

[Sh. C. Janga Reddy]

On one hand, the Government is acquiring the land of farmer against his will and is not paying even the market price of his land, on the other hand, timely payments are not made to him and income-tax is being recovered on the interest paid by the Government. This is a sort of crime. I, therefore, urge upon the Government to stop this practice of charging income-tax and make a change in the Income-tax rules. The farmers have not wilfully given their lands to the Government, therefore, it is an unconstitutional way to recover income-tax on the payments of interest. I, therefore, demand that this system should be changed with immediate effect.

14.38 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION *RE*: CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PRESIDENT'S RULE IN PUNJAB—*CONTD.*

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we will take up further discussion on the Statutory Resolution regarding continuance of president's rule in Punjab moved by S. Buta singh. The amendments which were admitted have already been circulated to the members. I would like to know whether the Members are moving their amendments.

Shri. E. Ayyappu Reddy.

SHRI E. AYYAPPU REDDY: I beg to move:

That in the Resolution,-

(i) *after* "by the President", *insert* "finally"

(ii) *after* "six months" *insert* "only".

That in the Resolution,-

for "six months" *substitute* "three months".

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Ram Narain Singh.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM NARAIN SINGH (Bhiwani): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to say that the Government is making efforts for the third or fourth time to extend the President Rule in Punjab. Last time people had a hope that the elections will be held in Punjab and popular Government will be installed there. But the Government did nothing in this regard. This Government want neither to find out a solution to the Punjab problem nor install popular Government there. In almost the similar circumstances, this Government had held elections in Assam. Similarly Panchayat elections will be held in Punjab. If the Panchayat elections can be held there, why Assembly elections cannot be held. The Government do not want to held elections there.

The need of the hour is that life and property of the people in Punjab should be protected. But we see that people are being killed daily in Punjab and incidents of plundering and robbery are occurring there.

SHRIMOHD. AYUB KHAN (Jhunjhunu): What is happening in Haryana?

SHRI RAM NARAIN SINGH: I will also come to Haryana. It shows that the Government is not taking any interest in the matter. The Government neither takes the people of Punjab into confidence nor discuss the matter with the leaders of opposition parties in order to findout a solution to the Punjab problem. The Government likes to take political advantage of this situations in Punjab at the time of elections to new Lok Sabha in December.

Secondly, the situation in Punjab is very bad. Though corruption is rampant in the entire country but we find such practices most common in Punjab. The bureaucracy is taking full advantage of the President Rule in Punjab. They take bribes from people in large amounts. Police asks the innocent people that if they do not give money to them, they would be implicated in false cases branding them as accomplice to the terror-

ists. Police is committing atrocities on general public. As a result there of, people are in much distress. A lot of smuggling takes place there. Smugglers and police are in hand and glove with Pakistan. Police mints money from both sides. Thus common man's life has become deplorable. The common man in Punjab is living a very distressed life. People were pinning high hope that after the talk of Shri Rajiv Gandhi with Shrimati Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan would not lend support to the terrorists of Punjab, but that hope belied within 2-4 months. Now it appears that Pakistan is helping those terrorists. From the confessions of the terrorists caught recently, it is clear that training camps are still being organised in Pakistan and a retired defence personnel is imparting training to the terrorists. Not only this, weapons are also being smuggled into India.

It was said that the boundary would be sealed. But it has not yet been sealed. Still, the people are crossing the border. Just to show people, figures are published that such and such number of terrorists have been killed and arrested. But God knows whether they are really caught or not? There is no improvement in the situation. During the Barnala Government, there were lesser number of killings, as the number of persons killed by the terrorists hardly crossed the figures of 4 or 5. But now, 20 to 30 are reported to be killed every day and banks are being looted. In the beginning, it was stated in the Parliament that Barnala was running the Government efficiently and it was stated to be a good Government. When elections were to be held in Haryana, Shri Barnala was declared as incompetent and his Government was immediately dismissed to get political advantage out of it. In order to get political advantage in the general elections of Parliament, you will not solve the problem of Punjab before it.

You should say to Pakistan in clear terms as to why she lend support to the terrorists. The same situation is prevailing in Kashmir also. Kashmir is also witnessing bomb explosion. Terrorists have become active there. Pakistan is helping the Kashmir

terrorists also. Bridges are being blown up, bombs are planted at bus terminals and innocent people are being killed. Such disturbances are taking place there. The Government should solve this problem by initiating dialogue with the Government of Pakistan. People should be involved in it and the leaders of the political parties should be invited for talks on this issue. Then only, this problem can be solved to some extent. Our opposition friends stated that it was necessary to hold elections and install a popular Government there. But it appears to me that on the line of action taken in Karnataka, a conspiracy has been hatched by the Central Government to dismiss the elected Government of Haryana which has come in power with thumping majority. Terrorists apprehended in Haryana have confessed that it was done under a conspiracy in which the Central Government, the Home Minister and his Ministry were involved so as to create a condition to dismiss the Haryana Government by finding faults with it. The Chief Minister and the Home Minister of Haryana have given such statements. There are many parties among the terrorists also. It is reported that one such party of terrorists in having links with the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and they are involved in terrorist activities at his behest. Terrorists violence at Sirsa and Kaithal is stated to be committed at his behest so that law and order situation could become worse in Haryana and the Central Government could find an alibi to impose Governor's rule in Haryana. Opposition wants that elections should be held in Punjab and a popular Government should be installed, but they are bent upon dismissing the Haryana Government. It appears that before Parliament elections, they will topple the Governments in Haryana, Assam or other opposition ruled states and will hold the election later. So, there is no need to extend the period of President's rule. They are doing injustice and doing it arbitrarily. This statutory resolution has to be passed as there is no other alternative. But the common man and opposition are not in agreement with it. You are imposing this rule on Punjab. The people and political parties in Punjab are fade up with the President's rule in Punjab.

[Sh. Ram Narain Singh]

The Rajiv Longowal Accord failed because Haryana was not made a part to it. While making accord, only one person was taken into confidence, but you should have taken all the parties into confidence while making accord. But Haryana was not made a party to that accord. So consultation with Haryana at this stage is of no avail. Suppose, if there is popular Government in Haryana and Punjab both, then this problem can be solved. Both the parties will come to an agreement if the Government of India takes any political decision with consultation of both the Governments. But the Central Government do not allow Choudhary Devi Lal to meet the leaders of Punjab. Is Chaudhri Devi Lal a terrorist? Ch. Devi Lal is the elected Chief Minister of Haryana but they say that he is also like the other sikh leaders. May I ask as to whether our sikh leaders or not Indian? They also belong to India. An agreement can be reached if they are called at negotiating table and Ch. Devi Lal is associated with the dialogue to be held. But what to talk of associating him with the dialogue, they don't even allow him to meet them. Only other day, he was not allowed to meet them. So this accord can not be successful as it has been entered into with one person.

Much discrimination is done against Haryana. The Hon. Prime Minister himself had made an announcement that an oil refinery would be set up at Karnal within two years. But two years have elapsed but nothing has been done there. The Government made promises several times with regard to S.Y.L. canal that it would be completed soon, but nothing has been done in that regard. Discrimination is being done in every sphere and you don't cooperate with the opposition ruled states. I would like to submit that the Government of India should solve the problem of Punjab as soon as possible in the interest of the unity and integrity of the country. This problem can only be solved, if the people of Punjab and opposition parties are also involved in it. Our polity is of federal nature, so it must work like

a federation. It should not be dictatorial. We don't want that panchayats should be provided direct funds. Yesterday, some hon. Members from Andhra Pradesh were saying that funds have reached to their states, but the Bill has not been passed yet. Crores of rupees have been sent there. This is all election stunt and these things are being provided to win the election. Punjab problem is a national problem, so the Government should pay more attention to solve it.

[English]

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Statutory Resolution put forward by the Home Minister, S. Buta Singh yesterday. In the Report of the Governor he has mentioned that the terrorism has been contained to some extent and there should be continued efforts to see that it will remain contained. He has also mentioned that terrorist activities have been reduced, but anti-social elements are rising and looting the people and creating a problem for Punjab. Therefore, keeping in view all this it is imperative that the President's Rule should be extended.

Since the President's Rule in Punjab, there has been some benefit because the most important development that has taken place there is that the people of Punjab have confidence in the administration. This is a very important thing. During the course of the President's Rule, people have developed a sense of security; that is what the Governor has mentioned in his letter; he has mentioned that although the conditions are improving, the problem is there. Therefore, there should be no let up in our efforts to fight against terrorists and to create a situation of law and order. Therefore, it is necessary that this rule should be extended. At the same time, efforts are being made to create conditions by which negotiations could take place and also the normalisation should take place. We have seen that detenus from Jodhpur Jail have been released to create a condition by which the people of Punjab could feel that normalcy is taking place. Even Notification regarding restrictions for foreigners for not

going to Punjab has been withdrawn so that the people can go to Punjab and visit those areas. This removal of Notification has benefited much because there was a great misunderstanding outside the country and inside the country about what was happening there. The news that was emanating from Punjab and what the Press was highlighting was not clear; people were ignorant what was happening there. By removing this Notification, people have been able to visit Punjab and see the situation there by themselves; and now more and more people are coming to Punjab and seeing the situation. The atmosphere is getting clear so much so that even people from foreign countries like Canada, USA, England, France, Germany, Indians settled abroad, have been given misleading reports about the Punjab. Now, they have seen the situation there by themselves and have come to know that there is nothing of the kind which was propagated by some people abroad.

Similarly, a Notification of special powers to police stations has also been withdrawn. So, these are the steps which the Government has taken. Along with fighting against terrorists, they are adopting the other procedure also to bring the Punjab situation to normal conditions. Mr. Reddi pointed out yesterday that the Government wanted to carry on this situation for the political advantage; today, Shri Ram Narain Singh mentioned the same thing. That is utterly wrong because it has always been the endeavour of the Government to see that a political solution is found out for Punjab. Various attempts have been made to find out a solution, but there is no response from certain quarters. I will give you an example. A Sub-Committee went to Punjab to talk there with the political leaders, but the Akali Party, which is a major party in Punjab and the Janata Party, did not cooperate; they did not come forward to tell their point of view what was required in the present situation and what possibly could be the solution to the Punjab problem. BJP people also came there, just gave their different demands and went away. Probably, they wanted to follow their major partner in the political set up of Punjab,

that is the Akali Party because they were their partner in 1967 and they formed the Government; they were also partner in 1977. So, they did not want to annoy the Akali Party perhaps. They only gave a written statement; they did not cooperate and discuss the problem or its solution. So, the Government is always finding out some solution by talking to the people and if the political parties do not come forward, it is not our fault.

Secondly, Mr. Reddy also compared the numbers of killings during Mr. Barnala's rule and under the Presidents' Rule. My submission is that it is not the numbers that should tell us how the situation was previously and how the position now is. The position is that there has been a qualitative change in the Punjab situation because the administration under Mr. Barnala was not fighting the terrorists. They were feeling shy of it. The administration was not ready. But under the President's Rule now the administration is geared up to an extent and they are functioning. And the result is that there is a qualitative change. You will see that a number of Police officers were killed during Mr. Barnala's regime and if you compare the President's Rule you will find that a very large number of police officers have been killed because now the Police is coming out, they are fighting. Formerly they were shy. We had a difficulty also under the President's Rule in the beginning because the administration was not ready to fight it out. But today we can assure this House that the Administration is doing its best to keep the law and order situation under their control.

Again, a main point during Mr. Barnala's rule was migration of the people. A very large number of people from Punjab migrated to Delhi and other States. But now there is no migration. So much so, the people from Delhi and other States have gone back to Punjab. That is the qualitative difference which the President's Rule has made in Punjab.

Mr. Reddy showed his ignorance when he said as to where the weapons are coming from and who is supplying them and where

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their depots are and all that. It is a well known fact because the discussion on this point has taken place a number of times and the Government has come out with the figures, that all those weapons are coming from Pakistan, there are training camps there and there are depots there are lot of our boys who are misled—they are our own boys, they are our own kith and kin but unfortunately they are misled—and they are getting training there and the Government has also supplied lot of information to this House and also when there were talks between Pakistani and Indian officials, all those lists, all those documents and all those statements made by the people who were arrested have been handed over to Pakistan. So much so, even the Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi when he met Mrs. Bhutto also mentioned about this problem. This problem is known to all of us. We should not be ignorant of the facts, as to where they are coming from and who is supplying them.

Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary also said that the political situation of Punjab can be solved by having the co-operation of the people of Punjab and involving them. That is true. That is exactly what we are doing. The Congress Party in Punjab had held rallies, we had mass contacts, we had gone to the villages, we had seminars, we had discussions and we had meetings in all the places and they are trying to create a public opinion in Punjab against terrorism and against the foreign hand which is responsible for this problem of Punjab. And we are glad that some other political parties, progressive parties also went to the villages and to other places and tried to create a public opinion. As a result, what we find today is that in Punjab the movement for Khalistan is finished.

15.00 hrs.

