

- (viii) **Need to enquire into the role of Bhakra Management Board in releasing water without any pre-warning during recent floods in Punjab.**

**SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur):** There has been a widespread devastation in Punjab due to recent floods. More than 697 people died, 184 are missing and almost 5,000 villages are completely marooned. The floods have directly affected 43 lakh people, more than 1 lakh houses have been destroyed and 80,000 heads of cattle killed. 152 main roads and 2,333 link roads have been damaged in the State. The paddy crop worth Rs. 150 crores and cotton crop worth Rs. 35 crores have been completely damaged. The floods in Punjab were not only a natural calamity but it was a man-made one also.

The Bhakra Management Board first deposited water up to 1685 ft. against the general practice of 1680 ft. and then released it without giving any prior warning to the people. It resulted in adding 5 to 7 lakh cusecs of more water to the rain water—particularly in Districts of Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Sangrur and Bhatinda.

I demand that a relief of Rs. 2,000 crores may be given to the people of Punjab and all outstanding loans up to Rs. 5,000 be written off. A judicial inquiry should be conducted in the role of BMB and new norms for compensation to the flood-affected people should be evolved.

12.39 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB—Contd.**

*[English]*

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The House will now take up further discussion on the resolution moved by Shri Buta Singh on 2nd November 1988. Shri Thampan Thomas can continue.

**SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS (Mavelikara):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as I told yesterday, I reiterate that the Punjab problem can only be solved by a political solution. In finding out a political solution of the problem, the approach of the Prime Minister as well as the Government of India is not at all practical and no efforts have been made to see that this matter is settled politically.

Even in the matter of discussing with the political parties belonging to the Opposition, no conference with concrete suggestions on the part of the Government—so that the representatives of the Opposition parties who participate in such meetings can make suggestions, improvements or contributions there—has been called. What has Prime Minister done? Whenever a conference was called, he had asked for suggestions from the Opposition. It is the primary duty of the Government to see that the problem is solved and not forgotten by it. In one of the statements with regard to Punjab, which he made, he said, "I find nobody to talk to on the Punjab problem." This is the statement by the Prime Minister at one time: "I find nobody to talk to. With whom, I will talk and solve the problem?"

If the Prime Minister talked in that manner, what is the leadership of this country? If he finds that there is nobody to talk about this problem, how can the problem be solved? Can he not talk to the opposition and other political parties with concrete suggestions?

Shri Buta Singh in an interview to the Calcutta press recently said that the problem has to be solved politically and that he would discuss this problem with the opposition parties, but nothing of that sort has been done. When the Prime Minister made a speech on 31st October from the ramparts of the Red Fort, he said that the opposition parties are the enemies of the country. From that his attitude towards the opposition parties is very clear. Further, he said that whosoever opposes the Congress Party, opposes the nation. Is he or the Congress Party an embodiment of the State? Why should he think in terms of the State? Why should he think in terms anything to save their lives. I do not know

ot--I am the State, I am the emperor? If we are moving in that fashion, there cannot be a political solution for the Punjab problem. Whatever may be the strength of the respective parties in the Parliament, the fact remains that we are equal partners in the task of nation building and the political parties have to be taken into confidence and every reasonable and workable suggestion has to be given due weightage. However, it is clear that no efforts have been made in this direction and the attitude of the Prime Minister has stood in the way of solving this problem.

In fact, the Congress Party and the Government want to keep this issue alive as an election strategy. They want to get votes from the other States by saying that

there is the Punjab problem and it can only be solved if there is a strong Centre under their leadership, otherwise their lives and property would not be safe and all that. Therefore, I doubt very much whether the Government is sincere in finding a solution to this problem, because their attitude on this issue has been in that manner only.

Has the President's rule imposed in Punjab made any improvement in the deteriorating law and order situation in the State? Though many operations like Black Thunder etc. have been undertaken, the terrorists have retaliated with double force. At one time, there was a feeling that the terrorist activities were coming down, but the following table of terrorist killings in Punjab would show that this is not so:

Month	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
January	1	4	2	24	63	143
February	3	35	3	22	41	141
March	5	17	2	26	65	265
April	3	44	9	32	80	214
May	3	50	11	37	71	340
June	3	77	5	42	74	422

These figures show that the terrorist killings have been on the increase.

This House gave full powers to the Government to deal with the situation. We passed the Anti-Terrorist Act, but the Government forgot to frame the rules for fourteen months. With whom does the lapse lie? The Parliament passes an Act to deal with the situation, but the Government forgets to frame the rules and implement them. There are many other things like that. The Fifty-ninth Constitutional Amendment Bill was also passed without any protect. You said that you would create an atmosphere in Punjab which would help to contain the problem. But what has happened? Nothing. My submission is that the Government is moving in the darkness to

catch the cat. They have no idea where it is and how to find out. They have no solution to this problem. The Government must have the will and determination to solve it. But I find that there is lack of bonafides in them to say it frankly. If the Government is serious and sincere, they should invite all the opposition parties for a discussion and we are prepared to help. I attended the first conference which was convened by the Home Minister, I represented my party.

We are prepared to go to Punjab, in fact our representatives went there. You know the killings were not only of the Cong. (I) people or of the Hindus, the people of all the communities were attacked by the terrorists and the Government could not do

[Shri Thampam Thomas]

in what direction this Government is moving or thinking.

It is admitted that this terrorist activity is not only restricted to India but it has spread all over the world. This destabilisation effort is going on all over the world. If you look at Punjab or Sri Lanka or for that matter anywhere else, you will see that somebody is prompting and promoting people to get training in the terrorist activities in order to destabilise a country. Now, here comes the role of the foreign policy. In what way the Government should face such a situation? A Government which is bound to settle this issue ought to have taken the path of a dialogue. If dialogue is not possible than it should have gone on to the next step. Has there been a concrete dialogue on this issue? The Pakistan border was said to be closed. Has it been effectively done? Many a people still escape to Pakistan, get training there, come back to India and then try to destabilise our nation. The same thing happened in Pathankot. They are taking care of one or the other area. So, I would say that it is a failure on the part of the Government to formulate the foreign policy and also a failure in their way to condemn such activities. If appropriate steps had been taken to tackle this, it would have been reflected in the international situation. The United Kingdom offered help to India in containing the terrorism. The U.K. Government said: "We will cooperate with you in this matter but come forward". Did you go forward? Then we heard that the terrorists are being trained in Canada. What steps have you taken to see that this training is not given to the people? What steps have you taken to see that the foreign money is not flown to our country which helps in the destabilising efforts of these terrorists? Sir, in all these respects, no proper evaluation has been done. The Prime Minister has the habit of saying, "Hamein banana hai", and this 'banana' has got a new meaning now. Now, people all over the world are saying that India is a 'Banana Republic'. I don't think that the Government is in a mood to settle this issue. You are doing all sorts of things and the people outside are calling you as a 'Banana Republic'.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): What does this 'banana' mean?

[Translation]

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS: Banana is 'Kela'. It is repeatedly said that we have to build. What is to be built? We have to build the nation, it will never happen. What to do?

[English]

We are called by other countries as 'banana', 'Kela' the one which we eat. The Government is not doing anything to build the nation as one. I would say that the Congress Government has failed in this regard.

Now, when they talk about the foreign hands, I think there comes the case of Pepsi Cola. Pepsi Cola is a concern whose involvement in such activities elsewhere is well known. The Government has given the authority to the Pepsi Cola to run its factory in Punjab. What effect will it have on the terrorist activities and the spread of indiscipline and other disruptive activities in Punjab? Will it be on the increase or on the decrease? The Government has committed a mistake in that. The Punjab agriculturists no doubt want to process their fruits, anyway I do not want to go into the details of that. From the political angle I would say that the multi-nationals want our country as a market place for their destabilisation efforts and the Government has given licence to the Pepsi Cola.

Therefore, if we look at the problems, we find that the Government has failed in all respects. Only one golden line is left and that is, that the people of Punjab are for one nation. They do not support Khalistan. It has become a slogan of only a handful of persons whom the Government could not detect or identify. It is amply clear that the people of Punjab are not supporting this Khalistan Movement. If only they are behind it, the situation would not have been like this. So, the only silver lining is that the people are not with them. But still, the Government could not tackle the problem.

In the police force, there is a lot of infighting. Why should Shri Chaman Lal resign and go away? The Home Minister should tell us the reason for these bickerings in the police force. Secondly, what is the Intelligence Wing of the police doing? Could they detect anything in advance and plan action accordingly? Only after certain happenings, they would say that they have put police pickets and so on. There are so many intelligence agencies such as the RAW, the CBI. etc. Has there been a single instance when they could tell you that such and such thing is going to happen and such and such action should be taken?

The President's Rule is not the remedy to solve the Punjab problem. It has to be solved politically and you have to discuss with the other opposition political parties and come out with more concrete propositions with bona fide intentions.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Punjab problem still remains serious. We have been discussing Punjab situation in this House after short intervals for the past several years and it is still not known for how many times we shall be discussing the same.

Terrorists game is still on in Punjab and we get news daily that people sometime less and sometime more are killed every day. They are murdered. At present we do not find any large-scale reaction in the country perhaps because people of this country have become accustomed to terrorist incidents in Punjab. When the people are murdered on large scale even then no significant protest is made. I can recollect that when 25-30 people used to be killed, great hue and cry was raised in this August House and members used to condemn the incidents of Punjab in highly agitated tone and demand discussion on the topic but now people are killed in large numbers and such reaction is nowhere visible. Should we take it that we are compromising with the present situation in Punjab and no effective steps are being taken to change the present situation.

Yesterday I was going through a magazine viz. 'India Today'. There is an article concerning Punjab in it. It has been stated therein that a shopkeeper from Madhya Pradesh has put up a notice viz. 'No sales on credit till Punjab problem is solved'. It implies that he thinks that Punjab problem will not be solved and he will not have to sell his goods on credit. This is a very painful situation and the whole country, especially Punjab has to face this painful situation. But Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, what should be done about it. Our colleagues in Opposition allege that Government is doing nothing to solve this problem and they also do not want that President's rule should be continued there for a longer spell. Then, what is the solution? The opposition parties do not offer any suggestion. They plead that Government should discuss Punjab problem with them. I also agree that the Government should talk to them on Punjab problem but what has to be discussed? The Parliament forum is open to all of us. If they have got any formula to solve the Punjab problem then the same should be placed before this forum. But I am sorry to state that when discussion was held about Punjab last time, no hon. Member of any opposition party had put forward any formula to solve the Punjab problem. They only talk about holding discussions with them but nobody spells out the basis or formula which should form basis of discussion. So far as the Government is concerned, they have made every possible effort. The Government, especially the Prime Minister, had signed Punjab Accord immediately after coming into power. Elections were also held in Punjab. Akali Dal Government was formed after election but that Government also could not tackle the Punjab problem effectively. The Government elected by the people of the Punjab was formed by the Akali Dal which itself was divided into splinter groups. They started quarreling among themselves.

As a result of their quarrels they were unable to solve the Punjab problems unitedly. The situation kept on deteriorating day by day. We never doubted the intentions of Barnala who was the Chief Minis-

[Shri Zaimul Basher]

ter of that time and of course he tried his best. We appreciated his efforts and also supported him but he also remained unsuccessful. Akali Dal too did not stand by him and he could not accomplish the task. Compelled by the circumstances, President's rule had to be imposed. Efforts were definitely made during President's rule to provide protection to the people of Punjab and eliminate the increasing terror because of terrorists activities in Punjab and to their increasing power. I am glad that the Government has definitely achieved success in it and now morale of terrorists is not high but rather low. Their fire power has also been reduced many dreaded terrorists have been captured and action has also been taken against them. But still some incidents do take place daily and it is essential to check them.

A vital point which had already come to light was that our neighbour country Pakistan provides training to terrorists, helps them, and they can conveniently cross over to this side and then return after indulging in nefarious activities. The Government took steps in this direction also and discussed it with Pakistan Government as well. Earlier, there was military rule in Pakistan. Now situation has taken some turn and elections are going to be held in Pakistan. It is hoped that democratic Government will come into power there. Our Government should discuss the matter with that Government. Military administration in Pakistan always incited the people against India because of their domestic problems. There was a demand for democratic Government in that country. In order to divert the attention of the people from that demand Pakistan Government used to create problems for India.

13.00 hrs.

It is our experience that whenever a democratic Government came into power in Pakistan, our relations have been better as compared to those in the military rule. We should hope that a democratic Government will be formed in Pakistan. If it

happens then we should hold talks with that Government. Many encouraging statement have been attributed to Ms. Benzir Bhutto, a leader of the Pakistan people's party and we should make use of them.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Basher, do you want to continue?

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: I will continue my speech after lunch, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We now adjourn for lunch, and will reassemble at 2 p.m.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock*

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

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB--Contd.

[Translation]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the situation is really very critical. What else could be done under these circumstances? No other alternative than to extend the President's Rule seems in sight at the moment. However, it will not be proper to extend the President's Rule even for a day more than it is required. Under the prevailing circumstances in Punjab, President's Rule seems to be the only alternative. Several of our hon. Members suggested that a political solution to the problem should be found through starting fresh dialogue, but whom should the Government talk to and resolve the issue. To-day there is no person of Sant Longowal Stature who commands full confidence of the people in Punjab and with whom negotiation could be initiated. I find that the Government's position has been reduced to a position from where it is groping in the dark to find a right person to start a dialogue. It is in a dilemma whether

to talk to the Akali Dal of Mr. Barnala or Mr. Badal or any other fractions of Akali Dal. It is also doubtful whether they could be successful to persuade the militants to give up violence or should we hold talks direct with the terrorists themselves who have created a reign of terror and havoc through out the State by their gory deeds and till now innocent women and children and labourers hailing from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are being killed. They do not hesitate to kill these people. I am of the view that the Government finds itself in a very helpless position as to whom to talk to so that the Punjab problem could be solved. Our opposition parties often talk of finding a political solution to the problem. Let them say as to the political party with which a dialogue could be initiated, so far my vision goes, I do not find a person or organisation with whom the Government could hold talks and achieve some success.

