

[Dr. Narreddy Tulasi Reddy] and negligent use of drugs or use of adulterated hazardous or banned drugs. So I request the hon. Minister, even though he is not here, to consider all these points and to take more care in future.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SJVAJI (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, while associating myself with the remarks of Shri Thulasi Reddy, I would like to add that there are 7 lakh quacks who are functioning in this country without any formal degree in medicine. They administer allopathy, Unani, homeopathy, acupuncture, physiotherapy and what not? There is no control by Government. Not only a truck driver needs a licence but also a bus conductor needs a licence to do this job. But unfortunately, no licence is needed to practise medicine in this country. These 7 lakhs quacks without any formal degree or training are going on practising medicines, more so in the villages and the poor villagers have got no other option. So I demand the Government to rectify this and make a very severe Law so that it may not continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Now the House will take up the discussion on the Statutory Resolution.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING  
APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE IN  
FORCE OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY  
THE PRESIDENT UNDER ARTICLE 356  
IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF  
PUNJAB**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC  
GRIEVANCES, ANTI-PENSIONS AND  
THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF

HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Sir, I beg to move the Resolution: —

"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 May, 1988."

As the House is aware, in view of the then prevailing situation in Punjab, Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab was issued on May 11, 1987 on the recommendation of the Governor and the State Legislative Assembly was kept under suspended animation. Approval of the Lok Sabha, as well as Rajya Sabha for the issue of the Proclamation under Article 356 was obtained on 12-5-1987.

As the law and order situation in the State continued to be disturbed, approval of Parliament was obtained for continuance of President's Rule for a further period of six months with effect from 11-11-1987. The State Assembly continued to be kept under suspended animation. The present term of President's Rule in Punjab is due to expire on the 10th May, 1988.

On the recommendations of the Governor of Punjab, the Legislative Assembly of Punjab has been dissolved on March 8, 1988.

The Governor of Punjab in his recent report to the President has stated that increase in the killing of civilians and terrorists -activities are mainly due to a new factor being added to the Punjab problem by the illegal intrusion of trained terrorists

and smugglers with sophisticated arms and ammunition into Punjab from Pakistan with the avowed 'object of disintegrating and destabilising the State, an objective which so far, the terrorists have totally failed to achieve. The Government is of the view that Pakistan is behind the encounters which have taken place near our border areas between the members of Border Security Force and the armed intruders and terrorists and smugglers. He has further mentioned that a number of centres have been set up by Pakistan in their territory for the purpose of training infiltrators into India, for their use of sophisticated weapons and the methods of guerilla warfare.

The Governor has further stated that the morale of our police and para-military forces is high and they are determined to act as firmly as possible. This is reflected by the recent recoveries of large number of sophisticated arms and ammunition including AK-47 Rifles, rockets, rocket launchers and even land-to-air surface missiles from concealed bunkers. This success is a source of great encouragement and is due to the determination of all concerned to fight the menace of anti-national terrorism.

The Governor has further stated that there is no Legislative Assembly now and the only way that extension of President's Rule can be avoided is by holding of elections immediately. The Governor is of the view that the extent of determination and the devotion now noticed at all levels of administration and the Forces in the fight against terrorism will be greatly reduced if the holding of elections was declared now. The situation as it stands today requires a

committed administration which can only be under President's Rule with the Central and State Governments working in total coordination and cohesion.

In view of the circumstances stated above the Governor has recommended that the Proclamation dated 11th May, 1987, be extended for a further period of six months.

In view of the situation prevailing in the State and taking all the relevant factors into consideration, it is proposed that President's Rule in Punjab may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 11-5-1988. The Constitution (Fifty-ninth Amendment) Act, 1988 passed by Parliament recently makes such approval permissible. If so approved, the President's Rule, unless revoked earlier, will continue upto 10-11-1988.

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

The question was proposed.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): This is my maiden speech in this House. I regret, I have to speak on the tragedy of Punjab. I wish my maiden speech was on a subject which was a little less grim.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): There is nothing in India which is not grim.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: When I speak on Punjab, I speak with a heart full of grief; a mind which despite many efforts and in fact, all the effort on my part, is still full of anger, because we stand here today in the present generation—it is

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]  
 not a question who is there and who is on this side, the entire generation, all of us— which will be condemned by future generations, if things go wrong in Punjab, as they appear to be going wrong. Like in a Greek ,tragedy, we seem to watch helplessly.

The hon. Minister of State has moved a Resolution for extension of 'President's Rule in Punjab for another six months. It was exactly a year ago when President's Rule in Punjab was imposed. What has been the balance-sheet of President's Rule in Punjab during the last 12 months? Is this balance-sheet any better than what it was during the so-called popular rule of Mr. Barnala? Is this balance-sheet any better than anything which has happened in Punjab in the earlier years? No. In fact, the balance-sheet, is much worse. In the last few months the tragedy which has overtaken Punjab, is a tragedy which should create the necessary awareness in our hearts that we are up with a problem which cannot be solved by approaching it in a partisan manner. I am sorry the Government has always dealt with Punjab in a partisan manner. They have tried to take political advantage of the situation in Punjab. It has been our case all along that this is a national problem and must be tackled as such, but the Government has not been moved by the repeated suggestions made by the Opposition parties in this country that if you take it as a national problem, then the Opposition parties, leaders in the Opposition, must be allowed to participate fully ; in the national decisions which you take on Punjab. It cannot be open to the Government to consult the Opposition when it suits them and to completely ignore the Opposition when it does not suit them. But this unfortunately has been the track record of the Government.

In the last one year, what is the situation in Punjab? We have a

Governor, who is a discredited politician, a Governor who cannot win an election in his own home State and it was after he lost a Lok Sabha election that he was-

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): You know very well the established practice.. -

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: But this is a fact.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): May be a fact, but Governors are not a subject of discussion. They are not discussed.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): I am on a point of order. In Punjab and Tamil Nadu Governors are functioning as Chief Ministers. They are attending the Chief Ministers' Conference, they are attending the National Development Council meetings as a Chief Minister. So, when they are functioning as a Chief Minister and as a legislative branch, we have every right to criticise the concerned Governor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): You have made your point.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: The Governor who is functioning in the President-ruled States is different from the Governor in other States. Therefore, when he is entering into political matters, we have very right... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The Governors are not functioning as Chief Ministers. They are functioning as Heads of State.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: The State which is under President's Rule, there the Governor is functioning as Chief Minister also.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): There the Governors are acting as representatives of the Central Government, not merely as Governors. Because these states are now under the Central rule and the Governors are acting as agents of the Central Government, as such, they are now de-facto Chief Ministers. That is why we are raising that question. So, you have to consider that question.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: So, why do they take part in the Chief Ministers' Conference and the National Development Council meetings?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: If we are not allowed to discuss the conflict of the Governor, who is governing the State under President's Rule, then I am afraid, this debate cannot take place. How can I talk about Punjab without talking about Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray? I am sorry it is not possible.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): You can very well discuss the administration but not the Governor... Interruptions) ...

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): Administration headed by whom? We are only criticising the administrations. ... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): It is all right

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what I was trying to point out is that 12 months ago President's rule was imposed in Punjab. Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray who is the Governor of Punjab assumed all powers of the total administration under the various draconian laws which have been passed by the Government from time to time. Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray chose not to take any Adviser. You are aware that even seasoned administrators who

Have been posted as governors in various places when President's rule has been imposed in the State in which they have been Governors they have chosen to take Advisers. But the great competent Governor of Punjab refused to take advice and earned on without any Advisers with the whole burden of the administration on his shoulders and now what has happened? We have Mr. Ribeiro as the Adviser on internal security in Punjab. He was recently promoted for the service rendered to Punjab and to this country, to this State. Mr. Ribeiro has been the police chief of Punjab for many years. He was specially sent to Punjab to tackle the problem of terrorism. Now, it was entirely unimaginable on the part of the Government to expect that a former police man that a mere Director General of Police could solve the problem of Punjab. I mean if there was any instance in history of a total misleading of the situation, of a total ignorance of what was happening in Punjab, it was this and the amount of faith, the amount of freedom which to this officer wanted to run Punjab in the manner in which he wanted, was given and the results are obvious, the result are what we see in newspapers every day. Now, this same Mr. Ribeiro has been appointed as the Adviser of the Governor in Punjab. This makes absolutely no qualitative change in the situation. Therefore, Sir, the first point which I would like to make to the hon. Minister of State for Home, through you, is that Mr. Ray, the Governor of Punjab should be told that he has completely failed in the discharge of his responsibilities which were enjoined upon him during President's rule and he must, therefore, either take a number of competent Advisers or he should quit.

But, Sir, there has been a story of blunders and lost opportunities. I am not going into the history of it. It serves no purpose to repeat in this\*

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]  
House at this point of time. But there is one ingredient in the situation which is very dangerous and this is a game which the Government unfortunately had played right from day one and seems to be playing even today. And that is that they have put up people from among the moderate Sikhs and have discredited them in the process with the result that the element of moderation has always been defeated and the militants have been able to take away whatever little credibility that was left among the moderate Sikhs—the story of Punjab accord, the killing of Sant Longowal, the way Mr. Barnala was treated as Chief Minister. It was in this House that Mr. Barnala was praised. In fact, it is one of the most unprecedented things that in the President's Address to Parliament last year, Mr. Barnala was praised as Chief Minister. Even when the Session of the House was not over, he was dismissed as Chief Minister of Punjab. Mr. Barnala has been destroyed in the process. With Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi there was some hope that he may be able to rally the moderators. Mr. Sushil Muni was sent to Punjab and he had discussions with Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi. Professor Darshan Singh Ragi has the recorded version of the entire conversation of Sushil Muni which took place. Sushil Muni was disowned by the Government of India with the result that both, he and Professor Darshan Singh Ragi were discredited for ever in the process and now we have Mr. Jashbir Singh Rode, the Jathedar of the Akal Takht and from all the accounts that we have, it appears that he is also in the process of being discredited and ultimately, the hardcore militants are going to take over.

Now I would like to ask the Home Minister what exactly went into the release of the 40 detenus from Jodhpur jail. What were the considerations which went into this? Why only 40, why not all of them? It has

all the right thinking people in this country that the problem in Punjab is not one of law and order and if you continue to treat it as one of law and order, we shall continue to come to face the same situation as we are facing today. The Problem of Punjab is the problem of a community which has been ill-treated from the time the Asian Games were organised in Delhi. It is common knowledge how Sikhs were treated in Haryana and Delhi when they were coming to watch the Asian Games and what has been the deleterious consequences of that treatment which has continued and is continuing even today on a whole community, a community of which we are all proud that they are part of India and they are Indians. That is the community to which our Home Minister belongs which has been treated in this shabby manner and today the question is of treating that community in a manner which will bring the community back into the mainstream. If it continues as law and order problem, we will never achieve that. What is needed is communal-Psychotherapy and for this a number of steps will have to be taken by the Government which the Government does not appear to even contemplate. Now, therefore, Sir, I was asking the question why the Government considered it fit to release only 40 detenus. What are the cases against the rest of them? Why was the Government not released the rest of them? I know it personally that there are rick-shay pullers among the Jodhpur detenus who used to go to the Golden Temple to take shelter for the night, to participate in the free langar and those are the people who are also taken into custody on that unfortunate day when the army went into the Golden Temple and they are even today incarcerated in various jails and they have not been released. I would like to know what are the charges against these people and why are innocent people still being kept behind bars in Jodhpur jail. But this is what the Government has done and it

no concern on the part of the Government to settle this problem.

