

14.15 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE :
APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE. IN
FORCE OF PRESIDENTIAL PROCLA-
MATION IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB**

[English]

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS
(S. BUTA SINGH) :** Sir, I beg to move
the Resolution :-

"That this House approves the conti-
nuance in force of the Proclamation dated
the 11th May 1987 in respect of Punjab,
issued under Article 356 of the Constitu-
tion by the President, for a further period
of six months with effect from the 11th
November, 1987".

As the House is aware, in view of the
then prevailing situation in Punjab, Procla-
mation under Article 356 of the Constitu-
tion in relation to the State of Punjab was
issued on May 11, 1987 on the recommen-
dation of the Governor and the State Legis-
lative Assembly kept under suspended ani-
mation.

Approval of the Lok Sabha as well as
Rajya Sabha for the issue of the Procla-
mation under Article 356 was obtained on
12.5.1987. The Proclamation so approved
will now cease to operate on 10.11.1987
at the expiration of period of six months.

The Governor of Punjab's assessment
is that when the President's Rule was pro-
mulgated in Punjab, the State administra-
tion had to deal with two dangerous
trends :

- (a) Fundamentalist terrorism in all
its destructive and anti-national
manifestation ;
- (b) Ordinary terrorism that was both
dangerous and anti-national in
character.

The first menace had been tackled
successfully immediately after the promul-
gation of President's Rule. The funda-
mentalist terrorism has virtually dis-
appeared. The meat liquor and cigarette

shops which had been forced by the funda-
mentalists among terrorists to be closed
were all reopend. The barbers commenced
carrying on their work. Violent people
stopped making demands on the heads of
educational institutions to order their stu-
dents to wear uniforms of their allegedly
fundamental design or colour. Marriages
were again held peacefully.

However, terrorism still continues. The
law and order situation in the State conti-
nues to be disturbed. During the period
from 12th May, 1987 to 21st October,
1987, the security forces arrested 1935 and
shot 197 terrorists in encounters. The
terrorists also killed 446 civilians and 49
policemen during this period. However,
the morale of the police is now high and
there is a will amongst them to fight and
ultimately succeed in containing terrorism.
The various extremist groups are at present
under intense pressure from the police and
para-military forces and have suffered
serious reversals. Although killings have
not stopped, the terrorists are in hiding and
virtually on the run.

In spite of the reverses on the law and
order situation, there is a discernable
change for the better. A great deal of
confidence has returned. 125 migrant
families have just returned from Delhi and
more are expected to go back shortly.
Opposition is now fast growing from every
community to terrorism anti-nationalism
and killings of innocents. The encouraging
feature is that even villagers are showing
courage and coming forward in large
numbers to apprehend terrorists.

The Governor is of the view that if a
popular Government is installed now, the pre-
sent firmness will go and the people thrown
into a state of nervousness and disarray.
Moreover, there is no party who can possibly
lead any Government effectively in the
present condition of the State with any
firmness or determination.

In view of the circumstances stated
above, the Governor has recommended that
the Proclamation dated 11th May, 1987 be
extended for a further period of six months
and the State Assembly continued to be
kept under suspended animation.

Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the State and taking all relevant factors into consideration, it is proposed that the President's Rule may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 11.11.1987. If so approved, the President's Rule, unless revoked earlier, will continue upto 10.5.1988.

In view of the position explained to me, I solicit the approval of the hon. House to the Resolution mentioned by me at the beginning.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved :

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

Shri Madav Reddi.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI (Adilabad): Sir, I rise to oppose this Resolution for the extension of the period of President's Rule. Just now, the hon. Minister for Home Affairs narrated certain events and referred to the Governor's Report justifying the extension of the President's Rule in Punjab. We did not have the benefit of studying the report of the Governor. At the time when the President's Rule was promulgated, a copy of the Governor's Report was given to us. But now, when an extension is demanded, we do not have the Report before us. Nevertheless, the Home Minister mentioned certain facts with regard to the law and order situation and stated that if a popular rule were to be restored at this stage, the firmness with which the present Government is dealing with the terrorists would disappear. Well, the facts are really different from what he has stated.

According to his own statement about 444 innocent people had been killed during the last six months. If you take these figures and compare with the figures of people killed during the popular regime for the same length of period, I think, this figure is larger.

