

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I cannot allow now. You give it in writing. We are now discussing an Adjournment Motion. I cannot take up that now.

(Interruptions)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): We want a discussion on this, if not today atleast tomorrow...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you want a discussion, give it in writing.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Yes,

*(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Noting will go on record.

*(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Mr. Khurshid Ahmed Choudhary.

*(Interruptions) **

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: I cannot allow.

*(Interruptions) ***

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: I cannot allow. This is the adjournment motion. He is on his legs.

*(Interruptions) ***

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Nothing will be recorded.

17.41 hrs

ADJOURNMENT MOTION

[English]

Terrorist Activities in Punjab and Delhi

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED (Faridabad) I have heard Bhatia Saheb when he was delivering the speech of his own. And now he has come out with a very simplistic solution to a very big problem. Let us not take such things in such a lighter vein. Firstly, he was telling us that none of the opposition people have condemned terrorism. Not only the opposition people but the whole of the country is condemning terrorism. Condemning is one thing but controlling the terrorism is the responsibility of the Government. The sympathies for the victims have been expressed by everybody, not only by Mr. Bhatia but everyone whosoever has spoken.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY (Kurnool): I have said that every victim must be given freedom fighter's pension. You have been speaking so eloquently about the victims. What is it that you have done for them.

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED: In matters of condemnation as well as in paying sympathies to the victims they only want to pay lip service. They do not want to do anything for these people. They do not want to do anything for these people. That is the exact reasons why the Government has failed to control it. If they mean business, they could have controlled this terrorism by now. But they were asking suggestions from the opposition. There were three speakers from their side. What has been their suggestion? It is the confusion in their own minds how they want to deal with this problem or they want to avoid it, or whatever is the suspicion from this side, they want to linger

[Choudhary Khurshid Ahmed]

it on for the same reason for which they used this terrorism and terrorist position in the previous election to show to the country, as Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad was saying, that this is the question of the integrity of the country. We all know that there are inherent contradictions in some people and here is one. So if they were serious about solving the problem of terrorism, they could have taken up the measures and they could have presented the solution to the nation. But it appears that they are no more interested in solving it, but they are trying to get the political gain out of it and nothing else.

They have said that Congress has done great things and all other parties are sleeping over it. As far as the political parties are concerned, none of them has ever slept over it. They have come out against terrorism at all times. None of the parties has ever supported terrorism in this country including the Akalis whom you are blaming. But ultimate responsibility of controlling terrorism lies with the Government and it is here that the confusion prevails in the Government circles. Instead of controlling terrorism, they go on blaming the other parties. They put on excuses and they take credit in it. And most of them feel satisfied whatever they have done within the last three or four years. The speaker, Mr. Azad, was really satisfied with what is happening now. Can we rest with such a situation Can we have such a situation in perpetuity in Punjab?

They take credit for the grain production in the Punjab State. It is not the Government but the people of Punjab, the brave and valient people who are responsible for the progress of Punjab, for the investment development Punjab, and for the increase in agricultural production in Punjab. And the Government worth the name is expected to do is to give protection to the live, liberty and the property of the people. It is exactly here that the Government role staris. Any Government worth the name should give the protection and security to life. Does the Government provide it? If it cannot provide it,

it is not the Government worth the name . It cannot take shelter behind these excuses that Punjab is progressing. Well, it has progressed even previously and it would continue to progress even in future because the people have the spirit and the entrepreneurship. People have the courage to fight under all circumstances to deal with all the exigencies of the situation and even today they are fighting not only against the terrorists but even against the State terrorism perpetated on the innocent people of Punjab by the Police. Not even a farmer is free. He can be picked up rom his field not by terrorists alone. Terrorists can take him in the night, the policemen can take him in the daylight,. There are stories and stories of the atrocities on the people, the innocent people, by the police itself by extorting money and torturing people with impunity ...(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : They are collecting money

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED : Not only collecting money, if a terrorist has extorted, say Rs 1, 000 from one person... the police would extort 200 from them on next day. ...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: (Rajapur): It is called double-barrel gun...(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Haryana?

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED : Well, about Haryana we will tell you when you come to Haryana. In Haryana, whenever a terrorist enters, he is always arrested, but why not in Punjab where all the forces are concentrated ...(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

CH. RAM PRAKASH (Ambala): You are talking of terrorism in Punjab, you should talk of terrorism in Haryana also. There poor

people are dragged out of their houses and killed.

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED :
You are already dead. Why should anybody kill you?

[English]

Who will kill you? You are already moving corpse .

Sir, whatever has happened in the last three-four years, we can go on quoting figures about that. Last year there were more deaths, this year there are less deaths. But this is contended, as Mr. Dhillon said, that nobody believes the Government figures in Punjab. I have not said it, it has come from their side. In such a situation, are we to wait for a solution from the Government or from the people? The only solution, to my mind, in this case, is that you have reliance on the people of Punjab. You allow them to form their own Government to give them the proper guidance. They are the people who can deal with the terrorists, not the Government at the Centre or at the State. The people of Punjab only can control the terrorism, not anybody else. The Government has failed. The dismissed the Government of Mr. Barnala. Then they brought the Governor's regime. But have they controlled it....(Interruptions)

SHRI AJAY MUSHRAN (Jabalpur): Are you prepared to say that the Barnala Government also failed?

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED :
The Barnala Government failed because of you, because of your non-cooperation. You failed that Government because you entered into an Accord. And the day the Accord was started to be implemented, you started a course of discord. In all your Accords, it is a history of discords. Wherever you have entered into an Accord, you have miserably failed to fulfil any of the commitments in any of the Accords.

Sir, in the other States surrounding Punjab, there are repercussions of this terrorism. Haryana has to bear the brunt of most of these people in the border areas. Sometimes they commit crimes in Delhi, take shelter somewhere in Haryana and then enter and commit a crime whenever there is an opportunity for them. But luckily we have been able to catch them. And by catching what has been startling for us is a thing which is related directly to the Home Minister of this country. Only today it has come in the paper that somebody was caught in Haryana and when interrogation was going on against him, a letter was produced which purports to have been written by Mr. Buta Singh himself...(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Sir, will the hon. Member yield for a minute?

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED: I am quoting from today's Tribune...(Interruptions) have not yielded...(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will request the hon. Member once again to yield for half a minute...(Interruptions) Why are you standing up? (Interruptions) It is between him and me. Why are you objecting?(Interruptions) Mr. Ahmed, would you yelled? Will you not yield for half a minute? (Interruptions) Sir, is he going to take there responsibility? He wants to read the letter. Has he taken the permission to read out the latter in this House? Is he taking the responsibility? Is he going to lay a copy of the letter on the Table of the House...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is taking the responsibility.

CHOUHDARY KHURSHID AHMED :
Letters reads like this:

[Choudhary Khurshid Ahmed]

This has been purported to be signed by Mr. Buta Singh. This is the document which has been recovered from the possession of a Terrorist who has been apprehended.. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Let him lay it on the Table of the House.

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Whenever a Member is making an allegation against a Member of the House, he has to take the permission of the Chair.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: When it is a allegation, let him give a copy of it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, I am on a point of Order. The question of responsibility comes afterwards. Sometimes certain letters purported to be written by a Minister or any other Member, appear in the press, the hon. Member of this House has the right to point out to you that such a report has come. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Referring it is entirely different. But he is reading it out in the House.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Prof. Dandavate is coming to the rescue of the hon. Member. Let him lay it on the Table of the House. We are ready to discuss it. Please lay it on the Table.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: So many times it has happened that a certain letter or document appears in the press and when a certain document appears in the press is printed in the press, the hon. Member has the right to say that this has appeared in the press and if it concerns any particular Member, he can get up and say that this is not at all a genuine documents and the

matter would end there. Why do you insist that he should take the responsibility and lay it on the Table of the House? (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: When he wants to make this allegation and wants it to go on record, why can't he lay it on the Table of the House?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He is not making an allegation. He is reading out a letter purported to have been written by the Hon. Minister.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: How does Mr. Dandavate come into the picture? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS : (Mavelikara): How do you come into the picture?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Kindly restrain the hon. Minister. I was raising a point of order. I do not seek the permission of the hon. Minister to raise my point of order. He need not raise a question as to how I come into the picture. (*Interruptions*)

And I had the right according to the rules. He need not raise the question as to how do I come into the picture. Every body particularly raising the point of order comes into the picture and he need not raise such a question. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Let him raise the point of order. But he is lecturing also Let him raise the point of order... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He does not listen. As soon as I got up I said, I rise on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Okay. I will give my Ruling.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You should give the Ruling. I seek a Ruling on this: If anybody reads anything from the press and demands clarification, let the

concerned Minister clarify, either confirm or deny whether this documents is correct or not. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I want to tell you, if he has to make any particular allegation, he has to seek the permission of the Chair.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Listen to me. Why are you shouting? How can I allow it? No, no

(*Interruptions*)

CHOUDHARY KHURSHID AHMED : There must be an explanation to this.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You are reading a letter and running away. You put it here. (*Interruptions*) I am humbly requesting you to lay it here. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY - SPEAKER: Please listen to me.

" Members should not rely merely on press reports for making allegations in House and if they have to criticise any minister / Member or any other dignitary, they should make further enquiries and satisfy themselves of correctness of facts before tabling the notice under this rule."

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If it is an allegation, I cannot allow it to go on record, what he said. Even if he quotes from the press, he has to get the permission. He cannot simply read it. That is my Ruling.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is only putting a question.

(*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Sir, I am on a point of order.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Under what rule?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The same rule under which Prof. Dandavate spoke.

S. BUTA SINGH: Hon. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in today's papers and earlier also on various occasions one fellow called Sampat Singh, who perhaps is the Home Minister of Haryana, has been making repeated allegations.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: One fellow?

S. BUTA SINGH: Yes, he is a fellow. Is he not?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He is a jolly good fellow. It is a very complimentary expression. (*Interruptions*).

