

[Shri Santaram Naik]

provision that you have made. It is only to recover that amount from him as arrears of land revenue. That means, you will be exhausting the energy of your officers to recover the amount from him. Sir, I have made a provision for punishment. If the person does not pay the amount which is due to the postal authority, besides recovering that amount, he should be punished with some imprisonment or fine. I do not know whether the Minister is going to accept it or not.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : I wish I could do that. But it will be too harsh on our part. The previous rule was that if we failed to recover the money, then we were not liable—unless we recovered the money from the receiver. Under this Bill, irrespective of the fact whether we recover the money or not, the Department will pay the money to the sender and will recover the money from the receiver, if he fails to pay as an arrear of land revenue. Let us not assume that the person will not pay. And if he fails to pay, other than as arrear of land revenue also, we have got the standard law of the country by which we can prosecute. So, it does not bar us from going for prosecution.

The idea with which the hon. Member has given his amendment is already there. But we are taking a measure by which it will be easier for us to collect as an arrear of land revenue. I hope, the hon. Member will withdraw his amendment.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Does the hon. Member want to withdraw his amendment ?

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : Yes, I want to withdraw my amendment.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Has the hon Member leave of the House to withdraw his amendment ?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

Amendment No. 4 was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

“That Clauses 27 to 39 stand part of the Bill.”

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 27 to 39 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the long Title were added to the Bill,

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Sir, I beg to move :

“That the Bill be passed ”

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER The question is :

“That the Bill be passed.”

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : According to our agenda, a discussion under Rule 193 is scheduled to be taken up at 2 O' Clock. Since we have taken more than ten minutes beyond 1 O' Clock, we will be reassembling only at 2.15. We now adjourn for lunch and reassemble at 2.15 p. m.

13.14 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for
Lunch till Fifteen minutes past
Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after
Lunch at Nineteen Minutes past
Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

DISCUSSION RE : RECENT
SPURT IN TERRORIST ACTI-
VITIES IN PUNJAB AND OTHER
PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up discussion under Rule 193. Bhattamji will speak.

[*Translation.*]

Shri Bhattam will speak today.

SHRI C. MADAV REDDY (Adilabad) : Sir, you also intervene in the debate.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : You must say something in the beginning.

MR. SPEAKER : I am busy today. I have to meet two foreign delegations. When I am free, I shall come to the House.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur) : You may kindly set the tone of the discussion.

MR. SPEAKER : I don't think there is any need to do so as all of you are how quite adept.

[English]

I have full faith that you will uphold the integrity, the honour and the prestige of this great country and not be misled by ruffians. I told at Anand that there was one Sardar who created one unified India and, I hope, here is another Sardar who will keep up that. Nobody on earth can divide it.

SHRI BHATTAM SRIRAMA MURTY (Visakhapatnam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, your initial observations have set the tone of the discussion in the House and we stand by that. We stand by it. We are committed to it. There can be no compromise on the question of unity and integrity of this country. We can not surrender it at any cost whatsoever and we will have to fight all fissiparous tendencies, divisive forces, separatist forces and all forces which want to de-stabilise this country and dis-member this country. We are one with the Government on this matter. We firmly support them. The country cannot but be one and it should be one. We fully agree and endorse the views and stand by whatever has been said by you.

Not a single day passes without an ugly or ghastly incident occurring in some part of Punjab. As we take up the newspaper we see a couple of incidents everyday. Some where there is a robbery. There is a

dacoity. A bank has been robbed looted. Innocent men and women have been massacred mercilessly. Such type of things have become a matter of daily occurrence. It is just a normal routine. It is as simple as cutting brinjals and vegetables in the kitchen. There seems to be no end to it. It is ever recurring. This is a very ghastly situation which we are not able to put up with. Let me first say that this should end. It should be put an end to and it should stop.

Sir, you sometime back made an observation that Punjab is gradually tending to become a veritable slaughter house. I am tempted to think that this is coming true day by day. Terrorism has taken a very heavy toll of human life. There is no end to this ghastly spectacle. It was said recently that there was a downward trend in the crime graph in Punjab. If that were true I will be more than happy but the press reports do not give an indication that this reflects the correct position. The State and Centre should make concerted efforts to evolve an effective strategy and put a halt to this blood bath.

The Minister for Home Affairs has more than once announced both on the Floor of the House and elsewhere that effective and stringent steps are being taken to curb effectively terrorism. We will stamp them out. We will crush them. The terrorists are on the run. Terrorism is on the wane. We will leave no stone unturned to crush them. This is the solemn assurance given to this House by the Home Minister. This is the theme of his of repeated assertions made both in the House and elsewhere. But what is the actual situation. The people are daily dying. The leaders are being threatened and assassinations are being attempted. We are witnessing all these things everyday. Therefore, I charge that the Minister of Home Affairs has miserably failed in containing terrorism. It is spreading its tentacles. It is growing and increasing. Sometime ago there was a report in which the Government claimed that the terrorists were on the run; the hard core terrorists were being nabbed and eliminated and the terrorism was on the wane. One who believes in this version lives in a fool's

[Shri Bhattam Srirama Murti]

paradise. The rank of hardcore terrorists is increasing and multiplying. *Amrit pan* is gaining momentum among Sikh youths. In the course of last about one year about 5000 youths are said to have been baptised. Not only that, the frontiers of the killing field are expanding. There is a planned dispersal of hit men in Punjab. It is difficult to forget the ghastly assassination of one of our respected colleagues, Shri Lalit Makan at his residence in Delhi itself. So also Shri Arjun Das and a host of others, let alone the transistor explosions. That much about Delhi.

Then, a terrorist was recently held at Kodalkanal at the residence of an IAS officer. General Vaidya was killed in Pune. As I said earlier, the field of activities of terrorists is fast expanding. God alone knows how many are still there in the hit list. General Sunderji is there. Of course, our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had a providential escape not because of the security and the Home Minister, but in spite of the security and the Home Minister God has saved him, God has saved this country. If you cannot protect even the Prime Minister, I would ask the Home Minister whom else can you protect. Are you here to give us the list and number of casualties and explain the reasons for the security lapse and nothing more ?

The morale of the police is not high in spite of the valiant efforts of Rebeiro. The police and security forces are getting divided on communal lines. The attempt to murder Rebeiro in the PAP complex at Jalandhar is a powerful reminder that the terrorists have their informants and accomplices in the police ranks. Your security system itself is in a shamble, it is in a total mess.

Every time a ghastly incident takes place, soon comes a statement from the Minister saying that they have reviewed the situation, a high level Committee has been set up, they are revamping the security system, something more stringent is going to happen and going to take place. We have to be satisfied with the observations of

the Minister because we cannot ask him to place on the Table of the House details of the security measures which he wants to take of the steps he is taking to improve the security measures.

14.28 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

May I in this connection point out as far as Gen. Vaidya is concerned that his wife came forward with a statement which was an indictment of the Government for security lapse. Now, the Minister the other day on the floor of the House gave us a different account and went on saying that the details of the security measures were discussed and finalised in consultation with Gen. Vaidya himself. That means what ? Does he want to pit the deceased Gen. Vaidya against the version of his own surviving wife. Then, it is no good. Is it the way for of the Government to function ? Do they discuss with the person concerned about the necessary or possible steps which they have to take with regard to their own security.

Here again, everybody knows that you were not able to save Sant Longowal. You were not able to save General Vaidya. After all, these were the people who did their best for the country at the instance or at the behest of the Government. General Vaidya was known to be on the hit-list already. But you could not save him. That being so, I would like to ask what is that this Government can do ? If you cannot save the former Prime Minister, if you cannot save General Vaidya, if Mr. Rebeiro was also subject to severe predicament, if even the present Prime Minister was subject to an attempt of assault, then should this go on ? Should this continue ?

Sir, from time to time, we were asked to support the Government. In every move of the Government, whenever the Opposition was consulted, invariably all the political parties irrespective of their political affiliations, cutting across the political differences and barriers, extended all out

support to Government of India. They supported them in whatever legislation that they wanted to bring about. There was a spate of legislations to contain terrorism and to curb it. In every respect, in all manner, at every stage we support them fully. And quite a number of legislations were passed. What more do they want us to do? We have strengthened their hands. Power is given to them. Have these legislations have further strengthened you? Were they of any avail? Could you use the power given to you? You could not use that? What is the point in coming before the House and asking for the support of the Opposition Parties and the entire House? Therefore, it is a failure of the Government. Govt. were not able to discharge their duties and function effectively and to maintain law and order and safeguard the security of our country.

Sir, let me revert back a little to the Punjab scenario. A vitriolic campaign is launched by Baba Joginder Singh. In his statement, 20 or 30 days ago, he has been pouring venom, preaching hatred and preaching armed revolt against the Delhi Darbar. He indulges in seditious speeches both against national leaders and also against our national heroes. He goes on to state that the Hindus of Punjab will one day be massacred at the hands of the Sikhs. He says that Khalistan commandos are awaiting this opportunity. But the Government treats this in a very casual manner. Baba Joginder Singh is not even apprehended on the count that he is an old man. Is it the way to deal with such matter? Why is there no concerted attempt, no full-fledged strategy to retrieve the state from the present impasse? That is what I would like to frankly also?

Sir, on October 31st at a time when the whole country was observing the Death Anniversary of former Prime Minister in all solemnity paying due homage and respect to her memory, in Amritsar within the precincts of the Golden Temple in the Manji Saheb Hall a congregation was held on the same day. A Khalistani flag was hoisted there. Music was rendered eulogising the bravery of Beant Singh and Satwant

Singh, the assassins of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They were treated as martyrs and awards were conferred on them. The widow of Beant Singh was specially honoured on that occasion. What a great national shame for us. That lady—Mrs. Beant Singh—called it a day of rejoicing. She went to the extent of saying that “a black mole was removed from our forehead.” This is how things are taking place in Golden Temple, at Amritsar. On the top of this, the dreaded terrorists—about one dozen of them—who carried a reward of one lakh on their heads were all present on that occasion. In the full glare of publicity on the dias and in front of the host of securitymen, they were there. Nothing has happened. Nobody took action against them. You cannot take action against them. With the entire Police force, with all your armed strength and mighty power, you declare award and ask somebody to catch them and produce before you. Is this is the way in which the Government is to function? Is it worth its salt? I am so sorry to repeatedly emphasise their dismal failure, Mr. Home Minister.

Finally, I ask the Home Minister do you want this issue to be treated as a State Subject or as a law and order Problem to be dealt with by the State Government exclusively with the assistance of the BSF and para-military forces which from time to time you go on supplying to them? Or do you agree that this is a national issue in which you are yourself equally responsible for maintenance of law and order and also wiping out from the face of Punjab, the last trace of terrorism. If that is so, your failure, you will have to admit, you will have to confess; you will have to express your regret and you improve your performance in this direction.

Now, I would like to ask that sometime back. We were told that this issue will be treated not merely as law and order problem but a political solution to it will also be sought. Of course, later the Prime Minister came forward with a correction. As long as there are fighting forces on the other side duly wedded to the creed of violence and terrorism, we will not be able have any sort of dialogue or discussion with them. So,

[Shri Bhattam Srirama Murthi]

apart from dealing with this situation on a military basis or on a law and order basis, what else do you want to do; how else do you want to tackle this problem? Is there any fresh strategy?

Sir, the Prime Minister recently exhorted the nation and called for a peoples' movement. That is correct. Let all the people unite, join together the saner elements, most of them are there in abundance, barring a few hard core sikhs—the converts—the rest of them are there. Therefore, you come and join them. Let there be a peoples' movement. So, that was the exhortation of the Prime Minister and I appreciate that.

So far as I remember, it is only the Communist Party of India to whom, I must congratulate for this.

AN HON. MEMBER : CPM

SHRI BHATTAM SRIRAMA MURTHY : CPI and CPM also.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : And those who have organised peace marches.

SHRI BHATTAM SRIRAMA MURTHY : Thank you very much. Some steps were taken in this direction. But finally what is the picture that has emerged. The politicians and political leaders belonging to various political parties cannot move about without police escort. The Ministers are always surrounded by gunmen all the time. How do you have to feed the peoples' movement like this, when the situation is like this? The days of Mahatma Gandhi are gone, when he rushed to Nao-khali in to the thick of the battle risking his life. Those were the days of Mahatma Gandhi and not of Rajiv Gandhi, who of course, can go abroad a number of times. It is a difficult for him to go to Punjab. But I also do not want him to do so because I want to him to be spared for many-many long years for this country. How could there be a peoples' movement. I want to know from the Minister? Could

you take the initial steps in this regard? What are the step which you have positively contemplated in this regard?

Now, I would like to say that, as the Speaker had pointed out in the beginning, we are dedicated to democracy, socialism and secularism. These are the triple concepts—goals and guiding principles for which we are deeply committed and there is no going back on that; we are wedded to that.

Democracy and violence cannot coexist. The future of democracy therefore is hanging in balance in Punjab. Either there is an end to the cult of violence or the process of democracy will reach a dead end. Unless the creed of violence and forces of disruption are vanquished, the rule of law and the democratic form of government cannot exist.

Therefore, what is at stake in Punjab? It is democracy itself, if it is unsafe in Punjab, what happen elsewhere? So, our stakes are very high. We have to protect the concept of democracy. Now, people, who were returned to power with popular mandate of the people, if their voice is muzzled the representatives of the people cannot function; and the guns roared; people are killed, plundered and murdered in the broad day light. If stenguns are used, where is the democracy? This is no democracy; this is mobocracy; this is something worse; this is something different and it must be put to an end.

Secularism is the basis of unity of the country; it is a way of life of this country. If rabid communications and fundamentalists invade citadet of secularism, we cannot fail to resist this, we will have to resist this with all our strength at our command, the mounting attack on the concept of secularism should be resisted and repelled. The role of religion in the affairs of the State is assuming undesirable and alarming proportion and we have to contend with the forces of disruption and destabilisation. We cannot allow religion to breed theirin and pour contempt, dissatisfaction, discord, difference and dissensions among the people. We must safeguard the

sanctity of the holy places. The places of worship now are being used as sanctuaries by the terrorists, as store houses for keeping their armament and deadly weapons to be used against the innocent people; and this should be stopped.

As the Speaker has earlier put it, the unity and integrity of the country are on trial today. We cannot survive as a nation unless we act as a nation. We shall pledge our support to the government to safeguard unity and integrity of this country.

Obviously, this is not merely a provincial issue; it is a national issue; it has international implications as well. Various foreign forces are also at work, not merely Pakistan, but various other countries as well. What about Britain? What about Canada? What about the United States of America? I will come to that a little later. Mostly killers are those trained across the border, smuggled into this country to destabilise Punjab. There is only oneway to tackle this problem; seal the border with Pakistan. The terrorists within the State can then be effectively mopped up; selective killings can be stopped in which case communal cleavage also can come to an end. It is often said that there are large number of such cases.

"We have details of names, locations, training schedules and the type of assistance Pakistan has given to these terrorists".

This is what was stated on the floor of this House by the then Minister for Internal Security, Mr. Arun Nehru.

Why not do you publish a White Paper on this?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :
Yes

SHRI BHATTAM SRIRAMA MURTY : You have confronted the Pakistan Government with all the necessary details and evidence thereof. That is what is said. Why not the whole

country know? Why not let the whole world know? They have not given any reply to your documented version and the evidence adduced by you so far. There is no response from them; nothing. This game is continuously going on. Pakistan they are training the terrorists in the use of revolvers. It is published "crossing the border into Pakistan poses no major problems." Most of the terrorists who were captured said that they were taken to Faislabad jail where they were subjected to intense indoctrination." They admitted. That they were trained in the use of 38 and 455 revolvers, Sten-guns and grenades, and said that they were instructed in the use of chemical weapons, how to blow up bridges, how to open handcuffs and manufacture home-made bombs.

This is what is being done across the border the Pak-occupied Kashmir involved in acts of terrorism and sabotage. There is a Pak Institute of Warfare in Azad Kashmir to give training to the terrorists. How unfortunate. This is being tolerated. This is being put up with. This has been the consistent continuing process. Even abroad, it is so.

I am conscious of the time limit. I know that several hon. Members are waiting to speak, I will conclude.

Even in U.K.

Even the United Kingdom is sheltering Khalistanis. In spite of incessant pressure on the U.K. it has not handed over the die-hard criminals. Discussions on extradition treaties are continuing. We give one version, and they give another our requirement is different, and their position is different. There is no meeting point. The so-called President of Khalistan Mr. Chauhan is operating freely, sending money, material and every support to Khalistanis operating in this country. That means what? What do recently, Press reports say? The Khalistani youths were trained in the art of blowing bridges. They are planning to blow atomic plants, Parliament and various other public institutions of great repute and consequence for this country as a whole. They have blown up the *Kantshka* and they may try

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their hand in several other things, and not merely that. They are waiting on their wings to take next earliest step possible to drown this country in abysmal darkness and dismal gloom and create total anarchy. This is their way to cause dismemberment, and destabilisation disruption and anarchy. This should stop.

Either the Government is capable of doing this, or if they are not capable of doing this, then, should I suggest some thing? They should consider whether there is something else they can do. And the country has reposed confidence in them. Because, you are returned to power with massive mandate of the people, therefore you have the power, you have the authority, because you are in power. We do not want you to go out of power, we do not want you to go out of office, but you use all your power to curb these trends. If you cannot, you fail the nation. You will have to do some heart-searching. You will have to decide your next course of action.