Nobody now talks about Khalistan. The people of Punjab, whether they are Hindus or Sikhs, are absolutely against Khalistan. The objective of those people to create communal disharmony and to divide the

people has been a complete failure. The brave Punjabis, the Punjabis who have got the robust commonsense, have understood the real cause of this trouble. They know that the foreign forces are trying to divide us. They know that the foreign forces want to destabilise the country. If you see the history of last 2000 years, it is always the Punjabis who have borne the brunt and suffered first from the invaders coming from the north. So the Punjabis know what is going on and what is behind this movement. Therefore, they have displayed robust commonsense. They are not communally divided. All over India there were so many communal incidents. But in Punjab there was not a single communal incident. You must appreciate the people of Punjab that they have not been misled by the terrorists and foreign forces. They are living like brothers. Therefore, I would like to tell Mr. Chowdhary that we are playing that role. We have gone to the people. We have explained to them the real situation and the people have understood it. That is how we say that there is a better situation in Punjab. The Congress Party in this struggle has suffered tremendously. More than 400 Congress leaders have been shot and killed. Only two days back, you have seen that our youth leader, Mr. Parashar from Ludhiana, who was also an MLA, had been shot dead. The Congress Party has been fighting. They are going to the villages and they are creating a situation in Punjab...

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: You yourself were saying that the Barnala Government had no will to fight the terrorists and that is why, President's rule was imposed. Now again you are saying that Mr. Parashar, a Congress (I) leader was murdered. Is it a tribute to the President's rule there?

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: What I was saying is that the Congress Party as political party is fighting it out. I have said in the beginning that terrorism has not completely gone. But all I said is that the situation has improved. It has been contained to some extent. The terrorists were active in 143 police stations in Punjab. But now they have been reduced to 82 police stations. You can well imagine that

the situation has improved. But it is not completely over. I have never said that. The fight will continue. Naturally there will be sacrifice and without sacrifice you cannot attain your objective.

15.04 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH RATH *in the Chair*]

There was also an objection that the Congress Party is not talking to the political parties and consulting them. That they are utilising this for election purposes and they are using this card and all that. Our position is very clear. We want to talk to every body and anybody anytime and anywhere and everywhere. That is how the sub-committee went to Chandigarh to talk to them because we have been told that some people would not like to come to Delhi. We had no hesitation. We went there. We wanted to find a solution. That is why, we went to Chandigarh. Even now our door is open. We went to talk and find out a political solution.

The Akali Party has not come forward to cooperate in this negotiation and they have put certain conditions that unless you do this and that, they would not talk. If you are sincere, if you want to sincerely solve the problem, if you are really interested in solving the Punjab tangle, then there should be no condition. We should be open in our mind and let us sit together, talk and find out a solution. We should be most willing to do that because we are most concerned about it. But lack of cooperation means that they are not interested in solving the problem. Therefore, the responsibility of the present Punjab situation lies on the Akali Party, not on the Congress Party which is prepared to talk. Our doors are open. We are ready to discuss and talk anywhere and on any problem. But they are not coming forward and they are not joining to talk to us. Therefore, it means that they are not interested in the solution of the Punjab problem.

I say that the present situation is very ideal to find a solution. We should not delay it. Nobody should delay it, no party should

delay it because at present the Punjab people are fed up with what is happening in Punjab and they want a solution. They want peace in Punjab. Peace in Punjab will come only if discussions take place and a solution is found. If we talk to one group, others say they would not accept it, they would not joint it. Therefore, it is very necessary that all the parties put together should joint and sit together and find out a solution. For that the Government is ready. It is prepared to talk to the leaders of the Opposition, provided they come and sit with us and talk to us. It is our sincere desire that some solution should be found out. So, what I mean to say is that so far as the Government is concerned, they are prepared to talk. So, there should be negotiations and a solution should be found out. It should not be delayed. And delay is to the advantage of the terrorists. And delay will result in the suffering of the Punjab people. If we are sincere, we must come and talk.

Mr. Ram Narain Singh has made a very big allegation on our Home Minister that it is he who is responsible for all this. I totally challenge this and I also refute him when he says that terrorism in Haryana is being engineered by the Home Minister. It is an irresponsible statement and a responsible man like him should not say this in the House. If you cannot set your own house in order, why should you blame others? He says that Mr. Devi Lal is a very strong man, an iron man. If he is an iron man, let him set his own house in order. Let him face the terrorism there and then tell us what the problem is. If he has any problem, then certainly we will help him. If they need CRP or any other help, we are there to help them. But they should not blame others for their own weakness because the problem of terrorism or the Punjab problem, as you rightly said, is a national problem. So, we should solve it from all angles by cooperating with all the parties, instead of blaming one another. Blaming will not solve this problem at all. Therefore my humble submission to the Members of this House is that it is a very serious problem. It has taken seven-eight years and it is dragging on. The suffering of the people in Punjab is there. So, in order to

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remove the suffering of the Punjab people and in order to find out a solution, it is very important that we all cooperate. We should rise above the party politics and sit together, talk, negotiate and find out a permanent solution for Punjab.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Government has got no solution to offer for the Punjab problem, except these periodical extensions of the Proclamation of President's rule. I could understand it if the Government had any specific or concrete set of measures or any plan of how to move towards a political solution. I do not say it is possible overnight. It is a difficult task no doubt. But only if we have got some concrete objective in view and we take steps to move in that direction, then even President's rule can be utilised for that purpose. But I regret to say that nothing like that is in sight. Recently the Prime Minister had made a number of statements concerning Punjab. There have also been one or two discussions which have taken place round the table. I do not know what Mr. Buta Singh means by saying that his party is ready always for talks and discussions as though to imply that others are not coming forward. But who is preventing them? We do not understand that.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: But are you not coming forward?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That is for the Akalis to reply. If they are not coming forward, they should reply and certainly they will reply, I hope. As far as we are concerned, we would like at least those Akalis who have made their stand clear that they are not in favour of any secessionist demand and they are against terrorism and they are willing to work within the four corners of the Constitution. I believe among the Akalis also there are many like that, they are at least to come forward to take part in any fruitful discussions which may be initiated by the Government. The initiation has to come from the

Government for bringing about a discussion on political lines.

Sir, just the President's rule by itself is not going to lead us anywhere. We are told that everybody is eager for an early solution and settlement of the Punjab dispute. Because of its prolongation and delay, it is causing sufferings to people, more loss of life, and also doing damage, I should say, to the State of Punjab in every possible way. But if they are so eager for an early settlement, how is it that the Governor of Punjab has recently issued a statement categorically saying that there is going to be no solution, there cannot be any solution before the elections? We do not understand. This question was asked in Chandigarh recently when the Cabinet Sub-Committee paid its visit and met the representatives of different parties, our party, and I believe, the representatives of the CPIM, drew pointed attention to this fact that Mr. S.S. Ray has gone on record to say that no solution is possible before the elections. And what did he mean by that? And does the Government agree with this assessment of the Governor? Or is there any contradiction or conflict between what the Government through its spokesman here in Delhi is sometimes saying and what the Governor there in Chandigarh is saying? No satisfactory reply was given to this question. If somebody says, not somebody, a person in the position of the Governor says that no solution is possible before the election, the implication is that the solution can be possible only after the elections, what elections he is talking about, I do not know. Are there going to be elections in Punjab? We are told that the situation is not appropriate for holding elections. Just now, we are told by Sardar Buta Singh that the situation is such that it is not possible to talk of holding elections freely. At the same time, they have come forward to say that the proposal, not proposal, but they seem to be insisting that Panchayat elections should be held. So, all these things and these statements are not logically in conformity with each other. Sir, Panchayat elections, as everybody knows, are fought primarily at the village level. Panchayat elections are the

contests between different parties and forces at the village level and it is our party in Punjab which has said that if in the present situation Panchayat elections are held in Punjab, at least something like 2000 Panchayats will be completely captured by the terrorists and their supporters. You cannot do anything about it. In those three districts, you will not be able to win a single Panchayat election. They will also be captured by these terrorists and their supporters. But still you are insisting that there must be panchayat elections. I do not mind because elected panchayats, I think, are an organ of local self-administration at the lowest level, grassroot level, which is very necessary and should be there throughout India. But if you say that the situation is ripe for holding panchayat elections even taking the risk of allowing the terrorists and their friends to capture a whole lot of panchayats and still you say that the situation is not appropriate for holding the Assembly elections, I don't understand you logic.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: When you say that 2000 panchayats will be captured by the terrorists and there should be no elections, should we take it that we should not have even parliamentary elections? Are you suggesting that?

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hankonda): Parliamentary elections are different from panchayat elections.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am not saying that. You hold any election you like—panchayat or Assembly or Parliament. I am only saying that you should say that 'in spite of the troubled situation we believe that the democratic process should not be indefinitely put in cold storage and therefore, it is better despite all difficulties to go in for elections'—I have no quarrel with you. (Interruptions). I did not say that all the panchayats will be captured by terrorists. I said specifically, as our Party there has made an estimate that about 2000 panchayats out of perhaps 12000 or so will be captured by these terrorists in those areas where law and

order is no longer present and you have no machinery or ability to do anything.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: In those districts we are not holding any elections. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: So, what I wish to say first is, you will of course pass this extension of the Proclamation in this Parliament, but there is an amendment also tabled by my friend, Mr. Ayyapu Reddy, which I am sure will be defeated, that it may be extended not for six months, but for three months, but all these have some utility if it is in the context of moving purposefully towards an objective for which some concrete plan of action or phased plan of action is also there. There is no such thing.

Sir, about our Sikh friends, there is no doubt that we have failed in assuaging the feelings of the Sikh community at large. I am not talking about the terrorists or those who support the terrorists. The Prime Minister has said that they have taken some definite steps which he is sure will have a very healing tough, healing effect. But, for example, about this release of the Jodhpur detenus, everybody in this House knows that we were raising it here two or three years ago that the same thing should have been done which is now being done in a kind of hesitant and reductant way. It should have been done much earlier, but it was not done for some reason or other. Secondly, about the action which has been taken, we are told, against people in Delhi who were considered responsible for the anti-Sikh riots, I asked the Prime Minister the other day when we met him. He gave some figures saying so many people have been prosecuted, so many people have been convicted, so many people have been released or acquitted, so many people have got cases pending against them even now and so on. He has some chart on the table in front of him from which he read out. So, I feel it is a very surprising thing because nobody knows about all this. I never appears in any newspaper. How is it? Are secret trials being held or what? In which court are these trials held? Before which

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magistrate or Judge these cases are tried, we do not know. How is it that it never appeared in any newspaper? Then the Prime Minister himself said, 'Yes, this is very surprising you know, I must find out how it is that the press is not publishing this news. It is strange, I don't understand it at all.'

Sir, the question of rehabilitation of those affected victims of the riots in Delhi and some other places, but mainly in Delhi, all those widows and orphans and all that business, that rehabilitation situation, I am sure Mr. Bhatia knows, is certainly far far from satisfactory. So all these things are continuing. At the same time, I would say that after all, either the Government considers that the Rajiv Longowal Accord should be treated now as a dead letter or they should say, 'No, we do not consider it to be a dead letter; within the framework of that accord we will try to work out some consensus even now'. We do not know what is the Government's position. We do not consider it to be a dead letter. There were some difficulties, some hurdles, of course But how else will you get the settlement? How else will you reach a settlement?

So Sir, I believe the Government does not know its own mind. If it knows its own mind, it is only to the extent which was revealed by the Governor Shri S.S. Ray and that is: upto the election do not do anything, let the situation go on in this way. Perhaps, on the eve of the election I do not know whether they are going to hold Parliamentary elections in Punjab or not or hold them partially leaving out certain areas, certain constituencies, we do not know. We have not been taken into confidence about that. May be, on the eve of those elections, the Government thinks it can come out with some new announcement or some stunt or something which will help it get votes there Is that the concept of solving the Punjab problem? I do not think so. That is why we are against this kind of depending solely on extensions of President's rule and depending solely on non-political measures or

administrative measures or security measures to solve the problem. Security measures are necessary, no doubt but that is not the way to find out a solution. Therefore, I would say that it is no use your saying that the Akalis are creating difficulties because they do not cooperate I will repeat again finally I do not want to take much time what I have said here many times that the Government should make it abundantly clear and should initiate steps also to start talks with all parties, all groups, all forces, all individuals in Punjab who are prepared to declare publicly their opposition to terrorism, to any idea of Khalistan, to any idea of secessionism and who are willing to work within the Constitution of India, whoever they may be, whatever they may have done in the past. You should be prepared to talk to them, you should initiate talks with them.

Sir, Shri Buta Singh, while introducing this Statutory Resolution, gave a picture as though during President's rule, things have improved so much and he also mentioned the fact that the terrorist activity on the border with Pakistan had diminished and all that and he is hopeful that it will diminish further. We all hope that it would diminish; but today I have read some news. It says that our Government's own information sources have informed the Government that actually in spite of the change which has taken place in Pakistan with the election of a new Government, this Pakistan Army and Pakistan Inter-Intelligence Services are actually very very active still in helping these terrorists to be trained to come across and to go back again for refuge and all that. The details are given in that account in the paper and even three or four topmost terrorist leaders who are wanted people are supposed to be still taking refuge across the border in Pakistan. That is, of course, a security aspect of the matter which has to be dealt with, but we have always held and we still hold that the solution finally can only be political and in that matter of holding it some perspective, some target towards which we should move by stages, the Government have totally failed. It only can come forward with this idea of extending the President's rule. That is all I

wish to say about, as far as this Resolution is concerned.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala): Mr. Chairman, we are again discussing the Statutory Resolution moved by Sardar Buta Singh, our Home Minister for seeking approval for the extension of President's rule in Punjab. I wonder how long the Government will keep on seeking the approval of this House for continuing the President's rule in Punjab. I am afraid, the Government is not at all in a mood to restore the democratic process in Punjab where all democratic institutions are side-lined or even tampered with. There are no elections to the local bodies, to the municipal committees, municipal corporations, or to the Panchayats, Block Samitis or Zila Parishads. There are no elections to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee which is controlling the Gurudwaras in Punjab. Similarly, elections to the State Assembly are also being postponed due to one reason or the other. No doubt, the elections in the State can be held only when the situation in the State is normal.

