

[Sh. K. Natwar Singh]

hope that such a confrontation will be avoided and we would like to avoid it. That is why we have said that we should keep the super-power confrontation outside and no outside influences should be allowed to come there and the Sri Lankan people should settle this issue peacefully.

May I say in conclusion that I once again thank the Hon. Members for their forbearance and patience? I conclude by saying that we fully share the concern of the House and deplore the killings of innocent women and children who are in no way involved with the political activity. Because if this situation continues, the greatest tragedy would of course come to the people of Sri Lanka. But it must have its repercussions on areas near Sri Lanka, particularly in Tamil Nadu. If the people of Tamil Nadu feel disturbed, then the whole of India feel disturbed. Thank you.

14.50 hrs

STATUTORY RESOLUTION *RE*
APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN
RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS
(S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Deputy Speaker,
Sir, I rise to move:

" That this House approves the proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab."

The copies of the Report of the Governor of Punjab and the proclamation have already been laid on the Table of the House.

Sir, this august House will recall that on 24th February this year we had apprised this House about the development in Punjab. In the debate which ensued the hon. Members gave their full support to the Barnala Government to fight fundamentalism and terrorism. Simultaneously an all party campaign was

lunched with the cooperation of the leaders of all the parties of both the House of parliament as well as the leaders of all the parties in Punjab with a view to combat the forces of fundamentalism, separatism, communalism and terrorism in Punjab.

It was hoped that with this all out mobilisation in Punjab we would be able to control the situation and restore peace and confidence among the people of Punjab. In all the four big rallies that took place in Punjab I had a very close touch with the hon. leaders before they departed for Punjab and after they came back from Punjab. Invariably all the leaders of the political parties used to tell me that although the people have started coming out to listen to the speeches of the political leaders and they have come out openly this is the first time that the people have felt that they can also assemble against terrorism and extremism in Punjab. But one specific suggestion by all the leaders was that this will lead only to the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and peace in Punjab if the local administration is favoured to curb with a heavy hand the activities of some of the elements operating in the rural areas of Punjab. The administration must gear up and especially the ruling party must pick up all the courage to combat these forces. Unfortunately their impression was that though the people came in a big way to attend the rallies and listen to the speeches yet the impression was that since these rallies are not followed by stern action much is not being done on the ground. This was the impression of all the leaders of the political parties and what followed subsequently is much more serious.

After the March rally in Amritsar suddenly these forces changed their *modus operandi*. Of course, the killings continued. They increased. In the past two months it has been an unprecedented period in the history of Punjab so far as the killings by the terrorists are concerned. The highest mark was achieved in the last month, that is, April

AN HON. MEMBER : How much.

S. BUTA SINGH: The law and order situation has deteriorated. In the month of

March 1987 there were over 300 incidents and about 65 persons lost their lives due to terrorists' violence. The month of April witnessed over 350 incidents with loss of over 85 lives-the highest ever in a single month during the past 4-5 years in Punjab. In the first ten days of May over 100 incidents took place with a loss of more than 20 lives. So this only shows a trend that the incidents are increasing and the deaths by these terrorists are also multiplying at an alarming rate. The terrorists continued to indulge in the brutal killing of the leaders of the political parties, police personnel, their family members and the innocent citizens. Even women and children have not been spared.

Sir, only recently the Governor of Punjab in his letter-that has been placed before this august House-to the President has inter alia stated that ever since the new fundamentalist movement commenced under the garb of social reform-I just now mentioned the phase of the tyrant-in addition to the killings of the innocent people and the police personnel, political leaders, they took up a new slogan in the name of social reforms. They started disturbing the very fibre of our social life in the villages. They started burning the shops dealing with tobacco products. They started looting and burning of shops dealing with liquor. They started stopping the barbers from making shaves. They started stopping the tailors from stitching clothes in a particular way. They did not want that modern dress should be stitched by the tailor. All sorts of people in the villages were put to harassment. Not only harassment, there used to be a regular parallel government, underground government running. A whole village will be warned with a wall poster that on such-and-such day some people will come. And unless the village is cleared of the liquor shop, is cleared of the barber shop, is cleared of the tobacco shop, the whole village will be put to harassment. Killings will happen and they used to execute all with immunity. The district authorities, the local administration used to be only the silent spectators. What was worse that authority stopped visiting the rural areas. Even the revenue authorities were hesitant. Nobody would like to go on duty

after the sunset including the police officials. This was the situation in Punjab as a result of the new turn given to the situation by the religious fundamentalists and the extremists in Punjab. Lawlessness, lootings, snatchings, bank robberies, burning of shops, kiosks, khokas and the brutal maiming and murdering of innocent people commenced with a renewed vigour. What made matters worse was the deep involvement of some of the State Ministers and their relations with the terrorists and the unwarranted attempted interference with the functioning of the Police by them and some of the leading members of the ruling party. Added to this was the totally irresponsible public attack made through the medium of Press and otherwise by one on the seniormost Ministers in the Cabinet against the head of the Police, the Director-General of Police himself.

Sir, the House knows, the whole country knows at what personal risks the Director-General of Police in Punjab has been discharging his duties. He has been branded communal. He has been branded interfering in politics. If there is any such officer in the whole country where there is a unanimity of opinion of everybody, of political parties, here is Mr. Ribiero who did not care for his life, who went all-out, who rejuvenated the Punjab Police, who brought life to the Punjab Police and he was really the spirit behind fighting a national battle against the separatists, against the extremists and the communal elements in Punjab. All manners of wild allegations, including that of even fostering communalism, were falsely made against him thereby not only greatly shaking the public confidence everywhere but also lowering the morale of the Punjab Police. Some of the Ministers even tried to denigrate the security forces deployed in the State

Sir, the beauty of the whole situation is that publicly they will run down the CRP. But when it comes to their personal security, they will request: Send us only the CRP. We have no faith left in our Punjab Police. That was the situation. The situation in Punjab called for an unambiguous directive to the administration and, in particular, police to tackle terrorism effectively.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Bahraich): When did this start happening?

S. BUTA SINGH: I think you kindly wait. When I finish my speech, you are free to ask me questions. However, there was neither a realization of the gravity of the situation nor the necessary political will to combat truly and seriously either the fundamentalist movement or the growing and unabated terrorism. The terrorists have been administering threats to the citizens with a view to terrorise them and to extort money from them. They extended their activities to educational institutions with the nefarious design of poisoning the minds of youngsters. The terrorists succeeded in organizing escape of their hard core members from police and judicial custody. They had been misusing religious places for secessionist and unlawful activities. They had been disrupting normal life in the State on any pretext, the latest being their call for Punjab Bandh on May 25 and 26, 1987. The State Government's writ ceased running in the State. The State Government had been aware of shifting of families of one community to places outside the State due to panic but no concrete action was taken to restore their confidence in spite of our advice in this regard.

The Governor had come to the conclusion that a situation had arisen in which the Government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and, therefore, recommended to the President for action under Article 356 of the Constitution and further suggested that the State Legislature might be kept under suspended animation for the present.

The Central Government sincerely wished that the Government of Punjab would give a good account in tackling the situation. It was with this objective in view that the Central Government made available every possible assistance to the State Government. We remained in constant touch with them. However, the situation in Punjab continued to deteriorate. Here, I must say that I have

every sympathy with Shri S S Barnala who had shown courage in upholding the secular democracy and did not bow to commands of the priests in the affairs of the State. Shri Barnala being a well intentioned person, perhaps wanted that the situation in Punjab should improve. Unfortunately, his closest colleagues in the Cabinet seem to have let him down and he became diffident in giving positive direction to the administration. The people lost faith in the capability of the State Government to protect their life and property and to bring about conditions in which they could live in harmony.