Now there is another question and that question unfortunately is, as I said right in the beginning, that we should not treat this question in a partisan manner. Unfortunately, whenever any party says anything on Punjab which does not suit the convenience of the Government, then we are immediately branded as anti-national, in league with the terrorists, not having sympathy for the integrity and unity of this country. I would like to tell the Home Minister, with all humility, that we, sitting on this side, are as patriotic as anyone who is sitting across on the other side in the Treasury benches and we do not have to take certificate of patriotism from anyone. But we are as much concerned about the problem as they are and it is only when we feel that the problem is not being tackled in the right manner, that we have to raise our voice, to make suggestions, to make certain recommendations to the Government in the hope that it will be followed. But the situation in Punjab today is so dangerous that even in making such recommendations, one has to be careful because if we do not want to go the way Mr. Barnala has gone, if we do not want to go the way Muni has done, if we do not want to go the way Jashbir Singh Rodi is following, then one has to have an assurance from the Government that any suggestion which will come from our side will be seriously considered by the Government with due respect to those suggestions and that they will not be treated in a partisan manner. Sir, it is my belief that today, a number of terrorists are operating in Punjab. The first type of terrorists are the hardcore terrorists who started with the slogan of Khalistan and they want Khalistan even today. 5.00 P.M. Nobody. I am sure, in this House and outside, has any sympathy for these people. We con-

demn them in the strongest possible terms because we are absolutely against Khalistan and I reiterate what the Home Minister said in this House on the other day, we are also for settlement within the framework of the Constitution, a settlement which will bring peace to Punjab.

There is a second kind of terrorists operating in Punjab today and that terrorist is not for Khalistan. Perhaps he was compelled to become a terrorist because of the repression let loose by the Government on innocent Sikhs, on innocent people in Punjab. Therefore, he has taken to the gun out of a sense of revenge. In my belief, Sir, the largest number of terrorists today in Punjab are such people who want to take revenge for the atrocities perpetrated on the members of their families and on their near and dear ones by the agencies of the Government. This is the second kind of terrorists.

The third type of terrorists are the ordinary smugglers and the criminals who find the atmosphere very very congenial for them. The atmosphere of confusion in Punjab is very convenient for them. The third type of terrorist can indulge in smuggling and anti-law activities and he is having a field day. A number of crimes which have been committed today and which are passing as terrorist violence are crimes committed in the course of ordinary crimes. This is the third type of terrorists.

The fourth type of terrorist—I have no evidence on this; if the Home Minister has evidence, I am prepared to go along with it—is the one who comes from across the borders. He comes and hits. He indulges in violence and probably goes back or stays. I do not know. But this fourth type of terrorist is a terrorist who is being influenced by powers outside this country, by foreign powers.

The fifth type of terrorist is the terrorist let loose by the Government itself, its various agencies.

[Shri Yashwant Sinha] *am not* talking of State terrorism here. I am talking of the agencies of the Government which are operating as terrorists in Punjab. A lot of problems have been created, a lot of violence has been unleashed, by such terrorists also. These are the five kinds of terrorists in Punjab today.

If we have to have any policy in Punjab, we have to understand what it is that we can do with the different types of terrorists. How do we deal with them? Obviously, the kind of prescription that we shall have for the hard-core terrorists who will be satisfied with nothing less than Kha-istan will have to be different. The kind of prescription that we shall have for the criminal terrorists will have to be different. The kind of prescription that we shall have to have for the terrorists operating across the borders will have to be different. I have no answer for the fifth kind of terrorists who are being let loose by the Government. But I can say this. The second kind of terrorists that I have mentioned, the terrorists who have become terrorists because of emotional reasons, are ones who can be brought back into the mainstream and the masses of the Sikh community in Punjab are what should be our target. We must be able to bring them back into the mainstream. We must be able to carry the conviction to them that we mean well, that we are with them. And if we are able to carry this conviction, then I am sure that these people will stand shoulder to shoulder with all those who are fighting against terrorists. But that does not appear to be the case, Sir.

The Government's contention—the Minister of State for Home has referred to it in his speech a little while ago—is that Pakistan is training terrorists and that Pakistan is sending terrorists across the borders and that they are indulging in violence and then they are able to go back. Now, this is a very very serious matter.

This is serious not only because Pakistan is doing it but it is serious because the Government does not have the faith to tell this House that this is happening and that they are doing nothing about it. I think if there was ever an admission of failure on the part of the Government it is this and no better admission in the whole history of our independent India could have been graver and more serious than this, that here is a Government which says that Pakistan is doing it, that Pakistan is sending terrorists across our borders and we are not able to do anything about it. We have been aware of this for years. We have taken to fencing our borders now. But does it behave the Government to indulge in a wail like a widow? Does this widow's wail get us anywhere? We expect the Government to act and act firmly. The whole House. I can assure the Home Minister, through you, will be with him if he takes any step on the basis of absolutely incontrovertible evidence that Pakistan is behind the terrorism. If that be so, we tell the Home Minister, through you, that he is free to take whatever action is in the interests of this country, whatever action is in the interests of the integrity and unity of this country; we must take that action in order to prevent Pakistan from doing what it is doing. But it is not open to the Government to say Pakistan is doing this and we are helpless. That is not enough. The Home Minister had made a remark in Madras a few days ago in which he had said that the former President had converted Rashtrapati Bhavan into a hide-out for FERA violators, for smugglers and for anti-social elements, people who were against the law. We had all protested; it was raised in this House also, because here again it is a situation which one is totally unable to understand. The Home Minister said that the CBI had conducted an inquiry. When the CBI had conducted an inquiry, the CBI could have come to the conclusion on the basis of evidence that the former President was actually doing this. And if he was doing

fois, why was he still the President of this country occupying the highest office of this land? Why is it that the Government did not bring a motion of impeachment against that President? • What could be a graver charge against any Indian national, much less for the President of this country, than of indulging in anti-social activities from the haven of Rashtrapati Bhavan? And if the Government had evidence through an inquiry of the CBI that the former President indeed was indulging in such activities, then the Government should have brought an impeachment motion and I can assure you that the whole House would have supported it. But the Government chose not to do it. And now after the former President has retired, this kind of evidence: or this kind of statement has been made by the honourable Home Minister. I would like the honourable Home Minister to tell this august House when he replies to this debate whether the evidence that he has condemns, indicts, the former President, and if it does, then, we would like to know, what action Government proposes to take even today against the former President for his acts of commission and omission.

I would like to say on behalf of my • party we have been much maligned. There has been much disinformation about the Janata Party whenever we have said or done anything in regard to Punjab. But I dare say that we are one party which has consistently held one view and that view has been that you cannot solve the problem of Punjab by knocking off terrorists, by liquidating them, alone. This will not work. What is needed is, as I said, a psychotherapeutic approach to a community which has been alienated. The honourable Minister, Mr. Bha-jan Lai, is, here. He was the Chief Minister during the Asian Games when all these excesses took place in Haryana on the Sikhs who were travelling from Punjab to see the Asian Games.

Anil\* Sir, the amount of damage

which has been done, to this country's future is something which cannot be calculated and, therefore, I would appeal to you, Sir, and through you to the Home Minister that the time has come now. The extension of the President's Rule is an admission of failure and that is not going to lead to anything. Thirty or forty or fifty or a hundred people will continue to be killed in Punjab and the blood of innocent people will continue to flow. President's Rule, under the present dispensation, is no solution of the problem. Therefore, if the Government is serious about solving the Punjab problem, then I would suggest that a number of demands have been made by all of us in the Opposition and, on the basis of those demands, as we have demanded in the past, the Home Minister and the Prime Minister must consult the Opposition and consult seriously and then I think we should be able to arrive at a national solution of the Punjab problem.

Sir, we have much to be grateful for to the Nehru family in this country. But I suppose the contribution that that family has made to the geography of this subcontinent is something which we cannot forget. One country became two countries. When Pandit Nehru was the Prime Minister and two countries became three countries when Madam Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. Let history not repeat itself. For God's sake let us awake and arise and for God's sake let us treat this problem with the seriousness it deserves. ■

I do not want history to tell us that it was during the time of the third generation of that family, during the time of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, when he was the Prime Minister, that this subcontinent had the misfortune of splitting into four countries; Thank you very much.

कृषि मंत्री (श्री भजन लाल) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा नाम लेकर कुछ  
कहा गया है, इसको क्लियर करना  
चाहता हूँ।



SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Sir, let him speak later on. I say this because many others will be referring to his **during the debate**. So, let him speak at the end.

श्री भजन लाल : मैं परमिशन लेकर बोल रहा हूँ, उनकी इजाजत से बोल रहा हूँ।

SHRI K. MOHAN AN: Let him speak later, not now, because many Member, will be referring to him.

श्री भजन लाल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी माननीय सदस्य ने मेरा नाम लेकर कुछ कहा और उन्होंने यहां तक कह दिया कि जब भजन लाल हरियाणा में चीफ मिनिस्टर थे तो सिखों के साथ बड़ी ज्यादाती हुई। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस कभी भी, चाहे कोई सिख हो, हिन्दू हो या अन्य कोई भी हो, किसी के साथ जातिपात या किसी अविश्वास की भावना या द्वेष की भावना से कोई बात नहीं करती है। आप जानते हैं और अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि भिन्डरावाले ने क्या चलेन्ज किया था और उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि एशियाड को नहीं होने देंगे चाहे भारत सरकार कुछ भी कर ले। वे रास्ते में अड़गे डालना चाहते थे। हमने उनको ऐसा करने से रोकने की कोशिश की ताकि कोई भी आतंकवादी आकर एशियाड के काम को बिगाड़ न सके। हमने उनको जरूर चेक किया। इसमें किसी जाति का सवाल नहीं है, किसी पर ज्यादाती का सवाल नहीं है। आप पंजाब की बात करते हैं। किसी एक गांव में भी आप गए हैं? वहां पर आज क्या हालत है, आप क्या इसको जानते हैं? आप लोगों की मेहरबानी से, आप लोगों के गलत प्रचार के कारण, आपके गलत बात करने के कारण यह हुआ है, आपके द्वेष फैलाने के कारण यह हुआ है... (व्यवधान)।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश): आप जवाब दे रहे हैं या इंटरवीन कर रहे हैं?