I do not know what the Government has in its mind and what its line of thinking is. When we come to know from newspapers that the Government proposes to hold talks with Shri Mann, Shri Rode or Shri Prakash Singh Badal, only then we start making our own assessments that at present there is not such a person or organisation or any such power in Punjab with which talks could be held successfully. Nevertheless, holding negotiation is the best way of finding a solution to this problem. The Government had initiated a dialogue with Sant Longowal who was a great personality and who also commanded the highest popularity. It was expected that he could be able to take people belonging to all sections in Punjab alongwith him. An Accord was signed with him and the happenings that took place thereafter have none become things of history only. Now a very peculiar situation prevails there. I would like that negotiations must be held with the persons or organisations if it is hoped that they will bear some fruit. One thing I see and would like to applaud the Government that during the past few days it has taken the people of Punjab into confidence. The Government has established direct contact with the people. I have a word of praise for the Government of Punjab and the Ministry of Home Affairs for

this. During the last few days, the Hon. Prime Minister visited the flood affected areas to take stock of the flood situation in Punjab. We viewed in Doordarshan that people of all sections came close to the Prime Minister and one could gather impression from the faces of the people that they wanted a permanent solution to the Punjab problem. Nobody wants that the prevailing situation should continue. It was, therefore, a commendable steps to take the people of Punjab into confidence. The Government will proceed further in this direction. If the people of all sections in Punjab will restore confidence in the Government of India, the Punjab problem will gradually lead towards a solution.

Sometime ago the action taken by the Government against the terrorists deserves all praise. The Government also did a commendable job by imposing a ban on bringing arms and ammunition into the Golden temple and removing weapons piled up in the temple campus. The Punjab police, which was once used to be criticised for acting in a lop sided manner and intrusion of terrorists into its rank and file has improved its image to a great extent due to efforts of the Government of Punjab and the Ministry of Home Affairs. We find that now the morale of the police has gone up. We came to know about a very unfortunate situation the news about which has appeared in the newspapers. The Inspector General of Punjab Police (Border), Shri Chaman Lal took leave, called for a press conference under extra-ordinary circumstances and said that he is taking these steps as Shri Rode was not prevented from entering into the Golden Temple. I am not aware what is the code of conduct for the Senior Officers. Was it proper for a officer of the Inspector General's rank to act in such a manner? It lowered the morale of the police. I do not know the situation that led him to take such step but the way the officer behaved was not at all behevoful. It was also not in keeping with the Punjab situation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to suggest that an atmosphere should not be allowed to be created in Punjab which will

make the people of Punjab believe that democratic processes will be withheld there. Every effort should be made to hold election for the Legislative Assembly in Punjab as early as possible.

A popular Government should be formed there. If not now, it may be examined if a popular Government could be formed there after two to three months, even if it involves a little risk. We should take the people of the State into confidence and hold elections to Punjab Legislative Assembly at the earliest. The people of Punjab should not be made accustomed to President's rule. The people of Punjab should not be allowed to form a concept that President's rule has been imposed there for an indefinite period and there is no alternative to it. If we want to take the people of the State into confidence, if we want to create a sense of security in the minds of the people, we should not keep the democratic process suspended for long and hold the elections in Punjab at the earliest. At the same time, every possible step should be taken to stamp out the terrorists with full force. There are no two opinions that the Government is acting on these lines in Punjab and there is a need and scope for doing more. It is learnt that the terrorists attacked the labourers coming from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Whatever number of labourers come to Punjab from other State, they come due to their difficulties, their poverty and their unemployment. These people work hard, fight this situation and earn their livelihood. They are also being assaulted. The Government should take effective steps to check assaults on them and provide security to these people. With these words, I support the Resolution concerning extension of President's Rule in Punjab for a further period of six months. At the same time, I request that efforts should be made to ensure that democratic processes are not suspended for a longer period in Punjab and elections are held to the Punjab Legislative Assembly at the earliest possible.

[English]

DR. G S DHILLON (Ferozpur): I rise to support this Statutory Resolution. I do not intend to disagree with the reasons given, but I am quite reluctant at the same time not because that I disagree with the aims and objects of the fourth extension of the President's rule but because of the position or situation it has created in Punjab. I am of the opinion that Governor's rule or President's rule is not substitute for a popular or an elected House or a popular Ministry. We could tolerate it once, we could tolerate it second time, we could tolerate it for the third time. Now we are tolerating for the fourth time. Then I see that there seems to be no other alternative. I sincerely wish that during the coming six months there could be an improvement in the overall political situation in the Punjab. But as I see, the terrorist activities are on the increase, more killings, more shooting in the buses, more shooting at the places of gathering, I feel quite a bit depressed. As I have seen, after Barnala Government dismissal, the more I have seen the more I have experienced that the situation is as worse as it was I think, that was wrong step.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Then you withdraw it with retrospective effect.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: It is my individual opinion. the opinion of a person who comes from border area. It was really a very great step when the Accord between Sant Longowal and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was considered and accepted. Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary yesterday made certain references to what Mr. Bhatia said - I am quite happy he (Mr. Chowdhary) has come. When the Accord came into force, the elections that took place under that Accord were for the whole Akali Dal. There was no UAD, there were none others Badal, Surjit Singh Barnala and all others fought together under the good atmosphere created by the Longowal-Rajiv Gandhi Accord. I see that the Accords everywhere - whether it was Assam or Sri Lanka or Mizoram - etc. started well, but as it progressed it ran into trouble -- all the Accords met almost the same fate...(Interruptions). Now after the

elections, I sincerely assure the House, as I said last time, that I had never felt any time more happy at the success of our Opposition parties than at the time of the Accord. We almost gave them the seat on a platter. Mr. Ramoowalia, you need not worry about it. I am very definite that after all, those people who have been fighting against us, will then be in a position to come out with some sort of solution. Instead of thinking about the future and welfare of Punjab and the solution, they started quarrelling over one issue -- who is number one in their party and who is number two in the party. There were two number ones and two number twos and due to their rivalry and inner party fighting, the whole atmosphere that was created under the Accord, almost collapsed. Badal wanted to be the Chief Minister, Barnala wanted to be the Chief Minister; Balwant Singh wanted to be the second man, another gentleman wanted to become the second man, and poor Sant Longowal was put in a very embarrassing position. So, he, as the head of the then Akali Dal, chose Barnala as the leader of the party and Balwant Singh as number two and took some Ministers from Badal group and some from Barnala group and they started functioning. In the meanwhile, when they were functioning, and when we thought it might come to a smooth sailing, three Ministers started creating trouble. Basant Singh Khalsa, Harbhajan Singh and Major Singh. There were some charges of smuggling and corruption. But I was surprised when I heard about the interesting reply given by two of the then Ministers who were later on dropped. They were unfortunately from my own district, Amritsar.

S. Major Singh said that he had voters from among smugglers also to help him because on the Pakistan border a majority of the people are like that. He said, "I also do seek their help. I belong to that area...(Interruptions). And the other Mr. Harbhajan Singh said that he was from the Beas-bank-Mand area: He said, "what can I do against the terrorists if they live in my area and if they mix with the people be-

cause I am from that area which is their hiding place?"

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): I have never read in any newspaper that Major Singh said that he was one of the smugglers.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: So, I said he was one of those people who lived in border area. I am also one of the people who live in Amritsar District.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: That may be....

DR. G.S. DHILLON: He told me also that he belonged to that area. He was one of the people who lived in that area. What is wrong about it Mr. Ramoowalia? What is wrong?

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Nothing wrong. I also belong to that area.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: Now, if they do something wrong in my district I will not renounce my right to live in that district for that reason. I am one of the persons who live in that area. Now, Mr. Badal and others formed their own Akali Dal and the other people created their own Akali Dal. But in spite of that, Barnala Government had the majority and as I already said it was a miscalculation or some sort of misappraisal to dismiss them. Whatever you feel, the Barnala Government had to quit, rather his Government was dismissed. Even if the Assembly was kept in suspended animation and if it had to be continued or something like that, there could be some restoration of popular Government later on. But there was a complete dismissal. There was no hope to revive and continue the Government. I had to realise it more because of the recent floods. I toured both the districts in August and again during last week. I toured those places for 10 days in the flood affected area of Ferozepur. People there are most unhappy. There are no MLAs to whom they can approach and tell their grievances. After all there is one MP representing 8 MLA constituencies. Where can he go there everywhere? He has to go to some areas and



some officials and listen to them. The people put up their complaints before him and the officials. But that is something which I found not quite disappointing. But it was here that I found that MLAs should have been there and the popular Government should have been there. If there is anybody happy over the President's rule, it is the bureaucracy.

Sir, I was surprised that some of the Secretaries, as you will see and read in Punjab papers, in the last three or four months or even longer period, they go for opening ceremony of some functions here or some functions there. Previously, the Ministers used to go there for opening ceremony of such functions.

Now, the bureaucrats have become honourable persons to perform the opening ceremonies. You will find in the newspapers and 'Honourable' so and so, Secretary of Development Department or the Honourable Additional Chief Secretary or so and so will declare open the function. All the hon. Ministers are replaced by the 'Honourable' Secretaries. Now the big word 'honourable' is written like that. So, we are living under these 'honourables' now. The Governor himself and his wife have been running about from one place to another. They have been sharing the miseries of the people there. They visit the dependents of the people whose family members were killed by the terrorists. He has been going round the flood affected areas and all places affected by the calamity.

One thing I have felt is that those people of the bureaucracy who ought to have shared much of the work, are not doing it. They are just the same honourables being in their offices. Sir, this has been mentioned about. Bhatiaji said something about the entry of Rode into the Golden Temple. I do not know how Bhatiaji put it like that. Rode was a strange combination of both the peaceful people and the terrorists, being Bhindranwale's real brother's son. Two things have been achieved after the Operation Black Thunder. The authority of SGPC

has been reinstated. But when Rode was appointed Jathedar, he was not appointed Jathedar by the SGPC. The SGPC is an elected body to control all the Gurudwaras at various places. But if a few people gather in a community of twelve to thirteen million people, if half a lakh people gather or if 20,000 people or even lesser number gather, they give to it the name of Sarbat Khalsa. 'Sarbat' means 'all'. And then he (Rode) went in to Akal Takhat. It was a sight to see the pictures in various papers, Sardar Prakash Singh Badal and all specially going to the Golden Temple, to the Akal Takht, with siropas and garlands and all that, vying with each other as to who garlands him first. It was only Surjit Singh Barnala who did not take any notice of it, he did not like that type of restoration or coronation or whatever they call. These people had demonstrated against the Government saying 'Why are you preventing the pilgrims and people coming in from outside? They should be free to come in. Who is the Government to prevent them? But one result achieved after the Operation Black Thunder was that with this combination of a few people or a few thousands of people, lots of earlier assurers were thrown out of the picture. By whom? This SGPC which is headed by Guru Charan Singh Tohra along with Badal and other groups took up the position that it is only the SGPC which is the only authority who can appoint the Head of the Akal Takht. And they appointed the present man. He was earlier made to run away by the so-called Sarbat Khalsa people functioning as a panthic Committee. He had just left. So, when the SGPC has given him the assurance, he has come back. Now the position has been restored that SGPC is the supreme body, they are the people who appoint functionaries. But one thing more was achieved after that. When they asked the Government not to allow Rode and others to come here, they also reversed the earlier position saying, 'Who is the Government to prevent it?' They got their protection; they allow the people or they don't allow the people. But two great results came--the restoration of the SGPC as the supreme authority and secondly preventing the pilgrims who are undesirable. The same people for whom they were running with gar-

lands and siropas, they were asking not to allow those person to enter. That was the position. I do not know what may be the position afterwards. There are quite a few Jathedars of the Akali Dal pretenders so to say. Rode was appointed Jathedar of the Akal Takht by the Sarbat Khalsa. He was ousted. Then, another fellow came in. He had left. Now the present position is the right one that when the SGPC was restored to office, SGPC appointed the Jathedar of Akal Takht and there was no other person to challenge its authority. Who had brought Bhindranwale inside the Golden Temple? Tohra. SGPC deserted the Golden Temple complex and took refuge outside the city. The whole SGPC office was shifted to another place. The same SGPC under different inspiration and guidance came to their offices in the Golden Temple Complex later-quite recently.

Now the next election of the SGPC office-holders is on 30th November. We will see whether the change is really genuine or this is just a show for the outsiders. If Mr. Ramoowalia group is far-sighted enough, then make some combination --computation and coordination of the groups so that some of the present office-bearers are ousted and bring in a new group of office-bearers. Otherwise, Mr. Ramoowalia will be pushing out to the same position out of which we all come after a lot of trouble and turmoil. It is high-time that some initiative is taken to find some solution. In the last few weeks, the Prime Minister had toured Punjab.

I toured along with him, though I had another separate tour of my own later. But I found that one could not see the whole people and their reactions in other times except during the tour of the Prime Minister. I myself was scared when he frequently came out of his car and went amongst the people on the road side, everywhere. It was said, he was genuinely welcomed, genuinely greeted. That created a very very wholesome impression. What is the use of that impression if we do not take full advantage of that changed situation, of that change of atmosphere? He came out with the statement that he will call a meeting of

all the Parties and I very much hope that he means what he should. Let us hope, this meeting comes about and some substantial suggestions are given, some formulae are evolved. That is why, my predecessor speaker, Mr. Bashir was already telling with whom, to talk. But after all, how long will this statement continue? We have to do something. If all the parties rise above Party lines, come out with some solid solution and the Prime Minister accepts the reasonable solutions, there is bound to be change in atmosphere. No doubt, there are more killings, more violence but such a political reaction, combined political reaction on both sides of the House or of all the Parties is bound to demoralise them, is bound to create an atmosphere in which the people will have something of their strong will to face everything. I can now say there is no demoralisation which we saw some months back and there is a change in the mood of the people now. After the Black Thunder operation, the terrorists are much demoralised. They are very much unpopular amongst the rural masses; they are unpopular amongst the intellectuals.