The House is aware that the Punjab accord was signed with the sincere hope that the Punjab issues would be resolved amicably and through constitutional methods. I assure the House that proclamation of the President's rule in Punjab should not be construed as standing in the way of its early implementation. The Government has been earnest in implementing the accord right from the beginning. The Government is committed to implementation of the accord and will make every possible effort in this regard. I also wish to appeal to the House that all party campaign against religious fundamentalism and communal fanaticism should continue. I have no doubt that Shri Barnala's cooperation and contribution in this campaign will continue to be of immense value.

The Central Government considered the Report of the Governor and the situation in Punjab and felt that there was no alternative but to issue the Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution and place the State Assembly under suspended animation. As such the proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution was issued on 11th May, 1987 and the State Assembly was placed under suspended animation to ensure that the President's Rule is not prolonged beyond what is absolutely necessary. I hope that every section of the people in the State would cooperate with the State Government to ensure that normalcy is restored quickly to enable the elected Government to function.

With these words, Sir, I commend the Proclamation issued on 11th May, 1987

under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to State of Punjab for approval by this august House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab."

Shri Ayyapu Reddy

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY (Kurnool):

Mr. Deputy -Speaker, Sir, it is tragic irony that this session which began with a fulsome praise for the Barnala Government in the forefront of the President's Address on 23rd February, 1987 should end with the approval of a Resolution under Article 356 of the Constitution dismissing the Barnala Government. It began with fulsome praise. But it is closing down with the dismissal of Shri Barnala's Government. The shadow of this coming event was seen hazily only yesterday when some of the members of the Ruling Party wanted that the law and order situation in Punjab should be discussed. Some sagacious political leaders have forecast that the President's rule was in the offing. But we were taken aback when we woke up to read in the papers that president's rule has been imposed in punjab.

15.05 hrs

[**SHRI SOMNATH RATH** *in the Chair*]

We have been in session from 23rd February. In this Session, neither the members from the Ruling Party nor the members from the Opposition ever raised any motion under Rule 193 or Rule 194 to discuss the Punjab situation. How is it that so many members-nearly 550-were immune to or unaware of what was happening in the Punjab ? This is the only Session where the Punjab issue was not discussed till today, i.e. till the imposition of the President's rule. I have characterised this as tragic irony. Let me substantiate my statement by chronological narration of the events.

Sir, this is what we find in the President's speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament. Para 3 of the President's Address says:

"In Punjab, the forces of democracy, unity, progress and secularism continued to be engaged in the struggle to isolate and wipe out the anti-national elements which are guided and controlled by foreign sources. Under the leadership of the Chief Minister, Shri S.S.Barnala, the State Government and the people of Punjab have shown exemplary courage in upholding the values of secular democracy."

This is the compliment that was paid by the President. And of course, other compliments were also paid. I do not want to repeat them. This was on 23 February 1987.

On 30th of March 1987, the Prime Minister while laying the foundation stone for the refinery at Karnal was reported to have made this statement. I quote:

"Shri Rajiv Gandhi stated here today that the law and order situation in the Punjab was improving now, as the anti-national and communal elements were being tackled effectively."

This was on the 30th March 1987.

On 14th April 1987, there was an all-party conference at Amritsar. One of the senior-most members, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao who was present there at that time stated that he had been sent by the Prime Minister to tell the people that the cases of Jodhpur Detenus would soon be reviewed. There also, he had paid, in no uncertain terms, glowing tributes to the effectiveness of Shri Barnala's Ministry. This was on 14th April 1987.

On 13th April, the Chief Minister of Punjab came here and had discussions with the Prime Minister with reference to the implementation of the terms of the Punjab Accord. Now, we have been informed by the Governor's Report that

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from middle of April, 1987, the fundamentalists have begun to adopt a different tactic, the tactic of reformation of society. From there onwards began the collapse of the administrative machinery. To control them effectively, he has well-chosen the date-15th April. It is quite clear. Any person who is aware of the political events would certainly pick up a date which will not come into clash with the statements made by the Union Ministers on the 14th April, 30th March and 23rd February.

Now, Sir, if I may be pardoned to say so, the Governor's Report is nothing but the usual strategy and formula to call it a dog and giving it a bad name before you hang it. This is the seventh time we have imposed the President's Rule in Punjab. On the previous occasion, it was imposed from October 6, 1983 to September 29, 1985. Let us find out, whether the previous experience of the President's Rule was far better than what was obtained during the 21 months, when Mr. Barnala was in power. There are two inferences which are being drawn on account of the imposition of the President's Rule. One inference is that the Punjab Accord has come to a dead stop and it has become a cipher. The Punjab Accord, which was welcomed by all political parties and which marked an historical change in the sequence of political events in India and which brought name and fame to Rajiv Gandhi, somehow or the other cooled off some time after the Accord was entered into. What are the reasons which are responsible for the non-implementation of the Accord? You are not blaming the Barnala Government for the non-implementation of the Accord. In fact, the statement of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao at the All-Party Conference showed that he was apologetic for the non-implementation of the Punjab Accord and he was finding that both Baranalaji and Rajiv ji are too busy and they are trying to tackle and to contain terrorism and therefore they are not in a position to carry out the Punjab Accord. In fact in all the issues, Barnala has been expressing his anxiety that the Centre must help him in fully implementing the Punjab Accord. Either, it is a Chandigarh issue or River Water Dispute or Jodhpur Detenus ...

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): On the River Water Dispute, he himself has been reiterating his objections again and again.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: The solutions have to be found. What were the efforts made to find a solution? There is a dispute. There is an Accord. Then the Commissions were there. The Commissions had submitted their Reports but-unfortunately I do not want to throw the blame on any person-it is certainly not the Barnala Government that can take the blame for the non-implementation of the Punjab Accord. We cannot blame him for non-implementation of the Punjab Accord. Let the blame rest on all, whether it is on the difficulty of finding out a solution or whatever it is. It is not possible. You have also not stated even in the Governor's Report that there was at any time non-cooperation of the part of the Barnala's Ministry in coming forward to implement this Accord.

This is a national issue. National consensus has to be evolved.

It is not a question X, Y or Z. It is a national issue; it is a matter of high magnitude, and we require the cooperation of every section of the people, for the implementation of this Accord. In fact, we are prepared to give our utmost cooperation to the Government for the implementation of this Accord, and for finding a solution to the Punjab problem.

What I am trying to submit is that the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 will not give you a solution. It will not solve anything. I know fully well that today it is not Mr. Barnala who is the unhappiest man. If my guesswork is correct, it is the Prime Minister who is the unhappiest man, because he had to take the decision of imposing the President's rule under Article 356. He gave the impression, he gave the people to understand that they would govern this country in such a manner that he would give never any occasion for the imposition of President's rule. That image of the Prime Minister today stands damaged. So, he must be the unhappiest person today, for the imposition of President's rule.

Two inferences are being drawn. The biggest doubt is with regard to what will happen to the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Will it be given effect to? One interpretation is that there is an understanding, or that there is going to be an understanding with the extremist elements, and that the Punjab Accord as it stands today, will be modified in such a manner as to please the extremist elements. That is one sort of an interpretation which is going on in certain political lobbies. The other interpretation is that this Accord will undergo a change, and there will be twist, to satisfy the Haryana people; this Punjab Accord will be left in doubt, so that it may have a political purpose served, in the coming Haryana elections. These two interpretations are there. I will be very happy if Mr. Buta Singh is in a position to dispel them. (*Interpretations*) I am myself saying that I will be very happy if Mr. Buta Singh says unequivocally that both these interpretations are incorrect, and that the Punjab Accord will stand substantially, and that if necessary, only some minor changes will take place, for the purpose of bringing about some compromise between all the parties who are affected by this Accord.

Now about the imposition of President's rule—how is it going to improve the situation? Let me take it for granted that what all that the Governor has written is true, viz. that on the rural side there is total lack of Government, and that there is a parallel Government. When an elected Government of Mr. Barnala, or that of the Akali Dal, is not able to go to the rural side, to the villages, will it be possible for the Central Government to go there?