S. BUTA SINGH: And in today's newspapers he is supposed to have released some letter to the press and there are certain allegations against me personally. The hon. member is reading that letter. I don't object to it if it is with the permission of the Chair and the hon. Members opposite are willing to have that letter read. But only I have one submission as a Member of this House. I have every right to say that if accusations are made against me, they may be authenticated so that.....(*Interruptions*).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Where is the accusation? (*Interruptions*), he is only saying what has appeared in the press.

S. BUTA SINGH: Very serious charges...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: No, he has not made charges. (*Interruptions*).

S. BUTA SINGH: Very serious charges questioning my patriotism are being made by Shri Khurshid Ahmed.

CHOUDHRY KHURSHID AHMED: I am not questioning your patriotism. (*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: I have every right to say that either this letter should be authenticated by the hon. Member or it should be thrown out of this House and he should not be allowed to read.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: We want a Ruling on that. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I cannot allow this if you want once again to repeat this thing. You must follow the procedure and then I will allow it afterwards, not now, I am not allowing that. I am not allowing you to read what has appeared in the press.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: The hon. Member has not challenged the patriotism of the Minister.

(Interruptions)

18.00 hrs.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He has not challenged your patriotism; he has not questioned your integrity.....

(Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH: Sir, that fellow, called Mr. Sampath Singh, has done it.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, on a point of order. I understand you just now read a ruling which had earlier been given under Rule 353 which, I think, is part of the record. You cannot rely upon a newspaper publication unless you have taken steps to satisfy yourself of the correctness of the publication and if it involves an allegation or imputation against a member of a Minister you should take the permission. I anticipated he was going to do the. I request you to ask him Sir. Is he taking responsibility for what he is saving?

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am not allowing that. Mr. Chidambaram, I have al-

ready said I am not allowing that thing to go into the record. What has been objected to, I am not allowing it to go on record.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No argument on that point. You proceed further.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Even if the paper has published it, I cannot allow it since it is an allegation.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I want to seek the permission of the House. Now, it is already 6 O' clock. Since this is an adjournment motion, we cannot postpone it. We have to finish it. We cannot take up other business. Therefore, we will extend the House by one hour and we will see how it goes. I think the House will accept it. Please carry on and try to finish it as early as possible.

CHOUHRY KHURSHID AHMED: Sir, looking at the total scenario in Punjab, we can safely say that wherever the people of Punjab are concerned, their spirit of entrepreneurship is to be appreciated. But whatever can said of the Government's contribution, it only has been a dismal failure. It has not been able to control any terrorist activity so far and if they do not know what they want to do, how can they control it? And they do not have any solution, they ask suggestions from us. They themselves do not offer any suggestion whatsoever. So, we doubt their intentions whether they would be able to deal with the situation at all in future. thank you.

[Translation]

SHRI NARESH CHANDRA CHATURVEDI (Kanpur): Mr. Deputy- Speaker, Sir, the reason for which I want to oppose the matter raised by the opposition is that this matter has been raised several times only at the political level. The Opposition have made

it a political issue but this is really an issue of national importance. Our hon. colleagues from the Congress (I) highlighted a number of points in their respective speeches. I would also like to mention some more points as I have already spoken on this subject several times in the past. The main thing which I want to say is that till today the Opposition has not expressed a clear-cut opinion before the hon. Prime Minister. They have never given any concrete suggestion towards solving the Punjab problem. My second point relates to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution on which hon. Shri Dhillon has just now spoken in detail. Till today, no clear picture of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution has emerged before us. Thirdly, the opposition has repeatedly mentioned that the Congress (I) Government is not honouring its side of the Rajiv Longowal Accord. But I think that there cannot be a greater lie than this one. During the time of late Shrimati Indira Gandhi it had already been decided that Haryana would give Chandigarh to Punjab in case Abohar and Fazilka areas of Punjab were given to Haryana. May I know who has now demanded that Chandigarh be given to Punjab without transferring Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana. I have always been against communal-based parties or religious groups stepping into the political field and having their say on national issues. I have always favoured a ban on the parties whose main objective has been religious propaganda. These parties may continue to function on a religious platform but their voice on national issues should not be acknowledged. Unfortunately during the last few years, the Punjab problem has been left in the hands of these sectarians who have the support either of the Opposition or at times protected even by the Government. May I know why there is so much of controversy over the dismissal of the Barnala Government? Why do people forget that the dismissal was necessitated by the action of some Ministers of the Barnala Government who had started giving shelter to the terrorists in their bungalows? But people are unable to pinpoint the main reason behind the dismissal of the Barnala Government. There is no doubt that the Barnala Government was formed with the

approval of the Central Government. When they were in the majority in the Punjab Assembly they had every Constitutional right to form their Government in the State. So far as the sacrifices are concerned, members of the Congress (I), as well as those of the C.P.I. and the B.J.P. and the officials of the Punjab police have made lot of sacrifices. But terrorists have killed Hindus and Sikhs both and not concentrated their attention on one community alone. So this problem should not be viewed from the angle of Hindu or Sikh. Hon. Shri Dhillon has said that there have been bank dacoities, murders in way-faers and killing of innocents. What are all these incidents indicative of? What deserves praise should be praised by one and all. If there hadn't been Hindu-Sikh unity in Punjab or had there been any basic differences between these two communities we would not have seen that much of agricultural production and economic growth as we have had today in that the State and the crores of people of Punjab could not have continued to live there. Hence, there are no differences between Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab which makes it quite clear that the Punjab crisis has nothing to do with the Hindu-Sikh equation in the State. The entire public of Punjab deserves to be congratulated because they have strived to remain united thus contributing to national development and the unity and integrity of the country. There are only a few persons of who create mischief, the source from where weapons are obtained, the place where these people are trained, are the subjects on which I have already spoken. once again I would like to urge upon the Government to deal with this problem more strictly and firmly. It is true that terrorists used to kill a larger number of people previously. But now there has been a significant decline in the intensity of terrorist activities due to strong measures taken by the Government. In contrast to the earlier period these days terrorists are not only being killed in encounters but also being apprehended in large numbers. Everyday we hear of terrorists being killed in encounters in Punjab. What does the Anandpur Sahib Resolution stand for? Every political party in the country should be asked to

[Sh. Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi]

express its views on this Resolution and their views should be brought before the general public of this country for their reaction. All political parties should also be consulted so as to find out the way of arriving at a fruitful solution to the Punjab problem. There is hardly any need to say that people like Shri Ram Jethmalani and Shri Pran Nath Lekhi tried to save Indira Gandhi's assassins and helped terrorists. Today the B.J.P. raises much hue and cry on this issue but when I ask them to clarify their position, they keep mum. After all Shri Ram Jethmalani was the national vice-president of the B.J.P. while Shri P.N. Lekhi was vice-president of the party's Delhi unit. Why did these two act in such a manner and why didn't anybody ever condemn their actions? Never will the B.J.P. the Lok Dal or any other party criticise their own people. I shall not mention the name of any particular individual but I know a leader of the Janata Dal who went there and said that no violence was taking place there. But a large cache of arms was seized from the very places for which they had said that these places were free from violence. Why does this happen? Will an issue of national importance be traded for a handful of votes? How our political character is changing! Today we tend to drag national issues in the political mire. The Opposition goes not opposing the Congress (I) regardless of whether the latter has made certain valid points. This is what Indian politics has come to. In fact each and every India should put in concerted efforts to resist all the undesirable things taking shape in Punjab. Otherwise the country is bound to skid and slide into an abyss. The development of the country and the preservation of its unity and integrity is not the responsibility of any one individual or region. It is a question of the survival of the Constitutional structure in the nation. However, the demands raised within the Constitutional framework of the country must be given due consideration and no political party, political leader or a functionary should be allowed to have his own ways at the cost of the Constitution, secularism and unity and integrity of the country. Strict action must be

taken against such people.

With these words I oppose this motion.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Charanjit Singh Walia.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will just take one minute. A number of members including Kumari Mamata Banarjee had raised the question that when the Report is laid on the Table of the House, under Rule 193, discussion should be allowed.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I didn't say anything. I asked her to give it in writing.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: The Report is so sensitive, we demand discussion...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Once again, I do not want to reopen this thing. Whatever issue you want to raise, you can raise it tomorrow.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: What is your ruling?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I asked her to give it in writing. That is all.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We have given that.

You should read the Report.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have already read it. There are paragraphs 11 and 12 regarding Bofors. I have read the Report. Underlining is also there...*(Interruptions)* This will dig your grave.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala): Mr. Deputy Speaker, sir, as many hon. Members and friends have said, since the Eighth Lok Sabha has come into existence, I think there is no Session in which the Punjab problem has not been discussed.

But still it is eluding any solution and there is no solution in sight.

"Marj Badhta Gaya , Jyon Jyon Dawa Ki"

I think the Government has not been able to analyse the real problem in Punjab. Until and unless the malady and disease is diagnosed and identified, nothing can be done. I think the Government has never seriously attempted to find a solution because, according to their calculations, the lingering of this problem, the delay in taking decision, would suit their political considerations. They want to capitalise on this problem in future as they have been doing in the past, whether it is in the name of terrorism, extremism, unity and integrity of the country or the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. We have heard it in the past and read it in the papers that our Prime Minister has equated the Anandpur Sahib Resolution to the Resolution of the Muslim League. may I ask: if it is so, why did he refer this to Sarkaria Commission? If it is so, why was it included in the Rajiv- Longowal Accord? If it was a document of secessionism, if it was just like the Muslim league Resolution, he should have outrightly rejected it. He should not have entertained it. Either he was wrong at that moment or he is wrong at present. I want a clarification from the Government. I would like to know whether the Prime Minister was not aware of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution when he signed the Rajiv-Longowal Accord and he referred it to the Sarkaria Commission or he is just trying to misrepresent and misquote it to exploit the minds of the people of this country. The Government has claimed so many times that the situation has been improving and has improved. My friends from the Treasury benches have even said that the arrests and the killings have always been on the increase. When the popular Akali Government headed by Shri Barnala was dismissed, only a handful of terrorists were there. Their number was not more than 100 or 200.