On the one hand, Government claims that things have improved during the term of President's rule. My hon. colleague Mr. Bhatia was saying there is a qualitative change also during this period. But I do not think so. President's rule has not been able to bring normalcy in the State. If it has brought normalcy, then why should the Government not hold elections to all these institutions — whether it is SGPC, Panchayats, Municipal Corporations or committees? The terms of these institutions are over long before and the elections are overdue. It is almost extended for double the term. I think, the Government wants to continue to administer and rule the State by proxy. It is deliberately keeping the Punjab problem alive due to the reasons, as apprehended and talked about by the people everywhere. The people apprehend that the Government wants to use the Sikh card or the Punjab card again, as it used in 1984, in the coming elections. Shri R.L. Bhatia was saying that the Government is prepared to transfer any territory and is

anxious to have a dialogue and negotiations sitting across the table to solve the Punjab problem. If the Government is anxious to solve the Punjab problem, who will come in their way? What is the hurdle? People will believe the Government if only they are convinced that the Government is really serious about solving the Punjab problem or bringing normalcy in Punjab. It is said that the Akali Dal did not cooperate in this matter. A Cabinet Sub-Committee has been constituted which toured Punjab. I wonder whether the Government knows what are the problems and demands of Punjab and how to identify the problem. The Government is not knowing all these ten years what the Punjabis want. This problem is not confined only to Punjab or Sikhs. It has now taken the shape and dimension of a national problem. It all started with very reasonable, constitutional and genuine demands of the Punjabis for giving river waters on the established riparian laws, whether national or international, or for transferring Chandigarh to Punjab and so on and so forth. But the Government complicated the whole problem instead of accepting the genuine demands. They used all sorts of tactics and weaponry at their command to turn this Punjab problem into a Sikh problem. The Sikhs have suffered and sacrificed a lot for this country. They have put in their lot for this country. They have always defended this country. But today they feel insecure due to the policies of the Government. We hear that the Government has announced certain packages. Prime Minister also announced in this House. All the Opposition parties used to strongly plead that Jodhpur detenus are innocent people, as Mr. Indrajit Gupta was saying. They are languishing in jails for the last five years. But the Government always took the stand that there are very serious charges against them; they could not be released. But after about five long years these people were released. Now the Government has taken the stand that it must have been satisfied that they were innocent people. Then, why has the Government kept them for so long years in the jails? We do not think that the Government is sincere. So many boys are still in jail. The President of the Sikh Student Federa-

[Sh. Charanjit Singh Walia]

tion the General Secretary and other leaders who were in Jodhpur jail were released on one pretext and were kept in detention on some other charges. If there were charges against them, then what did the Government do for the last five years about those charges? Similarly, Sardar Simranjit Singh Mann, who is the President of the Shiromani Akali Dal is also in Jail for the last about five years. Now a new case has been registered and a bigger conspiracy has been unearthed after about five long years. There was the Thakkar Commission and then there was the SIT. I do not know as to how these things came and a new case has been registered against Sardar Simranjit Singh Mann and others. These things show that the Government wants to go further in the same breath. On the one hand the Government wants to normalise the things and it wants to release the packages for Punjab. It wants normalcy and it wants a solution to the Punjab problem. On the other hand, it uses the same repression and it uses the same tactics. Therefore, it clearly shows that the Government is not at all serious to solve the problem and it wants to keep the issue alive. So, the Government must come out with such things which will pave its credibility, which will prove that it is sincere to solve the problem of Punjab. We have made it amply clear so many times that the Government can establish its credibility only when it will concede to the demands and when the Government will take it as a political problem and solve it in a political manner and not as an administrative or law and order problem using force to end this problem. Why I say this is because the Government has followed this policy for the last so many years. It must come to the conclusion that the policy followed by this Government has failed and it could not solve this problem. The bullet for bullet policy has proved counter-productive and it has not helped the Government in solving this problem.

Sir, I will take only two more minutes. The first and foremost thing is the Government must release Sardar Simranjit Singh

Mann, why is the President of the Shiromani Akali Dal; Sardar Prakash Singh Badal, who is a reputed and respected leader of Punjab; Sardar Gurucharan Singh Tora, Shri Manjit Singh, Shri Harminder Singh Sandhu and all the young boys. A general amnesty should be declared so that those people who matter, could come out and the Government can hold negotiations with them and talk to them.

Instead of keeping them inside, they should declare general amnesty. The second thing the Government must do is to take action and to give full compensation to the victims of communal riots of 1984. Punishment should be given to those who are responsible for it or who instigated it or who were involved in these riots, whosoever he may be and in whatever position he may be. And the third point is about the use of repression or use of force and stoppage of fake encounters because Punjab has become a police State and there are so many complaints against the police officers and the police administration. Our colleagues from this House also went to Batala and saw everything by themselves. So many organisations have gone there and they have come out with this impression that the civil liberties, civil rights of the people are not more there and they are being curtailed. Women and young people are being harassed by the police force. Under some pretext, other considerations are also being worked out. So, fake encounters or use of repression must be stopped.

As was pointed out by somebody, no national leader has ever preached for secessionism from this country. They have never said it and never challenged the unity and integrity of this country. It is the state terrorism. And I must say, State terrorism must be stopped. The injured feelings of young people and sikhs, whether they are harassed in combing operation or otherwise, must be restored. State terrorism is the main reason for this continuance of violence in Punjab. Nobody likes violence. We all condemn violence in whatever form it is, whether it is by the State or by any other persons. Violence can never be advocated.

The last point which I would like to touch upon is that the Sikh religion and the Akali Dal people believe in secular principles. Sikhism is the most secular religion in the world today. We never preach and we don't hate other religion. The Government, instead of teaching secularism by *danda* or by legislation, must believe in persuasion and education so that all religions are respected in this country. Nobody should apprehend and fear that if elections are held who will come forward. Let the new people be elected. There are changes in the Government. Changes are there in a democratic manner whether these elections are to Panchayats or to other bodies. We would like that the democratic institutions and processes must be started in Punjab and democracy must be restored. Elections to SGPC must be held immediately to know the thinking of the sikh psyche.

With all these things, I would request the Government that instead of extending the Presidents' rule, it must do everything to bring normalcy in this country. And they must also prove their credibility and *bona fides* and should solve this Punjab problem. It is basically a Punjab problem. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI JAGANNATH PATTNAIK (Kalahandi): Mr. Chairman Sir, so far as Punjab problem is concerned, on thing we should keep in mind is that national interest is supreme and all other interests are subordinate to it.

Secondly, within this period there is a definite improvement in the situation of Punjab, especially after the Operation Black Thunder and the bold package of measures aimed at speeding up of normalisation process that was announced by the Prime Minister and is being implemented sincerely. We are observing that with the active role of the Congress Party, the Left political parties and various organisations, there is a mass movement to resist terrorism. Many villages resistance committees are formed and many individuals are coming forward to give information. This is a definite improvement.

The intelligence is doing in a more efficient manner than previously. We have passed many Acts in the Parliament and those Acts are being implemented in a proper manner. That is also a definite addition in improving the situation there.

There are now various incidents in which people have chased out the terrorists and terrorists are fleeing away from the area. This is also a definite improvement.

The sanctity and purity of the Golden Temple and other religious institutions are being restored and the real devotees are heaving a sigh of relief and they are in a position to go there and worship.

The nexus between the terrorists and the fundamentalists has been reduced to a great extent. All this improvement in Punjab is due to the efforts of the Congress Party and the Left Parties. It is also due to the Parliament's wisdom in passing various laws. The masses of Punjab have now risen to the occasion and the people are coming forward to give information. They are chasing out the terrorists. In addition to all this the political change in our border country, is also a definite step forward in this direction. Till now the imperialist forces were trying to create destabilisation in our region. They are still active in Pakistan. Still the Punjab terrorists are getting shelter there. For all the black-markeeters and smugglers it is a paradise. There is a nexus between the Pakistani terrorists, a part of their army and the Punjab terrorists.

There are various incidents of innocent killings and it is still going on there. Taking the present position in view, in this critical juncture the Governor has given a right picture and keeping his report in view, it will not be proper to restore and elected government there right now. Therefore the Government has come forward with the right resolution that the present term should be extended for six more months.

Apart from all this, I would like to stress

[Sh. Jagannath Pattnaik]

upon a few points. There should again be a meeting of all political parties to review the implementation side of the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. You know that despite all the sincere efforts of the Central Government and the Prime Minister, the State Governments of Punjab and Haryana could not rise to the occasion then and it became very difficult to implement the decision that Chandigarh should be the capital of Punjab and Haryana should be given due compensation. There was such a proposal and the Eradi Commission went into territorial and water disputes. But the then Chief Minister, with the plea that the Commission had gone far away from the broad agreement, rejected this idea. It is high time that we should refer this matter to a Judge of the Supreme Court, with the prior agreement that everyone will honour and abide by the decision and it should be implemented with all sincerity. Otherwise, despite all the good intentions of the Prime Minister, it is very difficult to implement the accord.

Time and again, the Congress has proved that national interest is prior to party interest. When all the opposition parties were opposed to the idea of having elections in Punjab, the elections were held — everyone knew that and I myself was the observer — in a democratic manner. There was less of problem and people came forward in thousands to vote and there was even 70% to 80% voting in several constituencies. But since the Government there, could not fulfil the wishes of the people and because of their infighting and inefficiency, the Government collapsed and it is a different aspect. In Punjab, we are still observing that terrorists killing and innocent killing are going on. But there are no communal riots. In many towns, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are staying together in large numbers; but there is no mass killing. That is a good indication. Because of the Prime Minister's recent bold declaration, there is a sense of self-confidence in the hearts and minds of the people of Punjab. So it is right time that all the political parties should rise to the occasion and say that the national interest is supreme

and direct their State parties to abide by the national decision. Simultaneously, we have to keep in mind that unless and until the unemployment problem is solved and some industrial development takes place, the problem cannot be solved.

Keeping in view, the long pending demand for electricity, the Central Government had sanctioned Bhatinda Atomic Power Station. All these steps are in the right direction. Similarly, the unemployment problem should be solved and industrial development should take place. We have to create a sense of upsurge in younger generation. We should understand the agony and anger of the victims, whichever religion they may belong to. They should be duly compensated and the most sensitive issue is about the compensation and rehabilitation of Delhi riot victims. This problem should be solved immediately. They should feel that we are taking all measures to protect their rights and their interests, and to punish the guilty. Nothing more to say. At the end, what I want to say is that to normalise the political situation in Punjab, all the political parties should come to a consensus. They should again review the Rajiv-Longowal Accord and implement it in the true sense. Despite the improvements made there, there are still some killings going on and the political processes are not in a position to take up the responsibility. Keeping in view the larger interest of Punjab and the country's integrity, the President's Rule in Punjab should be extended for six months more.

[*Translation*]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Statutory Resolution brought forward by Shri Buta Singh.

First of all I would like to congratulate the people of Punjab, whether they are Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims or Christians, for the sacrifices they have made in facing the terrorists. I congratulate for their relentless fight against the terrorists to restore peace in Punjab. Our Lok Sabha is the biggest temple,

biggest mosque, biggest Gurudwara and the biggest Church of the democracy and under our democratic system we do not want President's Rule to continue for more days. But the thing I want say is that there have been a lot of changes in Punjab since last two years of President's Rule. Yesterday, somebody was telling that 2000 people and 250 police personnel have lost their lines during the period of the President's Rule. But whatever efforts the Government is making in this regard is to restore peace and normally in Punjab.

Sir, I have heard the speeches made by the hon. Members of opposition parties. When we were discussing Punjab in the House different Members of opposition made different suggestions. Some one was saying that if Panchayat elections were held in Punjab, the terrorist would capture the booths. Some other was telling that the duration of the President's Rule in Punjab should be for three months only, one of the hon. Members, belonging to the Lok Dal said that the Congress is doing nothing in the State. All the hon. Members of opposition put there views in accordance with their own political thinking. Different Members made different suggestions.

I would like to appraise the hon. Members of opposition that the Punjab problem is the biggest problem for the country. It is a national problem. Just as heart is the most precious part in the human body and it needs to be made stronger, similarly Punjab is the heart of India. If Punjab is divided it will be as good as the heart of India is divided. I would like to see that Punjab whose youths made maximum sacrifices in the freedom struggle. I want to see that Punjab where the agriculture revolution took place. I want to see that Punjab where Guru Nanak said that Hindus, Muslim, Sikh Christian are all equal and all of the are the citizens of India. I want that peace should be restored in Punjab at the earliest.

Sir, I would like to congratulate the hon. Prime Minister for his decision to release the Jodhpur detenus. I would like to congratulate the Government for the permission

granted to the foreigners to enter the State.

Sir, I have highest regards for Shri Madhu Dandavate. He is a pretty senior Member. But one thing I would like to make him aware of is that Punjab problem is not such a problem in which we should play politics. No political party, no individual should play politics in this problem. What are the reasons that an hon. Member of Parliament from the Rajya Sabha made a statement in the U.S.A. that Khalistan would be formed by 1999, Punjab will be turned Khalistan. Why does he make such statements? Why do not you control that Member? I would like to request the hon. Minister to bring about an amendment in the constitution so that the Member of Parliament may be disqualified as a Member if he makes any anti-national statement abroad no matter whether he belongs to Congress, C.P.M., C.P.I., Janata Dal or any other party. No political party is bigger than the country. There is no priority above the country. The country is the biggest priority. If you could do so, it will be very useful for the country.