May I just recall to Mr. Buta Singh that on 12th August, a resolution was passed under Article 249 in the Rajya Sabha, empowering the Central Government to pass laws whenever it is necessary for them to effectively intervene in Punjab. Having taken these powers, why did they not exercise these powers? What prevented them from exercising these powers? Why did they come forward with this resolution under Article 249 in the Rajya Sabha? What was its purpose?

We were made to understand that even though you took the powers under Article

249, you did not invoke these powers, because you were satisfied with the performance of Mr. Barnala's Government. You were satisfied, and that satisfaction is expressed in President's Address, and in the Prime Minister's speech, as also in the speech of Mr. P.V.Narasimha Rao at the all-party meeting. Now all of a sudden you come forward with this. You might have taken the decision on merits, and on the report; but certainly, people will not think so.

People will think that this is a political expediency and that the Haryana elections have influenced the Government to take this decision. You may try to dispel these things, but the impression cannot be erased. If you were really feeling or if you were really getting information that things in Punjab were getting bad, certainly you could have called for an all-party meeting; you could have called the leaders of opposition; you could have at least made a statement in the House before this imposition; you could have apprised members of this House saying that the situation was becoming bad; it was deteriorating day-by-day and that you had to take this step. None of these things, procedural processes were adopted by the government. Suddenly, you have come and imposed President's Rule and now you have shown the Governor's Report to justify it. Justice must not only be done but appears to be done. It is essential.

Now people will never accept or a majority of the people will not accept that this is done with good intention. Then how are you going to improve the situation? What are the steps that you are going to spell out? Your para-military forces were already there; your Director-General of Police was also already there: he was given full powers. Now the only allegation is that some of the Ministers of Barnala Government were having contacts with terrorists. Did you advise the Chief Minister to dismiss these People? Did you name them? Did you bring out specific instances to his notice? Now you do not have any doubt with regard to the integrity of Barnalaji. He has taken an uncompromising stand. In fact, he is the first gentleman who had the daring and the courage to

send the police into the Golden Temple. He was ex-communicated. He took the entire sacrifice upon himself. Now if you had any doubt with regard to such a gentleman, certainly you would have expected any statement of fact from him that such and such of his Minister was trying to be in league with the terrorists and that he should dismiss them from the Cabinet. No such thing was done. (Interruptions) People's cooperation is necessary. All parties cooperation is necessary; all parties are with you and say that we must solve the Punjab issue, that we must drive away the terrorists and the extremists and the fundamentalists. There is absolutely no dispute with regard to that. But how are you going to obtain the cooperation of the people? Who are the agencies which will act on your behalf for this purpose of rousing people's conscience? Without people's cooperation, mere arguments will not solve the problem, mere policy will not solve the problem, Para-military forces will not be able to do anything. We have seen what happened in Bangladesh; when the entire Population was against it, the mightiest of the military could crumble in no time. Therefore, it is quite essential that we must have people's cooperation. What are the steps taken by you to have it?

Now by removing Barnalaji and all the people who were solidly standing behind him—maybe the government was in a minority—you have removed the last link for the purpose of obtaining people's cooperation. Who else will venture now to face terrorists? What are your steps or what are your plans for mobilising the entire population of Punjab? I have no doubt in my mind that the people of Punjab, especially the *kisans* of Punjab, by and large, are for the integrity of India, and they are not at all for the supporters of Khalistan.

Otherwise, it would not have been possible to keep law and order in the rural villages. Hindus and Sikhs are living side by side in full confidence. Therefore, there is absolutely no doubt the fact that the peasants and the *kisans* and the people of Punjab stand solidly for the integrity of

India and they are not for a minute supporting the Khalistani movement.

But what are your steps for rousing the people's conscience? Because, until they rise, military will not be able to tackle them.

Sir, with these observations I submit that the imposition of the President's Rule was already experimented. It did not yield any results, Rajivji took a different turn and people appreciated it. But now again we are going back. In my humble opinion, it is a political blunder and I will be very happy if my guess work that it is not a political blunder but a wise step is proved to be true.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar): Mr. Chairman, Mr. Reddy has been explaining to us that at various levels on various dates different leaders praised Mr. Barnala and his Government. But he failed to read the other items in the newspapers, as to how many people were being killed every day, how many people migrated from Punjab and what was the situation in the villages simply saying that since we praised Barnala now we have changed the situation and we have brought this Rule in Punjab is to ignore the real facts which the Punjab is are facing today.

Sir, Mr. Buta Singh has explained how the situation was deteriorating every month by month, that if there were 85 murders in March, there were 316 in April. (Interruptions)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): He said, 'incidents'. (Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH : I said, 316 incidents in 1985, and 65 in March.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Incidents only. 316 incidents.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: And in ten days there were about 18.

S. BUTA SINGH: Incidents only.

[Interruptions]

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: So, you can see the how the situation is deteriorating. You people do not go to Punjab, and you do not know the situation. We are only talking here and what are the people of Punjab facing? I wish, if you would have gone there; some of you would have gone, you have been going in the past, if you would have now gone there, the people would have told you their own story about the present situation, and you would have been better acquainted, and perhaps you may not have been able to say now what you have been saying just now.

Sir, he has raised two objections. He says, that he could draw two inferences and the first is that the Punjab Accord is dead. It is not. Mr. Buta Singh has clearly stated, that they want to implement the Punjab Accord. And they are sincerely doing it. But there are two parties to this Accord. One is the Government and the other is the Akali Party. Are the Akali Parties united on this account? Then, we talk to whom? Should we talk to Barnala, should we talk to Badal? Or to whom? Because the other party is not ready. So, this is the situation in which we are placed.

Second thing you have said is that the motivation is political, because of Haryana election we have done it. The fact is that I belong to Amritsar, I live in Amritsar, my constituency and I came only yesterday evening from Amritsar, Mr. Chairman. Six deputations met me with letters in their hands that they were asked to pay one lakh of rupees by evening in the Golden Temple in room number so and so, otherwise their whole family will be murdered. Numerous letters, numerous threats, the people are getting, people are migrating from Punjab. People every day are paying ransom to live in Punjab. The people in villages after five p.m. close their doors. If there is any knock at the door, they feel as if their turn has come. This is the climate, this is the situation in Punjab today. And Mr. Reddy is saying that because of Haryana elections we have done this. In fact, the punjabi people... (*Interruptions*);

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: I have not said that. Kindly correct. I said that is the impression that some lobbies are having. And that impression you cannot erase.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: This is a wrong impression, that is what I am saying. Mr. Barnala was there for the last 21 months. His government was there. We supported their government. In Punjab everybody was unhappy with us that why the Congress party has supported this government, but we continued to do so because we had a feeling and we thought that Mr. Barnala will fight the anti-national forces in Punjab. And it is true. He made his attempt. He is a well-intentioned man. He tried his best but he could not do so. Why? Was he not getting the cooperation of the Congress Government? Was he not getting the cooperation of other political parties? But he was miserably failed by his own people. The moment he formed a government in Punjab, the Badal group was separate and he came in minority. We supported him because he declared that he will fight the anti-national forces. His own party let him down. We all supported him. For the last 21 months we were behind him like a wall and we wanted him to succeed, but it is unfortunate that he could not do it. The people who were with him were not cooperating with him. One order he was passing, the other Minister was asking his officials not to do it. So, this was the situation in Punjab. The people of Punjab are today in a great fix what to do. The Punjab Government will not support them, the administration will not help them, the people were being killed and the killers will walk on bare foot in streets. Nobody will touch them. Then who would come to help them in that miserable situation. The situation had been mounting up and it is after 21 months wait, it is after 21 months' exercise that we are compelled to do this. We are not happy. Frankly speaking, I am not happy and we are all not happy to have this proclamation. But what to do? Tell us the alternative what could have been done. The Government did not have a writ there in Punjab. There is some other unconstitutional authority which is ruling Punjab today. The administration has failed miserably. Mr. Barnala, in spite of the fact that he is a Chief Minister, could not deliver the goods. He could not implement anything that he wanted. Then what was to be done? So, it is in these circumstances that the Government of India is compelled to do this. I would say another thing that

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my friends on the opposite benches also contributed. They tried to solve the situation before the Accord. They all went, individual leaders went to Amritsar and talked to the Akali leaders. Then in groups also they went there. Government also discussed with the leaders of the Opposition and then we were able to have an accord which is known as Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Then what happened to that Accord? We implemented it. We were sincere. The elections took place. The Barnala Government came into power. They had a clear majority; They had ample opportunity to implement that Accord. Government of India was willing. But what happened? Why the Accord was not being fulfilled? So, it was their own party men. In spite of the majority, they could not do it. In spite of the majority, they could not fulfil the part of the Accord which Shri Longowal had done.