The Governor's Report as it appeared in certain sections of the press says that the Governor feels that today he cannot negotiate with anybody for restoration of popular rule. He wants to negotiate but there is nobody in the field to negotiate. But the fact of the matter is that you have not left anybody in the field to negotiate. Is it not a shameful thing? Today, we are not in a position to talk to anybody. Whom are you going to talk to? Shri Barnala is out as you have already discredited him. Shri Badal is in jail. As regards the terrorists, I do not know whether you want to talk to them or not even though there was a statement by the Prime Minister in which he has stated that he would like to talk to anybody, if the violence is stopped and if there are no killings. This implies that he is prepared to talk even to the terrorists. I do not know if it is really so. But at least it gives ideas to people that here is a Government which is prepared to talk to the terrorists. I have no objection if you want to talk to the terrorists and settle the matter. But what have you been doing all these months? In spite of the fact that we had been sending forces whenever there was a demand, what was the performance of the Government and the police? whenever Mr. Ribeiro wanted more and more security forces, we did send them. On that score, they do not have any complaint though they say that adequate intelligence personnel whom they wanted, had not been sent.

There is some sort of an intelligence failure which means that they do not know when the terrorists come and from where they come; how they shoot and disappear in thin air. That is the pattern of terrorism whether it is in Delhi or whether it is in any part of Punjab.

Today the terrorists come. They choose their own time. They don't tell us. They choose their place where they are going to shoot and after shooting they just disappear in thin air. There is not a single incident where the terrorists were shot or caught or were arrested on the spot, either when they were killing or when they were running away. You had captured some people later on. We do not know whether they are real terrorists or innocent people who were arrested subsequently. But in no instance

you were able to arrest people while they were killing or were running away after the killing. That shows the failure of the Government. That shows the popular support which you are claiming to this Government, is not there. It is all going on there. After all, they do have sympathy with the people. They go to somebody's house and take shelter there. It is so easy for them.

Now it is very unfortunate that the killings are going on. We condemn those killings. We condemn the atrocities - the terrorist acts in Punjab. We condemn all the acts and all the pronouncements made by irresponsible people who are today launching a campaign of Khalistan or talking of sikh QAUM and so on and so forth. There is nothing like sikh QAUM.

There is only one QAUM and that is the Indian QUAM. There can be no sikh QAUM separately from the Indian QAUM. If QAUM means national. It is a nation. While we condemn the terrorists' acts in Punjab, we cannot fail to realise that today there is no buffer between the Government and the people. There is no agency between the Government and the people which can take the responsibility of restoring peace in Punjab. Except the Government of India there is nobody else to help restore peace. Today you don't want a popular rule as you said you seem to have a contempt for a popular rule because there would not be any firmness in a popular rule to deal with the terrorists. They will not be able to take action against the terrorists. I do not agree with this argument. The situation like is serious. The killings are taking place every day. I am happy that yesterday, Punjab was peaceful. It may be because of Guru Nanak birthday. I do not know. But today again there are reports that certain incidents have taken place.

But for all these six months, there was not a single day when there was no killing. Yet you claim that you have controlled the situation. Have we really controlled the situation? Have we really put an end to the terrorists' activities in Punjab? Can you say that today peace has returned to Punjab? You said today that the religious functions take place peacefully. The marriages are

performed peacefully. It so happens at the places where the marriages are being held perhaps, the terrorists, activities are not there. You have said that fundamentalism was openly practised earlier. The meat shops or the cigarette shops which were closed earlier have now been opened. What a poor consolation; If the meat shops could be opened; do you think that peace has returned?

During the last six months, we had been discussing Punjab on the floor of the House. There were several occasions to discuss this issue. It was said that the President's rule is going to be a stop-gap arrangement. Ultimately you have got to restore popular rule there in whatever manner you want to. Suppose nobody is there for you to negotiate with them you go in for elections. If you say that the situation is peaceful, certainly let us hold the elections. What is wrong in that? We have held the elections earlier, in the same atmosphere.

I am opposed to this extension further, because in principle I feel that the situation has actually deteriorated from what it was during the popular regime, and there is no justification at all for the President's rule in Punjab. This rule has to end I demand that there should be an effort made to restore the popular regime in Punjab.

SHRI R. L. BHATIA (Amritsar): My friend Mr. Madhav Reddi has raised certain points, and he wants that this period of President's rule should not be extended. The argument he has put forward is, first, that he did not have the copy of the Governor's recommendation. I think Mr. Madhav Reddi is a big leader, of the Opposition, and he must be reading the newspapers every day. He must be finding out as to whether the situation that was there before the Governor's rule has now improved or not. Evidently, everybody who has met me - for the Session people have come here; a large number of people met me in the Central Hall and the Lobby has expressed to me his satisfaction that now things seem to be better in the Punjab.

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDI: Who are those people?

