

[श्री बुटा सिंह]

इस चाहते हैं कि वहाँ जल्दी से जल्दी चुनाव हो जाएँ और वहाँ चुने हुए सरकार आकर कर्नाटक के लोगों की सेवा करेंगे। मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है, चन्दे गोड़ा जी, वहाँ के लोग आपको मौका नहीं देंगे, इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका आपको समर्थन कर देना चाहिए। इसको पास कर देना चाहिए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I shall first put the amendment moved by Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya to vote.

The question is:

"That in the said Resolution in the fourth line, for the words 'for a further period of six months' substitute the words up to the 31st December, 1989"

The motion was negatived.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I shall put the amendment moved by Shri Shri Subramanian Swamy to vote.

The question is:

"That after the said Resolution, the following be added, namely:—

"That the House further resolves that the general elections to the Karnataka Assembly shall be held not later than the general elections to the Lok Sabha".

The motion was negatived.

SHRI M. S. GURUFADASWAMY: Madam, I oppose the continuation of President's rule in Karnataka. There is no justification for continuation of President's rule. No valid reasons have been given by the Government so far for continuation. President's rule is being used for partisan ends. We oppose President's rule. In protest, we are walking out.

(At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The Home Minister has not given any valid reasons for continuation of President's rule in Karnataka. Therefore, I register my protest and I am walking out.

(At this stage, the hon. Members left the Chamber).

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Since no assurance has been given that the elections to the Assembly will be held not later than Parliamentary elections, I also join the walk out.

(At this stage some hon. Members left the Chamber)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 21st April, 1989, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Karnataka, for a further period of six months with effect from the 21st October, 1989."

The motion was adopted.

Resolution re. Continuation of president's proclamation under article 356 in relation to Punjab

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we will take up Punjab.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI BUTA SINGH): Madam, I beg to move:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Punjab, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1989."

As the House is aware, in view of the then prevailing situation in Punjab, pro-

clamation under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab was issued on 11th May 1987 on the recommendations of the Governor. Approval of Lok Sabha as well as Rajya Sabha for the issue of Proclamation under article 356 was obtained on the 12th May 1987. The Legislative Assembly of the State which was initially kept under suspended animation was dissolved on the 6th March, 1989 on the recommendations of the Governor. As the law and order situation in the State continued to be disturbed, approval of both the Houses of Parliament was obtained for continuation of President's rule for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November, 1987.

Madam, under the existing provisions of article 356(5) of the Constitution, President's rule could not be extended beyond a period of one year unless the two conditions mentioned in that clause are met. As both these conditions were not fulfilled, article 356(5) of the Constitution was amended by the Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act 1988 so as to make clause 5 of that article inapplicable to the proclamation issued on the 11th May 1987 with respect to the State of Punjab. With this amendment, President's rule can be extended, if necessary, for a total period of three years in Punjab without fulfilment of the conditions mentioned in clause 5 of article 356 subject to the approval of both the Houses of Parliament for continuation of proclamation for a period of six months on each occasion. After enactment of the Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act, 1988, President's rule in Punjab has been extended with effect from 11th May 1988, 11th November 1988 and again with effect from 11th May 1989. The present term of President's rule is due to expire on 10th November 1989. The Governor of Punjab in his recent report to the President of India has stated that the fight against terrorists has reached a critical stage. With the fresh spurt of anti-national terrorists trying to come from across the border with newly supplied arms and ammunitions, there exists an imperative need to firmly and effectively deal with them as well as the terrorists who are already in Punjab. Accordingly,

he has stated that it is necessary that the President's rule in Punjab be extended for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November 1989. The Governor has further mentioned that it is not possible to have any Assembly elections as there is near total uncertainty in the political arena in Punjab with the Akalis being divided and sub-divided in several groups and sub-groups. As a result, a politically unstable situation has arisen and the Governor is doubtful whether any cohesive or stable State Government could be formed. The Governor's view is, a much more stable political situation will emerge in Punjab after the coming Lok Sabha elections. Accordingly, he has recommended that the Assembly elections should be held only after the Lok Sabha elections whenever they are held. In the circumstances, the Governor has recommended that the Proclamation dated 11th May 1987 under Article 356 of the Constitution may be extended for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November 1989.

Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the State of Punjab and taking all the relevant factors into consideration, it is proposed that the President's rule in Punjab may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November 1989. In view of the position explained by me, I solicit the approval of this august House for the resolution mentioned by me at the beginning.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is an amendment by Mr. S. P. Malaviya. I would like him to move it without making a speech.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA(Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I move:

"That in the said Resolution in the fourth line, for the word for a further period of six months substitute the words upto the 31st December, 1989."

The questions were proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the resolution and the amendment are open for discussion: Shri Yashwant

[The Deputy Chairman]

Sinha| We have constraint of time. I would request you to abide by it. You will have 14 minutes.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : कल क्या होगा। कल छुट्टी होगी या नहीं।

उपसभापति : कल छुट्टी नहीं है। कोई तैयार नहीं हुआ तो छुट्टी नहीं है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम लोगों के निवेदन को सरकार ने नामंजूर कर दिया?

उपसभापति : मालूम नहीं किसका निवेदन था। इधर से भी निवेदन था उधर से भी निवेदन था। इन दोनों निवेदनों के ऊपर कोई निर्णय नहीं हुआ है इसलिए जो हालत है वही रहेगी।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : निर्णय कौन लेगा? आप लेंगी या सरकार?

उपसभापति : निर्णय नहीं लिया गया है इसलिए कि दोनों तैयार नहीं हुए।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम लोग तो तैयार हैं (व्यवधान) किसी ने एप्रोच नहीं किया... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : सरकार यह चाह रही थी कि सेंटरडे को बैठें, जिस पर आप तैयार नहीं थे और सरकार कल छुट्टी तभी देगी जब सेंटरडे को बैठेंगे। इसलिए कोई निर्णय नहीं हुआ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : कब बैठेंगे वह अलग बात है लेकिन कल छुट्टी हो इस पर सदन एक मत था। इसलिए सरकार ने क्यों नामंजूर कर दिया।

उपसभापति : सदन इस बात पर एकमत नहीं था। आप बैठिये मैं आपको बता दूँ। आपने शायद पूरा सुना नहीं सदन इस बात पर सहमत था कि छुट्टी हो मगर इस बात पर सहमत नहीं था,

कुछ लोग सहमत नहीं थे कि सेंटरडे को बैठें और सरकार इस बात पर सहमत नहीं थी कि सेंटरडे को नहीं बैठें अगर कल छुट्टी करें इसलिए मामला वहीं था वहीं है। जो हालत है वही रहेगी।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि सरकार ने रिजेक्ट कर (व्यवधान) कन्डीशनल बना दिया....

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : सरकार बैठना चाहती थी लेकिन सेंटरडे को न बैठने के कारण... (व्यवधान) ऐसा हुआ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : आपने कन्डीशनल बना दिया। हम लोग तो कह रहे थे... (व्यवधान) कि पंगम्बर साहब का जन्म दिन है... (व्यवधान)

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह : अगर ये छुट्टी चाहते थे सर्पेंटर थे तो सेंटरडे को क्यों नहीं बैठते। इन्डाइरेक्टली इनकी मंशा यह है कि छुट्टी न मानी जाये।

उपसभापति : कृपया अभी इस मसले को बंद कर दीजिए। पंजाब के बारे में बात करिये जो हो गया है।

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Madam Deputy Chairman, ... (Interruptions)... as we sit here in this House to discuss once again the extension....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: ...of President's rule in Punjab, I am aware of the hollowness of the ritual that we are going to undergo. For two and a half years, democracy has been extinguished in Punjab. Punjab has been, as the Home Minister has just said, under President's rule since 11th May 1987. And once again, this incompetent Government has come before us for the extension of President's rule in Punjab for another six months. But even more interesting, more amusing, than this proposal or Resolution of the

Government, Madam Deputy Chairman, is the reason which the Government has mentioned for the extension of President's rule. I was trying to listen carefully to the reasons which the Minister was mentioning in his speech. Now, what did the Minister say? The Home Minister said that according to the report of the Governor the fight against terrorists has entered a critical phase—a critical phase has been reached in the fight against terrorism and, therefore, in order not to interfere with this critical phase, crucial phase, President's rule must be extended. This is one of the reasons. The second reason, Madam Deputy Chairman, is the repetition of the reason that they have mentioned in the case of Karnataka, to which they have mentioned in the case of Karnataka, to which my hon. colleague, Mr. Jaswant Singh, referred in his speech; nothing could be a greater mockery of democracy, nothing could be a greater insult to all of us sitting here in this House than to be told that either in Karnataka or in Punjab the people are not capable in Karnataka or in Punjab the people are not capable of giving themselves a stable government and, therefore, the rule of either Mr. Venkatasubbaiah or Mr. Siddharth Shanker Ray should continue.

Now, in the case of Punjab, Madam Deputy Chairman, a very funny argument has been advanced by the Governor which the Home Minister has quoted with approval, that the Akalis are divided and therefore Punjab will not have a stable government and therefore we should have extension of President's rule.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy) in the Chair]

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, can the Home Minister, can this Government, can anybody sitting here in this House really, seriously, take this argument to be valid, that because the Akalis are divided we must have continuation of President's rule?

ऊर्जा मंत्रालय में विद्युत विभाग
में राज्य मंत्री (श्री कल्पनाचरण राय) :
आप बहुत झुंझा बोल रहे हैं।

श्री बहादुर सिंह : झुंझा तो बोल
ही रहा हूँ। आपसे तो डेफिनेटली झुंझा
बोल रहा हूँ। नहीं तो आप कैबिनेट
मिनिस्टर होते, स्टेट मिनिस्टर नहीं होते।

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the point I am making is that this time when the Government of India has come up with a recommendation of the Governor for the extension of President's rule, it has absolutely no legitimate reason, no legitimate reason whatsoever, for the extension of President's rule. And therefore, it is the English of Mr. Siddhartha Shanker Ray, it is the officialese of the North Block which has come to the rescue of the Home Minister in weaving certain expressions "critical phase", "fight against terrorism" and all that. And with no explanation whatsoever is to how it is a critical phase, the Home Minister is trying to mislead this House and the nation. And I on behalf of my party not only oppose this resolution as vehemently as I can but I also take serious objection to the reasons which have been advanced by the Home Minister for the extension of President's rule.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to remind the Home Minister that it was he himself personally who, as recently as June 1989—to be precise, on the 31st of June 1989—told the Press in Bhopal that the Punjab problem would be solved very soon, that terrorism in Punjab has almost ended and that the last impediment in the solution of the Punjab problem has been removed and the Government hoped that the Punjab problem would be solved. When I read it and as many countrymen of this great country read it we all felt that perhaps this Government will not have the audacity to come before Parliament again for the extension of President's rule, irrespective of the constitutional amendment which has been kept. This is the brutality of the majority that we are seeing here in this House. While Punjab bleeds, while there is mayhem in Punjab, while innocent people are being killed, while police atrocities

[**Shri Yashwant Sinha**]

continue in Punjab day in and day out, we are told here that President's misrule in Punjab must continue. What is it that we are extending in Punjab? It is not merely an extension of President's misrule. It is an extension of the tragedy of Punjab under President's rule. It is an extension of the brutality in Punjab under President's rule. It is an extension of inhumanity in Punjab under President's rule. It is an extension of all that is bad, in a government with the added ignominy that it is not a democratic government. If a democratic government fails, the powers that be in Delhi can dismiss that Government. They can dissolve the Assembly and they can impose their own rule. I had said this when I was speaking on Punjab last time. I had asked: Who is going to sit in judgment on you and who is going to say whether there has been President's rule or misrule where the terrorist killings have been three times as such they were in Barnala's regime? Who is going to judge that? That judgment will have to come from the people and the people must be given a chance to exercise that judgment. Therefore, President's rule must be ended here and now irrespective of whether the Akalis are divided or not. Tomorrow maybe they will say that the Congress Party is divided and, therefore, they cannot have elections. This is the most ridiculous argument that I have heard in a democratic framework ever. Therefore, this argument will not hold.

Sir, as I said, Punjab has been a great tragedy unfolding itself before our eyes. Whether we are sitting there or sitting here, we are all helpless witnesses to this tragedy. We know what exactly is going to happen. But neither the Home Minister with all the might of the Government that is there at his disposal nor anybody else is in a position to influence the turn or events in Punjab today. Why? The reasons are not very far to seek. In the tragedy of Punjab today, the Government of India has a primary role to play and I am saying this with the greatest sense of responsibility. If there is one organisation which is responsible for continued terrorism in

Punjab, it is the Government of India and nobody else. I said it at that time. Mr. Darbara Singh is not here. He had taken umbrage at my remark. I had said that it is the Government of India which, through its actions, is producing fresh terrorists everyday in Punjab and as long as that factory which produces terrorists goes on, there will be no end to it.

