

agriculture experts of the State Government to check further deterioration of this very well known cash crop immediately.

12.33 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.
APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE IN
FORCE OF PRESIDENTIAL PRO-
CLAMATION IN RESPECT OF
PUNJAB—*Contd.*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House will now take up further consideration of the following Resolution moved by Shri Buta Singh on the 6th November, 1987, namely :

“That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987 in respect of Punjab issued under Article 365 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1987.”

Prof. Madhu Dandavate to continue his speech.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I just started my observations on the Motion moved by the Home Minister on Friday—in fact, I have been on my legs since Friday—and I would continue my further observations.

The motion has been moved by the hon. Minister with a view to ensure that the normalcy is restored in Punjab. As I was saying last time, all of us in this House are agreed on the imperative need to ensure normalcy in Punjab and elsewhere, but the question is how do we define normalcy? There has been violence in Punjab and echos of this violence are heard somewhere else also. But the question is—does the normalcy return to Punjab only when violence in Punjab is stopped, or will the normalcy be returned to Punjab when the violence will be ended and at the same time the

hurt psyche of Punjab is also removed? I would like the normalcy to be considered in the wider context. There has been enough violence in Punjab and elsewhere and innocent people are being killed and as a result of that we find that some times a lot of bitterness is developed among the communities, but it is a happy augury that in spite of these provocations, there has been no group violence in Punjab. And we find that though there were some migrations, the migrations are not on the increase. Sir, I would like to point out to you that while we have to restore the hurt psyche of the Punjab, we have to take into account the feeling of alienation among the Sikhs and also the feelings of strong reaction among the non-Sikhs as a result of violence and terrorism that has occurred.

Sir, I would like to go on record and very often I have said that all the Sikhs in the country are not Akalis and all the Akalis are not terrorists and this has been vindicated. Sir there are large sections of the Sikh population which have not only rejected the Khalistan slogan but they have also deprecated violence and terrorism that has taken place.

Sir, I would again like to go on record that in Ottawa when some people were conspiring to organise violence in Delhi, one Sikh member, who was passing by the Gurudwara and heard the conversation, went to the public telephone assistance and rang up the office of the local council and pointed out to them that such a conspiracy is going on. The message was communicated to India. The External Affairs communicated the entire message to the Home Ministry. There was some slip between the cup and the lip and as a result of that though the information regarding the likely violence in the Delhi on the eve of Haryana election was already communicated, prompt action could not be taken. I only pointed out to this particular incident to indicate that as far as the aversion of violence is concerned it is not restricted to only particular community. The peace loving citizens of this country, whether they happen to be the Sikhs, the Hindus or the Muslims, want to live in peace. It

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

is only handful of a few people who are responsible for acts of terrorism and extremism and we must not create conditions and situations by which more and more people will be thrown in the lap of the extremists and the terrorists who would take extreme attitude and try to take the path which will be dangerous to the unity and integrity of India.

Sir, when violence occurs there is natural reaction but one must try to understand why certain types of reactions take place. Sir, unfortunately in this country brutal murder of the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, took place at the hands of those who are supposed to protect her. Later on in Delhi we saw the worst of violence in India. I have with me the Mishra Commission's Report. I myself appeared before the Mishra Commission. I had given affidavit and had witnessed the story of what happened on the platform of Tuglakabad. Some of the innocent sikhs were murdered; they were burnt and at that time the policemen and latter on the army-men, were just standing as passive spectators of the tragedy that occurred. Sir, I made a detailed statement. I appeared before the Mishra Commission and I would like to point out to you, I do not want to read it (Page-21), fortunately the Mishra Commission has categorically said, "When Prof. Dandavate was cross-examined by others, whatever he has stated could not be contradicted and Mishra Commission does not feel it necessary to disbelieve any evidence that Prof. Dandavate has given and everything that has been said about the violence that occurred at Tuglakabad station on the 1st of November, 1984 after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has been vindicated and has been confirmed."

In November such a ruthless violence took place. Many people were burnt alive. There was a Mishra Commission appointed to go into all that. But I would like to ask the Government, after such a holocaust has taken place in the city of Delhi in November, 1984, action against how many persons have taken place? I do not want to make allegation but when a particular community finds that such a tremendous violence has occurred

against one particular community and many innocents have been killed and nobody has been arrested and nobody has been punished, reactions are bound to take place and that gives the feeling of alienation.

Sir, I met large number of Sikhs belonging to Congress men, non Congress parties, Opposition, Akali Dal and very frankly they have condemned the Khalistan slogan. They have condemned violence. I must, at the same time, point out that I have met a large number of Sikhs, among whom, many are members belonging to my party, members belonging to the Congress party and also members belonging to other parties. While they are all totally opposed to the idea of Khalistan, all sorts of extremism, violence, terrorism and killing of innocent people whether they are Hindus or Sikhs, at the same time they have a feeling that the psyche of the Sikh community has been hurt deeply. I do not want to mention names. I have met some of the Ministers' families and even those who belong to the Sikh community have stated that because of the action of some stupid and idiotic persons, they are also unfortunately under the cloud and that there is the feeling of alienation. This feeling of alienation has to be removed. I remember at one of the meetings with the leaders of the Opposition, the former Prime Ministers, Shrimati Indira Gandhi also said, "I agree, it is not merely the violence that has to be stopped. But if there is a feeling of alienation, that feeling of alienation has also to be removed."

I am sure that the Government will do everything that is in its power. I do not want to indulge in acronomy here because that will not solve the Punjab problem. I hope the Government will do everything in their power to see that this felling of alienation is totally removed.

I referred to the violence in November. I will also refer to the Jodhpur detenus. I asked the question in a number of forums whether any crime has been established against those who remain detained in Jodhpur camp and whether they have been proved to be culprits. I

am told that an overwhelming majority of them are not guilty of any crime. But they are told that the onus of proving that they are not guilty is on them. You are unnecessarily creating provocations. There might be some reports, but the fact as it stands today is that against a majority of those who have been detained in the Jodhpur camp, no crime has been established. And not even a *prima facie* case has been established against many of them. If it is so, why unnecessarily create provocation in the minds of people? Why not release them? Therefore, I would demand that those who have been detained in the Jodhpur camp and against whom no charge has been established, should be released immediately. Those who are proved to be guilty of taking to arms and who are found guilty of arson and violence must be punished. But, if you find that some people are not guilty of any charge, please release them. Unnecessarily do not give a handle to those people who want to provoke others.

Incidentally, I may quote an instance here in the hope that Home Minister will take cognizance of it. I am sure that that will also help a lot. Mr. Badal has been detained in Jabalpur. I read it in the press that when Mrs. Badal went to see Mr. Badal who was in detention, she could not recognise her husband. She had publicly stated in a press conference that Mr. Badal was looking so frail and emaciated and she could not recognise her husband. There might be some charges against Mr. Badal. You might have some records with you. I do not want to challenge them. But he is the man who at one time was a member of the Union Cabinet. He happened to be the Chief Minister of a State. He must be given all possible facilities to defend himself. Or, the Government must be given all opportunities to establish whatever be the charges against him. If this kind of treatment is given to him and if what Mrs. Badal has said is found to be correct, in that case, I would personally urge the Home Minister to look into the matter and try not to create such instances which will unnecessarily create some sort of provocation.

Sir, there have been repeated references

to Anandpur Saheb Resolution. As far as I and my party are concerned, I wish to make it explicitly clear that we are not concerned with this or that interpretation of the Resolution. Whatever be the interpretation, we stand totally committed to the unity and integrity of the country. I want to quote one thing here since again and again this Anandpur Saheb Resolution has been brought into the picture and I was rather intrigued to find that even in the document which was signed by the leader of the Akali Dal, Shri Longowal and the Prime Minister, it was decided to refer the interpretation and various aspects of the Anandpur Saheb Resolution to the Commission.

So they decided that something should be referred to the Commission. Formerly, those who were in the Opposition Parties and who were alleged to be the supporters of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, even their patriotic intentions were suspected. But here in the Punjab Accord, the entire interpretation had been referred to the Commission in relation to the State and the Centre.

I would like to quote a very important document. When Mrs. Gandhi was the Prime Minister of the country, she had published a White Paper on the Punjab agitation. It was laid on the Table of the House. In one of the debates, when I was speaking, I tried to place before this House, what is the assurance that is given by the Akali Dal regarding India's unity and integrity. She said, "what is the evidence?" I said, "Madam, your own White Paper." Here is the white Paper.

During the days of the Janata Government, a specific query was made. The Prime Minister of the Janata Government at that time bluntly told the Akali Dal, "I am not interested whether this interpretation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution is correct or that is correct. I want a plain and simple answer from you whether in spite of whatever resolution you might have adopted, do you stand by the unity and integrity?"

In Resolution No. 1 on Page No. 73 of the White Paper which was adopted in the light of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution at the open Session of the 18th all-

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India Akali Conference held at Ludhiana on the 28th and 29th October, 1978-I will read a paragraph—"as such the Shromani Akali Dal, emphatically urges upon the Janta Government to take cognisance of the different linguistic and cultural sections, religious minorities, as also the voice of millions of people and recast the constitutional structure of the country on the real and meaningful federal principles to obviate the possibility of another danger to national unity and integrity of the country and further to enable the State to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people in their respective areas by the meaningful use of their powers."

Sir, our Prime Minister accepted the bonafides on the basis of this clear-cut resolution that they had framed and had forwarded to the Government of India. But what I would like to say is again and again let us not go into finding out this interpretation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is correct or that interpretation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is correct. The question is whether the Akali Dal will stand committed to the pursuit of India's unity and integrity. And so long as they do like that, I would not like to challenge their bonafides, as far as India's patriotism is concerned. So, obviously, the proposition that President's rule should be continued for sixth months more is motivated by the desire of the Government to see that the law and order situation is properly maintained. No doubt, law and order situation in disturbed condition is extremely important. My only difference and it is a slight difference in nuance is that law and order situation is important, but equally important is also the political settlement of the problem of Punjab. Both of them cannot be isolated. If one is disturbed, the other will be disturbed. If the other is disturbed, the first one will be disturbed. Therefore try to link them up.

I remember on one occasion, at his own instance, when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi invited the Leaders of the Opposition, we met. When he discussed the problem, we said that, whatever has

happened the attack on the innocent passengers going in the bus itself is absolutely reprehensible and we must take firm action. I said, at that time our policy should be twin policy of flexibility in dealing with the legitimate demands of Punjab and firmness in dealing with the problems of law and order. It should be a dual policy. I stand by it right from the first go. But at the same time, let me point out to you that a statement was issued, I insisted that along with the condemnation of violence, also say something about the imperative need to find out the political solution of the problem. I remember, the Prime Minister on that occasion said, "I had to see that the law and order situation is maintained, I must function as a Prime Minister."

I said, "you do function as a Prime Minister. I want you to function as a Prime Minister, not as the Commissioner of Police or the General of Army." Both are to be reconciled together. The political duty as a Prime Minister and the Head of the administration and responsibility to maintain law and order, both are to be blended together.