Sir, I fully agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta when he says that the political parties should go to the grass root level and jointly work against communalism and terrorism. It is a good suggestion. I, therefore, ask you to constitute a team comprising of Members from all political parties. They should go to every village in Punjab and make mass contact. It is not from any political party's platform but from the press platform they should make mass contact. If such a step is taken, people in Punjab could be explained about terrorism. It will be possible to create a sort of awareness among the people against the terrorists.

Sir, at the time of Panchayat elections in Punjab it should be seen that the terrorists did not capture the booths. Terrorists are the most dangerous forces in our country. They receive help from Pakistan and term several other countries. They get external help as well as help from within the country. You have to see that common men are elected in the Panchayat elections in Punjab.

[Kumari Mamata Baanerjee]

16.00 hrs.

We have highest regards for those who have made sacrifices for Punjab. Several hon. colleagues from the opposition said that the Congress party did not do anything. If it is so, may I ask them to name any other party which has made so much sacrifices. Office bearers of the P.C.C., Office bearers of the P.Y.C. Officers of the block Congress. President of the P.Y.C., his father, President of the N.S.U.I., his father, our Prime Minister, the President of the District Congress, M.Ps, M.L. As., Sarpanchs made sacrifices. Other people also made sacrifices. Sant Longowal was a party in signing the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. He had to sacrifice his life for that. We have full regards for him. Others also made sacrifices. The people have made sacrifices. But the political parties want to politicise it. It is not proper. The opposition parties should joint with the Congress in making efforts to solve this problem. So far as this problem is concerned, there should no party consideration at all. The people were victimised there. The police personnel were killed. I request the Government to arrange a rehabilitation package for such families. It is the duty and responsibility of the Government to look after the family members of people who made sacrifices in solving this problem.

Finally, I would like to say that the Punjab problem should be solved at the earliest and a democratic Government should be restored there.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have become tired while speaking about Punjab. Even then we are not withdrawing ourselves from our duty.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You have become tired, but we have lost out lives.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: The terrorists are increasing the score of people being killed in Punjab day by day. The tears have

died up in the eyes of the people. Discussion on this issue have taken place in the Lok Sabha a number of times. Discussions have been held under rule 193. Discussions took place at the time of Punjab Budget. Discussions have been taking place in every session. There has been to let up in it. We can hold discussions on this issue upto June-July. Efforts are being made to hold the elections thereafter. But what are the reasons behind this problem? Everybody knows as to who flared up terrorism in the State. First, the house was set up fire, now the fire is not extinguishing. In this way, the matter was aggravated by you. Now, it has gone out of your control. Now, it has become difficult for you to extinguish the fire. You held the elections and took a number of measures. Even then the problem could not be solved. When Shrimati Benazir Bhutto took over the reigns of administration in Pakistan. We thought that situation will now ease, Shri Rajiv Gandhi also held talks with her. But what are the results? Arms and ammunitions are coming from abroad. It is clear that these weapons are coming from Pakistan. Our party extended its full support to your recommendations of raising a security belt. Three years have since elapsed, but nothing has been done in this regard. Why do not you check inflow of arms and ammunition through smugglers. You have stated and Shri Bhatia has said that during the imposition of President's Rule in the State there has been a fall in the killings of police personnel. That means there have been more killings of people. Kumari Mamata Baanerjee said that only 250 police personnel were killed. You say that during the period of President's Rule 2000 common men and 250 police personnel were killed. Is it a low figure? A number of our party activists and the State President were killed, but no action has so far been taken in this regard. When we asked you to release the detenus. You did not listen, but they were released later. You hold the elections in the States where the Congress Party is in power. Why do not you hold elections in Bihar? You said that elections would not be held in three districts. Where the terrorists have a much bigger hold. Are you going to strengthen democracy by holding elections? Are you

ot aware how we are meeting the challenge of naxalites in Andhra Pradesh? If anybody comes to fill up nomination papers against the naxalites in Gram Panchayat, Mandal Parishad and Zilla Parishad elections, he is threatened with dire consequences that he will be killed. His wife is being threatened to advise him to withdraw from the contest, otherwise. She would become a widown. In this way elections are held unopposed there. The Governments of Shri N.T. Ramarao and Kondapalli Sitaramiah are running in the State. When Ramarao's Government fixed the price of liquor at Rs. 4/- per litre, Sitaramiah's Government fixed it at Rs. 2.50. The contractors in the State are making distress sale of liquor at at note of Rs. 2.50 per litre for the sake of their lives. If anybody turns an informer, he is being killed. There is no difference between naxalism and terrorism. When you people do not want to hold elections to Municipal Corporations why are you trying to hold elections to Gram Panchayats. When elections will not be held in three districts what is the need of holding elections in other districts. Terrorism will hold way over the elections and power will pass into their hands. What will you do thereafter? You are interested in power only. You should pay attention towards this too. What have you done to pay compensation to 2700 people who were killed in 1984. What have you thought about their children who are in trouble. Just now an hon. Member was saying that Rajivji has said that he did not know how many people were arrested and against how many people action was taken. It is my submission that security belt should be created as soon as possible. If there are no charges against 'detenus', they should be released as soon as possible. You should own the mistake which you have been committing for the last four years. In the end, I want to say that 'Gram Panchayat' elections should not be held there. With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the very outset I must thank you for according me the opportunity to take part

in this most important debate concerning Punjab. Ever since I was declared an unattached Member over two years and some months ago, I was not given a full opportunity of expressing my views on Punjab which is the most vital subject these days. So, I am very much thankful to you.

Before I go to the subject, I must place on record my objection to the procedure which is adopted in putting the subject on the Agenda by the Home Ministry. It was done in a most cryptic manner and in a slipshod manner. All of a sudden, this supplementary Agenda was added yesterday as if the Home Ministry never knew till last Friday that this was an important subject which had to be taken up.

Yesterday, when my friend was speaking here, he said that the Opposition was not cooperating with the Government on this national issue. His statement was correct to some extent. It is a national issue undoubtedly but for the Congress the toppling of the Government and then imposing the President's Rule has become a national scheme and a national programme. Today, I stand up to oppose the extension of the President's Rule with all the force at my command and there are reasons for that.

2 years ago when the Proclamation was moved in this House I with a very heavy heart supported that Motion. The reasons was that at that time the situation in Punjab was such that the people were reeling under most corrupt Government at that time.

It was declared in the national Press as the most corrupt Government of Mr. Barnaia in those days. Therefore, I had no option and I had to choose between these two options. Every third person in Punjab was saying that the 40-member Government of Mr. Barnala was a gang of "Alibaba and 40-Chor". This was the name given to the Government in those days. It was a minority Government. It was supported by the Congress and the Congress was using that Government for their own purposes. It was, I should say, a puppet Government and the Central Gov-

[Sh. M.S. Gill]

ernment was ruling in proxy. Therefore, for these reasons I had to support the proclamation at that time. I had to choose the lesser evil and I choose supporting that Proclamation. But now the situation is different. I never knew that that lesser evil in the due course of time will grow to such a colossal dimension that people will again be crying under the President's Rule.

The situation in Punjab is such that although it is said that some improvement is going on but the people are feeling that this Government under the President's Rule is not only inefficient but it is also corrupt and that there is the most oppressive police raj in Punjab because that President's Rule is nothing beyond that.

I will give you an instance. You must have read the news in the papers about 2-3 days ago— 'The atrocities on Women'. In Gurdaspur district one family was living outside the village in a farm house and the widow was having 4 daughters and 2 minor sons. The police went into the house all of a sudden, caught hold of those girls. They were laid prostrate in the compound and the police people put their wooden rods on their thighs. They then pressed those thighs till the girls were unconscious. They were removed to the Police Station. This is a reported case. And when the village people went to the rescue of those unfortunate girls, they were told that these girls were having illicit relations with the terrorists. This is what has happened. I do not defend them; they may be having illicit relations with the terrorists. But what can they do? What can the poor people living in the farm houses do? It is the Government which has failed to protect the innocent and poor people. Government should be ashamed of this situation.

Then, again the police goes and commits atrocities on women and then it is said that they have illicit relations with the terrorists. In the day time the police people move out in uniform but as soon as there is dusk, there is a rule of the terrorists. There is a rule

of AK-47s in certain areas. In spite of the fact that such a big force has been sent to Punjab, nobody dares to go out in the night. Even the Punjab police, the CRPF and other paramilitary forces stay in their barracks in the night. These AK-47 people go to the houses and wipe out total families and do whatever they like. They commit rape, arson, looting, kidnapping and even murder. In the morning the police goes there and tries to collect the articles of the house as evidence in the case. Even the blood stains on the walls are removed by those people saying that they are going to prepare a recovery memo for the case. No case has ever been put in the court so far! This is the state of affairs.

There is yet another instance in Gurdaspur District. Now the Central Government is talking about powers to Panchayat Raj and so on. In Gurdaspur District, one SSP whose name, if I remember correctly is probably Govind Ram collected 35 members of the Panchayats and Sarpanches. They were laid down prostrate before the people and given a shoe-beating. Of course, one credit must be given to that man that he gave five shoes per Panch and six shoes per Sarpanch. There was no discrimination in that and he was very careful in all these matters. Then the matter was investigated. Mr. S.S. Ray, Governor of Punjab admitted in public that it was a fact and it happened so. He appointed the Commissioner of Jalandhar as an inquiry officer who reported that the allegation of the people was correct. But then what happened? The official is still there and he is being promoted as a DIG. Of course, if this is the way they are going to give powers to the Panchayats, then the people of Punjab will know what is going to happen.

Now it is being argued very vehemently that though the Central Government is prepared to solve the Punjab problem, the Akalis are not cooperating with it and they have not joined the Cabinet Sub-Committee for a dialogue. Now, may I ask one question? If the topmost leaders of the party, about ten in number are detailed in different jails, scattered all over India for the last two years,

what can the second and third ranks of that political party do? These leaders are still detained in jail on flimsy grounds and on baseless and concocted charges. Shri Prakash Singh Badal was detained for one year. Then, as soon as he came out, he was again detained. Same is the case with Tohra Saheb and so many other leaders. Still you say that the Akali Dal is not cooperating. Cooperate with what? What are your plans? What are your actions? What do you want to tell the people? Have you got any policy proposal? If there is any such thing with the Government, the second and third rank leaders will get permission from their leaders in jail and talk to you. But do you have any substantial plan of action? You people are just eye-washing the public on these grounds. You have absolutely no ground. As my friend has said,

[*Translation*]

The fire has been lit, which cannot be extinguished by them.

[*English*]

It will take some time before they are able to do that.

Now, I come to the ground for the extension of the President's Rule in Punjab. Five or six grounds were given in the Governor's Report for the extension of President's Rule. The report says that elections cannot be held in Punjab and if elections are held, no single party will be able to form the Government. This is the first point of the Governor's report. I am sorry to hear it. How can the Governor make a judgement that no party will be able to form a government if elections are held? As far as the argument that elections cannot be held is concerned, it is self-contradictory. When they themselves are saying that Panchayat elections and so many other elections will be held, this argument becomes baseless.

Secondly, the Governor has reported that there is an improvement in the situation. He says that nobody is raising the Khalistan

slogan and nobody is using the Khalistan flag and no charters on Khalistan are pasted anywhere. Further, the report says that now the people not attending the *Bhogs* as they used to do previously. And thirdly, they say that in spite of all that, there is a change of mind in Punjab.

If these are the reasons for extension of President's rule, then there are only two ground—either there is an improvement as they say or there is no improvement. If there is no improvement for the last two years, then there is no justification for the extension of the President's rule. If there is sufficient improvement as they say, then there is no reason why a democratic process should not be started in Punjab especially when they say that Panchayat elections will be held and also all other elections.

So, the extension of President's rule under these circumstances is absolutely baseless.

Then there are reports in the papers that so many AK-47s, bombs and other things were recovered. Of course, it is appreciable when they say that they have recovered so many arms. But the Central Government should tell us as to where from these weapons have come during this period, in spite of the fact that crores of rupees have been spent on the border for fencing and so on. These weapons are coming straightaway. It is a challenge to the Central Government. If smuggling of weapons into Punjab continues, then I am sure that in spite of our best wishes, Punjab problem will not be solved in the near future.

With these few words—I know the time is short—I am opposing the extension of President's rule in Punjab.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to seek some clarifications from the Government regarding extension of Presidents' rule want to submit a few points through this House.

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

First of all, instead of juggling with words the Government should have categorically admitted that they have failed in bringing peace in Punjab after dismissing the Akali Government and therefore, they want extension of President's rule. They should have said that in view of this failure, one more opportunity should be given. But instead they say that the situation is under control and that is why they need one more opportunity. Shri Chidambaram has himself confessed in the Upper House that the killing percentage which was 3.6 during the Barnala Government has increased to 9.1 during recent months. If killings have increased then what are they proud of?