श्री भजन लाल : श्रीमन्, मैं दो मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। श्री अटल जी खड़े हो रहे हैं। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पंजाब में अकालियों का राज जनसंघ की मेहरबानी से नहीं बना था? ... (व्यवधान)। उसकी वजह पंजाब की हालत खराब हुई। आज हरियाणा में भी ऐसी ही हालत करने जा रहे हैं। ये लोग उनको सपोर्ट वहां कर रहे हैं और यहां पर इल्जाम लगाते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ... बीजेपी सपोर्ट देवीलाल को कर रहा है और इल्जाम हमारे ऊपर लमाते हैं।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): I want to make a submission. I am personaUy involved in this ... (Interruptions) I may have to protest and walk out if I am not given permission to make my point.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): You should also give him a chance for his personal explanation . (Interruptions)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। माननीय भजन लाल जी को माननीय सिन्हा ने जो कहा उसके संबंध में अपना व्यक्तिगत स्पष्टीकरण देना चाहिए और वे अपना व्यक्तिगत स्पष्टीकरण दें। लेकिन इस तरह से दूसरी पार्टियों पर आरोप लाना, दूसरे सदस्यों पर आरोप लगाना यह उचित नहीं है। इसलिये मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि अगर कोई ऐसी बात रिकार्ड में आई हो तो उसको एक्सपंज करवा दें और माननीय भजन लाल जी जब पंजाब पर बहस हो तब पंजाब पर अपना भाषण दें।

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: In 1982 I, as a retired officer, realising what traps Shri Bhajan Lal laid on the way, went to **When I was coming back I was searched**—about four times—even when I

told him who I was and I showed my card. It did not give any protection. There is no doubt in my mind that the Delhi Administration was perfectly capable of looking after the security and safety of Delhi and the ASIAD. Shri Bhajan Lal's efforts created more heart burning, more hatred and more anger than anything else. (Interruptions)

I would like to tell you another thing, because it is important. Four of us had gone in February, 84 to Amritsar to persuade Sant Longowal not to burn Article 25 of the Indian Constitution. We came back, and we also took part in a TFOCU Programme. In that 'FOCUS' I pointed out what had been done to the Sikhs generally and also to retired army officers, particularly and how I was insulted. This was recorded. I was then requested by the present Home Minister to have it deleted because it would create an adverse effect about India to the outside world because of the ASIAD. I agreed to do so, on the stipulation that I would get a chance to talk of Mrs. Gandhi who was then the Prime Minister about what had been done by Mr. Bhajan Lal. I am very sorry that the Home Minister was not able to keep his promise. I would like to mention this, because it is the first time I am telling this to anybody. I did not make it public at that time because I did not want the country to get a bad name. However, there is no doubt in my mind that Mr. Bhajan Lal's performance since then it one of the main causes of what has happened in Punjab.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame... (Interruptions)

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I would like to tell you one thing more. The day I was taking part in the 'FOCUS' I had gone to see my brother-in-law who lives in Haryana. When I was returning—because there was some scare that people may be sneaking into Delhi, which I did not realise—I was again stopped by the

Haryana Police. There were about five cars, four of them ahead of me. They were allowed to pass. I was the only Sikh. They asked me: where are you going? I said: I am going home. They asked: where is your home? I said: in Delhi. They asked me to give them my address. Now, there you are. This is what happened in Haryana. Who gave the policemen the authority to stop anybody and ask such questions only from the Sikhs? Eventually, being a disciplined person, I gave him my name and was permitted to go. This attitude of Mr. Bhajan Lal that it was his responsibility to protect Delhi or otherwise there will be an attack from Punjab, was uncalled for. It must be condemned.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश)  
उन्होंने मेरी पार्टी पर आरोप लगाया है।  
व्यक्तिगत स्पर्ष्टीकरण में यह आरोप नहीं  
लगा सकते (व्यवधान)

श्री भजन लाल : सारी हिस्ट्री  
बताएंगे आपकी (व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : पंजाब में  
कांग्रेस के कारण साम्प्रदायिकता बढ़ी है।  
(व्यवधान)

श्री भजन लाल : आप आइये बाहर  
बात कर लीजिये (व्यवधान) यहाँ नहीं  
(व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : बाहर  
चलने के लिए मुझे बोल रहे हैं, इसका  
क्या मतलब है (व्यवधान)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY  
(Karnataka): What, does it mean? Is he  
threatening him? Or what is it?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I meant the  
public platform.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H.  
HANUMANTHAPPA): Let us have  
respect for each other.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:  
That is not the language of a gentleman.;

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:  
 He is a Member of Parliament. He  
 cannot threaten him this way. This is\*

**श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
 मान्यवर, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।  
 (व्यवधान) माननीय धर्म मन्त्री जी जब  
 इस तरह से कहते हैं कि बाहर चलिए  
 इस पर मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ।  
 इस सदन में जो सारे सम्मानित सदस्य बैठे  
 हैं क्या उनको यह कहने का अधिकार है  
 कि बाहर चलिए।

**श्री भजन लाल :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय,  
 बाहर चलने का मतलब पब्लिक प्लेटफार्म  
 से है, कोई थोट नहीं है। उसके बाद  
 लोगों ने आपको बताया भी है कि तुम  
 कहां खड़े हो (व्यवधान)

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश):**  
 यह लोग सारी गलत बातें यहां करते हैं  
 (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच्० हनुमन्तप्पा) :**  
 आप बैठ जाइये (व्यवधान)

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** क्यों बैठें  
 (व्यवधान) क्या बात करते हैं आप  
 (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H.  
 HANUMANTHAPPA): He has already  
 given an explanation. He says that he has  
 not asked anybody to go out. He meant  
 'let us go to the public platform outside'.  
 That is all. He has given the explanation.  
 It is on record. (Interruptions)

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: What  
 does the record say? It was in the form of  
 a threat. It is in the records. if he said it  
 in that fashion, then it should be  
 expunged.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H.  
 HANUMANTHAPPA): I will look into  
 it.

**श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) :**  
 उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, नाम तो मेरा भी लिया  
 गया प्रेजीडेंट साहब के बारे में कहा जो

चले गये। मैंने जरूर कहा था मैंने इसकी  
 बात कही थी कि कांस्टीट्यूशन में एक  
 सिटिजन से ले कर प्रेजीडेंट आफ इण्डिया  
 तक किसी को अधिकार नहीं है कि वह  
 कांस्टीट्यूशन को अपने नीचे रखे।  
 कांस्टीट्यूशन सब से ऊपर है यह मैंने  
 कहा था। उसके साथ यह भी कहा था  
 कि अधिकार है प्रेजीडेंट को जो चीज  
 उसके पास आती है गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया  
 की तरफ से कि वह देख ले कि लीगल  
 है। वह जानते थे, कि लीगल क्या होता  
 है इस बात को छोड़िये। लेकिन जो  
 चीज इलीगल लगती है ठीक है वापिस  
 वह गवर्नमेंट के पास चली आती है।  
 लेकिन इसको चलाने में उन्होंने बहुत कोताही  
 की है ऐसे तत्वों और ऐसे लोगों से मिल  
 कर के एक षडयन्त्र किया जिससे  
 कांस्टीट्यूशन के खिलाफ जा कर उन्होंने  
 सरकार को डिसलाज करने की कोशिश  
 की है यह मैंने कहा। और आज इसी बात  
 पर खड़ा हूँ कि जो कुछ मैंने कहा था अपने  
 रिजोल्यूशन में, पोलिटिकल रिजोल्यूशन में  
 जो पेश किया था, उसमें यह कहा था और  
 आज भी कहता हूँ कि वह बात ठीक है  
 और अगर उसमें से ज्यादा इलेबोरेट करके  
 हमारे होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा तो मैं समझता  
 हूँ कि उस लैंग्वेज में जो लोग समझने  
 वाले थे उन्होंने भी उसको खूब समझा होगा।  
 मैंने इसलिए यह बात की क्योंकि मेरा  
 नाम लिया गया बरना मैं इसके लिये  
 क्या कहता। जो चले गये उनके बारे में  
 कहने की क्या जरूरत है। जो काम  
 किया वह सबके सामने है जो नाम पैदा  
 किया वह सबके सामने है। फिर कहने  
 की क्या जरूरत है। सबको पता है  
 बाहर भी पता है अन्दर भी पता है, हर  
 मेम्बर को पता है तो उस बात की जान  
 छोड़िए। मैं उस पर नहीं जाना चाहता  
 हूँ। आज जो हमारे नये मेम्बर बोले हैं  
 उन्होंने काफी वजाहत से अपनी बातें कहीं,  
 बहुत अच्छी बात है। लेकिन उनमें एक  
 कोताही की बात रही, एक कमी रही...  
 (व्यवधान) मुझे बोलने दीजिए। आपने  
 बोलना है तो आप पहले बोल लीजिए।

**श्री सुब्रह्मण्यन स्वामी :** ये हरियाणा  
 वाले हैं ऐसे ही गड़बड़ करते हैं।

\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** हरियाणा वाले गड़बड़ नहीं करते हैं। हरियाणा की बात छोड़िए। हरियाणा हमारे हिन्दुस्तान का एक मुश्तारिका हिस्सा है। उस बात को छोड़िए। मुझे उन आदमियों का पता है जो पंजाब में गये। मैं इसलिए उसे पुरानी बात को नहीं छोड़ना चाहता कि उन्हें बहुत दुख न हो जो हमारे सामने बैठे हुए लोग हैं क्योंकि जो दोस्त पंजाब में गये वहां जाकर उन्होंने कहा कि वहां पर कोई टेरोरिस्ट नहीं है, हर मन्दिर साहब और उसके नजदीक....

**श्री सुब्रह्मण्यन स्वामी :** मैंने कभी नहीं कहा।

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** मैंने आपकी बात नहीं कही। आप क्यों खड़े हो रहे हैं.... (व्यवधान) आपकी दाढ़ी हो तो मैं कहूँ कि तिनका है। अब आपके सिर में तिनका कहेगा? क्या बात करते हैं.... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच० हनुमन्तप्पा) :** उनकी बोलने दीजिए।

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** हमारे पुराने साथी थे। छोड़िये उस बात को कि उसमें थे या नहीं थे। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि उन्होंने कहा कि नहीं है। मुझे उस बयान का खुद पता है, मुझे बात हुई है। मैं वह बात कतई नहीं कहूँगा जो फर्स्ट्स के मुफीक न हो.... (व्यवधान) एक तो मुझे अपने साथी छोड़ दें कुछ बात करने के लिए तब भी बड़ी अच्छी बात होगी। मैं यह बात अर्ब कर रहा हूँ कि उनको पिछली किसी बैकपाउंड का पता नहीं है। जो उन्होंने आज कहा है वह इस बिना पर कहा है जो उनको मान्य था। उसमें मैं नहीं जाता। एक बात मुझे समझ में नहीं आई कि सब कुछ कहा, सरकार के खिलाफ कहा, गवर्नर के जाते मामले पर कहा जहाँ नहीं कहना चाहिए था। सरकार को भी बहुत इनइफीशियंट कहा सब कुछ कहा लेकिन अपनी तरफ से कोई बात ऐसी नहीं कही कि यह कहना चाहिए.... (व्यवधान) आपको बुलाने की जरूरत है? अपि आए हैं इंग्लैन्ड से? वहाँ के

रहने वाले हैं, अपि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब से मिलिए। क्या बात करते हैं.... (व्यवधान)

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I said that if the Minister calls the Opposition parties, we shall come forward...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA):** You Have already said that.