They are not having the same response. They are very few. They are taking advantage of the fear and terror that they have created. But if Mr. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia's party takes a longer view and if Shri Prakash Singh Badal also gives up his scare and confinement and obstinacy, something can come out.

It was quite interesting, I can say, that when some Akali leaders were being arrested at the time when Shri Prakash Singh Badal was arrested, Governor of Punjab told me "I do not intend to arrest Shri Prakash Singh Badal. But he sent me a message to enquire--'When are you going to arrest me?'" Jail is the safest place now for any politician and they are taking full advantage of it and, at the same time, they are heroes of the community. The community must understand this. Government had obliged them. I told the Governor that he should have told them "If you need protection, if you are scared, we can place you somewhere you can be safe. Why are you

[Shri G.S. Dhillon]

asking to be sent to jail?" We people live outside. This position I never understand. After all, we are also there. We do not run out for the jail to seek some sort of protection. I do not think I am wrong because Governor was asking me "What should I tell them? I do not want to arrest them." Some people come and ask "Why don't you arrest me?" But they should give up all that sense of fear and come out and cooperate with other parties, forget their differences with this Akali Dal or other Akali Dal and forget their position in the UAD.

[Translation]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Badal Saheb is not present in the House and you are talking against him. He is a great patriot.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I know what you think of Mr. Badal. Now you are defending him here.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: You say that he is a coward. There is no need to say so.

[English]

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I stand by what I say.

[Translation]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: You are alleging that he went to jail in a bid to escape. It was not expected from a person like you.

[English]

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I am quoting somebody who told me.

[Translation]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Records from which you are quoting this. You are a senior leader and you are doing this.

[English]

DR. G.S. DHILLON: Yesterday you were telling me "Look at Shri Batia. He is equating us with Shri Prakash Singh Badal"

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: I never quoted Bhatia in my speech.

[Translation]

You are a great man. I tell you not to level allegations on the basis of hear-says.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I heard it from a responsible authority.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Did the authority give you in writing?

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I shall take you to him.

[English]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Mr. Badal is not here.

[Translation]

DR. G.S. DHILLON: You often say like this outside. You could say the same thing here also. You do not want to hear Shri Badal's name. It was yesterday when you were telling me that who is Bhatia to say that yourselves and Mr. Badal are one. (Interruptions)

[English]

This terror created by the so called terrorists has brought bad name to the whole of Punjab, to my community and to our people. The result is that the people who are outside the State, think that all the Sikhs are alike. We are not so. We are secular. We are nationalist. We have suffered for the country and why should this impression be created? I was shocked at what happened at Bidar. Six or seven students were killed by the people residing there. More than 200 other people ran away from Karnataka. No action has so far been taken excepting that the Governor

of Punjab wrote to the Chief Minister of Karnataka and I quote because I have seen the copy of that letter.

He wrote to him that when he was--Mr. Ray--the Chief Minister of West Bengal, the Bengalis had to suffer similar atrocities in Assam and they came to West Bengal with all sorts of grievances. So, he wrote to Mr. Sinha, the then Chief Minister of Assam and Mr. Sinha said: "I am coming to ascertain things, to give my personal assurance, protection and all sorts of remedies available and I will come to take those people again back to Assam along with me". Therefore, he cited that example to Mr. Bommai, the Chief Minister of Karnataka.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: If you can yield for a moment, I would like to set the record straight. As far as Bidar trouble is concerned, the Karnataka Government acted promptly. The Chief Minister and Mr. Hedge immediately went there. They inquired into the matter and they have set up an inquiry. The Chief Minister announced --unlike what happened in 1984--that any officer and anyone who is found guilty, he will be given the severest punishment. Many Sikh leaders have come out with the statement that they are satisfied about the prompt steps that have been taken by the Karnataka Government. It is not Mr. Ray or the ray of hope of Mr. Ray that was required for Mr. Bommai to act. (Interruptions)

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I would not believe any other person but I believe you and what you have stated. I am quoting this thing which happened before Mr. Ray left for England. I do not know the position after that. But as you say this, we thank you very much. We congratulate your Government for that. We appreciate this step.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Don't try to bring those incidents here now.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SON-TOSH MOHAN DEV): Sir, this must not go

on record. I was on the spot and that MLA has not applied for any Medical College. The Chief Minister has also told me the same thing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Minister, I am not allowing anyone to interrupt and it will not go on record. But for your reply and Dr. Dhillon's speech, nothing else will go on record.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: I am very happy that you have clarified the position. But till Mr. Ray had written to him, your Government had not come out with any solution.

SHRI V.S. KRISHNA IYER: (Bangalore South): They had already taken action.

DR. G.S. DHILLON: Since the last few days, something has come out. We welcome that...(Interruptions) I think that is very essential. An impression should not go that the reactions of Punjab are also the same in other parts of the country. Nobody in this country approves of such happenings. I thank you Prof. Dandavate for having corrected me. At the same time, we have to look at the things that happened in Coimbatore. There, the property of Sikhs were looted. A lot of people were deprived of their possessions. They were given only Rs. 750/- as compensation. They went to the Court and the great Judge of that High Court has given a verdict for compensation to the tune of Rs. 35 lakhs.

SHRI ANIL BASU (Arambagh): What is happening in Delhi?

DR. G.S. DHILLON: In Delhi also, they appointed a Committee for giving compensation. There is the report. You can read the report. That was headed by me...(Interruptions) If you like, we can give you a copy of that report. But I don't think that such things should happen in Delhi also. I don't defend myself and offend you in either Tamil Nadu or anywhere. But I am just talking of the general atmosphere that we should save ourselves from the narrow

\* Not recorded.

[Dr. G.S. Dhillon]

considerations and come out with some sort of an atmosphere which may give encouragement to the secular elements and those who work in the national interest, to those who love their country and not to secessionists. This is my suggestion. I don't think that I can offend you in any way like this. So, these are the various aspects of the whole question. My only hope is that when the Prime Minister calls a meeting, when all of you decide to cooperate with him, discuss with him, something must come out. But if it does not come out, then those misguided boys will have the excuse to have their own way. Of course, there are not many. Everyday, we keep reading so many killings; so many people are being affected etc.

How long will this continue? Our life is a hell in Punjab. My home district is Amritsar. This notorious town of Taran Taran was my constituency for 25 years. The adjoining district Ferozepur is my present constituency which is the second worst affected district. Then comes Gurdaspur district. Now how long will we suffer like that? How long will this stalemate continue is a question to be asked. And my only hope is that when you meet together, when the Prime Minister invites you, you should cooperate and come out with something very solid, acceptable and a reasonable solution.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I want to congratulate the Hon. Member Mr. Dhillon for his express admission that dismissal of Barnala Government was wrong. At that time itself we opposed it. Mr. Dhillon said that it was his individual opinion. But I believe, most probably even inside the Treasury Benches, there are other people who also hold that opinion but they do not have the liberty to say so.

Now, naturally, it goes without saying that we the C.P.I. are not for the President's rule because this is really counter-productive. I do not want to go into the statistics which has been quoted by my

earlier friends that things have not improved. Now the question is -- I would like to take up first the last point which Dhillon Sahib said --Is really Punjab a hopeless case? It is a very difficult case. Quite difficult. And we are one of those who are paying with their bloods everyday for our convictions. In Punjab, the terrorists are killing the people of all communities, of all political parties and people belonging to all walks of life doubtlessly. This is also true that they have made a very special target of those who are fighting against the terrorists on principle and paying with blood. Therefore, the communists have become a special target. With all humility but with some pride I want to mention this fact about our party because it shows even in today's Punjab, one can hold one's head high if one is ready to pay with blood, and, therefore, it can be positively hoped that Punjab can surely be made safe with a political will of united, anti-secessionist and secular forces, if that is built up.

Now a question has been raised. For example, Basher Sahib has said that the political parties, all the time, are urging for a political solution and nobody has offered any political solution. I will start with that. I am not claiming that all political parties belonging to opposition hold the same idea. May not be. But definitely some points can be arrived at. The question is whether that attempt has been made at proper times or whether that attempt will be made now.

"With whom to talk?", this is what Basher Sahib asked. I say "talk with all opposition parties in the Parliament. But above all, talk with the people of Punjab in the language which will rouse them to act against the terrorists and it is possible to talk with them in that way." That is one of the things which the treasury Benches have not taken up yet. That is the key to the political solution.

As far as the political steps that can be taken are concerned, we have told so many times and again I will say that as far as damning and condemning the Khalistani terrorists are concerned I don't repeat all

that because our views are so well known; you take it for granted. Now I am starting with the ruling party at the Centre, their political failure—whether there is any that they have to examine. I charge them with serious political failure, failure of the Central Government to find a political solution of the problem with the help of all political parties within the framework of Rajiv-Longowal Accord as well as its failure to release all the Jodhpur detenus against whom there are no serious charges and also the failure to take action against those responsible for 1984 anti-Sikh riots in Delhi and other places. These are the political failures.

Let us examine if anything could be done. Really the ruling party it seems has developed a special knack of doing the opposite thing at the opposite time. Let us see the last few months. Black Thunder was a very important operation. Honestly speaking, after the Black Thunder a very positive moment came in Punjab's life. Why? Because even those people who had some softness for the terrorists, some religious people, were angry with all the stories that came out about how these Khalistani terrorists desecrated the Harmandir Sahib, how they did all kinds of nasty things inside that very sacred temple. That was a psychological moment. How did the Treasury Benches, how did the Government, how did the Supreme of the ruling party behave at that point of time? What could have been done? Let us take, apart from Rajiv-Longowal Accord, two other things that I have raised. Let us come to the question of Jodhpur detenus 138 people were released. As far as I have heard, there are 40 people against whom there are serious charges. There were quite a few who could have been released at that particular time; the question of Jodhpur detenus is being raised today, this could have been examined and you should have come prepared with it and released them. This is an important point of Sikh psyche.

The other important factor of the Sikh psyche which is no less important than any other political point is the question of Delhi riots. How is it that uptil now you have taken no serious action of punishing those who were guilty of engineering Delhi riots?

Who does not know that there were big-wigs on the Treasury Benches who were directly or indirectly, morally and materially responsible in these killings? Have you taken any serious step against anyone of them demonstratively? That might electrify Punjab, let me say. Did you ever try that? No. Could not that have been an important element in the political solution?

Then, within the framework of Rajiv-Longowal Accord, if everything could not have been done, apart from the Black Thunder, you could have at least done something about Chandigarh. Does not matter who says what. You could have taken a very big bold step. It would have immediately created a new situation in favour of isolating the terrorists further and further, in favour of creating a real mass movement against the terrorists and for secularism.

15.00 hrs

My charge is that it was not done. The Prime Minister toured in Punjab. I agree with Mr. Dhillon that there was some positive atmosphere created at that time. That is what I have heard also. How was it made use of? Prime Minister over there said he would call all the political parties soon and have discussion on Punjab. For once at least he was going out of his usual way. He said it without a string. But instead of calling all political parties for consultation on Punjab on 31st itself—which is so sensitive a day for the whole nation—he said 'all Opposition parties are enemies of the people'. Though he has said publicly that he has not said so but I do not know why he does not come to the Parliament and says so. Is this the way of uniting the political parties on this issue? Then there are other things also. As far as Prime Minister's visit is concerned quite a number of economic steps called economic package was offered either by the Prime Minister himself or by Mr. Ray. Some of them are very good. For example, he laid the foundation stone of a Rs. 246 crore agro-newsprint project. I only hope the foundation-stone will not remain just a stone as had happened in the past elsewhere where foundation stones remained just stones without foundations. I hope for Punjab it will be different.

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

15.02 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHER *in the Chair*]

Then this question of offering railway link between Goindwal Sahib and Beas, Rs. 100 crore project for four chemical industries, are all welcome steps. As far as creating an agro-industrial department is concerned it is very good but who on earth on the soil of Punjab today would take multi-national Pepsi Cola for that agro-processing industry and take it for granted that Pepsi Cola is the heaven which will create a new industrial base in the agrarian Punjab! If it will create any base it will create a base for terrorists, multi-nationals and American intervention through them. Does our country lack R & D of even agro-processing? I do not think it is so. But this is the way the ruling party is thinking.

There are some positive points but even those positive points are vitiated in a way which ultimately do not help very much. Even then if these economic steps are taken minus Pepsi Cola we shall be very happy because in Punjab if the proportion of industrial worker increases instead of the proportion of kulaks increasing that will help improve the atmosphere. Green revolution in Punjab has not been just only a blessing. It has also another aspect of creation of a community of affluent kulaks which has given rise to certain ambitions. Of course, I do not say all kulaks are terrorists. That is not my contention. But doubtlessly this factor has contributed to the complication of the present Punjab situation. Hats off to the industrial proletariat of Punjab. Numerically they may be a small folk but it is on the strength of them that our party and similar forces have been discharging their duty in fighting the terrorists unitedly.

The question has been raised by the hon. Member, Shri Basher, whom to talk to. What really is going on in the ruling party is that you are trying to invite one group of pro-terrorists or the other for talks. What is going on with Rode? This is another attempt to catch a particular sec-

tion of the terrorists. You have attempted various types of similar strategies earlier. That strategy of relying on one group or the other group of such people should have been given up by now totally. The Home Minister has not yet given up the strategy referred to earlier.

Now, last but not least is the political campaign among the people of Punjab. There could be a people's campaign in Punjab. I am sure that there is a basis for that. Whatever strength we may be having, our parties and mass organisations are going from village to village for such a campaign—of course, with their own defence: otherwise, they cannot do so. Even then, there is a good response. If this is so, tell me why has there not been a united political will on the part of the ruling party to unite all forces in Punjab for undertaking a mass campaign? Has the ruling party been able to show that political will? No. I have something to say in this regard

During the Prime Minister's visit, he called for separation of religion from politics. It is welcome. But his call would carry weight if he takes determined measures to separate State and religion and overcomes the very strong temptation of using the Hindu card, conceding to Muslim fundamentalists, trying to woo a section of Khalistan terrorists, etc., for electoral gains. Secularism must mean freedom for all religions as well as for non-believers, respect for religious sentiments of all by everyone. But the State itself must have no religion. If in the name of equal respect for all religions, it mixes State and religion, politics and religion, it cannot but end up in undoing secularism. That is the political necessity. But unfortunately the ruling party leadership has taken that attitude. That is standing in the way of not really building up a united campaign inside Punjab. Therefore, while opposing this resolution, I would say that great Punjab cannot be beyond redemption and our great homeland of India surely can not be vivisected by such forces—a naive leadership or a sectarian leadership or a so-called secular leadership. Who in reality is all the time playing all kinds of cards for electoral gains will not

do. Do rise above all those and really talk with those with whom you have to talk for solving the Punjab problem, that is, the people of Punjab, who can be roused. With that intention, if the political initiatives are taken, only that can really solve the stalemate or the difficulties that are being faced in Punjab.

