

I had a very useful exchange of views with Mr. Gorbachev on the security environment in our region. We reaffirmed the continuing validity of our Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The Joint Statement issued at the conclusion of the visit reflects the close proximity or identity of perceptions of the two countries on international issues. Above all, the visit demonstrated the firm commitment of our peoples to world peace.

India has always stood for non-violence. India, in the United Nations, in the Non-aligned Movement, and through the Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative, has consistently worked for disarmament and peace. During Mr. Gorbachev's visit, the Soviet Union joined India in a common vision of a nuclear weapon free and non-violent world. The ideals of Gandhiji and Lenin have found expression in the Delhi Declaration. The Delhi Declaration is a vitally important initiative. It sets forth principles which must find universal acceptance if there is to be a peaceful future. The Declaration is being circulated as an official document by the United Nations. We commend the Declaration to the world community for acceptance.

The visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to India was memorable. It will have enduring significance for the further development of Indo-Soviet relations and the contribution of our two countries to peace and stability.

12.20 hrs.

**DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT  
 MADE BY THE MINISTER OF HOME  
 AFFAIRS REGARDING THE  
 SITUATION ARISING OUT  
 OF THE KILLINGS BY  
 TERRORISTS IN PUNJAB**

—Contd.

[English]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar) : The Hon. Minister has said that he would give a detailed statement by 5.30 p. m. yesterday. He should at least come out with the statement now. Are we to discuss in vacuum ?

MR. SPEAKER : He will do it.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : Since there are Hon. Members yet to speak, I thought at the end of the discussion I would make the statement.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Your statement will help.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : What will you say at the end then ?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : The Minister is not ready with the statement even now.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Let us have some say and then...

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : Why ?

S BUTA SINGH : Let me inform the august House that the actions are on in Punjab. Therefore, it will give me some time so that the whole exercise is complete.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : How much time do you require ?

S. BUTA SINGH : After the discussion. At the end of the discussion.

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : That is better.

MR. SPEAKER : We will give it to you.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur) : Hon'ble Mr. Speaker, if one is facing a complex and difficult situation whether in the field of hard-fought battle or outside it

has to be handled with a cool head. Excitement is liable to upset the correct line of planning and action.

We are at war in Punjab, against militant-cum-fundamentalist antinationals, both internal as also external. This is a new type of war with the use of modern sophisticated weapons, aided and abetted with funds, weapons, methods of training and according to well worked out plans.

Firstly, this situation calls for the determined will of the Nation as a whole to combat and defeat this enemy in detail. We have done it before as a Nation—at all other wars inflicted on us since our Independence: it be: 1947/48 war; Rann of Kachh; Goa; Indo-China 1962; 1965 and 1971 Indo Pak War and so on. And, we fought those ones as a combined Nation one and all. And, every time it gave victory to BHARAT VARSH.

I therefore, once again urge and put up a plea to all the Members of all the parties of this august House to rise to the occasion and to grapple with the traumatic situation arisen and further building up ominously in Punjab, in the form of a National Issue of high significance. And this should be done irrespective of varied political ideologies, affiliations, class, creed, religion, or region, without any political slant, overt or covert and without any misgivings and rancour.

The Hon. Prime Minister has himself cogently explained the main factors involving the nasty situation that adversely affects the sensitively positioned border state of Punjab emitting geo-political, geo-strategical and geo-military ramifications.

All moves of the Hon. Prime Minister, as assessed internationally and internally, indicate in no uncertain terms his devotedly deep loyalty and love for nation building of Mother India as a whole. He has displayed a high talent at solving certain intricate issues—geopolitical as also internal with a good measure of success meaningfully and adroitly.

In view of this I urge all the Members of this august House to strengthen his hands

in every way to convert this new type of nefarious war inflicted on us, into Victory in its every detail. We should be the first Nation in the comity of World Nations to uproot the Terroristic cult from the Indian soil lock, stock and barrel.

If my above analogy is accepted then further to that I humbly yet strongly recommend to the Hon. Prime Minister to consider the setting up of a Special Advisory Parliamentary Committee composed of the House Members including the Opposition, to derive at a National consensus to deal with this aching issue affecting the whole nation.

Once, Sir, that is done, then based on their overall consensus presented, the same could be put into execution phase by phase to free Punjab from the attempted bondage at the hands of the militant anti-nationals. Look at their latest move and trend. Here, I take the opportunity of quoting one or two sentences from *The Tribune* dated 1st December 1986, which are as follows:

“AMRITSAR, Nov. 30—Seven underground militant organisations have decided to work under the banner of the Khalistan Liberation Forces.”

Then it goes on like this:

“The signatories to the statements are the heads of various militant organisations and include Sardool Singh (“Dashmesh Regiment”), Manjit Singh (“Khalistan Armed Police”), Avtar Singh (“Tat Khalsa”), Sher Singh (“Khalistan Armed Forces”), Pipal Singh (“United Sikh Army”), Bhag Kaur (“Mai Bhago Regiment”), and Baghel Singh (“Sikh Liberation Tat Khalsa.”

Here the names of the leader are given and under their signature on their own pad with their own style, it has been issued to the press. This is the trend I am explaining.

Any way we are not going to let Punjab, run away anywhere; the sooner the antinationals or potential antinationals realise this, the better for them, their children and everyone's posterity. It is common to everybody.



region, you will not find law and order anywhere. You may visit my area; 28 persons were killed in district Etah in a single night, but nobody raises that issue in the House. Today we all are crying hoarse for Punjab. What is the use of doing all this? The national security of this country is at stake. I do not know Hindi that is why I am speaking Urdu. There is no question of division. We all are one. To demand that Sardar Sahib should resign is of no use because that will not solve the problem. What purpose will he serve by going there? Shri Ribeiro was attacked. That means their headquarter is being attacked by their own people. What result his resignation will yield under these circumstances? I would say that the entire Government should resign. We are fully prepared for a re-election. You are standing here; go out and see what is happening outside. What is being discussed in the hotels, on the road sides and in the streets? This Government has failed on all fronts, be it the Punjab issue or Assam issue. My heart is full of pain on the killing of so many persons and they are saying that Centre cannot take any action in this matter. What for are we here then? We represent here different States; what answer shall we give to those who have voted in our favour? Here a plea is taken that it is a State matter. You have enacted the Anti Terrorist Act, which has the necessary provisions. The Centre may intervene in such a situation. This is totally a wrong conception that the Centre cannot intervene in it. You say that this is a State subject but on the other hand the Punjab and Assam problems are being discussed in the House repeatedly. Even proofs are there that terrorists are being trained in Pakistan, they are being provided with ammunition and training in that country, then what action have you taken so far? The Hon. Prime Minister met Shri Junejo, had delicious food and even exchanged jokes but did he ever tell him about it? Whatever allegations you make, they deny them. You should better get ready for a war with them. When the evidence is there that the terrorists are being trained there and the people are also being apprehended then why do you not give them a befitting reply? If you do not take strict action in this regard, you can well imagine what is in store for this country. Our leaders have already caused partition of the country once previously. I apprehend

that we might have to face yet another partition in future if we fail to check these terrorist activities. Our Home Minister and Prime Minister should intervene in this matter. Besides we all should fight them unitely.