There was difference among themselves. That is how the situation became worse and worse in Punjab. The anti-national elements because there was no rule by the party in power, the party in power was not implementing, the party in power could not rule, the party in power did not influence in this situation they got power to act. In every way they are acting. There used to be one or two groups. Now there are seven or eight groups which are operating because the situation is deteriorating every day. So, in these circumstances, it has become imperative to have this proclamation.

The situation among Services is very bad. The officers are so de-moralised that everybody wants transfer to other places and wants to go out. If you go to them, they say we are sorry. We cannot help it. There is absolutely a de-moralised state. There is no administration at all. The police officers are de-moralised. The civilian officers are demoralised. The people are wanting transfer from villages to towns and some from towns to outside Punjab. This is the situation. You have to have a tool by which you want to govern the State. And your tool is not operating there. They are afraid of them. They are getting threatening letters. Not only that, even the judges could not operate. You have seen

the judges of Jalandhar and Ludhiana were shot and killed. So, even they are afraid of passing a judgement. This is the situation which has developed. So, some kind of action has to be taken.

People feel that Punjab Government has miserably failed. Then they look to us that the Centre will do some thing. They do not look to us, they look to you also-what is that the people are doing in Delhi? While the Punjab is burning, when the Punjab is boiling and Punjab people are being killed and feeling unsafe, you are more interested in discussing Fairfax than the Punjab situation. But that is the national question. Is Punjab not the national question? The people have migrated and are staying in Delhi. Is it not a national question? Has any single one of you gone to meet these migrants and asked what is their condition and why have they come? What forced them to come here, what do they require? You are a leader of Bengal or some other State. Had you been a national leader you would have gone to them and helped them and you would have been better acquainted as to what is the situation which has brought them to Delhi. The situation was so aggravated that everybody has expressed the opinion. I agree with them that Barnala was acting as a buffer. Yes, of course. We tried this for 21 months. But there is a limit. We can go ahead. What is the use of that buffer which will remain buffer only and will not act? The people will go on dying, people were being looted. People are migrating and we say that we have a buffer there. This argument we gave to the people of Punjab when we met them. When we go to Punjab, they say no, no, we do not agree. What about the Centre? If Punjab Government has failed where is the Centre? We also voted for you. We also brought you in power in the Centre. What is the Centre doing? It is in this context that compel us to fulfil our obligation to the people of Punjab, the people of India.

My objection is that our friends in the opposition did not understand the problem in the past. I have been in all my debates in 1983, 1984 and all these year's explaining to them what is happening. When I said in 1983 that there are foreign forces...

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SHAMINDER SINGH (Faridkot):
Not all. People who understand are also sitting.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: Some of the people in the Opposition got up and said where is the foreign hand? Why do you not prove it? And to-day same people are saying that there was foreign hand. So, there was a realisation after three years or four years. So, what we are doing to-day, you may be realising. After two, three or four years you will listen to what we are saying. Since you did not understand the Punjab problem then, you are not understanding the Punjab situation to-day.

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: We have understood the problem. You are required to give a solution. What were you doing for the last five years? (Interruptions)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: As I said, you did not understand the Punjab problem and today you are not going to understand it. I only request you to understand the Punjab problem and if you don't want to understand the problem, then I can't say anything. Today, it is not the question of communalism in Punjab because the people of Punjab have shown that they are patriotic people and secular people. They have suffered all these years for the sake of the country. They have stood like a rock with us together. In villages and towns, all the efforts of the terrorists have not been able to divide the people of Punjab. This is the people of Punjab who have shown their patriotism though they have suffered for the last so many years. The true situation is that it is the insurgency that is there in Punjab. It is not the question of terrorists or communalists or any other people. It is the insurgency that they have to deal with and since the

Barnala Government has not been able to meet the insurgency, I appreciate the action of the Union Government. They should have done it long before. It is better late than never.

Now, Sir, I am sure the situation in Punjab will be better. It will improve and at the same time I would like to request Mr. Buta Singh that the President's rule is not the solution to the whole problem. I must tell you that we will have to work on the political side, the political solution of the problem and this time is given to you, opportunity is given to you so that you may be able to bring about peace in Punjab. For some time, I don't think that terrorism will go away so easily. But will be reduced. That is my impression. But in this time, while the situation is improving and better, please find a political solution because that will be the permanent solution of Punjab.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Sir, in this session, the Government has shown an exceptional ability of doing one blunder after another and this is perhaps the crowning one with which we are going to end the session. Sir, I am surprised that after praising Mr. Barnala in the president's speech, a unique thing to have done after praising him all along upto the 14th April, that is, less than a month ago, for having created a situation in Punjab where it was much better before. This was done by the Prime Minister and the senior Central Ministers and after that, on account of a particular movement which is said to have been started by some extremist elements whom now Mr. Bhatia called insurgents, we have never been told this before in any forum or in the newspapers or in any media. So, this has now been taken as an handle. I have gone through the Governor's report to the President and it does not show anything apart from the burning of some shops and kiosks selling tobaccos and liquor that something exceptional has happened during the course of the last three or four weeks which can justify this peremptory

[Sh. Amal Datta]

action on the part of the Government.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: You say that for the first time you have been told about insurgency. They don't recognise your Constitution, they burn your national flag. What would you call them?

SHRI AMAL DATTA: We have called them extremists so long, not called them insurgents. Insurgency problem is not dealt with by the Civil Government, nowhere in the world. Sir, this is a very peculiar situation that we hear today. We are back in what I can call, square one, the situation obtaining before the accord and before the election which installed the Barnala Government in Punjab. It was being ruled by the Central Government for two years, from October 1983 to September 1985 it was under President's Rule. What was the situation then in Punjab? How was it better than the situation which was obtaining even last week or the week before? Were not the people afraid at that time, panicky at that time? How the situation qualitatively deteriorated so much that after praising Barnala so much in the President's speech and the praise by the Prime Minister, by P.V. Narasimha Rao and all that, suddenly you change, suddenly you come down with a heavy hand and dismiss the Government? (*Interruptions*). The only thing which was played up and the mountain made out of a molehill was a letter by a senior Minister against the Police Chief.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't interrupt.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI AMAL DATTA: The letter by a senior Minister against the Police Chief.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't interrupt. It will not go on record.