I fervently believe that Indian people are capable of taking up this challenge. We have no other alternative and we must say that we can do so. We must do it. I believe that Punjab--Sikhs, Hindus and all others with their heads held high--will be able to say:

Na Hindu Raj, Na Khalistan

Jug Jug Jiwe Hindustan

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the statutory resolution moved by Shri Buta Singh for approving the continuance of the Proclamation issued by the President.

Sir, practically in every Session this subject of Punjab problem is being discussed and most of the solutions which are mentioned here are often repeated in every Session. But the fact remains that the situation in Punjab continues to be complicated and we are not still at the end of the dark tunnel. No doubt we must admit that after the President's Rule several major steps were taken by the Government to relieve the situation. They naturally did curb the fundamentalists who were trying to force certain reforms. That has been completely curbed. Then the Government has also taken several steps to bring down the rate of killings and to instill confidence among the people. Some of them can be illustrated. Special Police officials to give fight to the terrorists were appointed. Then three more police districts were created in the terrorists belt of Gurdaspur and Amritsar. Massive project of fencing the border was also been taken. Measures were also employed to bring to book the smugglers and Special Police Officials to give fight to the terrorists were also created. At the village level also, we come to know that

Peace Committees were set up to involve the people in the fight against the terrorists. Strengthening of the Intelligence network has also been done. And recently the Operation Black Thunder and Corridor projects were also undertaken. Finally, the Prime Minister's extensive tour to this area created great confidence among the people of this State. Then there was also an announcement of Panchayat elections, and thus the effort to revive the political system was also made.

Therefore, many steps have been taken by the Government since the imposition of the President's Rule and even though the number of innocent persons killed has not substantially decreased the atmosphere among the people is slowly changing. The figures of killing, of course, show that the position has not still improved. There were 2422 killings from 11th May, 1987 to July, 1988 which included 469 terrorists. And in two months of August and September, there were total killings of 286 persons which included 11 terrorists. So, the fact remains that the killing is continuing but with the measures which are being taken under the President's Rule the situation is improving slowly. People there are taking courage and they are showing their readiness to fight against the terrorists which was not the position a few months ago.

Therefore, Sir, the President's Rule has no doubt improved the situation but much more remains to be done. It is true that at some stage sometimes the Government is also showing a wavering mind. They had taken the steps of Operation Black Thunder but thereafter the effect was substantially eroded when Shri Rode was allowed to enter the Golden Temple with all his followers. There was even an announcement that there would be Sarbat Khalsa on Diwali Day. But the Governor has already explained on 11th October that there would be no Sarbat Khalsa or any other such meeting inside the Golden Temple on Diwali Day. He has also stated that Shri Rode was permitted entry into the temple in his personal capacity as a devotee. The Governor regretted the fact that the Jatedhar of Akal Takht, Shri Jasbir Singh Rode



[Shri Sharad Dighe]

had gone back on his word and done things other than offering prayers at the Temple. It appears that there was some understanding that he was not to do what he had ultimately done in the temple.

That apart, another problem arose because of the press conference of Mr. Chaman Lal who was the State Police Director General as far as the border is concerned. It is disputable whether this officer in uniform should have ventilated his grievances publicly by calling a press conference and blaming his superiors.

Apart from all these things, the situation as such is that there is no alternative at present but to continue with this President's Rule. No political party is coming forward to take the responsibility of carrying on the administration of the State and it is not possible to say whether at this stage if elections are announced a stable government will come to power.

While several suggestions are made by the opposition parties, there is no concrete suggestion coming from them. Merely saying that a political solution should be found out and that there should be discussion with the opposition parties does not lead us anywhere. Ultimately what is to be done? No concrete proposals are being placed. It appears that the opposition parties also have no solution at all. But they are just saying that a meeting should be called and discussions should be held. I think their only proposal now is to have a discussion. But without any concrete proposals, there could be no fruitful discussion. It is, no doubt, true that in order to find out a political solution, some negotiations, some give and take and some thinking will have to be there and in that process all political parties including all the opposition parties will have to be involved so that a solution to this national problem can be found out. For this purpose all the other parties also should genuinely come forward and discuss this situation and make efforts to help the Government in finding out a political solution. Till that

time, it is only left to the Ruling Party to find out a solution.

Now, there is a suggestion to carry on campaigns. No doubt, it is a very good suggestion that there should be public campaigns which include all the political parties and also all the important persons of that State so that we can give further courage to people to fight and end this terrorism and bring this big State into the mainstream of our country.

But first, we must concretise all these things and till further steps are taken, there is no other alternative but to continue the President's Rule. No democrat will say that the President's Rule is the solution. As hon. member Shri Dhillon said, there is no alternative to popular rule in any State. This is exactly correct and we all appreciate it. But unless this situation is created that we can announce elections and put a popular Government in power, the continuation of this President's rule will have to be approved and it is no use merely opposing this Resolution. There being no other solution at this stage, this Statutory Resolution has to be approved and in the meantime, I will also join my friends in urging upon the Government that as early as possible, political solution may be found out and as early as possible a situation should be created so that elections can be announced and a popular Government can be installed.

With these words, I support this Statutory Resolution.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MOHD. AYUB KHAN (Udhampur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved in the House by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. Several Members have said that in the present circumstances there is no other alternative than to extend the President's Rule in Punjab. But, at the same time, we should also try to find out a solution to the problem. Just to say that a political solution should be found out is not enough in itself. I would like to request the hon. Members

belonging to the Opposition parties that instead of saying that a political solution should be found out, they should come forward with some concrete suggestions. There is no use indulging in wild talks. This is a national issue. Therefore, we should treat this as a national problem and should try to evolve a solution honestly by rising above political interests.

Today, we feel that the people of Punjab are with us. We all feel very sorry when we see the circumstances through which Punjab is passing. Unfortunately, this problem has affected my own State also. We can very well understand the sufferings of the people and we know the conditions in which these people are living. I would like to congratulate them for facing this crisis with courage. The administration of that State is working very well under the hon. Governor. In spite of limitations, the Governor is performing his duties boldly. In the present circumstances, no rule other than President's Rule can become effective in Punjab.

We thought that after the death of General Zia, the attitude of the Government of Pakistan would change, but unfortunately the policy adopted during the time of General Zia is still being followed. After the death of General Zia the incidents of sabotage took place in Kashmir and the rioters crossed all limits when they attacked the house of the D.I.G. We thought at that time that perhaps there was no truth in it but gradually the truth came before us and it became clear that this was a well planned conspiracy. It became clear how the youths of Kashmir were trained across the border for subversive activities here. I regret to point out that these subversive activities have been going on for at least 8 months and the Central Government or the State Government did not come to know as to what was happening there in spite of having so many agencies. The Government will have to tell the House what steps have been taken to stop all this. The main motive of Pakistan is to create fear-psychosis right from Afghanistan to Kashmir and Punjab. The Government must decide about the measures to be taken to undo and fight out these designs in Punjab,

Kashmir or any other part of the country. One way of removing this fear is to take administrative measures. One of such measures may be to entrust this job to very matured and experienced persons because this is not an ordinary situation. The administration has to work under heavy strains and stresses and only an administrator can realise this. To put an end to riots in any part of the country and, especially, in Kashmir and Punjab, Government should adopt a strong but human approach which may not create adverse effects.

I would like to say that a great deal of responsibility lies with the administration but at the same time, this is also the responsibility of all the political parties. To face all this, all of us have to prepare the people by brushing aside our political barriers, as was done in Punjab. Like minded persons are trying to prepare the people for it in Punjab but this is yet to be done in Jammu and Kashmir. But alongwith this, I would like to urge upon the Government to take notice of those persons and parties who are not condemning the activities being done in Kashmir from Pakistan's side. At a time when our Communal harmony is facing challenge, the Government should make its attitude clear and take action against those who remain silent about such activities while living in this country. After having witnessed all these things, the Government must decide whether they deserve to be called the citizen of India or not.

Besides, I would like to mention that Kashmiris have faced many upheavals from, 1947 till today. Whatever conspiracies were hatched by Pakistan in 1947, 1965 and 1971 were boldly faced by the Kashmiri Muslims. Hindus and Sikhs of Kashmir also stood by them but I am saying especially for Muslims because they are in majority there. I regret to say that some people want to take undue advantage of this situation by raising the demand for abolition of Article 370. What is wrong with the Article 370? I, therefore, would like to tell those friends who raise such bogey not to utter such things which may pinch the hearts of Muslims. Kashmiri Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are like other citizens of the country.

With these words I whole heartedly support this solution.

\*SHRI A.C. SHANMUGAM (Vellore): Hon'ble Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the AIADMK, I strongly oppose the extension of President's rule in Punjab. The present resolution moved by the Hon'ble Minister seeks further extension of President's rule in Punjab. I am unable to understand what exactly has been recommended by the Governor of Punjab justifying the extension of President's rule in Punjab. And this is the fourth time the Government is coming before this House for extension of President's rule. I would like to demand from the Government to place on the Table the exact recommendations made by the Governor of the State for extending the President's rule. I also like to charge that the Central Government is on an exercise of depriving election Commission of its independence. For extending President's rule for more than one year in a State the Constitution stipulates that a certificate in this behalf must be obtained by the Central Government. Now I am not aware whether such a certificate has been obtained from the Election Commission. But the Government has already amended Article 356 of the Constitution so as to exempt the Government from obtaining such a certificate from the Election Commission that election cannot be held in the State and President's rule has to be extended.

Certain of the Hon'ble Members on the opposite side prescribed President's rule as a solution to the Punjab tangle. During the President's Address this year to both Houses of Parliament assembled together. This Government praised the Barnala Government. They supported the Barnala Government in the President's Address. When the Government did not toe your line you toppled the Government. You imposed the President's rule.

Even when Barnala Government was there the spree of killings in Punjab went on unabated. During the President's rule also, the same thing continues. I do not think there has been any qualitative change in the Punjab situation after imposition of President's rule. Nearly 20 persons die everyday and the Central Government is

claiming that they are taking various steps to curb the Punjab killings. But all policies and such measures have ended in failure. And they have also enacted various laws and you have amended the Constitution also and still there appears to be no solution to the Punjab situation. We feel ashamed that the Punjab situation has not improved even after the imposition of President's rule but this Government is keen on getting extensions after extensions.

Now the Government has proposed to conduct Panchayat elections in the State. The talk is going on. The elections to the State Assembly must be conducted first and then you must conduct the Panchayat elections. I understand that the terrorists and disruptionists conduct their activities in the State. They take shelter in the remotest of the villages and, therefore, if conducting Panchayat elections is that much feasible. I do not know why the Government says, it is not feasible to conduct elections to the Legislative Assembly. I, therefore, urge upon the Government to conduct the elections to the State Assembly of Punjab without any further delay.

And many Members from the Opposite side in their search for a solution to the Punjab tangle have frequently stated that the President's rule should continue and that would be the only solution to the problems facing the State. And now they imposed the President's rule after the Constitutional machinery in the State had failed. After two years they are still seeking further extensions of the President's rule which means that the Central Government has miserably failed in their Constitutional obligation of bringing peace to the State. They are still unable to find a solution to the Punjab problem. In Rajya Sabha also they hurriedly got a resolution passed under article 249 of the Constitution for building a security belt on the border of Punjab facing Pakistan. What has happened? Was that resolution ever implemented? In that case why was it hurriedly passed? Therefore, Sir, I am compelled to come to the conclusion that article 356 is

\* Translation of the speech originally delivered in Tamil.

being used against those States who do not toe the line of the Central Government. The article is being frequently misused to topple the elected State Governments which do not fall in line with the Central Government. You toppled the elected Government of Mizoram. You enacted the same drama in Nagaland and you did it in Tamil Nadu too. And you toppled almost all Opposition Governments in the States, and your aim appears to be to come to power through back door. In Tamil Nadu also a duly elected Government of Janaki Ramachandran was in power and with a view to capturing power in Tamil Nadu through back door and by unfair means you have dissolved the Legislative Assembly of the State and promised early elections to the Legislative Assembly. Did you conduct the elections? On the other hand you asked for two extensions of President's rule in the State. And still we are undertain whether elections to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Tamil Nadu would be conducted or not. And now you are waiting for the congenial conditions for the Government to come to power in the State. Perhaps you are also trying with the idea of another extension of President's rule in the State. I demand from the Government that elections to the State Assembly of Tamil Nadu be held forthwith. There should be no further extension of the President's rule. In the garb of President's rule you are trying to impose the Congress rule on the States. I do not think such steps would succeed. Perhaps you are contemplating to extend the President's rule in Tamil Nadu on the flimsy ground of Vanniar agitation in the State. If that problem is a reason for extending President's rule then how a Prime Minister whose security is regarded as the topmost security to any Prime Minister in India could visit the State three times. Therefore, Sir, I do not think that this agitation is causing any serious law and order problem in the State. Elections to the State Assembly should be conducted without citing that as a reason.

You must try to respect the aspirations of the people at large. You must bow to the wishes of the people at large. You must try to gauge public opinion and thereafter see

whether President's rule is at all welcomed by the people of the State. Otherwise, you would create serious dissensions among the people.

I once again urge upon the Government to conduct elections to the Punjab and Tamil Nadu Assemblies quickly. I also request the Government to consider the question of deleting article 356 from the Constitution itself.