SHRI R. L. BHATIA : M. Ps., not only of my party, but of other parties also. They said that things seemed to have improved.

S. BUTA SINGH : Those who know Punjab.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : This never go to Punjab, nowhere near Punjab.

SHRI R. L. BHATIA : He said that terrorists were not caught on the spot. It means he does not understand what is happening in Punjab. The terrorists have definite targets, and they are waiting for their target. They do their job and go away. Therefore, the Police is not aware of what is their target. They come, and also operate in an area where they find it more safe. They do their job and go away. That is why the terrorists are not caught. But lately, he must know that many terrorists have been caught after fighting, and they have been followed up by the Police, and they have been arrested. For his information, I may say that about 1700 terrorists have been arrested so far in the Punjab.

He also said that between the people and the Government, there was no channel, or no buffer as he put it. I think what he meant by that is that we should have a popular rule there, if I understand him correctly. Did we not have a popular rule there before ? What happened ? A greater number of people were killed there then. One very bad thing happened during that time, which you must understand and which I would like to tell this House, viz. that migration started for the first time then, and a very large number of people have come to Delhi. Many of them have been met by the Opposition leaders also. For these reasons we had to do away with that popular rule, and bring about a rule of law.

He has also mentioned about holding of elections. Why should we hold elections ? The Assembly stands suspended. The situation is improving now ; our Home Minister has given you figures; he has described the true situation. I, belonging to Punjab and coming especially from Amritsar, can

vouchsafe that things are better now, and things are improving ; and we hope that in another six months or so, things will definitely improve, and then the popular rule can be brought back. I agree with him that the Assembly should be called back, but only after the law and order situation is well established.

The popular government of Akalis was formed on 29th September, 1985. During that rule, 3294 accidents took place and more than 800 people were killed. It was expected that during this popular rule law and order situation will improve as the people of Punjab had shown trust in the Akalis. Akalis also got cooperation from all parties, all sections of this House including the Congress Party; Congress Party gave them an assurance and cooperative so that they could succeed in their objective. But, unfortunately, it did not happen. What happened was that the moment they got elected, they declared it as a Panthic Government. I hope Mr. Madhav Reddi understands the meaning of Panthic. They took a solemn vow under a secular Constitution, but the moment they got elected, they called them a Panthic Government. It created mistrust among Punjabis. And what happened thereafter we all know. How the minorities were treated under that regime ? Not only that, in the name of social reforms, barbers were asked to close down their shops. Liquor shops were looted. The meat shopkeepers were asked to suspend their business. Worst of all, what happened was that from the Golden Temple people were issued threatening letters to pay so much money; otherwise they would be put to death.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That is still going on.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : But it is going on an very little scale. Recently, since they have taken over the area between Golden Temple and Guru Nanak Niwas, it has stopped altogether. Whenever I go back to Amritsar, a large number of people will come to me and show me the threatening letters. But many of them have quietly paid money; and it was estimated that between Rs.5-6 lakhs were being collected every day not only from minorities but

from everybody, industrialists, professionals; not only that, they even tried to settle disputes among the people. Many tenants were asked to vacate their houses within 24 hours or 48 hours; otherwise they would be killed; and many people left their houses. So, in this kind of a situation, how can you tolerate if a parallel authority was established by them in Punjab? Barnala Government had no control whatsoever. We had a lot of hopes from Barnala Government. Frankly I had because I was one of the persons who wanted that the elected Government should play their part. If they wanted, could they not stop those boys, misguided boys? Could they not offer them good jobs? Could they not accommodate them in the political field? If they could not do all this, they could do one very simple thing and that was to ask Jathedar Akal Takht to issue *hukumnama* not to kill innocent people. That was the simplest thing which Mr. Barnala could have achieved by requesting the authority which was under his control in the Golden Temple to issue *hukumnama* so that the innocent people were not killed. But unfortunately, nothing was done.

Then we were compelled on the 11th May, 1987, as was explained by Mr. Buta Singh, to have the President's Rule. During the President's Rule so many things have taken place, because as I mentioned, there has been an improvement in the situation. Migrations have been stopped. This is very important. At that time, everybody was afraid of those boys, misguided boys, as I would call them; even a wife was not sure whether her husband would come back home safe from the office.