Today, there is a political war going on in Punjab. Sarvashri Badal and Tohra are creating nuisance and are harassing an honest and saint-like person, Shri Barnala. This is our fault as well as that of the Centre that it is not intervening in it. You cannot wash your hands off by saying that you have deployed Para military forces like B. S. F. there. The Centre must intervene in this matter.

Can you imagine the feelings of the families whose family members have been killed? There is no reason to be complacent merely by having discussions. You have not been able to solve the Assam and Punjab problems till today. I would like to recite an Urdu couplet :

*Na Samjhoge to mit jaoge,*  
*ae Hindustan walo.*

*Tumhari dastan tak bhi na hogi*  
*dastanon mein.*

(Interruptions)

Even this goes to my credit that I alone have won. Otherwise you did not spare any effort to use unfair means.

(Interruptions)

Have you ever thought where you were in the past and where you are at present? I would request you to adopt strict measures in this regard. If you do not take such measures, the situation will flare up in the entire country and then it would be difficult to control it. The problem will not be solved merely by demanding resignations.

Today, a very simple and saint-like Chief Minister is being harassed. You must try to give him help as much as possible.

In the end, I would request you to improve the situation in the country.



SHRI NARESH CHANDRA CHATURVEDI (Kanpur) : Sir, the Punjab problem which we are discussing since yesterday under a charged atmosphere is the most important problem facing the country today. Cutting across the party lines, the Hon. Members spoke with one voice yesterday and the distinction between the Ruling Party and the Opposition was no more visible in the House. It seemed as if the agony of 75 crores of people had taken a collective shape and was being expressed with one voice in this House. However, the submissions which have been made thereafter are somewhat wayward, and from what my worthy friend has just now said, it seems that instead of keeping within the context of the tragic issue, we are trying to protect our vested interests and are furthering our political motives and the real issue is being sidetracked. Just now, my worthy friend has said that although there is no law and order anywhere, yet when such issues are raised in the House, we are not allowed to discuss them on the grounds of their being the State subjects. He has perhaps forgotten that such matters cannot be allowed to be discussed in the House because law and order is a State subject. However, the incident that occurred in Punjab is not merely a law and order problem. It concerns the entire country and is connected with the feelings of the people of the whole country. It was for this reason, that the distinction between the Ruling Party and the Opposition was not visible yesterday.

I want to submit that I am one of those who have been constantly raising the Punjab issue and very strongly too, in this House as also in the Meetings of the Consultative Committee attached to the Ministry of Home Affairs for the past one year and have been trying to say that the Punjab problem cannot be solved in this manner. I have repeatedly asserted that the Akali Government in Punjab headed by the Chief Minister, Shri Barnala is a worthless Government. Shri Barnala may be a very good man, with a nice disposition, but in the role of a Chief Minister and as an administrator, he has not been discharging his duties properly. Those who link him with the Central Government, with a view to criticising it, are doing so to serve their political interests and are not stating the truth. Whatever the Hon. Prime Minister

pointed out yesterday, there is some substance in that. The Central Government will have to intervene in it, there is no doubt about that, but the Centre will proceed only according to the rules. We cannot set aside the norms of democratic functioning and the Constitution. I had said yesterday also and I am again saying it today that the life and property of the people of Punjab should be protected and the Punjab Government should be dismissed because it has not been able to protect the common people. If the Punjab problem could not be solved even after conducting elections through a democratic process, there should be military rule, until peace is restored in that State. This sort of a Government cannot be relied upon till the life and property of the common man remains unprotected.

The late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took certain strong steps in connection with Punjab, and we know very well as to why she did so. Our revered leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi had not ordered the 'Bluestar Operation' under ordinary circumstances. She had taken this decision under considerable strain and tension. After that, when the Akali Government came to power, we saw a split in the Akali Dal. First, Shri Badal left the party and thereafter Shri Tohra followed suit. The same happened in the Government as well. First, Shri Amarinder Singh resigned and recently two more Ministers have been dismissed. All this shows that the Barnala Government is like a sinking ship. There seems to be no doubt that the Barnala Government is not going to last long and Tohra's victory indicates clearly that the extremist forces are still getting support in Punjab. Perhaps, it is indicative of the fact that Tohra's victory would not be confined to merely winning the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee elections, but with further those activities, of which yesterday's incident was a rehearsal. So, the Government will have to take definite steps in this connection. We do not know whether the Governor of Punjab has submitted any report till now, and if he has, what are the contents thereof. Perhaps, the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs may enlighten us about it when he replies to the debate. Hon. Prime Minister did assure us yesterday that he would find a solution to the problem within a period of two days, after discussing the issue with the Punjab Government, the Governor, and the

Chief Minister of that State, which could ensure that such incidents do not recur in future.

I could not understand as to why some Hon. Members were demanding the resignation of the Home Minister yesterday. I am one of those who believe that one should not only resign, but should be prepared to make even greater sacrifices if it is in the national interest. This has been demonstrated by the people of our country time and again. But, I would not support the demand for resignation of the Home Minister for this purpose. I want to clearly state that the resignation of the Home Minister would not be a solution to this problem. If a handful Members of the Opposition demand the resignation of the Home Minister, I will not support it.

*(Interruptions)*

I as well as some friends from our Congress Party had pointed out yesterday that the Barnala Government should be dismissed, as it was incapable of delivering the goods. Secondly, if the Opposition parties support the Barnala Government for their political interests and say that Punjab cannot be protected, then Military should take over and should continue to stay there as long as protection of the lives of common people is not guaranteed. I have said this not once but several times. As the Hon. Prime Minister has stated yesterday, if any State Government is incapable of delivering the goods, and if it is not able to protect the life and property of the common people, the Central Government should be equipped with more powers in such cases. If such an Amendment is moved by the Government, the House should support it strongly. Law and Order is not merely a State issue; it concerns the nation as a whole, and therefore, the House should fully support the Centre's move to acquire more powers in this respect, so that the country could be protected. We must protect our country, ensure peace and goodwill, safeguard its unity and integrity, communal harmony and amity, for the cause of which our great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi had sacrificed their lives. If this is not kept in view, we shall not be able to save our country from disintegration. If we

do not rise above our selfish interests, we shall be doing great injustice to our nation. Therefore, I would request the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs to take such effective steps as early as possible, so that opportunities for such discussion do not arise and such incidents do not recur.