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN (Barmer): Mr. Chairman, Sir, nobody likes President's Rule and particularly a person who is the lover of democracy does not like it at all. But our Government have to extend the President's Rule under compulsion. This resolution has been moved in this House because the adverse conditions still exist in Punjab. I support this resolution.

At the outset, while supporting this resolution I would like to congratulate the people of Punjab which include Sikhs, Hindus and other communities for maintaining communal harmony in spite of large scale murders by the terrorists. It speaks of their keen interest and love for the national unity and integrity. In spite of the fact that some forces in the form of terrorists are at work to create Khalistan and to disintegrate the country, the people of Punjab have demonstrated that they would not tolerate it.

In this connection, my submission is that when we have got evidence and information from the terrorists after the Operation Black Thunder and when we have placed that information before Pakistan Government, we will have to take stringent steps in the circumstances in which Pakistan is carrying on its activities. We should expose such activities of Pakistan and bring this into the notice of our friendly nations who believe in democracy. By strengthening our embassies there we should tell them that Pakistan has initiated an undeclared war against us and we have to face it.

Now the question arises as to what steps should be taken to solve the prob-

[Shri Virdhi Chander Jain]

lem. Just now our colleague was saying as to with whom should we hold talks? This is right that at present there is no responsible person or power present there with whom talks may be held. Yet it is also right that when our hon. Prime Minister has toured Punjab twice, there is certainly a need to invite the Opposition parties. I feel that we gave an opportunity to the Akalis earlier and even today they will come to power if they are given an opportunity to do so, but they will not be able to run the Government there because they will always have a struggle for leadership. Neither Shri Badal nor Shri Barnala is capable of running the Government there. No one can unite Akalis. Therefore, all those powers which believe in democracy and secularism should get united. All secular forces like Congress Party, Communist Party etc. should come forward unitedly to participate in elections by sharing one platform so that further division of the country is prevented. They should come together to run the Government and thus present a new example. We have seen it very clearly that no one else can run the Government there. Therefore, the need of the hour is that all the secular forces should unite and contest for the Legislative Assembly elections to form the Government. Only then can this situation be tackled!

I also want to submit that Security Forces and the Police Force has worked with great valour to root out terrorism. They have found out many hide-outs and have seized a number of weapons too. The persons who have worked bravely should be rewarded and given promotion in order to boost their morale so that they are able to face the situation more courageously.

Since intelligence forces also perform an extremely dangerous task, a provision should be made for their protection too. Those people who retire from police service after giving a good fight to the terrorists, should also be given protection. Those should also be protected who provide intelligence. This is essential to boost their morale. I have submitted it earlier too and

repeat it that there is no problem in sealing the border areas which is the need of the hour. No one who gets training in Pakistan should be able to enter our country under any circumstances. If any one manages to sneak in, it should be investigated as to who is responsible for that and in whose duty-hours he managed to do so. We should make our military or B.S.F. forces duty bound in such a manner after sealing the Pakistan border that they may fulfil their duties and protect the country so that the terrorists may not enter. Our Hon. Prime Minister has also said that some steps have been taken to solve the problem of unemployment. Some factories have been set up for this purpose. The youth who get attracted towards terrorism should be inspired to join B.S.F. and police force so that the problem of unemployment may be solved. The representatives of secular forces and of the parties which believe in secularism should be invited for holding talks. We should make use of the present atmosphere which has been created after the tour of our Hon. Prime Minister so that we have not to extend further the present term of six months. It is not good to extend the term for another six months. When we believe in democracy, it is essential to hold elections immediately to the Legislative Assembly for forming a popular Government there. The Congress Party should come into power in Punjab after getting themselves well organised and creating a congenial atmosphere there. With these words, I conclude and support this motion.

[English]

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA (Aurangabad): Mr. Chairman I think it cannot be gainsaid that after the Operation 'Black Thunder', the progress towards normalisation has been steady. The Operation was a display of Government's political will and has kept the sacred temple free of terrorists and opportunists. In fact, it has enabled the SGPC also to get back into the Temple and they too are now, through grudgingly, conceding this point. Government has also demonstrated that it is not treating the misdirected young men among the terrorists as their enemy. On the contrary, it is trying to win them back by pro-

viding worthwhile jobs and as my friend has just now said some industry has already been started and some are being set up. But, Sir, terrorism has no short-cut answer which all of us must realise. The terrorists use mindless violence to constantly challenge the Government's moral authority to govern by flaunting physical authority. It is no wonder that the maximum violence or the maximum incidence of violence is taking place in those districts where we have concentrated our forces, for instance; in Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozpur. In fact, Amritsar has been divided into three districts - Amritsar, Patti, and Ajnala. And we have 60 battalions of policemen plus people of para-military forces concentrated in those areas and still you will find that most of the incidence of violence are taking place in those places. It is because the terrorists want to strike terror among the people and want to challenge the Government's authority. They want to cause demoralisation in those areas. It is, therefore, the duty of the State to provide security to these people, particularly to those who have supplied information to fight the terrorists. We have also to create or instill confidence in the hearts of the people and give them as best security as possible. Then we should also try to educate the people that this violence is being caused only to demoralise them and it will be possible for us to pull back the people out of the fear complex and they will assist us. The Prime Minister's visit to that area had shown that when the people also realised that there was no danger to their lives, large number of people turned up to hear him and it was also very gratifying that despite great damage caused by floods, the people of Punjab did not ask for relief. They wanted loan to rehabilitate themselves and they promised to pay back their loan. We know that the people of Punjab are very industrious and they promised to pay back the loan because they can grow crops and earn enough to pay back the loan unlike the situation obtaining in other States. So, the State is engaged today in fighting terrorists, creating a sense of confidence in the people and I would suggest that we should have some technique by which we can fight terrorists. We should identify the terrorist-infested areas and cre-

ate a cluster of villages and cordon off those areas so that the people living there would feel secure and safe and they have some confidence in themselves and they become fearless. I on an earlier occasion had referred to the technique of General Thompson in Malaya. Identity cards were issued and the villages were re-deployed in such a manner that terrorists could not get through or slip through and the security ring was given so that the people within the zone were checked. Such kind of things should be done and that will help us to create confidence in the people. The Intelligence Branch I must say, has done a splendid job and this should be strengthened, we should admire them, it is because of them that we are able to arrest persons like Atinder Pal Singh and earlier Jinda here in Delhi itself. Those persons who were suspected of having supplied some information to our forces or to our Information Wing were killed irrespective of to what group they belong. In fact, it is admitted that most of those people killed or more than 60 per cent of those killed were Sikhs. So, indiscriminately those people have been done to death if they were found to have been collaborating with the police in any manner and it is all the more necessary, therefore, that we have to create a security ring and provide security to those people so that they can fearlessly come forward and help us.

This is one aspect of it - the Intelligence has to be strengthened. Secondly, the security forces also have done a splendid job, we appreciate their job. Some police officers and constables have lost their lives and it is only proper that the Government should provide adequate compensation to them and raise their morale because morale is necessary here. The SSP and DSP were killed in Patiala. I do hope that the Government has taken care of their families, and similarly somewhere some inspectors and constables have been killed. I believe that the Government have provided adequate compensation.

My friend, Mr. Jain, has just now spoken about the sealing of the border. I would like to know from the Minister to

[Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha]

what extent we have done it and what has been the result, because it was alleged here in this House yesterday that a lot of smuggling is taking place both of arms and drugs and people are also crossing over the border. We have seen that at the border itself quite a number of people have been killed in trying to cross over to Pakistan or cross back to India. But the decision to seal the border was taken a long time back. To what extent we have succeeded in this respect, we would like the Minister to tell us.

People are saying that the Punjab problem is eluding solution. It has been said that political process must start.

Mr. Chairman, our Prime Minister has said, 'Let us start with Panchayat elections.' If we start with the panchayat elections by providing adequate security cover, an opening will be made and we will be able to build up the political structure right from the gross roots. So, this is the one we are doing. Here, the political parties should come forward and help in this process because this will be an experiment, a good thing. An opening is being made and all the political parties should support this. The difficulty, as has been stated by the Prime Minister himself several times, is to identify the groups with which we confer. The Government should help the process of grouping also, those who are willing to come forward in the process of solving this Punjab problem because we know that there are a number of people and a number of groups who believe in peace there and the solution of the Punjab problem within the framework of the Indian Constitution. We should encourage that kind of groupings so that we may deal with them later on. It is a challenge whether the bulk of the country will show the political will to resist the attempt of some groups to impose their will through terror tactics.

16.00 hrs.

[SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN - *in the Chair*]

It is a challenge from some of our neighbours who think that they can nibble

at us through the disgruntled elements among ourselves. It is a challenge which is all-around. I am sure, this House would back the Government in meeting this challenge and demonstrating to the whole world that India despite its internal differences, is a nation endowed with political determination not only to survive but also to assert itself as a nation, as a people and in this view of the matter, I would not only support this Statutory Resolution for extension of President's rule but would appeal to the Opposition Parties to support this resolution and also help the Government in finding solution to the Punjab problem in a political manner.

With these words, I once again support this Resolution.

[*Translation*]

SHRI K. D. SULTANPURI (Simla): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by Shri Buta Singh for extension of President's rule in Punjab. I have listened to the arguments advanced by the Opposition on Punjab. Most of the Opposition Members have raised an objection to the imposition of President's rule in Punjab. I feel that all the political parties are responsible for the atmosphere of terrorism which has arisen in Punjab today. It is only due to the activities of these parties that the people there have lost their lives. I do not say that the parties have not done any good work there, they certainly have done some good work. Even the C.P.I. and C.P.M. workers have also done some work there. Today the situation is that even those parties who do not exist there and do not know anything about India and Punjab are saying here that the imposition of President's rule in Punjab is not proper. People do hold the opinion that our party does not want to hold elections in Punjab but I say it is not so. Our party does not want to hold elections in Punjab but the circumstances there are such at present that elections cannot be held there. It was our Party which had held elections in Punjab and made Akalis the ruling Party but they could not run the Government. Sarvashri Barnala, Tohra and Badal have failed

to run the Government there and today the situation is such that the Akali Party has divided itself into many factions. The Congress Party handed over the power to Akalis but they themselves did such things that it became essential to impose President's rule there. They themselves appointed such *granthis* who collected ammunition in the Golden Temple complex and played with the honour of the people of this country. People who had faith in Golden Temple and used to visit it to offer prayers were killed by them. Attempts were made to bring an end to their faith. My submission is that the people there have faced the situation with great courage.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is no conflict among Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians there. Now the situation is such that people come here after getting training in Pakistan and indulge in terrorist activities in Punjab, Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. Even Pakistanis do infiltrate into our country to indulge in such activities. Kashmir too cannot itself from such activities and there is problem in Himachal Pradesh too. There have been incidents of bombs being placed in buses. Bomb explosions took place in Pathankot and Jassore in Himachal Pradesh. Dacoities took place at Nalagarh and Noorpur in Himachal Pradesh. In these dacoities, terrorists had a hand.

Have the Parties which are opposing President's rule ever tried to take steps to create good-will there? Have these people ever tried to get elections held in Punjab. You people only keep on opposing here and never try to visit that place. Hindu Mahasabha is there but that too does not visit Punjab where a fight is going on? Why don't they visit Punjab while chanting "Jai Om" and "Jai Shankar"? Instead, they visit Himachal Pradesh where there is complete harmony and no one has been killed.

• I support the views expressed by our M.Ps in regard to terrorists and by our elders. Shri G.S. Dhillon and Shri Bhatia who hail from Punjab. I feel that looking at the situation prevailing in Punjab the steps taken to extend the President's rule are quite appropriate. We believe in democ-

racy and elections will be held there but which opposition parties are to be consulted? Somewhere there are four parties, somewhere eight and somewhere there are ten parties. There are a number of Akali Parties too. With whom we should hold talks to know as to what is their programme and how they want to bring peace in Punjab. The Bengal people oppose the steps taken by Shri Ray in the present circumstances but they do not know as to what is happening there. The people from Bengal do not visit Punjab, they only discuss theoretically whatever is published in the newspapers.

Lala Jagat Narain who publish "Hindi Samachar" was killed in Punjab. Shri Ramesh too was killed there. All those who used to publish newspapers in Punjab were killed but no one spoke a word against the terrorists. No Akali party opposed this. When Shri Barnala did the right thing there, he was given the punishment of cleaning the shoes in Anandpur Sahib.

Thus in order to defame the entire nation, the Chief Minister was given such a punishment by them. Whosoever came forward to face these extremists, was punished the same way.

When Bhindrawala was there in Punjab, the extremists or the Khalsa Dal took the responsibility for all the mass killings.

Today, a feeling of harmony is prevailing in Punjab and because of it, the people of Punjab have been able to face extremism and the Ruling Party is lending its support to them in their attempts but at the same time I want to urge upon the Opposition party to create such an atmosphere in the country that the President Rule in Punjab may come to an end at the earliest. It has been the intention of the Government that there should be a democratically elected Government that there should be a democratically elected Government but if you could not win there, what can be done by the Government? Where you win the elections, you stand to support the democratic setup but whenever you are defeated, you



[Shri K.D. Sultanpuri]

start grumbling that the Government is not working properly.

Our leader Mr. Rajiv Gandhi visited the whole country. Recently, he visited all flood-affected States such as Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Assam to provide for the relief work in the flood-affected areas. He personally talked to the people and the Congress contributed greatly in flood-relief work. I want to congratulate those congress workers who have come forward and have always served the nation in distress.

I want to tell you that you are not aware of the situation prevailing in Punjab. Certain people talk wrongly about Punjab and consequently the opposition members want to create such an atmosphere and feeling in the country that this Government is not doing anything. I want to tell you that the performance of this Government in this regard in Punjab is commendable and I support the Bill presented by Shri S. Buta Singh for further extension of the President's Rule in Punjab.

SHRI HET RAM (Sirsa): Hon. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the Bill brought forward for further extension of the President's Rule in Punjab.