Then only both will be strengthened and, therefore, it is my insistence that merely by promulgating President's rule and having the intervention of the Army, the problem of Punjab will not be solved. Even the problem of law and order will not be solved.

Jaya Prakash Narain had taught us a lesson. Our Army and the Police were trying their best to see that normalcy was brought in the Chambal valley. But following the message of Gandhi ji, J. P. went to Chambal valley, and created a new climate. Even the Prime Minister admitted that a new climate was created, which did help the Administration.

The Army still stands in Nagaland. How many years have passed since the Army entered Nagaland? Even now you will find that the problem has not been solved. So let all those who enthusiastically demand: 'Let there be Army's intervention' and even offer *satyagraha*

in support of that demand, realize that the intervention of the Army has not always solved the internal problems of the country. No doubt Army sometimes has to help the civil administration. But if we rely on the Army to find out a solution to a problem which is essentially political, that problem will always be with us.

Therefore, merely having the President's rule merely having more of CRPF's forces, merely having the armed intervention of the Army is not going to solve the problem. Along with that, what is necessary is the popular will.

We were told at one stage that all parties should come together and commonly campaign. We were also told that Barnala Ji's Government must be strengthened and supported. In fact, we neither gave an unconditional support to the Barnala Government, nor did we unconditionally oppose it. We told him that his every act had to be judged on merits. On more than one occasion we had told our friend Mr. Barnala that he would be able to deliver the goods in the State of Punjab if he independently functioned, and also had the political will to function there. If he functioned as some sort of an agent of the Centre, he would not be able to deliver the goods. No doubt, he could take assistance from the Centre and have cordial relations between the Centre and the State; but he must assert his political will. At one stage, we were told that Mr. Barnala and his Government must be supported. We were told that we must campaign together. And one day, at 11 O'clock we found here many members of the ruling party getting up and asking: 'What is the Home Minister doing? He must take firm action.' And the Home Minister got up on that day, and said action would be taken, and everything that had to be done in Punjab would be done. By the evening, the President's rule in Punjab had already been announced. It was an orchestrated demand. Probably, they knew that the President's rule was coming in the evening.

Sometimes in the House of Commons

a Minister wants convenient questions to be asked and, therefore, Short Notice Questions are arranged. Sometimes the arrangement is with the Minister, and sometimes with others.

S. BUTA SINGH : Professor Sahib, you never oblige us.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : No, we will oblige you for a proper cause. We will do it.

Therefore, that hue and cry, that orchestrated cry was there; and the President's rule was promulgated. I told this to Mr. Barnala before he was thrown out and President's rule was promulgated: 'Rest assured; on the eve of the Haryana polls, you will be thrown out.' And as expected, he was thrown out. Now the President's rule is there.

Of course, there are conflicting figures. But I have a note which says that even as far as casualties are concerned, the average rate had not immediately come down. Violence has not ended completely. Corruption is still there; and as a result, we find that President's rule is not likely to solve all the problems that are pending with the Government. If there is no guarantee that President's rule is going to solve problem, what is the harm in giving a trial to democratic rule in the State?

I am not going to say whether 'X' must be there, or 'Y'— whoever is able to muster a majority in the House can be there. Fortunately, the Assembly has been dissolved. It is in suspended animation. Probably they might evolve animated suspension also. But it is in suspended animation. I am sure that since the Assembly is in suspended animation and the Assembly has not been dissolved, it will be possible to find out whether a popular, democratic rule can be installed.

Political will can be restored; and only if the political will of the Punjab is restored justice is given; and if the political problems are solved through the political solution, then only the law and order can be properly maintained.

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

We very often talk about the Punjab Accord. One does not know how much position of the Punjab Accord has been survived and how much has been demolished. But, anyway, one does not know what has happened to the Punjab Accord? In fact, that seems to be the fate of almost all the Accords, whether inside the country or outside the country; and that being the situation, merely signing the accord and expecting the accord to implement itself on the paper, that way problems can never be solved. Therefore, we should try to hit at the very root of the problem and the root of the problem is that the Punjab problem is not merely a law and order problem if it is merely a law and order problem, in that case, the President's Rule probably is the solution. There are persons who feel that the political solution and the law and order solution both can go hand in hand. But we feel that the President's Rule will not be an alternative, will not be a solution at all. On the contrary, remedy will be worse than the disease. Therefore, we totally oppose in a very constructive spirit to the continuation of the President's Rule for another six months.

[Translation]

CH. SUNDER SINGH (Phillaur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, had the opposition parties been in power in Punjab, they would have realised the seriousness of the situation prevailing in Punjab. They would have realised it, had they been in Amritsar. Their action in Haryana proves that they cannot do anything. They are unable to run a Government. We have gathered that their supporters had come there with sticks. In this way they want to create majority there. This proves that they cannot run the administration there.

13.00 hrs.

Hon'ble Members of the opposition, who are sitting here know nothing about the situation prevailing in Punjab. There is rein of terror in Punjab where people cannot sleep during night. Everybody is apprehensive of his life. Once I asked a former Chief Minister of Punjab that what will happen if Sant Fateh Singh

dies, he replied that there will be 4 persons to carry his body and these 4 persons will also be my men and I will see that who becomes the fifth person. These people deserve strong action. Our Government is weak. The people of Punjab do not believe in compromise. They have no regards for non-violence. Non-violence worked during the British rule; But Government have to take stern action against these people. Why Government is not resorting to strong action? Their population is only 1.5 crores in Punjab and they ask for their share. Our Harijan population is 25 crores. We do not have any share. If they can be given their share we should also be given our share. Let them have Khalistan. Had our big leader who have since expired, been there, everybody would have appreciated our stand. According to our population in Punjab, we should be given 4 districts in Punjab. According to our population in the country, we are entitled to get 4-5 States. What I mean to say is that such atrocities had never been committed as are being committed in Punjab. I met Shri Barnala a number of times about the things going on during his regime and advised him that he should do work. But he did nothing. I cannot explain. There is no need of taking much. Some thing should be done to deal with the law and order situation prevailing in Punjab.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can continue your speech after the lunch break.

13.01 hrs.

[The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the clock.]

[The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at five minutes past Fourteen of the clock.]

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

STATEMENT RE. ACCIDENT TO THE
122 UP NEW DELHI—MADRAS TAMIL
NADU EXPRESS ON 7.11.87

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA) : Sir, I deeply regret to apprise to House of an unfortunate train accident involving 122 UP New Delhi-Madras Tamil Nadu Express at about 13.35 hrs on 7.11.1987 on the Amla-Nagpur Broad Gauge single line section of Nagpur Division of Central Railway. The accident occurred between Katol and Metpanjara stations about 50 Kms. short of Nagpur. The train had a load of 21 coaches. The engine and the first 8 coaches passed the site of accident safely while the remaining 13 coaches, 9th onwards from the train engine, derailed/capsized. I regret that, as a result of the accident, 2 passengers lost their lives including one in the hospital, 13 persons suffered simple injuries and 19 grievous.

Senior Officers from Nagpur and from the Zonal Railway Headquarters at Bombay rushed to the site of accident. Member Engineering, Railway Board also rushed to the site. Later Member Traffic left for Nagpur.

Immediately on receipt of the information, medical vans were rushed from Ajni and Amla. Railway doctors also rushed to the site from Nagpur by road with ambulances. Local doctors from Katol, Kalameshwar and Pandhurna also rushed to the site and rendered medical assistance. The injured were moved to the Railway and Civil Hospitals at Nagpur where further treatment is following.

Ex-gratia payment to the next of kin of dead and to the injured has been arranged.

The stranded passengers were cleared from the site by special buses and by the unaffected coaches of the train. They were further cleared by a special train from Nagpur.

Joint checks of accident spot by Railway and Civil Authorities as also by the Commissioner of Railway Safety, Central Circle have been conducted where-

after restoration work has been taken in hand in full swing. Though Communication was restored at 11-15 hours on 9.11.87 at stop Dead 10 KMPH Speed restriction, one goods train has already passed over the affected section. 15 DN and 16 UP G. T. Express will run via the normal route. Joint checks have revealed that track keys for about 200 metres at the site of the accident were missing, indicating possibilities of track having been tampered with.

Commissioner of Railway Safety, Central Circle working independently of the Ministry of Railways will hold a statutory inquiry into the accident from 9.11.87 at Nagpur to determine the cause of the accident.

14.09 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.
APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE IN
FORCE OF PRESIDENTIAL PROCLA-
MATION IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB—
Contd.

[Translation]

CH. SUNDER SINGH (Phillaur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, I was saying that the number of violent incidents in Punjab and some other places is increasing day by day. There must be an end to it. What I feel is that the situation has become very serious.

I belong to Gurdaspur. Whosoever speaks against extremism, he is killed. Every M.P. and M.L.A. in the State, irrespective of his party affiliation, has been provided with 25 security personnel. Some people belonging to Jat Community met me and requested me to do something to apprehend the extremists and prevent massacre. It has been observed that majority of Sikhs are against extremism. The Harijans are also raising the 'Hathh-kanda' slogan and asking for separation. To-day everybody should realise that India is ours and all of us belong to India. You people have dispossessed us of our land and started ruling over us. Followers of every religion should take a vow that they will live together in spite

[Ch. Sunder Singh]

of all difficulties and would not at all try to create rift among the people. This spirit should be imbibed in everybody. This will fulfill the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. If this spirit is aroused in 90 per cent people, remaining 10 per cent people cannot divide the country.

Even if you are provided with 25 or more persons, you cannot fight. Had the land reforms been taken place, these people would not have turned terrorist in Punjab. They get bread and butter and kill people. Poor people cannot commit murders because they are more worried about their livelihood. The Government have committed blunder by not having done land reforms. Had the land been divided, people would have engaged themselves in earning their livelihood. This would have brought true socialism. The Government did not undertake land reform and encouraged big people. This gave impetus to terrorism. Poor people are more worried about their livelihood. It is only rich people who indulge in such activities, enjoy life and ask others to kill people. But this is not the end. They fight among themselves while distributing the booty and kill each other also in the process. They kill both Hindus and Sikhs. They kill those people who are involved in land cases. The M. Ps cannot have peace in their mind while 25 security personnel accompany them. They cannot move freely. They are fed up with this type of life. They sleep after closing their doors in the night and have constant fear in their mind. Nobody knows when a terrorist may strike at them. The situation in Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozpur is very bad. I am of the view that rule by bullets should be done away with. In my opinion there should be people's rule. Then situation may improve. People are being killed even now. There is no end. Earlier when a single person was killed, people resorted to strike. But now people are being killed every day. Nobody bothers for that Everybody takes it easy. I am of the view that the Government should maintain that when Harijans can remove the dirt, can't the Government get rid of such elements. The Harijan population is 25 crores in the country. If they

win the favour of the Muslims, the poor people, Sikhs, Jats they will become 90 per cent of the total population. Then the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi also can be achieved. The Concept of our socialism is quite different. You cannot usher socialism the way you think but I think that

[English]

No man can get his right by request. Rights are wrested from unwilling hands.