(*Interruptions*)**

SHRI AMAL DATTA: It was not a letter which was given to the people, but how that letter got leaked out is a mystery, and that is the basis of saying that the senior Ministers are not cooperating with Mr. Barnala. This is a rambling report of the Governor which refers to, mentions that nobody is cooperating with Mr. Barnala, but not a specific instance has been given. Mr. Bhatia has said that Mr. Barnala passes an order, another Minister countermands it. No specific instance of that has been given here in this report or by anybody. So, are we to believe that all these things have started happening all of a sudden and the Barnala Government has lost its credibility? What was your own credibility during those two years? After stating in this House again and again, every Session we have been discussing Punjab in the last Parliament, once, twice in some sessions and every time we wanted police action in the Golden Temple, we were told by no less a person than the Prime Minister herself that it was impossible to send the police in a religious place and after that land behold, the Army goes there and attacks it. And that is the type of thing. You were encouraging the terrorists then. Similarly, I have no doubt that the terrorists were being encouraged at least by some Congress M.P. going up in a peace march and talking in Punjab, in Amritsar, in the Golden Temple, and talking to the extremists and saying that he is satisfied by his talks with them, then again saying that these are the people with whom negotiations and parleys should be held. Then again, suddenly we find a Jain Muni appearing on the scene talking to these high high priests of the Golden Temple and coming up with a statement that the representatives of the

Damdani Taksal, the most extremist organisation, and some other extremist organisations---these are the people with whom the Central Government must have parleys. And then he discloses that he has had talks with the Prime Minister. Now, what the talks are, I do not know. There is no contradiction from the Government. This has come out in the reports, in the newspapers, that the Jain Muni goes there and talks to the extremists and gives there a public statement saying that these are the people with whose representatives the Government must hold negotiations and says that he has himself had talks with the Prime Minister. So, what is the inference to be drawn from this? Are you not giving indulgence to the terrorists, extremists? Are you not otherwise...

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Sir, before he goes on record, let me say something for a minute.

It is the Opposition Member of Parliament who was on record in this House in the last Lok Sabha--you were a Member I was a Member--who said that he had visited the Golden Temple and there are no extremists and there is no ammunition. This is the Opposition Member of Parliament, not the Congress M.P. It is on record, you can see the record and you can see even the name of the Member of Parliament.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Yes, I know. But I am not from that Party. You don't expect me to defend him. Do you? Then, what is the point in saying this now? (*Interruptions*). Some Member has told you to say that just because he belonged to the Opposition then. It does not matter. It is irrelevant in this present context. If you knew that they had ammunition, then it was your duty to take action. What a Member of Parliament said was irrelevant. you have got the entire Governmental machinery to find out yourself what is

happening. If you did not act on that information, it was a blunder on your part which had led you to further blunder of Operation Bluestar and a further blunder of, without any consensus, getting into an Accord. I am not blaming you for the Accord. I am saying that the terms of the Accord appear now to be such that no party is in a position to implement it. The Accord is now more than or about 2 years old and if it has not been implemented and nobody is to be blamed, that it is an accord which cannot be implemented by either party with the best of intentions, what does it mean? So, this Accord was rushed through in great secrecy for the purpose of having an accord, for the purpose of having an election pursuant to the Accord but not with the purpose of implementing the Accord. Or, may-be nobody thought about it. I am not saying that you did not implement it deliberately. But at least you cannot contradict that the Accord had been gone through without understanding the total implications of the Accord. And today it has become like a rope round your neck because you cannot implement it; or you have no will to implement it.

What has happened to the transfer of Chandigarh? Why has Chandigarh not been transferred? I do not understand it. I am not saying that if you transfer Chandigarh to Punjab today, immediately the extremist activities will stop or insurgency will stop. But this is the handle these people are getting that the Central Government having gone into an accord has not done whatever lies in its power to do. You do not tell me why the Central Government cannot transfer Chandigarh to Punjab? Why do you link it up with the transfer of territories from Punjab to Haryana? And even partially you could have done that. There is nobody who binds you to the principle that the transfer of Chandigarh must be simultaneous with the transfer of so much territories of Punjab to Haryana. There is nothing like that. It is your own interpretation of the Accord which you are now giving.

S. BUTA SINGH: Kindly give me a moment. It is the Accord which binds all these things. The Accord cannot be implemented without this pre-condition. If you can suggest a way, well, you can get it done.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Well, there are certain things which the Central Government could have done.

S. BUTA SINGH: How could we do? There is no way.

SHRI AMAL DATTA: About rehabilitation, the entire rehabilitation of service personnel, you should have done. It is a part of the Accord.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: Even Shri Harkrishan Singh Surjeet has appreciated this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI AMAL DATTA: Let them not intervene so much. If you want to say something, you can say later. What I have to say, I will say it. If you say that you have fully implemented the Accord, you say so. But in my view, the Central Government is to be blamed for not implementing the Accord. If there is any blame to be thrown at the doors of the Barnala Government, that is insignificant compared to what the Central Government has failed to do.

It is very curious that now they are saying that the police is demoralised; the officials are demoralised. When did this demoralisation of the police and officials come in? When did this happen? Did it happen when Mr. Barnala came and formed the Ministry? It happened long before that. In fact, there was a rejuvenation under Mr. Barnala and that is what was being praised about him. Once we had been told by the then Internal Security Ministry that in early 1986--at that time, just the Barnala Government was a few months' old--told that the police in Punjab had not gone out of the police

station for years. "For years" include those years when there was the President's Rule in Punjab. So, during that period, even prior to that period, you have totally demoralised the police and the administration. And for rejuvenation of the police and the officials requires a big push and that big push, you have not given to Mr. Barnala. Mr. Barnala has been cooperating with you in all accounts and you say that Central Government has been cooperating. I say that, on the other hand, Mr. Barnala has been cooperating on all accounts but you have not given him the help which was necessary to put Punjab back on the political rails again.

I say that the All parties rallies which you have started, have fizzled out because you have not demonstrated, as ruling party, the political will that you should have demonstrated, in those political rallies. We have, on our part, done whatever we can do because we are not that big. You are bigger. You are a national party. You have got presence everywhere. You should have been able to hold these rallies and give us a lead. On the other hand, you have left it to us and we have been able to do quite a bit and we have become a target in fact in Punjab.

This is a blunder which the Government is committing because it is now coming in direct confrontation with the people. It will not be able to do, whatever it has sought to do, so far as Punjab is concerned. On the other hand, having, during the whole Session or a better part of the Session called the Opposition irrticism as tending to destabilisation, this is a concrete step which the Government itself has taken towards disintegrating the country.

Today what has happened is something which is historical in the sense that it is going very fast towards that direction which we wanted this country to prevent from going, the direction of disintegration. This is where the Government is leading to by this kind of precipitate action. Yesterday we raised

this question and we apprehended that President's rule is going to be imposed in Punjab. we wanted a statement from the Home Minister. No statement was given. We were not called. We were not consulted. Nothing was given and suddenly we find this morning that President's rule has been imposed. The Parliament has been extended. Parliamentary propriety Demands making the announcement in Parliament when it is in Session. Denigration of parliament has become a daily feature with this Government. I said it before and I am saying it now that the Parliament is not being given the respect by this Government that it should be given. Today they could have announced it in Parliament itself and the discussion could have taken place. There is no need to make a midnight declaration and giving it to the press. Nothing further would have happened in 12 hours time.

While Punjab police has shown some vigour recently under Mr. Rebeiro, some controversy had been raised, may be it was made to be raised, I do not know, but it happened that, immediately Mr. Barnala had rushed here. He has been waiting here for two days, to be able to talk to the Prime Minister and, in the mean time, his Government is dismissed. It is a very funny situation. It is a curious situation. This impasse is created by some senior Minister. To discuss that, he was waiting for two days here in Delhi. Not only that. One statistic Mr. Buta Singh has not given. He has not said that 2,000 extremists have been arrested in the course of one month. What more can a State Administration do? And the figures of murder, of killings of people which have been given, ten times those figures of murders have taken place in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh every month. Are you imposing President's rule in those States for this purpose? You are not because it is in Punjab where you want to show that you are no longer pro-Barnala, you are no longer pro-Sikh because of the ensuing Haryana election. It is unfortunate that

national integrity is sacrificed for the purpose of capturing power in one State. Your lessons you have learnt in Bengal and Kerala elections have shown you that you have at least to capture power here. Everybody knows in which situation you are in Haryana.