About six-seven years ago, Punjab was so happy a place that it was considered to be matchless in India. The whole world took it for the California of India, i.e. the best place in India. But today what cancer has minced Punjab or what malady it has fallen a prey to. I just want to know as to which party is associated with this menace. Previously, Punjab used to be the most progressive and advanced State. After all who is responsible for the present state of Punjab. I have been facing it for about last seven years and since then I have been living in Punjab. Today, nobody wants to go to Punjab to work there as it is considered to be a slaughter-house of the people. When an officer is sent to Punjab, he thinks it better to be thrown into a well or sent to some desolate areas but he is never

willing to go to Punjab because it poses a threat to his life.

In 1947, when our country got independence, there was an ideal, a vision before the people and they were living happily. The people wanted to build up such a country which could realise the vision of Mahatma Gandhi. But under the Congress Rule this vision of Mahatma Gandhi could not be realised and they forgot Mahatma Gandhi. In the meanwhile, they created a culture which was infested with corruption and all the moral values worth the name were totally ignored amidst the din. The setting up of such a society in Punjab worsened the situation in Punjab. That is why Punjab is burning today. Its main reason is the valueless society of the day. Religion has a different story. Religion has no other role to perform except to create disputes. Its prime objective is to stand the Sikhs against Hindus and Hindus against the Muslims. It is giving rise to the valueless thinking in the society. The youth of today thinks that the big politicians and leaders have no ideals of their own and are misleading them because they themselves are living in airconditioned rooms and ask them to lead an ideal life. These dual policies will not do.

The present per-capita income in villages is one rupee and twenty five paise. If we leave aside the big landlords, 36 paise per day comes to the lot of the poor man. How can the poor pull on with that meagre amount? How can he make his both ends meet with it and manage to feed his family. In such circumstances, the poor man thinks to create troubles for these leaders who have been living luxuriantly. This Government changed the Governors one by one. What is the reason of it. The reason is that these Governors appointed by the Government, neither realized the difficulties of the common man nor thought of the social values. That is why we could not solve this problem. First of all we will have to change this society, and remove the hardships of the common man and to control the increasing prices. If no steps are taken to stop all these things, the same situation will crop up in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and in

several other places. It is all due to value less thinking. The leaders of this country should play an important role in this regard. They should present an ideal before the people.

In 1947, when there was great violence and exchange of fire everywhere in India and Hindus and Muslims were fighting with one another, it was Mahatma Gandhi Ji who went among these people and pacified them. Today, there is not even a single leader in the country who may claim that he can pacify all the people and bring peace in the country. Today everyone has got a great love for his own life. No one says that his life is for others and he will be first to sacrifice his life if needs be there. Everybody thinks only about his own safety and does not bother about the country.

I would like to stress only this much that there is an urgent need to change the entire structure of the country. Until and unless there is a change in the social set up and the social values, nothing fruitful can be done either by the forces or by police or the soldiers. Today in regard to Pakistan, we can say that this is also the mistake of our Government that it has failed to keep harmonious (good) relations with all our neighbouring countries. Therefore, the flaws in foreign policy should be tackled in such a way that we are able to make friendly relations with Pakistan and assure them that India wants to live in amity and like a good neighbour Pakistan should also live peacefully. Thus after developing harmonious diplomatic relations with Pakistan we can ask them not to misguide our youths anymore. This becomes our duty to establish such human values and work for the creation of a new society.

[English]

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK (Panaji): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the last four years, we have had 12 sessions of this House and during those 12 sessions or so, we have discussed the Punjab issue in several forms in not less than 20 times, either under Rule 193 or in any other form like the present Statutory Resolution. During this debate,

opposition has been vehemently attacking the Government for alleged failures to solve the issue. But I would like to know that on the last four years, can you list out any solution which you had given to the Government and which according to you would have stood the test in your own way? Can you mention that these were the suggestions which we had not followed and which would have brought this result? You are speaking in very vague terms. You are not consistent in your thoughts and you are reverting to those submissions which you had made last time. Therefore, if the opposition had played its role of constructive opposition given suggestions, even the country would have come to know that these were the suggestions given by the veteran lead of the opposition parties or veteran Members which was not followed by the Government. People would have come to know about it. But nowhere have we heard this from any organisation or institution saying or requesting the Government to follow a suggestion given by the opposition members either in the House or outside the House. Such things have not come. I am dwelling on this aspect to show that in any case, there are compulsions on both sides and the Government is doing on its own. You also know what are the problems of the Government. But the fact remains that you did not give any suggestions which would have proved the best for the common man or the country. You have failed in your role as a constructive opposition and you have no right to attack in any manner the Government on this issue.

I would ask you another question. Are you going to say that in all the previous extensions of the President's rule which had been made from time to time, not a single time was Government justified in extending the President's rule? Have you ever said it? How do you say that every time the extension of the President's rule was bad? Did you support the President's rule any time? You could have, at the most, said that a particular extension was bad. You are not judging the issue on merits. You are opposing it for the sake of opposition. Otherwise, at least once, you would have said: "Yes, this is the time for extending the

President's rule." Any measure taken by the Government of mild nature, serious nature or grave nature has been opposed by you from time to time. Therefore you are not playing your role.

I am suggesting in my own way one solution. I am not expert on Punjab. My friends from time to time have spoken. We are today going ahead thinking that we are having our Assembly elections there so that a popular Government is installed. This need of holding the elections perhaps is making us sometime go in the wrong direction. We have before us the need that we have to hold the elections in the near future despite the fact that there is no solution at present or the present situation does not permit that. In such circumstances I would suggest that considering the Punjab situation as of today, we have not to hold the view that holding of elections is of any priority at present.

Normally we have to come to the Parliament for extension of the President's rule every six months as per rule. Therefore, my suggestion is that till the situation in Punjab improves, it may be declared a Union Territory with only an Administrator and advisor/advisors as the Governor may deem fit or the Central Government deem fit. This would take away the apprehension and result in Government not having before it the ghost of elections, that elections to the Assembly have got to be held within such and such a time. Punjab should be declared as a Union Territory with only an administrator and not have the Assembly because we have Union Territories like Lakshadweep, Andamans, Delhi, Dadar and Nagar Haveli without Assembly and with only an administrator and advisors.

I can understand the feelings of the Opposition members. Supposing a situation arises that elections can be held, no doubt we can amend it and bring back the former status of a State. Today as it is they are amending the Constitution of several times for extending the President's rule. That will require only two amendments;

one for the declaration of Punjab as a Union Territory and the other when such a situation arises, to bring back the status of a State. In the meantime we can solve the issue.

This is only a technical solution. I don't know how Mr. Ramoowalia will react to this. As far as elections are concerned, no doubt we are committed to holding the elections. As the Prime Minister stated, we have to have elections to Panchayat Bodies where actually the base of democracy lies. You can feel the pulse of the people whether they are ready for the elections. We can know it during the elections to the Panchayat Bodies. If, after holding of Panchayat elections the local bodies run smoothly over a period of time, then the status of the union territory can be converted into the status of a State.

Lastly in other countries when we give our picture to the Non-Resident Indians - in UK and USA etc. - sometimes we hold only small group discussions in which perhaps some of them are not convinced. I would suggest that some representatives from the Government side, from the political parties' side can go to these countries and hold bigger meetings instead of small conclaves and convince the average Sikh - not the leaders themselves - about the steps the Government of India is taking. Here actually people like Shri Ramoowalia can help.

SHRI BHADRESWAR TANTI (Kaliabor):  
Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to ventilate the feelings of the people of this poor country. This is the fourth time that President's rule has been imposed in Punjab. In a democratic country the experience of the people of Punjab is that atrocities, illegalities and injustices are being heaped on them. There is no peace in Punjab. Democracy has been murdered in Punjab. President's rule has been imposed there time without number and the killing of innocent people is going on. At the moment four States, namely, Punjab, Nagaland, Mizoram and Tamil Nadu are under President's rule. I do not see any reason for demolishing the democratically elected Government and impos-

ing President's rule. May be because of the political reasoning of the Congress (I) party this has happened? They are masters in de-stabilising the democratically elected Governments but this is their last chance. People of the country are going to give them a good dose this time. People are not going to tolerate them any more.

What is happening in Punjab? Have you been able to control the extremist activity in Punjab? We find from the newspapers killings are going on every day there. There is either bomb blasts or shootings. You have taken all canons of law into your hands in the name of administration but still you have miserably failed and these illegal killings are going on.

Our country is a poor country but I find Ministers are busy touring abroad at the cost of the people. Yesterday I also mentioned about the poor presence on the Treasury Benches and today I again find out of 544 members hardly 50-55 members are present. So far as Punjab, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tamil Nadu problems are concerned they should take the Opposition into confidence. We have been accused by the Prime Minister and the ruling party of not coming forward with suggestions. We are very much keen to put forward our suggestions but the Prime Minister has no time to listen to the suggestions and meet the Leaders of the Opposition. In a democracy majority is not the final rule. The minority should not be ignored. Lastly I would conclude by saying that you must come forward with some concrete suggestion and solution to the problems of Punjab, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tamil Nadu. People have already lost confidence in you.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Government has proposed Resolution to further increase the time of President's rule in Punjab. This is the fourth time. It is disgraceful on the part of the Government. My understanding of the President's rule is that it amounts to direct rule by the Centre. In spite of all these things, the tactics, which have been prolonged for years together, have not been able to bring peace in Punjab. The situation, that might have been created for a

popular Government to have come by election, is not there. So, just now we cannot suggest that we want an election there immediately. But something must have been done, which the Government has failed to do. In Delhi, there are so many widows who have not got any justice. They have not got even the sympathies. About 10,000 widows in Delhi are now out of the society. At least a healing touch must come to them. The Government should come forward to look after these widows. Only then, the people of Punjab would understand that the Government has some sympathy with the people of Punjab. But it is not doing so.

The politics should not take precedence. The nation is calling for peace in Punjab. That is the national issue. The national issue should be looked into as a national problem. The problem, which has started, is the creation of the Congress Party itself. Now they are seeking some suggestions from wherever to come. It means that the Government has totally failed, not knowing what to do further. My suggestion would be that a healing touch should come to the people affected during the riots in November 1984 in Delhi and elsewhere in the country. We are helping the people affected in the rail accident, bus accident or even in an aeroplane crash. We come forward to help such people. But we have come to know that the unfortunate innocent people, who lost everything - their property, kith and kin - have still not got the healing touch of sympathy. They must understand that the Government of India is thinking about their well-being and it wants to come to their rescue in all possible ways.

The Home Minister is sitting here. We have heard of holy alliances in Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya. They could do it in Tripura. But they have failed in Punjab. They are perhaps trying to have an alliance there. We are not aware of it. In Tripura, they have done it. With an unholy alliance, they have a Government. They have done so in Meghalaya also. They are trying in Nagaland and Mizoram. In that way, perhaps they are looking forward with some sort of alliance system; by which the

Congress Government could come. Perhaps they are waiting for that. This may be one of the reasons for delaying the solution. So, the Government should think seriously and come forward with a resolution that a popular Government can be brought in Punjab.

SHRI MAHABIR PRASAD YADAV (Madhepura) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, according to the provisions of the Constitution, India is a Union of States. If at all any danger comes to the unity and integrity of the nation, the nation has a right to resort to President's rule. I feel, even martial law can be applied.

Who, on the Opposition benches, is ready to see this Union of India disunited. Is there anyone? I think, no one will have the courage to say that India should stand disunited and disintegrated. But they have to oppose the whole thing. No proposal ever came from their side for the unity and integrity of the nation. Let Mr. Ramoowalia say what measures should the Government of India take for the unity of India and to establish peace in the State of the Punjab. Sir, everybody wants peace in Punjab but nobody from the the Opposition side has ever come forward with any proposal as to what should be done to bring peace in the State of Punjab.

[Translation]

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: What is your proposal?

SHRI MAHABIR PRASAD YADAV: My proposal is that martial law may be imposed if need be to preserve unity in the country.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You please come to the point. You have got only three minutes to speak.

SHRI MAHABIR PRASAD YADAV: Let me relate a short story. A jackal was sitting under a tree. When a small branch of the tree fell on the jackal he felt as if the end of the world had come. He ran away from the spot. While running he met a donkey who asked what had happened. The jackal said that the end of the world had come. Now both started running. On the way they met a horse, an elephant and a tiger and on being asked as to what had happened they told them the same thing. Now all of them started running together. They met a lion on the way who asked them as to what had happened. When they told him about it he asked them to show some evidence which had led them to believe that the end of the world had come. All of them went to the spot under the tree where the jackal had been sitting, only to find that a mere branch of the tree had been the cause of all that turmoil. This story reflects the situation in the Opposition camp. Nobody has the courage to behave like lion in the story.

Trivial matters are blown out of proportion by the Opposition whether it is Bofors or Fairfax. Everywhere they see a problem of enormous magnitude. They are not bothered, about the unity and integrity of the country. Only the Congress (I) can preserve the unity and integrity of the country.

[English]

It is my feeling that no other party can keep the nation united.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would say that the criticism should be constructive, healthy and without any prejudice. When there was a strike of NGOs in Bihar, the Opposition Party said that the Central pay scale should be given to them. Now, is the West Bengal Government giving Central pay scales to their employees? No; the West Bengal Government is not giving the Central pay scales to their employees but they are advising us to do so. What I feel Mr. Chairman, Sir, is that every possible effort should be made to strengthen the unity and integrity of India.