[Translation]

I will tell you what the rights are.

[English]

All expansion is life, all contraction is death. All love is expansion, all selfishness is contraction. Love, therefore, is the only law of life. He who loves, lives he who is selfish is dying. Therefore love is the only law of life.

[Translation]

We do not occupy other man's land. We are all equal and that is why partition of India pains us. So far as Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims are concerned, they are all outsiders and only are we the original inhabitants of this country. Some dunces amongst us have formed the D.S-4 party who claim India to be theirs, then what is ours? They help other parties to win and get defeated themselves. The Jharkhand people also want a separate land. They are tribals and I am also a tribal. I want to ask them that if we have failed to achieve something, when we are united, what will we be able to attain if we are divided. They are also demanding a separate State like Sikhs who are actually unable even to manage one village and if allowed, they will kill each other. In the circumstances, what will they be able to accomplish of their own accord. They should be happy that we are allowing the opposition to function. If the communists are voted to power, they will annihilate the opposition. It is good that Akalis are against us. The people are against. Akalis and there are few big people who support them and that is why if they are voted to power, it does not last long. Similarly, what Devi Lal is doing in Haryana. You can see what the opposition is capable of accomplishing. They do not know how to rule.

There the people are being butchered.
(Interruptions)

In my district Gurdaspur, the Deputy Commissioner as well as the S.S.P. are Harijans, while in Rajasthan, when our colleague hon. Shri Keyur Bhushan went inside a temple, slogans were raised against him for he helps and protects Harijans. This is the attitude towards Harijans.

[English]

Swami Vivekananda's call to the nation :

“The main spring of strength of every race lies in its spirituality. The death of the race begins when sprituality wanes and materialism gains ground”.

Translation]

We should get Harijans recruited in the army and the police. Only then they will be able to protect themselves.

Secondly, there should be a good leader like Mahatama Gandhi if you want to win. Therefore, it is essential to produce good leaders first who can win the hearts of the people. It is due to the absence of good leaders in their party that they are not getting votes. After voting the oposition to power once, the people realised that the Congress party is more capable of delivering the goods. In regard to Punjab, I think the existing situation there is such that President's rule should be extended. Therefore, I support the Resolution brought forward by the Government in this regard.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): There is Home Minister's Motion asking for approval of further extension for six months of President's rule in Punjab and along with it the speech that he made when introducing that Motion. In my opinion it amounts to an expression of complete frustration with the whole situation. They are in a blind alley. They

do not know what to do. All he has said is that the Governor has given a report or recommendation that the situation is not ripe for restoration of popular or democratic rule; that any such Government if attempted to be fromed now would lead to some kind of loosening of the strict measures which have been taken and there will be a general weakening of the situation and also no party or parties which includes, of course, the Congress Party also—no party or parties—are in a position to offer any kind of stable or effective Government and therefore the President's rule must continue. This is the argument of the Governor as reported to us by the Home Minister which has been buttressed by him claiming that on the law and order front things are very much better now, improved, people's confidence has grown and he has used this expression. I am quoting from him—

“That the terrorists are in hiding and virtually on the run”.

I think a more bogus claim can hardly be thought of. This claim is made on the very day when four Police officers were killed in one day including one D.S.P. That was the day when the Home Minister was saying in the House.

“That the terrorists are in hiding and on the run.”

The figure he has also given that from 12th May to 21st of October, the terrorists had killed 446 people of whom, perhaps, I do not know, but perhaps the majority or at least a very substantial number were Sikhs; they killed 446 people and 49 policemen; whereas the Security Forces had arrested 1935 people and had shot 197 terrorists. Now if these figures are compared with the figures of the previous period just before President's rule was imposed when the Barnala Government was functioning there, we find that the number of killings has, therefore, increased. It has not gone down. It has increased. It is on the basis of the Government's own figure and during this period we have also seen some, what one might say is, evidences of the terrorists being very much organised and active, far from being subdued. We have seen killings of

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

Mr. Buta Singh's own relatives in his village on the occasion of family marriage or something like that. It is a sad thing. But in a village where Home Minister has directly got his own links and connections and relatives, such a thing did take place. Many other killings took place during this period of killings of entire families. I know because our party had some victims among them, where the entire family was wiped out. We have also in this period seen the audacity of these terrorists that they have carried out this massacre in Delhi in Chittranjan Colony. He has made no reference to these things. He said "that the terrorists are on the run". Such a ghastly massacre took place here. Earlier also we have had the killings in Greater Kailash and all that and now in the Chittranjan Colony. I hope he does not want to draw a kind of dividing line between those terrorists and these terrorists. It is a part of organised plan to create a certain atmosphere and condition of panic and also to give an impression of being capable of taking so called retaliatory action. It is true. I admit because I frequently do have to go to Punjab and I also may say that on my recent visit I had to go to particular village areas where our people have been killed and which are quite notorious, hot-beds of the terrorists. It is true. As the Home Minister said, that in general the ordinary people, Hindus, of course the Sikhs also, are much more opposed to terrorism and the terrorist activities than they were before. That is the fact. It is also a fact that what is dominant is fear and panic; fear has also grown. It is wrong to say that the confidence on the security forces has grown among the ordinary people. It is not so. In many places, Sir, I was told by the people themselves that the whole trouble is that at night these security forces do not want to move out from their posts. If some alarm is given, if some news comes up about the attempt by the terrorists some where, there is a great reluctance on the part of the security forces to leave their posts at night and to move out. One reason for that may be that the C.R.P. or any other Central Forces which are deployed are strangers to the area. They do not know the area,

they do not know the villages, they do not know the people and they can't identify anybody. They have to rely entirely on the local, that is, the Punjab Police and whatever intelligence they claim to have and therefore much of their effectiveness has also been blunted in spite of the fact that they have been deployed in fairly substantial numbers because the terrorists are mainly acting at night and people everywhere complain that at night these people are not to be seen or heard. They don't come out and they don't arrive at the place till several hours after the killings and incidents took place. I must say one thing that the weakest part of the Home Minister's argument was to explain why it was necessary in the first place to impose President's rule. His only argument is that under the Baranala Government the law and order situation was deteriorating and killings were going up and the situation had gone worse after the imposition of the President's rule. The real reason, the political motivation, I will say, of the Centre behind the imposition of the President's rule, has not been mentioned by the Home Minister at all. The political motivation was at that time that such a move would help the ruling party to mobilise Hindu votes in the Haryana election. That was the whole idea to give the Hindus in Haryana a feeling that the Centre is bothering about them and therefore they are going to come down with a heavy hand on the terrorists in Punjab. But that gamble also failed. They did not get many votes. They got the worst drubbing they ever had in their life in the Haryana election.

Now, what is the essential flaw that we find in this whole argument? Just on the eve of the President's rule, this political mobilisation attempt had started. You remember, there was a move which was initiated from Delhi. All the parties, secular took part in it and it was decided that there would be an-all-party campaign in the Punjab joint mobilisation which we believe is the only way by which the terrorists can be effectively isolated from the mass of people. At present it is wrong to think that they are isolated. People are afraid of them. People don't like many things they are doing. But they are not

isolated. In fact, I know that in parts of Amritsar district, they have been able to expand their base in the rural areas. They are able to move about freely in the day time also. People who are known as terrorists are seen going around in the day-time but nobody has courage to do anything or say anything to them. They are given shelter or possibly they take shelter in village houses. They get food from there and all that. So, they are not isolated and they will not be isolated unless the political mobilisation of the people, that means making the people themselves come out and be vocal, speak out which they are afraid to do and people without arms are facing all these sophisticated weapons. But that political mobilisation effort which was made and which I think, as long as it continued, was having positive results. Very big rallies and meetings were being held and the majority of the people who were coming to these rallies were Sikhs. They were sitting there. They were supporting what was being said, for the need for a popular resistance against the Khalistan movement. But the whole thing has been stopped now. The moment President's rule was imposed, after that the whole thing has been stopped. No more move jointly by all the parties together. Whoever wants to do something on his own separately is free to do it and get killed in the bargain. I do not see why we of the Left should have a monopoly or should take up a contract to go on shedding our blood for what purpose? Unless everybody comes together and if this is considered to be a national task, then it must be made as a joint effort. However, that was not done and one reason, Sir, I may point out as to why people cannot be mobilised in the Punjab to come out on the streets, to come out in demonstration and meetings against the terrorists is that however much they may be against the terrorists they are also against the Central Government. The sentiments of the people against the Centre, you should try to understand, are so bitter that while they do not want this terrorism to continue, it has disrupted their lives completely, dislocated their normal life and so on, at the same time they are so bitter for a number of reasons against the Centre. The result is that this mobilisation is paralysed. What are the issues on which they are bitter? They

have said here in this House many times, even some assurances were given, which have not been kept up. An assurance was given in this House itself that the cases of those Jodhpur detenues would be reviewed. The Government did not say they would release all of them, but they did say that the cases would be reviewed, which means that there is a basis for review. The Government cannot say the opposite also that all the people who were found inside the Golden Temple on that day are all criminals or terrorists or people who have committed some crimes about whom they said there could be no question of a review. Why have they said that the cases would be reviewed? We know among them there are women, there are children, there are Sevadars who were there doing their duty in that temple, and so many other people, and there may be many terrorists also. I do not say there are no terrorists among them. But all that was promised here was that a review would be made in every case and those people who are found not to be involved directly in any type of serious crimes like this would be released. What has happened? We don't hear anything more about it. And if I feel bitter about this, I can understand how an ordinary Sikh in the Punjab feels about these things. I would like to know what is the Government's thinking on this question now. When people talk about the emotions or the psyche of the Sikhs being hurt and all that, I don't believe in all this Khalistan business being a very big issue with them. It is these things which are acting as big pin-pricks. There is this question of taking action against at least those people who are responsible directly for these anti-Sikh riots here, outside the Punjab, after Indira Gandhi's assassination. The report has come of an inquiry; That inquiry report does not specify anybody. It says, 'What happened was a spontaneous thing. It is just a spontaneous expression of people's anger, whereas there is so much corroborative evidence to show that many people were directly involved in organising these attacks on the Sikhs. And then the victims of those riots, a large number are here in Delhi. Can the Government say that they have been properly rehabilitated? They are not. All these things are rank,

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ling in the minds of ordinary Sikhs. These are the things which provide ammunition to the terrorists, these are the things that terrorists are able to utilise in order to get the sympathy of the people and to rouse them against the Central Government, these acts of omission and commission.

