply information, I have to be very careful to see that it does not result in having an adverse effect on the investigation, which is still going on.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : But at the same time, it is no good being too secretive.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : No. But these are matters where if information goes out before time, it can cause tremendous damage; and that is why it is necessary that we have to be very cautious in these matters. You will excuse me if I were not to give any details of this particular incident, in which some of the culprits have been arrested, and some material has been recovered. In fact, it will not be in the interest of investigations, if I were to give any details as to what things have been found, and what we propose to do thereafter.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD :  
Were any foreign markings found on them? Were they of India or Pakistan?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : In the case of one incident, wherein three people

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

seem to have died in Haryana, one person was carrying a bomb. I do not know what happened; it fell through, it exploded, and he himself was also killed, besides two others. There are some foreign markings. But I think it will not be proper, at this stage, to say as to whether it had the markings of this particular nation or that particular nation.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : We presume either America or Pakistan.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : One of our Opposition leaders was going about saying: 'Unnecessarily, the present Prime Minister and the earlier Prime Minister were saying that there was foreign danger, and foreign interference, and so on.' And you keep everything secret. Then where are we ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I think I have been trying to get the information, but so far, I have not succeeded. At least from my memory I am saying that there is a revolver which had been found, which had a foreign marking, but again, I would like to say that I would like to say that I would not like to disclose the name of the country.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD : It was American...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Might be Pakistan as well. I cannot possibly say at this stage. But it has a foreign marking. No doubt about it. (*Interruptions*) In this situation, I think it is just and proper that we should expect cooperation from all the sections of the House. Unfortunately, yesterday, a public meeting was held by a political party in spite of the fact that I personally requested their leader, saying that this was not the proper time for having this kind of a public meeting. The kind of reply that I got was : "We are a political party, and you

cannot expect from a political party not to hold a public meeting." (*Interruptions*)

When I saw that there was a possibility of some kind of a confrontation, ultimately we allowed the public meeting to be held. But that was not all. They wanted to have a condolence meeting; but I know the kind of speeches that have been made there. Besides, there might be a line of condolence; and thereafter, it was all political speech-making.

The details of the speeches, I have with me, but I would not like to touch that aspect. Today, this morning also they gave a call or a *bandh* and they were to observe a total *bandh* in Delhi today. I do not think that they have succeeded. The life is totally normal in Delhi. There was only one occasion when the Police had to fire in the air not resulting in any damage, but now the situation is under control. The entire life in Delhi is as before. I do not think that they have succeeded in doing this but I am not really surprised that even in a situation of this nature also there are elements which are trying to take advantage of the present prevailing situation. I would like to appeal to all sections of the House, and through this House to all political parties and specially the Akali Dal and their friends, that they should help the authorities in creating normalcy in the entire area and they should not do anything by which effort there is an escalation in the entire thing and if there be any, I can assure the hon. Members that while we have been very generous we have been very open-minded so far as the political situation of Punjab is concerned, but if they have assumed this to be a sign of weakness on our part, I can assure all the hon. Members that any action of terrorist activity will be put down with a very heavy hand and there will be no compromise on that issue. The hon. Prime Minister was also very unequivocal when he said it

and I would like to assure that this is a thing with which we are not going to put up. Terrorist activity, or extremist activity in any form is going to be dealt with very seriously and for doing all that whatever organisational structure is necessary, either in intelligence or in Police or in para-military force, certainly we are going to create all the structure which is required for handling a situation of this nature. But at the same time I would like to appeal again, that let us try and see that we create normalcy in the entire area. And kind of agitation which can lead to such kind of a situation should be avoided to the extent possible.

I do not think I need give more explanation on a member of issues which were raised here. If the members are interested, the details will be given to them about those things for which information can be disclosed. But if there are matters about which you would like the details but which possibly cannot be disclosed, I plead inability for that.

STATE FINANCIAL CORPORATIONS  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND COMMERCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the State Financial Corporations Act, 1951

MR. SPEAKER: The question is

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the State Financial Corporations Act, 1951.”

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

COINAGE (AMENDMENT) BILL

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND COMMERCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Coinage Act, 1906.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Coinage Act, 1906.”

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I introduced the Bill.

MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

[*English*]

- (i) Need to develop disease resistant varieties of groundnut with a view to check decrease in its production

SHRI M. SUBBA REDDY (Nandyal): The groundnut oil production has come down due to decrease in groundnut production. This is mainly due to the pests affecting this crop. The Agriculture Minister is requested to initiate measures to undertake research to develop better strains of groundnut varieties which are disease and pest resistant.

15.48 hrs.

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

[*Translation*]

- (ii) Need to convert Katihar-Jogbani metre-gauge line in broad-gauge

SHRI D. L. BAITHA (Araria): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, there is an imperative need to convert the Katihar-Jogbani section of the North-Eastern Frontier Railway into broad-gauge.