[Translation]

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda) : Mr. Chairman Sir, we have discussed the Punjab problem on several occasions in this House. This time also hon. Shri Buta Singh has come with the proposal of extending the President's rule in Punjab by another six months. May I know if there has been any reduction in the number of killings in Punjab during the President's rule? The number of killings in Punjab today is the same as it was during the time of Shri Bhamra's Government. Even in Delhi the number of terrorists killings has increased. To preserve the unity of the country and to solve the Punjab crisis, the house enacted laws without any impediments. Yet the Government has failed to implement these laws. By displaying a lack of courage in im-encouraging the proliferation of such crimes. How is the Government going to put an end to terrorism? Why does the Government hesitate to implement those laws which have been passed by the Parliament? Hon. Shri Bhatia was saying that the Congress (I) is a secular party. I want to emphasize that not only Congress (I) but every political party being represented in this august House; has been affected by terrorism be it the C.P.I., C.P.I. (M), B.J.P., Janata Party or the Lok Dal. Some or the other leader from every Party has been a victim of terrorism. A political problem has been made out to be an economic one. On this pretext the Government has given permission to Pepsi Cola to set-up a plant in Punjab. Pepsi Cola is a multi-national company partly owned by the Americans. America is helping Pakistan and the latter is helping the terrorists. The Government is aware of all this. Yet it does not raise this issue at international fora like the United Nations. Perhaps the Government thought that the death of the Pakistani President General Zia would also sound the death-knell for the Punjab crisis. But the truth is different. The Government withdrew the Bill which proposed to create a security belt, after its introduction in the Rajya Sabha, even though our party supported it. We had approved this move in the interest of the unity of the country. But the Government withdrew the Bill. Now where are

these arms, rockets and people coming from? It is terrorists we are dealing with, not birds or insects. Bhindranwale was a creation of the Government and now once again a member of his family has been allowed to enter the Golden Temple. It is not clear what the Government discussed with him. God can be worshipped anywhere. The I.G. resigned in protest against this (*Interruptions*). I would like to quote the question raised in the Rajya Sabha on 2nd August along with its reply.

[English]

"In how many border districts of Western India bordering Pakistan, identity cards have been issued to the inhabitants and how many tehsils have been covered so far; and

How many tehsils remain to be covered and by when this work will be completed?"

The Answer is:

"The Government have approved the Pilot Scheme for issue of Identity cards in Poogal, Nachna, Karanpur and Chauhatan Tehsils of Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Ganganagar and Barmer districts respectively in Rajasthan and Bhuj Taluka in Gujarat. The Government of Punjab are also working out schemes for issue of identity cards in border areas. Based on the results of this pilot scheme, the scheme for issue of identity cards may be extended to other border districts along the Western border."

[Translation]

I fail to understand why the Government cannot issue identity cards in Punjab when it can be done in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Why this scheme cannot be approved for Punjab, the State most affected by terrorism. On 20th of September, Shri Hatabhilashi was elected President of the Punjab unit of our Party. No sooner had he assumed office than some people started taking an unusual interest in his daily routine : the time of his arrival and departure,

[Shri C. Janga Reddy]

the type of car he uses and so on. A young man even brought this to the notice of the Party office. On the basis of this information our Party requested the local police authorities for a police post outside the office similar to the one outside the Congress (I) office. This august House will be surprised to know that the police authorities claimed shortage of manpower and expressed their inability in complying with the request. Three days later Shri. Hitabhilashi, the President of the Punjab unit of our Party, was gunned down by terrorists. What is going on there? This clearly shows that the Government wants to be at loggerheads with Shri Barnala and wants to wrest the state leadership from him. Now the Government is seeking the approval of the Parliament to extend the President's Rule in the State by another six months. Besides, is the Government aware of what has been published on the front page of the latest issue of 'The Sunday observer.' What is the Baba Govind Sadan during in Mehrauli? Our hon. Home Minister has also visited the Baba Revolvers and other arms have been recovered from there. What is the Government's reaction to this? We urge the Government to take stern measures against terrorism. We assure the Government of our fullest support. Bhatia Sahib, today every citizen of the country is angry with you. Apart from Punjab, arms with foreign markings have been found in the possession of Naxalites of Adilabad and Kurnool districts in Andhra Pradesh. We have received reports that their arms supply is routed through Punjab. So arms with foreign markings are being smuggled all over the country through Punjab. What is the Government doing to stop the smuggling of arms? Will this issue be raised in the U.N.O. against Pakistan?

SHRI KEYUR BHUSHAN (Raipur): Mr. Chairman Sir, the Punjab problem has been discussed a number of times in the House but no solution is in sight. The President's Rule is sought to be extended in the State by another six months keeping in view the present situation. Not only we but also our hon. colleagues in the Opposition feel that

in many ways this is the right step. I would like to give some facts in this connection. Killings and anarchy has become a way of life in Punjab. As a result it is impossible to hold elections in a democratic manner. Even the Opposition is at a loss as to what to do. We criticise for the sake of criticism. If the proposal is being opposed just because it has been brought by the Government it will not help us reach a solution. Our hon. colleagues in the Opposition are aware that the Punjab problem is not an ordinary problem and it is a challenge for the entire nation and society. Whatever is happening in Punjab is against the unity and integrity of the country and a conspiracy to disintegrate the nation. It is not a challenge to one particular party. All the Parties should take this matter seriously. We have to keep a watch over the anti-national forces which are working in Punjab and in other parts of the country. These are the forces which use issues like the Babri Masjid or Ram Janambhoomi to create tension and chaos in the country. I appeal to the whole nation to resist these forces. Nobody is with them. Can these people be called true representatives of Islam, whether they belong to this side or that side? They are not even fit to talk to and elements such as these should not be entertained. The common man favours only those who are willing to preserve national unity. Who are these so-called watchdogs of Hinduism who take to aggression in the name of the Ramjanambhoomi issue? Their voice should be ignored. The true representatives of any religion are the masses. We accept the wrong people as representatives of a religion and hold discussions with them. Same is the case in Punjab. Why does the Government not hold discussions with those who sacrifice themselves for the nation? They are the true sons of Punjab, people who are patriots in the true sense. Why don't we, the like-minded people stand up as a united force against this. Have all those people, who are willing to sacrifice themselves, been forgotten? How can the Opposition be inconsiderate towards the Congress which gave a martyr like Mahatma Gandhi for the cause of national unity? I ask my hon. colleagues in the Communist Party why they have forgotten the people who laid down

their lives for national unity. How can they forget the contributions made by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi and late Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Opposition is prepared to hold consultations with communalists. I urge them to abandon such thoughts. Communalism can cause destruction but never progress. So I appeal for a joint Morcha. We are preparing to face them in order to save the nation. The problem of terrorism is not a simple one. It is the result of big conspiracy. Every political parties has made a mention of it. There is a foreign power behind it. Each political party agrees that some foreign power is out to flare up communalism in the country. In the light of these facts we should unite to meet the challenge.

I can emphatically say that the state of Punjab does not belong to these people. It belongs to man like Bhagat Singh who has made sacrifices. Punjab belongs to those who fought for the freedom of the country and saved it from further division. Punjab belongs to Master Tara Singh who offered his own life to save the country from division. Ramoowaliaji, you are among his successors and you do not agree with the people who are out to divide the country. We should unite to meet the challenge. No one can dare to spread communalism and disintegrate Punjab. The number of the people supporting Khalistan is very few. Majority of the people residing in Punjab favours unity and integrity of India. Without taking much time, I would like to submit that so long as the people of the world and the country know the sacrifices of Gandhiji, no power can divide this country. I had talks with Sant Longowal thrice and he had assured us not to take any such step which could endanger the integrity of the nation. He sacrificed his life. Nobody can succeed in dividing the nation. I would like to say that Indira Gandhi sacrificed every drop of her blood for the unity and integrity of the nation. So the congressmen who inherit the same patriotic feelings, are ready to sacrifice their lives and also expect the same from the other parties.

I would like to conclude. Our leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi has offered to negotiate with Opposition parties on the issue of

maintaining the unity and integrity of Punjab. I would like to appeal the members of opposition to accept the offer without ifs and buts. I can assure you that some solution would be find for the Punjab problem, Babri Masjid problem and the unity and integrity of the country will be strengthened.

*[English]*

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU (Madras North) : Mr. Chairman, for years together we are discussing this Punjab problem. But there is no solution yet!

Popular Government was dismissed and President's Rule was imposed. But the killings during the period of President's Rule are more and more and during President's Rule alone nearly 3,500 persons were killed. Even after 18 months of President's Rule, you are not able to solve the problem.

Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi went to Punjab. He is reported to have said that he would call leaders of various political parties and talk to them to find out a way out of the present situation. Did he do it? Has he called the Opposition leaders? No. But, instead, he is reported to have stated that those who oppose the Congress are the enemies of the country. If Prime Minister is with such a mentality, how can he solve the problems facing the country? He is talking like a dictator!

People are being killed daily in Punjab. But instead of finding a permanent solution for the Punjab problem, the Prime Minister was thinking to hold Panchayat elections in Punjab. When he is not able to give a real solution, what is the use of going to Punjab? It is most ridiculous. It is just playing to the gallery, as he is doing in Tamil Nadu. He cannot enter a hut in Punjab. But he is entering hut after hut in Tamil Nadu for vote hunt.

This morning also I saw a news that the Prime Minister is reported to have stated "We have to stop the wastage." But whenever the Prime Minister comes to Tamilnadu, daily Rs. 6 crores have been spent, resulting in a wastage of Rs. 30-50 crores for each visit.



The Sikhs felt that they were being treated as second class citizens. Merely laying foundations of new schemes will not wipe out their tears. Our Prime Minister is reported to have stated that the Sikh religion was founded 2000 years ago! What a

\*\* A person who does not know the geography and history of India is our Prime Minister!

DR. G.S. DHILLON : He never said it.

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU: I request you to make a sincere attempt to solve the problem. Don't have partisan schemes there! Because of the wrong and dishonest policies of the Centre, Punjab problem is complicated. You have invoked Article 249, the Security Belt. You got your 59th Amendment! You have got so many weapons in your armoury. Still then you are not able to solve the Punjab problem! Some of my friends ask: What is the solution? You said that you would find a solution to the problem of Punjab. But you are not able to do it.

Last but not the least, our brothers are killed in Punjab. Our brothers are also killed in Sri Lanka. This is the daily routine! After 18 months of President's Rule if you are not able to solve the problem in Punjab, what is the use of getting six more months or one more year?

[Translation]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have got two reports -- one is about the extension of President's rule in Punjab, which Shri Buta Singh read out in the House and the other is of the Hon. Prime Minister. The Hon. Prime Minister has stated:--

[English]

Under the heading "Killings, corruption rising, agrees P.M." it is mentioned.

[Translation]

I need not say anything. The leader of the House has revealed the situation.

[English]

"The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today conceded that corruption was on the increase in Punjab and that terrorism was claiming more lives than it did when elected Government was there."

[Translation]

The Express writes under the heading.

[English]

"Tall claims of Punjab"

During Barnala Government's time 789 were killed, "whereas in 15 months' period of President's rule 2,422 persons have been killed."

But the report further says, "Unofficial figures based on daily press reports put the number of the killed during the 15 months of President's rule at more than 3,300."

Sir, this is the position.

[Translation]

A report published in today's newspapers says that "the terrorists have accelerated the pace of their work of forcibly collecting money from the people after the operation 'Black Thunder' and they have already collected a large amount of one crore of rupees. The police officer has also revealed that "the Government officials working in Tarantaran and Patti areas have to pay a fixed amount of money to the terrorists every month."

I would like the hon. Minister of Home Affairs to refute this statement. This news if spread among the people would be harmful. It has been further stated that:--

"The local police employees do not re-

port these things to their senior officials in order to present a good picture of their area."

This is the situation in Punjab. Besides, I would like to say one thing more. I don't want to blame anybody in this regard. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that during last 15 months, four cabinet rank Ministers of the Congress, more than five dozens of communist leaders and many Congress workers have been gunned down. Besides, a number of M.L.A's of Akali Dal (Longowal) and some Jathedars were also killed. The President of BJP, many senior police officials and well known journalists were shot dead during President's rule. I submit that we ought not accuse each other for this. We should make united efforts to find out the solution.

I would like to submit that the terrorists get strength when we talk to root out terrorism, when we talk of maintaining unity and integrity of the country and curbing Pakistani interference but want to derive political advantage when the time comes.

Today, Shri Dhillon has courageously stated and the hon. Prime Minister has accepted that the killings in Punjab are in the increase. Shri Dhillon is a worthy leader and I respect him. It was a wrong step to dismiss the Barnala Government. I would like the hon. Home Minister to agree with this fact that it was a wrong decision to dismiss the elected Barnala Government and the decision was based on the results of elections held in Haryana. To err is human. So he must confess the fault. It would be in the interest of all, what is the actual position today? Through you, I would like to say, Sir, that terrorism has extended to the areas of Haryana, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir and even to Himachal Pradesh as pointed out by Shri Sultanpuriji. So it would be unjustified to accuse Akalies or a particular group of Akalies by saying that they have encouraged terrorists. Terrorism is spreading in the entire country. So I would like to say a few things.

I have been repeatedly saying two things. One is that the culprits of Delhi riots should be punished Yesterday, in the

meeting of Congress Parliamentary Party. The hon. Prime Minister observed that tolerance, nonviolence and kindness were the basic principle of Indian politics and Gandhiji practised these principles. On the basis of that I would like to say that the rioters in Delhi resorted to violence and killings. I therefore, demand that those who were found guilty in Delhi riots should be punished. The cases should be decided by constituting special courts so that the people whose families members were killed might get some consolation. I would like to quote Gandhiji that justice should not only be done but it should appear to have been done and for that.....

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, Yes, Please conclude. I have given you much more time.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: I am concluding Sir.....(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: When you say 'Yes' 'Yes', he thinks that you agree with him.... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: It is really very bad that many of the Hindu families have planned and migrated from Punjab. A number of speakers including Congress members have spoken, but not even a single Member has mentioned the issue of the migrating families from Punjab. I would like to tell that the Hindu families have migrated from villages to the cities and the people residing in Tarantaran and Patti area have shifted to Amritsar. The situation has deteriorated so much, that a sikh named Satwant Singh revealed that even the Sikhs are leaving villages. So I would like to request that compensation worth one lakh of rupees should be paid to the next of the kiths and kins of those who have been gunned down by the terrorists.

Secondly, certain arrangements should be made to provide shelter, food, medical facilities and even monthly expenses to

[Shri Bahwant Singh Ramoowalia]

those Hindu families who have migrated from Punjab to Delhi.

In the end, I would like to say that the Punjab problem is emotional and critical. Releasing of Jodhpur detenu absorption into the services of army deserters and penalising the culprits of Delhi riots, all are critical and emotional issues. The Government repeatedly said that there is a problem of negotiation. They should call all party meeting and then the Hon. Prime Minister should decide the final action to be taken.