The super cop, Mr. Rebeiro, has left. Nothing can demonstrate the political bankruptcy of this Government which praised Mr. Rebeiro sky high when he was sent to Punjab. It was not Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. It was not Mr. Buta Singh who was not the political leadership of the Congress in which the Government had faith. They put their faith in that one super cop, the miracle man, Mr. Rebeiro. What has happened? This gentleman has now been given a safe assignment somewhere in an East-European country so that his life could be protected while Punjab continues to bleed, while Punjab continues to burn. These three years have been like a Sahara desert in Punjab. When Mr. Rebeiro is preparing to leave—or he has left, I do not know—what does he say? The man who advocated “bullet for bullet” to Punjab is now a complete votary, a supporter of what is called the Chamanlal—line, the Inspector General who voluntarily left Punjab because he was not in agreement with the Government Policy. Now Mr. Rebeiro talks of winning the hearts of the people. His language is very akin to the language we have all been using all these years. We have all been saying that the Punjab problem and the situation in Punjab cannot be brought under control by bullets alone. Try and win the hearts of the people. But what has been the political initiative on the part of the Government? Last time, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when we discussed this issue, we were told that there was a Cabinet Sub-Committee which was visiting Punjab. And this Sub-Committee of which the Home Minister was a part and the Foreign Minister was, perhaps, the Chairman, visited Punjab on the 12th April. This Cabinet Sub-Committee was supposed to be a part of the great, much-publicised package on Punjab of the

great Prime Minister of this country. One never heard about it ever again. Never did we get to hear about this wretched Cabinet Sub-Committee, what did they do, what was their report, what was the political solution they recommended for Punjab. All these months have passed, and there has been no political initiative on Punjab by this Government. And then all those things which hurt the Sikh psyche continue to be present not only in an abundant measure but also in a heightened fashion. What has happened to that Jain-Bannerjee Panel which was set up to ensure or recommend prosecutions in the killing of Sikhs in Delhi in November, 1984? That has been abandoned. Mr. Buta Singh has not mentioned what the Government thinking is, now that after so many years, four and a half years or five years, not a single individual has been punished for those massacres which took place in the capital of this country. Nothing at all. The Government is absolutely silent on this. And I do not know whether in his reply the Home Minister is going to cover this point. But any other Government worth its salt, if it had any sense of honour or shame would have come before this Parliament and said the first thing about its alternative action programme after the High Court's judgement on Jain-Bannerjee Panel. But there is nothing of the kind. No. They are going ahead, they are going ahead in their dictatorial, in their autocratic, in their totally undemocratic way. Even the Newstrack cassette has been censored. When the leader of my Party, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, for the first time went on that and gave an interview, what have the Censors done? They have chopped off that particular sentence or sentences that he uttered because it did not suit the ruling party to let the people of the country know the truth. But I would like to tell you, Sir, and I would like to tell the Home Minister through you that the truth can never be suppressed. If we believe in the motto which is written all over this building and all over the country—'Satyameva Jayate'—let the Government be warned that the truth shall prevail despite Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, despite Mr. Buta Singh

and the cohorts that they command. There will be no stopping the truth and truth shall prevail in Punjab also. The truth is that the Government is behind the situation in Punjab, the truth is that it is ruling party which has created the situation in Punjab, the truth is that it is the ruling party which is keeping the situation in Punjab as it is today. And the only answer, therefore, is not the extension of the President's Rule. The answer is what the people of this country are going to do in the next few months, and that what answer is to throw them out lock, stock and barrel. And once that is achieved, then the famous Punjab problem will be solved in a jiffy like this, and this Minister, this Government and this Prime Minister may come back to the country, and see how we solve this Punjab problem. And with this, Sir, I absolutely and stoutly with all the emphasis at my command, oppose strongly this move. This is absolutely a nefarious, dangerous move on the part of this Government to continue to kill, murder and paralyse democracy in Punjab for another six months. And I demand that the President's Rule should be ended forthwith, and elections to Assembly in Punjab must be held, and all those who have been kept behind bars including Mr. Badal and Mr. Tohra—there is no reason why they should continue to be behind bars; if they can be kept behind bars, then most of the Cabinet Ministers sitting here should also be behind bars—should also be released and immediate elections should be ordered in Punjab. Thank You, Sir.

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA
(Delhi): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have very carefully listened to my hon. friend, Mr. Sinha, and I think he had come after reading the morning newspapers, perhaps his line of argument and the data that he built up would have been different. I am convinced that his own speech, Mr. Vice Chairman, is adequate answer for continuation of the President's rule in Punjab. Let me list what he has said. I will quote only a few sentences. Hon. Mr. Sinha has said that Punjab is bleeding and here both sides of this House including the Government of India are helpless spectators to

[Shri Vishwa Bandhu Gupta]

this spectacle. Now this is one of the argument that the Hon. Home Minister has built for his decision to continue the President's rule in Punjab as suggested and recommended by the Governor of Punjab. Because the Governor has stated that the conditions in Punjab today, because of terrorist activities, because of the actions going on, are not suitable for Assembly elections. So, I would kindly have Mr. Yashwant Sinha note that as far as this one particular argument is concerned, he is on very thin ground and it will not be possible for him to convince this august House, that they should reject the continuation of President's rule.

Now, Sir, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the question, apart from the killing and bleeding of Punjab, is whether there are suitable conditions, suitable enough, safe enough and secure enough for holding Assembly elections. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if political parties are divided and he agrees that they are divided—Mr. Sinha has not said that the Akalis are not divided—if the major political parties are divided, there would be no suitable situation as far as holding of elections in a normal manner is concerned. And that is precisely what the hon. Governor of Punjab has recommended. It is not a question of A party or B party. If the Akalis are there and they are divided that means the situation will continue in such a way that if and when the Assembly elections are held, there will be even more strife and more difficulties and it would not be possible to have secure and safe and just elections, as far as Punjab is concerned.

Now, the third point that the Hon. Governor of Punjab has suggested is that a situation is likely to arise when stability will come back and that would be only after the Lok Sabha elections are held. Now, this is one argument that Mr. Yashwant Sinha has not used, because the Governor himself has suggested that time today is not ripe for holding Assembly elections and they will be held after the Lok Sabha elections then a stable Government can be formed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, actually the hon. Home Minister is not asking for an unlimited period of time for extending the President's rule in Punjab. More and more terrorists are appearing on the scene although Mr. Yashwant Sinha has also agreed that probably a large number of terrorists are also being killed. Now, you are talking about the super-cop, Mr. Ribeiro. I know Mr. Ribeiro. He is a fine gentleman. He is an efficient cop. Well, you call him a super-cop, or not but the thing is that he did a job as far as managing the situation in very difficult conditions was concerned. And you will have to agree that today the critical phase that the hon. Home Minister has talked about has actually arrived. If you kindly refer to the newspapers, you will see that while there are some innocent people who are being killed, there are also a number of hard core terrorists who are being killed by the police force today. Today, the morale of the police force is quite high in Punjab. They are tackling the problem. There is a situation where terrorists are coming in from across the border. This is one point that the hon. Mr. Sinha from the other side has not even talked about. For him, I think, the situation across the border from Pakistan, does not arise. He does not see the picture at all that there is a border, that there are people on the other side who are interested, and the government on the other side who are interested in creating a situation of instability in Punjab, that there is evidence that terrorists are being trained across the border who are coming from across the border and they continue to exert pressure on India. They have their own designs. They may be a part of international conspiracy as far as this part is concerned. Mr. Sinha does not see it. He sees only the people sitting across him, because we are on the Treasury Benches and he is in the Opposition. He feels that the entire blame for vested interest in continuation of President's rule in Punjab lies with the Government. Most humbly I would say that as far as this Government is concerned, and this

party and the leader, many many initiatives have been taken. He himself referred to the Sub-Committee. After all, efforts have been made; initiatives have been taken as far as our party is concerned; leaders have visited different districts, have had meetings there and they have tried to build up a situation and public opinion strongly against the terrorists. We have resisted them; the police has resisted them; terrorists are being killed in Punjab and the situation is better there than it was ever before. However, the situation is not such as yet where elections can be held to the Assembly today. So I would most humbly say that this august House will accept the recommendations made by the Governor for continuation of the President's rule for only a period of six months, with effect from 11th November, 1989.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are all interested in democracy. We are all interested in the freedom of the press in this country. We see everything being published and all news with regard to what is happening in Punjab is being published. People are aware of what is happening in Punjab. Mr. Sinha has also agreed that it is not a question of this side or the other side. It is a problem that is being faced by the nation. But he has failed to see, as I mentioned earlier, the situation that Punjab is a border State, that the trouble in Punjab is greater in those three districts which are directly linked with a country next door and pressure is coming from there; terrorists are coming from there; they are being trained there; money is coming from there; smuggling is going on from there in spite of our best efforts. This is what I would like the hon. Mr. Sinha and his party colleagues on the other side of the House to see and give their full support to the efforts being made by the Government of India and our party in order to tackle this problem which is before the nation, not the Government of India alone.

Therefore, I would say that there is ample justification for the hon. Home Minister to have suggested it and it is the right step to have accepted the recommendations of the Governor of Punjab, for continuation of the President's rule for another six months. Thank you.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Home Minister has stated that President's rule should continue in Punjab and Assembly elections can be held only after the Lok Sabha elections. So far as we are concerned, our demand is that Assembly elections should also be held along with Lok Sabha elections. 5.00 P.M. But we are sure about one thing, whether the elections are to be held after the Lok Sabha elections or not would be decided not by those who are sitting now, on the Treasury Benches but by the present democratic opposition. Therefore, we are sure that elections to Punjab Assembly, Karnataka Assembly and all that, will be held after the Lok Sabha elections.

Now coming to the logic, the rationale that has been advanced by the Treasury Benches for postponing the Assembly elections in Punjab, just now my hon. friend from the other side tried to put an argument as if he was meeting the points raised by my colleague, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, but despite being very attentive I could not find any counter arguments put by my hon. friend in defence of his case.

We know that the situation in Punjab is very bad. I do not know how we can describe the present situation. It has further accentuated, it has further worsened and even some of the Congress(I) friends in personal talks admit that whatever link was there between the administration and the masses or people has been broken today. During day time people are harassed. They are put to trouble by the administration and police. Money is extracted from them. During night time hapless people of Punjab are subjected to atrocities of terrorists. This is the situation. This is the actual situation and who is responsible for this? So far as our party is concerned we identify different forces who are responsible for this in very ex-

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licit terms. We are unanimous or there is a near unanimity so far as the pernicious role played by the terrorists is concerned though thanks to his occasional fixations the Prime Minister uses to accuse the opposition of hobnobbing with terrorists and all that. We do not take that seriously though it comes from the Prime Minister.

So far as terrorism is concerned, the responsible political parties in our country and not so responsible parties in our country also are opposed to terrorism. We understand that, and terrorists are being aided and abetted by certain external forces, that also we consider very seriously. So far as dealing with the question of terrorism is concerned, the role played by the ruling Party at the Centre is not at all of any democratic content. While dealing with the Punjab problem the ruling party at the Centre places its immediate narrow selfish political interest above the solution of the Punjab problem. We need not dilate upon the danger of terrorism or in what unequivocal terms we should condemn terrorism. Especially when I speak on behalf of our party, we know that we need not have to underline the glorious sacrifices that the activists of the left parties, the two Communist Parties, have made on the soil of Punjab. Punjab has a great tradition of fighting for our Independence. We remember the valiant fight put up by Gaddar revolutionaries. We salute them. We remember the glorious sacrifice of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. And with humility and confidence, we claim that we of the left are trying to carry forward that tradition in Punjab with whatever limitations we have.

I had personally been to Punjab in the recent past. I was there for three or four days to attend the State level Youth Conference. At gunpoint, we held our conference for three days, challenging the terrorists. We held mammoth rallies which were addressed by Shri E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the veteran freedom fighter, and other youth leaders. And we returned on the 17th of last month after the con-

ference. The day we reached Delhi, we received the most shocking and agonising news of the topmost youth leader of our organisation, Shri Sohan Singh Dheasin, being killed. He was selected at the conference in which we participated as secretary. We embraced and parted. We never expected that he would be killed the very next day. The Veteran Communist leader, Shri Darshan Singh Canadian, was murdered by the terrorists. I do not want to recall all the names, or sacrifices and all that. Now it is universally accepted. And leaders belonging to different other political parties are also being killed. I do not say that only Communists are being killed, or leaders and cadres of left parties are being killed. Some Congress (I) leaders are being killed; some BJP leaders have been killed and many people not belonging to any political party—innocent people—hundreds of them—are being killed. And what is the role of Congress(I) as a national party? Does Congress(I) do something to mobilise masses at the grassroot level?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: (Tamil Nadu): They have no connection with the grassroots.