Then there is always this allegation going on that innocent Sikh youth are being tortured or they are being even killed in so-called false encounters. Now, what is the Government's response? The Government says, 'No, there is no such thing.' Then why it is being said every day that false encounters and killing of innocent youth are going on, which may be partly true and partly untrue or exaggerated? And on the other side, the Government says, 'No, there is no such thing.' Everybody, every single person who is arrested or interrogated or killed is a genuine terrorist. I do not think this will satisfy anybody, it being the psychology of the Sikhs in the Punjab at this moment. Something must be done, some process must be set in motion, some method must be found by which all allegations which are based on some kind of *prima facie* evidence of people having been tortured in the name of interrogation or are being killed by the police in order to show that they have encounters, are answered. There must be some proper inquiry. I read the speech that Mr. Ribeiro made in some village meeting in Jalandhar district I think it which—I was very glad because Ribeiro was saying this—he said, 'I cannot claim that my force is completely 100 percent blameless in all cases. It may be somewhere such things do happen. Some things are done which should not be done. Some excesses may be committed, but if you people who are here listening to me, bring such specific cases to my notice, I promise you as the Chief of the Police Forces here that every case will be thoroughly interrogated by the people on whom you can depend; But I do not know if such things are actually being done. Then we should be told something about it and the Government should come out with some kind of report instead of simply, flatly denying everything and saying, 'No, nothing like this has happened.' And the

opposite side goes on saying, 'Yes, you are killing all our innocent youth.' Just now the same thing has started being said in Sri Lanka that all the innocent youth are being killed by the Indian Peace-keeping Force. This is not the way to deal with these things, Sir, So, what I want to say is that the situation is serious. There should not be a complacent attitude about the law and order situation, as the Home Ministry has tried to say, because the path of joint mobilisation of all secular forces which is the only way to isolate these terrorists, has been given up virtually though the Home Minister said last time, in the last Session, that 'we believe firmly in that path and we are going to see that that path is followed.' But nothing has happened. Secondly, what happened to the question of encouraging and helping and arming by people's self-defence squads in the villages who are to be given the responsibility of defending their own villages? Now, you will say some thing 'yes, some squads have been formed with ex-servicemen and all that'. I go about in the Punjab quite a bit, my Party is quite active, I suppose, in the Punjab, everybody knows it, and they have repeatedly been requesting that such squads should be formed at least in those 3—4 districts where the terrorists are on the rampage and let the people themselves take the responsibility of guarding their areas and their villages, provided they are given some minimum arms by the Government. I suppose there is some controversy about this within the ruling circles as to whether people should be given arms; specially if they are Communists, they should not be given, better they should be killed. I do not know what they think, but I know that there is a meagre and very miserable quantity of arms and that also arms of a particular type which are of this restricted bore and all that, even that is something, but there is a very very meagre amount being given to people who are willing to come out and fight these people and stand up to that.

There are so many little things. I do not know if the Home Minister knows that when an employee of the Central Government working in the Punjab, he probably is a Punjabi himself, but he is an employee of the Central Government,

Railway employee for example—when they are killed by terrorists, there is no prescribed scale or policy or anything of giving them compensation. They don't even get the compensation which an ordinary citizen in the Punjab who is a victim of the terrorists gets or which the Punjab Government gives to its own employees who are made victims. I have got a concrete case here, I can give you, of a railway employee who was killed by the terrorists. The Punjab Government referred it to the local railway authority saying, 'what about paying adequate compensation?' They said, 'we referred it to the railway authorities in Delhi, but they say, 'we have no policy, we have no prescribed norms or anything of giving compensation'. So, he has to be given less compensation than what Punjab Government employees or ordinary citizens get. These things should be looked into. who is to look into these things? I know Mr. Barnala on any count was quite a weak figure, he was weak on many factors. But with all my friendship and long old friendship for Siddhartha Shankar Roy, I don't think he is a substitute for Barnala. He can't be a substitute in the Punjab for Barnala. He is not looked upon like that by ordinary Sikh people, they regard him as a symbol of the Centre against whom they have so many grievances. And those grievances also are not being attended to. So, as Prof. Dandavate has said, is it a political question of fighting these terrorists or is it simply a question of letting the security forces handle the situation which is absurd. Both things are required. Security forces would be more effective if they were backed up by these self-defence squads in the rural areas. That also is not there. Intelligence service does not seem to have improved. Otherwise, how they went and butchered so many people of the Home Minister's family, in his own village there? It is well-planned and well-organised thing. And just to show that they are not on the run, they come to Delhi and kill so many people in the Chittaranjan Colony in this very period. So, you must have a combination of effective security measures to the extent possible with political initiative. Political initiative part of it is completely missing for the last several

months. Nothing is being done in that direction by the Centre nor is any move made jointly to mobilise everybody together. If you simply extend the President's rule for six months more and continue everything else in the old way, this is not going to solve anything. It will make the terrorists also more desperate and then it will also alienate the ordinary Sikh people further.

What is the role of the Gurdwaras now? He should tell us. It is because, now it has become a kind of unwritten thing that we cannot go into the Gurdwaras. We go into the complex all around the Gurdwara, into this Serai and that Serai and all that. But we cannot send the security forces into the Gurdwara proper for obvious reasons. Once that lesson has been learnt. May—be we made a mistake or whatever it was. But that had the biggest repercussion on the psychology of the Sikhs. We know it very well. Now I am told that in every district, in every village, new Gurdwaras are being constructed because it is the obvious place where these people can gather, make that their headquarters. It is a kind of sanctuary, where they know, they are safe. Nobody can come inside and take action against them. They can even collect arms inside there. Those new High Priests in Amritsar who are the nominees of the terrorists have openly declared that henceforth, all the monies, contributions which are received, whether from different parts of the country or from abroad, for the Golden Temple, will be utilised for the purchase of weapons, for buying more arms, for our young men. So, where do we go from here?

Therefore, in conclusion. I would say, we do not like to support this motion because it does not offer any real alternative. It is just a frustrated way of saying, 'Let us go on in the same old way'. may—be, you cannot find any Party just now, including your own, of course, which is capable of giving firm leadership, as you said to some new popular Government. But the President's rule is not a substitute. The role of the bureaucracy and the role of the gun is not an indefinite substitute for popular rule. It cannot be. And the Barnala Government was, no doubt,

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riddled by many weaknesses and contradictions and differences within the Akali Party also—we know them—which had the very negative effect on the security. We know that. But the dismissal of that Barnala Government has failed to improve matter. My point is, it has failed to improve matter. Even the movement of the terrorists across the border and the supply of arms across the border has not been plugged.

(Interruptions)

Every day, the actions against the terrorists or the actions by the terrorists, show, according to the Press, that the number of AK-47, assault rifles is increasing. Every day this comes in the news that so many AK-47 assault rifles have been seized by the police; this was done and that was done. Where are they coming from? If you have sealed the border, where are they coming from? I do not see what great benefit to the law and order situation has been brought about by this President's rule. Even Prime Minister Junejo is now trying his own game to capitalise on the fact which, according to them, we have been doing the same thing with the Tamil terrorists as they are doing with all Punjab terrorists. So why do you complain? He started saying openly.

You have to reply to these things. You cannot just keep quiet and say every day that our police are very active and efficient.

Finally, I will just say that some process of moving towards restoration of popular rule at least must be started, must be initiated, by the Government. The first step, I will say—because the Home Minister said who is there to talk to, nobody to talk to, nobody left to talk to—in view of this critical situation we are facing is that the Government should state openly that “We are prepared to talk to anybody who is prepared to declare publicly that he is against secessionism they are for national unity, they are against Khalistan, they are against terrorism.” We do not ask for any other conditions in this situation. You should have no hesitation in talking to anybody who is willing to commit himself publicly before the

country and the people on these issues, if it is going to be some use in finding a way out, some kind of coalition of forces, perhaps, which is capable of replacing this President's rule. I do not mind if they are inside jail now or outside jail, wherever they may be, but they have got to commit themselves on this basic point. On this, there can be no compromise. You should have no hesitation in agreeing to talk to anybody who is willing to do that. Let us do something. I do not know if you are having some secret talks, confidential talks. I do not expect you will tell us that. We are hearing something now and again from here and there. But this situation cannot be allowed to continue like this because the whole security and interest of the country is at stake and, therefore, I think this is a barren proposition simply to extend President's rule without thinking of any new step, any new initiative, nothing, go on in the old way, that will only lead us to a dead end and, therefore, we are not in favour of this type of motion which he has moved here.

[Translation]

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Varanasi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while expressing my views on the Punjab Resolution, I want to begin from where Shri Indrajit Gupta has left. He wants that the Government should openly invite persons for negotiations who have complete faith in our Constitution and who are totally against terrorism and violence. I think, perhaps, his attention has not been drawn to the appeal made by our hon. Prime Minister 2 or 4 days back. The hon. Prime Minister has himself reiterated, as has appeared in the newspapers also, that Government is prepared for talks in regard to finding a solution to the Punjab problem provided only those people come forward who have complete faith in the Constitution and are opposed to terrorism and violence. There can be no better offer than this. Hence, it is an open invitation to those who are prepared to talk about this problem. I think that the hon. Prime Minister has expressed the same views as have been expressed by Shri Indrajit Gupta.

He has also proposed that a mass campaign should be initiated to educate the people and to isolate terrorists in Punjab so that they are not able to get any cooperation from the common people. Perhaps he is not aware that our Congress party has been organising large scale mass rallies, processions, speeches etc, in every district of Punjab since 19th of this month and every effort is being made to create public awareness through mass mobilisation and other methods. It is a matter of rejoicing that the people of Punjab are participating in large numbers in these processions, meetings, speeches and rallies and are supporting us. We all want that we should make cooperative efforts in combating terrorism and in isolating the terrorists in Punjab. That is why our Congress party has been organising such mass campaigns from the very beginning.

I do agree that communists have been working in this direction since long. They have been making efforts and the Congress Party has also been making similar efforts. I think that he should have mentioned it. I do not know why it escaped his notice.

Secondly, in regard to the proportions which the Punjab problem has assumed, my personal opinion is that no such efforts of the Government for installing a democratic rule in the State will be successful. Earlier, elections were held in Punjab after the signing of the Punjab Accord between Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal. In this way Akali Government was formed there. It was a great achievement. However, it is unfortunate that whenever the Akali party is in power, they start some or the other struggle but today also the struggle is going on although the Akali Dal is no longer in power. Perhaps it was their infighting which has weakened them. Despite the support of the Congress and of this House, they were unsuccessful in maintaining peace and restoring normalcy in Punjab.

It is wrong to say that President's Rule has not helped in improving the conditions in any way. Till 11th May 1987, that is, before the imposition of President's Rule, there were 3294 incidents of terrorism against only 2533 so far occurred after the imposition of President's

Rule. There has been a definite decline in the number of incidents. During the Barnala rule there has been 816 murders against 519 after the imposition of the President's Rule. It clearly indicates that the number of murders have come down. Perhaps Shri Indrajit Gupta might be aware that when a serious problem had been created by Naxalites in West Bengal, it was Shri Siddharth Shankar Ray who was able to control the situation and it is because of that the C.P.M. Government is working smoothly there. We have full faith that Shri Siddharth Shankar Ray will be successful in Punjab as well.