With these words, I conclude.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) :  
 Sir, the Hon. Member sitting near me has made an impassioned speech, and his oratory in Hindi has deeply touched me. But I want that there must not be any discussions regarding Punjab in this House. I have returned from Srinagar only yesterday and there I found that the people of Jammu and Kashmir share the grief of the entire nation in regard to this tragic incident. Our leader, Hon. Shri Farooq Abdullah has expressed his grief with deep emotions. However, I must say that notices for Adjournment Motions and Calling Attention are given in the Parliament only when a group of people are killed. If two or three people are killed in sporadic incidents daily, no discussions are held. But if 14 people are killed, it becomes a big issue for discussion. Now that 26 people are dead, a forceful discussion is going on. Had I been given an opportunity to speak yesterday even for two minutes, I would have said that this was the time for taking action and not for making discussions. I have a sound logic and patriotic feelings in saying so.

I have heard that there was a feudal family in U. P. which was so intoxicated with its wealth that if a death occurred in that family, then a particular professional group of poor people would be called on such an occasion for mourning. I feel that we might be charged with shedding crocodile tears because the attention of the entire country is focussed on Parliament and discussion on Punjab has been going on for the last three years over here. Crores of people who have exercised their franchise and elected us as Members, been questioning as to what solution has been found to this problem. They ask as to how effective have been the Calling Attention Motions and the Adjournment Motions. I would ask that if that feudal family could call professional mourners, then could we not be branded as

[Prof. Saifuddin Soz]

professional mourners by the people of this country and told that we are not genuine grief and are merely expressing in our lip sympathies? Therefore I would say that perhaps some more occasions would come to discuss the Panjab issue, but may I ask the Hon. Speaker, the Hon. Home Minister and the Hon. Prime Minister whether it is not a matter of insult to this august House that though we discuss the Punjab issue every day, yet the country is not destined to live in peace? This issue is not confined to Punjab alone, but is a matter concern for the entire nation. Today there is trouble in Kerala, Haryana, Maharashtra and Jammu and Kashmir. There are disturbances in every nook and corner of the country. I would like to ask the Home Minister and the Prime Minister whether there is no solution to this problem? I have a great regard for the views of the Prime Minister. He has disclosed his intentions and I think he wants to administer the country with sincerity and wishes to find a solution to the Punjab problem. I do not doubt his sincerity. But had he been present here I would have told him that at the time of introduction of Punjab Disturbed Area Bill and Chandigarh Disturbed Area Bill in this House, Shri Indrajit Gupta, Prof. Madhu Dandavate and myself also had told that the Government already had law to deal with the situation.

[English]

“Forget about Punjab Disturbed Area Act, Forget about the Anti-Terrorists Act. Do you think that there is licence for everybody to kill anybody in this country? Take a copy of the Indian Penal Code in your hand and see what are the provisions for the protection of human life, for the protection of property—private or Government There is enough law. There is need for the political will”.

[Translation]

Without going into a legal debate, I would request you not to go into the intricacies of law. The two concerned ministers should take more interest in assisting the Prime Minister. One question

which was raised in this House by Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Madhu Dandavate was whether you could say that terrorists in Punjab were free to kill anyone they liked?

You have not asked the Barnala Government what rules they have framed. When there is Punjab Disturbed Area Act already on the Statute Book, why the rules were not framed? Is the Barnala Government not responsible for it? Could the Home Minister not be blamed for being too weak to enquire about the situation in that State? Why did you not exercise the advisory power of the Central Government? Even the very good views and policies and intense involvement of the Prime Minister are being weakened. I do not say that this is being done deliberately. That is why I have also said that action is needed instead of discussion. There are a few suggestions about the steps that should be taken in Punjab. Firstly, it is a political issue and should be tackled at the political level. Shri Indrajit Gupta had raised here some issues and one of them was that Shri Buta Singh should have resigned. This question was raised earlier also when 14 persons were killed. Had Shri Buta Singh resigned at that time, today we would have demanded the resignation of the new Home Minister. Therefore, the Home Minister of India cannot be changed every month in this way. The real issue is that Punjab problem ought to be tackled at the political level. Once I had said that the transfer of Chandigarh could, perhaps, solve the problem but today I do not hold this view. Today, the first thing is to restore peace in Punjab. Besides, Shri Barnala, Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Tohra also have to guarantee this peace. I do not want to say anything in relation to their arrests as it is the duty of the Punjab Government to decide who are to be kept behind the bars. I do not have any comments to offer on this issue. Shri Barnala is the Chief Minister and it is within his powers to take such action. But so far as negotiations are concerned, Shri Badal and Shri Tohra can be consulted even in the jail about the solution of this problem. Chandigarh can be transferred to Punjab. The water dispute can be resolved. But are these massacres and killings of innocent and defenceless bus passengers a solution to this problem? So, I would say that demand for the resignation



of the Home Minister is not justified. I have serious differences with Shri Indrajit Gupta on this point but at the same time, I would tell the Hon. Member that he can label Shri Barnala as a weak person and there is a reason behind his weakness. This was the substance of the speeches of Shri Arif and others also with which I agree. Shri Barnala has preserved the provisions of the Constitution of India. There is no bravery in imposing President's rule in Punjab. You can do it but you will have to face criticism. You can impose President's rule even if the situation does not warrant for such a rule as this is a weapon in your arsenal which you can use at any time. But bravery lies in giving due respect to a Government elected by the voters. I am deeply grieved that there might be some Hindus among the killed bus passengers who might have voted for the Akalis. It is an elected Government and it cannot be dismissed so easily. Therefore, whereas I oppose the dismissal of Barnala Government, at the same time, I oppose the imposition of President's rule and the demand for resignation of the Home Minister. It is indeed a political issue and all should collectively find out a solution and I am sure that a political solution will be found as soon as the Central Government gives it top priority.

In the end, I want to put forward some suggestions to stop the spate of killings....  
*(Interruptions)*

I want to say, as Shri Madhu Dandavate has also said, that armed guards should be deployed in buses. The Home Minister should readily accept this suggestion in his reply to the debate. Although it cannot solve the problem completely but this suggestion has been put forward after due consideration. The second suggestion is to create an atmosphere in which a mixed police force may be deployed in Punjab. It is the duty of Shri A.K. Sen to advise the Prime Minister on the possibility of deploying a mixed police force in Punjab drawn from the cadres of the States like Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar, Rajasthan, Kerala and Tamilnadu. These are some of the suggestions for a short term, but the final settlement will have to be a political one which this Government will have to reach, it being their responsibility.