16.00 hrs

So, you could have waited one more month, If you have waited for 21 months so patiently with Mr. Barnala as a buffer, then you could have waited another one month till after the Haryana elections. Then, nobody would have blamed it. When you decided to impose the President's rule in Punjab today, didn't you think that people will somehow connect it with Haryana elections? If you didn't think so, then you are not fit to be here. So, Sir, without that knowledge but hoping that some political gains will be made in Haryana elections, you have imposed the President's rule in Punjab, sacrificed the national integrity, sacrificed the peace and stability of Punjab for good. I oppose this and condemn this action which has been taken by the Government.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullundur): Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, every fact of the case before us has been laid bare by the hon. Home Minister and my colleague Shri R.L. Bhatia. All events, all the situations as they obtain today in Punjab have been expressed lucidly. I have a few observations to bring for your kind notice. My hon. friend Mr. Amal Datta has mentioned that the policy had been changed suddenly. May I wish to point out to you the proverbial saying: Last straw on the camel's back? Things have gone so perverse and cumulatively, one has to accept. It is so perverse, so ghastly and it is only the person who has full insight of it can understand it. I have got a graph of that. If we collate the facts, then everybody seems to understand how the situation has been moving and in what direction it is moving. It is sliding steadily yet exorably in the wrong direction. This is the patten,

[Sh. R. S. Sparrow:]

so to say. In that, who is the sufferer? It is the common-man, the innocent women and children who have nothing to do with anything-else except to earn their own little livelihood, they are the sufferers and one feels constrained to see such a situation arising in my beautiful Punjab. I have gone round enough. I am a son of that soil, having the root in the village. In various capacities as Chairman of the Kisan Khet Mazdoor Dal, Punjab, for 15 years as once the Revenue and Agriculture Minister of Punjab, I had seen all the 12938 villages one by one on different occasions. One understands how the pulse-rate now works in relation to certain minority communities living in those villages, in those mohallas, in the towns and suburban towns, and different types of little places and hamlets and what not. The situation obtaining is nothing short of insurgency, if my friend used the word so.

Jis Tan Lage Tei Tan Jane, Na Jane aur Pir Parai. No one-else feel about it. I told you and I gave you the example, the other day. I quote from one of the Persian anecdotes: Kilyul Yakin, Hakul Yakin, Anuyakin means what? When you are in the fire then, you know that you are burning. That is how Punjab is burning. We talk a lot and loud but we have to be very objective. But the tenor has been set by my friend Shri R.L. Bhatia who hails from my place, which is the same from the childhood onwards. I know my people. I know their psyche also. I know what type of wrong things they can also do and what type of wonderful things they can also do. Now, the slide is on the reverse side. I personally feel that if the Home Ministry and the Government of India and our revered President had delayed this issue further, things would have deteriorated to the worst of it and perhaps certain other ramifications may have taken place across the border this way or that way. Already two or three times it has had a stunning effect. This is exactly what people outside wait for-when such an

insurgency takes place, when everybody starts killing one another; I am very sorry, Sir, even to mention about my dearest friends, the other Party, the main Party, the Akali Party; 20 different groups masquerading and attacking each other also. Who does not know this? You can count them out if you wish to. What a terrible type of situation has arisen? A brother has started killing a brother.... (Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will have your say. It will not go on record.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: I am only giving the facts. There are so many others also.

(Interruptions)**

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will not go on record. Mr. Sparrow, please proceed.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: Allow me to finish. It is not only the Akali Party; there are others also. A brother killing a brother. It is not only the Akali or any kind of Party people. All types of people are mixed up. But the fact remains that the situation is perverse, is very bad. What should have been done has already been explained, very lucidly explained. If we had not taken this action, what action would someone wish to propose? Linger on just like this and see the hapless women and children being murdered, all types of victimisation happening. So, for this reason, one has to be very careful as to how we tackle the situation. In my opinion, it has to be at the national level, it should be taken as a national question. If that be so, this has not happened. May I request the major parties, including Barnalaji, for whom I have a high respect, that now is the opportunity that we all join together and face the situation squarely, so that the rule of law, to start with, is brought about in Punjab. Once the rule of law is brought about in Punjab, things will improve. I admire in this context Mr. Ribeiro, very frankly. This is my humble opinion. Anybody can have any other opinion. He

fought singlehanded, along with his allies and some very fine policemen, to the best one could do, even at the cost of his life; he did not care for his life. That is the point of admiration and it must be recorded for all of us to understand. For that reason, we have to give a hand to the administration as best as we can, and in that Barnalaji, Badalji and many other top leaders should join hands. Forget about whatever has happened. Now let us come to the brasstacks of it. Let us now start a new leaf. All Punajbis, the beautiful Punjabis, always in the fore everywhere, should work together. One good spot in the whole of this bad and turmoilridden situation, I have noticed myself. Only the other day I went to Punjab. A number of Panchs and Sjrpanchs, of all classes, met me. They are all tired of what is happening around them. They want peace, they want to exist, as some of our spokesmen have already said. In so far as their own give-and-take is concerned, mentally they are still the same; Hindus, Sikhs, Harijans, Christians Muslims—they are all the same. They want to live in peace, they want to work together. Now, who is going to impel them to do so? Not one Party. But this leaf has been taken. If this is taken, I think it is for the better. Now it is the opportunity for us to show our real mettle as representatives of the people of India by sitting here. That way we will be able to put our heads together. If at all there is any other understanding then there is no difficulty. And if we work together these problems can all be sorted out. If we start mud slinging on each other for no rhyme or reason, that will not carry us very far. Who is to suffer? One who is at the wrong end of the stick—the hapless little people who cannot defend themselves. This is the predicament for us. It never happened in our history previously at any time. I belong to a village and I have seen them all. Never such a thing had happened. If you go and tell somebody that the old lady has got something and I asked her to give me all that she has got and if she does not give and clings on to that little casket of turn and presses it 'Thasathas' 'Thasathas'

that hapless woman is killed. Oh, my *guru* never taught that. My previous civilisation and culture never stood in that direction at all. Is this something new being taught to us? Some foreign hand is certainly there and I do not have to bring it to your notice at this juncture. All those lawful type of things—gas chamber style of attempts, shall I say—starting from Lyallpur right up to Narowal—9 of those districts—have been churning out, indoctrinating and giving them money and new weapons. This type of thing has been happening. Now the Home Minister should take charge of the situation. The border should be sealed and not even a pin should go up and down. Why not we do it? This is our border. We will look after it. Along with that any kind of insurgency, any kind of lawlessness shall have to be stamped out with the goodwill of all of us. We must cut that out. Then only the progress can be achieved and the future will shine for everybody. Punjab's future should shine because it has always contributed and sacrificed for the service of Mother India as a whole. We have done it as a Punjabi.

With these few words, I thank you very much.

DR. V. VENKATESH (Kolar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, while going through the Report of the Governor, all of a sudden, it has been indicated that the previous Government is very bad and the Ministers were involved in terrorism, relatives of important Ministers, the number 2 in the Cabinet was also involved. All these stories have been narrated. As you know well, whenever the ruling party like they will say it is very very good. All of a sudden, they will start issuing certificates that it is very-very bad. This is the double standard which we have been watching. The same trick has been played in Governor's Report.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, this implementation of the Punjab Accord is delayed. Due to that all these things have happened. Now they are telling—already an

[Dr. V. Venkatesh]

Hon. Member from this side has pinpointed—that whatever lapses were committed by the ruling party one after the other for that they are now blaming the Barnala Government. They also say that people are terrorised and fear-psychosis was created. Are they going to prevent all these things by imposing this President's Rule? I do not understand the logic behind this. They were also telling that a lot of lives were lost. As compared to this year, the total number of lives lost in Punjab was four times higher last year. Why did they not impose President's Rule there last year? Why didn't they do it? Now they are magnifying it by saying that the Barnala Ministry has not been able to control it. All of a sudden they say that the value of life has increased according to their convenience. Whenever they want something, they say that it is a law and order problem, the State Government has to deal with it and all that. When their convenience changes, they immediately say that the life of a common man is precious. This is very pitiable.