Some days back, I was reading in a paper that about 12,000 persons have been

arrested so far and out of which about 7,000 are presently in jail. This was the report with reference to some Government source. About one thousand persons have already been killed and 4000 persons have been arrested in 1988 alone. Is this an improvement? Mr friend, Shri Bhatia, was saying that not a word of Khalistan was heard in Punjab. But we do listen from the Government media about it. We always listen that there are hard-core terrorists and everybody who is killed is a hard-core terrorist; everybody who is arrested is either a terrorist or an extremist. Can we take it that everybody who is arrested is a terrorist? Does the Government want to convert every Sikh into a terrorist or everybody who is arrested is a terrorist? So, the Government media, whether it is Door-darshan or Radio, is painting everyone as an extremist or a terrorist. Government has claimed so many times both inside and outside the House that they are taking political initiatives and that they have already taken political initiatives to solve this problem. They had taken a political initiative and they signed the Rajiv Longowal Accord. But may I ask the Government that have they implemented that Accord? Now that Accord has become a material for the dustbin. Had they implemented it, things would have certainly improved. Our Sant Harcharan Singh Longowal had to sacrifice his life for this. But that Accord remained always unfulfilled.

Then we were recently told that the Government has taken some political initiative and they have released the Jodhpur detainees. 35 senior persons who were in Jodhpur have simply been transferred to the Punjab jails and they are still in Jails. They are blowing hot and cold in the same breath. When they released certain Jodhpur detainees, they came out with a case of larger conspiracy against Shri Simranjit Singh Mann and others. How can you find a solution? This is not a law and order problem. This is primarily a political and a psychological problem, no doubt.

Attempts from outside this country may be there. This is all a psychological reaction to the Operation Bluestar. This is all a psy-

[Sh. Charanjit Singh Walia]

chological reaction to the massacre of thousands of people in October-November 1984. Nothing has been done. Who murdered about 5000 to 7000 innocent Sikhs in all parts of the country? Gurudwaras of Sikhs were attacked and raided. This is all a reaction to such brutalities and State terrorism which is being unleashed in Punjab. We have heard so many times from responsible persons that a solution to the Punjab problem will not come before the general elections. Why is it so? Why the Government wants that it should not be before the elections? This is the apprehension and the general fear that the Government wants to play the Sikh and the Punjab card again in the general elections. Why should they say that there cannot be any solution before elections?

The Government must take political steps. We have been demanding in this house and outside also that Government must try to normalise the situation in Punjab before the Parliament elections, before the Assembly elections. They must know the psyche and the thinking of the people of Punjab. They should hold the elections to these bodies where elections are overdue. We have been demanding elections to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, we have been demanding elections to the Punjab Panchayats, we have been demanding elections to the local bodies and the Government announced it so many times. The Prime Minister announced that the Panchayat elections will be held in Punjab. But the Government is retreating itself. It is not willing to normalise the situation in Punjab. It is not willing to put democratic process in line in Punjab because it want to rule Punjab through proxy from the Centre.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): What for?

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA: You must know about it. The Government has always said the unity and integrity of the country must be safeguarded and protected at any cost. May I ask the Government as to

who is challenging the unity and integrity of the country?

Has any responsible leader—Akali leader—ever said that we challenge the unity and integrity of the country? Why do they want to put everything in the mouth of the people of Punjab? Is it the Government's intention? Under this pretext, they are keeping responsible leaders in jails. Simranjeet Singh Mann, the President of the Akali Dal has said in Court, when he was first produced in a court in Delhi, "that the repression of the Government could not make me an extremist; even after five years, I still respect everything of India." So, why do they want to keep him in jail? Prakash Singh Badal, who was considered to be a moderate Akali leader, was also put in jail. Manjeet Singh, Harminder Singh and all responsible leaders were put in jail. You cannot find a solution to the problem by force. We have heard it so many times. Now also we have listened in this House. Does the Government pursue the policy of bullets for bullets? No civilised Government will ever say, yes. You should rule the country, according to law. There should not be a by-passing of the judiciary. People are being harassed here. Innocent people are brought to the police stations. Even women are there and they are harassed and tortured. How then can we find a solution to that? Will there be peace in Punjab? Peace can be there by political initiative, by releasing Simranjeet Singh Maan, by releasing Prakash Singh Badal, by releasing Manjeet Singh, by releasing Harminder Singh Sandhu and other leaders. There can be a dialogue for that. We are discussing the Punjab situation and we must know what the Punjab people.....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please finish. You want to finish it early and also you want me to give more time. How can I give? (Interruptions) I have allowed him 20 minutes. Further, if he wants more time, then I cannot. There are other Members also to speak.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA: I am

of the firm view that there is no Punjab Policy with the Government. The Government itself is in utter confusion.

Why we boycotted the Cabinet Sub-committee was a question here. If a Government in ten years cannot understand what is the Punjab problem, if it does not know what are the issues, then, I think, that Government has no right to continue. It must admit its failure; it must admit its failure to the countrymen. It wants only time; it wants to eye-wash the people and the public; it wants to play to the gallery. Why should they ask us so? Cabinet Sub-committees have been formed so many times. Even during the time of the late Prime Minister, there were one of two sub-committees. Now, we doubt whether the Government wants to solve this problem. It just wants to pass away the time and that is why these Sub committees have been formed. I think the Government must come out with a solid political initiative and steps. It must release all those who have been booked and put in jail and it must come out with steps to arrest and punish those who are responsible for the 1984 riots. It must stop the policy of repression and fake encounters, because it is through persuasion, through love and affection and not through force that it can bring normalcy and congenial atmosphere for any amicable solution in Punjab.

With these words, I support the adjournment motion brought before the House.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish to briefly intervene in this debate to deal with just a few aspects which have been mentioned during the course of the debate.

Sir, it is unfortunate that despite the number of times that we have debated the Punjab situation in this august House some hon. Members of the Opposition are yet to understand or grasp the dimensions of the

problem. The same arguments are repeated. Either they are not tired of repeating these arguments or their impending retirement from the Lok Sabha is, perhaps, impelling them to repeat these stale arguments. There is not a single new idea or not even a single new criticism from the Opposition benches.

At this stage of the debate I do not wish to touch upon all the questions. The hon. Home Minister will reply to the debate. But we must understand the dimensions of the Punjab problem. Firstly in Punjab today there is a significant political force although it is fragmented which renders a certain legitimacy and a certain political respect to extremists' militant movement. It is this political force which continues to create a climate in Punjab in which extremists and militants thrive. On the other hand I have in this House on more than one occasion mentioned that there are elements across the border who have given support to the extremists and the terrorists in Punjab but we hope that things will change. It is sad that things have not changed as quickly as we would have liked them to change and as the Prime Minister pointed out only yesterday although there seems to be a greater understanding of the difficult situation in which we are placed the flow has not stopped yet. It is these two powerful factors—one internal, political giving legitimacy to extremists, giving legitimacy to the extremists' movement and the other external, perhaps international, which gives arms, money and support to the terrorists which has made for this very combustible mixture in Punjab. Nobody is understating or under-rating the gravity of the situation. In fact, only ten days ago in the consultative Committee I told the hon. Members that we are not understating the gravity of the situation. The situation is a very difficult situation. There should be no complacency or euphoria when there are a few successes nor should we lose heart when there are a few set-backs. Moga was a set-back. We grieve for those who lost their lives in Moga. Nobody can say after Moga that everything is alright. We do not say that. Moga was a major set-back. But while looking at the Moga set-back what one fails to

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

see is that even after taking Moga into account June was one of our best month in containing terrorism in the last twelve months. Had Moga not occurred June would have been the best month in containing terrorism since May 1987. In May 1987 seventy-two people were killed and if Moga had not taken place June would have ended with only 69 innocent people having been killed. To my mind 69 is bad. To my mind, 72 is bad. As long as one innocent person is killed in Punjab, we cannot hide our head high and say there is law and order in Punjab. I have no hesitation in accepting it. But notwithstanding Moga, June was a month in which there has been a certain amount of control of terrorism and control of terrorists. So, the dimensions to the Punjab problem have to be understood before we are criticised.

18.36 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I wish to deal only with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. I have always wanted to do it on earlier occasions but, somehow or other, during the course of the debate, this has been put on the back burner and other things had dominated the debate. What is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which "stands referred" to the Sarkaria Commission? It was not referred by Government deliberately. The signatories to the accord were on the one hand Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and on the other hand, Sant Longowal. And this is what Sarkaria has to say on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. I think, once and for all, we must bury this ghost. In para 2.4.04 the report says:

"Proceeding on the premise that 'India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures', one Regional party..."

He has not named it; we know which regional party.

"...has submitted to us a resolution by its 'Whole House' which urges *inter alia* that to 'safeguard the fundamental rights of the religious and linguistic minorities, to fulfill the demands of democratic traditions and to pave the way for economic progress, it has become imperative that the Indian Constitutional infrastructure should be given a real federal shape by redefining the Central and State relationships on the aforesaid principles and objectives'. It mentioned that an earlier draft of this resolution by its 'Working Committee' had no doubt demanded that the interference of the Union should be restricted to Defence, Foreign Relations, Currency and General Communications only and all other governmental powers (including residuary powers) should be assigned to the States. Further, that the States would contribute for the expenditure of the Union in respect of the above subjects. But its 'Whole House' had substantially amended that in the final resolution which was passed and was authenticated by its then President.

Be that as it may, it has at the same time, proposed not only redistribution of subjects on a three-fold basis, 'among the Union List, the Concurrent List and the State List', but also that 'the executive power in respect of matters included in the Concurrent List, irrespective of the fact as to whether legislation is by the Centre or by the State should vest with the States.' It has propounded that 'the Union taxes/duties should be demarcated from the States' domain of taxation'. Further, it has suggested that the Finance Commission should be reactivated to discharge its Constitutional duties.