13.00 hrs.

**SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kaiserganj) :**  
 Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Punjab has given many important turns to the history of India and now once again a time has come for the people of Punjab to think and give the country a lead in the same way as the nature has blessed them with a top spot on the map of India. Before touching any other issue, I want to say that I have been listening to the entire discussion going on since yesterday, whether it was the speech of Shri Indrajit Gupta or of Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary. All of them have very strongly stressed that the resignation of our Home Minister will, perhaps, solve this problem. In this connection, I humbly state that they have no right to threaten the Congress Ministers by asking for their resignations. If there is any party which has displayed courage and maintained the tradition of tendering resignations, it is the Congress Party, whether it was the case of late Lal Bahadur Shastri or that of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. There might have been some solitary case in the opposition parties when a Minister might have resigned in an emotional way. A recent casualty has been that of Shri Arif who resigned only because of those ideals of the Congress Party. You do not have any parallel example in this regard. If you think that this resignation can solve the problem, our party is ready for even a bigger sacrifice and it has been our tradition also...*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY :**  
 We do not want the resignation.

**SHRI RANA VIR SINGH :** It is a good thing if you do not want it. I am also very upset today and want to know certain thing from our Home Minister. He has made a big sacrifice for the country. In his own country and in his own State, he has been declared 'tankhaiya' from his religion. It is a gross insult. This is the reward he has received for maintaining the unity of the country. I want to know how much more blood those senseless terrorists of Punjab want to shed before peace is restored in that State. Which party's blood they want to shed? How many more Congressmen, comrades, journalists, ministers, Atwals and the only sons of Captains they want to kill? What is the limit of their thirst for blood? I want answers to these questions.



[Shri Rana Vir Singh]

Let it be settled today how much more blood is to be shed before we restore peace there. Today we have to fix a limit...  
(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN :  
Not less than 10,000 persons.

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH : Only you can say this. I consider the views expressed by Shri Khan as that of a coward. India has always been a peace-loving nation. We are ready to make sacrifice howsoever big it may be. It may be one million people.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : It indicates the cowardice of the Government...(Interruptions)

SHRI RANA VIR SINGH : I do not say this. I am always of the view that those who want to silence us through their bullets are cowards. They perhas want to force us to change our ideology with bullets. They assassinated Shrimati Indira Gandhi and thought that it would put an end to revolutionary thinking. They thought of silencing the voice of Sant Longowal by murdering him. I would like to add that they cannot gag our voices whatever be the number of their bullets. We have to carry on the flag and remain committed to the ideals of our leaders. They can come forward and make their point logically. But the cowards take to bullets when they feel that they have not been able to make their point. When bullets are used, everybody feels that the terrorists have failed in their logic. Yesterday, an Hon. Member of our party was speaking on this issue and he referred to the accord signed with late Longowal. I would like to say that the accord should have heralded a new era. The Hon. Member also referred to a quotation from Sardar Khushwant Singh's book. He is a person who changes his mind everyday. Such things should not have been quoted. I would like to tell the Hon. Member that I am 'Duryodhana' and he is 'Yudhishtara'. Today, we are facing more danger from the modern 'Yudhishtaras', because 'they can cause incalculable harm under the guise of honesty and truth. But

'Duryodhana' is well known to all, and, therefore, there are little chances of getting cheated. We do not know whether they will enjoy the fruits of righteousness or be punished for being a sinner. Today we know 'Duryodhana' very well. We have to draw a line between the mischievous elements and the law abiding citizens and distinguish between the two and only then we can tackle this problem. Sir, I had just commenced my speech, when Shri Mahfooz interrupted me. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to emphasize that the people of Punjab are our brethren. Their business is spread throughout the country. Shri Badal has a well mechanised farm in Uttar Pradesh. I would like to tell him that all the Indians, except a few in Punjab, have stood up and resolved to protect their Sikh brethren. I would like to appeal to every true Sikh and believer of 'Sikh Panth', through Shri Ramoowalia, that they will have to stand like a wall to protect their Hindu brethren. They will have to prove that they are not predators but protectors. It is unfortunate if they are not satisfied with the flourishing trade and commerce and bumper harvest which they reap and want to confine themselves to Punjab. I think this merely shows a lack of wisdom on their part. I would urge them to accept India as their own country, defend it, work for its progress and development and stop killing innocent people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Opposition is repeatedly demanding replacement of the Home Minister and the Chief Minister Shri Barnala. It appears to me that at present there are at least three Governments in Punjab. The first one is headed by Shri Barnala, the second is that of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the third is that of the extremists. A no-trust motion was moved against the Barnala Government when he received a setback in the SGPC elections. When a religious body becomes so powerful that it starts running a parallel Government and also becomes a source of constant threat to the elected Government, some restrictions should be imposed on it so that anti-national elements do not get shelter. These places have become safe sanctuaries for extremists and terrorists. The Centre proposes to instal another Government that of Shri Buta Singh. But what then will happen to those three

Governments ? Let these three Governments declare that they are not capable and competent enough to control the situation in Punjab. The Centre will intervene only if it is asked to do so in a democratic way by the State Government. It is also said that the number of extremists is increasing in Punjab because of unemployment and neglect of their agriculture. A railway coach factory is proposed to be set up in Punjab whereas it has not been provided in Uttar Pradesh or Bihar. Though the required raw material is not available there, even then our Prime Minister approved the project in order to provide more employment opportunities to the people of the State. Punjab is quite advanced in agriculture with maximum irrigation facilities. They demanded capital for the State, and we bowed to their wishes but I would like to emphasize that every Indian has understood it that every time the demands of the extremists are met, they become more aggressive. Therefore, I request them to make full use of the concessions given to them. They should not feel that the nation has become weak merely because it has bowed to their demands, and therefore, they can have a free hand. Each carnage adds to the anguish of the people and brings down their morale. I would like to tell the Hon. Home Minister that sometimes delayed action becomes a cause of revolution. Therefore, at present we do not need sermons or eloquent speeches but concrete action. He says that the Act does not provide him with ample powers and there is no effective provision in this Act. I would like to remind him that crores of people of this country have reposed their faith in him and thereby provided the necessary power. If he says that he can tackle this problem if he is vested with more powers, he is wrong. Every Indian has reposed confidence in him and expressed his deep affection. He should utilise that power to crush a handful of terrorists and demoralise them for ever. Whatever power he requires to tackle the situation, he should demand it. He is the last ray of hope for the entire nation and everybody has high hopes of him