SHRI M. A. BABY: This is the simple question I ask from those who speak about grassroot democracy. Our people are being murdered when they work, among the masses of people, when they try to organise people knowing fully well that they are being identified, they are being followed. They are being killed. The State President of DFYI was murdered within a span of two years. Now the State Secretary has been murdered. Hundreds of them are being murdered when they go among the masses of people and organise them. And what is the role of Congress(I)? Congress(I) is also speaking against terrorism. On the one hand, the Punjab problem is being used by the ruling party at the centre for its narrow political gains. That is our charge number one. There is no point in somebody standing up from that side and speaking about the foreign hand and destabilisation on all that. I would like to put a simple question. There have

been many summits where our Prime Minister had opportunities of meeting the popular Prime Minister of Pakistan. I do not want details, but did our Prime Minister ever take up this question, especially when we had so many occasions at our hands, regarding the role played by those external political forces in training the terrorists of Punjab, in arming terrorists in Punjab? Did we ever take up this issue? Should we not take up this issue? So, just speaking about the role of foreign hands in whipping up terrorist violence in Punjab will not help.

Now it is being stated that a critical stage has been reached in fighting terrorism. What is that critical stage? I have been going through some of the statistics. The Barnala Government was dismissed under the plea that it failed to deal with the situation, and President's rule was imposed. I fully understand the futility of comparing statistics, especially in relation to human lives. Whether it is five people or ten people killed, innocent lives are snatched away by terrorists. But, as you have raised this question that terrorism is being controlled or terrorists are on the run and things like that, I am forced to quote certain statistics. During the 20-month rule of Barnala, 709 people were killed by terrorists. During 19 months of President's rule—one month less than the Barnala rule—2,966 people were killed by terrorists. And it does not include the latest figure of 1989; it does not include the figure of the last nine months. So, the claims of the ruling party at the Centre are totally bogus, totally baseless. Therefore, I want to mention the point which we repeated many times over, that only by a political solution can the Punjab problem be solved. There, the ruling party at the Centre—the Congress Party—should have some confidence in the people. When I say this, I wonder whether it can ever have some confidence in the people. But, when we discuss the Punjab problem, we should admire, praise and congratulate the

people of Punjab for the glorious role played by the people of Punjab despite all the provocation. Despite the most trying and difficult situation that prevails in Punjab, they could preserve unity. I do not want to recall instances when terrorists asked people belonging to a certain community to come out and line up and how people reacted in situations like that. There were many experiences to underline this point.

Now, when we speak about holding Assembly elections, the Treasury Benches say that it is impossible. But here, a paradoxical situation exists. The Prime Minister, at one point of time, had said, "We are going to hold panchayat elections in Punjab." This was the claim. I do not know what happened to that. Now the Governor says that Parliament elections can be held. So, only middle level elections cannot be held there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I am concluding. This is a very strange situation. Once the Prime Minister claimed that panchayat elections were going to be held, and the Government advises that Parliament elections can be held. But Assembly elections cannot be held!

Now, my honourable colleague from the other side referred to the "sensitive nature", especially from the national security point of view in view of the fact that Punjab forms part of our borders and all that. It is due to the same reasons that we demand that there should be a popularly elected Government in Punjab, because the ruling party at the Centre is playing with fire. Going by its narrow, selfish political interests, the situation in Punjab has been vitiated by the ruling party at the Centre and, in the same way, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir is being vitiated today. That State also forms part of our northern borders. I do not want to refer to what is happening in relation to the Bodo agitation in Assam or how extremists are being given all sorts of encourage-

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ment and help in the State of Andhra Pradesh to destabilize the situation there. Therefore, we accuse that the present Central Government is the greatest destabilising factor in Indian politics today. And the Punjab problem, or for that matter any other serious problem that our country is facing today, cannot be solved with the present Government at the Centre.

I have already referred to the situation that exists in Punjab in relation to the role of the bureaucracy and the police. Some describe the situation by using the term "State terrorism" that exists in Punjab, which I do not want to repeat or I do not subscribe to. But if any agency with integrity conducts an enquiry into the way in which the Sub-Inspectors and ASIs...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I am concluding, Sir. Thank you for your indulgence. I am concluding now.

Sub-Inspectors and ASIs, many of them—I do not say "everybody" but most of them—are minting money like anything utilising the situation. Similarly the administration.

A reference, a very correct reference has been made by my colleague from the other side, Mr. Gupta, that even after hundreds of terrorists have been killed according to the Government, how more and more people are getting recruited as terrorists. That question was raised. But my hon. colleague could not give a cohesive reply to that. The administration and the police there are playing a very important role in recruiting people as terrorists. During day time houses are being raided. People are harassed. Money is extracted. If it continues for weeks and weeks, together, what can the young do?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI M. A. BABY: So many are being driven away to the camp of terrorists by the role, the inglorious role being played by the administration and the police in Punjab.

Now, Sir, we are being told...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please conclude within two seconds.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I am concluding. Some "black cats" or "cat squads" are being formed with the extremists who have been arrested and who have confessed and with some other people to find out the hide-outs of the extremists and all that. I do not know how this can be successful. My own experience of having gone there and discussed with people, is that I am told this group is also playing havoc with the lives of the ordinary mass of people in Punjab.

While concluding, Sir, of late, the ruling party at the Centre is again taking recourse to a very dangerous line of so-called solution. They have installed one Mr. Manjit Singh as the leader of the AISSF.

AN HON. MEMBER: Another Bhindranwale.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Now this Mr. Manjit Singh is being portrayed as a mere student leader. He is the President of the AISSF. I am reminded of the description by the present Prime Minister who at that time was the General Secretary of the AICC; how he described Bhindranwale as a spiritual leader who does not have any political ambitions. Now the very same person who happens to be the Prime Minister of our country, accuses the Opposition of hobnobbing with terrorists.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please conclude.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I am concluding, Sir.

So, in the way in which Bhindranwale was brought into the picture now many new Bhindranwales are being brought into the picture. The latest addition is this Mr. Manjit Singh. With all humility I would like to warn the Central Government that this sort of dangerous and nefarious move will not help in the solution of the Punjab problem. There is a saying in Malayalam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please conclude. No more time.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I am concluding, Sir. A national poet of Kerala, Shri K. Maran Asan said in Malayalam. This means a fly going into a lantern, a lamp, extinguishes the light. In that process it kills itself also. Here the Congress(I) being the ruling party at the Centre is trying its level best to extinguish democracy by different means. But I would like to remind the Congress(I) that in this process of destroying democracy, assassinating democracy, extinguishing democracy, the Congress(I) would commit suicide, but the people at large will take charge and the light of democracy will continue to flutter. I may point out that this dangerous and nefarious game of the Congress(I) will not help. It is inflicting a grave damage to the democratic traditions of our country. That shows importance to the unity of our country is not being given. The latest revelations substantiate my point. At 2.30 the Associate Editor of THE HINDU, Mr. N. Ram, had a press conference where it has been conclusively proved with evidence that under the top-most leader, who speaks about protecting the national security of our country and all that, the interests of our country have been bartered away for crores and crores of rupees. This has been proved. So, such a Government and such a leader cannot protect the country's interests

-naose, shrd cmfw shrdlu cmfwyp cmfwam and integrity and unity and sovereignty of our country. Only by removing this party from the Centre the prestige of our country can be restored. Punjab problem and other problems faced by the Indian people can also be solved by removing this party. All the problems faced by the Indian people can be solved by removing this party. Therefore, I oppose this move to extend the President's rule in Punjab.

The Deputy Chairman in the Chair

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): All of us experience *deja vu* some time or the other in our life when you feel that you have been in this experience before. So, it is with a sense of *deja vu* that I stand up today when the Government is asking for the extension of President's rule which when roughly translated in the lay man's language in Punjab and outside, means further atrocities against women further police excess, further denial of democratic processes and further denial of democratic decision-making. That is what it means to the people of this country. Why did they want to impose the President's rule in the first instance? Why did they want to remove the popularly elected Government? They said it was a law and order problem. They still claim it is a law and order problem to some extent, not to mention the absolutely ridiculous claims they had in the other House which were very rightly enlightened by my colleague, those of critical stages of terrorism or whatever they call it. I cannot apply my mind to such asinine insinuations. It is no longer just a law and order problem. It is an emotional problem. It is a political problem. It is violation of sensibilities. It is an erosion and abrasion of democratic processes. Under the guise of this we brought about in this House this Resolution. Some of us went with you, some of us opposed justly so. We have a reservation when the Government kept asking for more and more powers which they claimed were being used for the benefit of the State... (Interruptions) ... Madam, I would like your attention.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, I am sorry my attention has been disturbed.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam, there is no Home Minister present in the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They have gone to have at least a cup of tea.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: On the one hand you want to impose President's rule on a State and on the other this is the attention of the Treasury Benches which they show.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One Cabinet Minister and other Ministers are there. Don't worry.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE (SHRI P. R. DAS MUNSHI): We shall inform word to word.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): There are three Home Ministers at the Centre.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Under the guise of protecting the State, to look after the State, we kept asking this august House for more and more powers, more and more provisions. We passed the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities Bill and Special Courts Bill. We waived the Indian Evidence Act. The House also empowered them to use article 249. The basic violation of the philosophy of jurisprudence whereby let a man be said to be innocent till he is proved guilty. In Punjab we take the Indian away. You lock him up and you tell him that he is guilty till he proves he is innocent. We have violated every decent norm of humanity, every essence of decency and we in this House irrespective of what party, which State we belong to are all guilty. We are all guilty of this crime. Today, we stand on the floor of this House and sound self-righteous in being divided into party sectors and we claim or proclaim our faith to an individual and speak what is not the truth and our heart does not bleed for our brothers and sisters in Punjab. The Bills that are passed in Parliament as for

example, Prevention of Atrocities against Women Bill are not applicable in Punjab. The women who suffered in police excesses in Batala, widely publicised have no sympathy from this House. No action has been taken. When the time comes, Madam, we have to question ourselves. What kind of people are we? As my colleague, Mr. Baby, has said, let us today stand up and salute the people of Punjab.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam, the Minister cannot have his back towards you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't turn your back towards the Chair. He must be having consultations. Renuka, continue.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Despite individuals standing on the floor of this House who were thanking the Congressmen of Punjab, the credit goes to the people of Punjab. Every Indian who had stood up is the perfect symbol of secularism. Communities are living in great harmony despite the disruptive effort of the ruling party. For that I salaam the people *mera Bharat mahan*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I thought you are concluding.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh): That means she has accepted "*Mera Bharat Mahan*".

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: I salute for these words.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Thank you. We will salute each other outside.

Madam, they talked about holding of Panchayat elections. Why? Because they are holding the seats in Punjab for ransom. They know that they are not going to win the elections there. They hold the seats to ransom and dangle the carrot. They say "We are going to hold the Panchayat elections in Punjab but not parliamentary elections". Since they are seeking

extension of President's rule in Punjab where is the guarantee of holding Assembly elections? There is no guarantee.

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंज ब) :
पंजाब में पालियामेंटरी इलेक्शन तो अभी
हुआ ही नहीं ।

श्रीमती रेणुका चौधरी : मरदार
साहब, जब हांगी ... (व्यवधान) आप
तशरीफ रखिएगा ।

श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल : इलेक्शन
तो अभी हुआ ही नहीं ।

श्रीमती रेणुका चौधरी : हां-हां, अभी
सुना दूंगी । ... (व्यवधान)

Madam, why am I opposing this? I am opposing this not because I am in the Opposition, not even because I am a woman of this country, not for anything but I am questioning the basic honesty of this Government in wanting to implement it. There is a basic dishonesty which propels this Government to a self-destruction which they seem to be bent on and I cannot stand by as a mute witness to watch this destruction in this part of my nation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mute, you are definitely not.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY:
Thank you, Madam. That is a tribute to my vocal ability. Madam, I draw your attention to what my colleague Mr. Yashwant Sinha has said about the 1984 riots. 3700 Indians died in the capital. They were murdered. It was a deliberate, premeditated cold-blooded murder. Where is the conscience of this country? Where is the conscience of the ruling party? What is going to happen to those widows, those orphans? उनकी माता तुम्हें लगेगी ।

And then Madam, I will tell you what is going on in Andhra. Wait. The Home

Minister is not here; it was not important enough for him to be here. I would like, through you, to ask him to recollect how many men in uniform were killed during the 1984 riots, whose uniform signifies the might, the honour, the faith and the integrity of my country, the MAHANTA of my Bharat. यह क्या सिखाने वाले हैं हमारे को महानता क्या चीज होती है । There was one query raised. They said, what is happening in Andhra? There is a book recently published in Canada called "Soft Target". The Government has not denied these allegations.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't have a running commentary. Mrs. Chowdhury, your time is over.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY:
Madam, you have allowed others to encroach on my time. (Interruptions) "The Government of India's intelligence operatives or the Centre's systematic and persistent policy of encouraging violence in Opposition-ruled States and the irreparable damage this policy has done to the national interest..." The Government has not denied this and if they have any doubt about what I am saying, do read the magazine "Surya". It is very much there, what the intelligence agencies of the ruling Government are being used for and how they are detrimental to this Government.