SHRI JAGAN NATH KAUSHAL (Chandigarh) : After hearing the opening speaker I must say that he has put forward almost the unanimous view of the House. I quite agree with him that the unity of India, the integrity of India is not negotiable; it cannot be compromised under any circumstances. The opposition has said it more than once. We value their sentiments. We, in fact, congratulate them. I also congratulate the opening speaker that he has depicted the picture in Punjab in a graphic manner and he has almost given expression to the sentiments of the people living in Punjab. If you remember, last time also when I spoke, the burden of my speech was that people in Punjab go on asking the Members of Parliament and public men that how long shall this continue. And I stated on the floor of the House that we do not have a proper and satisfactory answer.

14 52 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE in the Chair]

I quite realise the dilemma of the Government of India. Mr. Bhattam Srirama Murty asked: is it a mere law and order problem or is it something more? I think, we all agree that it is a law and order problem and also something more.

The first step which Rajiv Gandhi took was, let there be a democratic Government to deal with this question. This step was hailed by the whole of the country. A democratic government was installed. It goes to the credit of the people of Punjab that they took part in that election in such a manner that it was demonstrated to the whole world that they do believe in the democratic traditions of the country. As much as 60 to 70 per cent of the people took part in the elections, whereas the fear, the apprehension was that probably elections might not be allowed to take place in Punjab; there would not be any peaceful elections. But the people belied those apprehensions and fears. Elections took place. A popular government was installed. One year has passed when this government came to power. As I said, our hearts are full of anguish, because not a day passes when there are no killings. Now, as matter of fact, 6, 7, 8, killings probably is an average. But to say that Barnala Government is doing nothing or the Central Government is doing nothing would be uncharitable. Barnala Government is also doing and the Central Government is trying to assist the Barnala Government in the discharge of its duty.

The entire opposition is backing the Barnala Government also... (Interruption).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Not entire.

SHRI JAGAN NATH KAUSHAL : There are some people who do not. Anyway, majority of the Members on the other side do want that the democratic forces in Punjab should succeed and democratic forces for the moment are represented by the elected Government, the head of which is Shri Surjit Singh Barnala. My friend was right when he said we are not interested in statistics, but

sometimes statistics also give us a history. They tell us what is happening. Well, there was a time when only people were killed. But then a reverse trend came. The terrorists were also being killed. It is an unfortunate feature that in this whole affair now policemen are also being killed. There was a charge against the police at one time that police is wholly mixed up with the terrorists and that is why results were not coming. Well, now that charge is not to that extent...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS ; That is also there.

SHRI JAGAN NATH KAUSHAL:
 Charge is there but not to that extent. Police morale has been boosted. Police is trying to do their duty. But unfortunately, still some people are mixed up. Now, the question arises what is to be done because we have to find an answer. According to me, still there is a lack of political will on the part of the Barnala Government to act courageously. The Government has to act courageously because if a government cannot give law and order, cannot give a sense of security to its people, then surely that government is lacking in discharging its primary duty. I must confess that Shri Barnala is not taking political decisions to solve the problem. My friend has brought to the notice of the House the incident which had taken place only a few days back in the Golden Temple complex. My friend has also brought to the notice of the House Baba Joginder Singh's role in the whole affair. He is right when he said that he is almost putting venom into young minds. He is poisoning their minds. The youth, the immature, the more religion minded—in the name of religion are being misguided and if action is not being taken, then surely he is lacking in that courage which he should find when almost the entire country wants him to succeed. He does say. He says, "I am out to crush terrorism" but if he cannot take action against those forces which are trying to give respectability and credibility to the terrorists, then surely I do expect from him that it is the time to act otherwise it will be too late. He must act, I must say.

Is it not shameful that the terrorists are being eulogised on platforms and in *Sabhas* as martyrs? Is it not shameful? Are those terrorists martyrs? They are the enemies of the country. Their only aim is nothing else except Khalistan. They do not want the Barnala Government to succeed. They do not want the Accord to succeed. They do not want the amity to come to Punjab. They do not want that the people of Punjab should live like brothers, and in spite of their efforts, congratulations to the people of Punjab. With what courage they are facing all this although there is a sense of fear also.

15.00 hrs.

But they are sticking to their guns. They have a firm feeling in their mind that ultimately terrorism will be crushed. But that 'ultimately' let it not be too long; as I said there is a limit to our patience. Let it not be too long.

The forces have been identified. We know the forces which are giving credibility and respectability to the terrorists movement also. Now those forces have to be certainly dealt with according to law. Because if rule of law is to prevail, then law must have its way. Otherwise, if once the machinery of law breaks, then only we degenerate into a law of jungle. I would, therefore, beg of Shri Surjit Singh Barnala to rise to the occasion. Now the terrorism which was confined to Panjab, undoubtedly, as my learned friend the opening speaker has brought to our notice, was seen in Pune. We all have been hanging our head in shame that Col. Vaidya was killed. We could not protect him. Again another incident happened on the 2nd of October. Undoubtedly, it brings credit to nobody. On the other hand the security forces, the people who are charged with the security of the Prime Minister, surely they have no explanation to offer. Now, therefore, the question ultimately boils down to this. The terrorists must by now have come to realise that through terrorism they cannot achieve their object, because their object is nothing except Khalistan and Khalistan means separation of some parts of the country which this country, we are all

[Shri Jagan Nath Kaushal]

one on this point, shall not permit. If the creed of violence cannot solve the problem, then obviously the problem can be solved through other methods also. There are other methods also. The Akali Party, I said last time also, was voted to power. Now unfortunately, there is split in the Akali party. The split on what? The split is on this matter that when holy places are being used for un-holy purposes, then the Government should not take action. This is unheard of. On what did the Akali Party had a split? It is because the police had to be sent to the holy precincts. Unholy things are being done there. If religion and politics go on getting mixed up then we are in a bad way and by now everybody must have understood that the situation which has been brought about in Panjab was not the doing of the Government. It was the doing of those people who had defiled the sanctity of the religious places. They had turned it into a sanctuary of the criminals. Surely, no country can permit it. Therefore, it is very good of the Hon. Speaker to set the tone of this discussion and the tone of the discussion is that country's integrity and country's unity is not to be bargained for any cost and the forces which are trying to pamper terrorists or give credibility to those people who are doing wrong things, who are killing innocent people, have to be tackled.

I would conclude by saying, people in Punjab ask only one question. After committing the most ghastly and daring acts, the report appears in the newspapers that the murderers escaped. Sometimes they escape on foot; sometimes they escape on a bicycle; sometimes they escape on a scooter; sometimes in a car; sometimes they walk away. Now, surely they do not vanish into thin air. There are people who protect them. There are people who give them shelter and there is a well known saying probably in all parts of the country :

Chor ko na Maaro, Chor ki Maan ko Maaro

We have to kill the people who ultimately try to give them shelter, who ultimately try to give them all types of help, which they

need. When they need money, they go and loot a bank. So far as arms are concerned, arms are with them in abundance. And the type of weapons which have been recovered from the terrorists indicate they have pistols, revolvers, rifles, machine guns, sten guns etc. They are in possession of these type of weapons and now it is almost accepted by everybody that across the border, there is training camp where people are given all types of training. So, we have to be vigilant on more than one front. We have to tackle the situation undoubtedly on a war-footing, because we cannot go on waiting. It is because, things may get out of hand. When so many things are mixed up, then I do expect that the Centre obviously will do whatever is in their hand to do and the State Government will also discharge their duty for protecting the innocent people of Punjab.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY
(Katwa) : Sir, today's discussion is on the recent spurt in terrorism in Punjab and other parts of the country. At the outset, I must say that this spurt in terrorism in Punjab Tripura and in West Bengal and elsewhere is a part of imperialist game to destabilise our country. I believe the Members have seen a report appeared in *Hindustan Times* on 11th October that whenever there is a decline in terrorist activities in our country, those who are abroad, their mentors keep on pouring more aid, more help and more instigation to terrorists. So, the recent spurt is in a way directly linked to this one. It is quite visible that there is a common link between all the secessionist organisations and movements in different parts of the country. We have the reports that in Northeastern part of the country, different organisations who preach terrorism and secession—ULFA in Assam, NSCN in Nagaland, PLA in Manipur, TNV in Tripura—have combined together. Again, we have the reports that Dal Khalsa in their meeting in which people from abroad also participated wrote a letter to GNLF leader urging him to take up armed struggle and they will be giving them the arms. Again, there are reports that the Uttar Khand Kranti Dal has been set up to have a separate State for Garhwal

and Kumaon hills and their link with GNLf has come to light. Again another report has come yesterday or today that a big scale design is there to create lawlessness in the northern parts of West Bengal on the eve of elections by GNLf and KAMTAPURI organisation, which is demanding another State. Every home should be a State—that is the demand now-a-days. They are also trying to make a big effort in this direction.

If we see again, we have been saying this for long, that as a part of this design, there is an attempt to encircle our country and we can very well see across the borders how these terrorist organisations have been sheltered by different countries who are Members of SAARC and with whom it is said that we have good relationship. I have no objection at all to the good relationship. But we have to be cautious. How the TNV is going across the border and taking shelter in Bangladesh. What Mr. Ershad is saying about that? How our Government is taking up the matter with the Bangladesh Government? How the Khalistani elements are being trained by Pakistan? How have we taken up this matter with the Pakistani Government? Today I have seen that Pakistan has proposed to set up some kind of a monitoring agency to check up terrorist activities in both the countries. I do not think that we should be cheated by them. I have seen another statement. Unfortunately, one Opposition leader, has said that this proposal should be taken up very seriously. I sound a word of caution on that matter also. In Nepal, GNLf are operating from there. We have to take all this into account.

Hon. Member Shri Jagan Nath Kaushal has said that

Chor ko Nahr, Chor ki Maan ko Maaro

Like that it is not only Pakistan and Bangladesh and all that.

They are our enemies. They are there in U. K. and in USA. We have to take their activities very seriously. What the Governments of USA and UK are doing when we are asking the Bangladesh Govern-

ment and Pakistan Government to extradite those terrorists who have been operating from there? How are we taking up the matter of this extradition with the UK Government, and with the USA Government? They are harbouring these extremists and what serious action have you taken against them?

I am not going to relate now all the other things like AWACs and nuclear capability of Pakistan. You say that "We have lodged strong protest." What does that mean? Have you hinted to them that "If you continue like that, there will be strain in diplomatic relations?" I do not know what is our illusion. But you have to tell this very clearly. In the UK, these elements have been deeply entrenched very much in the ruling party. One Prof. Bedi leads the Asian Wing of the Conservative Party. Now his wife is under arrest in Delhi in connection with terrorist activities. Now UK officials are trying to secure her release

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : British MP came here.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : Things are coming out. How the minds are acting in the ruling circles of those countries is very clear to us. We just cannot see this spurt in terrorist activities in isolation from this design and it is a well-known fact that they are out to destabilise our country, as a part of their Scheme for global domination. I say that it is not new. Long ago in 1951, during the Presidency of Truman they signed the mutual security pact where they openly took up the task of abotaging the socialist countries. It is not all. We see for 20 years now they are collecting special documents of intelligence nature for individual countries to forecast subversive and terrorist activities. Secret Archives in Washington contain sinister plans for different countries. In USA, 130 institutions are engaged in this work. Data are concentrated at the CIA Headquarters of Langley and also at the Special Research Centre of the US Department of the Army at the Fort Bragg, Garrison in North Carolina. We all know

[Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary]

that giving training to terrorists is the US State policy. It is some old information. They train in about 124 methods of killing. It may be more now, I do not know how their mind is acting. One Prof. Francis Franknen of Pennsylvania where that much-known foreign policy Research Institute is situated, has given a new theory. What is that? Firstly, there should be a big margin of manoeuvre for India. Otherwise, sabotage it because united and strong India is detrimental to the US interests. Now, they are openly saying that They are think-tanks of the Ruling Party in USA. All these things are clear to us. The revelation of CIA manual in subversive actions in different countries is also known to all of us. It came to light in 1984. One Member raised some days ago of writing of a letter by the Senate Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee to the Foreign Department asking for support to Chauhan in U.S A. We know all these things. One revelation has come. That is very startling. I want the information from the Minister. That information is there in the book "Devil and his Dirt", by kunjanadan Nair. He has said that a Fund of India was started by CIA which was revealed recently in the trial of *Reginald Rewald*. There is an NRI who is living in Golf Links with close contracts with Indian political circles, who was to buy shares for a Company in Hawai from Indian Companies to finance and influence terrorism in our whole region. And from where this share purchase has been done? The names are also there in the book. I believe that is under Govt. scrutiny. The concerned companies are : ITC, ACC, Unit Trust of India, Bata India, Milk Foods Ltd., Brooke Bond, Mohan Meakins and, Scindia Steamships. So, all these details are there. Now, what action we are taking? One things. is we have to take into consideration all these things. Another thing is to make our people aware of it. Who is our enemy? If we equivocate in this there cannot be any better harm than this. We know all these things. The other point is that while we are taking steps to fight terrorism, we have to see whether we are putting all our strength to do this job. I

must say this in this respect—not with any malice or bad intentions—that we were hurt about one thing i.e. I was sitting in the Rajya Sabha Gallery, when the Prime Minister equated GNLf action with CPI(M) action in Darjeeling when we are defending—CPI(M) and other Left Parties are defending themselves and preventing the attack of GNLf who have a definite trend of recession and P.M. said that the CPI(M) have unleashed it cadness. What is meant by people's mobilisation? Is that condemnable? In Punjab, we have little power. One Member has said that the only way is to mobilise the support of the people. They should be inspired to chase them. It is not only a question of Police action Devoid of mass mobilisation, mass action, police action will not solve the problem. If you insist more and more of this kind of draconian methods minus people's involvement, that will be to the linking of the terrorists. Mr. Ramoowalia has told me about the searching, discrimination, indiscriminate arrests and all those things, as also about the Jodhpur prisoners. Have you done any scrutiny? Are there any innocent persons? Do you have to release them? You have to create a sense of confidence in the minds of the people.

Now, I would like to make mention of another thing. The Delhi riot victims came and told that they have not got the compensation. You have to take into account these things very very seriously, in order to create confidence.

Another aspect is there i.e. about the implementation of the Punjab Accord. I believe everybody has forgotten that there is an Accord signed between the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Longowalji. We have to remember that you have signed it. There is a time-limit for its implementation. What happened to that? I do not think that terrorism can be linked with this. They can't get a soil to operate unless we create that kind of confidence. We have to keep our promises fulfilled. That is the thing.

(Interreptions)

I must congratulate this Government for one thing I had a very grave apprehensino

about this complicated situation. They talk about applying Article 249 of the Constitution. That is the biggest disaster. Now, I have seen that they are not going to do it. It is really astonishing to me to see how a good sense has come to the Government.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE (Bolpur) : Congratulations for after-thought !

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : Here, I must say about the situation in Tripura also.

PROF. N. G RANGA (Guntur) : The other day you have passed a law...

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : Anyway, you understood it that you should not apply it. I am helping you. In Tripura also some people are raising the demand of President's rule or sending the Army. That again will be a disaster. After long efforts amity between the people is being re-established. In this you have to see that the right kind of democratic process is followed and people are mobilised, without unnecessarily indulging in certain kinds of harassment and destruction of democratic rights. (Interruptions)

Shri Bhattam has spoken about secularism. About this also I must say that any surrender to the obscurantists and fundamentalist forces will lead to formation of religious terrorism. Now we are having Shiv Sena, Adam Sena, this Sena and that Sena. I do not know what is the history of religion elsewhere in the world but in our country religion is being exploited by imperialists and vested interests. You must make a note of it. We had made mistakes in the past. We should not make mistakes in future.

Another thing I want to raise is this. You must make it a point that you do not surrender to the threats of these forces. When the Mizoram Accord was signed, we criticised that. And reports are there;

after the signing of the Accord, the activities of the terrorists in Tripura had increased and the same thing happened in Punjab also. Even now Mr. Gheishing is saying that Mr. Laldenga got his demands fulfilled in 20 years and he is going to get it fulfilled in one year. The Prime Minister is saying that there will be no division of Bengal. But Mr. Gheishing is saying that, if that is not done, those revers, will turn red with blood. Who is working with whom—nobody knows. We have to be firm and clear. The Prime Minister says that there is backwardness. Backwardness is there. We have to develop a democratic movement for that. But these terrorists are destroying that cause also. They are the enemy of the country, they are the enemy of the democratic movement. When they are trying to destroy the cause of democratic movement, I am really sorry to hear the same kind of tone from the Prime Minister against the democratic left forces who are fighting in Darjeeling. I am really very sorry. The proverb is : 'Silence is golden'. I must say that silence is intelligence also; sometimes it is good if somebody does not talk sometimes...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : I will conclude in a minute.

About the role of left forces fighting terrorism, there is one editorial which has appeared in the *Times of India* of 15th October :

"Why Lefts are attacked"

"The primary consideration behind the attack seems to be to paralyse and eliminate the relatively small number of people whose secular credentials have never been in doubt and who have been articulate and active in their public opposition to communalist terrorism."

We hear that the Govt. and Ruling Party are issuing a statement to help the Government, and save the country. I ask the Government to help the secular forces, stand by them, help them and save the country. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur) :

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I come from the very centre of Punjab and I have seen, assessed and adjudged the horrible type of situation that has been prevailing in Punjab over a number of years. So, I have a little bit of request to make. You may wish to listen to my observations for a while.