Today, the forces of disintegration are raising their ugly head all over the country and they should be ruthlessly crushed immediately. If these forces are allowed to

flourish, the country will have to face a greater upheaval. Before such a thing happens, we should leave no stone unturned to suppress such forces even if we may have to make any number of sacrifices for it. Hindus and Sikhs are brothers and, therefore, the entire nation should take a pledge that they will not allow any demon to create discord among them.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur) : Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we are once again discussing Punjab problem in the House. We, all are discussing it with a heavy heart and I am also very much upset while participating in it. Whenever this issue comes up here for discussion, tears well up in our eyes because we have to hear such allegations from our own friends as we cannot even dream of. I do not know whether this is being done consciously or unconsciously or whether they are not well-informed. One cannot be a true Akali or a true Sikh if he does not condemn the killings of the innocent people and does not share the grief of their kith and kin. If he does not do so, he will go to hell and he has no right to call himself a human being. I would like to say that no amount of harsh words would suffice to condemn the gruesome murder of 22-25 people recently in Punjab. I share the grief of my countrymen and am one with them in strongly condemning this heinous act.

I would like to raise two or three points here. It has been repeatedly said here that they have won the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee elections but if you ponder over it seriously, you will come to know under what circumstances we contested the said elections. We are giving them a tough fight even under such adverse conditions and are trying to keep the honour and dignity of the nation intact. Today, there are 133 members of SGPC to whom tickets were given in 1979 when neither Shri Barnala nor Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was our Leader. At that time, the top leadership comprised only three persons, i.e. Tohra, Badal and Talwandi and they had distributed tickets among the loyalists. Is it not a silver lining for the country that in spite of the extremist forces represented by Sarvashri Badal, Tohra, Talwandi and Baba Joginder Singh joining hands, there

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are still 58 brave persons out of 133 who have firmly stood against them and voted in favour of national unity, integrity and philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev ? It is by no means a small achievement. In spite of this, only one thing is being said here that they have won the elections whereas there was none among the winners who belonged to us. But while saying this, you forget the fact that it were they who distributed the tickets and it were they who gave the funds. Sant Bhindranwale fully supported those who won the elections and it was Shri Umranangal alone who stood against Bhindranwale and from then on, the strength rose to 58.

Secondly, I would like to say that such forces have inflicted numerous wounds on the heart of our country. This country has a large heart but, God knows, how many more wounds it will have to bear in the near future. We should follow two principles—firstly we have to control anger and, secondly, we have to be patient. We can save this country if we follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi and our forefathers. But if we make allegations against others merely on the basis of an act committed by a person, that will definitely make those bloody killers jubilant because they will be succeeding in their designs. Will it serve any purpose if we make allegations against Shri Buta Singh, Shri Barnala, myself or for that matter against any other friend ? If you want to see the consequences of making allegations, you may extend this debate for another 36 hours, but it will not yield any fruitful result. It will result in destruction only. Therefore, I request you that we should keep our tempers cool

Some Members often demand the dismissal of a particular person. Deepawali festival is already over. The terrorists will celebrate a far more jubilant Deepawali if Shri Barnala is dismissed.

Shri Prabhaskar Joshi has written in the 'Jansatta' that "they want to get Sikhs killed by the Army and the people, so that the entire Sikh community could be converted into Khalistanis. If the Barnala Government

is removed from the scene, it will be easier to wage a war against the Hindu Government of Delhi." It is not I who am saying this. It has been said by the 'Jansatta' newspaper. They want to fight against the Hindu Government of Delhi and the people who defy the teachings of Guru Nanak Dev but pose as Sikhs want to succeed by removing the hurdle of Barnala Government. We have to abort their conspiracy.

Sir, Hindus and Sikhs both are being killed but I would like to say one thing that terrorism is being practised by sporting a beard and wearing a 'Kirpan', Shiv Sena members are sporting fake beards and are indulging in terrorism in Punjab. On both sides, rogues have set themselves on the path of violence and the problem has become complicated. I may submit that both Hindus and Sikhs are dying, may be one day the number of the dead from one community is more and the other day the number of the dead from the other community is more. One good thing is that till date the mob consisting of hundreds or thousands of people has not indulged in burning of a religious place or killing of members of the other community in Punjab. Kindly take note of this thing.

I want to tell that even now the people of Punjab have faith in Lord Krishna and Guru Nanak Dev. Even now the political parties are one. I am not saying this because I am sitting near Shri Indrajit Gupta. I salute the leftist parties in Punjab. A large scale arson, looting and killing was indulged in Punjab, but the political parties remained united. There is only one remedy to it and that is that none should do a wrong thing. The teachings of Gurbani and saints still influence them. We have to make these more effective.

When Punjab is discussed, it is said that so and so person should be dismissed. I am a devotee of the Gurus and standing at this sacred place I would say that dear friends, it will take just one minute to remove Shri Barnala. If you like to dismiss his Government you can do it in one minute and I would not beg of you not to do so but one thing I would say that we should learn a lesson from history. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when seven persons were killed in a bus,



Sardar Darbara Singh's Government was dismissed. I was in the Golden Temple at that time, working as the Secretary of the Akali Dal. I swear by Guru Nanak Dev that I myself heard a dreaded terrorist, who has now been killed, saying : "You fools, by killing 7 persons, Darbara Singh's Government has gone and if we kill 107 persons, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Government in Delhi will also fall." After that you have changed 11 advisors, four I. Gs of Police and have been discussing the issue for the last five years in this House. But the situation has further deteriorated. I would like to submit that when we talk of dismissing the Barnala Government, we should think of the consequences. If we reply in their hands, the consequences will not be good.

My friend has said that we were absent yesterday. Lot of hue and cry was raised. I would like to say to them that only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. As soon as we got the tragic news in Amritsar, we were naturally upset and felt sad that those people had won who were supporting the terrorists with money, power and by providing political cover. At that time, we received the news that some persons had been killed at Tanda near Hoshiarpur. Shri Barnala directed that all the MPs and MLAs should go there. We went door to door in all the five villages of Sangrur to avert any other untoward happening. I apologise for our absence yesterday because it was a fateful day. We were doing our duty in the field and were confident that our able and learned friends must be taking right decision in Parliament. We have to keep this country safe and secure with your cooperation.