With these words I conclude and oppose the extension of President rule.

SHRI KALI PRASAD PANDEY (Gopalganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, after a long wait, I have been allowed to speak in the issue of Punjab.

Truth always prevails over mendacity. It is for the fourth time that again a Resolution has been brought in this House to extend the period of President's Rule in Punjab. During the discussion, all the hon. Members who participated in the debate made a ferment demand to curb the wave of killings in Punjab. It is clear from the statements of the terrorists apprehended during operation 'Black Thunder' that Pakistan is behind all these incidents and the House has also accepted it. But question arises that despite repeated discussions about Pakistan in this House and Home Minister S. Buta Singh's clear affirmation in this House that enough evidence was available to prove Pakistan's hand in supporting the terrorist, why an announcement was not made in the House that the Government would tell Pakistan in clear terms not to interfere in our internal matters and make them aware of our foreign policy? Today the condition is such that the people of India are very much concerned as to when a solution to Punjab problem is to be found and this gory conflict stopped. As some of our friends opined that unless the foundation of democracy is strengthened there, the killings cannot be stopped,

no matter for how long the President's rule is extended there. There has been more killings during President's rule as compared to Barnala Government. (Interruptions) We independent Members are facing same situation here in this House. We go on waiting for the whole day to come our turn to speak and you say that the time is over. As innocent people are being killed in Punjab, we are killed here. No sooner did we rise to speak than the bell goes on ringing.

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla): There is no need for me to oppose this resolution moved by the Home Minister. But I want to say one or two things. I heard Mr. Ramoowalia speaking and his speech actually provoked me to make this brief intervention.

He has suggested that *Sar Jodana Chahiye*. For so many years we have been discussing Punjab. Mr. Ramoowalia has made a suggestion that we must put our head together and find a solution to the problem of Punjab. He has quoted some figures. I think, the Minister of State, who is here, must contradict his figures as to whether the graph of killings is on the ascendance in Punjab. I have no doubt in the statement made by Mr. Ramoowalia. But I feel that it is not a law and order problem in Punjab. It is a political problem and we must find a political solution to this problem. While I do not oppose this Resolution I would like to say that we must take concrete steps to find a political solution. If I had an authority, I would just take measures to make Mr. Barnala to come forward and join hands with Mr. Badal. After all, a divided Akali Dal also is a source of trouble to the integrity of the country. Therefore, finding a political solution, making various factions of Akalis to come together and be an integral part of the mainstream, that is my wish.

17.14 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

While I suggest that a political solution should be available to us, I suggest that the Prime Minister should convene a meeting

of the opposition leaders immediately, because we are losing time and innocent lives are being lost. Therefore, my concrete suggestion is that we must admit, irrespective of party affiliations, that Punjab requires a political solution. I request hon. Prime Minister to convene a meeting of all the opposition leaders so that we join our heads as Mr. Ramoowalia says and we must find a solution to this problem.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I had the privilege of listening to the debate in the Rajya Sabha and, therefore, I did not have the privilege of listening to the debate here. But I shall endeavour to answer the points made by hon. Members during the course of this debate.

I do not think it is necessary now to go back to May, 1987 and ask ourselves the question whether the imposition of President's rule in Punjab was right or wrong. At that time the Government made its position very clear and said that it was not that killings had taken place or that violence was unabated or that certain other things had happened in Punjab that the President's rule was being imposed, but the primordial consideration was that the Government headed by Shri Barnala had lost the will to fight terrorism. It was a divided government run by a divided party and that government, therefore, did not have the capacity or the will to fight terrorism.

President's rule in the last year and a half has demonstrated one thing very clearly that the administration in Punjab today is determined to fight terrorism and the results are apparent to anyone who will see what is happening in Punjab today.

Often what is cited is the fact that the number of killings had gone up. I do not deny that. The number of killings did go up during a certain period. In fact, it is still intolerably high. No Government, no citizen, no human being can take comfort in the fact that a hundred people are killed every month or seventy people are killed every

month. These numbers are by themselves bad. But if you look at the situation, you will find that until the end of last year, there was a tremendous improvement in the situation and there was a considerable set back when we released certain political leaders in Punjab. The kind of speeches they made, the kind of disinformation that was spread and the kind of support that was extended to anti-national and terrorist forces once again gave rise to a spurt in terrorist activities in the beginning of this year. But after Operation 'Black Thunder' if you look at the figures, after the number of killings reached a peak in May, 1988, June was better than May, July was better than June, August was better than July and September was better than August. It only shows that despite set backs, the administration in Punjab is intact and is capable of dealing with terrorists, capable of dealing with terrorism. I have figures here for the nineteen and a half months when Shri Barnala was the Chief Minister and for the seventeen and a half months during which President's rule has been enforced. What do the numbers indicate? The numbers indicate that while killings are still high -- and I will admit, intolerably high -- the administration has been able to make a severe dent on terrorism, terrorist activities. More weapons have been seized, more ammunition has been seized. But the nature of the conflict had vastly changed because of the introduction into Punjab of highly sophisticated weapons in the last quarter of 1987 and since the beginning of this year. For example, earlier we did not have rockets and rocket launchers, we did not have missiles, we did not have power-charged units or anti-tank grenades, we did not have LMGs. These have come into Punjab solely because of Pakistan's support to terrorist activities in Punjab. Despite the fact that the nature of the conflict has intensified, despite the fact that more sophisticated weapons have been introduced into the theatre, the administration in Punjab has been able to put up a stiff battle against terrorism and terrorists. Many of those who are responsible for terrorist action and depredations not only in Punjab but in Delhi and elsewhere have either been eliminated or arrested. The names which are in the minds of common people Gen-

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

eral Lab Singh, the so called General Lab Singh, Avtar Singh Brahma and many others have either been neutralized or arrested and this is no mean task considering the magnitude of the problem in Punjab.

Sir, the question today is: can we bring to an end President's Rule and can we hold elections? The Prime Minister visited Punjab twice in the recent past, first on the 21st of September 1988 and again on 13th of October 1988. I had the privilege of accompanying the Prime Minister on both the occasions. What we saw in Punjab if I could share it with the hon. Members or if the hon. Members could go to Punjab themselves and see what we saw, is truly very revealing. Despite the situation in Punjab, the people of Punjab have great faith in the administration, have great faith in the capacity of the administration to deal with terrorism. The problems they speak about are the problems of other common people elsewhere--they speak about roads, water, power, schools and jobs. Of course, terrorism is at the back of their minds. One or two people do speak about terrorism. But it is not as though the people of Punjab are over-awed by terrorism. The people of Punjab have not given up hope; the spontaneous affection and love they extended to the Prime Minister is something which has to be seen to be believed. Tremendous affection was there and large crowds both on the roadsides in the villages and in meetings were there. He addressed the meetings in Goindwal, Jullundur and Jaita. The meeting in Jullundur started in pouring rain and ended in pouring rain. But for one full hour, not a child moved from the meeting. The children in their uniforms, women and men sat through the pouring rain for one hour to hear the Prime Minister. It is therefore not correct to say that the people of Punjab are over-awed by terrorism or have lost faith in the Government. On the contrary, what we saw shows that the people of Punjab have abiding faith in the Government and the capacity of the Government to deal with the situation in Punjab.

The question is: can we bring to an end President's rule and hold elections? I do not wish to dwell at great length on this. I would only read from three or four newspapers. They have made an objective assessment of the situation after the Prime Minister's visit to Punjab. The Hindustan Times of 22nd September 1988 wrote thus:

"The Prime Minister's announcement that the Panchayat elections will be held soon is an indication that the Assembly polls will not lag far behind. But much depends upon the creation of the right atmosphere for the polls. So long as terrorists remain trigger happy and strike terror among the people, free and fair elections cannot be held. It is therefore essential that the drive against terrorism should be intensified and at the same time efforts to resolve the Punjab crisis should be made. The proposed all-party meeting is a step in the right direction and the next move should be to hold dialogue with the Sikh leaders. The fresh initiative which the Prime Minister has taken to solve the Punjab problem should succeed and mark an important step towards creating an atmosphere that can lead to fighting terrorists and sessionists in different spheres."

Here is Amrita Bazar Patrika. I will read two sentences from, its editorial of 25th September 1988.

- "The Prime Minister's prescription for the current malaise is the medication at the grass-roots. He wants Panchayat elections to be held to ascertain that the climate is improved in such circumstances. The common man in Punjab who has received high praise from Mr. Gandhi for his quiet and valiant struggle against the forces of destabilisation will then be able to choose his Government in the State in an ideal atmosphere."

Sir, the Editorial of the *Times of India* on the 24th of September 1988 says:

"To that extent Mr. Gandhi's proposal to first conduct panchayat elec-

*of President**relation to Punjab*

tions would seem to mark a cautious beginning in the restoration of the political process. Probably after the panchayat polls are over and provided the situation continues to improve a political dialogue can be initiated. Mr. Rajiy Gandhi has put politics back on the Punjab agenda, now it is for others to respond."

I could go on, Sir. But the objective assessment of the situation is, the Prime Minister's visit, the announcement that panchayat polls would be held soon, the constitution of an 8-Member Ministerial Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Narasimha Rao, the offer to invite the Opposition leaders of political parties in Punjab for a dialogue, the promise of a wide consultation with them together mark a major political initiative in the Punjab problem. And, I sincerely hope, the House will welcome the initiative taken by the Prime Minister and allow the process to be carried forward so that we can find a solution to the Punjab problem. Today there is no alternative but to continue President's Rule and I hope that holding of panchayat polls will mark a major turning point in our efforts to bring back the political processes in Punjab to full play.

Sir, I believe some comments were made about certain issues and I think it is my duty to answer some of them. Firstly, about the Jodhpur under-trials, let me make it very clear. As far as we are concerned, the issue of Jodhpur under-trials is not a political issue, nor is it a political card to be played whenever it suits the convenience of one or the other. The Jodhpur under-trials face serious criminal charges including the charge of waging war. They are not detenues, they are under-trials. The trial of their case has been stayed by the Supreme Court. Yet we have from time to time reviewed the situation and initially withdrew prosecution in respect of 45 persons and physically released 40 of them who were in custody and again we have withdrawn the cases in respect of 137 persons and released them from custody. The 8-Member Ministerial Committee is seized of the problem and we shall constantly review the matter when the time is appropri-

ate, after weighing the evidence and after looking into the cases if we think further action is required, further action will be taken. Jodhpur, I would humbly submit, should not be used as a political card or a political stick to beat the Government with. It is neither a political card nor a political stick.

As far as the Delhi riot cases are concerned, yes, time and again we have said, the legal processes in this country are tortuous that it is not possible to say at what point of time all the cases will be tried and completed. (*Interruptions*) Yet hon. Members will know that recently in one case, State Versus Sri Ram and others, six persons were accused and they have been sentenced to two years R.I. under Sections 147 and 148 of the Indian Penal Code, five years' R.I. plus fine of Rs. 2000 under Section 436 I.P.C. and life imprisonment and fine of Rs. 2000 under Section 302. So here is evidence that the Government has done nothing to impede the trial of these cases. On the contrary the Government is anxious to prosecute these cases, whatever cases have been registered.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura): You have done nothing. What have you done? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Whatever cases have been registered in the courts, whatever cases have been registered in police stations, they will be tried and if the courts are able to reach expeditious conclusions in these cases, certainly the Government will only be quite happy.

Certain observations have been attributed to Mr. Chaman Lal. Sir, it is not the Opposition which put Mr. Chaman Lal as IG (Border Security), it is the Government which appointed Mr. Chaman Lal as IG (Border Security). It is after the Punjab action plan was instituted that we hand-picked an officer and placed him as IG (Border Security). It is we who gave him the policy stating that 'while you will be firm with the terrorists, you will try to be helpful to any one who is innocent and who is harassed.' It is the policy of the Govern-

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

ment, he carried out the policy of the Government. He has had some difference of perception with the Police Chief. I believe that both Mr. K.P.S. Gill and Mr. Chaman Lal hold opinions which are honest. Both of them hold honest opinions and there are honest differences. If an officer has honest differences and wishes to express his differences and therefore it is requested that he may be taken out of the scene, as the Punjab Government thought fit to relieve him, it is a matter which the Punjab Government will handle and the Punjab Government will deal with it. I will not, therefore, say that one opinion is honest and the other opinion is dishonest. Both are fine officers; both hold honest opinions. If there are perceptual differences they will be sorted out by the Punjab Government. I do not think that the Opposition can use Mr. Chaman Lal as a stick to beat the Government with. We hand-picked Mr. Chaman Lal. We placed him in a sensitive position. He did a good job. He holds an honest opinion. It is an honest difference of opinion with the Chief. Those differences will be sorted out within the system of administration by the Punjab Government. There is nothing more to it. I do not think it is proper to exaggerate it beyond all proportions.

As I said earlier, this is not the time to hold elections. Any objective, impartial observer of the Punjab scene will agree that the Government has to continue on the path which it has chosen. We have to hold Panchayat elections. We have to invite Opposition leaders. We have to hold wide consultations. The Ministerial Committee is seized of the matter and it has already held two meetings. I am sure this process that we have initiated will take us forward on the political path and will help us find a political solution.

I command this Resolution and I seek the support of this House to this Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1988."

*The motion was adopted.*

17.33 hrs.

SALARY, ALLOWANCES AND PENSION  
OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT  
(AMENDMENT) BILL\*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Before I call the Minister to move for leave to introduce the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill, I have to inform the House that the President has, in pursuance of clauses (1) and (3) of article 117 of the Constitution of India recommended the introduction and consideration of the Bill in Lok Sabha.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Sir, why is it the same day introduction and consideration? It may be introduced today and you can get it passed tomorrow. This is a matter of principle that you have to decide as in the case of other Bills. You have it introduced today. Then, let us have the time to consider it and say what we have to say on this Bill. (Interruptions)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order please.

Shri Bhagat.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT) : Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Salary, Allowances and Pension of Members of Parliament Act, 1954.