The people in the villages will close their gates at 5 O'clock and if anybody knocks they think that the terrorists have come. I am not talking about the cities, I am talking about the villages. It is not only the question of Hindus only. I may tell you, it is the question of Hindus and Sikhs, both. This is how the people were living under threats. Now, under the President's Rule the authority of the Government has been established. The parallel government has been removed. Now the people have faith in the present Government that they will be in a position

to improve their lot. The choice of Mr. Roy and Mr. Riberio has been very good, because they have been able to instil confidence among the services. When the bad situation was going on in Punjab the worst victim was the administration. The officers would not act. They were also afraid. Many of them also got threatening letters. They were not acting. So many judges were not acting. Judges who were listening the cases of terrorists, they were shot at. Neither the magistrate, nor the judges nor the officers would play their role. A kind of a strange situation has happened in Punjab. Now all that is going, disappearing day by day. Now the administration is cooperating. They are fully working and large quantities of arms have been found from the people and the best thing that happened is about the intelligence services. Formerly the intelligence services were not doing the role, I do not know why. But now the intelligence forces are coming forward, giving clues and on the basis of that very large number of terrorists have been arrested and arms and ammunition have been found. This is the advantage that the President's Rule has brought to Punjab.

The Government of India has also taken some steps. Para military forces are made available to the Punjab Government for any areas they want to. The security arrangements in Punjab have also been taken seriously. There has been a demand in the last session, and I proposed that there should be a five-mile belt further on the Punjab border so that arms, ammunition and money could not come. But it was found a difficult thing because the people living at the border areas resisted this. Because, in Punjab even the last field to the border is cultivated and it is a very good land. So, the people resisted. But Mr. Buta Singh, what he has done now, is he has made strict arrangements at the border and now the situation is better.

Thirdly, Punjab has been declared a restricted area, under the Restricted Areas Act. Fourthly, the Terrorist Activities Prevention Act has been enacted. All these measures have helped to improve the situation. The work has started and measures taken are showing results.

As I said, a large number of terrorists have been arrested and some of them have been killed. But we do not say that the situation has improved completely. Still there is room for improvement. But all I can say is, that things are better and the people of Punjab have a hope that since the situation is improving and one day law and order situation will be normal.

I know the difficulties before the Government. We want that after the normal situation is there there should be some kind of a settlement and about this our Prime Minister has made categorical statement that as and when the law and order situation is normal, certainly they would like to negotiate, they would like to talk. But our difficulty is, as Mr. Madhav Reddi himself has said, with who will they talk? There are three trends in the Akali party. One is that they want a Government under the Constitution, power under the present Constitution. The other is they demand Anandpur Sahib Resolution. As you know, Anandpur Sahib Resolution has so many definitions. It is not clear to us. Mr. Ramoowalia will give one definition. The other friend will give other definition. There are so many definitions. They are not clear. The third, who want the glimpse of freedom, which is another vague term.

SHRI INDRAJIT GOPTA : LUE of freedom.

[Translation]

SHRI R.L. BHATTIA : That is what I am saying : "Aazadi Ki Lau."

[English]

Do the people in Bengal not have that LAU of freedom? To the people in Kerala, not have that LAU of freedom? What kind of LAU of freedom do they want? They must be defined. Nobody has defined it yet. What I mean to say is the Akalis themselves are not clear. They are a major party. After all, negotiation will take place with them. When they are not clear, what do they want, what Mr. Buta Singh can do? Talk to whom and talk what? That is the problem. So, these are the difficulties before the Government. I hope they will

find out a way. Mr. Buta Singh is a wise man and he will certainly see that some ways are found. But before that normal conditions must come.

Sir, you know the situation in Punjab. It is a fight between the secular forces and the fundamentalist forces and the foreigners are taking full advantage of this.

If we say that the foreigners are behind, they want to weaken India, they want to destabilise India, many of our friends in the Opposite start laughing at us. Whenever there has been a discussion in Parliament with regard to this, many raised doubts in the past. Now, I suppose the situation is very clear. The statement made by the terrorists is an eye-opener. How they have trained abroad, how they got the money and how they got the arms.

While we find that the foreign forces are taking advantage of this, all sections must cooperate to see the real danger which lies beyond the border. We are accusing each other. Congressmen may accuse Akalis. Akalis may accuse Congressmen. There is no difference. Hindus are not against Sikhs. I tell you in this present programme of going through the villages, from where I am coming today - for the last five days I was touring my constituency not a single majority people has killed the minority. So, the divide which these foreign forces wanted to do, is not succeeding. Hindus and Sikhs are living together like brothers. The desired objective of the foreign forces has not been achieved. All that we need is that the politicians should cooperate with each other and find a solution. That is the only way by which we can bring normalcy in Punjab.