Everybody says that Akalis have not cooperated with the sub-committees. Akalis were just pondering whether to cooperate or not, because it has to be viewed in the historical perspective. We had been cooperating since 1982 and in the process our party broke into several factions. We have always cooperated. During the time of Shri Longowal when Shri Badal and Shri Tohra broke away from the party even then we continued to cooperate. We wanted to place the issue before the country. We wanted that the party should not break. Shri Longowal became a martyr. He was assassinated. I have stated many times earlier in this House that the way Punjab Accord has fizzled out and the way Barnala Ministry was dismissed after being in power for 19 months, every sikh leader of standing will think ten times before coming to the negotiating table. Therefore, the country has to think why relevant leaders are being rendered irrelevant. The people who want remain in the mainstream of the country, why are they being rendered irrelevant and why is their honesty, patriotism and loyalty being questioned? Why are they being suspected? Now, I would like to draw your attention to these things.

A sub-committee was set up. We were thinking whether to join the sub-committee or not, when the Governor made a statement that there is no solution to the Punjab prob-

lem till the elections are held. I would like to ask is it really true that there is no solution at all to this problem if the Governor says that there is no solution? Suppose the elections are not held in December and January and the life of Parliament is extended for another year. Does it imply that there will be no political solution for the next one and half years? When the Governor speaks like this he speaks irrelevant. I would request Buta Singh through you, that the Governor should be ordered to withdraw his statement because this is undemocratic and is contrary to the Prime Minister's programme and the statement that are made daily in the House regarding early solution to the Punjab problem. Therefore, in view of the statement made by the Governor, nothing can be thought of and it is an insult to those people, who urge everyday that all the political parties should come together to find a solution to this problem. Not only this the statement made by the Governor would encourage the terrorists to do whatever they want because a political solution is not insight. This statement is wrong. I would strongly urge the Government to withdraw this statement.

A feeling that is strongly gaining ground is that there will be no solution to the Punjab problem. The Punjab accord flopped because of Haryana. The Barnala Government was dismissed just to win over Haryana. Generally the people ask that if Central Government was serious about Punjab Accord, was any place selected upto 25th January, 1986, for the capital of Haryana in place of Chandigarh or was any proposal formulated? When the people found that no such place had been selected for the capital of Haryana in place of Chandigarh upto 25th January they were clear in their minds that the Government neither intends to give it nor would it ever be given. It created distrust. I would like to say that you should take steps to remove the feeling of distrust that has been created and bridge the gap between the people and the Government. People in Punjab believe that the Punjab problem is not going to be solved till such people are there and such statements continue to be made. Such a feeling should not come.

Now the Panchayat elections are being hailed in such a way as if that is a cure of the entire disease. As if that is a remedy to the killings, riots and chaos that occurred during the last nine years. Panchayat elections is not an achievement to be proud of nor is it a gold medal to be won at the Olympic in Korea. I want to tell the country that the Panchayat election is not the solution. You will repent if Panchayat elections are held. If you are honest enough why don't you hold elections to the Municipality, which have not been held for the last twenty years. They should be held first. 25 per cent of the Punjab population lives in villages and 15 per cent in the cities and majority of the selective murders are committed by the terrorists in the villages and that too at night. There is peace in the cities. Election should be held in the cities first.

I want to say that the word 'Khalistan' should not be mentioned in any way on Radio and T.V. I feel that separatism is being preached more by radio and T.V. I would strongly urge the hon. Home Minister, through you, to put Badalji, Tohrajji, Sukhjinder Singhji, Shekwanji together in the Dehradun jail so that they can think unitedly. They have been kept separately a far of places.

An attempt on the life of Sardar Jagdev Singh Talwandi was made some time back. He was a statement that the murderous attack on him was a well-planned plot. I want to ask the hon. Home Minister as to what happened to the enquiry in this regard. Efforts are being made to hush up this case and nothing is being done in this direction. Sardar Simranjit Singh Mann has been involved in the larger conspiracy after four and half years. I want to urge the Government to review the case because it seems to be weak case. Rs. 11,00/- per panchayat and per village are being collected in Punjab to fight the case. This matter should be clarified and if we have concrete evidence we would not create any hinderance in the course of law. The case had come to an end with the execution of two people. But then a new case, was filed after four years. This will launch an era of distrust. Therefore, I urge

the Government to seriously think about it.

In the end, I want to point out to police harassment. I want to submit to the hon. Home Minister, through you that when the passport of Sardar Didar Singh's son, a member of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee was sent to the village for verification, the policeman asked for Rs. 5000 as bribe. When he said what would he do if the money was not paid, the policeman replied that he would write that his son is a terrorist. Sardar Didar Singh did not pay the money and the policeman wrote that his son was a terrorist. Now, just see the interesting part. The police has declared him a terrorist. We met Mr. Chadha, R.P.O. of Jalandhar, and told him about it. He sent two private people to enquire. They asked from every body in the village even the children who vouchsafed that he was a poor farmer who works all day in the field and he was not at all a terrorist. He did not even know any of the terrorists. Now the R.P.O. is submitting the private report to the Chief passport Officer that Didar Singh's son is innocent. What will happen where the police reports that a person is a terrorist whereas the people know that he is not. Many such cases are coming to light and this is spreading distrust among the people.

There are *Dadhi, Ragi, Pracharak, Kavishar, and Shayar* among the *sikhs* who preach the teaching of Guru Nanak and *Guru Granth Saheb*. If they write their profession in the passport as *Ragi, Pracharak, Dadhi*, they do not get the passport for 2-3 years. Therefore, I request the hon. Home Minister that arrangements should be made so that they get the clearance within 2-3 months.

I conclude by expressing my dissatisfaction, and opposing the extension of President rule.

[*English*]

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars): I rise to oppose the Resolution for extension of President's rule in Punjab.

[Sh. Piyus Tiraky]

We must remember that Mr. Sidharath Shankar Ray was the Chief Minister from 1971 to 1976 in West Bengal. At that time, emergency was there. Because of the actions he took in West Bengal during emergency, he became the last Chief Minister of the Congress. Perhaps, people would not like any Congress man to become the Chief Minister of West Bengal. We had experienced the worst form of terrorism in West Bengal under his administration. Now the same man is in Punjab. He is not representing the sentiments of the people of Punjab. It is his sentiment that the police raj should remain in Punjab and if any elections come, the Congress should come back to power in Punjab. That is his intention and nothing else.

So far as I know, the Union Government is not interested in solving the Punjab problem. They are trying to politicise the situation there. We have heard that so many terrorists have been killed by the police. A number of terrorists are being killed or shot dead every day by the police on paper. If that is so, from where are these terrorists coming and their number is increasing everyday? Violence is increasing. We do not understand this logic at all.

Police terrorism is there. And the police is making the people terrorists because of its activities. We know what happens in the administration. The actual culprits are not caught but the innocent people are caught by the police. In Orissa you have experienced this. In other States also we have been experiencing this. The thieves, the killers and other culprits roam about freely and the innocent people are caught in order to complete their record.

I admire the wisdom of the Government. They are not ready to have the Assembly elections in Punjab but are ready to have the Panchayat elections. Our experience is that Panchayat election is more difficult than the Parliament or Assembly elections because all the candidates come to the village level

and people are directly and actively involved. The sentiments of the Punjabi people must be respected. The people of Punjab want a popular Government and they should be given an opportunity to choose their own government. Barnala Government was a popular government but it was dismissed by you. Now the people should be given another opportunity to have their own government through elections.

With these words, I oppose the Resolution for extension of President's rule in Punjab.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ayyappu Reddy. Five minutes for you.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: Sir, I will not take more than ten minutes for both the amendments together.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, five minutes.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: Five minutes for each amendment, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, five minutes.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: It is not possible, Sir. Anyhow, I will try to be very brief.

Sir, but for the Fifty-ninth Amendment of the Constitution, this Resolution would not have been possible. The Constitution, as it stood prior to the Fifty-ninth Amendment, imposed a time limit of two years. By way of Fifty-ninth Amendment, we extended the time limit for President's rule in Punjab. Even the Fifty-ninth Amendment works itself out in a year. Therefore, it is imperative that a solution must be found for Punjab problem within a year.

Why I have tabled amendment for three months instead of six months is to show the urgency. Otherwise you are going to land yourself in a Constitutional deadlock. After the Eighth Lok Sabha comes to an end by December, the Ninth Lok Sabha will come. Unfortunately, this Eighth Lok Sabha was not able to solve the Punjab problem. We are

bequeathing a very complicated Punjab issue to the Ninth Lok Sabha. We do not know about its composition. If the Fifty-ninth Amendment of the Constitution is not further extended, then there will be a Constitutional deadlock. Therefore, there is an urgency to find a solution.

Now, what is the position today? You do not have anybody to speak to. On behalf of the Akalis, unfortunately Mr. Barnala, to whom we paid encomiums in the Presidential Address in 1987, was dismissed in May, 1987. He now stands discredited. He is not even in a position to take to the Union Government. Then, there are S/Shri Badal, Tohra and Simranjit Singh Mann. The latter is facing a conspiracy charge against him, a larger conspiracy case which has been instituted against him belatedly after four and a half years. This very case itself is pestering the wound of Sikh psyche which was showing signs of healing. As was said by Ramoowalia Ji, in every village funds are being collected for this case. With this case on the one hand and with the treatment which was meted out to Mr. Barnala, is there any person on behalf of the Sikhs to talk to or to negotiate with the Union Government? Now the leadership of the Sikhs has been completely destroyed. On the other hand, you are not even on talking terms with Mr. Devi Lal Ji, who is the man who matters so far as the Haryana Government is concerned. Therefore, today the position is you do not even have persons whom you can talk to for a solution.

The Prime Minister has announced a package. Unfortunately, it has not created any impact. There are no takers for this package. Now, finding yourself in a hopeless position, you have announced the *panchayat* elections, as if the *Sarpanches* are going to speak to you. Is this new leadership of the *Sarpanches* going to speak on behalf of Punjab and offer a solution? It is impossible that the *Sarpanches* will be in a position to offer you any solution. Moreover, you are not able to understand the risk of the *Panchayat* elections. We have got an experience of it in Andhra Pradesh. The Naxals are able to command.... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now please conclude.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: Sir, if I am speaking sense, you allow me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I agree that you always speak with sense, but there is the constraint of time.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: Then you must allow me. Otherwise, this debate and discussion will have no meaning.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, time constraint is there.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: You have wasted so much of time on other wasteful things. I will complete in five minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: Sir, we have got the experience in Andhra Pradesh. The Naxalities command and dictate that such and such person must be elected as *Sarpanch*. Now, friends were asking that if the extremists and the terrorists can interfere with the Punjab elections, then how are you pleading for Assembly elections and Parliamentary elections. Parliament has very big constituencies, Assemblies have fairly big constituencies, villages have very small constituencies where the appearance of one or two terrorists will scare away the people. Therefore, it is always possible in small constituencies to scare away the people to impose a *Sarpanch*. That has been our experience in the Naxal influential areas in Andhra Pradesh. In Karimnagar district, the Naxals appear and ask that this person must be elected as *Sarpanch* and he is elected as *Sarpanch*.

Therefore, the Panchayat elections are not going to give you any type of way for finding out a solution and on the other hand, it is fraught with disastrous consequences. If it is fraught with disastrous consequences and the *pros* and *cons* of it have not been studied by you properly and have not been under-

[Sh. E. Ayyapu Reddy]

stood by you properly. Therefore, the imperative necessity for you is to hold elections for the Assembly and here is a Governor who says that he recommends that the President's rule must continue on a most unconstitutional ground saying that no Government, no party will be in a position to form a stable Government there. It is totally uncalled for and unconstitutional and therefore it there is the necessity for you to extend it, please do not extend it beyond three months, hold the elections within this time itself so that you can have an elected Government with whom you can talk, with whom you can negotiate and who will be in a position to find a solution for the Punjab issue.

SHRI BHADRESWAR TANTI (Kaliabor): Sir, first of all, I oppose the President's rule in Punjab because of the fact that the ground given by the Governor for extension of President's rule in Punjab is not acceptable or satisfactory. How could the Governor know the situation and say that the atmosphere is not congenial and no party can come with absolute majority and form the Government in Punjab? He is not a computer. Now, what are they doing under the President's rule? They are inciting the terrorists. People are fed up and they are leaving their place because of fear. There is 'Police raj' in Punjab.

Sir, recently, in my State, at the instance of the police 26 persons were killed at Rajapukhuri in Assam-Nagaland border and their houses were set on fire. In Punjab also innocent people are killed. Even for a minor case, if a man is arrested, the Government says that he is a terrorist and if he is a terrorist, then I must say that the Government of India is a great terrorist here. You don't have any solution for the problem. You don't take the Members of the Opposition into confidence to find out ways and means to solve the Punjab problem. You are the master of toppling the democratically elected Governments. Recently you have toppled the Government in Karnataka State which

was democratically elected and now you are trying to topple other non-Congress-I Governments in other States also. How can you rely on the Governor alone? (*Interruptions*) How will you find solution for Punjab problem? You have to find ways and means for this. Merely by paying Rs. 150 crores for flood relief, etc. and by making announcement of packages to the people of Punjab will not help. Now, who are the beneficiaries in Punjab? The persons who are hold high office are the real beneficiaries and they are terrorising the people over there. Sir, ours is a civilised country and in a civilised society, rule of law must prevail. At the instance of Police, atrocities are committed even on minor girls. My friend has just now mentioned this. For no fault of theirs, they were arrested and they were taken to hospital in an unconscious conditions. We know that terrorism has no place in a civilised country like ours. But do you have any solution for the Punjab problem? Do you take the people into confidence to find out ways and means to solve this burning problem? The situation in Punjab is alarming not only in Punjab, but in the entire country. Many volcanic eruptions have taken place here and there. I do not know whether the Government has any open mind to solve it. So, I warn the Government that if they merely go on announcing the package and passing the Bills like the Panchayat Bill and all that holding panchayat elections, that is not good. You must have an open mind to find the solution in a democratic manner. Then only you can solve the problem, otherwise not.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the Home Minister may speak.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am indeed grateful to the hon. Members...