Just now my Hon. friend has said that it is the duty of the entire Hindu and the entire Sikh Community. I would congratulate and thank him for this. I would strongly say that this amity between the two communities should be dear to us. Today, the entire Sikh Community gives a full guarantee to the effect that they would protect their Hindu brethren, even if they have to face bullets while doing so. The entire community whether it is Hon. Shri Barnala, Shri Balwant Singh or myself, would come forward together to help our Hindu brothers. We are prepared to face bullets in order to protect our friends. If we have to be true to

Guru Granth Sahib, and if we are the true followers of Guru Teg Bahadur and Guru Govind Singh, we must support the cause of our Hindu brethren. Guru Govind Singh, had sacrificed his four sons and his mother for this country, and when he was asked about the whereabouts of his sons, he had replied that they had been sacrificed for the country, the community and the religion. The country is India the community is Indian and the religion is humanity. About Guru Teg Bahadur it has been said and I quote :—

*Janju Tilak rakha prabh taka*

If I am mistaken in any way, Hon. Shri Buta Singh may kindly correct me. We are to carry forward this mission. These agents who are speaking such wrong things, are butchers, murderers, and if I may say so, they are as venomous as snakes. We must oppose them tooth and nail. When, after the death of Guru Teg Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh was told at a tender age of 9 that his father had become a martyr, he had said, and I quote :

*Janju tilak rakha prabh taka,  
 Keeni badi kalu mahi saka.  
 Dharm hetu inti jil kart,  
 Sees diya par see na ubari*

He had said that he was proud of the fact this his father had attained martyrdom fighting for the honour of his sacred thread and 'tilak'. That is why I want to say that we should come forward for this cause, Shri Barnala is fighting all alone without any aid from any quarter. I do not want to blame anybody; this is not the time for allegations, as it will only create more problems and will give an opportunity to the extremists to rejoice. Let us exercise restraint and take effective steps. There are certain shortcomings in Punjab. The Vice-President in his Address to Rajya Sabha have used four words namely, political, economic, human and Sikh psyche. We must take all these four words into consideration and then chalk out an approach for the future. You are a strong party and the party which has a larger number of Members is bound to be stronger. Your strength in the House is more, your party represents a larger area, but so far as responsibilities are concerned, we are not lagging behind and are ready to shoulder them with you, We may be a small group so



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far as the numbers are concerned, but we shall render all cooperation. Therefore, you may examine our suggestions and take steps accordingly, if possible.

I would once again reiterate that it would not be proper if you take any decisions in haste. I had rang up Hon. Shri Barnala and told him a few things which I do not want to say in the House. I want Hon. Shri Buta Singh to elaborate them.

Finally, I want to make one more submission and I hope that you will not feel offended. At times, we feel as if we are confused. But why should we be confused? The more the trouble, the greater the agony. Our country has not lost its entity since ages. Several Gaznis had come here time and again to destroy it but they failed in their sinister designs and had to beat a retreat. Ganga, Yamuna, Saraswati, Krishna, Cauveri still flow through India, and Gita and Gitanjali, the prestigious epics, still continue to inspire her countrymen. I would like once again as to why should we be confused? Those terrorists are not getting the support of the Sikhs at all. The other day, I gave you an instance of how the men and women from the village had apprehended some hoodlums and handed them over to the police. Today, so many people are dying, the Sikhs as well as the Hindus, but I want to emphasis that you should not create unnecessary confusion and should not make somebody a scape-goat. Instead, the problem should be viewed from the national perspective. I am not saying that Hon. Shri Barnala is a very strong man, but I can say it positively that Shri Barnala is earnest in his intentions to serve the country. He is fully committed to the national cause and is faithfully extending full cooperation to the Centre in this struggle.

**SHRI RANA VIR SINGH (Kaiserganj) :**  
We also want that he should now earnestly show firmness.

**SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA :** Thank you. I was saying that you must not make anyone a scape goat. We should be more vigilant to work for that noble cause for which Sant Longowal and

Shrimati Indira Gandhi had laid down their lives. When we speak here, we should not forget what effect our estimates would have when printed in the newspapers and, therefore, we should all sit together for 10 hours and arrive at a decision. We have already done a lot, the Operation Bluestar and the Operation Woodrose have been undertaken. The B. S. F. had given certain figures day before yesterday in which the details of the achievements made at the borders, including that of Punjab, were given. I was listening to it very carefully. Therefore, I want to emphasise that (1) We should not lose heart; (2) We should not allow the tempers to get better of us; (3) We must not lose patience; (4) We should not get demoralised against odds and discharge the responsibilities bravely; and (5) We should not take such hasty steps as could result in playing into the hands of the terrorists and dancing to their tunes, thereby enabling them to achieve their ends.

In the end, I would appeal from the core of my heart to all Sikhs, Punjabi, Members of the Akali Dal and all Hindus that Hindu-Sikh relations are very delicate because in the same family the mother is Hindu and her son is a Sikh. Similarly, a Sikh uncle has a Hindu nephew. Both Hindus and Sikhs celebrate the Hindu as well as the Sikh festivals with equal enthusiasm. 30 per cent of the Sikh families carry the ashes of their dead to Hardwar for immersion. This is the extent of their affinity. With these words, I offer my services to this House for continuing the crusade against terrorism and for the unity of this country.

**SHRI C. P. THAKUR (Patna) :** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this important issue of national interest. When I got up in the morning, I received numerous telephone calls, enquiring about only one matter as to what we were doing in regard to the recent incident in Punjab. This made me to think how upset the people were after this incident. When I entered this House yesterday, I saw the Hon. Members expressing their anger and concern and I felt that we should do something about it. Those who were so excited yesterday, were insisting upon just one thing, that discussions must be stopped and concrete action be taken. On

being asked why the Member of the ruling party and that of the Opposition were so excited, they replied that such an incident had never occurred before. From this, it is evident that the Hon. Members along with the people of this country are equally concerned about the tragedy. Being agitated, some Members had also demanded the registration of the Home Minister. However, I want to ask whether this problem can be solved merely by the registration of the Home Minister? This battle is not going to end in a day, and a Home Minister alone cannot do anything about it. Some Hon. Members went to the extent of saying that as the Home Minister belonged to the same community, he should resign. But, there are many people from the same community, who were involved in the Operation Bluestar and who have been critical of those who are behind this tragic incident. We should be proud of the fact that the Home Minister who belongs to the same community, has been combating the anti-national elements with great firmness.

Just now, Hon. Shri R. S. Sparrow, has said that the battle is on. This should be accepted by everybody that a war-like situation exist in Punjab today and, therefore our efforts should be on a war-footing. If we lose our balance during war-time, we cannot win the battle. If you happen to have a glimpse of the history of wars, you will find it to be true. I shall give a small example. Napoleon was once surrounded by the Turkish Armada. When he was returning from his morning ride, he was informed about it by his commandant who was greatly concerned, like the Hon. Members here, and told that they would certainly lose the battle. Napoleon told him to exercise restraint and said that they would be defeated once they came to land. I am hopeful that the patience with which our Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had handled the situation yesterday and pacified everybody amply proves that we shall emerge victorious and would definitely put an end to the anti-national forces for ever.