Today's debate intimately concerns all citizens of India irrespective of class, creed, religion or region because of its strategic position and other reasons, all too obvious, the Punjab State, however, holds a special significance in so far as the activities of the terrorists go. This is the major point, the hub of the whole situation that makes the terroristic situation moving around.

Punjab people are simply tired whilst facing the traumatic conditions that have been prevailing over the last few years in their state. Their day to day life is disrupted; the fear of the unknown looms heavy as a dark shadow around them.

He may be a businessman, a Bank or Cooperative Society employee, a College Professor or a Medical Doctor, a Police Inspector or a Judge, a village Sarpanch, a Political leader or a petty shopkeeper; he could be accosted anywhere and his house could be raided at any time by a set of sten-gun wielding terrorists. This is the scenario roughly as it obtains.

Internecine fight and murders, as are occurring, say in certain factions apart, but the looting, arson and indiscriminate murders of innocent persons fails completely outside the earstwhile enjoyed ethical and religious standards common, in practice with the Punjabi fraternity in all its rural and urban areas setting. My friend has already tried to explain this aspect.

Anyway, it is no good under the circumstances as they stand to apportion blame on one of other. I will explain and elucidate that factor steadily.

Before I focus the attention of the Members of this august House of certain

baneful factors that adversely affect the traumatic situation obtaining in Punjab State and elsewhere and make some suggestions from my side, I once again take the liberty to recommend at the very outset that in mind, soul and practice we must all consider this problem in depth from irreversible national angle. From national angle it will have to go right into our heads. No political slants, no acrimony, no misunderstanding, absolutely clean from within, we have to view this problem, Bharatmata's problem, India's problem, nation's problem as such. I start with that premise with my urging with my knowledge first hand, whatever way you wish to call it.

Certain factions, some political parties, organisations and odd type of leaders in my view simply do not comprehend that angle at all Sorry. This is another aberration in our life of today.

Anyway Sir, why it is not understood that apropos of the evolutions flow the world over, things have changed, even the terroristic style has changed, weapons have changed and for that matter in reality we have to understand how to set about this problem and how to fight against this problem. I will bring out certain cogent factors later.

A word about some important factors that directly affect the bad situation in Punjab. The first one is the poisoned destabilisation thrust from across, India's borders, I rate it as number one. It is a top hatched way of destabilising certain countries and we have been and still are the target.

Who does not know as to in what thoughtful a manner plans of destabilising, vivisectioning, humbling and avenging India had been hatched and put into action systematically, phase by phase, by one of our neighbouring countries in collusion with other strong powers? Not one, but more than one. One could write out a woeful chapter in prose and verse on this big-time international conspiracy.

Don't we, Sir, see the significance of and the poisoning techniques used to rope in the immature and monetarily bought out simple minded Sikh youth who were indoctrinated and put under tutelage mixed with other trained non-Indian nationals, starting say, from Jack Camper's Terrorists Training outfit to the other similarly well established nine identified places inside one of our neighbouring countries? Don't we know that? This is a well-known picture which everybody world-over knows.

As a result of causing well timed diplomatic pressure by our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the people in general of this big power started to condemn their own country's administration policy of aiding and abetting the terrorists. Yet, however, the backlash effect of the planned out destabilising project against India is still working, may be on indirect lines.

Who would not understand the significance of power-wielding and diplomatically hidden super hands who are militarily strengthening quite out of proportion our next door neighbour country by releasing to them, for a song, highly sophisticated AWACS, 200 deadly M-1 ABRAMS tanks, other military hardware, well-accomplished technique to produce nuclear weapons besides releasing billions of dollars as monetary aid under different headings? In consequence a big slice of the monetary aid could easily be used to work out plans to let loose destructive forces as explained above to disrupt life in Punjab and the rest of India. This is a significant factor for us all to chew and take some kind of example out of it.

More help is being received by this neighbour country from another colluding partner with the same aim in view. Strategic ring is being tightened on our North-Western frontier with the construction of Karakoram road of A 1 classification running most of the way through the disputed Indian territory and which militarily has the backing of newly constructed airfields tactically disposed at suitable spots.

Are all the above exercises on the part of the colluding partners to fulfil a set aim? I would say 'yes'. Their aim is to destabilise India principally through creating chaos and anarchy in the sensitively positioned border State of Punjab.

Here, Sir, however is a sliver of a silver lining in the dreadful dark clouds shadowing ominously the life style of Punjab in particular. Vast majority of people of different religions of rural as also urban areas in this State still live side by side of one another in the usual fraternal manner that they are used to for centuries. I congratulate them of their resilience and bravery. If I know them well, they will never leave their homes and hearths to settle outside Punjab. They are going to stay on. They are all Punjabis and I know them intimately. Sir, never in the history of Punjab have such things happened. My friends have talked about the question of terrorism and that we could not stop this and that. I may say that it is a very very new type of cult. It is a dangerous cult the world over. I can count the whole world-over what terrorists have been doing and are doing. There is no continent without it. It has come to be a dangerous cult. It is a special type of warfare.

I admire the manner in which the Central Government has been helping the Punjab Government and has done so much for them. Even now if we see the statistics, a lot has been achieved although on the negative and dangerous side of it, but the achievement is there in the sense that so many of the terrorists have been eliminated, so many of them have been captured. Of course, the backlash drag still persists. But there is no question of any disunity, (Punjabis) we have always been one and we would always stand for a united India.

The authorities concerned have been fighting their battles so very well against the terrorists and as much as possible. You have heard about Rebeiro's efficient working and the sacrifices certain people

[Shri R. S. Sparrow]

have made. Of course, there are always black sheep here and there; in fact they are there everywhere, we find them even in Services. There were some people who were trying to sell-out the Secretariat of the Prime Minister to make money. Was it not so? There are examples galore in respect of them. Let us not ignore that.

Now, I have a few recommendations to make. Firstly, I recommend that this being a big-time national problem, all political parties in this august House should selflessly, with meaningful candour and willing support strengthen the hands of the hon. Prime Minister by working out a solid plan of action to eliminate the curse of terrorism from the Indian sub-continent. I have no doubt that the hon. Prime Minister with his acknowledged open minded approach at sorting out intricate issues would all be there to cooperate, guide and help in this process.

The Government in this context may, if I may point out to the Home Minister for his kind consideration, also consider setting up a parliamentary Advisory Committee of both the Houses to grapple with this rather all important issue to full advantage. Why not go into this issue selflessly, debate it and then take suitable measures to grapple with this problem? Such a parliamentary Committee will have the backing of both the Houses. That will help in finding a solution and strengthen the unity of our country.

Secondly, the real bane of most of the destabilizing features that particularly have created a traumatic situation in Punjab and elsewhere is the inflow of trained agents, narcotics, arms, ammunition, bags full of money and other aides that aggravate and upset the homogeneity of life in our motherland. We therefore, must further accelerate our command control and vigilance to completely seal off the affected border areas. We just seal it off. The Central Government, I plead has to play full part at it.

For this reason the deployment of any kind of forces would not be wrong. It is our international border and we can put any kind of force sector-wise to ensure its sealing off under full control. Why should a pin go up and down? It can be done and we should do it. It is something that I would submit for your consideration.

Lastly, as chance would have it, my final recommendation is for my intimate friends, kith and kin, for Akali brethren to accept with a particular reference to Punjab.

All Akali groups and their splinter parties must categorically declare that apropos of the Constitution of India they firmly stand for the unity and integrity of India. Mind you, it is a recommendation. My recommendation is not only to one of them, but it is to all, they can have different groups, they can have different parties, I do not mind, but this is my humble recommendation to them all that they should abhor and stand firm against terrorists and any anti-national elements in that context.

My other appeal to all Akali Dal groups or parties is that while accepting my above premise, they should get together and create an atmosphere of *Sarbat da Bhala* for achieving greatness of our nation, mother India, which is common to us all from the days of our great Gurus, and not cut each other's throat and not kill our own brothers. These are the three recommendations that I make to them.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS (Mavelikara) : Sir, terrorism has to be condemned and contained. And this House has given all the rights to the Government to take all proper measures. In that we have not failed. But we have failed in containing terrorism. Why? If there is some introspection, we can find out the basic reasons for this.

Terrorism comes out of economic reasons and psychological reasons. On both counts, the approach towards

terrorism in our country has been on a very short-term basis. Therefore, whatever measures we have taken and whatever way we have tried to contain it, have not succeeded.

Now, it is easy for the terrorists or those who want to destabilise this country, to find out people and train them. Terrorism as at present, is not only a menace in our country. It has become an international phenomenon. This has come as a disorder of the capitalistic system. If those people want to create such conditions and bring up situations such as this, in any country and especially in developing nations, they can do it. And India has been a place for carrying out such an experiment of such forces hitherto for a long period. Terrorism is originated in the recent past and it is found just not in Punjab alone. It has happened in my State. When it happened in Kerala, that was in the name of Naxalites. It happened in Bengal and then it was in the name of Naxalites. It is happening elsewhere in many other States with many other names. I cannot narrate all that now here. Therefore, this terrorism in Punjab is only one of the problems, one of the things among many of such problems facing the country.

The reason for this growth of terrorism is that you are all abettors to it and the Government is an accomplice to it. Why Sir ? Economic reasons, economic disparities and economic discontentment among the youngsters, these are all generating an impression or creating a tendency to join the terrorist movement. Some way or the other they are becoming a prey to such sort of a thing. If an unemployed person goes to Gurudwara, he will be given food and weapons by the Gurudwara and then the priest asks him to work in a religious manner against the interest of the nation, and he will work for that cause. If there is a Government which can provide jobs to the unemployed and if there is a society which can create some motivation in the minds of the youth, this situation might not have arisen.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT : How could all those things be connected with terrorist activities ? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS : I will tell you. Be patient. I will explain to you in detail. I am giving you the basic reasons.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : You must hear him.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS : I am giving the psychological reasons. You have tried to contain it in certain methods but you have failed. Why have we failed ? I agree with my previous speaker that we have failed in creating a national character in our country. We have created characters of separatism. You have tried to do it in Punjab. You wanted to win the elections and you did it. When you want to win elections in Bengal you are trying to play the same game. When you want to win elections in Kerala, you are doing it..... (*Interruptions*)

Since he has asked, I am telling him. When you play for communalism, when you appease the small tendencies which go over and above our national feelings, then naturally we get it back. In this country if we have the audacity to support the Women's Bill for protecting the rights of Muslim women, then what did happen in the name of Sbariat ? Adam Sena has grown on the one side and on the other, Shiv Sena is growing. This has happened because of the appeasing attitude which you have taken towards such issues. Naturally, as a consequence of that, the people who wanted to build it up have a fertile soil in India to bring it up.

What has happened in Ram Jhanmabhooni in Ayodhya ? RHS, Shiv Sena and Hindu Sena have come up in the country. Sir, I would endorse my view with my predecessor speaker that if a national character is built up in this country, then it would have been different. But, I say that in the absence of a national leader for our

[Shri Thampan Thomas]

country or a national leadership of our country, in the absence of Mahatmaji and Jayaprakash Narainji, it would not be possible.

Sir, I am proud of Mr. Jayaprakashji, when he wanted the dacoits to surrender to him with weapons. It can be done. But with today's national leadership of this country, can a person go to Punjab without any help or aids, without police or military protection? This is the absence of national leadership and this absence of national leadership which we have built up from August 15, 1947, when we decided to give Islamabad the Indus, from which the name India originated, it is not with us today. Tomorrow, what is going to happen, that we cannot say. Unless and until, we unite and we find out methods and we solidly declare that we are the first Indians, we are the second Indians, we are the third Indians and we will always be Indians, there will be no solution to this problem.

Sir, here today, what we hear is that people are telling. I am Sardarji first and then an Indian; I am a Muslim first and then an Indian; I am a Christian first and then an Indian. This feeling if we have to change, on behalf of my party I say, we support, if anything is taken in this direction to maintain solidarity of this country and in the field of uniting together and to fight on the principles of *Ahimsa* which was told in the SAARC Conference in Bangalore, three days back by other national leaders. This can be achieved only by non-violence. I would like to ask, can there be peace-march containing all the sections of people regularly to Punjab or wherever it takes place to see that people are having feeling of this nature and we have not done that. As I said, the policies we have failed, we have failed in inculcating this. The second thing what I said is that, we have been appearing the short-term policies and as a result of short-term policies, we are facing this problem. You have said that Punjab Accord was signed but the terms and conditions of this Punjab Accord, were they

carried out? People are still doubting the Government. They feel that it is for the sake of saying, said it, but it is not done. But when the boys are kept in the jail, then they feel that why these people are kept in the jail. There is no sort of confidence created. I submit, the credibility we have to build up. There is a political movement, as a nation, as a credibility which we have to build up, which we have lost in our public life. If we are able to build it up and declare that we are Indians first and the Indians last, then this problem can be solved. Then only, the situation can be saved.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : Sir, I want to say one thing in reply to what my friend has said?

He throw out a challenge, that challenge has already been met by us. Freedom fighters belonging to all political parties, such as, Prithviraj Azad, Genl, Mohan Singh, Sheel Bhadra Yaji and when hundreds of our freedom fighters have marched through Punjab in a peaceful manner, from village to village, they were acclaimed by everybody. You are saying that there is no leadership. There is leadership. I am sorry for you.

SHRI BHOLANATH SEN (Calcutta South) : Mr Chairman, Sir, it seems to be me that some of the speakers on the other side are used to repeat the same old story in every case—America, destabilisation, enemy and all kind of things, Gorkha land, movement is anti national and so on.

The question that has been raised in this House is what about Punjab Accord? Now about Punjab Accord, there are only two things which are outstanding. I do not know whether my friends are aware of them : one is the transfer of territory which is connected with the transfer of Chandigarh. There were, as everybody knows in the House, there different commissions appointed by Government. Now, it is pending before the former Justice Desai of Supreme Court and a decision has yet to come. So, both the States, Punjab and Haryana are parti-

icipating in it; they are not raising this dispute; they are just waiting for the result. The other thing is the sharing of rivers water. With regard to that, there was some dispute regarding alignment. Before that, there was a commission or a tribunal was appointed; and the tribunal has gone through that; there has been a little bit of trouble with regard to alignment, because the people through whose land a canal will go, have raised a dispute; and it has been said by Mr. Barnala that the dispute will be over and the canal will be completed in the course of the end of the next year. Therefore, nobody is blind with regard to Punjab Accord. The question is how to solve this kind of terrorism that is going on in Punjab. Nobody can give a complete answer.

Terrorism is not a new thing in the world history. Think of our country, think of Mahatma Gandhi. He died; he was killed. Then Mrs. Gandhi, our former Prime Minister was also killed. Longowalji was also killed; so many other persons have also been killed. In America also, Presidents had been killed. There had been assassinations. But, unfortunately, those terrorists do not understand that by mere assassination you cannot change the history of the world of India's at least because India has proved that it can rise as one man against any attack from any outside agency. We had shown it when Pakistan did it; we had shown it when China did it. Therefore, they are misled people; they have forgotten what happened during the time of the partition. A train load of dead bodies came from Lahore. They have forgotten everything.

Now, these young men, as Mr. Kaushal has said, immature men, misguided men—two or three or four or five people in groups—they are going on and killing some defenceless people unaware, just go on killing them. Everyone should be told that by guns only you cannot achieve anything. There must be a political solution. I want that the entire society will rise as one man to solve it politically, to explain to them that this will take them nowhere; this bloodshed will take them nowhere.

Punjabis and Sikhs are all over India. I know that in Calcutta there are a large number of people. Ministers also want there. I believe Mr. Ramoowalia's relations are also within my own constituency. I have talked to a lot of them. They are always sorry for it. Let us start a movement throughout India, wherever they are. Punjabis and specially Sikhs telling them that this sort of thing cannot pay in the long run; this terrorism. We have to explain them about it. It must go to every village. They say, you are an India; I am also an Indian. I am your brother; you are my brother. We must not shed our blood. You have every right to be a citizen of this country as I have. My friends here said, well this is due to unemployment, this and that. This is a very peculiar thing because even in Punjab and Haryana, as it was said in one of the American papers, their standard of living is very high. Due to production and due to their sheer hard work they have raised the standard of living so much that it can be compared with the American standard of health.

Now, that is not the question there. This has to be solved in this fashion merely Politically and socially. In the North-Eastern States there are three or four States, small States, Nagaland, Manipur Tripura and Arunachal and also Assam. Everywhere by all these people de-stabilisation and attempts of all kinds of things have been started. Not a word has been said what attempt has been made to find out what is the real problem for which they are fighting. How many people have said what is the real problem for which these insurgents are fighting coming from across the border like Burma, Bangladesh from other places wherever they can and some times people have been ambushed and killed? Unless and until these State Governments which are there, try to find out, try to negotiate try to appease them and try to come to an understanding, this will never stop because this is—I must admit—in spite of the fact that the Government is taking utmost care to build up a barrier so that there is no happening crossing over the territory in an unauthorised manner still.

[Shri Bholanath Sen]

But so far as this, what is called the Gurkhaland movement is concerned, I was surprised to hear it. Here is also a Government. They and deal with Congress enemies. They say all Congress enemies are anti-social, barring a few. That is in the paper I have read. Well, barring a few. When they cannot control the problem in the hills with the Police they say that they are anti-national. Now, this very thing is going on. Who is fighting there? CPM? Not even the Forward Block, not even CPI. Nobody is participating. Why do you not talk? Why do you not talk with Gheising? There is no problem doubt talking.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : On which issue ?