**SHRI DARBARA SINGH:** You have come now for the first time. In the previous session and also in this session somewhere I have said that all the different political parties must come together and help the Prime Minister in solving the problem in Punjab. Nobody has come forward for this. Is it only the Prime Minister to come forward and ask you to come forward? Have you no duty of your own at all? Is it only the Prime Minister's duty? Have you no duty at all?

मेरा यह अर्थ है कि उनको जितना पता था उन्होंने कह दिया। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि टेरोरिस्टों का तो कह दिया कि टेरोरिस्ट पांच किस्म के होते हैं या छठे किस्म के होते हैं। टेरोरिस्ट तो एक ही होता है जो गरीब आदमी हो, चलते आदमी को, घर बैठे आदमी को जाकर उसको मार दे। लेकिन टेरोरिस्ट की नयी तरह को किस्में कैसे बताई हैं। आज अगर किस्में बताने लगे तो पार्टियों की किस्में भी बता देते कि किस किस्म की होती हैं.... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच० हनुमन्तप्पा) :** मलिक जी उनको बोलने दीजिए।

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** मैं टेरोरिस्ट्स का तो धर्म ही नहीं समझता हूँ। किसी टेरोरिस्ट का कोई धर्म नहीं होता है। जो लोग यह कहें कि फलां किस्म की साइकी है तो मैं पूछता हूँ कि कौन सी साइकी है। कोई साइकी नहीं है तब पाकिस्तान से मदद लेते हैं। पाकिस्तान के पीछे जो ताकत खड़ी है उसने कल कहा कि हम

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

4.2 नहीं बल्कि 7 मिलियन या कितना पैसा देंगे । किस बात के लिए ?

रशिया से कभी हमला न हो जाए इस नाम पर, इस नाम पर नहीं बल्कि यह समझौता हो जाएगा तो उसके बाद यह कहेंगे कि यह सोफिस्टिकेटेड वेपन जितने भी हैं वे सारे के सारे हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल किए जायें, यह बात क्यों नहीं समझ में आती ? यही कहे जाते हैं गवर्नर, गवर्नर, गवर्नर । गवर्नर है, ठीक है, गवर्नर की एक जिम्मेदारी है, उसने ला एंड आर्डर को देखना है उसमें दो राय नहीं हैं । सरकार को क्या करना चाहिए, उसने 40 आदमी छोड़े हैं । क्या गलती की है ? 40 छोड़े हैं और छोड़ने चाहिए मैं इसके हक में हूँ, जो गुनहागार नहीं हैं, अगर किसी न तरह की गलती से उन्होंने थोड़ा बहुत भी काम किया है उनको छोड़ दें, लेकिन उनको कैसे छोड़ें जिन्होंने दस-दस, बाहर-बाहर आदमियों का कत्ल किया है । उनको आप छोड़ाना चाहते हैं । आप उनकी बात करते हैं जिन्होंने गरीब लोगों के बच्चों को जा-जाकर अपनी बंदूकों और गोलियों से मारा है । आप उनको छोड़ाना चाहते हैं । हम नहीं चाहते । हम चाहते हैं कि जिनको सजा मिलनी चाहिए उनको पूरी तौर पर सजा मिलनी चाहिए । आपको पता नहीं है । अगर आप अखबार पढ़ते हों तो आपको पता होगा और आपने कल ही अखबार में पढ़ा होगा । कि एक गांव में जाकर कैसे उन्होंने छोटे-छोटे बच्चों को और अंत में क्या कहूँ आगे मैं कहना नहीं चाहता यहाँ हमारी बहनें बैठी हैं, आप गए हैं पंजाब में ? आप पंजाब में जायें तो सही पता चलेगा कि किस ढंग से पुलिस को 24 घंटों अपना काम करना पड़ता है । अब नए इन्होंने अपने स्टेट होम मिनिस्टर ने अपने तौर पर, जो भी जितने अपने अख्तियारत ये उनको लेकर अपनी सरहद को मजबूत करने के लिए किया है इसको एप्रोपियेट करता चाहिए । हमने इसका डिस्टेंस छोटा कर दिया है ताकि वोटिंग जो है उसका पता चल सके कि

कहाँ से आ जाते हैं और तार लगाने की बात है । बातें हमारी होती हैं वह सारी की सारी इस ढंग से की जा रही हैं और पाकिस्तान का जो हम पर कोई इधर-उधर से खतरा है उसको हम टाल सकें । उसमें अपनी फौज नहीं वहाँ भेजी जा सकती और जो लोग कहते हैं कि फौज को हम पुलिस नहीं बनाना चाहते, फौज किसी और काम के लिये है । ला एंड आर्डर के लिये होती है और जहाँ खराबी हो ठीक है । लेकिन उस सरहद पर पहुँचने से आपको क्या फायदा होगा । आपने उस बयान में जो उसने कहा है गवर्नर ने कि कैसे पाकिस्तान दूसरी तरफ से बार्डर के नजदीक-नजदीक उन्होंने ट्रेनिंग सेंटर खोले हुए हैं और कैसे हथियार दे रहे हैं । अमरीका ने कहा है कि हम हथियार खुले देंगे और जितने पाकिस्तान चाहे उतने देंगे । यह अगर प्रब्लम हजार, पाँच सौ सात सौ टैरोरिस्ट्स की हो तो और बात है लेकिन इसके पीछे एक बहुत बड़ी ताकत है जो लगी हुयी कि हिन्दुस्तान को डीस्टेबलाइज कैसे करना है और आप कहे जायें बेशक इसको कि हटाओ, फलां को हटाओ । हटाने से नहीं होगा । आप हटाइये जो दुश्मन है हमारा और जो हमें मार रहा है जो हिन्दुस्तान को डीस्टेबलाइज कर रहा है । उसके बारे में आप क्या कहते हैं ? यह इस बात के लिये आगे बढ़ते हैं कि सरकार में से इसको हटा दो तो सब ठीक-ठाक हो जायेगा । हमने बहुत कुछ देखा है, 1977 में भी देखा है, उससे पहले भी देखा है, बहुत कुछ हमने देखा है । उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ यह महद्द इस हद तक है कि 6 महीने मांगें हैं और ताकि हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा स्टर्न एक्शन लेकर उन उग्रवादियों को काबू कर सकें । एक आपने कहा है कि इसका पोलिटीकल हल होना चाहिए । आज ही एक खबर हमने अखबार में पढ़ी है चीफ मिनिस्टर हरियाणा की है, उन्होंने कहा है कि हम चंडीगढ़ छोड़ने वाले नहीं हैं । मैं उनमें से हूँ जिसने हमेशा यहाँ इस हाउस में कहा है और आज भी उस बात पर खड़ा हूँ चंडीगढ़ पंजाब का है और

चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब को मिलना चाहिए, मैं इस हक में हूँ। लेकिन जो हिस्सेदारी इस यूनाइटेड पंजाब में से हरियाणा की है वह उसको मिलनी चाहिए। हम इस बात पर हैं। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर उठे और उठकर यह कह दे कि मैं यहाँ से नहीं जाऊँगा, जमीन पकड़ कर रखूँगा। यह सारी चीज करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है, मेरे स्थान में कुछ अपने दिल से ज्यादा बात करते हैं ऊपर के हिस्से से काम करने की कोशिश करते हैं, इसलिए यह बातें हमारे सामने आ रही हैं। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हमारी कांशेयस क्लीयर होनी चाहिए और हम सब मिलकर बात करें। आओ, हम पंजाब में इकट्ठे चलें, यहाँ बात करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। आइये, चलिए पंजाब में और वहाँ के लोगों को समझाइये, हम जाने के लिए तैयार हैं आप जाने के लिए तैयार हैं या नहीं, क्योंकि आपके लीडर यह कहते रहे हैं कि वहाँ कुछ नहीं है।

दरबार साहब बिल्कुल खाली पड़ा है। आप जाइए, जाकर देखिए, वहाँ पर आज अगर पुलिस वालों ने अपनी चाँकी बनाई है ताकि वहाँ से देख पायें कि कहां से वह हमला किस ढंग से करते हैं तो वहाँ आवाज उठ रही है कि ऐसा क्यों कर रहे हैं? एक फेक एनकाउंटर की बात होती है यहाँ पर। यह नहीं होता कि टेरेरिस्ट कितने लोगों को मार रहे हैं? यह किसी ने कहा है? किसी ने नहीं कहा। यहाँ यही कहा कि फेक-एनकाउंटर हो रहे हैं, यहाँ जो साहब कहीं गए नहीं, कहीं सुना नहीं, फेक-एनकाउंटर ए० के० 47 लेकर जो नौजवान जाकर लोगों के घरों में घुसकर लोगों को मार आते हैं। वह किसी पुलिस की पकड़ में गलती से आ जाए और किसी जगह आ जायें, उनको यह, कहें कि यह आपके लिए प्रसाद लाए हैं, आप खाइये, क्योंकि आपने बहुत नेक काम किया है। इस को फेक-एनकाउंटर कहते हैं। यह ऐसी बात करने से यहाँ कुछ फायदा नहीं है। मैं इसलिए पुरानी बात नहीं करना चाहता, मैं लोगों के दिलों को कुरेदना नहीं चाहता कि फिर उन पर ज़ख्म न आ जाय।

जख्म बहुत है और मैं बहुत कुछ कह सकता हूँ, जो-जो यहाँ से होता रहता है, जो-जो पार्टी में होता रहता है। यह ट्रिपार्टाइट-कांफ्रेंस में क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ, मैं जब वहाँ गया था, मैंने देखा वहाँ पर जो कुछ हुआ कि सिर्फ अकाली पार्टी की बातें माननी चाहिए, किसी ओर की बातें नहीं माननी चाहिए, कोई आगुमेंट न देकर भी धीरे-धीरे बातें धीरे-धीरे जाती थीं। आप जाकर उसकी प्रोसीडिंग देख लें। हमने यह कहा कि अगर नहीं है... (व्यवधान) मैंने कहा था, अब भी कहता हूँ कि इकट्ठा कर लो भाई, यह पंजाब और हरियाणा को फिर इकट्ठा करने दो, बात ही सारी खतम हो जाती है। चीफ मिनिस्टर जिसको मर्जी बना लो। हर डेमोक्रेसी में हर चीज हो सकती है, लेकिन जो चीज आप समझते हैं कि जो आज इसका रिएक्शन है, बाहर से हम शर्म से डूबे पड़े हैं क्योंकि जो कम्युनिज्म को आप बहादुर कहते हैं, जिसको आप कहते हैं कि इन्होंने बहुत काम किया है, इन्होंने फीज में सेवा की है, लड़े हैं, बहादुर हैं, सब कुछ किया है, लेकिन शर्म इस बात के लिए आती है कि थोड़े से आदमियों ने इतना डिसक्रेडिट कर दिया है कि कहीं भी जाना है तो मुँह दिखाने के काबिल नहीं हैं। यह किसने किया है? क्या वहाँ आप उसकी बात करने के लिए बैठे हैं या उसको डिसक्रेडिट करने के लिए बैठे हैं, जो लोग ऐसा करते हैं?