I am very vociferous in saying that I wholeheartedly oppose the continuation of President's rule in Punjab. You cannot reduce the people of Punjab to statistics, to reasoning. Please define what you mean by critical stages. It may be quite different from what the rest of the people in this country think about it and when the elections come, the people of this country are going to transgress all these limitations and then the Congress will be running from the country. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Shanker Singh Vaghela. Mr. Vaghela, before I ask you to speak, I want to make

[The Deputy Chairman]

one announcement, I am going to abide by time very strictly because we have to discuss the communal situation also. Now, you have five minutes. Please confine yourself to five minutes.

श्री शंकर सिंह बाबेला (गुजरात) :
मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं सन् 1984 से राज्य सभा में हूँ, शायद ही कोई राज्य सभा का सत्र ऐसा गया हो जिसमें जाब के बारे में इस हाउस में चिन्ता नप की हो और हमारी सरकार ने तो जो मगर के आंसू बहाती है इन्होंने ऐसा जबाब न दिया हो कि पंजाब हमारे कंट्रोल में है पंजाब में ला एंड आर्डर हम कंट्रोल कर रहे हैं।

यह सरकार या कांग्रेस में इन के ब्लड में, कांग्रेसी कलचर के ब्लड में टोलरेंस नहीं है आत्म-सहिष्णुता नहीं है। नेशनल काँग्रेस जम्मू-कश्मीर में जब अकेले अब्दुल्ला साहब थे, तब यह उनके खिलाफ थे और आज आप पार्टनरशिप में हैं तो वह आपके लिए अच्छे हैं। आप आसाम में बोडो के द्वारा आसाम गवर्नमेंट को अप्रैट करने जा रहे हैं। आप ऊँच भी करते हैं और धर राईट को, आसाम को भी आप निर्बल करने जा रहे हैं। आंध्र प्रदेश में नक्सलवादियों को उकसा रहे हैं। आपने वेस्ट-बंगाल में किनको तैयार किया है? आपने अभी तमिलनाडु में मदुराई में यह किया। आप हरियाणा में एम० एल० एज० की शांति-परचींग करने जा रहे हैं। कोई आपोजीशन पार्टी किसी राज्य में है तो वह आपकी आंख-से चुभती है कि कब यह सरकार वहाँ से उठे और इनकी सरकार आए।

महोदया, पंजाब के मामले में मैं ज्यादा दूर नहीं जाना चाहता, हमारे आनी जैल सिंह जी, जिन्होंने पंजाब में, हमारी इंदिरा जी से मिलकर, अकालियों को खदेड़ने के लिए, कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार बनाने के लिए सिर्फ वोटों की राजनीति में, घटिया राजनीति में पंजाब में नजर आया, जो भिडरावालों का भूत

आपने खड़ा किया, भिडरावालों को जो भगवान या संत आपने बताया था, उसी भिडरावालों का भूत आज पंजाब के हर जवान के ऊपर, जो पंजाब के लिए लड़ता है, अपने आपको टेरारिस्ट कहलाता है, वह भिडरावालों को गुरु मानकर चलता है। ऐसी स्थिति पैदा करने वाले आप हैं, आपकी बेटों की राजनीति है।

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, इस हाउस में कांग्रेस को सपोर्ट करने वाले विपक्ष में से सिर्फ बी० जे० पी० के लोग थे जो सिक्योरिटी बेल्ट के लिए आप जब, आर्टिकल 249 लाकर इंटरोड्यूस करने जा रहे थे तब हमने आपसे कहा था कि आप पंजाब की सरहद को सील कीजिए। उस समय हम विपक्ष के साथ न होकर अलग थे क्योंकि पंजाब का मामला ऐसा था, जो पाकिस्तान से स हुआ इलाका है, उसको बिना सील किए एंड बोर्डर को बिना सील किए कभी भी यह प्रोब्लम सॉल्व होने वाली नहीं है। आज इतने साल हो गए, आर्टिकल 249 को लिए हुए, क्या आपने बोर्डर को सिक्योरिटी के हिसाब से सील किया और अगर नहीं किया, आर्मी को नहीं सौंपा तो क्या बर्ह है? यह क्या मैं आपसे जान सकता हूँ? आप बार-बार कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान का हाथ है। इसके पीछे अगर कोई हाथ है तो वह आपका कांग्रेस "आई" का सिम्बोल, दो हेण्ड, खूनो पंजा है। अगर पाकिस्तान का हाथ है तो आप पकड़िए। अगर पाकिस्तान का हाथ है वहाँ अगर टेरारिस्ट को ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है या वह आर्म्स सप्लाई करते हैं तो आप बोर्डर सील कीजिए, आर्मी रखकर कीजिए और जो भी जवान हमारे पाकिस्तान में हैं, इंडियन सिटिजन हैं, उसके लिए पाकिस्तान सरकार को कहें कि हमारे नागरिक आपके देश में हैं, वह हमको सौंप दें। अगर अच्छे रिश्तान रखना है तो पाकिस्तान में जो ट्रेनिंग कैंप हैं, जो वहाँ से आर्म्स सप्लाई होते हैं, उसके लिए कड़ा व्यवहार करें और सिक्योरिटी के हिसाब से बोर्डर आर्मी को सौंपें, यह पूरी सरहद सील करें।

महोदया, मैंने सुना कि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी पाकिस्तान की प्रधानमंत्री बेनजीर भुट्टो जी को मिले थे और वह कहते हैं कि बनो और जो तो मानती है, लेकिन उनकी आर्मी नहीं मानती। अगर पाकिस्तान की आर्मी नहीं मानती है तो हमारा आर्मी ये आप कहिए कि वह पाकिस्तान की आर्मी से बात कर ले। इसमें कौनसी बड़ी बात है। क्योंकि पीछे भी कई बार हमने जाबाब दिया है। तो मेहरबानी करके बातचीत में भी ऐसा मझौल नहीं होना चाहिए कि भारतीय सरकार पाकिस्तान से अच्छे रिलेशन रखने के लिए टैरारिस्ट केम्प भी वहां चले, पंजाब में टैरारिस्ट की एण्ट्री हो, पूरा पंजाब आर्सेनल हो और हम कुछ न बोलें। इसके लिए अगर पाकिस्तान के अच्छे सलूक भी आपको नुकसान करते हैं तो हमारी आर्मी उनकी आर्मी के मामले वहां बोर्डर पर त्रिकोरेटो के हिसाब से रखनी चाहिए।

मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन : यह आतंकवाद का मामला आज से नहीं है... (समय की घंटी)...

उपसभापति : आपका टाईम खत्म हो गया है।

श्री शंकर सिंह बाघेला : दो मिनिट लूंग, बहुत ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा क्योंकि यह मामला बहुत इम्पोर्टेंट है।

उपसभापति : इस हाऊस में सारे मामले इम्पोर्टेंट होते हैं, इसलिए कृपया कम समय लें।

श्री शंकर सिंह बाघेला : मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, पंजाब के लोगों को जितनी बचाई दी जाय, कम है। पंजाब में कई लोग मारे गए, हमारे पंजाब के बी० जे० पी० स्टेट इन्सिडेण्ट मारे गये, यूथ विंग के इन्सिडेण्ट मारे गए, मोगा में आर० एम० एम० का हत्य कांड हुआ। सी०पी०एम० के, कांग्रेस के फिर भी आपकी मंशा थी कि वहां सिख और हिंदू की लड़ाई हो। लेकिन ईश्वर की मेहरबानी है कि आज वहां हिंदू-हिंदू हैं सिख-सिख हैं और दोनों भाई की तरह

वहां रहते हैं। इसके लिये पंजाब के लोगों को जितनी बचाई दी जाये, कम है। अगर आप वहां प्रोब्लम का सोल्यूशन चाहते हैं तो प्रधानमंत्री और बूटा सिंह जो अमृतसर स्वर्ण मंदिर में जाकर माफी मांगे कि जो गलती हो गयी उसकी पुनरावृत्ति नहीं करे। इसे पोलिटिकल प्रोसेस से न कर हुये मानवता से और सब को देखते हुये इस समस्या का समाधान खोजें। राजनीति को एक साइड में रखकर अगर आप सोल्यूशन सोंचेंगे तो उचित होगा। पंजाब में एक साथ लोक सभा और विधान सभा के चुनाव करवाने के लिए एश्योरेंस अगर आप देते हैं तो ठीक रहेगा। सन् 1984 में जो दिल्ली में रायट्स हुए उसके संबंध में कमिशन आफ इन्क्वायरी बिठाया गया था वह इन्क्वायरी भी भंग कर दी गयी है। उसका जवाब भी लोग मानते हैं। सन् 84 में रायट्स करने वाले लोग जो आज दाय-दायें बम रहे हैं, इसके कारण भी पंजाब के लोग नाराज हैं। आखिर में पंजाब में जो वहां आर्म्स पकड़े गए...

उपसभापति : अब आप बैठ जाइये। आप प्लीज बैठ जाइये।

I am sorry. I am strictly abiding by time. You can write a letter to the Home Minister.

श्री शंकर सिंह बाघेला : मैं एक वाक्य में अपना भाषण पूरा करूंगा। ए०के०47 रायफल्स जो रा ने मंगवाये थे और वे कस्टम में पकड़े गये उसके बारे में इन्क्वायरी की जाये अगर इस बारे में मन्तनीय मंत्री जी जवाब देंगे तो मैं आभारी होऊंगा।

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, this decision to promulgate President's rule in Punjab was not a happy decision. It was a difficult decision taken at a time when the Akali Government showed total lack of capacity and the will to fight terrorism. Unfortunately, what we hear today from the other side is an accusation, the same accusation, that the Centre is carrying on with President's rule with

[Shri Pawan Kumar]

narrow political interests. Madam, this accusation is shown of any substance and an honest assessment of the situation prevailing in the State and of the reaction and responses of the Congress to the various national and other issues.

Madam, the Centre though of promulgating President's rule in realisation of its responsibility to protect every State against internal disturbances. And if they were to go into the record of the Congress it is for everybody to see that it was the Congress, the Darbara Singh Government, that resigned, that it was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who incited discussions with Sant Longowal and reached the Sant Longowal-Rajiv Gandhi accord. There was an accusation of extinguishing democracy by Congress. It was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who wanted to ensure that the flame of democracy remain alive in the country and he entered into an agreement with Sant Longowal. It was the failure of the Akali Government and total indifference of the Opposition parties which led to the present situation. It was the Congress which decided to go to the masses. Meetings were arranged. The platform was provided by the Congress. Some of my hon. friends from here went to Punjab. And what did they do? They only secured the do? They only accused the Government, they only accused the Congress at the platform provided by the Congress. That is all they have contributed in solving the Punjab problem.

Madam, there was a high-power committee constituted by the Prime Minister. A high-power committee of 8 Central Ministers went to Punjab. And how many of them associated or cooperated with that committee? Today they are laughing at the decision not to hold panchayat elections in Punjab. They are forgetting so soon that it was they, and without exception all the Opposition parties, who did not want panchayat elections to be held in Punjab. And today when an effort is being made to start the democratic process by holding parliamentary elections, they take objection to it. Ma-

dam, this response of theirs, this approach of theirs, betrays a lack of comprehension about the position that an Assembly holds in a State. The Centre has not said that the situation is not conducive to holding any elections at all. But they very well know as to what would be the responsibility of the law-keeping forces, if elections to 117 constituencies were to be held along with 13 constituencies for Parliament. The State Government would be burdened with the law and order problem. It would have to provide security to all the candidates which those people field from the other side. The number of candidates would run into thousands. If we hold only parliamentary elections, the number of candidates would be not more than a hundred.

Madam, a very irresponsible—permit me to use that word—allegation was made against the Congress saying that Congress is a destabilising force in the country. I want to remind them of a very recent incident. The duty of every Government, under the Constitution or otherwise, is to look to the welfare of the people, is to work for the progress and prosperity of the State and the country. But what did we have on the 30th of August this year? The ruling governments of non-Congress Parties in different States organised *bandhs*. We, for the first time, saw Ministers stopping trains. Here Mr. Baby was taking of a reign of terror let loose by the Congress in Punjab. He is forgetting what his cadres are doing with the Congress workers in his State. He is forgetting what his people have done with the press people in his State. Just to laugh is not enough. What is required is self-introspection, a true and honest self-introspection. Madam, it is the wisdom of the people of this country who have not voted the CPM to power at the Centre. Otherwise, the country would have been destroyed by now. The country would have faced a situation which the people of West Bengal are facing today.

Madam, hon. Shri Shanker Singh Vaghela also used the time given to him for only hurling accusations against the Congress. I do not want to go into the gene-

sia of the Punjab problem. But permit me to say that the Punjab problem began with Mr. Shanker Singh Vaghela's party did 20 years back. They went to each house. They caught hold of the Hindus and asked them to declare Hindi as their mother tongue. That was the beginning of the Punjab problem. Today he gets up in the House to say that it is the Congress which is perpetuating the situation there! Madam, it is the BJP which is worsening the situation in Punjab. Here we find very convenient ploys to accuse the Government for all the failures resulting from the distorted policies due to lack of ideology by the people sitting on the other side.