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central): Sir, you give us at least some time to speak on this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: After the Minister I will give you the chance.

DR. DATTA SAMANT: You have not allowed me to speak. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will allow you. Please take your seat.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: This is final reply. You are not giving us the chance.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is a Third Reading also. I will allow you at that time. Please take your seat.

S. BUTA SINGH: Sir, it is not my case that we want the President's Rule in Punjab (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry, there is no Third Reading.

(*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: May I request you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, that you kindly permit them two minutes each so that we can meet their points also.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. I will request hon. Members not to come at this late stage and say that they want to speak. If you wanted to speak, you should have been here earlier. But you come whenever you like and want to speak. What is this?

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN: You allow us a chance to speak on this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your name is not there. Your Party Members have spoken. All right, I will give you all two minutes each. Now, Mr. Kabuli may speak. Mr. Kabuli, you take not more than two minutes.

SHR. ABDUL RASHID KABULI (Srinagar): Sir, at the outset I must say the Punjab issue is directly connected with Kashmir because Kashmir tourism and development, roads and communications and everything is affected by the Punjab. Therefore, our development is not possible without the political solution to the Punjab problem.

Sir, we are interested in the solution of the problem, but you have to discuss with the moderate politicians of Punjab. There is no other way out. Sir, the extension of the President's Rule is not going to help and the Governor's contention that it is not possible that a single party can form a government there is not valid. It is not his headache. It is absolutely out of his jurisdiction. I mean, it is the will of the people after all that matters. If any Party is not in a position to form the Government, then many parties can join together and they can form the government. It is not necessary that one single party should come in majority.

Sir, the hearts of Punjabis are bleeding and late Indiraji had said that we have to give a healing touch to the Punjabis. Today, this has been the complaints of Punjab, the Punjabis feel denigrated everywhere, and being in the neighbourhood of Punjab we know that there have been atrocities of police there, and there have been complaints of rape and arson. That is very unfortunate in a democratic country like ours. In Punjab there have been many instances of fake encounters. Well, these complaints have come and you have to find some solution, you have to give them hearing and you have to prove your innocence. This is the responsibility of the Home Department that you have to probe, you have to go inside deep into it. Otherwise, many forces outside the country are utilising this against us. This is making our image tarnished in the polity of nations all over the world. Therefore, I would request that politicians like Tohra, Badal and others should be released. After all, they have been moderates, they have been cooperating. If there is any difficulty, that can be resolved, but the only solution to the problem is that it must be solved politically, there must be a political solution to the problem and also this can be done by releasing all detenu in Punjab and having a direct dialogue with them.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the extension of Governor's Rule or President's Rule in Punjab will not solve the problem. By this way this may continue to show that ultimately police

[Sh. Amar Roypradhan]

terrorism will be must more in Punjab and ultimately there will be more killings. It is a national problem; we should have a national outlook also. But I am sorry to say that the Central Government has no national outlook. According to Election Commissioner's verdict there should be a national party. But the Congress Party does not have the national outlook. If you go through the newspapers you will find that on Punjab issue, Haryana Congress takes one kind of stand, Punjab Congress takes another kind of stand Chandigarh also takes some other kind of stand. This is the hard fact.

Sir, it is a political problem. To solve this problem, we should have a political solution. Yesterday, I have gone through the hon. Home Minister's speech and he has got a complacency that the position has been improved and the law and order situation has been improved. Sir, only the other day, i.e. on 7th there have been 30 killings in Punjab. You have dismissed the Barnala Government on the ground that within a week in 1987, there were 79 killings. Within these two years from 12th May, 1987 to 31 January, 1989, there were 2,688 killings, and I think, in the meanwhile this must have been more than 3,000 or 4,000. This is the hard fact. Regarding the Panchayat elections, I have to say one thing, do not put oil or ghee on the fire, do not try to test Panchayat elections in Punjab. You may have so many tests in various other States. You may have it in Maharashtra, in Gujarat and in Bihar, but do not have it Punjab. If you want to have it, then make it Assembly elections. We want mass campaign programme; it should be there.

16.57 hrs.

[SHRIMATI BASAVARAJESWARI *in the
Chair*]

May I know one thing Madam Chairman? Through you I ask the hon. Minister about the mass campaign programme. We have started mass campaign programme.

My party may be a regional party, but we have started the mass campaign programme with other political parties the Akali Dal (Longowal) Party. We have started the mass campaign programme, I remember, on the 28th Feb., 1987. We have started it from Chandigarh. After the meeting, you have stopped it. May I know what is the reason behind it; why you have stopped it? I know you thought, at that time, that the mass campaign programme was not necessary. It is because of the Congress Party and the partisan attitude of your party, you have stopped it. You thought fit that Governor's Rule is sufficient enough. This Governor is making allegations against the public and said that the political parties have become irrelevant in Punjab. He said, before the Lok Sabha elections Punjab problem cannot be solved. What a fortune teller is Mr. S.S. Ray! He says that the Punjab problem cannot be solved before the Lok Sabha elections. If a political party has become irrelevant, I think, it is the Congress (I) party which has become irrelevant. By saying all this, he thought, let there be dictatorship in Punjab. We condemn it. I know this Governor has started his work by removing the statues of Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Chandigarh.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS
(S. BUTA SINGH): No, it is no correct.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: Yes, he has removed it; you enquire and see. The statues of Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose were on the roadside. I do not know whether it was in the Governor's sphere or the administrator's sphere, but he said let the Mahatma Gandhi's statue, let the Netaji Subhas Bose's statue be removed.

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI (Satta): Do not settle the scores of Bengal in Punjab. You leave it in Bengal itself.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: At present it is not within his jurisdiction to remove it. But he did dare to remove it.

17.00 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I think, only by releasing Jodhpur detainees and putting them into another jail will not solve the problem. If you want to have a negotiation with the Akali leaders, then you should release Mr. Badal immediately.

It is a political problem. We should forget petty politics, in Punjab at least. Whatever parties we may belong to, let us have a national approach and let us be united to solve the problem of Punjab. Implementation of Rajiv Longowal Accord and campaign are also necessary. That is the only solution.

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central): Sir, it is the fifth time that the Government is coming with the extension of President's rule in Punjab. Every time we are hearing the same assurances. If a question is put as to what political democratic processes you have developed in Punjab to bring normalcy, I think, the Government is having no reply for that question. Despite the police force and para military force, killing of the people by terrorists has gone up. During day time, police are harassing the people and at night time, terrorists are harassing the people. People are living in Punjab under threat. What steps have the Government taken in the last two years to see that the political process is set in? Now the Panchayat elections will be held, which have been postponed from May to September. I think, suddenly every body started talking about the democratic process, Panchayati raj, Panch and everything. I think, it is a very dangerous proposal, as far as Punjab is concerned, at present.

S. BUTA SINGH: There should be a trade-union Raj!

DR. DATTA SAMANT: Already there are reports that terrorist have started giving threats to all your people, Congress and other people that they should not contest. When the forms will be filled, as happened in

Sri Lanka, two or three contestants would be killed and all will withdraw their nominations.

Third thing is, he has said that now the terrorists are becoming separated from politicians and nobody is entertaining them. But at the time of elections, I do not think, the Congress or any other party will be able to fight the Panchayat elections. It is because, if there are two or three killings of the candidates by the terrorists, everybody would withdraw. Then, these Khalistanis; terrorists and their supporters may dominate in the political process and you are going to create another problem. The hon. Home Minister has already lost a number of years without solving the problem of Punjab. The problem went on increasing in spite of whatever we discussed. Therefore, this process is not going to help.

The Governor, Mr. S.S. Ray has said that the law and order situation is well established. I do not think so. People are fed up with the police. People are fed up with the terrorists. But I do not think, any other party, or political process is existing in Punjab. Even the bank deposits have gone down. It is 30% less than the average and the working of the people has also gone down. That is the thing.

The other day, the Governor had taken a Press Conference and he had himself stated that the political solution was the only solution but added that it was not possible to come for the time being in Punjab, or at least it was not coming till the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections. He had already announced that the detained Akali Dal leader, Mr Prakash Singh Badal would not be released. See the way in which he is taking the Press Conference in Delhi and making all the bold statements and giving his decisions. The people are fed up with terrorists. But these ruling Party people are not in a mood to have a political process set in. Terrorists and Pro-Khalistan sentiments and fanatics would definitely dominate because this is the process of democracy you have in your country, with religious fanatics always dominating and that is going to happen in Punjab.

[Dr. Datta Samant]

Last month, in London, I think, a Pro-Khalistan conference was held and it was attended by a vast number of people from many countries. They passed some resolutions. The first resolution was, Indian militants must continue till their demand of the Khalistan is met. Again, Pakistan is aligned with Khalistan and Pakistan will give recognition to Khalistan. The third resolution was also passed. The Afghan rebels, Mujahideens were also represented in the meeting. If in Afghanistan, they are elected, they are going to recognise Khalistan. It has come in the press and BBC and everywhere in broad daylight.

At least inform the Parliament and the people as what you have done and why they are allowing such type of conferences and what type of propoganda is done. There is no question of sympathy in whatever promises and assurances the hon. Minister is going to give. This Government has miserably failed to implement any of the assurances given on Punjab. On the contrary, to encourage this fanaticism, this Government is responsible and, therefore, it is not going to work.

Therefore, I oppose this resolution moved by the Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at no point of time was there any case from this side that we propose to continue the President's Rule in Punjab for ever. Most of the hon. Members, it seems, have spoken under this impression that we want to perpetuate the President's Rule in Punjab.

The history of Punjab in the past five or six years is the history of very serious developments which have taken place. The unity of the country was threatened. In Punjab, violence on an unprecedented scale has been unleashed and it continues. Innocent lives and property were lost. Punjab State was put under almost virtual battle-like conditions and the people of Punjab have braved the situation with lot of courage and have

shown their exemplary resolve to maintain the unity and integrity of our country even at the cost of their lives. This is something which the House has earlier also appreciated and this is something which sustains the efforts of the Government and other political elements in Punjab which are fighting terrorism religious fundamentalism and separatism in Punjab. It is in this background that one has to understand the events which are taking place in Punjab for the last three to four years, specially after the State was placed under President's rule. Much has been said about Shri Barnala's Government. There could not be a better example that we continued to support Shri Barnala even when his own party was tottering and he was coming to a minority and the country had thought that he was fighting for the nation and that we must support him. To the extent that even the President made a mention of his laudable role in Punjab towards the unity of the country, keeping the fundamentalist forces away from the public life. But when the actual situation on the ground was getting out of hand and the terrorists were getting shelter from the official quarters, it was at that point of time, that a situation developed that with the involvement of certain officials and certain people of power the terrorists were getting not only encouragement, they were getting respectability also. On the other hand, there was a regular campaign under the garb of social reforms which was going on on a very large scale in the rural and urban areas and people were made to do certain things according to the designs or the wishes of a group of people. The Government officials were banned, their entry was banned in the villages. A sign-board used to appear at the entry point of the village that no government official will be allowed to enter the village. It is under these circumstances that we have to apply this very very hard measure. No Government, either Central or State, would be too happy to have President's rule because it is the will of the people which must prevail and even the last elections to the Punjab Assembly were held at a very heavy cost. I remember, the hon. Leaders from the Opposition were not in favour of having that Assembly elec-

tion there. The people in Punjab, even the political elements in Punjab and some Parties very very vociferously came out that the situation didn't recommend holding of Assembly elections at that time. It was at a grave risk, at a very heavy cost that the elections were held. The people of Punjab came out with a verdict, a Government was elected and at that point of time—I want to remind Shri Ayyapu Reddi and my friend Shri Tanti who is not here—we were never motivated by any political gains for our political party. It is a pure and simple exercise to let the people of Punjab have an opportunity to elect their own Government. It so happened that the Government came into being. The Government did some very good jobs also. But at the same time, the main fire which was taking the toll of lives at a very very high scale could not be stopped. On the contrary, it was trying to settle down. As I said earlier, respectability was being extended to the terrorists, to the religious fundamentalists under the name of *Amrit Prachar*. This august House must know that *Amrit Prachar* is a very very holy ceremony among the Sikhs. Every Sikh born must undertake all the Amrit. But the way in which the *Amrit Prachar* was being propagated in Punjab was to create a sense a separate element. After all, where do the Sikhs come from? Mostly, the Hindus get baptised. They become Sikhs. The history is full of such instances. Every Hindu family used to have at least one child baptised according to the Sikh rites. This is the *Amrit Prachar*. But a new trend and a new turn, was given to the whole *Amrit Prachar* as if something an Army was being raised against India and the rest of the country. That kind of a situation was developing at that time when the President's Rule was introduced in Punjab. Now, when I stand before this House, I am happy to report that that kind of a trend has been curbed completely. If there is any improvement in the situation, my friends from the Akali Party on the other side will realise that it is this positive achievement which we find in Punjab today. There is no such movement in Punjab where the people are roused either under the name of *Amrit Prachar* or the so-called social reforms to stand against the

country, to stand against the majority community i.e. the Hindus or to have something separate other than the Indian citizenship. Therefore, it is this trend that has been halted and that has been arrested which is a great achievement, I should say.