I don't want to take much time because already the Members from both the sides have expressed that a very serious situation has arisen. We are all one to see that peace is maintained in Punjab. I would like to make certain points.

The first very important point that I want to make is that the Punjab problem was sought to be tackled in a very ad-hoc manner. The Punjab Accord was hastily drafted and is being implemented leisurely; in the process causing a grave discontent in Punjab leading to the growth of extremism. This is the second most important point that I would like to bring to your kind notice. The President's rule is no solution. It is only a repetition and it does not go to the root of the problem at all. We know that in the past President's rule could not stop violence. Will it make a miracle now? That is the question I am posing through you to the Hon. Minister. The continued detention of prisoners in

Jodhpur camp though no charge has been established against anyone has only caused further injury. Even the Ranganath Misra Commission has only added insult to injury. What is needed is a settlement across the table. Nothing but discussion is the only solution. There is no alternative to this opinion and my party, the Janata party, relies only on this option.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal): Mr. Chairman Sir: I had absolutely no intention to speak on the proclamation under discussion. But a reference by an Hon. Member of the opposition Mr. Reddy obliged me to do so. He started with Haryana and said that Haryana elections have obliged the Central Government to impose the President's rule. I fail to understand the reasoning and the psychology behind it. I don't know the circumstances that have led him to come to this conclusion.

In all humility I must say that this is a very irresponsible statement. Haryana elections have nothing to do with it. He gave a chronological history of events beginning with the Address by the President and thereafter the speech made by the Hon. Prime Minister in my constituency Karnal on the 30th of March and so on and so forth.

This House had passed practically a unanimous resolution to strengthen the hands of Mr. Barnala to support Mr. Barnala's Government. There was absolutely no difference of opinion. May I have the temerity of asking them a plain question? Didn't the Central Government extend the fullest cooperation with the Barnala Government? Didn't the Central Government send all para-military forces that were asked for? Didn't the Congress Party in Punjab support the Barnala Government in spite of the fact that the workers of the Party were opposing this move tooth and nail? Where was the Central Government or the Congress Party lacking in extending their support and cooperation to Mr. Barnala; nowhere.

An argument was advanced by an Hon. friend that upto 14th of April we had been praising Mr. Barnala. What happened after that, namely from 15th of April onwards. We are speaking on the 12th of May. A period of 28 days has since elapsed. There are many a slip between the cup and the lip. During the span of one month what has obliged the Central Government to come to this conclusion? I would go a step further and say that imposition of President's rule should have been done much earlier in the interest of law and order. It has been unnecessarily delayed. An argument has been advanced that there has not been implementation of Rajiv-Longowal accord. This again is against facts. Facts are facts and they must be squarely faced. Is it not a fact that 80-90 per cent of the accord has been implemented? There was dispute on two points. One is regarding the transfer of Chandigarh. Now is it not a fact that commission after commission has been appointed? The commissions have given their reports. The commissions comprised of sitting former judges of the Supreme Court.

Now the commission was appointed. This was the report of the commission that Chandigarh shall be transferred as soon as 70,000 acres of land are transferred to Haryana by Punjab Government. Did the Punjab Government agree to do it? Is it not a fact that Haryana Government took a unanimous decision to implement the recommendations of the commission and agreed to accept 70,000 acres of land when the Prime Minister of India said that Government of India will bear the brunt of building a new Capital for the State of Haryana? Was it Central Government or Haryana Government that were lagging behind? It was the Punjab Government that refused to agree to it. They said we are not going to agree to transfer 70,000 acres of land.

My friends in the Opposition without understanding the implications and the background say that the Central

Government has not been implementing the accord. Haryana Government has absolutely no hitch to transfer Chandigarh. Let Chandigarh be transferred before and now but with the same stroke of pen, on the same paper and on the same table 70,000 acres of land shall be transferred to Haryana. This is a condition precedent.

Then comes the point of water dispute. Water dispute was referred to Eradi Commission—a commission consisting of three judges headed by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court. It was explicitly laid down in the terms of reference itself that the report of the Eradi Commission shall be binding on the two governments. Is it not a fact that Eradi Commission submitted its report 2-3 months back? Is it not a fact that the parties are bound to accept it? Is it also not a fact that Punjab Government having somehow come to know that Eradi Commission has given a report contrary to their expectations that they said we are not going to accept the report? Does it lie in the mouth of the Punjab Government headed by Barnala to refuse to accept the report when initially they had agreed to accept the recommendations of the Eradi Commission? It has to be accepted. Now they say we are not going to accept it. Who is responsible? Is the Central Government responsible for non-implementation?

These are the only two main points about which it can be said that the accord is not being implemented. My friends in the Opposition do not actually know the background of the whole show. Haryana is the aggrieved party. Only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. They say implement the accord. We also say that it must be implemented. It was the Government of Punjab that is actually standing in the way of implementation of the Accord. They are holding us responsible for this.

Sir, a reference was made to a resolution passed under Art. 249 of the

[Sh. Chiranji Lal Sharma]

Constitution by the Rajya Sabha. It was argued that although powers have been conferred upon the Central Government under Art. 249 and the resolution was passed but it was not exercised. Why? Do they have reasons to smell a grain of salt about the bona fides of the Central Government? The Central Government was very much benevolent and broadminded when Mr. Barnala assured the Central Government that there was no need of exercising its powers under Art. 249. But the situation continued deteriorating thereafter.

Then, a covert reference was made to the Governor's report. Sir, on this I have to say only a few words. The Governor's report has not been prepared just in the twinkling of an eye or on the spur of the moment. The Governor had visited 9-10 districts of Punjab to assess the situation. He had his finger on the pulse of the people of Punjab. My friend will not deny when I say that there were protests from the Ministers of the Punjab Government against the Governor's visit. I would only say that the report of the Governor has put a premium of confirmation on what was appearing in the Press and what was actually happening in the field. Therefore, it cannot be said that the Governor had twisted the facts, that he submitted a report against the Barnala Government. The report of the Governor has been submitted after he assessed the situation when he had gone practically all over Punjab.

16.26 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

Now, Sir, about the law and order situation. One of my friends on the opposite side said that already we had the experience of President's rule. No doubt there was a popular Government headed by Sardar Darbara Singh. When the situation was going out of control, Sardar Darbara Singh submitted his resignation.

President's Rule was imposed. But now day-light robberies, dacoities and murders are being committed. The banks are being looted practically daily. Every fine morning, we read in the newspapers, that such-and-such bank looted, such-and-such petrol pump looted. This did not happen during the earlier President's Rule. Now, Sir, what is happening these days. Innocent persons—both Hindus and Muslims—ladies and gentlemen, kids and youths have been killed without any discrimination about caste or creed. So tremendous is the onslaught, so terrific is the blow and so bloody has been the machine of coercion that the entire Punjab is shaken under the iron heels of the terrorists. The terrorists had taken the lynch of law into their hands. There had been a complete demoralisation of services, complete demoralisation in the judiciary. No judicial court had the guts to take a decision. No person had the guts to stand as a witness. Actually there had been a complete failure of Government machinery. Murders are committed day in and day out nobody is caught. What to do? What should the Government of India do? The Government of India had been compelled to come to this unhappy decision. Do you think that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is happy today? Well, he is perhaps the unhappiest person today. We never appreciate the imposition of President's rule in any State. We always encourage popular Government. It was the Central Government that decided to hold elections in spite of what was happening in Punjab and installed the popular Government there. It was the Central Government that came to the help of the Barnala Government all the time. And now you are smelling a grain of salt in our bonafides.