We, the Punjabis, have been cast a duty by the history. All the foreigners came from the north and it was the Punjab people who had to bear the brunt of that. We have been fighting on our corps. You know the enemy has been able to go to Delhi. Now, this is the third attempt by the foreign forces, by the foreign enemy who is faceless. He is not coming forward like in 65 or 71. He is beyond it. He is trying to take some people from our own.

misguide them, give them money, give them training, give them arms and he is fighting indirectly. So, we must fight out this fight and I can assure you on behalf of Punjab that every Punjabi will fight these forces and will continue fighting till we are in a position to bring normalcy in Punjab and finish these forces who are at the back of this movement.

With these words, I support the resolution put forward by Mr. Buta Singh and I request all my friends to support it. As a Punjabi, I assure you that the things have improved and people are satisfied, and people are happy under the present system. If given a chance for six months more, I am sure there will be a considerable improvement and you all will be satisfied with it. Therefore, I request you to pass this resolution.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura): The statement made by the Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh, shows that the Government is far from realising the problem in Punjab and it is still considering this problem as a law and order problem. The Punjab problem is a political problem and a solution to this problem should also be a political one. I am sorry to say that not a single word or sentence is there for the need to restore joint campaign which was stated in the month of January by all the leaders of the Opposition. We gave this proposal when the Prime Minister met us on 16th January. Then the programme was chalked out and accordingly the programme was started with a rally in Chandigarh. Thereafter three or four joint rallies were addressed by the national leaders of all political parties. But suddenly it was stopped because of undemocratic action of the Central Government. The time was chosen to impose the President's rule when the Chief Minister, Shri Surjit Singh Barnala, was defying orders of Akal Takt, was protesting the interference of religious chiefs in the affairs of the State. This we have been demanding since long that religion should be separated from politics and that religion has its own place in temples, mosques, churches. Why religious heads should interfere with the affairs of the State?

The hon. Minister as well as Mr. Bhatia have claimed that the situation has

improved. I say that this is complacency. And this complacency is dangerous. This is because you are still considering that the problem of Punjab can be solved by Riberio and Sidharatha Shankar Ray - by Police Chief and by the Governor - and not by political action or political campaign by isolating these extremists. He says that the villagers are now coming forward. When villagers are coming forward, why should we not utilise this opportunity? Why not all the political parties which are fighting for the unity and integrity of our country, have a joint campaign? I can say that the my party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India and myself inaugurated one padayatra in Chandigarh.

I saw support of the people there. More than one thousand people started *pad yatra* from Chandigarh to Amritsar. So, we should utilise the situation. That is a proposal made long back. In the statement made by the Home Minister, I do not find any proposal to restore the joint campaign by the political parties to meet the masses to isolate the extremists. When the situation has improved, when the rural people as mentioned by the Home Minister particularly - are coming forward, then we should utilise this situation. Government can claim that there is an improvement; but there is a change in the situation. Now these extremist forces have virtually occupied all the historic Gurdwaras of Punjab. The figure also shows that the killings of innocent people in Punjab have increased during the last six months. Then why this President's rule is required? For what purpose? These extremists and terrorists have been able to declare all Akali organisations, including the democratically elected body of SGPC which manages the affairs of the Gurdwaras, as irrelevant and the Panthic Committee has assumed all powers to run the affairs of the Sikhs with the declared aim of achieving a separate goal of Khalistan. This is a new development in the Punjab situation and we should realise this.

When the President's rule was imposed just on the last day of the Budget Session, we all opposed it. And we opposed on what ground? We opposed it on the ground that the President's rule was imposed just

on the eve of Haryana elections and that the action of the Government was not motivated for national unity and for national integration but to hoo the Haryana electorates. But you have miserably failed there, hopelessly failed. This undemocratic action of the Government has rather helped and encouraged the terrorist and the extremist elements in Punjab. Why? When two months back you praised Barnala like anything, even the Prime Minister, in the middle of April, compared Barnala with Ranjit Singh. (Interruptions), when Mr. Narasimha Rao in a rally said that the Central Government is like a wall behind Barnala Government —

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : That wall collapsed on him.

AN HON. MEMBER : But within one month that wall collapsed.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Not even one month but within fifteen days it collapsed.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour) : The wall collapsed on him only.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : So, what was the urgency of President's rule by removing a democratically elected government and keeping the Assembly in suspended animation?

14.59 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

So, Sir, again we are demanding from the Government that the Home Minister, while replying, should again clarify as to what was the urgency and why such a time was chosen when Surjit Singh Barnala was defying the order of Akal Takht, when he was fighting against the extremists. If there was any fault with the members of his Cabinet, it was not communicated even and his government was removed.

15.00 hrs.

When he was fighting, without giving him help and assistance to fight extremists, you removed him. That action rather

helped the extremists and terrorists in Punjab.