The State Government, where this Regional party was in power, has suggested shifting of several Entries from the Union List to the State List and a few to the Concurrent List. It has sought a drastic reduction of the Concurrent List. But, it has not suggested deletion or abolition of the Concurrent List or any major change with respect to the heads

of taxation enumerated in the Union List." And how does the Sarkaria Commission dispose of this reference, Sir? In paragraph 2.9.12 on page 37, this is what the Commission has reported. I quote:

" 2.9.12 We would first consider the extreme demand in a draft resolution as noted at para 2.4.04 'that the interference of the Union should be restricted to Defence, Foreign Relations, Currency and General Communications; and all other powers should vest in the States. Further, that for the expenditure incurred by the Union in respect of the above subjects, the States would contribute in proportion to their representation in Parliament.'

2.9.13 Taking the demand, *ex-facie*, without any addition or subtraction, it means that only these four subjects should remain in the Union List and all other items including heads of taxation, should be excluded from this List and assigned to the States. As demonstrated in paragraphs 2.9.03 these four 'subjects' if interpreted in their widest amplitude on the principle of implied and ancillary powers will not include any taxation items. This being so, we are of the view that under such arrangements the country cannot survive as one integrated nation."

This is what Justice Sarkaria has said:

" Nowhere in the world today, exists a Union or a federation in which the National Government has no fiscal resources of its own, independent of the constituent units.

Moreover, the proposed redistribution of powers would require drastic changes in the basic scheme and frame work of the Constitution 'so sedulously designed to protect the independence and ensure the unity and integrity of the country'. This is an implication which under our terms of reference, we are imperatively required not to disregard. Making of such wholesale structural changes in the fundamental fabric of the Constitu-

tion may even be beyond the scope of Article 356.

For these reasons, we are unable to support the extreme demand that the jurisdiction of the Union should be limited to four subjects only and that it should have no powers of taxation but subsist on contributions from the States."

This is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which has been advocated by the regional party and which has been supported. I will read quotations from what happened a few days ago. This is the Resolution about which Justice Sarkaria says that the survival of India as an integrated nation will be in peril if this Resolution is accepted in India. Sir, what happened on that day in Moga? It happened at 6.30 in the morning. At 10.30 A. M. , in Chandigarh, a number of people claiming to be respectable people, met at Tagore Hall. And what did they speak? I will not read everybody's speech. I will just read what Lt.Col. Pratap Singh Gill said. Lt. Col. (Retd.) Pratap Singh Gill announced as follows:

" Bhai Harminder Singh Sandhu, General Secretary of AISSF, had sent his wishes for the success of the Convention and deputed Shri Dharamvir Singh to speak in the Convention. Shri Dharamvir Singh said that no political party had favoured Anandpur Sahib Resolution to support the Sikhs. he added that intellectuals were not pleading the Sikhs case in the country due to the fear of the Government. He added that repression in Punjab was due to the disunity in various factions of Akali Dal. The Akalis were fighting for the sake of power and none was ready to sacrifice for the sake of the State."

Then Sir, Shri Barkhur Singh Balbir, journalist, added that if the Government was sincere to them, then it should accept Anandpur Sahib Resolution *in toto*. Shri Sher Singh Sher said that the Nehru family was responsible for the creation of a rift between Hindus and Sikhs. The Government was discriminating with the Sikhs. He supported the

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

Anandpur Sahib Resolution and demanded giving of more powers to the States. There are people in this country today who will go on a stage and swear by Anandpur Sahib Resolution and demand that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution be implemented and say, 'This is a political cause, this is a patriotic cause, this is a noble cause and we will swear by the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.' Let me say most humbly what has been said by the most eminent set of jurists who sat in the Commission about the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, as understood by them. They have said that if this Resolution is accepted, this will mean that the survival of India as an integrated country is in peril. Therefore, we reject the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. We call upon all political parties, all patriotic parties, to stand and condemn the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. It is the support to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which has given legitimacy to extremism. It has given respect to the Khalistan demand. It has given legitimacy and respect to the new demand of 'Halimi Raj'. Where do you get these words from? What do these words mean? These words will destroy India, the India that we know, we love, and the unity and integrity that we know is in grave peril. This is the problem of Punjab and unless you come to grips with this problem, unless you understand the game played by the factions of the Akali Dal, unless you understand the legitimacy and respect which the Akali Dal is giving to extremism, to terrorists, to militants - I am not saying that you are terrorists, I am not saying that you are extremists but you are giving legitimacy and respect to the terrorists and extremists in Punjab - you cannot deal with this. This is the problem of Punjab. We can fight terrorists but we cannot fight terrorism in vacuum. We can liquidate a few terrorists, we can arrest a few terrorists but to fight terrorism, we must fight the minds of the people, we must fight the poison that is being spread, we must fight the pernicious theories that are being spread. While we may succeed in containing a few terrorists, we may succeed in containing or liquidating or arresting a few terrorists, but to fight

terrorism is a national duty and we must join together irrespective of our political considerations. That, I submit, with great anguish is not happening in Punjab today and that is why the setbacks in Punjab.

I do not wish to take more time. The Punjab Package which the Prime Minister announced is not for the terrorists, the Punjab Package which the Prime Minister announced is for the peace loving people of Punjab. The Punjab Package which the Prime Minister announced is for assuaging the hurt feelings of the Sikh community. If you ask me why the Punjab Package is not making headway among terrorists my answer is the Punjab Package was never intended to contain terrorism, that was intended to give a spurt to development in Punjab, to assuage the feelings of the Sikh community, to bring relief to the people, to bring normalcy to the administration in Punjab and to bring normal operations to the police stations. This is how the Punjab Package was intended.

As far as terrorists are concerned, there is only one answer. We will fight terrorists to the last man. As long as, there is one terrorist who believes in the gun, who takes a gun and shoots innocent people as was done in Moga, the Government of India and the Government of Punjab are determined to fight that terrorist and there would be no let up.

With these words, I wish to conclude my intervention. We should not become euphoric because there are a few successes, nor should we lose heart because there are a few successes, nor should we lose heart because there are a few setbacks. No country in the world has fought terrorism in the manner in which we are fighting; no country in the world has conquered terrorism in three or four years. It is a long haul - I have used this expression earlier also - it is a long haul and we must have forbearance, we must have patience, we must have courage and we must have the strength of our ideology and our philosophy to fight this menace of terrorism and terrorists supported by some

external forces. We shall do so. The Government of India and the Government of Punjab will not fail the people of Punjab and the people of India.

SHRICHARANJIT SINGH WALIA: Was the Anandpur Sahab Resolution included in the Terms of Reference of Sarkaria Commission?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Very much.

SHRI P CHIDAMBARAM: I was reading only from the Sarkaria Commission Report.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have heard with rapt attention the nice speech given by our hon. Minister, Shri P Chidambaram.....(*Interruptions*). So many good speeches from that side. I say, that the whole Opposition, my party, definitely our left people condemn terrorism. We condemn terrorism. We had been saying and still say that Punjab shall be in India and no force can take Punjab out of India...(*Interruptions*). But you have never said in your reply what political solution you have for Punjab except your usual ideological, social and moral sermons.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bilaspur): Swearing by Sarkaria Commission which they do not follow.

SHRINARAYAN CHOUBEY: Yes Now, General Elections are near the door. No speaker from the Congress (I) including the Minister has said that Punjab also would have elections.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): The Minister has already said that in the Consultative Committee.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: The Consultative Committee is not this Parliament. You should declare that along with the

rest of the country, there shall be elections in Punjab also. That we want from you. You have not stated that.

What did the Prime Minister state on this floor on 3rd May, 1989? What has become of the suggestion regarding meeting of the National Integration Council? We suggested that you should call all, discuss, discourse, debate again and again and then come to some solution. If it fails, again discuss, again discourse. What about that? You have forgotten the solemn promise given by the hon. Prime Minister on the floor of this Parliament that the National Integration Council shall be called. Two-and-a-half months have passed but nothing has been done. Naturally we become suspicious and say that what you say and what you do are two different things. There is an increase in the encounters and killings of which there are many fake killings also. It is still a fact that the terrorists are in a position to increase the killings, strike at their chosen targets, extract huge sums from the rural and urban areas, make bomb blasts at Delhi and other places and virtually stop the distribution of a group of newspapers. They have done this. The present Governor's rule is more concerned about the narrow electoral interest of the ruling party than the real improvement in the Punjab situation. After Operation Black Thunder there was some hope that some efforts will be made in the right direction but all these hopes have withered now.

Government claim two-three things, Gurudwaras are no more abode for the terrorists, that there is no more communal fear and that district communal councils have been formed and they are functioning. We don't say that nothing has been done. But it is not due to the credit of the Government that there is no communal unrest in Punjab. Punjab has given us some of the best patriots of India. If you go to Andaman, you will find the names of Bengalis and next comes the names of the Punjabis. Amongst these Punjabis, Sikhs are the highest in number. Please don't forget all these things. One month back two Sikh youths brought glory to the people of Punjab when they laid down

[Sh. Narayan Choubey]

their lives in order to save Hindus. Avatar Singh and Rajwal Singh tried to save Hindus and made supreme sacrifice.

Regarding Moga you said there is a setback. I am glad that you have said that. but I would like to know what happened to CRPF Only 15 m from the place of the incident there was a camp of 20 jawans. It has come in the Press. Mr. K.P.S. Gill has stated that when the incident took place they were sleeping because they had attended jagratas for two days and they were tired. And then don't you feel your failure about Delhi bomb blasts? The Punjab Government and the Punjab police sent you messages but even then you could not tackle them properly. I stay by the side of the house of Shri Buta Singh and I always find that if there is one terrorist activity either in Delhi or in Punjab, the surrounding wall of his residence becomes one foot higher. Of course, you have arrested some persons but please stop your false encounters.

Today the terrorists in Punjab have got links with the intelligence in Pakistan; they are backed by CIA but you have never named them. Please name who are they. You have told us that the Afghan rebels have also joined along with the Pakistan terrorists. Then CIA is there. So, it is a very serious matter and we hope that you will take some political step. It is a political problem. I would say you please implement what you have suggested.

National Integration Council meeting should be called immediately. Have discussions with the patriotic forces, have discourses, debates, come to some solution and then try to implement that. The trial and error is the only method which you have to adopt. Otherwise, it appears that you are only looking at the elections. No do be Congressmen have made sacrifices but Communists have also made sacrifices.