महोदय, मैं तो कहूँगा कि बजाय मैं इसके, आप हैल्प करें सरकार की, हम इकट्ठा होकर इस बात के लिए लड़ें और पोलिटिकल अगर कोई बात है आपके पास तो आप प्राइम-मिनिस्टर को मिलें कि यह बातें जो हैं, होनी चाहिए। प्राइम-मिनिस्टर अगर आपको न मिलें तो आप कह सकते हैं, लेकिन आप कहते हैं कि प्राइम-मिनिस्टर हमें मिलें। मैं तो कहूँगा कि आप प्राइम-मिनिस्टर को मिल सकते हैं, आप जाते हैं, चिट्ठी लिखते हैं, बैठकर बात करते हैं, सब कुछ करते हैं। आपका भी उतना ही अधिकार है प्राइम-मिनिस्टर पर क्योंकि प्राइम-मिनिस्टर सिर्फ कांग्रेस का नहीं है, प्राइम-मिनिस्टर सारे हिन्दु-

**[ श्री बरनाला सिंह ]**

स्तान का है, जिसमें आप भी आते हैं। तो आइये, इस्टे होकर बात कीजिए।

महोदय, मैं तल्ख बातें नहीं करना चाहता, तल्ख बातें बहुत कर सकता हूँ और कुछ आदमियों को ऐसा खड़ा कर सकता हूँ कि वे बैठे ही न, शोर मचाते रहें। ऐसी बातें हैं मेरे पास लेकिन मैं उस तरफ नहीं जाना चाहता। एक हमारे जो आज माननीय सदस्य बोले हैं, मैं उनकी वाकफित के तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि बरनाला साहब को क्यों हटाया? अगर मैं बरनाला साहब की हिस्ट्री का बजाऊँ तो बहुत देर लग जायेगी, इस लिए मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि बरनाला साहब के जो मिनिस्टर थे, उनके खिलाफ क्या कुछ नहीं था, एक बात। दूसरी बात, यह कि, जिनको हम कहते हैं कारपोरेशन या बोर्ड, उनमें जिन आदमियों को रखा था, उनके नाम आप देख लें और जहाँ-जहाँ भरती हुई है, किसी भी किस्म की भरती हुई है, उस भरती में कौन लोग रखे हैं, कम्यूनल लोग रखे हैं या नान-कम्यूनल रखे हैं या दूसरे लोगों को रखा है। मैं आज इस बात को पूरे तौर पर कहता हूँ, मुझे इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि यहाँ नुकसान हुआ, दूसरे सूबों में कहीं हुआ होगा नुकसान। लेकिन यह किसकी जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है? राज्य सरकार की कि वह देखे कि वह अफोर्ड करके कितना कुछ उसको देना चाहिए या नहीं देना चाहिए। यह जिम्मेदारी उसी सरकार की है जिस प्रदेश में यह हो, वह देखे उनकी तरफ कि क्यों भागकर यहाँ आते हैं और फिर बॉगस चीजें करते हैं आकर। मैं समझता हूँ कि संवत् एक्शन लेना चाहिए सरकार को एडमिनिस्ट्रेटली क्योंकि लोग जो देहात से निकल कर आ रहे हैं, एक कम्युनिटी के लोग नहीं, बल्कि दोनों कम्युनिटी के लोग आ रहे हैं। ये देहात से निकल कर शहर की तरफ क्यों आ रहे हैं इसके पीछे एक बहुत बड़ी बात है। उसको समझकर आप आगे चलें। आइए बैठिए हमारे साथ बात कीजिए। अगर कोई तजबीज है तो बताइए। हम भी आपके साथ चलकर कहेंगे। लेकिन आपके पास तो सिर्फ

गाली-गलौज करना रह गया है। यह बुरा कहने के लिए हम आपके साथ नहीं है। होना तो यह चाहिए कि इस बात के लिए हम यह रास्ता निकालते हैं। किसी ने यह नहीं कहा। मैंने ट्रायपार्टाइट की बात इसलिए कही थी कि वहाँ जो कुछ हुआ है, अगर उसकी एक-एक बात मैं बताऊँ तो पता चल जाएगा कि आप एक ग्रुप की मदद कर रहे हैं। रिडिफेंड क्यों हुए हैं? एक्सोल्युटली दो ग्रुप हैं। यह डेमोक्रेसी किसने खराब की है। हम डेमोक्रेसी को मानते हैं। प्रेसिडेंट रूल नहीं चाहिए, यह बात ठीक है, लेकिन प्रेसिडेंट रूल लगा क्यों? 117 मेबर थे और 117 में से अकाली पार्टी के 73 थे। हमने कब कहा कि न बनाओ और जो सरकार बनायी वह आपस में एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ लड़ी, एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ वधानवाजी हुई। एक कहता है कि सरकार बिल्कुल निकम्मी है। वह कहते थे हम ठीक चला रहे हैं। वह तो आपस में लड़ते रहे। हमने कब कहा था कि हमारे साथ आकर मिल जाओ। हमने तो इश्यू-टू-इश्यू कहा कि अगर ठीक बात कहेंगे तो मानेंगे और गलत बात कहें तो नहीं मानेंगे। इस बात के लिए सरकार और हम उसके साथ हैं। लेकिन हुआ क्या है? वहाँ लोग दो ग्रुपों में बंट गए। एक का नाम बरनाला ग्रुप और दूसरा बादल ग्रुप हो गया। अब उसको छोड़ा तो लोग कहते हैं कि क्यों छोड़ा? मैं कहता हूँ सरकार ने सोचा कि यह आदमी शायद नार्मलसी ले आए। पहले उसके ख्यालात का कुछ पता था। वह कुछ बैलेंस उनमें रख सकता था। जब छोड़ा तो बजाय इसके कि वह अपनी यात कहे, उसने टेरेरिस्ट्स की बात कहनी शुरू कर दी। नतीजा यह हुआ कि वह रिडिफेंड हो गया है। आप उसको आनर करने के लिए उसके पास चले गए हैं। ऐसे ही दूसरे लोग चले गए हैं। हमने कब कहा, किसने कहा है कि आप बरनाला को हटा दो। बरनाला तो खुद हटे हैं, अपने हालात से हटे हैं, अपनी वजह से हटे हैं, अपने कर्मों से हटे हैं। हमने उनको नहीं हटाया क्योंकि उन्होंने एक ऐसी सरकार बना दी जिसको हम टेरेरिस्ट कहते हैं। माफ कीजिए, मेरे दोस्तों ने

टेरेरिस्ट की डिफिनीशन वी है, आप उन डिफिनीशंस में मत जाइए। टेरेरिस्ट एक ही किस्म का होता है जो पाकिस्तान से हथियार लेकर, पैसा लेकर, ताकत लेकर हमारी सरहद पर आकर बेचारे गरीब लोगों के घर में घुसकर उनकी मां-बहनों सबको कत्ल कर जाए। वह टेरेरिस्ट है। दूसरे किस्म का कौनसा टेरेरिस्ट है? यह आप मुझे बताइए। यह कहकर आप छूट नहीं सकते। मेरी आपसे गुज़ारिश है, रिक्वेस्ट है कि हम एक बात को सामने रखें कि हम उस पंजाब में जो हिंदुस्तान का हिस्सा है, उसके बारे में बैठकर फैसला करें जिससे कि वहां आराम आए और हिंदुस्तान में जो तत्व गड़बड़ी पैदा कर रहे हैं—जो रीजनलिज्म, काओजिम जो उठ रहा है, उसकी हम ठुकाई कर दें। अगर हम सिर्फ मुखासिपत के लिए मुखासिपत करेंगे वो एो ही कहते रहेंगे और कुछ बनेगा नहीं। जय हिंद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The House is now adjourned and we will meet again at 2.43 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at forty-three minutes past one of the clock.

The House re-assembled after lullph at forty-five minutes past two of the clock, [The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair.]

SHRI K. MOHAN AN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is once again my painful job to take part in the discussion on the Punjab issue. I am equally sympathetic to my esteemed colleague, Mr. Darbara Singh, ex-Chief Minister of Punjab, who, as always, has made another unsuccessful attempt to defend his party and the Government on this issue. I think it is the twelfth or thirteenth time when both Mr. Darbara Singh and myself have taken part in the discussion on the Punjab

problem. Perhaps this will be my farewell speech with my taking part in this discussion on Punjab with a heavy heart.

Si?, the Government is seeking an extension of another six months for the President's rule in Punjab. The Governor's report mentioned by the hon. Home Minister here says that the situation in Punjab is not favourable for conducting an election in that State. I do not want to ask who is responsible for this, situation because everybody knows that. But there is no mention what you are going to do to make the situation favourable what is your action plan on this? Unfortunately there is no mention about this in the Governor's report as well as in the statement made by the hon. Minister on the floor of the House. If I am not wrong the Minister has mentioned that now everything is all right there all the sections are working in a well-coordinated form and if they now conduct the elections, the morale of the various sections now working in coordination will come down. That means that if Military regime is there, it is all right, the morale will boost and every thing will be all right In a democratic setup, we cannot accept such an equation that conducting an election will deteriorate the situation.

SSr, again, I would like to mention that in May 1987, after dismissing the Bernala Government and imposing President's rule in Punjab, it was claimed by Government that continuance of the Bernala Government In power was harmful to the future of the State and it was difficult to maintain law and order in that State; that was why the Government was forced to dismiss that Government and impose President's rule in the State. But, unfortunately.



[Shri K. Mohanan] in the last one year, I do not want to repeat all these things what is the improvement? What is the situation today? As it better than what it was during the regime of Barnala Government? I do not think anybody will claim like that. The latest reports are so disturbing. The latest reports that have appeared in the Press are that along the Pakistan border in a particular area, in some 20 square kilometres, or something like that area, Khalistanis are concentrating and they are going to declare their own state from that particular strategic point.

Now again you are asking for extension of President's rule for another six months. But there is no improvement in the situation, and these types of developments are taking place there. Aroraji has mentioned the other day here regarding the smuggled arms now to the State even in the passenger planes from foreign countries. Unfortunately, the Government of India is still not saying what steps it is going to take to solve this situation. The latest developments are more serious than the developments are ever before. -

It shows that even now the Government is not prepared to take Parliament and the people into confidence. Everybody knows, it is an open secret that the Government has some land of contact with terrorist groups, various terrorist groups in Punjab. For the last two, three months you are having discussions with these various groups through some mediators or in some other way. But you never discussed these matters with the Opposition parties or you never disclosed or discussed these matters in Parliament. Everybody knows that the Akal Takht Chief, Priests and some other 40 I

detenus were released from the Jodhpur Jail on the basis of these discussions. I do not know that what the impression or the understanding of the Government was when it released the Akal Takht Chief, Mr. Jasbir Singh Kode. Immediately after his release, he made a statement that he would not allow the terrorists to make the Golden Temple a hide-out.