Yesterday, there was a discussion on the two epics of 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharat' in this House. The same thing had happened in 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharat'. In the begin-

ning it seemed as if Ravana would win, but it was Rama who came out victorious ultimately. That which is based on truth, wins ultimately. In the epic 'Mahabharata' also, it seemed in the beginning that Duryodhana would win.

I want to say that if we keep patience and do not lose our balance, we can solve this problem of anti-national elements in Punjab. I am intentionally not using the term terrorists as it is used for some other persons also, so much so that even Bhagat Singh was termed as a terrorist at times. It will be more appropriate to call these persons as anti-national rather than terrorists.

Besides, I have also to say something about the Department of Home Affairs. An attempt on Shri Rajiv Gandhi's life was made after the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Sant Longowal was killed; an attempt was made on the life of Shri Ribeiro; and General Vaidya was assassinated. I was also present at Rajghat, the samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi, on 2nd October. After that incident, I felt that our intelligence service needed to be further reinforced. It has to be reinforced whether it is in Punjab or somewhere else. I felt that our security arrangements would have to be further tightened. I do not want to discuss it in detail.

Secondly, as Shri Ramoowalia has said, these terrorists are striking in a well-planned way. You must have witnessed the recent SGPC elections. And, they made this attempt simultaneously at the time of elections. Such type of incidents take place in international politics also. When we were discussing Vietnam in the House, Libya was attacked. Our talks in Harare were followed by an incident of highjacking. This incident in question took place after the SGPC elections.

After all, what do they want? The plans of these anti-national elements are to kill Hindus in Punjab as a reaction to which Hindus will kill Sikhs at other places. Then, the Hindus will leave Punjab and the Sikhs will rush from other places to Punjab. Thus they will succeed in their designs. Therefore,

[Shri C. P. Thakur]

the people of the whole country have to be alert. We have not to fall prey to their plan but shall have to remain alert.

The second thing which I want to say is that personally I do not agree with the view that ouster of Barnala can solve this problem. Shri Barnala is facing this challenge very honestly even today. Therefore, the removal of Shri Barnala will only cause some set-back to the country and will not yield any result.

There is one more issue which was a point of debate yesterday. It was said that we did not have any constitutional remedy to meet this situation in Punjab. This type of discussion took place yesterday. A similar question was also raised before the Sarkaria Commission. I had asked Shri Lal Narayan Sinha, who is a renowned lawyer and a former Attorney General of India, about the solution of this issue and wanted to know his views on this problem which we are presently discussing here in the House. I want to pose that question before you.

[English]

Whether before this amendment, the Union (in a situation not amounting to external aggression or internal disturbance within the contemplation of article 355) was competent to deploy its Armed Forces or any other force subject to its control in a State in aid of civil power even *suo motu* without the consent of the State Government on the ground that this power was necessarily incidental or ancillary to the subject comprising entry 3 of List 1 ?

No. (ii), has the power to deploy armed forces or any other force subject to its control in a State in aid of the civil power been conferred on the Union by entry 2 A, list 1 read with article 73, with corresponding curtailment in the ambit of entry 1 of List 2 by this amendment ?

[Translation]

He has categorically suggested to the Sarkaria Commission and the Government perhaps might have also received a copy of his suggestion. The Government can inter-

vene whenever it wants. How can it intervene ? I want to quote Article 355 of the Constitution with your permission, which very clearly provides that the Central Government has enough powers even without invoking the Terrorist Act.

[English]

"It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance."

[Translation]

There could be no more explicit Article than this that the Centre can intervene in Punjab whenever it wants. The Courts of America and England have ruled that when one has got the powers, he must use them.

[English]

Maxwell says :

"Where an Act confers a jurisdiction which impliedly also grants the power of doing such acts or employ such means as are essentially necessary to its execution."

Crafford quoting a host of American decision, says :

"A statutory grant of power, privilege of property, carried with it by implication everything necessary to its enjoyment or exercise."

[Translation]

I mean to say that without invoking the Anti-Terrorists Act, the Central Government can intervene in Punjab under the provisions contained in Entry 1 and Entry 11 lists of the Constitution. It can intervene and deploy Force even during the period the Barnala Government is in power. It is within the powers of the Centre. The founding fathers of our Constitution have made these provisions in the Constitution because they knew that such situations could be created by secessionist forces in India. I would request the Prime Minister and the Home Minister that they should act in the same way as Abraham Lincoln had strongly suppressed the secessionist forces when they

became very active in America and should tackle the situation on war footing. If we do not get ready right now, the foreign powers involved would think that India is not ready to face this situation and that she is getting weakened. If we face this situation with alacrity and full preparedness, all the provoking elements will keep their hands off.

With these words, I once again urge the Prime Minister and the Home Minister that the need of the hour is to work for creating a national feeling which was witnessed in the House yesterday and that mere discussion will not yield any results.

13.43 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUAL BASHER : *in the Chair*]

[*English*]

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja) : Sir, the whole nation was stunned yesterday by the news of the massacre of 28 persons. On the top of it, today also we have read in the newspapers that 10 persons more, have been killed by the terrorists.

Perhaps we have known many massacres and we have known many tragedies but yesterday's tragedy was the ghastliest of the ghastly tragedies. I think now the limit of the tether has been reached. The limit of the patience has been reached and the whole nation and the whole House indicated yesterday that some action should be taken and the action should be immediate.

From yesterday's incident, two or three things are very clear that these terrorists were armed with sten guns and they boarded the bus and it is clear that there was nobody to check. Even the driver appeared to have sympathy with the terrorists and if the police was vigilant enough and if they could see and check these terrorists and see that they do not board the bus, of course, the tragedy might have been averted and in the same way one thing is very clear that the terrorists executed their plan with meticulous care. But, on the part of the State Government, neither there is any plan nor there is any well planned scheme for eradication of terrorism in the State. Sometimes, I am

reminded of a proverb, which you also would remember, about the Roman history i.e. when Rome was burning, Nero was fiddling. Now you see the whole of Punjab is burning. But I would say that it is not the whole of Punjab only but it is the whole of India is burning. The Nero is sitting there smugly in his room and the massacre was going on with every promise of protection. But the terrorism is hitting with redoubled force.

Sir, when you read newspapers, you see four things. The first thing is about the tragedy. So many persons have been killed. Then you read that terrorists have escaped. The next thing you read is that efforts to round them up have been intensified. The third thing you read is that security measures have been strengthened. These are the things which we hear every day. But the result is that every passing day we see murders and murders go on without any let up. What should we think of this? My friend Ramoowalia made a very fine speech. It appears a very convincing and appealing speech. But still we think whether the Barnala Government has succeeded in maintaining law and order in the State; whether the experiment which we are making that we want the terrorism to be eradicated by those very persons who have sympathy with the terrorists and who have been helping and encouraging them. If you read the newspaper report of a year of 1983, you will read that these are the very people who encouraged the terrorists, who protected the terrorists and who then made speeches that if the Anandapur Sahib Resolution is not accepted in toto, the whole country will be in conflagration.