But the Communists also made sacrifices. Others too sacrificed. Some people

say that you are concerned only with the elections. We also want that the elections should be held in Punjab. But there should be certain atmosphere where elections can be held.

I want to submit one point, Buta Singhji. One bad thing has taken place. Bureaucracy is not paying sufficient attention to certain important points. Government rules say that those who are killed should be paid some compensation. An amount of Rs. 50,000 or so should be paid to the family till a relative of the killed persons gets some employment. They are not at all implementing these provisions. Even when the persons killed happened to be police officers or other government officers, it takes a long time for their relatives to get the money, pension or compensation. This is demoralising them. Please see that these provisions are properly implemented in time.

I would like to refer to complaints regarding false encounters. These may be wrong or genuine. But you should see that these things do not take place. I agree that police personnel are also human. If this sort of extortion of money by the terrorists at night and by the police at day time continues in Punjab, then do not expect that the people there will have any faith in the Government.

I would like to submit one more point. The perpetrators of Delhi riots should be punished. A mere show of punishment, protecting the big shots and punishing the small fry cannot eliminate the bad feeling of the Punjabi people.

I beg to mention another point. In Punjab, in Patiala, there is a university called the Punjabi University. Press reports say that it has become a hunting ground for the supporters of the terrorists. People with secular attitude are not getting any protection or benefit whereas those who have joined the *Dharma Yuddha* are getting all sorts of benefits, commissions and privileges. You have very correctly stated that terrorism is a feature of not only Punjab but of some other parts of the country also. But in Punjab, it has

become a menacing problem.

Mr. Speaker Sir, Punjab means 60 per cent of the paddy of India. Punjab means 75 per cent of wheat. Punjab means India's most hard working labour force. Punjab means our Army and our Navy. Punjab means our defence. Naturally, for these reasons, please do not take a partisan attitude only for the sake of elections. But I feel that that is your attitude. Therefore, I support this motion and request you to be non-partisan. Please see that the problem in Punjab is solved. With these words I again support this motion and I hope that some sense will dawn upon you and you will act accordingly.

SHRIPIYUS TIPAKY (Alipurduars): Mr. Speaker Sir, much has been spoken already. I would only like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the people of India suspect this Government. From past experience, people believe that the Governors are being used rather as party agents. This is their experience both in Karnataka and Punjab. They feel that in both these States, Governor's rule has been promulgated not for the maintenance of peace and law and order but with a view to strengthen their Party's hold in those States. The person who is chosen as the Governor of Punjab has a very good record during emergency days in West Bengal. He is selected because he is supposed to improve the Party's position in Punjab. People of Punjab also feel that the Government is not at all ready or willing to solve the problem at all. On the other hand, they are creating another problem. Innocent people are being killed by the police, People residing outside India, Punjabis in general, are also suspecting the Government.

19.00 hrs

It is so, because no action on the Delhi riots has been taken. Whoever they may be, howsoever big they may be, since so many innocent people have been killed, they should be punished. Otherwise, if Government takes sides with some people, what will be the feelings of people in Punjab?

Punjabis are there not only in Punjab; they are everywhere in the world: in America, Canada and elsewhere also. Why has unity among these people come about? It is because wherever Sikhs and Punjabis are there in the world, they have no faith in this Government. They are thinking that on caste or religious lines, Government of India is isolating them. So, the support is coming even from outside—you are aware of it—because injustice is being done in Delhi as also in Punjab. People want their own Government. They should not be ruled by others. So, elections must be there immediately. You have already said that progress has not been hampered, that all the programmes have already been fulfilled, and that there is a good harvest. Everything is Okay. Then, why are you not declaring that simultaneously, Punjab will also have elections and people's Government will come about soon? So, this kind of an assurance should be given just now, today, to prove your sense of justice and willingness to have peace, integrity and fraternity among all Indians. This is the question that you must seriously think about.

Politics has been there. Everybody knows how, in the beginning, Bhindranwale came forward in Punjab, and how this Punjab problem was created. You have no control now, and you are in difficulties, and you will be in difficulty if you are not serious about this problem. People of India have understood what you want.

[Translation]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House has discussed the Punjab problem many times and today, we are discussing it once again.

[English]

PROF. N.G RANGA (Guntur): Sir, it is already past 7 p.m. The House was extended only by one hour. The Home Minister is yet to speak.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes we have to finish it. There are only two more speakers.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have discussed the Punjab problem in this house a number of times and today once again we have been given an opportunity to speak on this issue because of the Adjournment Motion brought by Shri Suresh Kurup of the opposition. I rise to oppose the Motion of Shri Suresh Kurup and would like to submit that if we look back and make a comparative study we will find that whatever has been said by our opposition friends on Punjab, is a thing of past. When we were elected to this House we know what was the general opinion of the people about Punjab and what were the conditions at that time, whereas today we have reached a stage where Khalistan is beside the point, all that is left is terrorism. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this regard, I would like to repeat what you had said at a public meeting at Khanna and Hussainiwalla. I was also there in the audience. You had said that violence has become the order of the day and youth have been misled. I can never forget what you had said. You had said that at the time of independence the population of our country was only 35 or 36 crores, whereas it has reached to 71 crores today. But we will never let anyone divide or disintegrate our country, even if we may have to sacrificed half the population for this cause. These were your words and the people of Punjab present in the meeting welcomed it with great applause. It appeared at that time that the things will improve further, but nothing happened. Today, when we review the situation, we find that the things have not made any headway. In my view, except Shri Dhillon and Shri Bhatia, few of us have personally visited the State. Shri R.L. Bhatia has faced there bullets of the terrorists and even after that he is addressing the House. Rest of us have seen Punjab only through the newspapers. He has expressed his innermost feelings. But in spite of this where is the ray of hope? Certainly, the people of Punjab are the only hope. Everybody has lauded the efforts of

Shri Rajiv Gandhi who negotiated with Shri Longowal and signed the Punjab Accord. Time and again, we have reinforced in the Congress meetings that religion should be separated from politics. At that time, a voice was raised from the temples and gurudwaras. Those sitting in the temples and Gurudwaras did not like the idea and they got a forum in Punjab. They believed religion and politics should go together but now they are all regretting. No terrorist can be found in the Gurudwaras today. I would like to ask my friends that when they criticism the action of police whose morale are they lowering? Is the police not included in the people who are being killed? Yes, they are. I would like to submit that they are also sacrificing their lives with full bravery. They are also human beings and the same blood runs through their veins.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, allegations have been levelled against Shri Rajiv Gandhi that he is playing election gimmicks. All the political parties levelled charges against our party and against our leader that we are doing everything for elections. But this is not true.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Bairagi, not only the police, but others also, I mean the terrorists who are killed, they also belong to us. Their parents go through the trauma. It is painful to all. It will be good, if they come back to the fold and become sensible.

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI: Yes, Sir, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for your comments. You have expressed my feelings, which I was unable to express. Mr. Speaker, Sir, if someone dies in a family.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes rishta do yaron ka, tera bhi hai mera bhi hai,

Mat gira is ghar ko, yeh tera bhi hai, mera bhi hai.

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am running short of time. I will conclude within a few minutes. When the opposition levels charges against us that the Congress is making political mileage, I would like to ask them that political gain have we got from the

issue of Punjab. We signed the Longowal Accord. That Accord was welcomed in the House. The whole country welcomed it and celebrated Diwali. But Mr. Speaker Sir, one party remained absent during the discussions on Punjab and the youth who shot down Shri Longowal confessed innocently that he has done a fault. Now which party is left, with whom the Government can discuss. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you may remember the day when we were elected to this House. Only one Sikh Member Shri Buta Singh was there. He too was elected from Rajasthan on the Congress Party ticket. After the elections in Punjab, some other Sikh Members came in the House. But on the very first day, when discussion was being held in the House on Punjab all the Akali Dal members were absent. I even sought a clarification about their absence from the House during such an important discussion. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on record. After that, we saw infighting among the Akali Dal Members in the House during these four and half years. They divided into two groups and even after that if our Akali friends say that they are united, I would like to ask them to suggest a solution to this problem. When Cabinet sub-committee is sent for discussions, neither Akali Dal nor the B.J.P. attends those meetings. What political gains, the Congress has made from this issue? We have even lost the elections in Punjab. If this is your policy to just argue for the sake of arguing, we will never find any solution. I would like to make it clear.

After the incident of Moga, the culprits were caught and killed by the Government after two or three weeks of the incident.

An incident of bomb explosion happened in Delhi also. On that day, the Hon. Speaker was in my constituency—Mandsaur. I saw his tearful eyes and when he was speaking he was weeping in his heart. That day, I was there with you. But within two weeks, the culprits of Delhi explosion were either killed or caught. It is very easy to say that the Government is doing nothing, but our opposition members don't even accept the things it is doing. I would like to ask our opposition friends which problem has not

drawn the attention of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and he has not taken the initiative himself?

I would like to submit in brief. I oppose this Adjournment Motion. I have nothing to say in it, if this has been done just for the sake of formality. If some solution can be found through it, it should certainly be discussed. But this year, the production of foodgrains is more in Punjab, more students have taken examinations, more colleges have been opened, the total number of mandays was also more and factories have produced more. Shri Bhatia mentioned that the private enterprise has done a business of about Rs. 16 crores, in Amritsar itself. The atmosphere in Punjab is full of hope. But I don't think it is wise to be pessimistic in this environment of hope.

The opposition too has a right and they are discharging it. I know only one thing, that, the Government, the Congress Party, the farmer and every youth of Punjab knows the intention behind the Moga incident. The intention was to create tension between Hindus and Sikhs, but it is known that you cannot divide the waters by drawing a line on the surface. This country can never be divided. It can never disintegrate.