SHRI BHOLANATH SEN : And Gheising is not being arrested. Why is he not being arrested, if he is such an anti-national? Is the law not enough? They can arrest all Congressmen all right, but they cannot arrest Gheising because they are afraid of him. And the whole point is that they cannot do anything because of their inability, their inefficiency is causing trouble, for, them. They have realised that they cannot deal with him, yet, they do not admit that we cannot deal with this problem, in spite of the fact that the Central Government is taking steps and in spite of the fact our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has said, that Bengal will never be again partitioned and we do not allow anything wrong to be done there.

Now, my last appeal to the House, is this, that violence cannot be met with violence. That is the lesson that we have learnt from Gandhiji's time and again. Violence cannot eliminate violence. We have to take it as truth. We have to take steps of course to protect law and order, law and order has to be maintained. That is another matter. But to come to a permanent solution we have to talk to

them, we have to talk to the people all over India, and all over the borders and beyond.

Today, in papers I saw that G.M. Shah is asking for Pre-1953 Kashmir, has made his Political ideal. What is this? Wherever, we have a chance, wherever there is such a problem, it is a vast country, it is a federation of very many States, different languages and just see here, so many people belonging to different races and Parties, sitting together, can we not sit as independents all together under one flag, for the unity of India and lives as a peaceful brothers in our motherland?

16.00 hrs.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : The last few speakers have reined a very far field. I shall try to confine my remarks because of limitation of time also, only to the question of the Punjab.

The question was raised by Mr. Bhattam in the very beginning of this discussion—how long are we going to allow this situation to go on drifting like this? I also add: how long are we to go on making very nice sounding and very high flown speeches in this House? Every time we have the debate on the Punjab, very noble sentiments are being expressed. I am not against those sentiments. But those sentiments must be backed up and followed by some action. Our speeches do not count much. Mr. Bholanath Sen, nobody will read our speeches or brother about them.

SHRI BHOLANATH SEN : We do have conversations with our colleagues and friends in Calcutta which you do not do; but I have done.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : And you leak that out to the press.

SHRI BHOLANATH SEN : The Punjabis and Sikhs of Calcutta continuously write to me. Even today I have got a letter.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Many speakers here have again emphasised the fact which has been said so many times here, that where we are lagging behind is in the political mobilisation of the people against terrorism. And I do not think any concrete steps are being taken for it apart from some peace committee meetings here and there and resolves are being repeated that we should go to the people and organise various kinds of processions and demonstrations and so on. I do not think, all parties are pulling their weight. Kindly excuse me for saying so: Parties which are capable of mobilising people in large numbers provided their leaders stand in front of them, they are not pulling their weight. I do not say in any disparaging sense nor any kind of boastful sense because our people there are being now made the main targets of these killers. It pains me because we have lost so many of our comrades. Darshan Singh Canadian or Ajit Singh Mastana and such people who have been freedom fighters and revolutionaries all their lives, they could have saved themselves, if they did not bother to speak out openly in public places, in public forums against these people. But they took that risk and they paid with their lives. I can assure you, as far as our party is concerned, however many more our comrades are killed, we will not hesitate to shed our blood for the unity and integrity of the country.

I read in the papers today that at Bangalore yesterday, some agreement had been reached that there will be some talks held in Islamabad in the first week of next month between the Foreign Secretaries of two countries to discuss mutual cooperation in this matter of curbing terrorist activities on the border. That was the press report. I do not know exactly what is envisaged in this. Perhaps, the Home Minister could throw some light on this. How are you going to discuss with the Pakistan Foreign Secretary how to curb terrorists activities on the border until they admit or agree that our terrorists are being given sanctuaries there across the border and are being there in their camps and they are prepared to

liquidate all of them? What are you going to discuss with them? Uptill now, they have consistently denied all knowledge of any of our people being given shelter and training there. That is what we have been told at previous occasions. If you have got something new in your kind which, you think, will be helpful in defusing the situation, kindly tell us because we do not know what this agreement is all about.

I think, a new dimension is now being sought to be given to this extremist agitation. Two slogans are there very clearly visible now. One is, Barnala must be removed from the Chief Ministership.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE
Congress (I).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I do not know of the Congress (I). I know of the anti-Barnala wing of the Akalis or most of the extremists section, they are demanding that Barnala should go and he should be replaced by anybody. They say that they are prepared to accept anybody but not Barnala. And second is, Ribeiro must be removed. These are the two slogans on which the extremists are trying to mobilise. I should say that these slogans have got some motivations behind, which is to aggravate the situation still further. We all know that Surjit Singh Barnala, for various reasons and compulsion—I suppose, he is a man after all,— is not able to do everything that we would like a Chief Minister to do. But if he is removed and somebody comes as a substitute, who is more acceptable to the extremists and the terrorists, it will mean a complete destabilisation of the Punjab and collapse of whatever law and order if it exists at all there at present. Similarly, with Ribeiro. Well, he may be a tough man. It may be that he is rather harsh sometimes. I do not know, these are the accusations against him. But I think he is a brave man also who is facing a very dangerous job and a very difficult job. I think the attempt which was made on his life should be an eye-opener to everybody. He was also saved not by security forces,

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

he was saved by providence, just as Rajiv Gandhi was saved at Rajghat. Security forces cannot take any credit. It is because he had some presence of mind and he is an experienced and trained man himself that he took recourse to a measure which saved him from the bullets. Bullets of whom? Of these armed police personnel themselves. That is why I had said the other day that there is collusion within your whole security arrangement. There is penetration. It is penetrated by these people. There is collusion. Ribeiro was even able to identify the chaps, including a Head Constable of armed police—perhaps he has been arrested later. Those people themselves tried to kill him inside the armed police complex where he lives. Providential escape. If he had fallen a victim to the bullets, it would have boosted the morale of these terrorists and extremists to the skies. So, I will just request the Government on no account and under no pressure to countenance these two demands that Barnala must be removed and Ribeiro must be removed. They should not agree to these under any circumstances.

As far as the implementation of the Accord is concerned, I have nothing to say because I do not know what is the Government's thinking on this question at present. According to Mr. Bholanath Sen, there is really no problem. There are only two problems outstanding according to him. One is being looked after by the Desai Commission and the other one going to a tribunal. So, there is nothing to bother about. Just wait for the Award and the findings. But I do not think that is the way that the Accord is being looked at by the people there.

Yamuna-Sutlej canal, of course, is a very big issue with the people of Haryana. I gather now that the work on the canal is, to some extent, improved. It was at a standstill at one time. We should be told what is the position on that. But in any case I agree with many speakers here that political problem means a political

solution. It cannot be solved by security measures alone. If you depend only on security measures, I should say it is a confession of failure on the part of the Government. Of course, security measures have to be there. They are also full of lapses and defects as they are at present. And compounded worse is, I am sorry to say, every now and then the Prime Minister makes the statement that terrorism has been curbed, that the terrorists are on the run and something. Everyday we have to read about a dozen of innocent people being killed, being that in cold blood. So, what is the point in making such statements? The more you allow these things to go on, there is an escalation taking place. Now we read in the papers about an armed Hindu Shiv Sena, some of whose people have been arrested yesterday for planning to commit dacoity in a bank. They are also getting armed. Hindu Shiv Sena and these people are going to confront each other. At least in the towns of Punjab, this Hindu Shiv Sena is capable of committing quite a lot of trouble and committing violence, and the Government, in our opinion, has never sought of confronting these communal forces. There is a gentleman there in Maharashtra, in Bombay, Bal Thakare, leader of that Shiv Sena in Bombay, who is publicly declaring in public meetings that Hindus should now get ready to arm themselves for the religious war which is coming. The speeches are being reported. Is anything being done about it? Is any step being taken against him? Will you allow anyone of us to go round and make speeches like that that they should get themselves armed because a religious war is coming? But the Maharashtra Government and the Central Government don't bother to take any steps against this kind of an open instigation and incitement to communal violence...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS : Afraid to touch.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Of course, afraid to touch because the powerful voting machine is there of the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : And they are after power.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They depend on their votes so many times for election to the Bombay Corporation and in the Assembly and this gentleman is going around. Previously his target used to be all non-Maharashtrians living in Bombay who he said should be driven out from Bombay and how he has tamed his tune a bit and has started saying that Hindus must get ready for religious war which is coming. Is this kind of thing going to be permitted? If this is your attitude towards him, we can understand your attitude towards other people also. If you go on appeasing these elements, there is no way of tackling the Panjab situation or any other situation.

I think some irritants are there in the mind of the ordinary sikhs. I am not talking about these extremists and terrorists. To the extent possible those irritants should be sought to be removed or to be minimised. One is the question of those who were victimised here, on massacre in Delhi and other places in November, 1984. Why should only the Sikhs be irritated about it? We are irritated. I am irritated by it.

SHRI BHOLA NATH SEN : Supreme Court has granted stay.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Supreme Court has granted stay and the Enquiry Report of the Commission has been totally suppressed. It is not to be totally made public. Thousands of people are going about in and around Delhi whose hands are stained with blood of innocent victims here. Not a single hair of his is being touched. Even compensation has not been fully paid to these victims. Why should all these things be held up like that. I do not understand. You are giving fuel to the extremists. You are helping them by instigating people by doing this kind of things.

About Jodhpur detenues—I do not know who they are? At least some

screening should be done. I read that somebody—some Minister—has said—these people demand release of the Jodhpur detenues. Do they not know one among them is such whose hand is there in the Muktsar massacre? If there is such a person, at least I do not plead his release. But are all like that? I am told there are people there who were body guards of Longowal, his own body guards. They are also locked up there. There are people who are Sewadars of the temple. They are also locked up there. There are some women there. At least some screening should be done. Those among them about whom you have got concrete evidence or allegation, you do not want to release them, do not release them. I am not for their release. But they are not all people like that. Why do you not screen them?

So far as the Army deserters are concerned, I should say rather the Government or Army has been a pretty generous; from what Sundarji has told Barnala and the figures that have been published about the number of deserters who have been reinstated in the Army and more of them are going to be reinstated, I think it is unprecedented in the military history. No Army does that. No army treats deserters in the way we are prepared to treat them now. Well, if you think it is all right and the Army morale will not be effected by that, fine. So there is nothing here now about which they can complain.

Finally I will say about economic incentives and all that. My friend has spoken a lot here. Well, of course this argument applies to all parts of the country. It is true that the Panjab farmer has always been rather affluent—much more affluent than in any other parts of the country especially parts from which we come. We cannot compare the poverty of our farmers with the affluence of Panjab farmer. But why has it taken root there in Panjab and why the bulk of Sikh youth has gone with them? Terrorists movements are there in other places also but everywhere they are not connected with secessionist demand. Everywhere they are

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not so intimately connected with incitement as it is in Panjab. So, you cannot deal with a stereotyped way.

I would conclude by reminding the hon. Minister—I am sure he must have read some classical histories of armed insurgency movements in many countries. The experts in this field say that for armed insurgency movement to be able to sustain for a considerable period of time, there are five or six basic conditions which must be available to them. Otherwise that insurgency movement will collapse. One is that those fellows must feel that they have got a cause for which they are fighting. In this case, the cause is probably the Khalistan, a separate State, which in any case, the entire country, Parliament and all Parties have ruled out categorically that under no circumstances, are we going to agree to any such secession. But it is there, a cause which is still motivating at least large numbers of people. Secondly, they should have a charismatic leader. There was a charismatic leader. But he was killed inside the Golden Temple. I don't think they have got any single charismatic leader now. Thirdly, they must have an arms supply, root for supply of arms and the ability to replenish those arms, whenever necessary. That they have got. Fourthly, they must have a hinterland where they can retreat, if necessary, and get sanctuary and shelter, if necessary. That they have got. You have to plug these things one-by-one. If you can plug the sources of their arms supply, if you can plug their access to the sanctuary across the border, then, two other very vital conditions which sustain insurgency will be removed.

The other one, of course, is what many friends have referred to, though Mr. Bhola Nath Sen doesn't like it, i. e. external assistance, incitement and collusion which is being given by imperialist forces which are hostile to our country.

SHRI BHOLA NATH SEN : I did not say it with regard to Punjab.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : About this last condition; of course, I have no confidence that our Government will be able to do anything. It is because unfortunately their basic economic policies and all that are in conflict with the necessity to fight against these imperialist forces. You cannot go on wooing them for economic purposes and want to fight them politically. You want to keep them out of the country and you bring a fellow like Weinberger here and you treat him like a royal guest. This way, it cannot be fought.

But at least on this question, I will say that on the question of border being sealed, I agree with Gen. Sparrow that the sealing of the border, international border between India and Pakistan can be done and should be done by the Army. The Army is not to be used for internal law and order purposes. I am totally against that. But as far as international borders between the two countries are concerned, it is the Army which must make a more intensified effort to seal the border so that the sanctuary which is open to the insurgents is also taken away from them and also the sources of getting replenishments of their arms supply. This is going to be a long fight. It would not be over in a day or two. For years to come, the terrorism may live with us and we have to live with it also. But we must feel that we are gradually getting the upper hand. We are overcoming them. We do not want to go on reading every day all this long list of casualties of innocent people. Therefore, Sir, I think, the Government now, in conclusion, I will say, should not simply try to pass the buck every time on Barnala and say, it is his job to do it. He should be stronger; he should be firmer. Of course, he should. I agree. But it is not his international border. It is our international border. Pakistan has to be dealt with by the Government of India, not only by Barnala. The defence of the border is not only Barnala's job, it is the job of every Indian in this country. Therefore, the Government the Central Government, the Government of India should tell us that what political steps as well as security measures they are going to

take or thinking of in a more urgent fashion so that this thing can be properly dealt with. It is only then that the general public in this country will be roused to support these measures of the Government—not by simply saying that trust our Prime Minister; he is always doing the right thing, so you should line up behind him. We are prepared to line up behind anybody who is really serious in this fight against the communal forces, divisive forces. Why line up? We will all lead together. But now, I think, it is the Government which is lagging behind and they are losing the confidence of the people altogether, because of what is happening in the Punjab. Therefore, this is the common issue on which we are all united. But there is no use going on repeating that. Let us at least decide what to do and what concrete measures to take together and then we will see really whether the Government is serious about this matter or only wants to use it for some other political purpose. I hope, he will respond.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal) : Mr. Chairman, I have listened with rapt attention to the eloquent speeches of Shri Thampan Thomas of Kerala and several Members of the Opposition which are, of course, stirring.

Shri Thampan Thomas laid stress on the fact that the reasons for terrorism are more psychological and economic. He laid stress upon it. But the question of unemployment as a reason has created some sort of dissatisfaction and frustration in the mind of the youth.

May I have the temerity to ask him a question? Has the economic and psychological problem risen now or has it risen in the last three or four years? Where has the reason gone? One thing more is that there is lack of national leadership in the country. I simply quit there, not argue.

The Opposition has also been laying stress on the fact that the reasons of

terrorism in Punjab are the non-implementation of Punjab accord signed between the late Longowal and the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They are labouring under an illusion. I fail to understand as to why this sort of flimsy argument has been advanced. Probably they have not settled the Punjab accord with 11 items and out of those 11 items, there are only 2 which are matters in dispute. One is territorial that is, the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and area in lieu thereof to Haryana.

So far as the transfer of Chandigarh is concerned, Haryana has categorically said "Let Chandigarh go to Punjab." We did not say any way. But the area in lieu thereof should be given simultaneously to Haryana.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the House and particularly because many Members are new to this House that Shah Commission has given the whole of Kharag villages of Tehsil Abohr and Fazilka to Haryana including Chandigarh. The late sant Fateh Singh threatened to immolate himself. Madam Indira Gandhi modified that award. In the modified award, it was laid down that Chandigarh will go to Punjab and 114 villages in will go to Haryana. This was decided about 15-16 years back, rather more. Now, why this terrorism on this point in the last three to four years? There was Janata regime for 2½ years. There was Akali Government in Punjab. They could safely implement it. The only question is the transfer of the area in lieu of Chandigarh. A. K. Mathew Commission was appointed, as desired by the Akali Government. That Mathew Commission identified 33 villages in the towns of Abohr and Fazilka but he was not in a position to allow the transfer on the ground of contiguity. He suggested the appointment of another Commission; Venkataramayya Commission was appointed. That Commission has again held that at least 70,000 acres of land should be given to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. Haryana agrees to it. It is a question of

[Shri Chiranji Lal Sharma]

identifying those villages comprising 70,000 acres. Desai Commission has been appointed. Is the Government of India to be blamed? Why should the Opposition or anybody have reasons to smell a grain of salt in the bona fides of the Central Government? Even if the whole of Haryana is given to Punjab, do you think this will satisfy the terrorists? No. Because they are not clamouring for Chandigarh. They are clamouring for something more and nothing less than Khalistan is going to gag their mouth. They are not hankering on these petty matters. Then the second aspect is the water dispute and non-implementation of the SYL Canal. So far as the water dispute is concerned, the matter is pending before the Justice Eradi Commission to decide and to verify the share of water that has to go to the two States. But for the completion of SYL Canal is concerned, it was categorically laid down in the Rajiv-Longowal Accord that the Canal shall be completed—the word is 'shall be' Mandatory—by the 15th August, 1986.