In this House, time and again, we have demanded that Punjab accord which is a time-bound accord should be implemented, Chandigarh was to be transferred on 26.1.1986 on the date the dispute was to be settled? Haryana was to get its territory, may be 45000 acres of land, may be 78000 acres of land, as recommended by some Commission. Why is Punjab accord not being implemented while all welcomed it? This action was berated action; but our Party suggested and when Prime Minister met us, we suggested that this was the only way in which Punjab problem could be solved. Punjab problem is a political problem and its solution is also a political solution. But why has Punjab accord not been implemented? Why has Chandigarh not been transferred? Now Punjab is under the President Rule. You can decide; may be 45000 acres of land or 78000 acres of land; if Haryana is to get that area, you can decide. Why are you not solving this water dispute between the three States?

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : He himself says that a new development has taken place and that they are demanding Khalistan. Are all these relevant to that now?

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Why not?

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : Now you face the latest situation.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : It is not a recent demand.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : These villages could have gone to Khalistan or only to Haryana.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : By not implementing Punjab accord, this action has encouraged these terrorists campaign against the moderates who want peace in Punjab and who were fighting against those forces and want integrity and unity of our country.

Government can claim credit by not allowing to hold Sarbat Khalsa in Golden

Temple Complex on 22nd October, 1987. But this Panthic Committee had the temerity of announcing holding of Sarbat Khalsa elsewhere and release its Resolution to the Press.

What are the main contents of this Resolution? It announced dismissal of Darshan Singh Ragi as acting Jathedar of Akal Takhat and appointment of Gurcharan Singh Monochahal who is a proclaimed offender.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : There is original eleven page Resolution.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : It also announced appointment of three acting Head priests in place of those arrested by the Government. It further announced ex-communication of G.S. Tohra, Parkash Singh Badal and Kabul Singh, a former SGPC President belonging to Barnala Group all of them in connivance with the Government.

The question is not whether Sarbat Khalsa was held or not, but it is the extent to which extremism and fundamentalism can go. Extremists, it is quite clear, are acting at the behest of foreign powers. That is why we are also demanding that Government should publish white Paper on foreign intervention in Punjab.

These extremists are acting at the behest of foreign powers, not only because they have been trained in Pakistan; they are being provided with arms and ammunition. They have no regard for the religious institutions. They have no respect for their own religious institution. Like, the SGPC established as a result of innumerable sacrifices of Sikhs during Akali movement. They have no respect for their institution itself. The five persons whose hands are soaked with blood of innocent people have announced power to dismiss or appoint all priests, and high priests. This is not a sudden development.

Cult of Bhindrawala was also used. In 1975 he was introduced by the Congress Party. (Interruptions)

You are still pursuing the same line, narrow political game. In 1979 you intro-

duced Bhindrawala to the people of India. Who knew him? This cult was used then and was used during Akali Morcha also in order to bring pressure on Central government to make it to concede to Akali demands. Not only you but others also used Bhindrawala cult. Subsequently, the operation Blue Star the extremists used in fighting Akali Party and allowed to make historic Gurudwara as a sanctuary and a base to operate.

After they were flushed out from Golden Temple, was it not G.S. Tohra who allowed Sarbat Khalsa in January, 1986 and handed over Kar Seva of Akal Takhat to them? Was it not the same Tohra and his colleagues who allowed holding of another Sarbat Khalsa in April, 1986 when demand of Khalistan was raised? Was it not the same Tohra and Prakash Singh Badal who raised the question of ex-communication of Surjit Singh Barnala because he refused to act against Indian Constitution by submitting to the authority of Akal Takhat in the affairs of this State? Was it not the same Badal and Tohra who ignored the traditions of Akal Takhat which has been functioning for more than sixty years as a political party with duly elected bodies at all levels who authorised Jathedar Akal Takhat to dissolve Akali organisation and appoint a new one using seal of religious authority. The irony of situation is that Tohra and Badal...

(Interruptions)

They themselves have been ex-communicated.

SHRI ABDUL GHAFUOR (Siwan) : Everybody has been ex-communicated by every political party.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : So, the situation in Punjab has not helped any of the political parties. We should now realise that the solution of Punjab problem is a political solution. Our party has been fighting for a solution and we are organising jathas and 'morchas' in Punjab. So, now the time has come to restore this political campaign. You have claimed that the situation in Punjab has improved. Now, those who migrated from Punjab are returning to their place. The people have now got confidence. Therefore, when the situation has now improved, why are you not restoring

a popular Government there? When there is a popular government, that Government can fight against the extremism, against the terrorism. If the situation has improved, you should think of restoration of popular Government. The assembly has been kept under suspended animation. You need not ask for the extension of President's rule.