Sir, it is to be realised only by those who know the social structure of Punjab. I am sure, Shri Kabuli must be knowing it. I do not blame Shri Ayyapu Reddy because he does not know as to what is going on in Punjab. He has spoken about the Naxalities of Andhra Pradesh. May I tender a small piece of advice to Shri Ayyapu Reddy? In Andhra Pradesh also, it is due to the respectability that the Naxalities have got through the unintended statements of the hon. Chief Minister like "The Naxalities are our brave brothers." When the brave brothers take things into their own hands, then they become a head-ache for the Chief Minister. He finds it very difficult to contain them. Therefore, this kind of a tendency or this kind of an expression which lends the respectability to these elements—becomes a problem for the whole State, for the whole people. Therefore, may I repeat my humble piece of advice to Shri Ayyapu Reddy? I would like to say that in Andhra Pradesh also these elements do not deserve any kind of respectability. They have to be dealt with in the manner in which they understand this language. Either they should fall in line, give up violence or accept the constitution of India. If they want to bring revolution, I would say that our country has shown to the rest of the world, under Mahatma Gandhi in a most peaceful manner, in a non-violent manner, we were able to overthrow the mightiest Government of that day. Yes, we require radical changes in the rural areas. Who says that the tribals are not exploited? Who says that the weaker sections are not exploited, the agricultural labourers are not exploited? I dare say without any fear of contradiction: where are the minimum wages being given to the landless labourers? I want to know. There is a large scale exploitation. But that exploitation has to be arrested through peaceful means, through the constitutional means. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIJOY KUMAR YADAV (Nalanda): In how many years?

S. BUTA SINGH: Well, the struggle may be long. But we hate to have bloodshed. Mahatma Gandhiji refused to accept even Independence if it is coming through violence. He said: "I will go without Independence if it has to come through violence. I will live as I am. But, no violence." Therefore, question can be asked of your State Government also. How long? If Marxist Government cannot ensure these radical changes in their States...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI BIBHA GHOSH GOSWAMI (Nabadwip): Under the Constitution?

S. BUTA SINGH: Yes, under the constitution. They have come into being under the Constitution. They have not come into being under the manifesto of the Communist Party. But let us see how radical they are. They are no different. Unfortunately, the most dominant sections of the society tend to influence anybody whom comes to power. That is my contention. Therefore, in Punjab also, if the so-called Reforms Movement was purely the Reforms Movement, nobody would have stopped it. But under the garb of Reforms Movement, what was being preached—hatred, communal divide and the people were driven away from the mainstream of our national life. That is why, I say these are the positive achievements.

The second aspect of the Punjab problem is the continuing battle which is going on between groups of terrorists and law enforcing agency. It is a very hot kind of a situation. And it has to be met with very heavy hand and with full determination. I do admit that the places, there are incidents which have come to our light also. In certain areas and in some cases, there have been police excesses and the Government has taken steps and quite a number of senior officers have been removed from service wherever such things have been brought to the notice of the Government. Enquiries were held and who-soever was found guilty was taken to task.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Governor has only the day before yesterday, announced at the district level, the formation of two kinds of bodies involving the people of the district of all shades of opinion—politicians and other professionals who are representing the people. These two bodies have been given the task (1) to attend to the grievances of the people of that areas and (2) to attend to the developmental aspect. The most encouraging feature of Punjab problem is that they are fighting a grim battle, a very difficult situation. Everyday, we read in the paper about the loss of life and loss of property. At the same time, Punjabis have kept their tradition. The development on the economic front has also been quite encouraging. If I were to share with this august House some the achievements of the last three to four years, it is a record of which we ought to be very proud. During the last two years, Punjab progressed considerably. The House must appreciate that the Punjab's growth rate which came down to three per cent in 1987 from ten per cent in 1981 is again going up and expected to be eight per cent shortly specially in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandary, poultry, etc. So far as food production is concerned, paddy, rice, wheat, oilseeds, cotton, sugarcane, sugar, fruit, vegetables, milk, poultry etc., are the areas where bulk of population in Punjab is engaged. During the disastrous drought last year, Punjab was the only State which kept its target and gave 3.5 million metric tonnes of rice to the national pool. At this very moment, Punjab is going to harvest an all time high record of 12 million metric tonnes of wheat. It has exceeded the target fixed for it for oilseeds production by the Technological Commission. The sugarcane and cotton production is increasing at an encouraging rate and their quality is now being accepted as one of the best. It has given 885 MW power to its grid in the last two hours only. Rs. 550 crores have been invested during this period for industry. 67 new units have come up, 37 of them have already been commissioned. There are various other aspects of economic development especially in the construction area.

Rapid strides have been made in the sphere of industrial investment. In the last two years of the Presidential rule 25951 small scale units have been established with a total investment of Rs. 235.22 crores and a generating employment of 75444 people. For medium and heavy industry units, during the last two years 40 applications for letters of intent were made by the Punjab Industrial Corporation, out of which 28 were granted and 8 have been converted into industrial licences. This is the progress achieved during the most difficult situation in Punjab by the people of Punjab under the President's rule.

Much has been said about Panchayat election and the reported statement of the Governor of Punjab. Hon. Members themselves admitted it while reading from the Press Conference of the Governor. What he seems to have replied to the Press is about the present moment. Nobody can claim that at the present moment there can be abruptly any political solution out of the Punjab fallacy. It has to come with the involvement of all the political parties.

Much was made about the non-performance of the Government of India, that it is not willing to offer a solution to Punjab, that we are politically motivated etc. So many Members, Dr. Datta Samant and even Shri Amar Roypradhan went on to say that we want to have a political mileage out of it. The situation in Punjab is too serious to be taken in that manner. No political party worth the name, much less the Congress Party, will try to fish out of the most difficult situation in Punjab for a political mileage. It is a national problem and we view it from that angle. We always attach utmost importance to the people of Punjab, to their lives, to their property, to their well being, to their law and order and to their security. These are the most important aspects of the Punjab problem. Therefore it is no use just for scoring a point that you make a light remark on such a serious situation.

Shri Ayyapu Reddy said, healing touch in Punjab has not been given and he said

that there were no takers for the Prime Minister's economic package. I cannot blame Shri Ayyapu Reddy because he does not have the first hand feel of the ground from Punjab. Whatever he reads in the Press, he speaks here. That has been tremendous impact on the situation in Punjab through the various steps which were taken after the announcement of the Hon. Prime Minister in this august House.

Shri Charanjit Singh Walia, Shri Ramoowalia and Sardar Mewa Singh Gill made a mention of the release of Jodhpur undertrials. These are not the cases which have been withdrawn because the people were innocent. It is a process. It is a step towards making the people of Punjab feel that they are not being prosecuted and that the political process can also be started although there were heinous cases, very serious cases. But as the Hon. Prime Minister had given an assurance to the country through this august House that we will do everything possible to see that this kind of a feeling of hurt is removed, that we have taken a calculated decision to remove that kind of a feeling that the cases against these Jodhpur undertrials were withdrawn. Not that they were innocent, cases were there and those cases would have gone on. But we were keen that this kind of a feeling must be removed and I am happy that all the undertrials in Jodhpur were released. Now, out of 79 people, against whom there were cases even before they were picked up under that common charge—there are cases, crimes in which they were involved, that has also been solved to a large extent,—only 33 remain which are being considered by the State Government, which are being reviewed. Therefore 194 people who were released from Jodhpur, have gone to their houses. Out of 79 people who were kept behind by the Punjab Government, only 33 are there, whose cases are being reviewed by various courts. These cases have nothing to do with the common feeling that they were booked on charges of developments in Punjab.

Therefore, Sir, similarly, the withdrawal of cases for objectionable speeches: out of

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563 cases, only 126 are pending before various Courts or are being reviewed and a decision will be taken. A large number of cases have been withdrawn for objectionable speeches and writings that have taken place during this period.

Sir, already I mentioned in my speech that the restriction under the Foreigners' Act for their visit to Punjab was removed. This is one step; for the people coming from abroad and especially the foreigners, who wish to go to Punjab to see for themselves, the situation in Punjab, this restriction was removed on the 4th of March 1989. Now, Punjab is free and anybody can go and see it for himself.

The Disturbed Areas Act and the Arms Forces (Special Power) Act also, are now being used only in very very limited area in Punjab; to a few areas in Gurdaspur, Ferozpur and Amritsar Districts, this is applicable; for the rest of all the nine or ten Districts, this has been withdrawn.

Similarly, instructions for the use of TADA : The Punjab Government has already given a set of guidelines issued by them in the past and they have proposed to reissue by them in a consolidated form. These are being examined and we have already instructed the Punjab Government to see that very very sparingly and at a very high level, the Officers take a decision on whether the cases would be booked under TADA. Similarly, the special amendments for Punjab under the National Security Act have been withdrawn.

Sir, the biggest thing in Punjab is the functioning of the police. For the past a little over five years, the Punjab police has had a new experience of meeting the situation of sporadic violence. The cases of hit-and-run, the cases of bank-looting, the cases of grabbing and forcible entry into the premises—this was a kind of situation which the Punjab police was never prepared for. Therefore, the maximum para-military forces were inducted and the abnormal situation existed in

which the police was given more powers to deal with the situation on the ground. As a result of various representations, reports and the people's interactions with the administration at the district level, through the District Committees, a decision was taken to post a senior-most police officer in Punjab to look after this aspect. One I.G., Anti-Corruption, has been posted and D.G.P. has been asked to give a report on the action taken against corruption, corrupt officers and this will be reviewed at the highest level. As I said in the beginning itself, a number of people have been removed from service because of complaints that have come to the notice of the Government. We have also evolved a method of monitoring and especially a new mechanism to guard against the police excesses. A personnel computer has been installed at the State headquarters. This computer has started functioning in most of the vulnerable police stations and areas which are heavily under the strain of terrorist activities whereby they will monitor on daily, weekly and monthly basis. This monitoring will reflect the normal working of the police as well as anti-terrorist actions specified for the given period at the police station. Necessary equipment has been installed. Police officials have been trained in that. This will help us in getting the feedback from the ground about the normal functioning of the police stations.

The Governor has already announced formation of district committees for development and also there is a scheme which the Government of Punjab is going to implement for providing defence to the villagers through the voluntary contribution of the villagers themselves. Mostly the ex-serviceman and ex policemen will be mobilised and they will be given necessary training and arms for guarding their own villages. There has been wholesome response to this scheme in certain villages and it will be extended to more areas so that the villagers come forward to defend their own villages.

Most of the Members have criticised Panchayat elections. Well, it is a question of assessment. Firstly, the Panchayat elec-

tions are not going to be fought on political lines. These are going to be people's own elections without any political 'Khalal'. The idea is first to draw the people to the democratic process. It is very good to say why don't you have Assembly elections? Well a lot of political propaganda will start and you know the Assembly elections have their own way to go about whereas Panchayat elections are purely local, by the people themselves and without any political 'Khalal'. Further we will gauge the situation. The elections are not going to be in one go in the whole State. This is a process which will be set in motion in parts and we will watch as the process goes along. Therefore, in a way it is going to be an experiment. It is very difficult to usher in all of a sudden the political process in a State like Punjab which has been braving bullets for the last five years. It is an attempt and we have taken into consideration the views given to the Cabinet Subcommittee by the political parties. Therefore, the step that the Governor has announced about the Panchayat election is a very very cautious and a calculated step.

DR. DATTA SAMANT: Your efforts are laudable but do you expect the elections to be fair in the villages under terrorism effect?

S. BUTA SINGH: Hon., Members from Punjab will bear with me that this is a worth taking experiment. It will be fair elections because the terrorists operations at the moment is confined to a belt all along the border. The other parts of Punjab are comparatively free. I do not say no incidents are taking place. Incidents are taking place but as has been suggested by the Cabinet sub-committee and agreed to by most of the political parties in Punjab it is a well-thought out strategy. The political parties will have to give the back up by mobilising the people against terrorists and the Panchayat elections will not be contested on party basis. People in Punjab have shown lot of courage against terrorism and, as such, we have a hope that people will succeed. Secondly the elections are going to be in a phased manner. We can start district-wise or Division-wise. Therefore, it is an experiment which, I

think, is worth trying and we must give change to the people to come out and have their democratic set-up at least at the village level. Some of the hon. Members were objecting to the Congress Party's new move to give power to the Panchayats. I think it is not for me and this is not the occasion, to join issue. Perhaps after a long time this new revolutionary step has been introduced by the hon. Prime Minister to give power to the people in the whole of India, especially in the rural areas. This is something which must be welcomed by all sections. Shri Ram Narain is not here. He mentioned about Devi Lalji's opposition. Well, in the meeting of the Chief Ministers with the Prime Minister, I was also present. In that meeting he was the only Chief Minister from the non-Congress States who openly appreciated and supported the Prime Minister's new programme of giving power to the people, especially the panchs and sarpanchs. I do not know from where Shri Ram Narain got this impression that Devi Lalji opposed it. Of course, he did join the group photo of the Opposition Chief Ministers but he did support the Prime Minister in the meeting on this revolutionary steps. I think it is by compulsion because Haryana is predominantly a State in which every village has a Panchayat and it is predominantly a rural State. I do not think that Shri Devi Lal could afford to oppose this kind of a revolutionary step. Therefore, he had to fall in line and he supported it. Shri Ram Narain also said that this Punjab Accord was carved out without the participation of Haryana. This is not true. This Accord was welcomed by this House. This Accord was discussed in the respective State Assemblies of Punjab and Haryana. This Accord was discussed at length in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on the 6th of March. A detailed discussion took place. Again in the month of March, in the Assembly of Haryana Vidhan Sabha, a lot of time was devoted to discuss this Accord. There is a resolution also by the Assembly and it urged the Government of India to complete the SYL in a record time, supporting also the various other provisions of the Accord. If Ram Narainji's case is that the present Government has not been taken into confidence, then I can say only 'Sorry,