But the recent development shows that even the high priests and the Akal Takht Chief are prisoners of the terrorists, and the Golden Temple itself is changing into an arsenal of terrorists and hide-out of terrorists. This is a new development. So, there is no meaning in compromising with the extremists, and there is no meaning in dialogue with them at this point. That is what I would like to mention.

Sir, I do agree that the Pakistani and the imperialist forces complicated the Punjab issue more and more. But not only the foreign elements and the Pakistani or imperialist elements but also the Government of India itself is complicating this situation. The people holding, high offices and handling the issue with narrow, partisan, political interest, all of them, are also equally responsible in complicating the situation.

Earlier it was a WTP, everybody knows. Now he is not in office. Now another WTP is here. He is trying to complicate the issue. I can understand the grievances of Mr. Darbara Singh. Darbara Singhji here mentioned that the Akali Government. Mr. Barnala's Akali Government had collapsed because of their inner squabbles. But, Sir, may I humbly ask you what happened to your Ministry, who forced you to resign? I know everybody knows, a genuine grievance on your part is

these against the earlier WIP. Now you are attacking him in the AICC session. I can understand your genuine grievances, but I would like to know whether the attitude and approach of another VVIP, who is holding the charge of Home Ministry, is helpful to solve the problem. Even now the ruling party and its leaders are more interested in their narrow political interests than the larger interest of the country. That is why I am saying, of course, foreign forces are behind this problem, but at the same time the role that is being played by the ruling party leaders, especially from Punjab, is also a factor complicating the issue. From the beginning the Congress (I) approach was not to solve the issue. Everybody wanted his own hold. They want to build up their own empire in Punjab. That is why I say you have created such a situation and have complicated the issue. Now, you are asking the Opposition: Please prescribe what is the remedy to solve it. Shri Darbara Singh just now asked the opposition to tell him the remedy. There is no ready-made remedy here with us, but from Mrs. Gandhi's time onwards the Opposition from time to time submitted so many suggestions and all the time you have rejected them. Even after the Longowal-Rajiv Gandhi Accord, there was ample time to solve the problem, but you dragged in unnecessary elements into the issue and throttled every effort to implement the Accord. You must see whether the Accord is workable or not. If not, why not? It is your duty to tell us. Even now you are not prepared to take Parliament into confidence. For example, after President's Rule was declared a Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Punjab was constituted. In the absence of an elected legisla-

ture, this is a constitutional obligation to discuss the matter about the concerned State. I am also a Member of this committee. But after constituting it, the Committee never met. At least before submitting the Annual Budget of that State to this House, you must have discussed it in that Consultative Committee.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO" (Jammu and Kashmir): It is not Consultative Committee, it is Advisory Committee.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Yes, but I think it is known as Parliamentary Consultative Committee. This is the respect you have shown to Parliament. You never called the Consultative Committee to deliberate on the problems of Punjab in the absence of an elected Government there. That shows you are not prepared to take Parliament into confidence.

The Minister is now seeking another six months' extension, but I do not know what they are going to do without these SIX months. If necessary they will again amend the Constitution. They will again seek another six months' extension, but this process will not do anything to solve the problem. I do agree that at this juncture the problem will not be solved within one or two or three months.

May I know what action 3 P.M. plan you have in your mind, what steps you would take to normalise the situation? At present there is no proposal on your part at all. So many reports appeared in the press but from the Government side authoritatively there is no proposal at present. Simply you are coming to us for the extension of President's rule in that State and this will not solve the problem. Thank you.

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ जो अपने मुझे पंजाब जैसी गंभीर समस्या पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया। महोदय, इसके पूर्व श्री मोहनन और यशवंत सिन्हा के वक्तव्यों से यह साबित होता है, जैसा कि उन्होंने स्वयं माना है कि पंजाब की स्थिति गंभीर है और पहले से ज्यादा गंभीर है। जब इस कटु सत्य को हमारे माननीय सदस्य मानते हैं कि वहाँ पर स्थिति गंभीर है तो उन्हें इसी गंभीरता से यह भी मान लेना चाहिए कि पंजाब में चुनाव की स्थिति है ही नहीं। जब वहाँ की स्थिति को गंभीर और पहले से बदतर मानते हैं तो वहाँ पर चुनाव का वातावरण है ही नहीं यह भी एक कटु सत्य है। मैं आपकी इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि स्थिति गंभीर है और इसलिए 6 महीने और राष्ट्रपति का शासन वहाँ पर बढ़ाया जा रहा है। चुनाव का माहौल वहाँ पर सचमुच में नहीं है और इस बात को सारे विरोधी दल के लोग भी मानते हैं, अंदर से मानते हैं दिल से मानते हैं। किन्तु सदन में कभी कभी बातें कुछ ऐसी होने लगती हैं कि दिल से उस बात को मानते हुए भी उस चीज के विरोध में कहने लगते हैं। लेकिन मैं इतना जरूर कहना चाहूँगा कि जैसा कि यशवंत सिन्हा जी और मोहनन जी ने भी कहा है और हमारे दरबारा सिंह भी ने भी खुलकर कहा कि यह एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है। पंजाब की समस्या एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है और इसी दृष्टि से हमें इस पर सोचना भी चाहिए। यहाँ पर कुछ आक्षेप लगाये गये लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन तथ्यों से सारा सदन और सारा देश परिचित है कि देश हित में जब भी जरूरत पड़ी मेरी पार्टी ने हमेशा राष्ट्र की पार्टी से ऊपर समझा है। दरबारा सिंह वहाँ चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, उनको वहाँ से हटा दिया गया। क्योंकि हमारे लीडरों का विचार था कि वहाँ पर हमारी पार्टी रहे या न रहे लेकिन वहाँ पर शांति स्थापित होनी चाहिए। इसलिए दूसरों को भी मौका दिया जाय। अगर वह वहाँ की समस्या का समाधान कर सकते हैं तो यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है। तो वे

अपने चीफ मिनिस्टर को देश हित में सक्रिय कर सकते हैं। दरबारा सिंह उसके बाद वहाँ चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं रहे। उसके बाद वहाँ बरनाला साहब चीफ मिनिस्टर हुए। उन्होंने बरनाला साहब को वहाँ की चीफ मिनिस्ट्री दे दी लेकिन वह भी नहीं चली। ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** जनता ने दी। (व्यवधान) ...

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकल :** लेकिन वह भी नहीं चली। तो क्या किया जाता। वे भी चल नहीं सके। यह आप भी मानते हैं। वहाँ पर उस समय हालात इस तरह से बढ़ गये थे जिसका समाधान मुश्किल था। तो इस तरह से हमने अपनी गवर्नमेंट हटाकर देश हित में दूसरों का मौका दिया। इसी तरह से देश हित में हम ने अपनी सरकार को हटाकर, भीर कासिम को हटाकर शेख अब्दुल्ला को वहाँ का चीफ मिनिस्टर बना दिया। इस प्रकार हमारी पार्टी के लीडरों ने हमेशा पार्टी से ऊपर उठकर राष्ट्रीय हित में सोचा है। उन्होंने हमेशा पार्टी के हित को पीछे रखा है और देश हित को सर्वोपरि माना है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मालवीय जी कह रहे हैं कि क्या आप केन्द्र में भी ऐसा ही कुछ करेंगे ?

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकल :** केन्द्र में आपको कोई शिकायत होगी यह आपका का बचाव है। केन्द्र में हमने आप को तीन साल मौका दिया था और उस सरकार में आप विदेश मंत्री थे। तीन साल आपका शासन चला ... (व्यवधान) ...

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा :** जनता ने मौका दिया।

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकल :** वह मौका हमारी गलतियों से मिला यह एक सच्चाई है। लेकिन फिर जनता ने आपको वैसे ही हटा दिया। हमसे कुछ गलतियाँ हुई थी, इस का हमारे लीडरों ने भी माना है और उन गलतियों के कारण आप तीन साल के लिये सत्ता में आ गये। लेकिन आप खुद चले गये, हमारी पार्टी ने आपको नहीं हटाया। आपका कोई प्राइम मिनिस्टर तय नहीं हो पा रहा था।

पहले मोरारजी भाई प्रधानमंत्री हुए। लेकिन लीडरों में आपस में झगड़ा हुआ और डेढ़-तीन वर्षों में आप अपना प्राइम मिनिस्टर तय नहीं कर सके। किसका कमूर है। चौधरी चरणसिंह और बाबू जगजीवनराम अब स्वर्ग में हैं। झगड़े होते रहे और बाद में चौधरी चरण सिंह प्रधानमंत्री बने। लेकिन क्योंकि उनका पालियामेंट में बहुमत नहीं था इसलिये हट गये। आप इन ढाई-तीन सालों में प्रधानमंत्री के बारे में भी तय नहीं कर सके तो जनता के लिये आप क्या करते। इस बात को जनता ने समझा और हमें सत्ता में ले आई। हम डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास करते हैं। लेकिन अब जनता अगर हम से नाराज भी हो जाये तो इस समय स्थिति ऐसी है कि आप इकट्ठे होने की स्थिति में भी नहीं हैं। यह हमको मालूम है कि आप इकट्ठे होने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं।

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा :** आप पंजाब पर बोलिये।

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकस :** यह तो जरा अटल जी ने छोड़ दिया था इसलिए मैं यह कह रहा हूँ। मेरी पार्टी राष्ट्रीय हित में पार्टी को पीछे रख कर राष्ट्रीय हित को ध्यान में रख कर चलती है जाति धर्म को छोड़ कर आगे बढ़ कर हमारी पार्टी सोचती है। हमारी पार्टी ने गुरुमुख निहाल सिंह को दिल्ली का चीफ मिनिस्टर बना दिया, बरकतुल्ला खान को राजस्थान में गवर्नर बना दिया, गफ्फूर साहब को बना दिया। धर्म, जाति से ऊपर उठ कर हमारी पार्टी ने हमेशा - हमेशा धर्मनिरपेक्षता और सेकुलरिज्म को सर्वोपरि माना है। पंजाब की समस्या जटिल है इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है। सब इस बात को मानते हैं। यह सिद्ध हो गया कि पाकिस्तान से ट्रेनिंग पाए हुए लोग जो इन दिनों आतंकवादियों के नाम से पंजाब में हत्याएं कर रहे हैं। यह दुख की बात है और सही बात भी है कि आतंकवादी किसी पार्टी को देख कर हत्याएं नहीं कर रहे हैं चाहे जनता पार्टी के लीडर मारे