I would like to quote a few lines of a famous poet Shri Kaif Bhopali. We are ready to sacrifice everything for the country. Whatever may be the political consequences of this debate, but the intention with which this motion has been brought will not be successful at all. I would like to quote those four lines to my friends. Here is a leftist post. I quote:—

*Kaun Aata hai yahan, Koi nahii. Aaya hoga,
Mera darwaza Hawaon ne hilay.
Gul se lipi hui titli ko girao to janu,
Andhiyon tur, ne darakhton ko giraya hoga.*

When there is a storm the trees fall but the butterflies get entangled with flowers, and drop to the ground with the flowers. On the same principle, the Congress, the Government and the patriotic people are trying to solve the problem of Punjab. The results of

[Sh. Balkavi Bairagi]

the forthcoming elections are known to both of us. Who will be in power and who will be out of it will depend on the masses and everything will be decided in the near future.

I remember the allegations made on us by Shri Suresh. He is on record. He said that we talk of politics, but it was he who started politics. He started his speech on topic of incidents of violence happening in Punjab, but in the end he said that this problem can be solved only if, this Government goes. He himself is playing politics and he is full of politics. We are like the butterflies who will perish with the flower in the storm. We will sacrifice our lives but will not let the country divide.

With these words, I oppose this Motion and hope that the House will support us.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, many speeches have been made and the hon. Members belonging to the ruling party have tried to paint the Akali Dal in a bad colour. They have tried to attack the Akali Dal and present the Punjab situation before the country accordingly. What I mean to say is that they held Akali Dal policies responsible for all the ills affecting the State. I will not hurl accusations in response to accusations. Shri Chidambaram, Shri Buta Singh and Shri Dhillon have all talked big but one thing that we should all understand is that we are not as bad in the eyes of the people of India as they think us to be. How is it that in spite of using police force and delivering speeches, the terrorist could not be isolated. Besides, why the people engaged in the efforts to maintain the unity and integrity of the country have to face disappointment time and again? Have you got any answer for this? Sant Longowal attained martyrdom. Why are you maintaining silence in this case? Whenever you mention about the killings, you say that Congressmen became martyrs, communists became martyrs. You should also use these words for the hundreds of

Akalis who have also been killed. Unless you say so, the common man will feel that such speakers are not true to their words. We are fed up with you also. I am one of those Akalis who joined Akali Dal with the spirit which was once praised by Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Madan Mohan Malviya. It was the same Akali Dal which took pride in great leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru having joining their *morcha* and getting imprisoned. This was the same Akali Dal of which Baba Kharak Singh was proud. Today, I am speaking with the same Akali Dal spirit. Terrorists are getting sympathy in spite of all that is happening today. If the problem of Punjab can be solved by levelling allegations against the Akali Dal, then I would be the first person to say that gentlemen, go ahead with what you have to say.

Shri Khurshid Ahmad passed certain remarks against Shri Buta Singh. I would like to submit in strong words that it is unjust to doubt somebody's patriotism. And to doubt the patriotism of Akali Dal is a greatest sin. I would like to ask one thing as to why honour is not given to those who laid down their lives for the cause of the nation. Sikhs in general raise questions that though I talk about patriotism, yet what honour did Shri Longowal get after his death at the hands of terrorists? He was not given even a Bharat Ratna award. That award was instead given to Shri M.G. Ramachandran. Let us take Anandpur Saheb resolution. Shri Chidambaram is a very learned man. He is a very eloquent speaker too. Sweet as he is by tongue he has spoken a lot. Should we treat the findings of Sarkaria Commission as Bible or Geeta? Can't his recommendations be altered? We strongly say that we are in favour of a true federal system. Anandpur Saheb Resolution aims at strengthening the unity and integrity of the country. You convince Akali Dal that the Anandpur Saheb Resolution is against the unity and integrity of the country, and we will retrace our steps. Submission is that Anandpur Saheb Resolution strengthen the people of India. Perhaps, it may weaken the powers of the Centre a bit, as it proves to be a hindrance in every matter. but nevertheless, I feel that it

strengthen, the unity and integrity of India and its masses.

I would like to say that recently I visited Canada and England. There are so many people in these countries who are not the supporters of Khalistan. All of us make our speech with an eye on elections as we have to fetch votes. In Canada many sikhs are fighting the Khalistani supporters. But when they ask why do we fight among ourselves, why the killers of 5000 sikhs in Delhi were not apprehended, what answer do we have to their queries? Therefore, my submission is that it was our own weakness. Today, why terrorism is increasing in Punjab and Delhi? Terrorism will go on increasing speedily unless we take steps to make the points made by preachers of terrorism invalid. Terrorism could be rooted out only when we could effectively counter all their points.

I would like to conclude by saying that firstly, we do not believe in the theory of bullet for bullet, you must review it. Secondly, Shri Riberio has said that his work is only 10 per cent and 90 percent work is to be done by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Sardar Buta Singh and Shri Chidambaram, as it is a political issue. Shri Ribeiro has done his work. Thirdly, I would like to say that Shri Avatar Singh and Rajwant Singh were the only two sikhs and seventeen others were Hindu. Both the sikhs were killed but the lives of 17 Hindus were saved. My submission, Shri Tiwari, is that you are getting publicity on Television almost everyday but have those two sikhs, who died in that attack also got any publicity? Why are you not strengthening those forces? Therefore, my submission is that you should implement your policies effectively. You have not even mentioned about them. Therefore, what I want to say is that condemning others will not help. We should take such steps so that people of all political views may unite and the genuine problems of the people of Punjab could be solved by isolating the terrorists. It is only in this way that further negotiations could be initiated to solve the problem of Punjab. There are so many parties in the House, but is there any other party, except the Akali Dal, whose leaders have

been imprisoned? Shri Badal, Shri Tohra Shri Sukhjinder Singh, Sardar Man are all in jails. The Government should release them forthwith. Let Shri Man may not be released immediately, but his case should be re-considered. If they cannot be released, at least they should be kept in the same jail.

With these words I conclude.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Speaker, Sir, today the very first day of the session....

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): Give me three minutes. When I am not being given time to speak, what is the use of sitting in the House. So I walk out.

19.24 hrs.

[SHRI C. JANGA REDDY *then left the House*]

S. BUTA SINGH: By allowing Adjournment Motion on Punjab problem which is a national problem of serious concern, you have accorded it national importance. We are grateful to you for this. But I expected that the hon. members of opposition would also be equally serious to this motion and would offer some sort of suggestions today which would go a long way in solving this grave problem of national concern. I was disappointed to hear the speeches of the mover of this motion Shri Kurup and other members of opposition who spoke after him. Only one thing has emerged from their discussion, as Shri Balkavi Bairagi has rightly put it, that they have moved the motion in the House with an intention to gain political mileage.

Sir, whenever you visit Punjab or talk about Punjab problem to the people outside Punjab, tears roll down your eyes. All responsible persons or the parties which are engaged in the service of the country, are very much concerned about this problem because it has the direct bearing with the security of the country. It is a question of life and property for the people of Punjab and emotional unity and integrity of the nation.

[S. Buta Singh]

When we talk about this issue. Political consideration are party politics become secondary for us. But I regret to say that from the discussion that took place today, it appears that members of opposition have tried to gain political mileage only. They have neither given any suggestions nor shown their concern for the gravity of the problem facing the country. My colleague Shri Chidambaram and the General Secretary of the Congress Party Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad and hon. Members such as Shri Dhillon, Shri Bhatia, Shri Chaturvedi, Shri Ramoowalia, Shri Choubey and many other hon. Members have expressed their views with all seriousness. But we are disappointed to see the incidents taking place in Punjab and the role of some of the political parties. Both the members of Akali Dal who took part in the debate repeatedly made a mention of the fact that the Government or the Members of Congress Party were finding faults with the politics of Akali Dal, but this is not so. We have to take one thing in view, about which mention has been made by Shri Chidambaram also, what are the factors that attributed to present situation in Punjab? When we think about it, we have to look upon the factors which are responsible for the present duties crisis which the patriotic citizens of Punjab have to suffer. Shri Ramoowalia recalled the role played by Akali Dal in the freedom struggle. It cannot be denied that all the political parties whether Congress Party or Akali Dal which soever were existence during those days, joined hands to fight for freedom in Punjab.

But I would like to point out one thing in particular. Those, who have been active participants in the politics of Punjab for the last 15-20 years, cannot deny the fact that in 1973 some controversial points were added to the Anandpur Sahib resolution which is unfortunately being discussed time and again. Language problem and the issue of re-organisation of states arose in various parts of the country from time to time but it was for the first time that a feeling was created through this resolution, whereby Akali Dal bid good bye to its basic ideals which it

had been pursuing since the days of freedom struggle. The same Akali Dal, which has been mentioned with great pride by Shri Ramoowalia and a reference to Mahatama Gandhi, Pt. Nehru and Malviya was also idea, changed the basic concept of the 1973 Resolution in 1978 when they were sharing power at the Centre and having their own Government in Punjab. The Akali Dal, which used to aspire for the good of the people and always made sacrifices for the sake of the country, confined itself to the affairs of the Gurudwaras and religious activities only. In the light of these facts, how can it refute the charge that the political party which was ruling the state and sharing power at the Centre showed a path of separatism to the youths in Punjab, as a result of which fissiparous feelings were created among the youths. It gave a new dimension to the politics of Gurudwaras and Akali Dal and an idea of forming a separate state independent of India was created in their minds. None of the Akali leaders has so far clarified this point either in the House or outside the House.

As regard Sarkaria Commission, it was said that its recommendations were not sacrosanct. We never said that. We agreed to refer the so called Anandpur Resolution to the Sarkaria Commission pursuant to Rajiv Longowal accord. We told them that the decision of the Sarkaria Commission would be binding on us. The matter was examined by the Commission. I cannot read out whole of it while I am here because it is spread very full one chapter. When Sarkaria Commission commented on one of its points, it was stated that several copies of it were there. However an authoritative copy was made available to us by a political party which is at present ruling Punjab. We examined that copy and formed our opinion to which Shri Chidambaram made a reference. After having been considered fully not by Shri Sarkaria alone but other members of the commission who happened to be retired judges of the Supreme Court, they arrived at this decision. Before arriving at their decision, they had consultations with all the political parties, voluntary organisations and jurists and only then they decided the matter. And I think that it was only after this decision that

Harchand Singh Longowal signed the accord and agreed to accept the decision of the Commission. All the groups of Akali Dal should abide by the decision. For all practical purposes, this should have been the end of Anandpur sahib Resolution and I think, sooner it is accepted, better it would be for the country and for the Sikh Community in particular because the youths of this community, who are totally misled at present would also be convinced that the final decision has already been arrived at and they should leave the matter there. I am reiterating this because terrorism in Punjab would be curbed only when the tendency, which encourages it is checked. It would be checked neither by bullets nor by enacting laws. It is desirable that the political parties particularly those which have influence over the youths, should take the initiative. They should exercise their influence on the youths who are treading the path of violence and getting shelter from influential persons in farm houses. They do not come out openly.