Hon. Renuka Chowdhuryji tried to put forward a unique theory today. She said that she equates the promulgation of President's rule with atrocities on women. Madam, I do not know from where she draws this inference. The founding fathers of the Constitution incorporated a provision for the President's rule to save the system from total collapse when a particular situation develops in the country. It is in furtherance of that that the Congress has always acted. The interest before the Congress, the motivating factor for the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, is not the welfare of the Congress, is not the welfare of any individual in this party. It is that of the country. That has been demonstrated amply by him, by our people, by our Government.

Madam, because of the time that you have given me, I won't like to dwell further on it. But I would only like to say that the situation in Punjab will be solved if our hon. Members on the other side tell Akalis—they have no base of their own and Akalis are their partners—that they should unite, unite not for the myopic purpose of stalling any initiative by the Congress but to unite for the welfare of the people of Punjab, to unite for the welfare of the country. Only then there could be some semblance of what we say a political process being started in the State.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy. Only five minutes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They are all telling you that I should be given more time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They are saying that you don't go to Sri Lanka and confine yourself to Punjab.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, the flames in Punjab have not been put out. Punjab is still in flames. It has become the Ulster of India. Madam, I would accuse this Government...

SHRI BUTA SINGH: What else can you do?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:... That they are not earnest to solve the problem in Punjab. Rather they would like to continue the problem, they would see that the problem perpetuates and continues in Punjab for their own political advantage.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. Narayanasamy) in the Chair].

Sir, when Mr. Barnala was the Chief Minister of Punjab, for the first time in the history of this Parliament, during the Joint Session, the President of India in his Address applauded the role of the Chief Minister, mentioning even the name of the Chief Minister, Mr. Barnala. But what happened? Within six months, he had to face the fate of whoever goes nearer to this Congress(I). It is their own strategy—get closer, gain confidence, and stab them behind the back. This is their strategy. Sir, when there was a debate about the Barnala Government, I stated on the floor of this House: "Now the Barnala Government is a buffer between the extremists and the Central Government. Don't remove that buffer." But, at that time, the Home Minister said that law and order failed, the missionaries failed and so the Barnala Government should not continue. But what has happened? I may give the figures of killings in the year 1987 during Mr. Barnala's rule and in 1988 during the President's Rule. In the month of January, 1987 during Mr. Barnala's regime, the number of killings was 63. But in January, 1988, during the President's Rule it was 143. In February, 1987, dur-

[Shri V. Narayanasamy]
ing Mr. Barnala's regime, the figure was 41, and in February, 1988, it was 141. In March, 1987, during Mr. Barnala's regime it was 65. In March, 1988, the figure was 265. In April, 1987, it was 80. But in the month of April, 1988, it was 244. In the month of May, 1987, it was 71. But in the month of May, 1988, it was 340. The number goes on like this, double, treble and quadruple.

Now, what is your argument? Have you solved the problem? When Mr. Rebeiro took over the charge of the Police force in Punjab, he stated, "bullet for bullet, and that if the terrorists have got a hit-list, the Police force also got a hit-list". But, Sir, Now the very same Rebeiro, the supercop had to admit the fact that unless we win over the hearts and minds of the people of Punjab, the problem can not be solved by more police force. What does it show? But you have not won over the hearts and minds of the people of Punjab. Sir, I give you just one illustration. Yesterday, there was a demonstration by the riot victims. It was a very pathetic sight, a heart-breaking sight. Hundreds and hundreds of widows who have lost their husbands, who have lost their bread-winners during the November, 1984 riots had to demonstrate after five years to get justice. I would like to ask the Home Minister: Till date, what have you done? Even according to your official figures, 2,733 persons were killed during the November riots. But till date nobody has been prosecuted. What is the reason? you could say that Jain-Banerjee committee was constituted. Now the court has given a verdict. But who is responsible for this? When the Ranganath Mishra commission gave the verdict that a committee should be constituted, the committee should have been constituted under the ambit of the Commissions of Inquiry Act. Now after five years you are telling that no case has been registered, nothing could be done now. Even to this date this Parliament has not discussed the Ranganath Mishra Commission report. And then how can you win the hearts and minds of the people of Punjab? They are getting more and more alienated from you because of

your policies. (Time bell rings). Sir, you do not know the quagmire you have created in Punjab. You propped up Bhindranwale for your own benefit. Then you recently also propped up Manjit Singh, brother of Amrik Singh, who was killed in the Bluestar operation.

What happened to the Jodhpur detenus? They are still languishing in jails. They have been rotting in jails for years. Innocent people. One day there was an announcement that a group of persons will be released. There was an announcement. When they came out of the jail, again they were captured and again they were taken to the prison. This is the justice you are giving of the people of Punjab. Therefore, you have lost the confidence of the people of Punjab. Now the voice of extremists is getting more and more louder. Who is responsible for this? It is you who are responsible, because you wanted to crush the regional parties, you wanted to silence the voice of the regional parties. You tried it in Kashmir and as a result the pro-Pakistan elements are raising their head. Then you have tried in Assam and you have instigated the Bodos. You wanted to crush the regional party in Andhra Pradesh and you created Bashkar Rao. You wanted to crush Telugu Desam. You tried it in Tamil Nadu also. But because of the dynamic leadership of our party and our organisational set up we have survived and you were not able to capture power. You are, by doing this, really playing with fire, since you accept the concept of federalism. If you want to annihilate the basic concept of federalism then you cannot protect the unity and integrity of this country. Therefore, the present situation in Punjab has arisen because of the bungling of your Government.

श्री धर्मपाल (जम्मू और कश्मीर) :
उपसभापति महोदय पंजाब में तीन बड़े बड़े टैरेरिस्टों के जो आउटफिट काम कर रहे हैं उनमें मिडर-वाला टाइगर फोर्स, के सी एक खालिस्तान कमांडो फोर्स और बबर खालसा इन जतीनों के लीडर जो हैं वह पाकिस्तान में बैठे हुये हैं। पाकिस्तान की राजधानी में उनको सरकार ने उनको

बेस्ट हाउस में रखा हुआ है। हर किस्म की सहूलियत उनको जा रही है। जो रिक्वेस्ट होकर यहां से जाते हैं तो उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है। वे बैपन्स लेकर आते हैं। यहां तक कि पाकिस्तान के जो रॉजस सलीक करते हैं हमारे बार्डर पर तो उनको शील्टर देते हैं। यह दुष्ट है कि पाकिस्तान में जम्हूरियन आने के बाद और प्रधान मंत्री जी का साकं कांफ्रेंस में वहां जाने के बाद हमारे ताल्लुकात आपस में काफी अच्छे हो रहे हैं। भारत चाहता है कि पाकिस्तान से अच्छे ताल्लुकात हों। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि वहां टैरेरिस्टों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाए और उनके लीडरों को वहां पर रखा जाये। यही नहीं जम्मू-कश्मीर में भी कैम्प खुले हैं। पाकिस्तान में, पाक आकुपाइड कश्मीर में उनको ट्रेनिंग देकर, टैरेरिस्टों को बैपन्स देकर यहां भेजा जा रहा है। कश्मीर में भी हालात खराब किये जा रहे हैं। यह बर्दास्त नहीं हो सकता। जो ताबत भारत को तोड़ने की कोशिश करेगी चाहे पंजाब में करे या कश्मीर में करे। हम चाहते हैं कि हालात ठीक हों। लेकिन हम यह डिमांड करेंगे भारत सरकार से, होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कि पाकिस्तान सरकार को यह कहा जाए कि तीनों टॉप टैरेरिस्ट जो हैं बासिन सिंह अफरवाल, सुखदेव सिंह, गुरुबचन सिंह मनोचहल इनको भारत को हैंडओवर किया जाये। इन पर रियासत के खिलाफ मुल्क के खिलाफ भेदभाव करने का और दूसरे क्राइम करने का मुकदमा चलाया जाये, उन को प्रोसिक्यूट किया जाये यह 6.00 P.M. मेरी मांग है। क्योंकि चुप रहने से काम नहीं चलेगा। हर बार कहा जाता है कि इसमें पाकिस्तान का हाथ है और बार्डर पर वे लोगों को भेज रहे हैं, कश्मीर में भेज रहे हैं, इसलिये हमारा स्टैंड वजा होना चाहिये और सख्त होना चाहिये, यह मेरी मांग है। एक बार हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने चुनाव में जाने से पहले वायदा किया था कि पंजाब में अमनो-अमन कायम करने के लिये वे एनिसि-युडिय जैसे तो राजीव-लॉगोवाल एकाइंड

हुआ। अकाली दल के बड़े नेता श्री प्रकाश सिंह बादल और श्री तोहरा इसके हक में नहीं थे। अकाली दल के सेकेन्ड रैंक के नेता श्री बरनाला, श्री बलवन्त सिंह, श्री लॉगोवाल के साथ आये लेकिन न श्री बादल ने और न ही श्री तोहरा ने इसको माना। इलेक्शन हुये तो 72 के करीब मेम्बर उनके हाउस में आये। उनमें आपस में लड़ाई हो गई। चीफ मिनिस्टर बरनाला जी बने, लेकिन बनना चाहते थे श्री बादल। उनको डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाने की मांग थी। इस तरह से अकाली दल के दो हिस्से हो गये और बरनाला साहब की सरकार चली तो उसमें चन्दू माजरा और वसन्त सिंह जैसे लोग भी थे जिनके टैरोरिस्ट के साथ संबंध थे और जब वे पकड़े जाते थे तो वे उनको छुड़वा देते थे। कई बार ऐसा हुआ कि एस०एच०ओ० मारा गया। कत्लान तो आम बात थी। उनकी सरकार गिरी तो प्रेजिडेंट कूल लगाना पड़ा। यह हालात पैदा करने में किसका कसूर था? अकाली दल का विभाजन हुआ और वे महत्वकांक्षी भी थे और इसलिये नहीं चल सके और सरकार नहीं चला सके। हर बार जब राष्ट्रपति का शासन एक्सटेन्ड करने की बात होती है, तो हालत में सुधार हो रहा है, यह कहा जाता है। भारतीय जनता पार्टी कहती है कि आर्टिकल 249 के लिये उन्होंने मदद दी है। हमने पावर ली। बहुत से लोगों को बार्डर से उठाना पड़ता। किसानों की पैदावार का सवाल था। किसानों के साथ कांग्रेस की हमदर्दी है। इसलिये इसको इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया। लेकिन फेंसिंग की गई। उसके बाद कितने हालात सुधरे हैं। आज टैरोरिस्ट मारे जा रहे हैं और पकड़े जा रहे हैं। कल ही सतनामसिंह बाबा को जो हरदर सिंह जिंदा का साथी था मारा गया है। बहुत से टैरोरिस्ट सरेंडर कर रहे हैं। हमारी सिक्योरिटी फोर्स का मनोबल बढ़ा है। अब हालात यह है कि पंजाब बार्डर से टैरोरिस्ट नहीं आ रहे हैं। वे जम्मू-कश्मीर से और कछूर से आ रहे हैं और ऐसा लगता है कि उनका लिक कश्मीर में जो लिबरेशन फ्रंट है और जो लोग वहां से

[श्री धर्मपाल]

ट्रेनिंग लेकर आ रहे हैं, उनसे और मुजहोदीन से हैं। हमारे भारत मुल्क को जो लोग तोड़ना चाहते हैं और इसमें कुछ इंटरनेशनल ताक भी हो सकती हैं, उनकी भी इसमें साजिश है।

जहां तक पंजाब की सरकारों का चालूक है, वहां पर हर प्रकार से तरक्की हुई है, चाहे एग्रीकल्चर की बात हो, पैदावार की बात हो, वहां पर इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है, ला एण्ड आर्डर की प्रोजेक्शन अच्छी हुई है। गवर्नर ने कहा है कि यह लड़ाई फाइनल स्टेज पर है सेक्सोरिटी फोर्सिंग का मनोबल बढ़ा है टेरोरिस्ट घबड़ा गये हैं। इसके लिए कुछ और वक्त चाहिए। हम भी चाहते हैं कि पार्लियामेंट के चुनाव वहां पर जरूर होने चाहिए। गवर्नर का रुल कितने दिन चल सकता है? पोपुलर सरकार ही उसका जवाब है। वहां चुनाव होने चाहिए। कांग्रेस इसके हक में है। इसमें कसूर किसका है। वहां बड़े दो मसले हैं और कांग्रेस उनको हल करने के लिए कामिंटड है। एक मसला पानी का है और दूसरा टेरेटरी का है। इसमें किसने रकावट डाली है? जनता दल के एक चोफ मिनिस्टर हैं जो नहीं चाहते हैं कि केनाल बने। दूसरे कमिशन ने कहा कि 45 एकड़ जमीन दे दी जाय तो चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब को मिल सकता है। कांग्रेस तो चाहती है कि इस मुद्दे को हल किया जाय और इसीलिए राजीव-लॉगोवाल एकाडे हुआ। कांग्रेस तो देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिए कोई भी लड़ाई लड़ने के लिए तैयार है। वे कहते हैं कि आप सत्ता के लिए काम करते हैं। हमारी तो दरबारा सिंह की सरकार वहां पर थी, तबभी एकाडे के हक में हमने काम किया। जम्मू-काश्मीर में हमारी हुकूमत थी, और कासिम की कैबिनेट में मैं स्वयं मिनिस्टर था। देश के हित के लिए वसीतर मफाद के लिए मुल्क के लिए हमने शेख मोहम्मद