I would like to ask the Home Minister : Does he think that these people who are supporters of terrorists, can they eradicate terrorism? I think this will be a vain hope. The whole House, I think; with one voice, spoke yesterday; with one voice that the unity and integrity of the nation is above party considerations. But at the same time, there was difference of opinion about the continuance of Barnala Government. On this side of the House, generally of course, Members said that Barnala Government should go and on this side of the House they have supported that they should stay. But the question is whether we still expect



[Shri Vir Sen]

that this Government can deliver the goods. This appears to be an experiment. The Centre, without taking any responsibility, wants the State Government to act and eradicate terrorism. The question is that during the term since the time Barnala has taken over the State Administration, how many persons have died; how many innocent persons have died. For the last six months, the Government has given the statistics, that 350 persons have been killed. I think more than 1000 persons have been killed. I want to ask the Hon. Home Minister as to how long this experiment is to go on; still how many more people are to die and how long have we to wait to see whether the experiment fails or succeeds. I think the time has come when we should act, we should act with determination.

As far as the Barnala Government is concerned, I feel that this is not a secular Government. Often you hear that they are talking of Panthic unity. This is the Government, which appeals not to our nation; this is the Government which appeals not to the people of India. But this is a Government which appeals to the Panth, which appeals to the terrorists; they are appealing to the terrorist lobby and are trying to appease the terrorists all the time. That is why, they have reinstated the army deserters. And every day you hear that they are clamouring for the release of the detenus lodged in the Jodhpur Jail. I would say that no other country has ever shown any leniency like this to army deserters. I think, that the sympathy is very clear. When ten persons were killed in the border, they sent an investigation team. But when thousands of people are being killed every day, not a word is heard about that. In this House also, two Members of the Akali Dal spoke last time and they were always supporting them; one of them said nothing except alleging fake encounters. When actually the terrorists are killing innocent people, these Members have no word to say. I am very sorry about it...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please try to conclude.

SHRI VIR SEN : I will require a few minutes more.

People are talking of political action and political solution. I do not understand what political solution can be there. The State is a fullfledged State in the Union and it enjoys all the powers which are at the command of any other State. What type of solution do they want? The only solution, of course, which they want is implementation of the Anandpur Saheb Resolution and secession. This is a question on which the whole House is one and they have said with one voice that there can be no secession.

It has also been said that delay in the transfer of Chandigarh is responsible for the spurt in the terrorist activities. I do not think that there is any nexus between the two. Even if you grant independence and secession of Punjab, they will not shed this course of action which they are following. So, there is no nexus between transfer of Chandigarh and the terrorist activity. They will continue and they will continue till the achievement of the implementation of the Anandpur Saheb Resolution.

On what action can be taken, Hon. Members have referred to many aspects. I think, there are two articles in the Constitution, articles 352 and 356. Article 356, of course, says that on receipt of a report from the Governor that the Constitutional machinery of the State has failed, the Central Government can take over the State administration. Here I would like to indicate that in that very article it is said that it can be done not only on receipt of a report from the Governor but also in other ways. The article says :

“The President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise ..”

Here the word ‘otherwise’ is very important. It is not necessary that the Central Government should take action only on receipt of a report from the Governor; the Central can also act *suo motu*. Article 352 gives power to declare Emergency in the case of armed rebellion. In the State of Punjab, it is nothing short of an armed rebellion. The Home Minister knows that in Gurudwara, in the Golden Temple, full preparations were made for an insurgency, for a civil war, for armed war. Even today it is a guerrilla

warfare that is going on in that State. Therefore, I think, under any of these provisions, the Central Government can act...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI VIR SEN : Please give me only two more minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken so much time.

SHRI VIR SEN : Only one thing more. There has always been a hue and cry about entry of police in the Golden Temple.

Sir, temples are the places where an individual tries to establish communion with God. These are the places where nothing bad should be permitted. But in the Golden Temple the terrorists expelled even the God. They deposed even the God and Satan overtook it. In such a state, of course, no place of worship can continue to be said to be sacrosanct. It loses its sanctity, it loses its sacredness and it loses its purity. In that case when the God himself has left or has been expelled, in order to dislodge the Satan, it is necessary that the Government should come in and I would ask the Home Minister to categorically state that where the sanctity of the temple has been spoiled, then it is the right of the Government to come forward and clean and restore that sanctity in such places. I think this should be made very clear and categorical, so that all the Sikhs or the managers of the temples should know that if they permit any such elements to function inside the temples, then the police will come, the police will come as a matter of right and restore the sanctity of the place.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI VIR SEN : I think the Hon. Chairman is again and again asking me to sit. So I would conclude by saying just one sentence. I am reminded of a line of the *Paradise Lost* which is one of the four great epics. In that epic Milton says :

“One who overcomes by force overcomes; but half his foe”

Sir, they might try to overcome the terrorists by force alone, but they will overcome only half of them. So, what is necessary is re-education. For the last 50 years those who have been desiring a separate State, they have been teaching the youth so that they speak nothing but Panth and Panthic unity. They say *raj karega Khalsa*. They are teaching this for the last 50 years. All these young people should be retaught and re-educated so that their minds are cleared and they begin to think of their nation and of the whole country and have allegiance to the people of India.

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STATEMENT RE : PROJECTIONS OF  
RESOURCES FOR CENTRAL PLAN  
1987-88

[English]

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH) : Sir. Hon'ble Members will recall that last year I initiated the process of involving the members of the Consultative Committee attached to the Ministry of Finance in the pre-Budget discussions. That experiment was quite rewarding and it has encouraged me to take the full House into confidence in our approach to next year's Budget.

In order to determine the resources available for next year's Annual Plan, the Ministry of Finance, in consultation with the Planning Commission, has carried out detailed exercises on the likely trends in expenditure and revenue in the current financial year. On the basis of these exercises, we have made tentative estimates of revenue and expenditure for the next year. A Statement showing these projections on the basis of information available so far is placed on the Table of the House. The figures are likely to undergo revision as further information becomes available prior to the finalisation of estimates in February, 1987. The Statement, however, reveals the trends which are likely to shape the next year's Budget.

As the House is aware the trends in tax revenue so far are highly encouraging. On the basis of present trends, the Central share of taxes in 1987-88 is projected at Rs.