Sir, I am talking on the floor of the House on the 18th of November. 15th August has passed and no schedule has been fixed now. Who is responsible for that? The implementation of the Award and particularly this item of completion of the SYL Canal is the responsibility, moral responsibility, legal responsibility of the Punjab Government. We have been crying hoarse that we smell a grain of salt in the bonafides of the Punjab Government. They do not mean to do it. Even Punjab is not willing to agree to the take over of the Construction of SYL Canal by the Centre. Who is to be blamed? Is the Centre to be blamed? The Centre is ready and willing to do it. We also accepted and we also suggested it. We are pressing upon this demand. But the Punjab Government says 'no'. Who is to be blamed? Haryana had built its portion of SYL Canal to the length of 160 kms. more than 10 years back. We spent Rs. 28 crores on that. Now the remaining

portion of SYL Canal—that is half of it—has to be built by Punjab. The cost will come to not less than Rs. 300 crores. Haryana has already advanced a sum of about Rs. 145 crores. We have actually faith in the Punjab Government. We have just been very much hankering on it. We have been pressing the Central Government. These are the two aspects of the Punjab Accord which the hon. Members from the Opposition know. Not only that. Even Mr. Barnala sometimes back said that non-implementation of the Award is the main reason.

Sir, at the risk of repetition, I would again submit that the terrorists will not be satisfied. They mean something very big and at any cost—come what may—even if heavens fall, Government of India or the Indian Nation is not going to allow any sort of cessationist activities to succeed or to part with an inch of land in the country. What is the solution? Hon. friend Shri Jagan Nath Kaushal has suggested it. We have been able to identify that. We know who they are. Today's interview of Shri Ribeiro says that it is not the poor who are terrorists; it is the rich. The terrorists in Punjab are well-connected. They are well-connected financially, they are well-connected politically and the assistance to them. Who is to lay their hands on them. This is the responsibility of the Government in the Administration. It is the Government's responsibility to maintain law and order. It is the State Government which has to do this job. So far as the Central Government is concerned, the Central Government is straining its nerves to strengthen the hands of the Barnala Government. They are giving all-possible help and assistance whenever demanded. The whole House is one on that point that the hands of the Barnala Government should be strengthened. We support it. We are not for this weak-kneed policy. Recently our Finance Minister, Shri V. P. Singh, has taken the bold step of conducting raids on big business houses, on the houses of bigwigs and also big officials who were corrupt and unearthed the black money.

that was lying hidden. Now, what are the hideouts of these terrorists? Big farms are the hideouts of the terrorists. Murders are committed, atrocities are perpetrated, dacoities and robberies are committed every day. They are not short of funds because banks are there to provide them money. They loot the banks. They are not short of funds; they are getting funds not only from abroad but from within. After committing murder or robbery or dacoity, they safely move away on cycles or on foot or on motor cycles. They are living in Punjab only; they hide themselves in some nearby hideouts. Can't the police lay their hands on them? Every day we hear news from radio and T. V. that such and such man has been murdered and all efforts are being made to trace the culprits. But no one is arrested. Even if they are arrested, what happens? As per the information given by the Government of Punjab, 1369 persons have been arrested and 69 have been killed in encounters with the police. Now, do you think that these 1369 persons are going to be convicted? Who will have the guts to stand as witness against them? They will have honourable acquittals and not only benefit of doubt. What is the result of those detentions? Law must take its own course. Who is to enforce the law? The machinery that is competent to do it. And it is the Punjab Government. We do not doubt the sincerity of Shri Barnala...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : But leg-pulling is done from within the Party itself. After the elections, there was one Akali Dal. There was no Badal group of Longowal group. On the question of change of alignment of the SYL canal, you must have read the statements of Mr. Tohra and Mr. Badal; they were responsible for inspiring and instigating the agitators for changing the alignment of the SYL canal. It is the people of the Akali Party headed by Mr. Badal who want to see that Mr. Barnala does not succeed

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA : I have so many things to say. But since you have been ringing the bell time and again, I have to resume my seat. Otherwise, I would have made some suggestions. I want to conclude by saying that we should strengthen the hands of Shri Barnala. We are all one on this point—both the Opposition and the ruling Party. But at the same time, in all humility, I would suggest that Shri Barnala should be bold enough to create confidence of security in the minds of the people living there. Also migration of the Hindus which has started from there should be put an end to, and that will be possible only if they are able to regain the confidence of those who have left Punjab by bringing them back.

[Translation]

*SHRI P. SELVENDRAN (Periakulam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the A. I. A. D. M. K. I would like to place my views before this august House on the terrorists activities in Punjab and other parts of the country which has been tabled by Shri Bhattam Sriramamurthy.

Sir, this House has discussed on many occasions on the terrorists activities in Punjab and other parts of the country. There is no second opinion in condemning the people engaged in these activities. This opinion has been expressed in unequivocal terms in this very House.

16.36 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Sir, in the last few years, our country has been enquired with terrorist activities and because of these activities, peace and unity of India are in great danger. The Democle's Sword is handing over the very existence of Democracy in the country. They have not spared late Shrimati Indira Gandhi who had always been working for the emancipation of the downtrodden. The terrorists did not spare our beloved late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira

*The speech was originally delivered in Tamil.

[Shri P. Selvendran]

Gandhi and they shot her dead. Now, Sant. Longowal was striving hard for bringing peace in Punjab and he too was not spared by the terrorists. They gunned him down. Likewish, the Director General of Police, Shri Rebeiro had a miraculous escape from the bullets of the terrorists. The retired Army General of the country, Shri Vaidya, was also shot dead in his native place. Shri Lalit Maken, Member of this House had also become the victim to the bullets of the terrorists. Throughout the year, the terrorists with the sound of their gun shots celebrate their brutal actions like the 'Deepavali, function.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to submit in this House that our Revolutionary leader, Dr. M. G. Ramachandran, has been closely cooperating with the Centre in the matter of putting an end to the terrorism in the country. Now, the time has come that we must decide on how to combat the terrorist activities in the country and put an end to them once for all. We have to instill in the minds of the younger generation the necessity of marching on the path of peace and non-violence.

It has been amply made clear that the Police officials themselves were in hand for the heinous murder of late Shrimati Indira Gandhi and also the attempt on the life of Shri Rebeiro. Therefore, the Government should take immediate action against those police officials having connection with the terrorists. The Government should take necessary steps immediately in order to strengthen our long border line between India and Pakistan so that the trained terrorists from Pakistan do not cross the border and come to India.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, yesterday, in the SAARC Summit meeting held at Bangalore, the leaders of the Seven Participating countries suggested for stern action against terrorism. This is a welcome suggestion. At the same time, I would like to point out that to root out terrorism completely, the SAARC should take imme-

diante action. Some foreign countries have been helping the terrorists by giving arms and ammunitions and also financial help. The SAARC organisation should request some of the countries like the UK, Canada and other countries that they should not allow the Indian terrorists to take shelter in those countries. I would plead with the SAARC organisation that they should request these foreign countries to this effect.

I have also one more point to make in this august House. The Government should instruct the Education Departments in all the States that they should include lessons regarding the then in Gandhian ideals in the schools and colleges so that when the children grow, they will become the responsible citizens of the country. The same ideals of Mahatma Gandhi were also preached by the great leader of the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Shri Annadurai. He believed in and stressed on the right to vote and his party entirely depended on that principle.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, terrorism can be completely eschewed by the preaching of the Gandhian ideals. It would be a shame for any Indian to sympathise with the terrorists in the country. We should not forget that we got independence by following the path of non-violence, that is, 'Ahimsa'. Only with the complete removal of terrorism from the country, will we be able to follow the true ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. For this, we will all rise with one voice against terrorism and the 70 crore people of this country with 140 crore hands will fight unitedly against terrorism and we will never falter in safeguarding the country's unity and integrity.

[English]

SHRI SALEEM I. SHERVANI (Budaun) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this burning issue. This issue has been discussed a number of times in this august House and the concern of the Members has been unanimous.

Sir, terrorism has become an international menace and nationally also we are facing the same law and order problem. It is a threat to a lawfully established government in a secular democratic set up. It is time that Government brings about wider powers to curb this threat.

Sir, the most serious aspect of terrorism is that it is not possible without connivance. It is not possible without support—the support may be from a neighbouring country, local people, political parties, administration or police personnel. It has to have support to exist. This aspect has to be considered very very seriously. We have to bring about laws. No matter who that person is or to which party he may belong, if he is supporting terrorism then he should be dealt with extremely strenuously.

Sir, there is difference between crime and terrorism. Crime can be because of economic disparity. It may be because of property dispute, etc. but the only purpose of terrorism is to de-stabilise the Government. The only purpose of terrorism is to build a wall between the leaders and the people. So, we must take stern steps to curb this.

Sir, the other day there was a discussion on the lapses in the Prime Minister's security my friend, Shri Kumaramangalam made a very valid point, namely, that a peoples' movement must start in Punjab. Even Mr. Indrajit Gupta has said the same thing today that we start putting words into action. We should get together and plan a time-bound programme where the responsibility is given to each and everyone to go about it in the most sincere and dedicated manner.

Sir, when I talk about general law and order situation I am pained to relate this incident that took place in Etah which I have got to know recently. A kidnapping took place. The boy is of the age of 17-18 years. Some people came to me and narrated this incident. They even knew where this boy is being held. Some of the boy's relatives have gone and met the boy

and have found him in okay condition. When I asked them why they did not inform the police. They said if they inform the police the boy will get killed because somebody from the police will go and inform the criminals about it. This aspect has to be reviewed. If people have lost confidence in the law enforcing agencies then the situation is very very serious. This is only because we hear of certain connivance between police and certain local power lobby. I think one way we can solve this problem is by having inter-State transfers as we have in the Central services. Why can't we have 80-90 per cent police personnel even at the constable level from different States so that they are not affected by power lobbies. They would go on with their work in a dedicated manner. The role of PAC has come in for severe criticism. They have lost their credibility. If the army is called, BSF is called or the other forces are called, the same people welcome them. That is because these are the disciplined forces, and the people have confidence in them that they would help in solving the situation. But PAC goes into a plundering kind of adventure wherever they go. I personally saw that when the riots took place in Allahabad. I visited some houses and found that this force had broken windows, broken bulbs, they smashed TV screens and pushed the refrigerators. It is not the job of PAC to conduct searches and do this. I would, therefore, suggest that either this unit should be disbanded or they should go in for an intensive training for discipline. We should send only that force which should help to solve the law and order situation.

As far as intelligence agencies are concerned, there is need to revamp the same. The job of intelligence agencies is to give advance information so that the situation can be taken care of in advance, not after the situation that taken an ugly turn

Sir, the Home Minister has a very huge task ahead of him to solve these problems. I would also like to say that some remarks against the Government and against the hon. Home Minister are uncalled for. We know

[Shri Saleem I. Shervani]

that Shri Bu'a Singh has a large responsibility on his shoulders. We know, he is God-fearing, dedicated and sincere person, who is going about his work in a dedicated manner. He has our confidence and support and I am sure, in the months to come, he will be able to solve the Punjab and the general law and order situation to a large extent.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati):

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am approaching this debate with a slight hesitation and the hesitation flows from the fact that I cannot claim to have direct knowledge about the immediate happening of Punjab. After all, we do not have a party there who can give us feedback, neither I have been to Punjab recently to have any first hand information about the Punjab situation. But if I have taken the courage to participate in this debate, it is for two reasons. Firstly, the situation in Punjab is causing a threat to the unity and integrity of this country and whether we belong to one party or to one region or the other, we all stand for the unity and integrity of the country. Secondly, I feel that sometimes a person at a distance, can have a dispassionate view of the situation than a person directly involved and to some extent the alienation that we see in Punjab today, we experienced in Assam for the last six years in the Assam movement and this has ventured me to make some submissions here.

Everybody has talked in terms of two solutions, one solution at the level of law and order through arms and the other a political solution. I think both are important. After all, there are two kinds of terrorists, one an individual terrorist, who does the act of terrorism for his own benefit or for the sake of vengeance and he is constantly on the run from the law enforcing machinery as well from the society and he can be trapped comparatively easily. The second kind of terrorists are those, who do it for a cause, whether we approved of it or not, and they get the support of a section of the people and when some terrorists or a group of terrorists get the

support of a section of the people, then it is not possible to meet this terrorism only by law and order machinery, because those who support these people do not come before the police or the law enforcing machinery. They remain in the background and you cannot touch them with weapons. Therefore, on that account, a political solution is necessary.

I join issue with Shri Jagannath Kaushal when he said that we should deal with the people who have supported the terrorists in the same manner in which the terrorist, have been dealt with. Now, if you kill one of these people, you increase the number of terrorists, there is a greater alienation. What is necessary it to look at it from the political angle. Everybody has said that Barnala should be strengthened. Yes. The fact remains that Shri Barnala has been strengthened so far as arms and weapons are concerned. But Shri Barnala has been weakened politically. Shri Barnala is unfortunately today a politician, in whose shoes nobody would like to be. He is being accused by everyone; by Members of the ruling party, and even by the members of the opposition. The people in Punjab, those innocent people who lost their lives their presents and family members accuse him that he has not been able to protect them. He has been accused by his own party colleagues, former colleagues like Shri Badal and company, who, I have come to know, have unearthed the entire Sikh history of hundreds of years to find out that he is the greatest traitor of the Sikh people. Therefore, today he is in the most unfortunate position. He must be given political strength. What political strength could be given to Shri Barnala? First political strength that you can give to Shri Barnala is to see that the Punjab Accord is implemented. Shri Bholanath Sen spoke in such terms that the Accord has been implemented except for the Chandigarh issue boundary issue. But after all, for the people of Punjab and for the people of the entire Sikh community, transfer of Chandigarh is the most emotive issue. And if the transfer of Chandigarh does not take place, people of Punjab will never take it that the Accord has been implemented.

Now, there were two Commissions—the Mathew Commission and the Venkataramaiah Commission. I feel that both of them have run away from their duties. The Venkataramaiah Commission's duty was to identify the areas which are to be transferred to Haryana. He has not done it. He said, "Let another Commission be appointed and kindly do not involve me." And then he wrote a long thesis on the integrity and unity of this country. He was not asked to write a thesis on the unity and integrity of this country. He is to give 70,000 acres of land to Haryana. But the question is whether there is a Hindi-speaking contiguous area to the extent of 70,000 acres that can be given to Haryana. If that cannot be, and if this land of 70,000 acres was given in violation of Punjab Accord, then Shri Barnala cannot stand.

Therefore, a solution shall have to be found. Government of India cannot say that we have appointed a Commission. The Dasai Commission, I am told, is not cooperating with Shri Barnala. The Government cannot say that they have appointed a Commission and therefore their task ends, because it is not Dasai Commission's responsibility to bring peace and order to Punjab. It is the responsibility of the Government of India and the Government of Punjab and the entire country, including ourselves. Therefore, a solution can be found. And I feel that one solution can be attempted. Haryana is not really interested, if Shri Bansi Lal is to be believed, in getting the land, but their interest is in free flow of water. Therefore, as a starting point, give them 40,000 acres of land which Punjab has offered. Let them give the additional amount for the construction of a capital. Let them be assured of water supply and let the process as to how we can identify 25,000 acres of land, continue. But in the meantime transfer Chandigarh to Punjab. Because in that case, Shri Barnala will have something political to tell his people. He has nothing political to tell the people now. What can he do? In fact he is accused of the fact that the Punjab Accord is itself a sell out and that the Central Government has no intention of

implementing the Punjab Accord and he has no point to answer it.

The other point is regarding the Jodhpur detenus. Shri Kaushal spoke about the rule of law. May I ask him as to where does the law exist if the youth are detained in jail for more than two years without any trial? If you violated rule of law on this side, there will be violation of the rule of law on the other side too. If these people are guilty, then you must give the grounds. If you do not want that they should stand a trial, bring a particular Act, by which at least their guilt can be inquired by a Commission. We do not mind that. But can you for years together keep them in detention without trial, without offering them any grounds, without the minimum safeguards that a democratic country is supposed to give to its citizens or even to non-citizens? This is my point. I am not prepared to concede this power to the Government of India that you can for years together keep people behind the bars without trial. Try them. Try them even by some extraordinary procedure. Bring a piece of legislation. We will support it and get it passed. But do something.

My third point is that today I will also appeal to the Akali Party that at the present moment. There must not be any attempt to overboard Shri Barnala. At the same time, I also feel that Shri Badal should not go further away from the national mainstream. After all, he has been a moderate leader in Punjab. A political attempt must be made to bring these people together so that a politically concerted effort in Punjab is possible.

From what I have seen, I have reasons to complain that short-term political measures lead to difficulties. You want for a talk with Shri G. M. Shah and got rid of an elected Farooq Government for your political ends. Have you seen a statement by Shri G. M. Shah today, that he wants to go back to 53 Accord? Therefore, do not take decisions only for political expediency. You are now talking

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

of sealing the Western border. Why not this House talk in terms of sealing the Eastern border? Voices are not raised here because of political reasons. All those parties who talk in terms of sealing the western borders today, took divergent views on checking of infiltration from the Eastern Border. We in Assam clamoured for long for sealing the Eastern border. When we said, seal this border, you told us, 'no'; there are human considerations for which the border cannot be sealed. The border cannot be sealed. After all, let us remember, if you open up a border, you lose the country. Therefore, a definite policy in that direction was required. You brought a resolution under Article 249 and all the important subjects under the Constitution have been taken away from the State List to the Concurrent List on the ground that there will be a piece of legislation on Security Bill. Now, where is the piece of legislation? If the idea of passing such piece of legislation has been given up, why do the union government take all the powers into their hands? In fact, I will submit that, Govt of India keep to itself the power of Legislation of the subjects which are in the domain of state Government. Kindly see that this resolution is revoked. The other point that I shall have to make is that we must also isolate the terrorists from the general people of Punjab.