SHRI R. L. BHATIA : Which Government are you recommending? Badal Government or Barnala Government?

[Translation]

SHRI SHAMINDER SINGH (Faridkot): Along with the written matter you have read read the name of the Chief Minister also.

[English]

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Barnala Government. He is still in majority. Whoever has got the majority should form the Government. The Assembly has been kept under suspended animation. Why can't you instal a Government there? Why can't you restore a popular Government there? With the establishment of a popular Government you can fight the extremist forces. They were fighting before the imposition of President's rule. So, the Punjab problem is not the problem of Punjab alone. It is a national problem. You have to think about it seriously and I oppose the extension of President's rule for a further period of six months. I oppose the extension even for one day. I demand that a popular Government should be restored in Punjab and with the new Government you can fight terrorism and extremism there. You can start a political campaign with all the national political parties who are fighting for unity and integrity of our country. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I suggest that we come down to brass-tacks. It would not help to flounder about, I have lately been in different districts, villages towns and cities of Punjab. I returned only last night and I have seen and assessed the situation in pragmatic terms as to whereabouts we stand.

And I am very pleased to find that this Resolution has been floated by the hon. Home Minister. There is a reason for this. The situation is coming to such a pitch, favourable pitch, that there is every hope that if we continue the mechanics with which we are working today to handle the situation to everybody's advantage— national question, yes, to everybody's advantage, for the public at large,— we shall have to keep that swing go on for some time. Mind you, this is my humble opinion, not airy-fairy manner, but down-to-earth. You go in the village now, Sir, and you will find Hindus, Sikhs, Harijans, Christians, Muslims, all of them, move around easy and free, better than what they could do previously, much better now, and they together enjoy their little holidays also. So, once you come to such a pitch, the only thing that is left to face is, terroristic jibing, terroristic type of little warfare that is there. Do you want to eliminate that, or you want to go back to square No. 1 again? This is my question to the hon. House. If not, then we shall have to go on with the process of extension of the Presidents, Rule) apropos, the situation obtaining. It is no good recapitulating what had happened this way, that way, and so on and so forth. There could have been certain slips made by many; it may have been Opposition Members, it may have been our local political organisations in Punjab, it may have some other outside influences and what not. It is no good churning all that matter in the form of recrudescence and confuse the whole issue.

Now, the question about terrorism. Sorry, very sorry. Whatever they have been doing, what one notices, you can check each and every case, had nothing to do with religion, frankly speaking, nothing at all. My Gurus never taught that way of life, no. Fighting, it is entirely different on a certain kind of situation as shown by Guru Gobind Singh, '*Sabhi Kalan Sampuran.*' my Tenth Guru. When it was the question of politics, yes, Sir, he fought hand in hand with Muslim rulers also against others. And sometimes he had to pitch up himself against the ruler who was in position at that time. So, that is entirely different, but to tie everything to the religion

and that again fictitiously under the garb of terroristic way of life, I think, is highly unfair. It is not acceptable, in relation to one or two points that I would like to raise.

Now, about this question, say, of Accord, Everybody knows about the Accord, I would not say that it had anything to do—you mean to say it has not been having completed fully today, say, with Haryana or any other elections. No. That question did not arise. It was a question between different sections of society and party and somehow or other you can study the whole thing now, the whole perspective, that the Accord did not click, it did not work. That should not mean that we are not going to move forward, we will certainly move forward.

We should try to satisfy the society of Punjabis, as we may wish to satisfy any other State or any other people in India based certainly on one nation, secular basis and where unity comes into play and integrity comes into play. Those who do not agree with this are certainly termed as secessionists. There is no question about it. I would wish to advise whosoever may have that type of inclination. I personally feel, not many would be in that field in India. Nevertheless if someone feels that way, he shall have to educate himself that if he secedes even this bit or that bit, how is he going to work out himself to form a great nation. It is not possible. You have already become a great nation. You are one among the four top nations in the world. 103 different countries are prepared to toe your direction and line, as friend-to-friend, i. e. Non-Aligned Movement. Your Hon. Prime Minister and your Government are propelling that issue adequately well. To a considerable extent, we have been the gainers; India has been the gainer. It is unfortunate that some people from across the border under some other people's influences are trying to disintegrate us. There is no doubt on that. It is because, if you study as to how many arms come from this way and from where they have come to the hands of the terrorists, as already been enunciated by my friend, about Rs. 5 lakhs worth of substance has been pumped into India daily to upset our homogeneity and our stabi-

lity. So, we have to fight against that. We have to fight against that together, of course.