अब्दुल्ला साहब को सरकार सौंप दी जबकि हमारे 76 में से 65 एम०एन०ए० थे ताकि वो मेन स्ट्रीम में आये और महील तामीरो तरक्की का हो, देश की एकता बड़े। यह पहली मिसाल नहीं है। कांग्रेस कभी सत्ता को भूखी नहीं रही। उसके सामने मफाद है तो वसीतर मफाद मुल्क का है। इसलिए यह कहना ठीक नहीं है कि कांग्रेस वोटों के लिए छोटी राजनीति के लिए पंजाब की समस्या को हल नहीं कर रही है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं हाउस में भाषण तो होते हैं कौन सी पार्टी और कौन से नेता पंजाब में गये हैं सिवाय कांग्रेस के जिसने टेरेरिज्म के खिलाफ पब्लिक प्रोपोनियन को मोबिलाइज किया है। एमसी०पी०आई० सी०पी०एम० और कांग्रेस को छोड़ कर कौन नेता है जो पंजाब गया है? मुझे याद है आप्रेशन ब्लू स्टार से पहले अपोजीशन के दो नेता गये थे। एक इस हाउस के मੈम्बर हैं जो इस वक्त मौजूद नहीं हैं और दूसरे मੈम्बर नहीं हैं जनता दल के बहुत बड़े नेता हैं। उन्होंने सर्टिफिकेट यह दिया था कि यहां हर मन्दिर साहब में कोई हथियार नहीं हैं। बहुत बड़े नेता है। उनका जिक्र बार किया गया कि हम भी गये थे। उस नेता ने यह कहा कि कोई हथियार नहीं हैं। उसके बाद कितना बड़ा आप्रेशन ब्लू स्टार करना पड़ा, किन हालात में हुआ। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना जरूरत है कि प्रेजिडेंट रूल को बढ़ाया जाए और मैं समझता हूं कि आखिरी बार हम बढ़ाने जा रहे हैं हालात साज्जानार होंगे चुनाव होंगे और पापुलर सरकार आएगी। बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया।

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): Sir, I stand to oppose the extension of President's rule in Punjab. Extension of Presidential rule in the States is a game being played by the Government of India, that is, the Congress(I), for its own political benefits. It is some sort of *ad hoc* Congress(I) rule in the States. It is now becoming brighter that the people of this country are going to throw Congress(I) out from power not only from the States but also from the Centre. This historic

development in the country has made Congress(I) adamant to cling to power like a limpet under the cover of Presidential rule.

They know, what has been done by the people of Tamil Nadu is going to be repeated by the people of every State in the country. Sir, it was the Central Government which indulged in violence in Punjab earlier to capture power. Bhindranwale was the creation of Congress(I). With the help of the Central agencies under the RAW the Government imparted training to the youths in Punjab in guerrilla warfare and other tactics. The same thing is being done in Assam through the Central agencies under RAW now to create chaos in the State so that it could topple the non-Congress(I) Government and capture power. But there is a saying—as you sow so you reap. What you planted earlier, that is now giving its poisonous fruits in Punjab and the same thing will be repeated in other places also.

In the name of curbing extremism, Presidential rule was clamped in Punjab and time and again it is being extended according to the convenience of the Central Government. The people of Punjab have been deprived of exercising their democratic right to have a Government of their own. The Central Government is not in favour of federalism, rather they are very much for centralism. Some days back in a seminar on Panchayati Raj held in the Parliament House Annex, Mr. Vasant Sathe, the hon. Minister of Energy, who presided over one session, tried to interpret the Preamble of the Constitution to be very much for a unitary type of government. This indicates how much the Central Government is anti-federalism.

The Government is trying to be very much desirous of giving power to people through panchayati raj and nagar palika, but at the same time they are very much adamant to get the powers of the States curbed to the maximum extent. I have an apprehension that by being indulgent to

disruptive, communal and extremist forces, the Central Government has been trying its utmost to create an atmosphere favourable for declaring internal emergency and for postponing parliamentary elections too. The Government headed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi has lost the confidence of the people for its sky-high corruption and for its advocacy for untruth. Now instead of trying to extend *ad hoc* Congress(I) rule in Punjab and Karnataka, Mr. Gandhi should step down in no time and seek people's verdict again. This Government has no moral right to be in power.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: What about the rice deal of Assam Government?

DR. NAGEN SAKIA: There is no killing by the Government of Assam. The killings are being committed by the people of your agencies. The irony of fate of India is that the same Government is exercising power not only at the Centre but undemocratically also in the States. All measures are being taken by the Government to snatch away the democratic rights of the people of Punjab and to suppress them by using all brutal measures. The Sikh community is thus being alienated. Therefore, on my own behalf and on behalf of my party, I oppose this Motion and I urge upon the Government to withdraw the Motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Dr. Ramnagar Pandey. Your time is five minutes. Try to conclude within that time.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे गृह मंत्री श्री बट्टा सिंह जी ने पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन बढ़ाये जाने के लिए सदन के समक्ष जो वक्तव्य दिया है उसका समर्थन हेतु मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। पंजाब पाँच नदियों का प्रांत है और हमारे देश का गौरवशाली हिस्सा है। हमारी सीमाओं की रक्षा यहाँ से होती है और उपज के क्षेत्र में, खेती के क्षेत्र में इसका उत्कृष्ट स्थान है तथा वहाँ सतलुज, ब्यास, रावी, चेनाब, सिंध आदि नदियाँ

[डा० रत्नाकर पान्देय]

बहुती है। इस पांच नदियों की धरती पंजाब बेगुनाहों के खून से लाल की गई है। चाहे वह सिख मरा हो, चाहे हिंदू मरा हो वह इन्सान मरा है, न कोई कम्युनिस्ट मरा है, न कोई भारतीय जनता पार्टी का मरा है, न कोई कांग्रेसी मरा है, वह भारत माता का सपूत मारा गया है। अभी हमारे पूर्ववक्ता पंजाब पर न बोलकर, कांग्रेस का शासन आगे नहीं बनेगा और सरकार परेशान है कि हमारा शासन बने, न जाने क्या क्या बोल रहे थे। मैं उन्हें बताना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस का शासन इस देश की जनता बनाएगी और राम जेठमलानी जो खालिस्तान को बनाने वाला है जिसने विदेशों में—वहाँ के गुल्दाराँ में जा करके भाषण किये कि पंजाब और सिख अलग राष्ट्र चाहते हैं, जो बी०पी० सिंह को प्रधान पंतो बनाना चाहता है** और प्राइवेटाइजेशन करना चाहता है, ऐसे ऐसे लोग हैं। भारत मुक्ति मोर्चा का रहस्य किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है और ऐसे लोग हमारे सदन में बैठे हुए हैं। यह लज्जा की बात है इस सदन के लिए कि**...

खालिस्तान की माँग का समर्थन करने वाले लोग इस सदन में बैठे हैं, राम जेठमलानी जैसे और हम लोग उस चीज को बर्दाश्त करें। मैं सरकार से आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीयता से बढ़कर कोई चीज नहीं होती है। ऐसे** को इस सर्वोच्च सदन में बैठने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। उसे सदन से निकाला जाये और इस तरह का प्रस्ताव मैं रखना चाहता हूँ कि** राम जेठमलानी को इस सदन से निकाला जाये। भावुकता से काम न लिया जाये। कानून की किताबों को बंद करके भारत माता की राष्ट्रीयता के साथ घात करने वालों को इस सदन से निकाला जाये... (व्यवधान) माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो कुछ मैं कह रहा हूँ उसमें तथ्य और सच्चाई है। जनता दल का

वह सदस्य है और उनके, आपोजीशन के लीडर... (व्यवधान) गुरुपदस्वामी जब बोलते हैं तो मैंने उनसे कई बार पूछा कि क्या आप मानते हैं कि राम जेठमलानी** हैं, खालिस्तान की माँग करने वाले हैं और भारत मुक्ति मोर्चा, ... (व्यवधान) इस देश में नया देश बनाने की साजिश रच रहा है तो उनके पास कोई जवाब नहीं होता।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, these remarks should be expunged. A Member should not attack another Member of this House. He is a sitting Member of this House... Sir, he is exceeding his limit. You should not allow that. It should be expunged... Patriotism is not the monopoly of these people. He cannot criticise and attack another Member of this House.

डा० रत्नाकर पान्देय: माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं किसी सदस्य की भवमानना नहीं करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन कोई राष्ट्रद्रोही भारत को किसी मोर्चे के नाम पर खालिस्तान की माँग करने वाला हो और वह विरोधी दल में हो, वह बात इस देश की जनता बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी और इस सदन का सदस्य होने के नाते, हम इसको बर्दाश्त करने को तैयार नहीं हैं।... (व्यवधान)

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Point of order... (Interruptions)... It has nothing to do with Punjab.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Are you supporting Khalistan, Sardarji.

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह क्या वह रहे हैं?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Has the Government got any evidence? During the last session, the Home Minister also made certain charges. If Government has got any evidence, let it prosecute him... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Dr. Pandey, you speak on the subject... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He knows only one subject and that is Jethmalani. He doesn't know any other subject.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am on a point of order... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, he is on a point of order.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, I want to raise a point of order.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : खालिस्तान के सपोर्टर हैं आप। उसभाडाक्ष जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो सदस्य खड़े हैं, क्या वह खालिस्तान बनाना चाहते हैं और अगर चाहते हैं तो इनकी भी राष्ट्रीयता ... *(व्यवधान)*

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, I want to raise a point of order.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He never saw this book. What can he do?

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : मैं सदस्यों का प्रार्थना करूँगा कि जब वह बोलते हैं, तो मैं उन्हें डिस्टर्ब नहीं करता हूँ... *(व्यवधान)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please sit down, Dr. Pandey. He says he has a point of order.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the proceedings of this House are governed by certain rules, and this is the Rule Book which I have in my hand. All of us are aware that there is a specific rule in the Rule Book, and this is rule 238A. I do not have to waste your time and the time of the House... *(Interruptions)*...

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : इनको पहले निकालिये तब कानून की किताब दिखाइये। कानून की किताब में राष्ट्रीयता का सौदा मत करिए। *(व्यवधान)*

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Is slogan shouting permitted from there?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: The Vice-Chairman permitted me to raise a point of order... *(Interruptions)*... I have been permitted by the Chair to raise a point of order. Sir, rule 238A very clearly states the procedure for raising allegations or permitting allegations against a Member of the House. There has to be a prior notice. I want to know... *(Interruptions)*

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : राम जेठमलानी ... *(व्यवधान)*

उप.म.डा.क्ष (श्री वी० नारायणसामी) पाण्डेय जी, आप बैठ जाइये। ... *(व्यवधान)*

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आप उसे अपने दल से निकालिये। उससे आपका दल कलंकित हो रहा है। आप राम जेठमलानी को अपने दल से निकाल दें। ... *(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, if any Member of this House intends to make any allegation against another Member of this House, then he has to give prior notice. I want to know from you whether the honourable Member has given you notice for making the kind of allegation that he is making against another Member of this House... *(Interruptions)*... If he has not given notice, then all that he has said should be expunged... *(Interruptions)*... I want your ruling on this... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please take your seat.