Those who are committing heinous crimes and indulging in violence, should be dealt with sternly. Only the police and the law can deal with them. Any sort of relaxation will not yield good results. Terrorism has become an international phenomenon today but unless such things are firmly countered we will not be able to solve this problem. In such an atmosphere, it is not possible to enter into any settlement with them. In other countries, if terrorism raises its head it is nipped in the bud. In Punjab also we will have to deal with them sternly.

Unlike Shri Indrajit Gupta I have not been able to travel much in Punjab. However, when I went there once I saw that the common people were doing their business peacefully and agricultural activities were also being carried on as usual. Even today, inspite of the drought, the foodgrain production in Punjab has been the highest among all States. There is peace in the villages. People are carrying on with their business as usual. Industries are also functioning normally. Such is the situation there. We can see prosperity everywhere in the State. It is because of this reason that some people from there were able to go to Canada and settle there and now these are the people who are now demanding Khalistan from there. When our hon. Prime Minister visited Vancouver recently, the Sikhs there who actually have nothing to do with our country and have no other links except that they are Sikhs, agitated for Khalistan. 'Our hon. Prime Minister was right in saying that they should form 'Khalistan' in Canada because there was no such thing in India.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : He created a headache for them.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : No there will be no headache for them. They will be able to deal with it. I think whatever is happening in Punjab is a political gimmick. This is the result of the conspiracy of some elements abroad and of some inside the country who want to grab power by any means and are taking recourse to violence. Therefore, they should be dealt with accordingly. As regards detained people, we want that they should be prosecuted. But sometimes it is not possible to institute legal proceedings against them. Leave aside Punjab, even in other States when goondas commit murders, no one is prepared to come forward to give evidence against them. Hence, we are compelled to keep such people behind bars. For such people we have the National Security Act. We have such acts to curb terrorism but there is no one to tender evidence against such people. Therefore, they have to be kept behind bars. Besides, it is essential to enforce anti-terrorist laws in Punjab. If we review the cases everyday and release the prisoners subsequently, then some bad elements, goondas and murderers are likely to be set free as it is difficult to get evidence against them. None is willing to provide testimony in such cases. Therefore, I think it is not desirable to take this issue lightly. This problem cannot be solved by releasing the prisoners detained in Jodhpur jails.

I think we should support the strict measures taken by the Government in regard to Punjab. The way the murders are being committed there, sometimes it becomes very difficult to prevent such incidents. Even in Delhi inspite of heavy security, the terrorists manage to come and kill people. It is very difficult to apprehend the killers because no one comes forward to tender evidence against them. Therefore, it has become more difficult in Punjab. Should people do their work or provide such an evidence? Therefore, there is no alternative to President's Rule in Punjab.

I would suggest that there the State

Assembly should be dissolved. There is no need for animated suspension. Do you think that by keeping this assembly alive you will be able to establish democracy and peace in that State? Will you be able to combat these terrorists and extremists? I think it is impossible to do so. You should first dissolve the assembly and then think of holding elections when there is a congenial atmosphere in which President's Rule can be ended and elections can be held peacefully.

How is the President's Rule undemocratic there? The Parliament has full control over the affairs of that State. There are Advisory Committees and laws are made on the basis of their recommendations. The Home Minister also enjoys certain powers in this regard. That is why there is a provision in our Constitution under which Central Rule can be imposed in any State in case of constitutional break down in that State.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It is good that there is no provision in our Constitution for the President's Rule at the National level.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : When the Janata Party came to power in 1977, it made use of this provision and dissolved all the State Assemblies by misusing it. It is not that there was a different Constitution then. But when it was convenient for them, then they also took this step. If this provision had not been there how would they have taken that step? Thus, our constitution makers had made this provision keeping in view the situation in the country.

I think the resolution moved by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is appropriate and beneficial for the country. Concrete steps are being taken to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country and the hon. Minister has thus shown exemplary courage in this regard. Just now hon. Shri Indrajit Gupta has also stated that inspite of the brutal murder of the members of the family of the hon. Home Minister in Punjab and about which the whole House has expressed sorrow he is combating the problems of that State

with courage. Can we imagine how much tension he may be enduring on account of it ?

This motion has been brought forward to extend the President's Rule by another six months in order to tackle the difficult situation in Punjab. The Government is gradually being successful in gaining control over the situation in that State. I want to congratulate the Governor, the Police Chief, Shri Ribeiro and all other concerned officers in this regard.

Today, the police is being condemned but we should realise the difficult nature of their work, how the constables and the officers are attacked and what could be their state of mind under such circumstances. We shall appreciate the courage with which they are combating the situation. The terrorists are unnecessarily blaming them, we should not pay any attention to that.

15.00 hrs.

The way in which shelter is being provided to the terrorists in Gurdwaras, I agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta's view fully that in case such criminals hide in Gurdwaras or in other places of worship or if arms are piled up there, then it should be Government's right to search these places and flush out the terrorists. No temple, mosque or Gurdwara or any other place of worship can provide shelter to the criminals or keep arms. To-day we find that the people there are incited to rise up in rebellion. We should condemn such activities going on inside the Gurdwaras today and we should condemn those Sikhs who are encouraging it. I think our peace loving Sikh brethren do not like such activities. But the terrorists are occupying the Gurdwaras forcibly. They are not only terrorising the good citizens but also threatening the priests with dire consequences if they dared to oppose. They have threatened Prof. Darshan Singh as well. But this state of affairs cannot continue for long. If violence is incited or a call to revolt is given from religious places or criminals are given shelter and weapons stock-piled there, it will not be tolerated in the near future. I think such a situation cannot go on for a long time. Therefore, in order to

safeguard the sanctity of such places of worship, strict action should be taken to prevent stock-piling of weapons in these places.

15.01 hrs.

[SHRIMATI BASAVARAJESWARI
in the Chair]

The report of the Sarkaria Commission has already been submitted. Today in view of the different situations being created in different States and in view of the federal structure, it is not possible to give any concessions in this respect. We should not make any such arrangements by which the State Governments can cripple their administration and make the life of the common people difficult. They should not be granted so much powers as to rise up in revolt. That is why, it is essential to consider the report of Sarkaria Commission very seriously. It is not yet time to grant too much powers to the State Governments.

A Commission was appointed to inquire into the Delhi riots. The report of this Commission has also been submitted. According to the report, no one has been found guilty. As a result, law suits cannot be filed against anyone. Whatever inquiry has taken place is enough. Those persons whose shops were looted have been granted adequate compensation. I myself know of many persons who have now got better shops with large stocks of commodities than what they had prior to the riots. If some people have been left, you can compensate them as well. If you institute cases and dig up old graves, it will create bitterness among people which will not benefit anyone.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-
WALIA : Are you opposing it ? Do you want that cases should not be instituted against the killers ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : There were so many killings in Punjab but no suit has been instituted against anyone....
(Interruptions)

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-
WALIA : The killer is a killer, whether he is in Punjab or in Delhi....
(Interruptions)

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : You suggest that those who are detained should also be released. I want to say that those who are in prisons, let them remain there. What is the use of digging old graves. We should not create such conditions which may create bitterness among people. People forget their differences with the passage of time and then live like brothers. While supporting the resolution moved by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, I want to submit that there should be no let up in this regard and the Government should take strong action to curb terrorism and extremism in Punjab. Those who indulge in politics in the name of religion and take undue advantage of religion to get political power should never succeed in their aims. If we are successful in our endeavour then no one will ever try to grab power by using religion as a tool and there will be no violence, terrorism or extremism in the name of religion. Today, efforts are being made to create a new atmosphere of religious fanaticism, intolerance, bitterness and communal ill-feeling in the country. We talk a lot about secularism but it is seen that bitterness is growing among people. The forces which are bent upon creating bitterness in the country are emerging. That is why Government and all the hon. Members should be vigilant in this regard and they should ensure that such communal forces are not able to rise their heads and if they happen to do so then they should be eliminated totally. We will have to separate politics from religion and isolate any such elements who want to take advantage of religion. We should not show any leniency in this regard.

Everyone has supported the various accords signed by our Hon. Prime Minister. Just now the hon. Professor has said a lot in this regard. But I want to tell him that these accords whether signed inside the country or outside have been successful. The situation in Sri Lanka is improving and it is an historic accord under which a neighbouring country has requested the Indian Prime Minister for military help for bringing peace in that country. This agreement has been appreciated by all the democratic countries in the world including U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Such events have never occurred so far

anywhere in the world. That is why they do not believe that Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has gone there to establish peace in that region and they are also doubtful about his success. Thus, I think that the whole nation supports the steps taken by the Hon. Prime Minister in this critical hour and I will request the hon. Members belonging to the opposition to support it as well because we can solve our problems only by following this path.

With these words, I support the resolution moved by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs.

[English]

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati): Madam, I am sorry that I cannot support this resolution moved by the Home Minister S. Buta Singh. It appears that this Government—whether it is in Punjab or in the foreign soil of Sri Lanka—have given up all effort of political solutions and have decided to go in for military solutions. In fact, if any evidence is necessary for the failure of the Government with regard to the Punjab issue, the debate today is itself the strongest evidence.

The Home Minister will agree that all the major political parties in this country—I am not including my own party because I have hardly any stake in Punjab—were unanimous with the Government in their approach to the Punjab problem sometime back. We also supported the Government. The Home Minister will also agree that there were consensus in this House on the question of Punjab. But today the Opposition and Ruling Party stand divided in their approach to the Punjab.

And what further evidence is necessary for the failure of the Government on this issue?

The failure of the Government is also evident from the speech given by my respected predecessor Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav. After the Punjab Accord was signed, the election in Punjab was considered—when the people of Punjab even under extreme difficulties, exercised their democratic rights—a signal victory of the democratic process of this country. The fact

that Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav has today asked for the dissolution of that Assembly, which means the failure of the Punjab Accord, is a clear evidence of the failure of the Central Government's policies so far as Punjab is concerned.

The Home Minister has said that the terrorists are on the run. I don't know I remember, at some point of time, Mr. Rebeiro made a statement that there are 45 A Class terrorists, 50 B Class terrorists in Punjab. But today, according to the statistics, 1935 terrorists have been apprehended. Is it that new persons have joined the terrorists in Punjab?

I have been given certain statistical information by Mr. Ramoowalia—I cannot vouch for it, I hope the Home Minister in his reply will vouch for it. It appears that from the Extremist Crime Chart since May 1987 upto October, during these months, the number of persons killed in Punjab happened to be 717 whereas in 1986 when the Akali rule was there the number of persons killed was a mere 127. Even after that, if the Central Government want to take credit saying that the entire Punjab problem is on its way out, well it can take credit; but the statistics belie it.

I would like to know if terrorism is the only problem in Punjab. Does the Punjab problem have no political implications? Do you feel that supposing the entire terrorist problem is tackled in Punjab, the Punjab problem will disappear from the political scene of this country? Terrorism is a manifestation of the basic Punjab problem. The political problem must be solved politically.