In so far as agreeing to work out some political solution is concerned, why should not there be a political solution? Yes, there should be. No one is disagreeing to that. But the big question under the circumstances is, to discuss with whom today, You have to wait for some time. May-be there are two main Parties in Punjab, Akali Dal Party and Congress Party and may-be amongst themselves, they find a proper type of solution. Amongst Akalis themselves, they may bring about some kind of understanding. Those who were hot headed are being pushed back and expectedly the others may be able to get together. Safely, soundly and sagely, we may come to certain (workable) conclusion. There will be no difficulty whatsoever because we have to build up India as a whole. So far as the Sikhs are concerned, my Gurus are concerned, the whole of India belongs to us, not only Punjab. Yes, it is so anywhere and everywhere. My 10th Guru was born at Patna Sahib and lived there for so long. My old Gurudwaras are there right down South up to Karnataka and beyond. At Bidar, there is one Gurudwara. Jagannath Puri has one. Dwaraka has one. At Hem Kund, it is there and soon. There is no place where you do not find gurudwaras. From every point of view, our civilisation, our culture from the days that have gone by to date has been common. There is no question about it. We fought our battles together. I had under my command, besides others also a full battalion of Muslims.

At that time, the chance had it, the fight was against Pakistan, Well they (our Muslim Soldiers) become the Shaheeds, but not one of them went back from the field of battles. There were Hindus, Sikhs, Harijans, Christians Muslims, all together and fighting for Mother India. That was the slogan and this slogan should go on. We should propel that issue. It is no one section or society or one party. In this issue, as was rightly said, this is a national issue. If it is a national issue, then we should look at it from a national angle and not with a political slant thrown here and there. This is my submission.

Proclamation about Punjab

Finally, I would wish to recommend, as my friend, Shri R. L. Bhatia has also recommended to Sardar Buta Singh Ji, kindly do the best that we can to seal off our border. The crux of the whole thing has been the turbulent border.

This has given us the gain. Every day people (intruders) are shot there also. We have now sharpened our things and working techniques. Yes, It all has improved under the aegis of Mr. Rebeiro and now the working of the Police Department and the intelligence Department has improved manifold. I do not know details about the other Departments. But they are also very well handled. Give them as much more aid as you can. It will help them and we should make the slate absolutely clean on which we can all sit together again as brothers. Racially, historically, ethically, Philologically, we are all of the same stock, Mr. Bhatia, myself and my friends sitting across. Anyone who is a Punjabi is absolutely of the same stock and stern. Why do you have dissensions? You (as Indians) are the owner of India from Kanya Kumari to Himalayas and you are the owner of all that is in your possession qualitatively and otherwise and other nations look at you, with awe and admiration your handling of the latest situation in relation to South-Asia is commendable. Even Pakistan is ready to discuss with you across the table. Why not? There is nothing wrong in that. We have to have a bigger perspective in view and with that we have to move forward so that we are all at ease and we look at the issue according to the Constitution of India.

Time is always there to improve further. We must maintain our mission with this ambitious sort of way of life. We should go ahead and not accuse each other; that this is not done and that is not done. I would say that the manner in which the situation of Punjab has been handled so far is commendable. And this must go as a credit to this Government. Anybody else would have broken down and things may have gone wrong. But I am glade it has gone in the right way. We will see better days.

With these words, I thank you for giving me the time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I will have one minute only. I will remain on my legs till Monday.

Mr. Chairman, I carefully listened to the speech of the Minister of Home Affairs and also particularly to the speech of Mr. Bhatia. I do not want any acrimony to be developed on the question of Punjab in this House because it does not help the solution of the problem. But, at the same time, I would like that both the sides of this House have certain introspection as far as the situation in Punjab is concerned and adopt a posture and attitude which will be helpful not only in eliminating violence in Punjab but also in seeing that the spirit of alienation that has developed for various reasons is completely ended and normalcy is brought to Punjab. I do not say that only when violence on bodies wears off that Punjab is brought to normalcy. It is only when the mind of Punjab and the whole psyche of Punjab is restored, real normalcy is restored in Punjab and only in that context, I would like all the problems related to Punjab to be discussed in this House.

Shall I continue next time?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You may continue next time. Now we will take up private Members' Bills.

15.30 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL*

[English]

[Amendment of article 54]

SHRI V. S. KRISHNA IYER (Bangalore South) : Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :
"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

*Published in Gazette of India, Extra Ordinary, Part II, Section 2, dated 6.11.1987.