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this Government was not there at that time' It is the people of Haryana through their elected representatives in the Assembly have given their blessings to the Accord and I agree with the hon. Members that this is the only basis on which the Punjab problem could be resolved. I am thankful to the Opposition parties and their respective leaders who have come out with their complete suggestions to see that the remaining part of the Punjab Accord is also implemented. Sir, there have been occasions on which the Punjab Accord was discussed, replies were made and we had the opportunity of representing the Government's point of view which I do not want to repeat. But unfortunately, the very nature of the Accord is such that the Government of India can do nothing of its own. We can only assist the State Governments, namely, the Governments of Haryana and Punjab. The issues are bilateral and they have to be implemented by joining the hands of both the States. Unfortunately, it has not taken off. We were trying very seriously. There were points on which we succeed and also a points on which we could not succeed. We were held up. Commission after Commissions were appointed to see that some way could be found out. But in the process, Haryana got a new Government. Shri Devi Lal announced that he does not own the Accord. Now, can anybody who has studied the contents of the Accord over imagine that the Accord could be implemented of the Chief Minister of Haryana has disowned it publicly? If the hon. Members belonging, especially to the Janata Dal, still contribute to the view that the solution to the Punjab problem could be found out only through the Accord, which is a national stand—the Government has come to this House and most of the political parties have also agreed to this solution to the Punjab Problem can be only within the frame work of the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord. Then, in that case, the Janta Dal Party and the Government owns to this august House and to the rest of the country to pledge their faith in the Accord, to support the Accord. On the one hand, the Chief Minister has declared

that he does not own the Accord, that has nothing to do with the Accord, but on the other hand, every next day he makes a statement that SYL canal must be brought to Haryana within the speed time. I fail to understand how can he, on the one hand, say that he has noting to do with the Accord, and on the other, say that they should get the fruits of the Accord, which is the SYL Canal. It is very ridiculous position, which I fail to understand. If the Chief Minister and the Haryana Government want the canal to be completed, then naturally it can only come through the Accord, it cannot come outside the Accord. I would again appeal to the Haryana Government, to their party, which fails to take a clear stand on any national issue, that at least on this issue, they should be very clear. It has been accepted by this House and the whole nation. They should fall in line and contribute to the Accord so that an early solution could be found to the problem of Punjab.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: One clarification. It has been reported that the congress units of Haryana, Punjab and Chandigarh and Rajasthan have taken different stands on the Punjab Accord. Will the Union Government try to evolve an understanding in the AICC itself on this Accord?

S. BUTA SINGH: I am thankful to Shri Ayyapu Reddy that he has read some reports from the press. But let me tell him that both the PCCs in Haryana and Punjab are committed to the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord. At no point of time, they have claimed that they do not have their commitment to this Accord. It is only the utterances of some of the Janta Dal leaders which are throwing spanners into it. and that is why some political elements here and there are voicing their views about it. There is no different whatsoever in the basis issue of the Accord.

Hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta had asked for some details about the 1984 riots and he said that it has not been reported by the press. May I for the benefit of this august House again recall to their memory as to what has been done? Shri Walia also made a mention about the relief not having been

given to the victims of the riots. I would just render a simple account.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You said that these things were not being published in the press. The Government should be interest in seeing that the people get to know that these actions have been taken. But there is a total blackout; it is mystifying. If you had given it to the press, they would not have surely blacked them out.

S. BUTA SINGH: I thought that a statement coming from the highest office of the land, the Prime Minister, would be quite sufficient. The press in these days seems to be a little different—I cannot express it—they do not pick up things from this side; they pick up most of things from the other wise. But for the benefit of the august House, I am going to repeat what has been done about the cases. I am going to share it with the House.

In November 1984 riots in Delhi, the total cases registered are 225 and the persons involved in these cases are 2390. Cases which have been disposed of are 93; and the persons involved are 379. Convictions took place in 11 cases in which 80 people were involved. In the acquitted and discharged category, there are 68 cases and 231 people involved. Pending cases 132 and 1950 people are involved.

These are the cases pending in various 16 courts and the High courts in Delhi.

Now, about the relief measures that were taken, the gratuitous relief of Rs. 7.07 crores was given and the beneficiaries covered were 2494 cases of death at the rate of Rs. 20,000 per head; 2603 cases of injury at the rate of...

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Sir, can the Home Minister give the section under which these cases were registered and the sentences or imprisonment awarded?

S. BUTA SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will definitely communicate to the Hon.

Member the details about the cases in which the conviction has taken place and the cases in which the acquittal has taken place.

I was talking about the gratuitous relief. There were about 2603 cases of injury, 3537 cases of damage, damage to property worth Rs. 83.38 crores in 375 cases of property insured but without riots covered. This was a special dispensation; where the riots were not covered, under the insurance were also given compensation. Rs. 2.82 crores were given in 2038 cases of uninsured properties. Loan amounting to Rs. 33.94 crores in 6745 cases were given for restarting the business. Adhoc relief at the rate of Rs. 400 per month was given to 274 widows and 71 persons above 60 years of age for 10 years. Allotment of 1980 tenements was made to 960 widows and 1020 other riot victims. 30 widows were given shops on platforms. 560 widows were provided with Government and semi-Government jobs. These are some of the steps and I agree with the Hon. Member that there cannot be a complete compensation.

We are also in touch with the Lt. Governor of Delhi. We are reviewing the whole thing periodically and wherever there are hardship cases, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Delhi Administration takes a liberal view and we will continue to give relief to those who suffered during those most ugly riots.

SHRIM.S. GILL: Sir, according to Mishra Report 145 'Gurudwaras' were burnt and damaged. Has any compensation been given for that?

S. BUTA SINGH: Sir, luckily for me, I was the Minister for Works and Housing. The orders were given that all gurudwaras were to be repaired at the cost of Delhi Administration. Therefore, if there is any case still pending, I would welcome the Hon. Member to forward it to me so that necessary instructions could be given to the Delhi Administration for doing that job. These are some of the steps that we have taken.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: As you know, a Committee especially set up for this purpose had recommended that action should be taken against your former M.P., Mr. Sajjan Kumar, and that he should be prosecuted for his complicity in the riots. Why no action has been taken in that matter?

S. BUTA SINGH: Firstly, the statement is not correct. No specific allegation was made by anybody against the former M.P. I cannot recollect it but I know for certain that no specific allegations were made. What was done was that wherever there were no FIRs lodged, new FIRs could be lodged at that stage also. In that some people made certain allegations giving names of some people connected with some of the political leaders. In that case also a private citizen had gone to the High Court challenging the jurisdiction and the terms of the reference of the Committee. The case is still pending in the High Court. Therefore, there is no substance in that. I will again check up but I am sure that no specific allegation was made against the former Congress M.P. So, this is the status of that case.

Now, Sir, having gone into various points made by the Hon. Members, I now come to the amendments moved by Shri E. Reddy and Shri Patil. Even the contents of the amendments, supported my contention that there has to be President's rule. There is no way out. It is only a question of time; Shri Ayyapu Reddy wants it for 3 months. Therefore, for the time being I am coming to this august House with an appeal that we have to extend President's Rule. The hon. member has suggested in his amendment that it should be the last and final. The moment Punjab's situation makes it possible to have an elected government of people's representatives, I assure this august House that we will not waste a day more and we will come to the House immediately for that purpose.

DR. DATTA SAMANT: They will not come.

S. BUTA SINGH: We will come. Datta

Samantji, if you can advise your friends sitting both on your left and right, they can also contribute a lot. They are keeping away from all this process.

Some of the hon. members, specially from the Akali Party wanted to know why the top leaders were picked up. May I have to repeat in this august House that at that time when they were released, they were released with the hope that they would try to lend their support to bring normalcy back in Punjab? But soon after coming from the jails, what did they start doing? They started *gheraoing* the courts and district offices in the name of fake encounters. Now, is that the way to bring normalcy in Punjab? They were rather contributing to the situation which was already very tense. Therefore, my submission is that nobody is pleased to keep the representatives of the people behind the bars. But with a heavy heart, in the interest of the nation, one has to take that step. It was in this context that the step was taken and they were again taken into custody.

SHRI M.S. GILL: But the grounds for their detention were different... (*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: Hon. members know that under the direction of their party, they too must have participated in some of the district headquarters in *gheraoing* the district officials, who are doing the most difficult job. Therefore, what is expected of them is to come out and help the people of Punjab in fighting out the menace of terrorism. This is the need of the hour. Sir, I appeal to the hon. members of the Akali Party here. They mentioned so many things about state terrorism, etc. The difficult task of officials is quite often branded as state terrorism. Let me remind them that it is a very difficult task that the police are doing. They are doing it at the risk of their lives. If I give you the details as to how many police were killed, you will know the reality. They also lost their lives. Their people back home are also equally suffering the separation of their near and dear ones. It is a very difficult job. But nowadays, a healthy situation is emerging. I may also mention here that even an operation like

Black thunder was criticised by these top leaders of the Akali Party, when the whole country, the whole world and this august House know what was the limited purpose of the Black Thunder Operation. What was going on inside the Golden Temple? The human mind cannot even imagine the kinds of crime perpetrated inside the holy precincts of the Golden Temple. The holiest of the holy shrines was defiled. Police forces recovered about 50 dead bodies and skeletons from the debris of the Holy Akal Takht. That was the kind of a situation into which the Golden Temple was thrown into. And what had the Government done? They had made it possible for the devotees of Punjab and devotees of all religions to have a free *darshan* of the golden Temple. *Maryada* was restored. The worst kind of things were happening there which I cannot utter in this august House because the holy temple is so holy. I cannot even express the things that were happening inside the temple. Luckily, in that operation, the press...

SHRICHARANJIT SINGH WALIA: May I ask the Home Minister one question? What is the Government going to do about the management of the Gurdwaras who are responsible for all these things? Elections to these Gurdwaras are due for the last five years.

[*Translation*]

S. BUTA SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am happy that the hon. Member has raised the question of Management of the Gurdwaras. But I would like to ask him as to what was this Management doing during the last 5 years?

[*English*]

SHRICHARANJIT SINGH WALIA: Why the Government wants that the Management should continue?

[*Translation*]

S. BUTA SINGH: This is not my point

so far as the next elections are concerned, we are prepared to get the elections conducted immediately, if possible. However, the Management has never discharged their duty honestly. You see what has been happening in the presence of this management. It has created desperate conditions in Punjab.

[*English*]

That Management is directly and squarely responsible for what has happened in Punjab for the last five years. Do you want to bring that management back and restore them? They are already in control. (*Interruptions*)

Let me tell you that the Sikhs will never forget the bad deeds of that management. We have no objection, we will leave it to the people of Punjab. As soon as the process of normalisation and bringing in the democratic process takes place, I will definitely command to the Punjab administration to give a serious thought, if they can bring about elections to the SGPC. We have no objection.

But, Sir, I wish to at the sometime remind the hon. Members that it is the duty of the management of the holy precincts, Gurdwaras—these managements could not even provide the free performance of *Pooja* inside the Golden Temple—to provide the free performance of *pooja* inside the Golden Temple. Therefore, they have also to discharge their duties. I am sure the day will come soon, when we will have elected representatives to look after the affairs of the Sikh shrines also.

These are the various points which hon. Members have mentioned. I am sure after I have stated the circumstances prevailing in Punjab, the House will unanimously approve the Resolution that I have moved although a difficult step, but in the national interest we have to take that step.

I will request Shri Ayyapu Reddyji to withdraw his amendment.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Ayyapu Reddy, are you withdrawing your Amendments?

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: No.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shall I put both the Amendments moved by you together to the vote of the House?

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall now put the amendments moved by Shri E. Ayyapu

Reddy to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 1 and 2 were put and negatived

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall now put the Statutory Resolution to the vote of the house.

The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987 in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th May, 1989."

The Motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, we have got only two minutes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT): May I suggest that we shall extend the sitting of the House today, till 8 'o' clock or earlier or whatever time we fix. We have to take some of the legislative business also. We are extremely short of time. So, I would request that the time may

be extended by two hours.

SHRI. C. MADHAV REDDY (Adilabad): Kindly verify whether the House is being extended. If not, then there is some meaning, if we sit up to 8 'o' clock.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): The Terrorist Act has to be extended because of the situation in Punjab. So, I also join the hon. Minister of State for parliamentary Affairs in making a request for the extension of time. (*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: There are routine Amendments. If the House can pass both the Bills unanimously, it will not take that much time. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY (Kurnool): If the House is not going to be extended after tomorrow, we have no objection sitting up to 8 'o' clock. But if the House is to be extended up to Thursday or Friday, then, we can have it tomorrow. (*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: In the morning also, I had requested the Minister of parliamentary Affairs through the hon. Speaker that this was the measure which had to go together, the Amendment of Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, with the continuation of proclamation in Punjab.

Therefore, I would request that the time may be extended.

SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT: May I request that we may extend the time of the House up to 2 more hours, today. (*Interruptions*) If we manage to finish all our legislative business by tomorrow, we need not extend the sitting of the House. But if we are not able to complete the business, then we have to extend it. It is difficult for me to convey the decision just now.

My submission is, it is for the Members to decide whether they would like to pass the Bills as they are. You can rise before 8 'o' clock. I have no objection.