Shri Ramoowalia said that the nation considers Shri Harchand Singh Longowal as a martyr because he sacrificed his life for the sake of the unity and integrity of the country. He took this bold step fully realising the consequences that may follow. Those people who lacked courage fled away. His friends acknowledged him as the dictator of Akali Dal.

[English]

He was no more a leader. He was a dictator of the manch. As a matter of fact,

[Translation]

All members of the Akali Dal should have accepted his decision. Accord was misused to win elections for the Assembly seats. All our friends sitting in the House have been able to win the elections only due to that accord. Otherwise people wouldn't have supported them. But the person who signed the accord.....

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I think he has sunk to that level.

S. BUTA SINGH: I am sorry if you do not know the ABC of Punjab politics. Professor, be serious, It is a very serious matter.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am very seriously saying that you are making an allegation. (*Interruptions*).

We care two hoots for the vote. I was the first man to get up in the House and say that 'we accept the accord and congratulate you for the accord that you have made here'. (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: Sir, I do not want to go any further with this issue. Mr. Madhu Dandavate should know that at the time this accord was signed the Akali leaders were all powerful and their decision should have been acceptable to all. At that time Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Tohra joined this accord just for getting tickets of the Akali Dal. But they turned against this accord as soon as they were denied ministerial berths, in the Government. Mr. Dandavate, you have not been elected to parliament on the basis of that accord. As such, you should not full disturbed.

Sir, I am making a reference to those who did not have enough courage to speak against terrorism. The leaders of the Akali Dal start speaking against terrorists only when gun shots are fired at them. Sarvashri Sawan Singhji, Talwandi Sahebji, and Darshan Singh ji spoke against terrorism only when gun shots were fired at them. Even Kripal Singh Saheb spoke against them only when the terrorists were out to kill him. It is very surprising to note that they are the persons who are provided with the best possible arrangements for their security by the police, yet they allege that the police is killing innocent people. Whenever Shri

[S. Buta Singh]

Prakash Singh Badal addressed public meetings, he was guarded from all sides by the commandos. In these meetings, even though he was given full protection by the police personnel, he used to say that the police was killing innocent people and his party would take stern action against them when it was voted to power. In this way, they indulge in dual politics and that is how they mislead the people. Until and unless the Akali Dal realises the factual position, it is not possible to improve the situation in Punjab. I do not say that there cannot be any improvement, but I say that it is difficult. Only the leaders of the Akali Dal can solve this issue. That is the only submission I want to make here.

Shri Ramoow has just mentioned that some big countries like Canada, England, Germany and the U.S.A. are the countries from where funds are being received by the terrorists and the very thesis, and ideology of Khalistan also emanates from these countries. Recently on 9 June... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOW-ALIA: I had said that people in these countries were also fighting against them. We should support them.

S. BUTA SINGH: I am just coming to that on 9 June, a Senior leader of the Janta Dal, who is a Member of Parliament, went to England and there he addressed the International Sikh Youth Federation, which is occupying the Khalistan. Headquarters and is carrying on the Khalistani propaganda all over the world, and distributing Khalistan literature to the members of the US Senate, who sanction huge amount of aid to Pakistan, which is enthused for purchase of arms and ammunition to be used against our country. It is the same International Sikh Youth Federation which has a direct link with the agencies like CIA etc to which Shri Kurup and Mr. Chaubey was just referring. The C.I.A. and other international agencies outside Pakistan have a direct link with this

Federation. This very agency organised the meetings for this hon. Member not only in England but even in New York. His speeches in those meetings were highly antinational. I am not aware whether he has returned from his foreign tours or not. But while delivering his speeches in a Gurudwara in England, he went to the extent of saying....

[*English*]

"The gangs of Government backed anti-social elements and the Government gangs are indulging in genocide of the Sikhs in Punjab.

[*Translation*]

Secondly, he also said it that he had rendered a yeoman service to the Khalsa Panth by pleading on behalf of Indira Gandhi's assassins (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsgani): Janata party will be rejected by the people.

S. BUTA SINGH: I have not come here to ask for any compensation for the defence that I have played in the Supreme Court.

[*Translation*]

He said that he did all this service without changing any thing and he had not gone there to beg for money. He did it as a service to the khalsa Panth and Khalistan (*Interruptions*)

Sir, I would like to tell Prof. Dandavate who is a senior leader of his party that their hon. Member made this type of speeches not only in England, but also in New York. Not only outside the country, but even in Chandigarh in seminar recently held there, the base paper presented by him contained the same material, a mention of which was just now made by my colleague, Shri Chidambaram and the Prime Minister also once made a mention of it. Here I am not levelling

any charges but just presenting the facts before you. You say that terrorist activities should be curbed in Punjab. But Mr. Choubey, you just tell me if 'bhog' ceremonies are organised to honour Shrimati Indira Gandhi's assassins and 'saropas' are presented to them by senior Akali Leaders, will it incite the sentiments or contain them.

(Interruptions)

That is why, in the interest of the entire country and in the interest of the unity of the nation and its people, I request you with folded hands that we should not indulge in any such activities which may hurt the feelings of our countrymen.

The judiciary of our country heard the case in detail and awarded punishment to the culprits. Now if we eulogise their action and term it as a service to the Panth of service to Khalistan, will we be able to contain terrorism in Punjab with all these things?

Sir, these tendencies will have to be curbed. While making a reference to the incident that took place in Moga, Shri Chidambaram said that 27 brutal killings took place there and we are collecting their dead bodies. It provides me great relief and pleasure that when Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee accompanied me to that place, it instilled a great confidence in the minds of the people not only in Punjab but also all over the country that all the opposition parties as well as the Government extend their whole-hearted sympathy to them at the time the country is confronted with such a major problem. I am of the view that it had great impact on people in and outside Punjab and strengthened the bonds between various communities. I am grateful to Atal Behari Ji and want that leaders of all political parties will also lend their support to this noble cause. I would also like to state that the views expressed by Atal ji on Doordarshan provided great relief to the people of our country. As regards Punjab situation I would like to state that earlier the Punjab police used to be inactive and we were required to send contingents of armed personnel from the

centre. Today the Punjab police personnel working in cooperation C.R.P.F against whom these people level charges that they are indulging in fake encounters, are doing a good job. Some of the SPs of Punjab Police, who were very brave, sacrificed their lives for the unity and integrity of the country. The people of Bharat Mukti Morcha and Jethmalani and company say that we are killing innocent people with the help of Government gangs. Will an S.P. sacrifice his life in the name of a fake encounter? It is a very serious matter. It should not take so lightly and we feel sad about it. We are grateful to those political parties, be in the C.P.M. or C.P.I., who have launched their separate campaigns along with the Congress Party in Punjab and meeting the challenges of terrorism and facing their bullets. I feel sad about those parties who say such type of things outside their country. Particularly, I would like to make a mention of Janata Dal which is extending this type of assurances to the people. One such commitment was made recently by Shri V.P. Singh in Bihar that if they came to power they would concede the Jharkhand demand. Will it not lead to a division of the country?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He did not say that.

[English]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He has said it. It has come in the papers. He is not denying it.

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: I am saying every word with full responsibility. Whatever I am saying I shall present the facts to the hon. Speaker....*(Interruptions)*

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF WELFARE (DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJAPAI): He has not denied it. He should come and deny it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He will not come to Parliament.

S. BUTA SINGH: He is as good a Member of parliament, as any other Member.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM. He is a Member of parliament.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I must go on record. In all seriousness since he has said that Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh wants the division of the country and wants Jharkhand outside the India Union, I should make it very clear that we are not for the division of the country. I must make it clear. Let it be clear.

[Translation]

You said that we want to divide the country. You said that we will form a Jharkhand State outside the Indian Union. In this connection I would like to tell you quite categorically that the partition that took place in 1947 was the last partition of India and thereafter we would never accept a further division of the country.

[English]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: All simulated passion!

SHRI CHANDRA PRATAP NARAIN SINGH (Padrauna): You permitted Prof. Madhu Dandavate to say something when Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is a Member. Why not Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh say something about it? Why do you allow him?

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: Let Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh be asked to clarify the position.

S. BUTA SINGH: I know what I have said. I have said everything with full responsibility. I would not like to say those words what Prof. Saheb wants me to speak. I would

like to request you to find out ways to contain terrorism in Punjab. Several hon. Members have said that we should find some or the other political solution to the problem. There is a very close link between the parties of Sarva Shri Choubey ji, Kurup Saheb and Dandavateji.

May I ask you whether the terrorists have given you any solution. Their first solution according to the information received by me is the formation of Khalistan. On behalf of all the citizens of our country I can say that we will never allow the formation of Khalistan in our country.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): We too will not allow its formation.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsgani): You suspend Shri Jethmalani from your party? (*Interruptions*)

[English]

If you have not suspended him, then you are responsible for that (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: I can say with authority that the terrorists have no solution other than this. Our colleagues of Akali Dal are aware of this as they had bitter experience of it that a person who does not favour the formation of Khalistan is done to death by them. Therefore, if any one comes with a political solution on behalf of the terrorists, I would first of all ask whether he has obtained the fiat from them. The Hon. Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi has repeatedly said that we were always prepared to hold talks with any person provided he is willing to do so within the framework of the constitution, and take pledge to abjure violence and preserve the unity and integrity of the country. We have already held talks with Shri Laldenga, the T.N. V. members and Shri Ghising. I feel that the right political solution to this problem would be if the leaders of the Janata Dal and Akali Dal persuade the terrorists to surrender their arms and ammunition. You may try

this method. The only way with us is to root out the people who are bent upon division of the country and are killing the innocent people of the country.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Are there two opinions about upholding integrity of our country?