Mr. Ratnakar Pandey was referring to Mr. Ram Jethmalani's visit to foreign countries, and was referring only to what ever he spoke there. If any personal aspersion has been cast, that will be removed from the record. Whatever has happened abroad in Mr. Jethmalani's visit

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri V. Narayanasamy]

there, he is referring to. If there are personal remarks, that will be removed.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice Chairman, I want to submit to you respectfully that a Member is entitled to criticise a particular view-point of another Member. He is criticising a particular viewpoint of Mr. Ram Jethmalani. That is not casting an aspersion. How is it casting an aspersion?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It was a personal attack on Mr. Ram Jethmalani.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: No, no, I have been listening to his speech. He has not said anything against the Member. All that he is saying is about a particular viewpoint that is being canvassed by Mr. Jethmalani. That he is anti-national, he is entitled to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): He was referring to Mr. Jethmalani's foreign visit and its continuation.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I remember that at the time of the last discussion in this very House I quoted within quotes the speeches of Shri Jethmalani in U.K. and the U.S.A. At that time Shri Jethmalani was present in the House. I yielded to him to say something if he were to say something in defence of what I had quoted or against it. But he refused to take the floor. It has happened in this very House.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Is he not entitled to criticise, that view, Sir?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: What has been quoted by me has not been refuted by Mr. Jethmalani.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): That is not true at all.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The Home Minister is misleading the House. Mr. Jethmalani was not allowed to speak.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He was not given a chance.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: I yielded to Mr. Jethmalani to speak if he wanted to, but Mr. Jethmalani did not speak. Therefore, what Mr. Ratnakar Pandey is doing is what I did. I spoke in English: he is repeating it in Hindi.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Please listen to me. I was present at that time. Mr. Jethmalani wanted to speak, wanted to reply. But he was not allowed to speak. He requested the Chair. But he was not allowed to speak at all. What Mr. Buta Singh is saying is not true.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: It is true.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I think all of you are suffering from a nightmare.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Let me say that Mr. Jethmalani has not so far written anything in the press contradicting me.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I think, Mr. Minister, you have decided to speak only untruth and not truth.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Conclude within two minutes.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: How can I conclude? I have not uttered a sentence.

मैंने आपके माँह में मदन का डाम दिलाया है कि इन सर्वोच्च सदन में खालिस्तान की माँग का समर्थन करने वाला विदेशी में घुस करके खलिस्तान बने, निख आगुष्ट है... (अध्यक्ष) राम जेठमलानी की अभी चर्चा की और प्रश्न के इश्यू पर अभी मैं आ रहा हूँ और ऐसी-को इन सदन में बैठने का अधिकार नहीं है। उसको इस सदन से निकाला जाना चाहिए। यह सर्वोच्च सदन है, मर्यादित सदन है। जनता पार्टी के नेता श्री गुरुदत्तस्वामी जी की मैं बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ, अगर जेठमलानी इनके दिल में है और यह उस पर एक्शन नहीं लेते हैं तो निश्चित रूप से इस देश की जनता

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

पूरा दल अराष्ट्रीय घोषित करेगी। इस सदन में मैं रोहडों कराना चाहता हूँ, नहीं तो राम जेठमालानी को अपने दल से निकाले।... (व्यवधान)

SHRI ASHISH SEN (West Bengal) :

Are we discussing about Punjab of Mr. Jethmalani ?

श्री० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : मान्यवर, सभापतिजी, 20 सितम्बर, 1989 को गुड्डारा महोदय अमृतसर में विश्व स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन का एक अधिवेशन हुआ है 21 दिन पूर्व और इस अधिवेशन में खुले शब्दों में खालिस्तान की मांग की गई है। यह पहला अवसर है जब किसी विभिन्न संगठित संस्था ने खालिस्तान के पक्ष में निर्माणा रूप से प्रस्ताव पारित किया हो। अप्रैल, 1988 में दरबार साहब के ऐसी घोषणा पंथक कमेटी ने की थी, परन्तु घोषणा करते ही पंथक कमेटी के सदस्य पाकिस्तान भाग गए थे। इस अधिवेशन में जो 20 सितम्बर, 1989 को हुआ है, राष्ट्रियता के प्रश्न पर मैं अपने आक्रोश कर रहा हूँ। उस सभापतिजी, घंटी मत बजाइये, दोतीन मिनट टाइम दिया जाए, मैं दो मिनट भी नहीं बोला हूँ। इस अधिवेशन में दमामी टक्काल के मुखिया बच्चा ठाकुर सिंह ने मन्त्री सिंह को तरोताजा किया। माननीय स्वर्गीय इंदिरा गांधी जी के क्रांती के पवित्रों को सम्मनित किया गया। फेडरेशन ने गिरीमणि गुड्डारा प्रबंधक कमेटी द्वारा नियुक्त जय्येदारों को मानने से इंकार कर दिया, और जय्येदारों को मान्यता दी है, जिन्हें मुख्तार प्रबंधक कमेटी से हटा दिया गया था, जो खालिस्तान के समर्थक है। इस बात से स्पष्ट है कि अब उग्रवादो संगठनों ने सरकार के साथ साथ प्रकाली खोदरशिप को भी चुनौती दी है। इस सभा में प्रण किया गया था उस दिन, कि जब तक खालिस्तान प्राप्त नर कर लेंगे, आराम से नहीं बैठेंगे। खले तौर पर अलग राज्य, सरकार और दरबार की बात की गई। इस सभा में यह भी कहा

गया कि खालिस्तान की स्थापना के लिए काश्मीर लिबरेशन फ्रंट से भी सहायता की जाय। काश्मीर लिबरेशन फ्रंट अब काश्मीर में वह काम कर रही है, जो पाँच में भिडरवालां टाइगर फोर्स, बब्बर खालसा आदि आतंकवादी दल कर रहे हैं। दोनों के ट्रेनिंग कैम्प पाकिस्तान में हैं, दोनों को पाकिस्तान से सस्ते प्राप्ति होते हैं और वहीं से आदेश मिल रहे हैं। फेडरेशन ने उग्रवादियों की सहायता के लिए पाकिस्तान को धनबाद किया और यह प्रार्थना की कि भारत से भाग कर आने वाले उग्रवादियों को भी वह उसी तरह आश्रय दे, जिस तरह अफगान मुजाहिदों को दी जा रही है।

यह सब घटनायें, उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस बात की पुष्टि करती है कि पाकिस्तान ने भारत के विरुद्ध अघोषित युद्ध आरंभ कर रखा है। इस तरह के घट्यंत्र देश को तोड़ने के लिए रचे जा रहे हैं, उधर पाकिस्तानी सेनेट ने अल्टीमेटम दिया है कि निर्वाचित खानों वसो और, काश्मीर के संबंध में फैसला करो। पाकिस्तान के प्रधान मन्त्री इमरत बेग ने कड़ी कार्यवाही करने की धमकी दी है। इसी स्पष्ट है कि जो विदेशी ताकतें हैं, वे भारत में अस्थिरता और उग्रवाद करने के लिए बड़े बगान बर स्तर पर फट्यंत्र कर कर रही है।... (समय की घंटी)...

महोदय, मैं बहुत इंपोटेंट चीज कह रहा हूँ। राष्ट्र का प्रश्न हमारे सामने है। आप टाइम में मत गइए। एक ओर तो भारत सरकार पंजाब-समस्या के समाधान के लिए पंजाब में उग्रवाद और अलगाववाद का मुताबला करने के लिए सभी प्रकार के संभव कदम उठा रही है और 1977 से 1989 की लिस्ट आप उठाकर देखिए, चूंकि आप टाइम नहीं दे रहे हैं, तो मैं आपको बताऊँ कि 40 परसेंट, 35 परसेंट हुआ है प्रत्येक गांव में। एक महिला ने तो अपने पति के बड़े भाई की बंदूक लेकर आतंकवादियों को दौड़ा दिया और उसको पुलिस में भरती किया गया है। हर गांव में चौकसी सेनायें

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

बढ़ाई गई है सात हजार से अधिक गांवों में चौकसी सनायी बनाई गई है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब विपक्ष के लोग कहते हैं कि हम चुनवा नहीं कराना चाहते, हम भागते हैं तो आश्चर्य होता है कि इनकी कथनी, करनी चिंतन में कितना बड़ा फर्क है, कितना बड़ा गैप है, कितना बड़ा झूठ इस देश को बताना चाहते हैं। आज विदेशी ताकतें भारत को तोड़ना चाहती हैं, घिनौना खेल वे बड़ी तेजी से कर रही हैं और हैरानी इस बात की है कि विदेशी शक्तियों के साथ-साथ हमारे देश के कुछ व्यक्ति, जो किसी न किसी तरह इस देश को बर्बाद करना चाहते हैं, राष्ट्र को तोड़ना चाहते हैं, वे बिना किसी भय के खुलेआम दुनिया में घूम रहे हैं, खुलकर आनंदपुर साहिब प्रस्ताव का समर्थन कर रहे हैं, विदेशों में खुलकर भारत विरोधी जहर उगल रहे हैं और इंदिरा गांधी के हत्यारों की वकालत करते हैं, वे इस सदन में बैठे हैं। हम कापुरुष और कायर नहीं हैं, हर तरह से इस सदन में निपटेंगे। इंदिरा गांधी के खून की एक-एक बूंद एक-एक भारत है, उसके उत्पारों की वकालत करने वाला इस सदन में बैठे इससे बढ़कर शर्म की बात दूसरी नहीं हो सकती इस भारतीय जनता के लिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कहीं मैंने एक यह गाना सुना था—

कहनी है इक बात मुझे इस देश के
पहरेदारों से,
संभल कर रहना अपने घर में
छिपे हुए गद्दारों से।

आती है आबाज यही मंदिर, मस्जिद
गुम्हारों से,
संभल कर रहना अपने घर में छिपे
हुए गद्दारों से।

पंजाब के उग्रवादियों को आधुनिक हथियारों की सप्लाई भी एक गंभीर समस्या है। पाकिस्तान में श्रीमती बेनजीर भुट्टो के सत्ता में आने से ऐसी आशाएं

बंधी थी कि शायद पाकिस्तान से उग्रवादियों को सहायता मिलना बंद हो जाय, परन्तु पाकिस्तान के मुख्यमंत्री श्री नवाज शरीफ और बेनजीर भुट्टो के टकराव से ऐसी संभावनाएं खत्म होती जा रही हैं। मिर्जा नवाज शरीफ शुरु से ही बेनजीर भुट्टो के कट्टर विरोधियों में हैं और उनका हर कार्य भुट्टो सरकार को गिराने का है। प्राप्त सूचनाओं के अनुसार पिछले महीने उन्होंने प्रमुख आतंकवादी बासन सिंह जफरवाल और मनोचह को रात के खाने पर अपने घर बुलाया था और उनके साथ बेनजीर सरकार को गिराने और भारत में आतंकवादियों पर दबाव बनाए रखने के लिए विचार-विमर्श किया था। उसी रोज खाने के बाद यह भी फैसला किया गया कि भारत में संसदीय चुनाव से पहले ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा शस्त्रास्त्र भारत में पंजाब में पहुंचा दिए जाएं। पाकिस्तान में पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री आतंकवादियों से गहरे सम्बंध रखे हुए हैं। मान्यवर, मैं आपके निदर्शानुसार अपनी बात कहकर बैठूंगा। यह राष्ट्र के महत्व की बात है, इसलिए हमें आप दे मिनिट का मौका और दें। श्रीमती भुट्टो की सरकार को गिराने के लिए नवाज शरीफ का साथ पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट गुलाम इसहाक भेज दे रहे हैं 9 अक्टूबर, 1989 के अखबारों में खबर छपी है कि बेनजीर भुट्टो ने अमेरिकी प्रेसिडेंट बुश से अपनी सरकार को विरोधियों से बचाने के लिए सहायता मांगी है। आतंकवादियों के हथियारों का स्रोत बंद करने के लिए भारत सरकार को युद्ध स्तर पर कार्यवाही करनी होगी। आज पाकिस्तान में आम तौर पर उत्तर-पश्चिमी सीमा-प्रांत की राजधानी पेशावर खास तौर पर शस्त्रों का सबसे बड़ा अड्डा बन गया है कारण यह है कि चीन अपनी सेना का आधुनिकीकरण करना चाहता है। इसके लिए उसे विदेशी मुद्रा की सख्त जरूरत है जिसे वह अपने हथियार बेचकर प्राप्त करता है। एक दूसरा कारण है, अमेरिका से खुली मदद मिलने के कारण अफगान मुजाहिदीन के पास उनकी जरूरत से

कहीं ज्यादा हथियार हैं जोकि पाकिस्तान के माध्यम से खालसा इंटरनेशनल के सुखदेव सिंह बब्बर, पंथिक कमेटी के वासन सिंह जफरवाल और भिडरावालि खालिस्तान टायगर्स फोर्स के मुखरण सिंह मनोचहल पर ए०के० 47 और ए०के० 74 बंदूकें खरीदने और दूसरा गोला-बारूद खरीदने के लिए लगातार दबाव पड़ रहा है और हमारे देश में विदेशी हथियार आ रहे हैं।