We had an opportunity of meeting the Prime Minister once on the Punjab issue. I remember that Mr. Madhu Dandavate pointed out that the political approach to the Punjab problem has been given up totally and the reply of the Home Minister was that the only problem is now to deal with the terrorists. I being a politician, being a democrat, being a part of the Parliamentary process, cannot accept the proposition that tackling terrorists, doing away with terrorists is the only solution to this problem. It is a bankruptcy of thou-

ght on the part of the Central Government. After all, Mr. Barnala was sacrificed and even the Punjab Accord was sacrificed at the altar of the Haryana elections. I do not want to go into it. Mr. Badal has been put behind the bar. Jodhpur detenus question has remained unresolved. Nobody is talking about Punjab Accord. How are you going to initiate a political process? Shri Shyam Lal Yadav made a pertinent reference that Mr. Sidharth Shankar Ray, who is a very respected person so far as individually I am concerned because I have been his junior in a number of cases, solved the naxalite problem. Is it not known to this country how the naxalite problem was solved? A number of innocent people were killed in false encounters in the name that they were naxalites. When you say that Punjab problem is going to be solved by Mr. S. S. Ray in the same way the naxalite problem was solved you give credence to the allegation made in Punjab that innocent persons are being killed. Do you realise the dangerous implication of this statement? If naxalite problem was solved in Bengal the same analogy cannot be applied in Punjab because there are three basic reasons. The naxalite problem could not grow root in Bengal because it was based on certain economic philosophy. In this country mass movement on economic philosophy is extremely difficult. The naxalite movement was based on a philosophy which antagonised the rich and the pseudorich class. So they did not get the support of influential society. Therefore, the naxalites did not have the support at the ground level. The naxalites also did not have any resources. They did not have the weapons and arms but the Punjab terrorists have these things. Therefore, if you think that a parallel between naxalite movement and Punjab movement is possible and Mr. Ray can solve the Punjab problem in the way the naxalite problem was solved in Bengal then you are grossly mistaken. In fact the solution is going to be counter-productive and, I believe it has already become counter-productive. If the Sikh psyche was hurt two years back it is hurt in a greater degree today. I have talked to a number of Sikh persons. They are all against terrorists but they are also all against the approach of the Central Government.

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

They feel that injustice is being done. They all feel that innocent people are being killed. Where is the counter-propaganda on the part of the Government to meet this allegation ?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the bankruptcy is also apparent for other reasons. We opposed the passing of the Resolution 249 in the other House saying that by passing this Resolution subjects which are under the domain of the State Government have been by one resolution taken over by the Central Government. In spite of the fact that the entire Opposition was against this resolution still it was carried but what action has been taken under that. Subsequently you come up and say no action is possible under 249. If that is so you ought to have thought it before the Resolution was passed.

Today many laws have been passed in the name of Punjab. This worries me that laws have been passed in the name of Punjab conferring widest powers on the Central Government. For the first time in the history of Indian jurisprudence a confession before a police officer has been made admissible. We know how police officers behave. We know how police officers get confessions. We know how police officers act but still confessions before a police officer have been made admissible. Now it is very interesting that the largest number of cases that have come under the Anti-Terrorist Act are not in Punjab but in Gujarat. I do not know whether there is any terrorist activity in Gujarat but the Home Minister has to admit that the largest number of cases under the Anti-Terrorist Act have been filed in Gujarat. That means these Acts are being used today in States against persons who are politically opposed to the ruling party only. I am not saying it regarding the Congress party. *(Interruptions)* History of political life has shown that in a democratic set-up if you clothe a government with unfettered powers the tendency is to exercise that power tangentially. The basic premises of all laws and constitutions have been totally diluted.

Now in this the Home Minister has

said that there is lull. Yes there is lull in Punjab. I come from a State which has the experience of six years of agitations and I have some experience of this. The lull is extremely dangerous. The lull only exhibits peoples' discontent, anger and frustration and in an atmosphere of discontent, anger and frustations the terrorists and extremists have a fieldday. That's while tackling the terrorists, the popular support is missing. People are against terrorists but they are not coming forward against the terrorists. We heae stores that the terrorists have killed somebody and then escaped in tractors. Now when the Government has all the sophisticated machinery at their command, they have command posts within two kilometres, how terrorists run away in tractors ? Because they go and take a shelter in villages. The villagers also are not coming forward to hand them over to the police and they gather some sort of a tacit support. This is an atmosphere which I am always apprehensive of. Therefore, I will suggest with all humility that a political process in Punjab is a must. If it is an accepted position-and it is an accepted position-that a vast majority of the people of Punjab, whether Hindus, Sikhs, Christians or people of any other religion are against terrorism, then we must try to initiate a dialogue and discussion with them. Therefore, I will subscribe with all humility but with all assertion that let us not take Punjab as merely a law and order problem, as a problem which can be quelled through military and army but a political process should be started. I am not saying. Do not take action against terrorists. Take action but parallely political action is a must. A political process should be initiated. Repressive laws should be withdrawn.

Then there is the question of detenus. 369 detenus are in Jodhpur jail from 6th of June 1984. As a democrat and student of law, I will never support such a case where a person is put behind the bars year after year without trial. If the Jodhpur detenus are put behind the bars year after year on one ground, I can be put behind the bars; everyone may be put behind the bars without any trial for year after year. This is against the fundamental basic

policy and principles of our Constitution. We opposed these very laws during our freedom struggle with the strongest of our voices. It is a tragedy of time that this Government today talks in terms of democracy, is following these laws and is extending the duration of these laws. National Security Act had an operation of one year. It had gone for an operation of two years and has been extended in the case of Jodhpur detenus. They can be behind the bars for years together without any trial and still we call ourselves democrats. You review their cases. If there are evidences against them, put them behind the bars. We will all support. But at least this country must know—we must know—whether there are evidences against these 369 persons. If there is no evidence, then these persons must be released. What authority Government has got to keep people behind the bars for years to come without trial? This is one of the reasons which has come in the way of solution to the Punjab problem.

Now the report about the riot victims in Delhi. I do not know but the newspaper reports say that the riot panel indicts a former Congress M.P. The report also says: As per powers vested in it by the Delhi Administration notification, the Committee appointed by the Government has directed Mr. Marwaha to take action immediately. It is learnt that Mr. Marwaha had instead written back to the Committee asking it to refer the matter to the Lt. Governor of Delhi.

The Committee asks Mr. Marwaha to take action; Marwaha asks the Committee that it should be referred to the Lt. Governor; Lt. Governor says: I can't do anything. I would like to know from the Home Minister whether such a report has been received. And if it has been received, which is the authority to take action and whether any action has been initiated. Now, when you do not take any action on this, obviously the Sikh psyche is to be hurt and this problem is bound to be there in Punjab. That's why I am saying that the irritants, about which all the time the people have mentioned, must be removed. An effort must be made to restore popular Government in Punjab.

My final submissions will be that in-

itiate the political process. I am not saying: Do not take action against the terrorists. My heart bleeds for those innocent people who were killed in Chittaranjan Park. All of us are moving under the shadow of death in Delhi. When my own son goes out and does not come back by 7'30, I get worried. Is there anyone who has a son or a daughter, who doesn't get worried? We strongly condemn these innocent killings. But I feel that the only way we can do a way with it is a political solution of the Punjab problem. Take action against the terrorists. Take all the actions which are possible within the framework of law. When you act outside the framework of law, you commit violence, then violence breeds violence and the State violence is the biggest percussion of violence. Therefore, the State must also see that it acts under the purview of law. The State has to act within the framework of law, whether it be in Punjab or outside the State, the repressive law should be withdrawn and diluted; the irritants like the Jodhpur detenus and the permanent relief, these irritants should be removed. Now, it is time that we should talk about the Punjab Accord because the ruling party claims that It is the greatest achievement of the Government and the Prime Minister. If it is the achievement of the Prime minister, is the achievement of the Prime Minister only signing the accord? The accord must also be implemented. It has not been fully implemented. We have seen what happened to one accord in Sri Lanka. We have seen it. We will discuss it tomorrow. Therefore, I submit that so far as Punjab is concerned, there was no difference between the ruling party and the Opposition. There has never been a difference but because of your approach, the ruling party and Opposition stand divided; the Congress Members are divided in their own approach. Somebody is saying to keep President's Rule, do not dissolve the Assembly and another was saying that the Assembly should be dissolved. Therefore, I submit that a political approach to the Punjab problem is a must, if not, with every passing day and the Punjab situation will be more and more complex. If the Government feels that the problem can be solved only by the Army and Police, than they are sadly mistaken. We can only

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warn the Government; we cannot do anything but if you continue this process, you and you alone will be responsible for what happens in Punjab and the consequences in the country in the years to come.

[Translation]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur): Madam Chairman, had there been any alternative before me, I would not perhaps have supported the extension of President's Rule in Punjab. It is not a good thing to have President's Rule in any State. But there is no alternative to President's Rule in Punjab at this point of time.

In view of the incidents which took place in Punjab especially during the years 1984 and 1985, the Government of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, soon after coming to power, tried to find out a political solution to the Punjab problem on a priority basis. Consequent to this an accord was signed between the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the then President of the Akali Dal, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. We call it the Punjab Accord. We had hoped that this Accord will solve the Punjab tangle and the situation will become normal. Elections were held in Punjab on the basis of this Accord and the Akali Dal came to power and formed its Government. It was accorded full support by the Government as well as the Congress Party. There will be hardly an instance where the Central Government and the Congress party hesitated to extend support to the Barnala Government. We extended all outsupport, political and otherwise, to them. It was our effort all along that Shri Barnala's popular Government should go on running the administration. But the situation in Punjab deteriorated and it turned from bad to worse. The main reason for this is that the Akali Dal could not remain united. Their lust for power divided them. They started fighting among themselves. Due to this they were not able to meet the challenge of the terrorists. It was also reported that some of the activities of Akali Dal connived with the terrorists.

The Akali Dal was divided into two groups. There were also reports that even some of the Ministers in the Akali Government were conniving with the terrorists and extending protection to them. Due to all these reasons the Government led by the Akali Dal was not able to play any effective role in Punjab.

Madam Chairman, we have a word of praise for Shri Barnala and we do not doubt his intentions. He is a patriot. He wanted welfare of Punjab. But he was not able to take effective steps in view of his position in the Assembly and the manner in which he was running the Government due to division in his party. The terrorist activities went on increasing. The police used to allege that political pressure was being put on them and several Ministers were forcing them not to take action against the terrorists. When all these facts came to the fore, there was no alternative for the Government or the Home Minister. They must have taken the decision to impose the President's Rule in Punjab with a heavy heart, because there was no other alternative. Shri Barnala was not in a position to provide a strong Government. It was, therefore, that President's rule had to be imposed.

Madam Chairman, keeping in view the situation which prevailed in Punjab before the imposition of the President's Rule, it can certainly be said that now the situation has been comparatively better. The Government of India has never claimed that the situation in Punjab has become normal after the imposition of the President's Rule. It cannot be claimed also. The Government of Punjab is, however, working more vigorously and playing an effective role now. This is what the Government of India and we are saying.