I have seen, the youth forces in Assam for six years. I have seen that accusation to the youth forces, alienate them further from the national mainstream. And the greater danger that one country faces is not only from the external aggression or external encouragement, but the greatest danger is when the youths get alienated from the national mainstream. Therefore, a political effort must be made to isolate the terrorists and youths in general must be educated about this. I feel, that we are facing a crisis. Our Defence expenditure is bound to shoot up next year because of AWACS and the atom bombs. There is a tremendous strain in our economy because we are spending a lot on internal

security, and it cannot be helped. The democratic process is under strain because even Mr. Buta Singh or Rajiv Gandhi cannot go to the people and meet them.

I can feel the agony of the people of Punjab today of the parents and relatives of those innocent people who lost their lives for no fault of theirs. They are not on this side of politics of Punjab or that side of politics of Punjab. They want to live happily with two morsels of food and shelter. I can feel the agony of the parents. I can also feel the agony of relative of those who have lost their lives in police encounters, because the sons might have gone wrong, but the parental affection never differentiates on the ground, whether the son has gone on right path or not. I can feel the agony of the people of Punjab who have fallen apart today not because of their volition but because of the situation there. I feel a concerted political effort is necessary and when we listen to the Home Minister's speech, I repeat, I went through his speech in the Rajya Sabha, up till now, we have not seen anything that there has been an emphasis on the political side of the Punjab situation. The entire emphasis is on the law and order situation. I can tell you that law and order by itself cannot lead to a solution of the Punjab problem unless, Politically we strengthen Barnala, unless Politically new initiative is taken I hope that the Home Minister, while replying to this debate today, will give some indications of the new political initiatives that he wants to take on the Punjab situation.

SHRI P. K. THUNGON (Arunachal West): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, almost in every Session, we have been discussing about Punjab. One of the senior colleagues Shri Indrajit Gupta said that we have been discussing only and the Government has not been performing. I would disagree firstly with him, that because of the discussions taken place in this august House, the morale of not only the Government has acted, but the morale of the people—the nationalist forces have gone

high. This morale, down to the employees level has gone up and that has brought results. I should also say that this kind of discussion instead of having in every Session here, we should encourage the Punjab Assembly to discuss in the same manner because here is one good sign, that cutting across the part line we are all against terrorism.

17-00 hrs.

And I think I am not very sure how many times such kind of discussions have been taken place in Punjab Assembly. I think, my friend, Mr. Ramoowalia will be able to say about it. But what I mean is that the people at the state level should be made an and of.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : During the last one year, two such discussion had taken place in the Punjab Assembly.

SHRI P. K. THUNGON : Thank you for your clarification and in support of that again today we are having this discussion ; and cutting cross party lines, we are all supporting that the hands of Mr. Barnala should be strengthened and terrorists should be wiped out from Punjab.

Just now, Mr. Goswami, has vary eloquently, as usual, spoken about non-performance of the Government about the Punjab Accord. I know him very well. He is a good friend of mine. He is a thorough democract and a strong believer in the good relations-State and Centre relations. He quite often talks about State-Centre relationship. I say this in connection with the point he has raised. What he implied was that be taken decision on a Certain amount offand, whether Punjab agrees or not, whether Haryana agrees or not, and should be handed over to Haryana and Chandigarh should be handed over(Interruptions)

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI : What I was saying perhaps was that that was one solution which had come to my mind

and which can be a basis for discussion. After all, it must be on the basis of discussion and acceptability of the Central Government and the Punjab and Haryana Governments.(Interruptions)

SHRI P. K. THUNGON : The same thing I am trying to elucidate, that because of the Central Government's responsibility that this State Government should also be taken into full confidence in doing so, and also it should be legal, according to the law of the land ; that is way government has appointed a commission; and since the commission are working on it, I don't think his argument holds too much water in this regard.

Terrorism starts because of so many reasons. I think may be because of neglect and deprivation. (Interruptions) I am talking about the reasons ; sometimes it may be because of strong armed tactics and sometimes too much leniency and mismanagement. Since there are somany reasons about raising heads of terrorism, I think, there cannot be any cut and dry solution or method for containing terrorism. We have much talked about terrorism in Punjab. What has happened there has been discussed, re-discussed and discussed and every one has come to know what has happened there. I quite agree that the dimension in Punjab is much higher. But the terrorism is there in north eastern region in a very old form ; the magnitude may differ; the magnitude may be less, but we cannot rule it cut. After all, terrorism is terrorism, whether it is because of economic reason of because of political reasons of because of emotional reasons; whether it is in Punjab or wnether it is in Sri Lanka or whether it is in Nagaland or Arunachal Pradesh or Manipur or Tripura; terrorism is terrorism; that is why I think, we have to have a dispassionate look on the causes of raising the heads of terrorism. So far I know how the secessionist movement and terrorism grew in Nagaland.

It is an old story. No one can say that terrorism has been wiped out from Nagaland till today. As I said in the begin-

[Shri P. K. Thungan]

ning, Sir, to some extent there the terrorism has come into being because of the strong hand methods coupled with assistance from outside the country. Therefore, we shall have to see that what kind of reason was there. There was a kind of alination of the people from the main Indian thought, that is the reason why even now a handful of Nagas are there still as extremists.

Coming to Tripura, my friend Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary mentioned about the non-performance of the Government there. But I would like to remind him that in Tripura there is CPM Government and when there is terrorist activity the CPM Government says "Call CRP, call PAC, call this and that". They do not act, and they just ask the Central Government to help them. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Do not interrupt.

SHRI P. K. THUNGAN : The Central Government has been providing them assistance. I request Mr Choudhary not to maintain double standards.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please conclude, the time is over.

SHRI P. K. THUNGAN : Mr. Deputy-Speaker is ringing the bell again and again (Interruptions)

May I request the hon. Home Minister to dtssmiss the CPM Government in Tripura because they have not been able to curb terrorism ?

(Interruptions)

As I said, there are severed reasons for growth of terrorism. There is a saying in my community, if one of your neighbour's field is attacked, by animals it is not only that field you have to protect, that field,

but all the other fields also have to be guarded protect. Therefore, I will say...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You complete, wind up now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. K. THUNGAN : Let me Speak about Arunachal. Arunachal has been very peaceful so far but you might have come across recently that the terrorists activity has started there also.

What I would like to urge the Government is that proper preventive measures may please be taken because of the strategic and very sensitive area in Arunachal Pradesh. Unless we take preventive measures, if unwanted elements or terrorists enter here, it may create a much more bigger problem then in Punjab or elsewhere.

For this I think the emotional protection should be there, and also the economic protections have also to be given. There are instance, vere recently ween students have started a peaceful movement ; they say that there has been some kind action of high handedress from the loral government. If students demonstrate peacefully and unnessary strong arm method it adopted for their rights, they may probably start getting more and more sympath from public and thus may enconrage to become terrorists.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please conclude. I am calling the next speaker

SHRI P. K. THUNGAN : I would like to conclude that, as the spirit of the House has always been, let us have this spirit to root out terrorism from punjab or from any part of the country and to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister and through him to strengthen Mr. Barnala's hands.

[Translation]

***SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH AIHWAL (Ropar):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, if a rational person in Punjab is asked the question as to how terrorist activities could be stopped, he will simply say that those who have been detained in Jodhpur jail should be released immediately and general amnesty granted to them. There was a provision in the Punjab accord to rehabilitate the army deserters and it is necessary that they must be rehabilitated accordingly. The Mishra Commission's report be published and that those found guilty be prosecuted. Only then peace can be restored in Punjab. The problem in Punjab is not only a law and order problem, it is a problem which relates to the religious political cultural and sentiments of Sikh Community and there is need to raise their morale and win their confidence. Before I say anything else I would like to draw the attention of the House to a statement given by hon. Minister in Rajya Sabha. He said, "They have been espousing the cause of terrorists by making unfounded allegations about the killings of innocent persons by the police."

He further stated that there are certain persons in Punjab who are raising hue and cry that innocent people are being killed there. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to cite two or three examples of these killings in Punjab. The first is about the innocent killings of 10 boys at Dera Baba Nanak. All the youth who were killed they were wearing their *Gatras*. They had loose beards. It would like to know, if they had come from Pakistan were they wearing their turbans or not? With regard to recoveries made, from them there is a contradiction in the statements of DG, DIG, SP and SHO differ from one another or not? Also do the FIR and medical reports very or not? I know they vary. There are definitely variations in their statements. If according to hon. Minister it is an unfounded allegation then I would like to submit that this incident took place in a field of jawar crop grown upto a height of 6 feet. A man hiding himself in the

standing crop can easily observe the persons outside whereas a person from outside cannot see a person hiding in the field. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, under these circumstances I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether any CRPF or BSF jawan was also killed or got an scratch in this encounter in which 10 sikh youths were killed. This incident shows that innocent people are being killed in take encounters in the name of terrorists. Is it not correct that at Guru Ka Jandiala where a Conference was held and the Chief Minister Shri Barnala was present, a senior member of his party alleged that innocent people were being killed. I want to know whether it is a fact or not?

Through you, Sir, I want to know whether the Chief Minister himself constituted a Committee comprising of 3 members of his cabinet to enquire into the incident when a demand for judicial enquiry was made at that platform. If they think that our allegations are unfounded, I would request them to publish and distribute among the Members copies of the report of this 3-Members Committee appointed by the Chief Minister for the information of hon. Members so that people may know the truth.

The other incident regarding innocent killings is that of village Veroki. The house of one Shri Niranjan Singh an ex-Serviceman is situated on the road side and at a short distance is located a BSF camp. The BSF and CRPF personnels who passed that way, took water and sometimes their food also at the house of Shri Niranjan Singh. Shri Niranjan Singh was about 85 years old and his wife about 70-75 years. He had a son named Harminder Singh and a pregnant daughter who had come to her father's house for the purpose of delivery. You must have seen the newspaper reports that on that fateful night a brother and his sister said to be terrorists were killed in an encounter and their father escaped. Actually when BSF men came there they enquired whether it was Nimma's house. On being told that it was not Nimmas house,

*The speech was originally delivered in Punjabi.

[Shri Charanjit Singh Athwal]

they left the place. But unfortunately there was exchange of fire between the BSF and CRPF personnel in which two BSF men were killed. After some time the Incharge of BSF troops came to that house and ordered his jawans to shoot all the inmates of the house, who pleaded their innocence. Even some members of BSF troops told the Incharge that the inmates of that house are very good people and at time they had served them with food and water. The members of that family requested the BSF men to spare their lives and take them wherever they liked. Even then Harminder was shot dead and when his pregnant sister fell on the body of her brother she too was killed alongwith her unborn child. The old lady aged 70-75 was also shot at the face and abdomen. She is still alive to lead a miserable life, unable to move, eat or drink. The old man ran away and could save his life with great difficulty.

I would like to cite two more incidents which were reported in the press. One incident took place at Ferozpur in which two brothers were killed in the name of terrorists. It is reported that actually they were rounded up by BSF men. When they were likely to be killed one of troops remarked that one brother was a disabled person, who could not be a terrorist. The other brother was a minor so they were let off. But when they moved away to a distance of 3 to 4 acres they were called back and were shot. Even their Kriya ceremony was not allowed to be performed in their village.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, you must have seen the press reports regarding Sultanwind, Amritsar, where an arm factory was reportedly unearthed. But when people went to that place, they found that there was no factory. Now, the people there are being implicated in false murder cases. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that the killing of innocent people in Punjab are giving impetus to terrorism. The Punjab problem was made more complicated by the verdict

of Shah Commission. Had we adopted a nationalist approach right in the beginning, perhaps the problem would not have been there. The Mathew Commission worked against its terms of reference. We also know what has been done by Venkat Ramalah Commission. The Centre went on appointing Commissions one after the other of its own and now the result is that the people in Punjab have lost faith in these Commissions as well as in judiciary as the Commissions were headed from men from judiciary. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, if the Centre is really interested in restoration of peace in Punjab I will request them to remedy the economic set back caused to that State. You will be surprised to know that the people in Punjab can grow 19% of cotton whereas the spinning capacity in the State is only 15%. They can grow sugar cane but then cannot produce sugar for their own consumption even as there are no agro based industry there. So Sir, my submission is that the economic injustice done to the State should be remedied. The detainee in Jodhpur jail should be set free under general amnesty and army deserters be rehabilitated. The innocent boys who have fled to other countries for fear of BSF or CRPF should be given a call to return back to their country to join the main stream. With these words I close.

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA (Jammu):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my hon. friend while speaking just now made some points. One of the points he raised is about innocent killings and what he said about it was based on hearsay. Our hon. Minister will give detailed reply to the same. He also stressed the necessity of further improving the economic condition of the people of Punjab. In this connection, I want to remind him that our hon. Prime Minister has, on the one hand given bonus to the farmers of Punjab for foodgrain production and on the other, he himself laid the foundation stone of a coach factory at Kapurthala. Besides, there are several facilities which are available to the industrialists of Punjab only. Several specific measures are being taken under Prime Minister's direction to benefit the Punjab State.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

17.24 hrs.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL (Ropar) : Heavy industries have not been set up in Punjab.

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA : Let me tell you that last time I asked a question about industrialisation in Punjab. In reply to this question it was stated that loans were advanced to the industrialists of Punjab at a very low rate of interest. The agriculturists were given a bonus of Rs. 5 per quintal of foodgrains. The Government is giving all kinds of concessions in Punjab because the present situation of Punjab requires such concessions. This was the reply given to my question. Perhaps my hon. friend has not read the same.

A coach factory is being set up there. Hon. Members from all other States made efforts to get this factory but Punjab was given preference in this matter. The Punjab Accord was signed in all sincerity, keeping in mind the national interests and the benefit of the people of Punjab.

I stayed for two months in Punjab. I spent one month in making contacts, with the people, and during another month I remained busy in election activities. The people of Punjab everywhere highly praised our Prime Minister and the Congress Government. But it is sad that whereas the common man is happy, the poor farmer is satisfied, there exists a group which is power hungry and wants to grab power at any cost. It is a fact that this group cannot come into power by winning election. As regards the issues like Chandigarh, these people are not at all serious about solving them. Their sole aim is to act according to the directions of the foreign powers. This group gets advice and directions on wireless from Pakistan and certain other countries. You may do anything for the prosperity of Punjab, but these very people are not at all concerned with the prosperity of Punjab. They are

rather ready to do any heinous thing on the directions of the foreign powers. All of us must unite to combat these forces.

I think our Home Minister and the Union Government are doing everything possible for the betterment of the people of Punjab. The Union Government is assisting Barnala Government in maintaining law and order in that State. The Centre wants the Punjab Accord to be implemented. It wants to create confidence among the people of the State. But I regret to say that no one is willing to give evidence against the terrorists. People must have the confidence and courage to pin-point the terrorists. The people who help in identifying and isolating the terrorists, should be given full protection by the Government.

What is required in the existing circumstances is to seal the borders of Punjab. Our Forces at border must be fully vigilant. The smugglers also frequently go to Pakistan for smuggling activities. The smugglers also help the terrorists. They pass on secret messages of terrorists etc. from one side to the other. All these things must be checked.

The infiltration will have to be checked. There is infiltration in Police ranks also. There are certain people in police also who help the terrorists. A fatal attack was made on the life of the Director-General of Police, Shri Rebeiro. There are many other examples of the type. Besides, political interference also takes place and some politicians exert their influence on police personnel and force them not to discharge their functions properly. The political leaders should desist from this practice so that the Police can deal with the terrorists and their activities successfully. No political party should help the terrorists. I would particularly appeal to the Barnala faction as well as to the Badal faction of the Akali Party to instil confidence among the people of Punjab. The other political parties and the religious organisations should also help in creating confidence and goodwill among people, so that they may live together peacefully.

[Shri Janak Raj Gupta]

There is also a need to create confidence among the people of one particular community who are leaving Punjab, and this can be done by my hon. friends in a better way: Only then the exodus of such people from Punjab can be stopped.

In the end, I want to say that the provisions of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act, according to which stern action can be taken against those who give shelter to the terrorists in their farms, houses and offices or encourage them in any other manner must be strictly implemented. Only then this menace can be curbed.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur) : Mr. Speaker Sir, today we in our capacity as the representatives of 80 crore people of this country, are discussing a very serious issue. First of all, I on behalf of Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala and on my behalf, want to strongly condemn the innocent killings and the cult of violence, wherever such things have taken place. We must not tolerate the cult of violence and innocent killings and they must be countered at any cost. We shall have to combat the forces of terrorism even at the cost of our own lives.

Shri Buta Singhji in his speech in Rajya Sabha said—

[English]

“Punjab is handling a very difficult situation.”

He also said :

“The Sikhs are patriots first and that has been their history and that has been their tradition.”

[Translation]

Sir, in these circumstances, what I want to say is that history will never forgive us if we allow the terrorists, whose number may be 800 or 8000, to succeed in their evil

design of spreading communal hatred among 80 crore people of this country. Keeping this thing in mind we have to counter such elements. The greatest challenge before us today is that some people are helping the terrorists. All of us should join hands in combating this menace, because the people belonging to the C.P.I., the B.J.P., the Congress and the Akali Party, etc., are being killed. We all must unite together to protect the life of the common man. The other challenge is that certain foreign powers want to see India divided and they are giving every kind of support to the terrorists. We must not ignore this aspect also. Thirdly, certain issues which they raise are also the irritants. Fourthly, we have to set right the trend of this talks designed to further weaken the position of the moderates.