महोदय, अब मैं अंत में कहना चाहता हूँ (अवधान) मैं आपके शोर करने से बैठने वाला नहीं हूँ। राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा के साथ कोई समझौता नहीं होगा। महोदय, इस कार्य के लिए उन्हें पता पाकिस्तान तथा विदेशों से मिल रहा है। इस बल पर इंग्लैंड में 20 मुख्तार उग्रवादियों के कब्जे में हैं। इसके साथ ही अमेरिका और कनाडा में भी इनके मजबूत रिश्ते हैं। घन प्राप्ति के लिए रिश्ते बनाए गए हैं। इन शस्त्रों को भारत लाने के लिए सीमा पर से कई रास्ते हैं—खीर सिंह पुरा पंजाब में खेमकरण सेक्टर और राजस्थान में गंगानगर। हथियारों की तस्करी को रोकने के लिए सीमा पर बाघाएं खड़ी करना, गश्त बढ़ाना, हर सीमा चौकी पर राडार लगाना, भ्रष्टाचार को रोकना तथा मण्डी क्षेत्र में घुसपैठियों के शस्त्र भंडारों का सख्ती से पता लगाना सरकार के लिए जरूरी है।

महोदय, अंत में मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करते हुए कहना चाहूंगा कि सिख स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन का अधिवेशन खतरे की एक घंटी है। विस्तार से अखबारों में छपा है। गृह मंत्रालय उस पर कार्यवाही कर रहा होगा, लेकिन मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि अलग झंडा, अलग प्रधान और अलग विधान बनाने की मांग एक घिनोनी साजिश है। यह हम देश से एक खुली बगावत है हम अधिवेशन में लिए गए फैसले में अकाली लोग भी सम्मिलित हैं। उनके जो अलग-अलग झंडे हैं, वे उसमें थे कि नहीं यह मैं सरदार साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ। खालिस्तान की जो पार्टी है, वे लोग

भी खालिस्तान का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। इस दौड़ में निश्चित रूप से हम इस राष्ट्र को टूटने नहीं देंगे चाहे गर्दनो को कटवा देना हो। भगत सिंह, राजगुरु और हमारे बड़े-बड़े नेता हुए हैं—लाला लाजपत राय जैसे, उन महापुरुषों ने अपना बलिदान दिया है पंजाब को भारत के नक्शे में रहने देने के लिए। मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से सारे देश की जनता से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर जरूरत पड़ेगी तो एक-एक बच्चा कुर्बान हो जाएगा, लेकिन खालिस्तान नहीं बनने दिया जाएगा। लेकिन गुरुपदस्वामी जैसे लोग, जिनकी इज्जत है, जिनकी प्रतिष्ठा है राम जेठमलानी जैसे तत्व को इस सदन से और अपने घर से निकालेंगे तब जाकर यह काम संभव होगा।

मुझे आपने बोलने का मौका दिया, मैं आपका कृतज्ञ हूँ।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, when senility affects the wisdom of the House, sanity is affected and when sanity is affected, the insanity in Punjab cannot be ended. Unfortunately, the elders in the House have to remember that what is happening in Punjab is much more important and serious than to be affected by the spectre of a particular personality this or that side of the House. While opposing the Statutory Resolution tooth and nail, I would ask Mr. Mr. Buta Singh to kindly explain if the Government is really interested in solving the problem of Punjab. I ask this question because the Prime Minister, some months back had visited Jalandhar and while addressing a rally, he had pointed out that he would invite leaders of all the political parties to find out a new initiative for the solution of the Punjab problem. Unfortunately, the meeting did not take place. No national consensus has been arrived at, at the initiative of the Prime Minister because the meeting was never called. Therefore, I am led to believe that the Government does want the problem in Punjab to linger—linger because if the Punjab problem is lingering on, it gives the Government a leverage. In the same way, the Government wants the

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Babri Masjid-Ramjanambhoomi tangle to remain unsolved. When the communal climate in the country is deteriorating dangerously, this Government refuses to call a meeting of the National Integration Council. Therefore, Sir, I am led to believe that this Government wants to play cards with the fundamentalists to reap narrow political advantage. I am told that the Home Minister is in touch with a section of terrorists in Punjab. In the same way, he is in touch with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to ensure that the so-called stone laying of Hindu Mandir on the outskirts of Babri Masjid is done in the presence of RSS volunteers and volunteers belonging to the Bajrang Dal in order to ensure that the stone laying programme is done smoothly. Therefore, the legacy of rearing up Bhindranwale still continues and the new leadership, while in its political gain is not interested to have a national consensus, at the same time, the political leadership of the Congress is interested to play dangerously either with the terrorists in Punjab or with the fundamentalists in other parts of the country. This is the undiluted policy of the Government which claims itself to be secular. The undiluted policy is to allow Punjab to burn so that they can reap the political benefits. The undiluted policy of this so-called secular Government is to allow the fundamentalists to rise in other parts of the country so that it can reap its benefit on the dangerous rise of Hindu fundamentalism. This Government is interested to play cards. Politically, this Government is interested to keep itself in office by colluding or compromising with terrorism or fundamentalism to ensure that it can get the benefit of Hindu revivalism in the next election. Mr. Chairperson, there can be no dirtier canard than to say that the communists here in the country are in collusion with communalism. You should know that the communists and the left forces with their own lives are playing against fundamentalism whether it is in Punjab, whether it is in Ayodhya, whether it is in U. P., whether it is in West Bengal or whether it is in other parts of the country. Therefore, by paying a heavy price we come here to tell you that your secu-

larism is diluted. It is diluted because you want to reap political benefit in the ensuing elections.

Mr. Chairperson, how is the Government under Mr. Buta Singh which is functioning in Punjab? I will give you an instance. There have been three committees which this Government has set up under Siddhartha Sanker Ray. There is a committee on peace and harmony and that committee does not meet. There is a committee under Siddhartha Sanker Ray on law and order which irregularly meets. There is a committee under Siddhartha Sanker Ray on public grievances which generally does not meet. Therefore, the Government under Mr. Siddhartha Sanker Ray has not only become absolutely contradictory with the interests of the people of Punjab but it is increasingly becoming non-responsive to the grievances of the people of Punjab. There is a growing estrangement between the Government led by Siddhartha Sanker Ray under Mr. Buta Singh and the interests of the people of Punjab. The gentleman who is heading the administration there considers himself not to be the representative of the Prime Minister but of late he has started considering himself to be the representative of the Congress-I President. Therefore, his only job of late has been not to fight terrorism but to consolidate the Congress, put the Congress on its own feet so that it can fight the next elections. This is the sordid style of the Presidential rule in Punjab.

Mr. Chairperson, the position is, there is widespread corruption. There is not only more murder than it had been during the regime of Mr. Barnala but there is widespread corruption. There is widespread inefficiency. There are complaints that the police is extorting money during day time. What is the morale of the police? The morale of the police is sagging because the near relations of police officers are being kidnapped by the terrorists. Not only that, New techniques and devices are being made use of by terrorists there in Punjab. Therefore, the question is: How and in what way this Government would like to fight terrorism in Punjab? You cannot fight terrorism with bullets alone.

It is not the barrel of the gun which is the source of power in the modern world. It is the political initiative, it is the political isolation of terrorism from the soil of Punjab, which is necessary to bring about an end there. Terrorists, hard-core terrorists, have been eliminated. But new terrorists are taking their place. Therefore, terrorism has soil in the heart of the people of Punjab. Why is it so? It is so because the people of Punjab are feeling hurt, the people of Punjab are feeling humiliated; the people of Punjab have something to complain against the Central Government and that complaint is not being looked into and as a result of that sense of humiliation, new people, young people, are joining the ranks of terrorists. Therefore, if the Government wants to solve the problem of Punjab, it is not only by bullet in exchange of bullet, it is not only by producing a separate hit-list by the police which may be necessary. I do not believe that the heart can be changed so far as the terrorists in Punjab are concerned. Terrorists will have to be hurt. But at the same time, there has to be a political initiative. The Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord is not dead in my opinion. There can be a new dialogue and the basis of the new dialogue can be the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal pact. That can be the beginning. But where is the initiative? Either the Government does not want to solve the problem or the Government has arrogated to itself the responsibility of tackling the problem in Punjab single-handedly which it cannot do. Therefore, single-handedly which it cannot do. Therefore, Mr. Chairperson, in the opinion of the Communist Party of India, in the opinion of the Leftists, in the opinion of those who are crusading against the forces of secession all over the country, I demand that let there be a meeting of all the political parties. The Prime Minister has been deliberately breaking his promise not only on the question of a discussion on the Bofors but on the question of having a national consensus.

Secondly, I want the Government and at the same time the Congress Party to ensure that popular initiative is taken to fight terrorism at the grass-root level. Terrorism cannot be fought by having a

Ribiero in place of Mr. Gill or a Gill in place of Ribiero. Of course, terrorism has to be fought with bullets. At the same time, there has to be political initiative. And political initiative means that there has to be a national consensus. At the same time I put this question to other political parties: Why should people belonging to different political parties speak in different voices? Why should a party having a unit in Chandigarh demand that Chandigarh should be a centrally administered unit? At the same time, the unit of that party should demand in other parts that it should be a part of Punjab. Let all the political parties speak in the same language. Let all the political parties come out with the same promise. Let there be a national consensus. And on the basis of a national consensus the nation as a whole can tackle the problem of Punjab.

Mr. Buta Singh, you may be a brave man. You may be surrounded by the Black Cats all the time. But the people of India are much more braver and stronger than you are. And, therefore, it is the people of India, all the secular forces committed against terrorism, who have to be activated. Your policy stands in the way. Your collusion, your compromise and your concessions to fundamentalism, whether in Babri Masjid or Ram Janam Bhoomi Mandir or in Kashmir or in Punjab, your policy of compromise, stand in the way. (*Time bell rings*)

Therefore, secularism calls for a concerted drive against fundamentalism and firm administrative means, and at the same time a firm political will. This is a Government which lacks that firm political will. And that price is being given by the people of Punjab. And I can tell you that if terrorism is not fought out politically and at the same time through administrative way, not Punjab but the whole of India will have to pay the price for it.

Therefore, I put the only question to Mr. Buta Singh and I wish he explains: In what way does he intend to tackle the Punjab problem, because Punjab cannot be put under President's rule for all time to come? You will have to face elections? Therefore, what is his strategy so

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far as tackling the problem of Punjab is concerned ?

Thank you, Sir.

THAKUR JAGATPAL SINGH : Why is your party joining hands with... (Interruptions)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : You are a (Interruptions) You are a* I put it on record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Take your seat.

Now, there is a message from the Lok Sabha.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Appropriation (No. 5) Bill, 1989

SECRETARY-GENERAL : I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha :

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Appropriation (No. 5) Bill, 1989, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 12th October, 1989.

"The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.

RESOLUTION RE. PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 IN RELATION TO PUNJAB—CONTD.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Hanspal. Five Minutes.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री हरबख्त सिंह हंसपाल : उपसभा-ध्यक्ष महोदय, पंजाब की समस्या इस सदन में बहुत दफा डिसकस हो चुकी है और जितनी दफा प्रेजिडेंट रूल के एक्स-टेंशन की बात आयी उस वक्त भी पंजाब समस्या डिसकस हुई। लेकिन उस समस्या का अभी तक कोई ऐसा हल नहीं निकला जिससे पंजाब के हालात यह कहे जा सकें कि पहले से सुधरे हों। आज की तारीख में मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि हालात वहाँ पर अगर भयंकर नहीं तो बहुत खराब जरूर हैं। मैं इस बात को बहुत लम्बा न करते हुए आज इस बात में जाना चाहूँगा कि हालात वहाँ पर सुधर क्यों नहीं रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि वहाँ पर टेरोरिस्ट्स को और टेरोरिज्म को रेस्पेक्टिबिलिटी दी जा रही है और इसलिए यह समस्या वहाँ पर खत्म नहीं हो रही है। वह रेस्पेक्टिबिलिटी कहाँ से मिलती है ? एक तो प्रेस से मिलती है। प्रेस वाले लोग, कुछ तो पंजाब का प्रेस और नेशनल प्रेस भी, वहाँ के इंसीडेंट्स को इतना हाईलाइट करते हैं कि उससे लोगों के दिमाग पोल्स्यूट होते हैं और उन टेरोरिस्ट्स को उत्साह मिलता है। पंजाब के कुछ पेपर्स रोजाना उन भरे हुए टेरोरिस्ट्स के फ्रंट पेज पर फोटो छापते हैं जिससे उनको रेस्पेक्टिबिलिटी मिलती है। दूसरी बात पोलिटिकल पार्टीज से उनको रेस्पेक्टिबिलिटी मिलती है। पोलिटिकल पार्टीज अपने पोलिटिकल गन के लिए उनको कैंडेम नहीं करते हैं। इस काम में जो बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ उसमें श्री गुरुदास गुप्ता जी ने मेरी बात को आसान कर दिया है। उन्होंने अपील की है सारी की सारी अपोजीशन पार्टीज से कि वे एक होकर एक बात कहें तो यह टेरोरिज्म की समस्या हल हो सकती है। मुझे यह कहने में कोई संदेह नहीं है कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पंजाब में सरकार का साथ दे रही है। बाकी कोई पार्टी नहीं दे रही है। इसकी मैं डिटेल में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन आजकल बी० पी० सिंह सहब का बड़ा नम हो रहा है। मैं उनको पार्टी की बात करना चाहता हूँ। मेरा काम