गये हैं, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडर मारे गये हैं और कांग्रेस के भी मारे गये हैं तथा आम जनता के निरपराध लोग निरीह लोग बाजरा में बैठे हुए सड़कों पर चलते हुए ट्रेन में जाते हुए औरतों और बच्चों को भी नहीं रक्षा गया यह लोग जो हत्याएं करते हैं यह पाकिस्तान से ट्रेनिंग ले कर आते हैं यह पेशेवर लोग हैं यह वहाँ की सरकार से तनखाहें पाते हैं। यह सारी दुनिया में मशहूर हो चुका है। इसलिए इन लोगों का मुकाबला करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हमारे विरोधी दलों को सरकार के साथ सभी मतभेद भुला कर सहयोग देना चाहिये पंजाब के सवाल पर कम से कम कोई राजनीति नहीं बरतनी चाहिये। दूसरा मैं गवर्नमेंट से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सुरक्षा समितियाँ बनाई जाएँ। आप उनको वैसे ही आधुनिक हथियार दीजिये जैसे आधुनिक हथियार आतंकवादियों के पास हैं जो हमारे बाजारों में दुकानों पर बैठे हुए लोगों की हत्याएं करते हैं। यह एक उपाय हो सकता है। वहाँ के ऐसे लोगों को ऐसी सुरक्षा समितियों के सदस्यों को जिन पर आपको पूरा भरोसा है उनको आप आधुनिक हथियारों को दे दें आप हथियार उन लोगों को ही दें जिन पर आपको भरोसा हो कि यह लोग उन हथियारों का दुरुपयोग नहीं करेंगे और देश भक्तों को मारने के लिए उनका इस्तेमाल नहीं करेंगे। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि आप यह सुरक्षा समितियाँ ग्रामों में बनाएं। मैं इस राय का हूँ कि सेनाएं हमारी सीमाओं की रक्षा के लिए रहनी चाहिये। हमारे जो शत्रु देश हैं उनकी निगाह हमेशा भारत के लिए गलत रही है वे भारत में धर्म के नाम से, जाति के नाम से झड़वा करते हैं ताकि हम सेना को ला एंड आर्डर पर लगा दें और हम अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा जल्दी से न कर सकें लेकिन हमारे देश की जनता बहुत ही सावधान है। मुझे किसी भी विरोधी दल की नीति पर जरा भी सन्देह नहीं है। मेरा कहना यह

[ श्री राम चन्द्र बिकल ]

है कि देश संकट के समय में सब एकमत हो कर चलें और पाकिस्तान की सीमा पर जो ट्रेनिंग पा रहे हैं आधुनिकतम हथियार ला रहे हैं आज भी आपने घोषणा सुनी कि उनको पाकिस्तान से हथियार मिल रहे हैं इस सब को देखते हुए हम को सुरक्षा समितियां बना देने चाहिये और पंजाब में जो राष्ट्रपति शासन 6 महीने के लिए बढ़ाना है उसे बढ़ा दिया जाना चाहिये और उसका समर्थन विरोधी दलों को बिना किसी दलगत राजनीति के कर देना चाहिये। चुनाव की स्थिति से वह भी बाकिफ है। किसी भी पार्टी को यह हक है कि वह यह कलेम करे कि हमारी पार्टी गवर्नमेंट बना सकती है। कोई भी पार्टी सामने आए जो गवर्नमेंट बना सकती हो हम तो उसी दिन राष्ट्रपति शासन हटवा देंगे। कोई पार्टी सदन में डिक्लेअर करे कि हम गवर्नमेंट बना लेंगे। इस सच्चाई से इंकार नहीं करना चाहिये। पंजाब की सीमा के बारे में पाकिस्तान के बारे में चाहे गुजरात हो, काश्मीर हो हमारी जनता में आत्म विश्वास पैदा किया जाए और सर्वदलीय कमेटियां बनाई जाएं सुरक्षा समितियां भी बनाई जाएं पहले भी सर्वदलीय सम्मेलन हुए हैं पंजाब में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के साथ मिल कर भी हुए हैं सब पार्टियां मिल कर गई हैं। पंजाब के गांवों में माहौल अच्छा बना दें फिर जिस दिन घटल जी और वर्मा जी कहें हमारे कम्युनिस्ट लीडर कहें सच्चाई से कोई पार्टी दावा कर दे कि चुनाव कराया जाए तो हम राष्ट्रपति शासन को जल्दी से जल्दी हटा देंगे लेकिन आज की हालत में तो राष्ट्रपति शासन को बढ़ाना ही न्यायोचित है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति शासन को बढ़ाए जाने के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chair-man, Sir, we are happy to note that the tenor of speeches of the Congress benches has changed. They are not speaking in the manner in which they spoke when they wanted to impose President's Rule. They said, Bar-

nala has failed. He is not controlling the terrorists. His ministry has become corrupt. These arguments are not there because you have become wiser. You said that during Bar-nala's regime terrorism was taking a very high toll. Throughout the fourteen months, there were only 656 killings. But in the month of March only, the killings were 299. The man in the street knows that the situation has deteriorated. Any person who glances at dailies sees death, uprooting of families, extortion of money and complete lawlessness in Punjab. The SGPC and the Akali Dal have been made irrelevant and all the gurudwaras are now under the control of Sikh extremists who are using them for anti-national activities. They openly display their weapons in the Golden Temple. The seats of Sikh religious authority have been converted into the hide-outs of extremists and separatists. Barnala was prepared to take action, had taken action. Because of that he became a 'tankhia'. But what have you done? This is a question, you must ask yourselves. What all you wanted, the Parliament has given you. Twenty-four times you have come before Parliament and asked for powers. Twenty-four times such powers have been given. I can quote. After all these, what is the picture today? I today you, I shall just take you through the newspaper items. Satyapal Dang, a respected leader, has stated that the police chowky at village Subra received a threatening letter from terrorists. The chowky has been deserted. The entire staff has shifted to a nearby CRP post. A similar threatening letter was received by the police post in Alagaon. The in-charge proceeded on leave for twenty days and others shifted to the nearby CRP chowky. These incidents are a measure of the downward drift in Punjab. Like that I can go on narrating one by one. "Punjab violence claims 31 lives", one day. "Armed infiltrations

into Punjab with the complicity of Pakistan are increasing". "Five infiltrations closely following one another near Pakistan's border observation posts took place during the past one month. In the encounters, the Border Security Force exchanged heavy fire with the miscreants killing one suspected Pakistani national and a few Pakistani rangers and injuring several infiltrators. Considerable quantity of arms including AK-47 rifles, ammunitions and explosives and other material were recovered". Just as our friend said, 20 kilometres of border, they want to declare as Khalistan. The situation is extremely grim and grave. The terrorists indulge in indiscriminate killings with impunity in broad day-light and in crowded areas. They are moving freely carrying sophisticated arms. They have acquired an ample number of AK-47 assault rifles. AR-15 American carbines, rocket launchers and Stinger missiles. In the same way, the Golden Temple is being fortified. That is yesterday's news. For the first time after the Operation Blue Star, terrorists are engaged in constructing fortifications at vantage points inside the Golden Temple. Today's "Hindu" says even outside the Golden Temple they have started fortifications. In spite of giving all the powers requesting you, asking you, to seal the borders, you have not taken care of the security of our country. How can we have confidence? In the same way, I can tell you many more things. The entire nation is concerned because of the grave situation that has developed. The security of the country itself is in danger. From platforms you say that forces of imperialism are set for destabilising the country. You also claim that Opposition parties are hand in glove with destabilising forces. Now destabilisation is staring in your face % Punjab. You spoke of Pakistani training camps, Pakistani infiltrators and terrorists crossing the border, etc. and therefore, wanted extension of President's rule by

another six months. You dared not point to imperialism. It is the imperialist forces which divided our country into India and Pakistan. It is the imperialist forces which want to destabilise our country; not only here in the northeast, everywhere. You are not in a position to say that imperialist forces are there behind all this. You are not in a position to say in the United States of America several Congressmen are openly supporting the terrorists. This is the real picture. That is why everybody is concerned about the danger to the integrity of our country. You have forgotten to talk about the Panthic Committee operating from Pakistan, the Panthic Committee which represents all terrorists is operating from Pakistan. Step by step your policies have intensified the communal divide in Punjab. They have not helped to bring about communal peace. You have forgotten the democratic approach, the people's approach, reliance on the people, to rouse the people, to save the unity and integrity of the country. Punjab had played a glorious role in the national movement. You have forgotten the GADDAR heroes, the ordinary people who bared their chests in Jallianwallah Bagh; you have forgotten Bhagat Singh and the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army. You have forgotten these traditions. The peasant, the worker, is even today rising robustly and facing the terrorists' onslaught and is carrying on normal life and giving us production in both agricultural and industrial sectors. You do not care to remember him. You also do not recall the spirit of Kalisari where Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs shed their blood together and they refused to be separated; they were prepared to be killed. This is the spirit, the essence, of the national movement, and you have forgotten it. That is why you find no answer to the situation. You are changing your stand betraying your opportunism at every stage. I want to tell you in all humility every

[Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy]

attack of yours on the democratic forces has resulted in the raising of the head of fundamentalism and reactionary forces in our country. Take the example of Kashmir. You forgot to tell us that it was the Congress Government which brought in G.M. Shah in Kashmir. For what purpose, the Treasury Benches alone know. Corruption was rampant. There was encouragement during that regime of communal forces. Every deserter became a Minister under G. M. Shah. What has been the result? You wound up that experiment when you saw that it was going beyond control and you went in for elections in alliance with Farooq Abdullah. And the result was disastrous. As elections took place, the Jamaite-Islami and Muslim United Front bagged 40% of the votes in Srinagar Valley. That is the loss. In the same way, you dismissed the Barnala Government on the ground that it could not cope with terrorism and clamped the President's Rule. You thought that the ouster would bring you votes in Haryana. But you know the results. You had to go to the Kurukshetra and how much battered you are, you know and we know. But, at the same time, you lost your initiative in Punjab also. What about the Rajiv-Longowal accord? What has become of that? Three Commissions were there. Today, we do not know what the position of Chandigarh is. What about the river waters dispute? We do not know what has been stated by the Erady Commission on that. We also do not know when the SYL canal would be completed. Can you give any reply to these points? You have dissolved the Punjab Assembly? For what purpose? Today, you say you do not have any alternative. People are asking to whom they should go for the redressal of their grievances. What did the MLAs do? You said that the MLAs were interfering with the administration, with

the glorious administration that you set up and on that ground you dissolved the Assembly and thereby you cut off your connections with the people of Punjab. These authoritarian steps are not going to be of any help to you.' You have released Mr Jasbir Singh Rodc who has been elected as the head priest in the Sarbat Khalsa of January, 1986. Are these things going to be the solution of the problem? The solution lies in mobilising the people. You enact the Dandi march now. But that was the greatest mobilisation of the Indian people to fight, against the British. There should be popular mobilisation, both inside and outside Punjab. The Punjabis as well as others are prepared to take on that responsibility and the Opposition parties are always there who would be able to tackle the problem and face the brunt of the situation because the integrity of the country is in danger. Now, one point more, the last point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Last point only.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: Yes. You have always been saying, "However high a person may be, he will be punished". I would like to ask you one thing. After the division of the country, the gravest crisis and the greatest crisis was when atrocities were committed during the Delhi riots and the reply which has been given by the Government itself is that 2,733 persons were killed in Delhi during November, 1984. What is the action that you propose to take in this regard? Till now no action has been taken. You have released forty Jodhpur detenus. Why, not all? Sir/I have a paper cutting with me. It says that Shri Rajiv Gandhi told a group of editors that he could not release all the Jodhpur detenus and commute the sentence of the remaining army jawans who were convicted for desertion and make other concessions unilaterally because if he gave them away all these, he would

not have been left with anything for bargaining! So, you have reduce^ the Punjab problem to a bargaining counter! How can you solve the problem of Punjab? How - can you get into the heart of a rickshaw-puller or any ordinary citizen? How can you enter into the heart of the ordinary people, the workers and others? Release all the Jodhpur detenus. Then punish the persons who are responsible for the Delhi riots. Work on the Longowal Accord. Have a Round Table Conference of all the parties. Let all sit together. The country is in danger. Realise that. The Opposition is prepared to take the challenge, please act towards "this goal.