In these circumstances, there was no alternative left with the Central Government but to come to this conclusion and to hand over Punjab to the President so that the law and order can be taken care of properly.

There has been migration of population from Punjab on a very large scale and the events of 1947 are being repeated. I know a number of people have migrated from Punjab and are residing in Karnal, the constituency I represent.

With these words, I support the Resolution.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, while participating in the discussion on the imposition of President's Rule in Punjab, I want to say that though for the present, this decision will generate a lot of excitement and the people may speak with some anger and keeping in view the political angle they may say anything, but a day will come when we will have to repent over this decision. The dismissal of hon. Shri Barnalaji is regretful, but equally regretful is the fact that Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi will be censured for it. He will be condemned, because the Barnala Government which was a sort of cushion for the Central Government and Punjab has been dismissed. Hence, the people will censure the Government's decision. The person who was the best gunner has been shot from behind, he, who would face the enemies from across the borders and destabilising elements inside the country with complete self assurance, who was excommunicated from his own religion and community, who did not care for his life, but was struggling ceaselessly for this poor country was dismissed mercilessly. We shall have to repent this decision.

The times will change. But God may forbid, an era of distrust should not start. A message of this nature should not reach the people as it has almost reached. This message would read that if a Sikh is a moderate Akali and is concerned about the whole nation like a patriot will be either assassinated by the terrorists or will be dismissed by imposing the President's Rule. You have the strength of numbers

and can easily put us down, but I want to say it with all sincerity that this message is so dangerous that it will not make any Sikh have the courage to challenge the terrorists. How can they fight? Shri Jeevan Singh Umaranangal who was the Vice President of Akali Dal since 9 years and who was fighting the terrorist forces had taken a vow by holding the deadbody of his 43 years old son for fighting terrorism till the end. But today with the dismissal of the Barnala Government, the terrorists have got what they had desired.

The President's Rule has been imposed several times in the state. Between 1983 and 1985, 5 Governors were changed, 4 I.Gs were changed. All these I.Gs were given full powers.

Mr. Bhinder was one of the I.Gs with full powers and 11 Advisors to the Governors were changed, but the problem only became more acute with these measures. I am afraid that the situation during the time of Blue Star Operation may not be repeated. We seem to be moving towards that. What has happened? Just now we talked about the month of April. Hon. Shri Buta Singh has been kind to me and our relationship is good and will remain so. But I want to ask him a specific question. The Hon. Minister has stated that 85 lives were lost in the month of April. He has also stated that the figures were the highest in the months of April in previous years. For example, in April 1984, 120 people were killed and not 85. But we had considerable achievements in April this year. 450 people were arrested, 12 dreaded terrorists were killed, an amount of Rs. 30 lakhs was recovered, an armoury was found in Ropar district where 3 sten guns, 2 revolvers, 1 L.M.G. were stored, and 2 vehicles carrying L.M.G. and M.M.G. stenguns and 20 kgs of other ammunition were caught at Adampur in Jalandhar district. Hence, the month of April has been very bright for the police and the Government. But it is regretful that you summon Shri Rebeiro to Delhi and applaud his achievements and award

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

medal for his performance, but condemn and dismiss the Chief Minister with whose help Shri Rebeiro was able to achieve so much and who himself said that the Chief Minister had accorded him full co-operation and had provided all possible help.

I want to say one thing more. Today, I met my friends in the Congress party in the Central Hall and many of them are present here. Here they are required to applaud if a Member from their own party is making a speech, but in the Central Hall, dozens of Congress Members have condemned the decision and have said that the matter could have been handled without taking this step and it has been an excess (*Interruptions*)

MANY HON. MEMBERS: He is not speaking the truth.....

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: I wish that their views may gradually come true that they have committed excess.

I want to say one thing more that migration was also going down. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you may see as to what happened yesterday. It was the 11th of May yesterday and ought to have been the most significant date for us as the killer of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, Jarnail Singh Halwara was apprehended and killed in an encounter, but the Central Government paid us a tribute by dismissing our Government in the evening itself. I am constrained to say that you should take this bad day in proper context.

The common people in Punjab were gaining confidence that a reform movement has been started. Why do you take it otherwise? Is it not a commendable thing that a movement was started there on 31st March which has boosted the

morale of the people in Punjab? You might have read newspapers of the last six days in which you cannot find even a single instance of burning of any liquor shop. There are 3100 liquor vendors in Punjab out of which only 200 shops have been closed and all the remaining shops are functioning. This reform movement could be started because of the strong will power of Shri Barnala and this Government, but now it will be fizzled out and the terrorists will get an encouragement.

In the end, I would like to say two or three things. You can still think over this matter. You may send any number of outsiders to Punjab or may send any force to Punjab, but as long as you do not find a political solution, you will not succeed in curbing the terrorism. I do not blame you, but it comes to my notice that efforts are being made to please those people who are demanding more than what has been provided in Rajiv-Longowal Accord. We also want it. Akali Dal has several times demanded release of Jodhpur detainees, reinstatement of army deserters and implementation of Mishra Commission report, but the report is not being implemented. So long as you do not review their cases, your difficulties will go on increasing.

I would like to say that there has been continuous confrontation between Akali Dal and the Centre since 1957 when S. Buta Singh was an hon. Member of the Akali Dal. It was an auspicious day for the country that instead of confrontation a friendly atmosphere of conciliation and compromise was created. Therefore, we should see that an atmosphere of confrontation is not created again, otherwise it will create more difficulties to deal with the terrorism.

Just now Shri Bhatia has praised Shri Barnala, but said about some other people that they take money and write letters. The situation in Punjab was critical, but even then Shri Barnala achieved success.

Now you have dismissed his Government. When he was in minority, you supported him, but now when he is in majority, you are in a hurry to dismiss his Government. (*Interruptions*) Whether Chiranjilal says or you say, but I will be happy if you achieve success in Haryana after making sacrifice of Shri Barnala's Ministry. But you should not quit certainty for hope.

I once again request you to reconsider your decision. Whether that petriotic soldier has turned to be an anti-national over night whether Shri Barnala has not done everything which one should do for the country? (*Interruptions*) Whether all experiments of Shri Barnala have failed in merely one night? I request you to think over it and withdraw your action. It will only increase tension, disbelief and will widen the gap and will not restore peace there. Yours is a biggest political party in the country and you should win over the confidence of the people of whole Punjab. This action on your part attracts allegations. I do not directly blame you, but your action will become a subject of criticism that to please terrorists and extremist forces, you have weakened those nationalist forces who had fought anti-national forces shoulder to shoulder with you even at the risk of their lives and which continued its drive against terrorism in spite of the resistance and anger of top religious leaders. This action will weaken the country and will weaken the hands of Prime Minister and it can also happen that you may have to pay heavily for this. With these words, I condemn this action of the Government. (*Interruptions*)

16.46 hrs.

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA
CONTD.

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha:-

'I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganisation Bill, 1987 which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 11th May, 1987, has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 12th May, 1987, with the following amendment:-

"Clause 20"

That at page 6, lines 43-44 *for* the words "the High Court of Maharashtra and Goa" the words "the High Court of Bombay" be *substituted*."

I am, therefore, to return herewith the said Bill in accordance with the provisions of rule 128 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha with the request that the concurrence of the Lok Sabha to the said amendment be communicated to this House.

GOA, DAMAN AND DIU REORGANISATION BILL

As amended by Rajya Sabha

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I lay on the Table the Goa, Daman and Diu Reorganisation Bill, 1987 which has been returned by Rajya Sabha with amendment.

16.46

STATUTORY RESOLUTION : RE:
APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN
RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB
CONTD.

[English]

SHRI P.R.KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): Sir, I had once raised, in the last session, during zero hour, a matter and