S BUTA SINGH: The Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and late Shri Harchand Singh Longowal had evolved a solution to the Punjab problem. That is not being implemented. Out of those 11 demands, 8 demands have been fulfilled and remaining 3 yet to be fulfilled.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura): Those are the most important demands.

S. BUTA SINGH: I am asking for Prof. Madhu Dandavate's support in that regard. Those demands can not be fulfilled unless the hon. Chief Minister of Haryana accepts, the Longowal Rajiv Accord. He publicly stated that he disowned that Accord.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: Why were these not fulfilled during the Chief Ministership of Shri Bhajan Lal?

S. BUTA SINGH: Efforts were made at that time. In accordance with that Accord, the Commission and the tribunal gave their decisions. In order to implement them, the Legislative Assemblies of Punjab and Haryana gave their approval. You were not associated with it during that time. But your party knows about it. The Punjab legislative Assembly had passed the resolution but it was rejected by the Cabinet due to which it was not implemented. Today we believe.

[English]

Within the frame-work of Rajiv Gandhi-Sant Harchand Singh Longowal Accord, the solution to the Punjab problem is possible. With the cooperation of all concerned, we will try to see that the Accord is implemented in full. But I would request Prof. Dandavate-

ji to use his good offices with the Chief Minister of Haryana.

[Translation]

You ask them to accept the Accord. He repeatedly demands the construction of the S.Y.L. Canal. But the canal can only be constructed on acceptance of the Accord.

[English]

SHRIV. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada): First you ask the Congress people to accept it.

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: You know that the source of this Sutlej-Vyas Link Canal is the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. The Canal will be constructed only if that Accord is accepted. Therefore, it is my humble request that if the Janata Dal is sincere in its political ideology, it should give instructions to its chief Minister. But irony of Fate is that no one in the party is in a position to give any direction to anyone as, sir, no one bothers to respond to the directions. It is an assembly of such stage performers where no one's fiat prevails. (Interruptions)

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): When you are calling the Janata Dal an assembly of stage performers who respond to nobody's order. I would like to recall as to what happened in the Gujarat Congress Committee meeting. We have seen who listens to whom. If you like you may listen to its tape-recorded version. (Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH: Sir, I am glad that at least you accepted this thing. This is the first political party in my knowledge whose President walked out because no one listened to him. I have never seen or heard President of any Party staging a walk-out. This is the President of Janata Dal alone who had to walk-out. Since no one listened to him. (Interruptions)

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let not the Home Minister of the country be frivolous like that.

SHRIP. CHIDAMBARAM: What is frivolous about that?

PROF. P. CHIDAMBARAM: He can tell you what happened in your youth festival, what happened in Gujarat. Why are you allowing this?

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH: We agree that the solution to the Punjab problem can not be sought by police alone. However, we have sent police there for the security of the citizens so that they may protect the helpless masses. We are making all possible efforts in this direction. People who are aware of the Punjab situation know that the Government has been able to corner the terrorists and check their activities in the two border districts. The hon. Prime Minister stated yesterday that he held high-level talks with Pakistan and we hope that their Government might check their activities. However even now arms, funds and terrorists are coming from across the border. The fact is that many top ranking terrorists have taken shelter in Pakistan and we are making our best efforts. As I stated in the beginning, we appeal for full support from all the political parties to solve this problem. Shri Choubey made a demand to call the meeting of the National Integration Council to discuss the problem. I can only assure him, as I stated in the Consultative Committee also, that we will call its meeting before the end of this month. In that meeting we will appeal to the progressive and secular forces to take a national level decision so as to root out terrorism and to find a political solution to the problem of Punjab. We should be able to find a solution to the Punjab problem within the framework of Rajiv Gandhi-Sant longowal Accord. We make an appeal to you for the

same. I would like to make one more point here. I extend invitation to members of Parliament visit Punjab. The hon. Members expressed their views here regarding the process of normalisation. The announcement made by the Hon. Prime Minister in this very House has already been fully implemented and all the Jodhpur undertrials have been released. An hon. Member was saying that a number of those undertrials were still behind the bars. But they were involved in some other cases such as murders or decoities. No promise was given here about them. In accordance with the decision taken here to withdraw all cases registered after Blue Star concerning waging of war, all the detenus have been released by the Government. A handful of them are still left. Whose number is not more than 32. They are still facing trial there must be other cases against them. They have no connection with the Jodhpur detenus who were detained on the charges of waging war against the nation.

[English]

Applicability of Punjab Disturbed Areas Act and Armed Forecast (Special Power) Act has been restricted only to three districts of the border. Restriction under Foreigners' Act for visit to Punjab has been removed.

20.00 hrs.

[Translation]

The Government has even given permission to the foreigners to go there. You too should visit Punjab and at least find out in what condition the people in Punjab live.

[English]

The Amnesty amendment has been allowed to lapse. Punjab Government has issued detailed instructions to ensure that TADA is invoked very very sparingly. Punjab Government has conducted a review of the cases registered for objectionable speeches and I am glad to inform that 437 cases of this nature have also been withdrawn.

[Translation]

These are the steps taken by the Government to normalise the situation in Punjab. The Government is even prepared to take further steps.

Sir, my submission is that viewing this serious problem if all the political parties leave aside the political considerations and the electoral gains and work for the unity and integrity of the country, we will be able to root out terrorism from Punjab very soon.

Sir, I oppose this Adjournment motion and request the House to reject it.

[English]

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam): None of the speakers including Shri Buta Singh and Shri Chidambaram replied to the pertinent points raised in this discussion.

The primary responsibility of a Government is to give protection to the life of its citizens. I would like to reiterate that this Government has miserably failed to discharge its duty. This Central Government dismissed the Barnala Government on the basis of the law and order situation. But now what is the situation in Punjab today? I was shocked to hear Mr. Chidambaram proclaiming that but for Moga June would have been nil and he gave the death toll; it is 69. Minus moga...

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): He said it is one of the best months.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: He said it is one of the best months.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I said 69 is also bad.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: You have the temerity to say this in this House.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You have the temerity to distort my speech. Go through the record. I said even one is

bad....(Interruptions)...I take serious exception. I said even one is bad. As long as one man is killed we cannot hold our head high. Even one is bad, I said.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He said, but for Moga June would have been one of the best months.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I said least in terms of terrorist killings. When I was speaking you were nodding your head and now you stand and protest. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Don't misinterpret it.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Let us see it from the records.

MR. SPEAKER: That is all right. It is a question of comparison.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: He said, but for Moga, this would have been the best month. (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI VASANT SATHE): There is a difference. It is one thing to say that you are the best Marxist. It is another thing to say that he is the least Marxist. They are two different things.

MR. SPEAKER: It is a question of comparison.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: In a debate like this we have to hear this type of jokes here in this House, in the Parliament of India....(Interruptions)...Only they understand and we don't understand anything just because they have got the number there. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: What is this?

[English]

Why are you getting upset? It is a question of comparison. So simple it is.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SURESH KURUP: If so many people are being killed every month in one of our States, that too ruled by the Central Government directly, how can they claim themselves to be a functioning Government? *(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATIE: They don't claim.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Now, they are again and again referring to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. I don't know why. *(Interruptions)*

Major Akali Groups...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You don't know what is Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Of course, you know better than I do. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Major Akali groups have again and again reiterated that they are for the unity and integrity of this country. They have reiterated that they are against Khalistan. I was amused to hear Shri Chidambaram quoting extensively from the Sarkaria Commission Report, as if they have accepted the report in toto. *(Interruptions)*.

AN. HON. MEMBER: They will not accept...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: During the last parliament election, it was the main campaign of the ruling party that opposition parties are supporting Anandpur Sahib Resolution and they are standing for Khalistan. Now they are again referring to it because the parliament elections are coming. *(Interruptions)*

This game wouldn't work this time. This trick wouldn't work this time. *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI K.C. PANT): Why wouldn't it work? are you rejecting it? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Before you could reject it, we have rejected it. Instead of rejecting it, they referred it to the Sarkaria Commission. That is what happened. *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT): We are discussing Punjab now. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT: Please tell me whether the CPM is against Anandpur Sahib resolution or not. Is it against? *(Interruptions)* It is officially against Anandpur Sahib resolution.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are supporting it.

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT: You are supporting it, but your party opposes. *(Interruptions)* Please say, yes or no. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Whose creation is Bindrenwala? *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: It was you and not we who touched the feet of Bhindranwala who propounded the Anandpur Sahib resolution. *(Interruptions)*.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing goes on record, except what Shri Suresh Kurup says.

*(Interruptions)**

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Sir, the need of the hour is united action.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SURESH KURUP: Everyone in this country knows our party's position regarding Anandpur Sahib resolution. I am not going to explain it any more. We don't need your certificate regarding our patriotism. *(Interruptions)*. The need of the hour is united action against terrorists and not to pull each other. But the ruling party is playing the Punjab card again. They are not serious in resolving this problem. That is why I said, with this Government in power, the problem will not be solved.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the House do now adjourn".

The motion was negatived.

20.10 hrs.

DELHI MOTOR VEHICLES TAXATION
(AMENDMENT) BILL

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now the Minister of State of the Ministry of Surface Transport may move the Delhi Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE
MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT
(SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Delhi Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1962 be taken into consideration."

Sir, it is a very good Bill. You can even pass it by voice vote... *(Interruptions)*

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Sir, this may be taken up tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER: Now they have to pay tax only once in lump sum. It is a good thing and it will save time. What is the harm in it?

[English]

It is something good. Your will be saved from the harassment. What is the harm? *(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Should I adjourn the House?

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Just a minute, Sir. In your absence CAG report was laid on the Table of the House. There was a demand from both sides that there should be a discussion on the Report.

MR. SPEAKER: You give me in writing. You give notice.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Tomorrow by 10 O'clock you will get the notice.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Sir, is my Bill passed?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No. No.

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

20.11 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, July 19, 1989/Asadha 28, 1911 (Saka)