Fifthly, we have to see the causes on account of which the people are leaving Punjab and taking shelter in other States. About 1300 families have already left Punjab. Similarly 26000 families have migrated to Punjab from other States during the last three years. We shall have to take steps to see that these refugees return to their respective States. Moreover, the political cover is being given to the terrorists. They are being presented *Soropas* to give them honour. All these things strengthen the position of the terrorists. Such things will have to be stopped.

Out of the discussion on this issue in the Rajya Sabha, two points clearly emerged. First, the Punjab problem is a serious one because of the involvement of certain foreign powers in it. Secondly, this problem can be solved only if political, economic and human aspects thereof along with the Sikh psyche are taken into consideration while finding solution to the same. We have to make sincere efforts to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country. A doctor who is sincere in saving the life of his patient will have to talk to him sympathetically, besides giving him medical treatment. But if the doctor is not serious about saving his patient's life he may talk to him in a different tone. In this case, I am sure, the doctor wants to save the life

of the patient. But Sardar Buta Singh is not the only doctor interested in this case; all the 80 crore people of this country are equally interested in saving Punjab from disaster. Now, time has come when the Sikh community should boldly rise to the occasion. They have stood up to terrorism at several places, but I am sorry to say that such things do not come to light. The terrorists are breaking 500 year old sikh tradition laid down by Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, according to which the aim of sikhism is to strive for common good, to help the poor and the deprived and to sacrifice one's life for the sake of country. We shall have to struggle hard to preserve this tradition. The doubt in the mind of the Hindu community regarding the Punjab police must be removed, and similarly, the apprehension in the minds of the minorities in other States regarding police forces of their respective States should be removed. Sweeping generalization is also a fact. Sir, you have always given good guidance to the farmers of this country. We have full faith in your guidance. We have full faith in you as the Speaker of the House. There is one point on which Sikhs often talk. I am saying this sincerely. I am not putting blame on any one, because putting blame on any one will weaken the strength of the country. What I am saying is that there has been much generalisation. Twenty seven Sikh children in Calcutta and nine Sikh children in Bombay were detained on the plea that they were terrorists, while they were leaving for their destinations. About 100 children including 45 girls were coming to take part in 'Apna Utsav', but they were forced to go back to Punjab. There is a proposal to search every house in the terai region. Such things should be checked. I have read it in the "Punjab Kesari"—

(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora) : The news given in the "Punjab Kesari" is not correct. We know it because we belong to that area. This kind of statement will have adverse effect on the public outside the House.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-
 WALIA : The radio, the T. V. and the Press also should play their role to encourage those forces which would strengthen the country. I have also read that Shri I. K. Gujral, a great leader of the country, visited England. A meeting was held there. The rate of the entrance ticket was five pound. About five hundred persons attended the meeting. Among them eighty per cent were Sikhs. Shri Gujral told me that all the sikhs, who attended that meeting, said.

[English]

"We are Indians first. Anything afterwards."

[Translation]

In a random poll conducted by the B. B. C. it was found that about twenty per cent sikhs said that they were born in India and would fight for her cause in spite of the fact that at present they were living in England. Sixty per cent of the Sikhs said :

[English]

"We are for India's unity and integrity."

[Translation]

Only twenty per cent of the Sikhs said :

[English]

"We are for Khalistan."

[Translation]

We should embrace these eighty per cent Sikhs. The T. V. and the radio should take initiative in this direction. But see how the news are published. At Nankana Sahib four Khalistanis raised slogan of "Khalistan Zindabad" against whom about three thousand Indian Sikhs raised the slogan of "Bharat Zindabad". But the news was published under the caption

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

"slogans of Khalistan Zindabad raised at Nankana Sahib". This was not in the news that the supporters of the unity of the country suppressed the voice of those who raised the slogan of 'Khalistan Zindabad'. None of the papers published it,

SHRI NARAYAN CAOLBEY
(Midnapore): This was published in the newspapers. We have seen it.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-
WALIA : If it was there I have not seen that. Yet I would make an appeal through the Hon. Speaker that there are other facts also which deserve our attention. I have just narrated the incidents of England as well as of this country. We should try to exploit this situation to our advantage in Punjab. We all have to contribute towards the development of the country. As I have already said, no one is to be blamed. The enemies of the country as well as some of our own people are responsible for the deterioration of the situation in Punjab. In fact, we should congratulate the people of Punjab, and not the leaders, for what they have achieved during the last five years. The leaders can be dishonest but it is true that throughout Punjab, people of a particular religious faith neither attacked any religious place belonging to the another community nor the people of another faith. The sanctity of the temples was always maintained. A bone was thrown at some religious place somewhere but it was an act of some mischievous elements and the people strongly condemned that. I can tell you about 22 villages where the Sikh villagers came out to save the lives of their Hindu brethren when terrorists came to kill them. At one place, the people caught terrorists and at another place people killed them. About a month ago, when two terrorists came to Talliwala village of Sangrur, the villagers killed them. We should exploit this feeling to our advantage. Similarly, we should properly deal with the other irritating issues. The tendency of generalisation

should be given up. There is no need to be afraid of "Amrit Prachar"... But what is required is to apprehend those who propagate terrorism after 'Amrit Prachar'. As a matter of fact, we are tackling the problem superficially and not striking at its root. We should try to locate the source and strike at it. Some People are saying that the hands of Barnalaji are empty. Hon Speaker should do something to strengthen his hands to deal with the situation. Shri Barnalal has been fighting with the situation unsuccessfully for the last fifteen months. Some people say that we have not got Chandigarh and it is doubtful whether we will get water or not. All the political parties and five political parties including B J. P. in the Rajya Sabha pleaded for the release of those who have been detained at Jodhpur. It is good that Shri Sunderji under directions from the Government has made some adjustments in the case of army deserters but some of them still remain to be rehabilitated. They should also be adjusted somehow. At the same time, those who have been imprisoned should at least be transferred to the jails of Punjab State and such a transfer in no way contravenes the law. Some people indulge in wrong propaganda and exploit the situation. They say that Barnalaji is a moderate. He is not strong enough to deal with the situation. But the terrorists say that Barnalaji has got nothing in spite of the fact that he is a moderate. So, I request that the Government should implement the Punjab Accord fully and should fulfil the promises which have been made. Largeheartedness should be shown in the case of detenus in the Jodhpur Jail. I know that Government has the power both to bestow or to deny something. The Government should use its power in a positive way to safeguard the interest of the country. The Government should apply balm and not salt to the wounds. When justice is subordinated to politics, it brings disaster and when politics ceases to influence justice it sets the things right. This fact should not be overlooked.

May I know why the Government is hesitating to publish the report of

Ranganath Misra Commission, why punishment is not being given to the guilty persons in accordance with the findings of the report? I want that a law should be enacted immediately containing provisions for summary trial and imprisonment of 14 years to those who indulge in riots or commit murders, or abet murders. We shall support the Government in passing such a law. The Government should tell us whether the publication of the Ranganath Misra Commission's report poses danger in any way to the unity and integrity of the country? If not, why is there hesitation?

Mr Speaker, Sir, about two thousand young Sikhs of Indian nationality have crossed over to Pakistan after the crack-down on the terrorists in this country. We are happy that Rajivji mentioned about it in Bangalore. Some way should be found out to bring them back. Government should provide help in resolving the political issue of the Punjab, the Jodhpur issue, the Chandigarh issue and the issue of military deserters. So far as the economy of Punjab is concerned, I want to suggest that the Government should declare Punjab as industrially backward State and put it in 'A' category. If it is done, it will attract the industrialists to set up industries in Punjab and it will improve the economy of Punjab—

(Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the end, I would like to say that the proposal to create a security belt in Punjab should be abandoned. In this case, the people, particularly the people of border areas will fully support you. If this belt is created, 559 villages will be affected and 2.50 lakh people living along the border will be uprooted by it and they will have to sustain heavy loss on this account. The love and the support which we got from these people during 1965 and 1971 wars will diminish. People are with you but the Government should deal with the Punjab problem with an open heart.

* With these words, I thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, I think the Minister will reply because it is quarter to six.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have also to speak.

MR. SPEAKER : Now there is no time.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : Sir, it is a very important issue and, therefore, I should be permitted to speak.

MR. SPEAKER : Let the Minister speak now.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : Sir, it is not fair. It is great injustice to me.

MR. SPEAKER : Let him speak—

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : No, sir, it is quite wrong.

MR. SPEAKER : You will be given opportunity at some other time.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : No, Sir, I should be given time.

MR. SPEAKER : No. Whatever I have decided is final.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : All right, sir, I shall obey your directive.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : Hon Deputy Speaker, Sir, today a very important issue, namely, terrorism is being discussed in the House. The Hon. Members of the House have not only very seriously analysed the present country wide situation of terrorism, they have also given their good and valuable suggestions to deal with this problem. I am grateful to all the hon. Members who participated in this debate. Sir, at the beginning of the discussion,

[S. Buta Singh]

Hon. Speaker had been kind enough to give guidelines to the House to consider this serious issue being above party politics and keeping in view the unity and integrity of the country, human aspects and the future of the country. In fact, the discussion took place in the light of these guidelines.

The Members of both sides of this House while participating in the discussion have suggested various points which can be followed by the Government of India and the Punjab Government to improve the situation in the Punjab State and also in other parts of the country.

I will not go into details because this issue is discussed in the House in every session and probably in every week of every session in one form or the other and all the political parties express their views on it. I will express my own views and outline the thinking of the Government on the present situation in brief.

I am deeply shocked to hear the views of an hon. Member who tried to give political colour to the Punjab situation with which the Punjab Government and the administration are dealing with courage. I would like to make it clear that as per our information, the Punjab Government has issued clear instructions to all the agencies including its own police and the Central Forces engaged in maintaining law and order that no innocent person should be harassed in any way.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL : Government should lay on the Table of the House the report of the commission which will reveal the fact whether the innocent persons have been killed or not.

S. BUTA SINGH : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the problem of terrorists in Punjab is complicated one and I would like that this august House should take these complications very seriously. The hon. Member,

Shri Indrajit Gupta has given in his speech the definition of terrorism, the means adopted to spread terrorism and the circumstances which go to create an atmosphere of terrorism. The most serious and dangerous situation develops when terrorism is supported by religious sentiments and emotions.

It is unfortunate that terrorism in Punjab is getting full religious support. Some of our hon. Members represent an organisation which is openly supporting terrorism. Terrorism becomes more difficult for us to tackle when it is associated with the religious feelings of the people. I would like to cite an example. Since 1980, on various occasions, a religious person who is also a big leader of a political party, has not only supported the terrorism but also has been attending the Bhog ceremonies of the dreaded terrorists, who were carrying reward of Rs. one lakh on their heads for their involvement in heinous crimes. He declared them martyrs and induced the people to convert their houses into Gurdwaras. Mr. Speaker, Sir, a dreaded terrorist, Waryam Singh was killed in police encounter in your district recently. This House and the entire nation know that this dreaded terrorist had committed a very heinous and inhuman act at Muktsar. I had myself visited that site. I could not bear that dreadful scene. The killings at Muktsar were the most cruel. The terrorists compelled the bus passengers at pistol point to put their necks between their knees and then shot them dead. Many innocent people were killed on the spot. The victims did not even know about the identity of the assassins. He committed such a cowardly and mean act. Not only this, he was killing police personnel also. The same terrorist was killed in an encounter with the police. Those so-called big leaders attended his Bhog ceremony and declared him martyr for this heinous act.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it can be imagined that if such incidents occur in Punjab then what impact they will leave on other people

and what the people will think of such happenings. It is really surprising that such people are honoured as martyrs and as religious men.

MR. SPEAKER : What can be more heinous than this ?

S. BUTA SINGH : I agree with Shri Jagan Nath Kaushal that now it is time when we should mete out the same treatment to the people, who support or provide shelter to the dreaded terrorist, as meted out to the terrorists themselves. But ours is a democratic country. We do not have a regimented society but an open society and that is why the law has to take its own course. We cannot take any action which is not legal.

17.57 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

Sir, in the House a definite reference has been made to the killings of 10 people in encounter with BSF. This incident took place at our international border. As per the report received from there, it is quite clear that they came from the other side of our border. Their names and other details are available. The arms and ammunition recovered from them is also there, when they came —

AN HON. MEMBER : You should at least give summary of the whole episode.

S. BUTA SINGH : On 30th August, 10 people came in early hours of the morning under the cover of darkness. Everybody knows it very well that the security forces defending our international border in Punjab have very clear orders not to spare any unauthorised person who is found crossing over the border. Everyday such incidents are reported in the newspapers. Such incidents are occurring everyday. But especially in this case these persons were involved in various crimes

before they crossed over to Pakistan and cases are registered against them in the respective police stations. Their guardians were called, enquiries were made from them and they admitted that these persons had been missing for the last 4 to 6 months. The Punjab Government appointed an officer to hold an independant inquiry in this case. He found that these people were trying to cross the border under the cover of darkness early in the morning and when they were challenged they did not respond. Their leader, instead of responding, fired at our sentry. The security force also fired in self defence. All the intruders were killed in the encounter. I would like to say one thing that the security of our country and the defence of our borders is the direct responsibility of our Borders Security Force posted at the international border. Separate Central forces have been deployed to combat terrorism in Punjab. The duties of the Border Security Force deployed at the borders are confined to the international borders only. They cannot operate in any district or in any other area in the interior part of Punjab State. They never operate beyond the borders. So the hon. Member was not right when he said that they were taken to the border from the interior part of the State and then killed. If the Punjab Government has some different information in this regard it may be brought to light so that the whole country may know it. The Chief Minister told me that an independent enquiry had been made in this regard and it was found that these people had come from across the border, and when they were challenged, they refused to surrender. Hence, in the armed encounter with our security forces, all these people were killed. Some weapons have been recovered from them, the details of which are as follows : 303 pistol-1, 12 bord pistols-2, live cartridge of 303 pistol-1, hand-grenade-1. These weapons have been entered in the records of the Recovery Forces. This issue is being politically exploited by some political elements, particularly the dissident group of the Akali Party, the AISSF and the United Akali Dal led by Baba Joginder Singh, and thus the terrorists who had been isolated

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are being brought back in to the main stream. In an effort to achieve this end, meetings were held in the homes of these people, where the terrorists were enlogised, anti-national speeches were delivered, pro-Khalistan slogans were raised. Even the big leaders, who are being represented by our friend hon. Shri Charanjit Singh, themselves are engaged in such nefarious activities.

*SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH
ATHWAL (Ropar) : I would like to know as to who laid the foundation of Khalistan; who passed the Sikh Home Land resolution in Ludhiana? I want to know the identity of the people who were present at the time-when this Resolution was passed and whether you were not one of them?

S. BUTA SINGH : Sir, it will be better if this question is not put to me, otherwise, I will have to tell the truth.

*Allah Allah, aaj unko Pursa kahna para,
Moddaton jinse hamare pyar ka nate rahe*

If I am asked persistently, then I will be compelled to reveal certain things which might be emharrassing to Shri Chranjit Sigh Ji. Shri Badal is a big leader. I would like to ask as to whether he was sleeping while the *Dharma Yudh* was going on? He did not pay even a single visit to Harminder Sahib. Terrorism has been gaining ground since 1980 and some international organisations had made that holy place the centre of their activities. What were these leaders doing at that time? None of them raised his voice in protest against what was going on. On the contrary, the then President of the S.G.P.C. used to give threats during the course of talks with the Government. When they boycotted the tripartite talks, some people went to persuade him. He told the Janata Party President that they would not participate in the talks; it is their motorcycle or Scooter horne armed men who would give a be fitting reply to them. Now those very leaders

are narrating the story of encounter in a shocking manner. I agree that inquiries should be held to find out the truth, in cases where the police action *prima facie* appears arbitrary and illegal. What kind of people are they whom these leaders are supporting? They are supporting the persons who kill people at random. In one case, the terrorists entered a vegetable market and disappeared after killing many people there with stengus. The people killed in this fashion are definitely not the enemies of Panth. What is their fault? After the gruesome killings in Malout on the 17th, Shri Prakash Singh Badal went there not to sympathise, with the relatives of the killed innocent persons but to say that the people of Malout should boycott this Government which is trying to protect the lives of innocent and the unarmed people. Therefore, it is my humble submission that such elements, as hon. Shri Ramoowalia has said, are playing with fire and such a thing has never been beneficial to anybody. Even they themselves will not be spared by this fire. The nation is great and we must protect our nation at any cost. But, at the same-time, we should condemn such elements and political forces as are supporting the enemies of the country, and as are allowing these anti-national elements to hold large rallies and processions openly in the premises of Shri Harminder Sahib. I am not able to understand the thinking of those who invited on dias the killers of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, who sacrificed his life to bring peace to Punjab and honoured them with *Saropas*. Perhaps, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was not innocent in their eyes. What was the guilt of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal? Shri Prakash Singh Badal, Shri G. S. Tohra and many others have offered *Saropas* to the killers of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, while these very people were elected as MPs. or the M.L.As. on the basis of the name and fame of Sant Longowal. Can we find an example of political degradation worse than this? Today, they given statements in the newspapers that in case there is a war between India and Pakistan, the Sikhs will

*The Speech was originally delivered in Punjabi.

support the latter. They are encouraging the anti-national forces by giving such statements. I cannot understand what kind of politics is this; what kind of patriotism is this; and what kind of religion they are following? Sikhism is a religion where Guru Teg Bahadur sacrificed his life for the sake of country's independence and existence and Guru Gobind Singh had sacrificed his own children for the good cause. Today, on the one hand these people are calling themselves as great leaders of such a great religion and, on the other hand they are supporting elements who have declared support to Pakistan, in case of aggression by Pakistan of India.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora) : Such people should be arrested and put in jails.