Just now our colleagues from the opposition have said that people are being killed in Punjab even now. According to newspaper reports 10 to 20 people are being killed every day and people in Gurdwaras are being incited to rise in revolt. We never claim that these things are not taking place. Nobody knows when these things will stop. But it is certain that the people are not as fearful

as they were before. Now the police and the administration there is rendering a good job in dealing with the terrorists and an atmosphere has been created where the terrorists are fleeing and the police is running after them. But previously the situation was quite the reverse. Keeping in view the situation in Punjab, it is a big achievement. Even the people have come forward to extend their cooperation in combating the terrorists. How Jethedar Darshan Singh Ragi has been able to leave the Golden temple? It is only due to a change in the situation that he has been able to leave the Golden Temple because he was being harassed by the terrorists. He would not have shown this courage prior to the imposition of the President's rule. The large scale migration of Hindus from Punjab to other State especially to Delhi has not only stopped but also the people are not returning to their homes. It is not a small thing. The Gurdwara Prabandak Committee, which is responsible to manage all Gurdwaras there, has no control over the Golden Temple. The terrorists have taken possession of all the Gurdwaras. I feel that the same situation is being created which prevailed at the time of the operation Blue Star as has been rightly claimed by the police that they now cannot enter the Golden Temple and other Gurdwaras. How to make our Sikh brethren to understand that temples, mosques and Gurdwaras are meant for holy performances and not for providing shelter to criminals who commit dacoities in Banks. After all why the police cannot enter these places? All the religious places whether they are temples, mosques, churches or Boudh Vihars, are sacred places in the world. If a criminal can hide himself in these places, then there is no bar on the police to enter them in order to take action against the culprits. Why the Sikhs in Punjab cannot be made to understand that no good people are hiding there. Rather people like Darshan Singh Ragi are leaving that place. These days the devotees are not visiting the Golden Temple. I came to learn from a newspaper report that the daily earnings of the Golden Temple have reduced to only Rs. 400 to 500 against Rs. 4 to 5 lakhs previously. The people do not visit the temple out of fear. The Government will have to take some action in this

regard. Until and unless the Government enters the Golden Temple and arrests the terrorists, the Punjab problem cannot be solved. Our sikh brethren will have to understand this thing. If the Government drives them away from the open, they will take shelter in the Temples, accumulate weapons there again come out after regrouping to attack the people. In this way they cannot be checked. I, therefore, urge upon the hon. Home Minister to find out a solution to this problem without which we will not be able to curb such activities.

Though the Government claims that it is maintaining total vigilance along the border areas of Punjab adjoining Pakistan yet it is an open secret that the border is open as earlier. Even now weapons are being brought from Pakistan, the terrorists are going to and coming from Pakistan after undergoing training there to indulge in such activities. When they are driven away by the police from this side, they cross the border into Pakistan. In view of the above facts, the Government will have to take action to seal the border.

Efforts were made through the Punjab Accord to solve this problem at the political level. Our colleagues from the other side level allegations against the Government that it did not implement the Punjab Accord. Any agreement is signed by two parties and both the parties are bound to implement it. Unless the accord is implemented by both the parties, there can be no implementation. The Government of India is no way at fault in this regard. The Akali Dal, being on the other side, did not implement it. Soon after coming to power the members of Akali Dal started fighting among themselves and it was divided. They had no moral strength to take the entire Punjab, alongwith them. Not to speak of entire Punjab, they failed to take even their Sikh brethren with them. Sant Longowal had signed the Accord as a representative of the Sikhs in Punjab. We had also signed the Accord with the same view. But after the assassination of Sant Longowal, the members of the Akali Dal started conniving with the terrorists and even started fighting among themselves. Both the parties were to follow the clauses of

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the Accord. As per one of the conditions laid down in the Accord, Chandigarh was to go to Punjab and in lieu thereof Punjab had to give some areas to Haryana. But Akalis were not agreeable to transfer the areas earmarked for Haryana. It would have not made any difference, had 10 villages been transferred from one side to the other. There would have been no harm if Abhor and Fazilka had been handed over to Haryana. But the Akali Government was not able to take a decision on it. Chandigarh could not be transferred to Punjab because according to the Accord, it will go to Punjab only when some areas of Punjab are transferred to Haryana. Different commissions set up for this purpose yielded no results. The commissions could hardly do anything. Had the Akali Government right intentions and had they the support of all the representatives of Punjab, they would have agreed. There would have been no difficulty in Chandigarh going to Punjab. It was not a big or an impossible thing. The way the situation in Punjab has been going from bad to worse, has led the Government to bring a Motion to extend further the President's rule there. I think the Government has been left with no other option. Is any party in a position to form and run the Government? Is Mr. Barnala or Mr. Badal in a position to run the Government there? I do not think that in the prevailing situation, any Party is in a position to form a Government there. In view of this, the report of the Governor gives correct evaluation of the situation. The reason is that the Akali Dal has split in different groups. Had Mr. Barnala been in a position to run the Government, why President's rule would have been imposed there? Had his Ministers been under his control; had they not conspired against him or had his party men remained disciplined, such a situation would not have arisen. From the time the President's rule was imposed, the position of the Akali Dal has been deteriorating continuously. Keeping in view the overall situation, the Government has no alternative but to extend the period of President's rule.

Madam Chairman, I agree with the

hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta's view that all the political parties will have to launch collectively a sort of movement for establishing direct contact with the people to apprise them of the correct position. When the people come to know of the real position, only then we will be able to win the hearts of the people of Punjab. The ultimate solution of the problem of Punjab is that we may win the hearts of the Sikhs there and may tell them that what a dangerous game these terrorists are playing there and that they are the traitors not only of the nation but are also of the Sikh Kaum. This job needs cooperation of all the parties. Our party has already launched the mass contact programme. The Communist Party is also launching such a programme but other political parties should also come forward and cooperate in this movement. If we tell the people, particularly our Sikh brethren by going from place to place that the terrorists are playing a very dangerous game and their intentions are very harmful which will bring disaster not only to Punjab but also to the entire Sikh Kaum, only then we can succeed in our goal, solve the Punjab problem and restore peace in Punjab. Till we achieve that situation, we have no option but to maintain status quo for some time. I am happy to note that the situation in Punjab is improving steadily and I hope that with the further extension of President's Rule, the situation would improve further during the next 6 months.

[English]

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala): We are discussing the Statutory Resolution brought forward in the House by our hon. Home Minister seeking extension of President's rule in Punjab for a further period of six months. As said rightly by the hon. Home Minister the position of law and order is still disturbed. I am sorry to point out that the Home Minister has failed to point out or explain before the House any step or any action being taken by the Government to solve the Punjab problem which is the basic problem. It is a political problem. I am sorry also to point out that the efforts of the Government to consider this problem as a law and order problem and solve it

through measures other than political are counter-productive. They cannot solve this problem through a bullet-for-bullet policy. This is unheard of in the annals of civilised societies. Moreover, we should not expect it from the administration and the Government. Law and order is only an off-shoot of this basically political problem. I request Government to rise above narrow political considerations for the sake of this respected country, for the good of India and to take some political initiatives to solve this problem.

We have heard so many times people in responsible quarters, the Prime Minister and even the Governor of Punjab asking: 'To whom should we talk; who is the person to whom we should talk for the solution of the Punjab problem?' They also say: 'We do not want to talk to those people who are indulging in violence, who are challenging the Constitution of India'. May I ask the Government and our worthy Home Minister who is sitting here: 'Is Simranjit Singh Mann who is the President of the Akali Dal at the moment and who is in Bhagalpur jail, not on record as saying, and giving in writing that he does not believe in violence, that he wants to talk everything within the Constitution of India? What also do you want? It is not that they had at any time said that they believe in violence, that they believed in secessionism. I do not think they have talked so. Even the Akali Dal has nowhere challenged the unity of India; they have never supported violence, in whatever form it may be. The leadership of the Akali Dal has spearheaded a peaceful *Morcha*. Within the rights guaranteed under the Constitution they have launched a *Morcha*, on the Anandpur Sahib resolution. They have never preached violence. If this is true, what is the need for asking: 'To whom should Government talk?' Similarly, Mr Mann is put in jail because he protested and resigned against the operation Bluestar. He did not do anything more than that. Mr. Badal and Mr. Tohra were put in jail because they have won through a democratic process in the SGPC elections. They were put in jail within 24 hours. So, you put those people in jail who were outside and who did not believe in violence and who believe in the Consti-

tution of India, and you then ask: 'To whom should we talk?'

We do not preach violence. Our Prime Minister also asks this question, but he should also shed this policy of double-standards. When he was signing the Sri Lankan Accord on the soil of that country, violence was at its pitch there, and people were being killed and butchered there. Still the Prime Minister was signing that Accord on behalf of the Tamils. Similarly, Lal Denga was preaching violence, and spoke damagingly of the Constitution of India. He was challenging the Constitution. He was waging an armed struggle against the Indian Government. Still, the Prime Minister had signed an accord with him. So, the Prime Minister should try to give up this policy of double-standards in the case of Punjab, and try to do things which are in consonance with the proclaimed profession of our worthy Prime Minister and his colleagues. Instead of taking political initiative in Punjab, there is virtually a police raj. Democracy has been strangled, democracy has been murdered there. The President's Rule is going on. But the judicial process is also being strangled there. Hundreds of young boys and people are being killed there in false encounters; they are implicated in false cases. You will be surprised to know that the boys who are in judicial remand or in jail there, they are being brought out from jails and given police remand and then they are killed in false encounters. We hear so many times that such and such a terrorist has escaped; he has gone away from the police custody. I think, the Home Minister knows that an escort consisting of 20 people, 25 people, 50 people always accompanied the detenus and those persons who are arrested. If a boy or a man who is being escorted by 20 persons or 25 persons and he is also under hand-cuff runs away, then what action the government has taken or the police has taken against the erring police officers. You must have noticed from this fact that a boy who was under hand-cuff had committed a suicide by snatching away a rifle from a police man of a particular escort. Is it believable? So, the things are moving like that. We say, this violence or killing of innocent people is

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bad; it is bad for anybody. But you cannot blame the government or the administration when they also indulge in such type of things.

Terrorism, whether it is by individuals or by government or State terrorism, must be prevented and stopped at any cost. I agree with Shri Dinesh Goswami that killing of people is no solution; solution of the Punjab problem is only through political initiative. I also agree with my hon. friend that there is no division between Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab. That goes to the credit of Punjabis, whether they are Sikhs or Hindus. But the government has not spared any effort to create this division. At least they have not done anything which helped the Punjab Government sort out their problems through peaceful means. So, I suggest to my all brothers, whether they are from the Congress Party or from the opposition parties, that the action as was initiated some months back, cannot solve the problem; it cannot soothen the sentiments of the people of Punjab. You cannot hear and see the feelings and sentiments of the bullet-proof platform. You should go and mix up with the people in the villages away from the shadows of the guns so that you must know what the people there feel about it. You must ask the people what the police does there, what the security forces are doing there so that you can know the sentiments and the feelings of the people there. What to talk of innocent people, even boys, ordinary people, even MPs like me are not being spared; we have been demoralised because we point out the excesses committed by the police. I can quote an example of mine. On the 31st of last month I was misbehaved and insulted by the Patiala police, Ambala police. They grappled with me and they broke the red light on top of my car. This is what is happening there. We, who represent 20 lakhs of people and at least 10 lakhs of voters, we are not spared. If we go and ask the Police about some person who is innocent, or if their families go and ask the police they do not listen. We are ready to apologise and we are ready to cooperate with the Government,

or if some one goes and says that his ward or child has done something and apologises and say that he will not do it again, nobody listens. So, if these things happen in spite of our efforts, in such a situation, what can be done? We cannot do anything?

What about action taken in Delhi? We have talked so many times in the House. Everybody knows that thousands of people were killed in November 1984 in Delhi itself and other parts of the country, and everybody knows what action is taken. I do not agree with Shri Shyam Lal Yadav that there is no offender. If there is no offender how were thousands of people killed and butchered in the very capital of India, and no action has been taken in spite of that? No doubt, we do not agree with the Mishra Commission report. It was not acted upon by anybody, no follow up action has been taken against anybody against any political person or any criminal or offender. We, as everybody wants, as any Indian want we want peace in Punjab and we are ready to cooperate with everybody, so that peace will come to that troubled State. And it will come only when the Police excesses are stopped. Till those people who are arrested, connected with the Blue Star operation, unless they are released and they are rehabilitated and the Akali leaders, the young men and other people, they are released and action is taken against those people who are responsible for riots of November 1984 in Delhi and other places, till then peace will not come to Punjab. So, I think the process of alienation of Sikhs from the mainstream of the country which started should be stopped. This is also a dangerous trend, it must be stopped by winning the confidence of the Sikhs by the Government and they should be taken into confidence.

At the end, I request the Government and the Home Minister that instead of standing on prestige, instead of talking here and there, they should take very sincerely and honestly some initiative to solve this political problem, which is basically a political problem, to take immediate political steps so that peace can be restored in Punjab and to the

best interests of the country as a whole.

15.59 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are discussing today the Motion seeking extension of President's Rule in Punjab for 6 months more. The entire country was waiting to know what Shri Buta Singh reports after the expiry of 6 months of the President's Rule. The people were expecting that Shri Buta Singh will report that they have removed all the difficulties, challenges and problems of Punjab during this period but regretfully...

(Interruptions)

The hon. Prime Minister has come. Is that why the hon. Members are clapping? It is my good fortune that he has come during my speech.

MR. SPEAKER : If you say, we can clap once again.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : The people of the country were expecting that Sardar Buta Singh after having a free hand for 180 days will come here with a report that all the problems like law and order problem, killing problem etc. prevailing in Punjab have been solved and that the country should guide him as to what is to be done next. But it is a matter of regret that the malady has been increasing with every treatment. After 6 months expiry the situation has further worsened. The position is that the Barnala Government was dismissed on the plea that 79 people had been killed but now the position is that 112 persons have been killed in one month. I have figures upto 28 October. In the remaining 3 days 14 persons have been killed. And you are talking of extending the period of the President's Rule. As you will see, 126 persons have been killed in one month in Punjab. But I want to submit that while discussing the situation in Punjab what we have to ponder over is as to why the situation there is not improving? The hon. Prime Minister says that with whom they should

discuss the matter but I ask as to what is the need to discuss with anybody? Sir, what you were to talk or discuss, you have already done that with Sant Longowal and you have signed the Accord also and both the Houses of the Parliament have given their approval also on the Accord. Unfortunately, Sant Longowal has died. Now, after him, you are fully responsible to implement the Accord in toto. So, there is no need to discuss it. That you have already done. Just now Sardar Buta Singh was speaking and the hon. Prime Minister has also come. I want to tell them that the Governor is not supplying you correct information. Had he sent correct information about the situation then I would like to tell you that in dismissing the Barnala Government you might have taken 2 days, you would not have taken 2 hours to dismiss the Governor. So much wrong information is being fed to you. During the last 6 months the terrorists have killed 829 persons. Not only that, the terrorists have expanded their area of activity. Now they are killing people openly in Haryana, Delhi and at other places. I do not get annoyed when you level charges against Shri Barnala because I know that in order to prove yourself correct, you have to say something. Shri Barnala is said to be a weak man, I say that a weak man can become a strong man at sometime or the other but if a person loses the confidence of the people and people start thinking that he would not fulfill even a thing which he has given in writing, that is even worse. The people of Punjab have started thinking on this line. Terrorists are very bad but the Central Government is also not doing anything. Then in what way it is good. Therefore, do something to check such feelings spreading in the people. Not only for Punjab, it is necessary for the entire country that the people may have confidence in the country's Government and whatever it says, people may believe that. Just now it was said that no innocent people are killed in Punjab. I would like to tell you that what Shri Ribeiro has said.

[English]

Mr. Ribeiro has been known to be adamant.

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

[Translation]

In Jalandhar, he said :

[English]

He can only do his job as a policeman and beyond this, it is for the politicians and policy makers to do their work.

[Translation]

Now we would like to know as to what steps are being taken to meet the situation.

It was said here just now that none is being killed in encounters. There is a report regarding encounters. The Punjab Government had constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Shri S. P. Mahajan, Sub Divisional Magistrate, Amritsar. It was constituted to enquire into a particular case. The case was like this. Shri Satyapal Dange, a C. P. I. leader had charged that the police had killed one Mr. Sardul Singh. The police version was that Sardul Singh was going on a scooter and he fired as a result of which constable Sukhdev was killed. After that Sardul Singh was killed as a result of firing by the police. This was the version of the police. But the Magistrates of the Punjab Government said that he did not accept version of the police and rejected all the three points submitted by it. The police had said that the bullet was fired from a .32 country-made pistol. It was also said that the bullet which struck Sukhdev Singh was fired from a distance of 25 yards but the dead bodies of Sukhdev Singh and Sardul Singh were lying at a distance of 300 yards from each other. Then, it has also been said by the Magistrate that medical checkup report of Sukhdev Singh says something different from what has been said by the police in the F. I. R. The third point related to the submission by the police that a pistol was recovered from Sardul Singh. The Magistrate's query was that if he had fired from the pistol, then where was the empty cartridge? On these counts, he declared that the case was a fake one and it was a wrong killing. The Punjab Government has accepted the report and

has awarded Rs. 1 lakh to the family of Sardul Singh. Then what is the hitch in saying that people are being killed in fake encounters. I would, therefore, like to say that efforts should be made to check such a bitterness that is being created due to such cases.

One thing more. A feeling in the minds of the people has developed that the Central Government has no policy about Punjab. There should not be such an impression. The people should know as to what you are going to do in Punjab?

I would also like to submit that because of the deeds of one or two persons the entire community should not be dubbed as guilty. It is not correct. It creates bitterness and heart burning.

I would like to say that in regard to Delhi riots, the guilty persons should be punished and the persons whose shops were burnt should be paid compensation. The women who were widowed in Delhi, Bokaro and Kanpur should also be provided funds etc. I would like to tell you that the extremists' opinion is not the Sikh opinion. Sikhs are against the extremists. Therefore, efforts should be made to stop the propaganda that is being made in this connection. I would request the hon. Prime Minister that he should convene a meeting of all the political parties of Punjab. Regarding the report of the Governor, the Home Minister has made a statement only. Actual report has not been placed before the House. That should be placed here. In the meeting of the political parties of Punjab you should ask as to what political initiative should be taken. I would also submit that 18 police posts have been erected in front of all the entry roads of the Golden Temple. It is also a subject of discussion among the people. About this also, some way should be found out. We are with the country that there should not be any anti-national and terrorist activity in the Gurdwaras or at religious places and if it is resorted to, it should be stopped. But it will also be in the interest of the country that no such impression is given that a religious place like Golden Temple has been fortified.

The problem should be solved in some easy way.

Earlier peace-marchers have been going to Punjab but now I have heard that a peace-march is being organised from Punjab to Delhi. This development has taken place after the imposition of the Governor's rule. The people have taken steps to change the Governor's rule and also to tell the Central Government as to what political initiative it should take. Those measures should be accepted. When hon. Shri Narasimha Rao had visited Amritsar on 14th April, he had himself said that they would start reviewing the cases of the persons detained in Jodhpur jails within 2 to 4 days but it has not been started so far. When a person of such a status makes a statement but no further action is taken on that, then it is very disappointing and also becomes a matter of much discussion. You should give some thought to this matter. In view of these facts, Government should withdraw the resolution to extend further the President's Rule in Punjab. You have not yet dissolved the Assembly in Punjab. Therefore, let those who can form the Government go ahead with it and perhaps by being out of power for 6 months they might have realised the mistakes which they had committed earlier. They may now be afforded an opportunity to run the administration in the light of the new experience they might have gained in the changed atmosphere.

With these words, I oppose this resolution and appeal for the restoration of popular Government in Punjab.

16.12 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. SITUATION IN SRI LANKA

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI) :

Mr. Speaker, I rise to inform the House about progress on the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement, including the background to the operations of the Indian Peace Keeping force (IPKF) in the Jaffna peninsula.

The Agreement has been acclaimed internationally. There is a widespread consensus that the full implementation of the Agreement will be of universal benefit. Tamil aspirations would be met, the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka preserved, and peace and stability restored to the region. Some of our important security concerns would also be met. Therefore, the Government of India are, committed to the full implementation of this Agreement. We believe that this resolve is shared by the Government of Sri Lanka.

In the three months since the Agreement was signed, we have made satisfactory progress on many fronts. The Sri Lankan security personnel have stayed in their barracks. Home Guards in the Eastern Province have been disarmed and the Special Task Force has been largely withdrawn. Over 3300 Tamil detenus have been released under an amnesty, and the rate would have been freed if the LTTE had not disrupted the return to normalcy.

The contours of civil administration in the North and the East were being drawn on lines suggested by Tamil representatives ranging from the LTTE to the TULF. The interim Administrative Council had been announced, with the LTTE given a decisive majority share. The return of the refugees from India had been planned in consultation with the Government of Sri Lanka. We had identified priority areas for rehabilitation, to be financed through a grant of Rs 25 crore announced by India. Peace had been established in the North and East of Sri Lanka. The return to normalcy was imminent.

It is a matter of great regret that the LTTE threw all this away. They went back on every commitment that they had given us. They deliberately set out to wreck the Agreement, because they were unable or unwilling to make the transition from militancy to the democratic political process. The LTTE were given every possible encouragement and opportunity to join the political mainstream and even to play a leading role in the process. The LTTE leadership, which had masterminded the killings of