S. BUTA SINGH : Therefore, Sir, I want to say that our country is passing through a very dangerous phase at present. The activities that they are indulging in Punjab will prove harm for the Sikhs in other parts of the country.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : The anti-national forces are not getting the support of the Sikh people who fully support India.

(Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH : I was only saying that whatever they are doing is sheer modness on their part. Hence, the elements, which are directly or indirectly acting as enemies of our country, must be treated as country's enemy and we must deal with them in the same manner.

Sir, as I said in the very begining, all the progressive parties, namely the C.P.I., the CPI (M), the B.J.P., the Akali Dal (Longowal Group), and the Congress Party have joined hands for complete political mobilisation. It is a very difficult job to accomplish. Many of our partymen, MLAs, heads of the district and block level units and good party workers have been assassinated. Similarly, several Members of the

Akali Dal (Longowal Group) and leaders belonging to the BJP, the CPI (M) and CPI have been killed. But it does no mean that we should lose courage. The people of Punjab are well known all over the world for their bravery and patriotism. Hence, I would like to say in the House that if such anti-national elements do not get religious or emotional support, the brave people of Punjab will boldly and successfully face this challenge. Several of my friends have pointed out that a number of dreaded terrorists in disguise attended the Sarbat Khalsa Congregation, and moved among thousands of people. It is their *modus operendi*. In such a situation, it is very difficult for the Punjab Government and for us also to apprehend them. They have no love for religion. Whenever they like, they get their beard and hair shaven. they put on any kind of dress and indulge in all sorts of nefarious activities. Even then some political leaders call these terrorists as martyrs for the cause of Panth. In fact, they are traitors. They are enemies of the country and the people. So they must be dealt with in the same manner in which we deal with the enemies of the country.

Now many of the hon. Members have given their suggestions. Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Srirama Bhattam Murthy who have initiated the discussion today have given very good suggestions. I want to emphasise one point that the Punjab issue must be tackled at both the fronts. The law and order problem is there and the assistance is also being received from across the border of which not only one, but there are hundreds of examples, and we are continously drawing the attention of Pakistan Government to this. There is a long list. We are constantly in touch with them. We are holding meetings with them at the level of the Secretary to that of Minister, the Prime Minister and the President in this regard. But Big imperialist forces are behind them which do not want to see India make progress and want to destabilise our country. They are with them and are working in league with some other agents who have their

[S. Buta Singh]

own agents. In this manner, there are several layers and tiers in which our enemies are active.

I want to make another submission. I went to Canada in 1978 in connection with my own party work. Shri Ramoowalia may perhaps remember it. I am trying to tell as to what are the sources that led to increase in terrorism in Punjab. At that time, a large plane carrying immigrants had landed at the Vancouver airport. The Immigration authorities did not permit it to enter the airport and sent it back. An important Khalistani leader had brought the immigrants there and had appealed to the Canadian Government to grant them asylum as they had been harassed by the Indian Government. Shri Ramoowaliaji, at that time you were in the Central Government. Now your people are complaining, as hon. Shri Charanjit Singh has said, that our people are committing excesses on the Sikhs, but at that time, you were in the Central as well as in the Punjab Government, and your leaders were in Government in Punjab as well as at the Centre. So, what argument you would put forth to justify it. Did you, at that time, harass those Sikhs and did you compel them to leave Punjab and the country. Was it not their regular business to mislead people and the youth, who were sent to Canada and Germany on fake passports and a huge amount was charged from them? The people were made to cross the borders on the pretext that they had been harassed by Indian Government, and had been thrown out of the country, hence, they should be allowed to settle down there. The entire plane was asked to return. The next day, I met the authorities there. I thought, that their case might be a genuine one. They showed me the entire list and the note which had been submitted to them for asylum. It was completely a bogus request. They were misled and taken out of Punjab. So this was one of the sources.

[English]

The so-called international organisations backing the Khalistan, they are the people who have exploited the innocent youth, innocent Sikhs, the innocent youths from Punjab.

[Translation]

Secondly, I have a list with me. Some 60 international smugglers are operating on the Indo-Pak border who have also contributed a huge amount to the 'crusade' and who have maintained a regular liaison with Pakistan. After the Harminder Sahib incident, these smugglers took thousands of people to Pakistan. Even today these very smugglers are not only giving financial assistance to the terrorists, but also providing them resources and maintaining contact with them. The terrorists are also provided shelter, transport, money and arms and ammunition by some big smuggler after they have accomplished a task assigned to them. The second source of the terrorists is that of the smugglers.

As per my information the third source of the terrorists is the drug pedlars who smuggle out narcotics from Pakistan and transport them to America and running are racket worth crores of rupees. Sir, during the last three or four months, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has taken stringent action against this and has exposed such people before the country. I am of the view that perhaps Punjab's Budget is not as large as the business transacted by these narcotic dealers which is aimed at running the lives of our youngmen. The narcotics all over the world are being supplied at present through this border and one even sent to America and Canada. These are the people who are the backbone of these terrorists. The so-called Panthic Group gets assistance and funds from them. I want to ask the hon. Members as to what sort of Panthic service is being done with the money provided by such criminals? Have they ever thought of this thing? Affluent people with high connections are involved in it.

I have a large list of such people. I do not want to waste the time of the House by reading out their names but it is a fact that it is the drug traffickers, smugglers and international gangsters who are giving the maximum help to the terrorists. They mislead the people and take them out of the country where they frustrate them. When these people are unable to outside, they are made to commit all kinds of crimes. In this way terrorism and crime take place in Punjab and they get assistance in this way.

Shri Indrajit Gupta has asked as to what is the policy of Government of India towards Barnala Government. I had said in the other House also and would like to reiterate here also that Barnala Government is doing a very difficult task. A great fraud has been committed against Barnala Government and this has been committed by some senior leaders of his own Party because they could not come to power. There is no other dispute. Even today the only pre condition for reconciliation is that Shri Barnala should resign. They want that Barnala should resign so that Badal could come to power. What a great Panthic service would it be. Then there will no danger to the Panth, then there would be no excesses on anyone, then everything would be all right and Panth would be safe. I would like to ask whether in such a dangerous and explosive situation is it not playing with the country's interest to indulge in such a dirty and cheap politics ?

Is it not playing with the feelings of those people who have been misled during the last 5-6 years in the name of religion and then what has been its result ? In every corner of the country, people of Sikh community are living and leading a respectable life. As Shri Ramoowalia has stated, 'Sikhhood' is an enlightened state of mind. I do not consider it any sect or religion. Any person born in any religion can attain this mental state. Whosoever has understood and adopted the teachings of Shri Guru Nanak Dev in his life is a Sikh. Sikh means 'disciple'. The word

Sikh has been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Shishya'. In Punjabi, it is called Sikh. Sikh means a student. A student has no caste. He is a student in a class. The more he acquires knowledge and makes research, the better a disciple and a student he will be. It is true that this class observes certain rules and from these rules, from their dress from their way of living and character, they have a separate identity on the basis of which they are called Sikhs. I do not believe that Sikhs are a sect. How can they be a sect whose 'Gurbani' has been written by Guru Gobind Singh. There are some misgivings in the mind of certain people that there is a difference between Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak. Guru Gobind Singh has given a philosophy to the Panth. In what a beautiful language he has said about the people of the world :

Kou bhayo mundya sanyasi, Kou jogi bhayo, Kou brahmchari, Kou jati aur anbaan ho, Kou Turk, Rou Raffi Imam Safi, Manav ki jaat Sabhi atkan Pahichanbo.

In this world different people worship God in different ways. He says it is because of the geographical position of a certain place that it is a desert area and that is why people of the area wear a long robe. If they do not do so, there will be rashes on their body. Somewhere, people are semiclad because the geographical position there is such. He says that people worship God according to their religion, some worship Hindu religion and some Islam but the truth is that basically all are human beings. This very philosophy has been propounded in the above lines. Guru Granth Sahib is a collection. In this holy book a great saint poet, Kabir has said :

Aval Allah noor upayo, kudrat ke sab bande. Ek noor : e sab jag upjaya, kaun bhale ko mande.

And, Sir, Ravidas, a very lowly-placed person who was born in a family which is considered untouchable and who rose to

[S. Buta Singh]

greatness and became a saint, has also expressed these kind of views in Guru Granth Sahib. Some 500 years back he gave us an outline of the republic and if we are able to give shape to the same, I think it will be a great service to the humanity. Saint Ravidas had given the definition at the republic and that has been included in Guru Granth Sahib, which is recited by every Sikh in the morning. He says—

*Begumpura shahar ko naon, dukh amboh
nahin hou kau, Na tashvish khiraj na
maniye khauf na khata na taras savaye.*

He says that I want my country to be a country where no one should suffer and where there should not be any taxation. There should be full liberty, every one should be fearless and presently, our hon. Members talk of nothing except fear. Democracy has to be run fearlessly and had that not been so, Shri Charanjit and myself would not have been sitting here. Our system of the Government provides for fearlessness. The Constitution of the country has given us the feeling of such fearlessness that today a poor Harijan-Adivasi is sitting before the Maharaja of Gwalior with equal status. Who gave this? This, democracy has provided that the value of the vote of a monarch is the same as that of the poorest of poor, a sweeper or an Adivasi. So, this fearlessness has been provided by the democracy but those, whom we help, teach us fear. The terrorists have behind a trail of fear the village and the cities through which they pass city.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH
ATHWAL : This has happened because
of Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

S. BUTA SINGH : I am talking of the
Constitution. It is Supreme. The Consti-
tution covers Baba Saheb Ambedkar as
well as the hon. Speaker. I am talking
of the principles, and the fundamental

things propounded in the Constitution. If you fail to understand that, I am helpless. If we have to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country, then we will have to protect the democracy. It has to be protected in the interest of the poor also. The rich people will find away out to sustain themselves but democracy is imperative for the survival of the poor. Democracy can be protected only when we are determined to eliminate such elements and tendencies which create fear in the minds of the people. The terrorists are on the top in the list of such persons. They have no other religion. The terrorists create panic and weaken the society. Therefore, terrorism has no place whatsoever in our country. Shri Dinesh Goswami, Shri Thurgan and several other hon. Member have talked about the eastern region. I would like to say that in the eastern region also the situation is not that satisfactory. Whether it be Tripura, Manipur or Nagaland, one or the other incident goes on taking place there whereby law and order situation in the country is disturbed. Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary mentioned about Tripura. We want to face the terrorists in Tripura in collaboration with the Government of Tripura. There was a proposal that TNV should be banned and it should be declared unlawful. I do not know whether Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary will be angry or happy with me. The Chief Minister of Tripura has said that TNV should not be banned and declared unlawful. On the other hand, it is said that Gorkhaland movement should be banned and declared unlawful immediately. I do not know where such a double policy will take the country.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHRY : I
have never said. Buta Singh Ji, who
demanded that? Did I demand that?

S. BUTA SINGH : No, your Chief
Minister said it should not be banned.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHRY :
Did I ever demand banning ?

S. BUTA SINGH : No, I am asking you : what is the standard ? There you saying about Gorkhaland lock, stock and barrel.....

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

Here also politics is involved. This is our difficulty.

You take a stand with an eye on the ballot box. You do not pay attention to an issue which can be of any service to the country.

SHRI SAIEUDDIN CHOWDHARY :
We do pay attention.

[English]

I do not want to join issues with you today. Keep it for tomorrow or for some other day.

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH : I told the Chief Minister that if the TNV activities were becoming dangerous then.

[English]

Let us ban it. Let us declare it unlawful.

[Translation]

He said no, this should not be done. Similar is the case of Nagaland. NSON in Nagaland.. ...

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJAY BISWAS : Send CRP.

S. BUTA SINGH : We have provided whatever CRP you had demanded. According to my information, presently there

are at least eight battalions of various Central forces in Tripura. We are constantly in touch with them and their requirements will be met. Similarly, Shri Dinesh Goswami has asked why international Assam border is not dealt with in the same manner as is being done in the case of Punjab. First, the Punjab situation at present is not comparable with the Assam situation. There is infiltration in Assam, Bengal and West Bengal. But what is happening in Punjab at present is totally different from that. Secondly, the border of Punjab is a land border. It is easier to man the Punjab border because the very few natural features that are there are very helpful whereas the terrain in North Eastern region is very difficult due to which it is difficult to man it. Even then, we have taken a number of steps there.

[English]

29 battalions of BSF together with necessary complements of equipments, transport over a period of five years is proposed to man the entire border. Out of this, BSF battalions have already been despatched. At the moment, about five battalions are there in Assam. Observation posts towers are also being increased. Night vision goggles are also being provided to the battalions. So far, a large number of transport vehicles have been sent, and there is a very comprehensive scheme to provide a road and fencing all along the border. The schemes have been drawn, money has been sanctioned, task forces have been identified. Assam P.W.D. has been given the task. Contracts have been awarded. C.P.W. II is monitoring the over-all working of the entire border in Assam and neighbouring States. Therefore, there is a detailed scheme to see that this border is also made quite effective. I must say that Assam Government is also co-operating with us. Why was there delay ? The delay came because of the intervening monsoon. Soon after the Assam came into being there was a long spell of monsoon. But in the mean time the detailed work has been done. The Plans have been approved, Money has been sanctioned.

[S. Buta Singh]

Material is being mobilised and you know better than I, how difficult it is to carry material to those parts of the country because the season is not permitting. Only a small portion of the period is available for carrying the things. But let me tell you.

[Translation]

For us this is also equally important like west Bengal. But the problem there being slightly different, that is being dealt with differently. I salute the brave patriots of Punjab. It goes to their credit that communalism has not erupted in Punjab in spite of the continuous efforts of the terrorists during the last four years in this regard.

The Hindus, the Sikhs, the Muslims, the Christians and the Harijans continue to live in Punjab as before. The farmers of Punjab have continuously been increasing the agricultural production for the last 3 to 4 years for which the nation is proud of them. It shows that despite the activities of the terrorists, the farmers of Punjab continue to serve the country.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH
ATHWAL : Some special grant should be given.

S. BUTA SINGH : I do not take the big industries started in Punjab as cottage industries. A coach factory has been started in Kapurthala and we are trying for more industrial progress in Punjab so that the youth of Punjab may get good jobs. I have also requested the hon. Chief Minister that if there is any scheme for the border districts for which there is a Border Development Fund, then we would fully cooperate in that.

[English]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-
WALIA : I want to request the hon. Minister, through you, to grant special

funds for Mand area and for Amritsar District which is a border district.

[Translation]

S. BUTA SINGH : A meeting was held in Chandigarh which was attended by the Chief Minister, the Governor of Punjab and other officials. In that meeting I had said that if any good scheme for the development of Mand was brought then the Central Government would take full interest in completing it.

The terrorism in Punjab is a question of national importance and we have to solve it by taking into consideration its national importance. All political parties should take part in it. Once again I would like to request those hon. leaders who are openly supporting the terrorists that it is a dangerous game and their activities are being watched by the whole nation with amazement.

Our nation is great. The people of Punjab particularly the Sikhs are great. The whole nation is proud of them. We are proud of their valuable contribution to the country's struggle for independence, development and security. We wish that their contribution should continue and nothing should be done which may demoralise the people. The handful of people, who are playing in the hands of the enemies of the country, should be isolated in order to save the country's unity and integrity. There cannot be and should not be any sympathy for the people who support such elements. Today, through this debate, I want to request the countrymen that while looking at the present situation in Punjab, they should not link it with general public. No doubt, some people are trying to give it a religious colour but we have not to allow that conspiracy to succeed. This is a conspiracy hatched by our enemy and we have to save ourselves from it. Therefore, I request my countrymen that we should find a unanimous solution to the problem in Punjab.

A number of suggestions have been given here and I admit a political solution

of the problem is possible. A suggestion about detenves and a host of other good suggestions have also been given to which all the political parties should give a serious thought. Some problems can be solved politically such as the unemployment of the youths or the question of their being misguided. All these things can be done but we shall not allow one thing to happen at any cost i. e. we will not allow the efforts of those anti-national elements to succeed who are playing in the hands of our enemies or getting support from them. Therefore, I once again express my greatitude towards the hon. Members who gave their valuable views and suggestions today on this critical problem. I will get all those suggestions studied in my Ministry and see that action is taken on them to the maximum extent.

18.37 hours.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT): Sir, on behalf of Shri Janardhana Poojary, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English

versions) under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962:—

(1) Notification No. 463/86- Customs published in Gazette of India dated the 18th November, 1986 together with an explanatory memorandum making certain amendments to Notification No. 12— Customs dated the 17th January, 1984 so as to include 2,6 Diethyl Aniline for the manufacture of Butachlor for concessional customs duty.

(2) Notification No. 464/86- Customs published in Gazette of India dated the 18th November, 1986 together with an explanatory memorandum regarding exemption to nine specified intermediates for the manufacture of pesticides from the whole of the additional duty of customs leviable thereon.

[Placed in Library see No. LT 3240/86]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now the House stands adjourned to meet at 11.00 A. M. tomorrow.

18.38 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Wednesday, November 19, 1986/Kartika 28, 1908 (Saka).