With these few words, I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** महोदय, पंजाब में घड़ी की सुई पूरा घूम गयी है। ऐसा लगता है कि हम जहाँ से चले थे वहीं फिर से पहुँच गए हैं। पंजाब में स्वर्ण मंदिर को आतंकवादियों से मुक्त करने के लिए सेना भेजने का सरकार को एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण निर्णय करना पड़ा था। उस समय यह आशा प्रकट की गयी थी कि भविष्य में किसी गुरुद्वारे को या किसी पूजा के स्थान को हथियारों का अड्डा नहीं बनने दिया जाएगा। आतंकवादियों और विघटनकारियों द्वारा उसकी पवित्रता भंग करके उसे देश के विरुद्ध प्रयुक्त होने का अवसर नहीं दिया जाएगा। लेकिन आज अमृतसर में क्या हो रहा है आतंकवादियों ने फिर से स्वर्ण मंदिर परिसर पर कब्जा कर लिया है। वे मोर्चाबंदी कर रहे हैं। आपस में लड़ रहे हैं। परिसर के अंदर निर्दोष लोगों को गोली का शिकार बनाया जा रहा है। अगर आज के अखबारों पर भरोसा किया जाये तो हमारे सुरक्षा बल स्वर्ण मंदिर परिसर के बाहर खाइयाँ और खंदके खोद रहे हैं। यह कहा जा रहा है कि परिसर को आबादी से अलग कर देना चाहिए। क्या यह कदम 1984

में उठाना जरूरी नहीं था? पंजाब में आज स्थिति फिर से बिगड़ गयी है और हम जहाँ से चले थे फिर से वहीं पहुँच गए हैं। इसके लिए कौन उत्तरदायी है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हम इस सदन में बैठकर चर्चा करते हैं कि धर्म और राज नीति को अलग किया जाना चाहिए। हम यह मांग करते हैं कि धर्म और राजनीति को अलग करने के लिए कानून बनाया जाना चाहिए, लेकिन पंजाब की समस्या को हल करने के लिए राजनीति धर्म की शरण में चली गयी है। कहाँ हैं पंजाब के राजनीतिक नेता? दरबारा सिंह तस्वीर में नहीं हैं, बेअत सिंह तस्वीर में नहीं हैं, बरनाला भी तस्वीर में नहीं हैं, बादल भी तस्वीर में नहीं हैं। तस्वीर में हैं अकालतख्त के जत्थेदार सरदार जसबीर सिंह रोड़े और नई दिल्ली में कौन तस्वीर में है—जैन मुनि सुशील कुमार। प्रधान मंत्री नहीं हैं। जैन मुनि सुशील कुमार जोकि पिछले साल अमृतसर सर गए थे और आतंकवादियों से परिसर में बातचीत कर रहे थे, उन्होंने दावा किया था कि वे समझौता कराने में सफल हो गए थे, गृह मंत्री बूटासिंह ने कह दिया कि मुनि सुशील कुमार से हमें कुछ लेना देना नहीं है। वह वापिस आ गए। सारा मामला ठंडा हो गया। भारत सरकार उन जैन मुनि सुशील कुमार की शरण में गयी है। क्या भारत सरकार के पास पंजाब समस्या का कोई हल नहीं है। राज्यपाल यह कहते हैं कि प्रधानमंत्री के पास हल है। प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि राज्यपाल के पास हल है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पंजाब की समस्या के तीन पहलू हैं। निस्संदेह कानून और व्यवस्था का पहला भी है। निर्दोष लोगों की हत्या बंद होनी चाहिए। लोग गांवों से उजड़ रहे हैं। शहरों में शरण ले रहे हैं। अगर शहरों से लोगों ने भागना शुरू कर दिया तो इस देश के सामने भयंकर परिस्थिति पैदा हो जाएगी। आतंकवादियों को कुचेलना होगा। मुझे



[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

खुशी है कि जनता पार्टी के जो नेता आज बोले उन्होंने कहा कि जो खालिस्तान के लिए लड़ रहे हैं उनके साथ समझौता नहीं हो सकता। जो गोली के बल पर देश के नक्शे को बिगाड़ना चाहते हैं, उनका सामना करना होगा। लेकिन आज यह सरकार सामना नहीं कर पा रही है। अब तो दोष देने के लिए बरनाला नहीं है, अब तो केन्द्र जिम्मेदार है। अमृतसर में क्या हो रहा है? गुरदासपुर में क्या हो रहा है? अगर सुरक्षा बल अपर्याप्त हैं तो आज सुरक्षा बलों को, सेक्युरिटी फोर्सों को मजबूत क्यों नहीं किया जाता? अगर उन के पास आधुनिक हथियार नहीं थे जो आतंकवादियों के हथियारों का मुकाबला कर सकें तो उन्हें अधिक अच्छे हथियार क्यों नहीं दिए जाते? और अगर जरूरत हो तो इन दोनों जिलों में सेना की सहायता क्यों नहीं ली जाती?

मैं पंजाब में सैनिक शासन की मांग नहीं कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन सुरक्षा बलों की मदद के लिए, सिविल ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की सहायता के लिए सेना का प्रयोग करने में सरकार को हिचकिचाहट नहीं होनी चाहिए। अगर स्थिति काबू से बाहर हो गई तो पता नहीं कौन से कठोर कदम उठाने पड़ें।

पंजाब की समस्या का एक पहलू कानून और व्यवस्था का पहलू है, लेकिन दूसरी बात यह है कि यह चूनीती कानून और व्यवस्था की नहीं है, पंजाब में कुछ लोग देश की अखंडता और एकता को तोड़ना चाहते हैं, उनके मंसूबों को विफल करना होगा। हर कीमत पर हिन्दू सिख एकता कायम रहनी चाहिए। पंजाब की जनता को वधाई है कि इन सारे सवालों के बावजूद भी उसने हिन्दू सिख एकता कायम करके दिखायी है दिल्ली के दंगों में जो कुछ हुआ, मुझे ताज्जुब है भजन लाल जी, हरियाणा में एजियाड के समय में जो कुछ हुआ, उसकी लीपापोती कर रहे हैं। मुझे याद है कि आडवाणी जी ने यह मामला इस सदन में उठाया था और गृह मंत्री श्री सेठी ने इसके लिए सदन में माफी मांगी थी

कि हरियाणा में जो कुछ हुआ वह खेदजनक है, लेकिन हर सिख को बेइज्जत करना जरूरी नहीं था। मैंने कहा था उस समय कि अगर तलाशी लेनी है तो सबकी तलाशी लो। अगर जो सेना में रहकर देश के लिए बलिदान करने वाले हैं उनको पुलिस का सिपाही बेइज्जत करता है तो दिल में गुस्सा पैदा होता है और अगर गुस्सा पैदा होता रहेगा तो आतंकवादियों को अलग थलग करने की नीति सफल नहीं होगी। आतंकवादी मुट्ठीभर हैं, उनके खिलाफ सबको खड़ा करना होगा। इसके लिए सब लोगों को साथ लेकर चलना पड़ेगा।

महोदय, यह जो हमारा पहलू है वह है एकता और अखंडता का और तीसरा पहलू है वह राजनीतिक पहलू है। प्रधान मंत्री को यह तो पंजाब समझौते में चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को देने का वायदा नहीं करना चाहिए था, अगर वायदा कर लिया था तो दे देना चाहिए था। अगर चंडीगढ़ पंजाब में आ जाता तो देश में रहता। लेकिन पंजाब को चंडीगढ़ नहीं मिला, हरियाणा को पानी नहीं मिला और देश को शान्ति नहीं मिली। यह कौन सी राजनीति है? प्रधान मंत्री से समझौता किया लेकिन ईमानदारी में उसका पालन नहीं किया। प्रधान मंत्री ने उस समझौते की नई व्याख्या की, जनरल अरोड़ा मरोड़ थे। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि पंजाब ऐंकार्ड का मतलब यह है कि पंजाब को चंडीगढ़ तब मिले जब हरियाणा को इतना ही बड़ा पंजाब का कोई इलाका दे दिया जाए। फिर उन्होंने साफ साफ कहा कि हरियाणा को अबोहर और फाजिल्का मिलना चाहिए। हमने उनसे पूछा क्या आपने ये बातें संत लोंगोवाल के सामने साफ कहीं थीं, अगर कही होतीं तो समझौता नहीं होता। लेकिन उन्होंने सोचा पंजाब में शान्ति हो गई, समझौता हो गया, पंजाब में अकालियों की सत्ता हो गई, अपना सिरदर्द टल गया। अब हरियाणा की चिन्ता करो, हरियाणा में भी कांग्रेस पार्टी की चिन्ता करो। इसीलिए जब मुनि सुशील कुमार पहली बार पंजाब में गए तो उनकी योजना

को स्वीकृति नहीं मिली क्योंकि हरियाणा में चुनाव होने वाले थे। कांग्रेस चुनाव भी हार गई और पंजाब भी भयंकर संकट की आंधी में फंस गया है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इसको राजनीति से मत जोड़िए। मेरा निवेदन है कि इसको दलगत स्वार्थ से अलग रखिए। मेरा निवेदन है कि पंजाब के संकट को बढ़ाकर कल चुनाव जीतने के बारे में स्वप्न मत देखिए। यह खतरनाक खेल है। यह आग से खेलने के बराबर है। चुनाव आप जीत गए, 1984 में लोकसभा में चार सौ से ज्यादा सीटें मिल गईं। देश की हालत बिगड़ रही है, पंजाब काबू से बाहर जा रहा है। हमने सुझाव दिए थे। दरबारासिंह जी यह नहीं कह सकते कि विरोधी दलों ने सुझाव नहीं दिए। आप यह कह सकते हैं कि हमने सुझाव माने नहीं। आर्टिकल 249 के अन्तर्गत जो प्रस्ताव आया भारतीय जनता पार्टी अकेला विरोधी दल था जिसने आपका साथ दिया, परन्तु उस प्रस्ताव को आपने रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिया। सीमा तब तक सीमा नहीं होगी जब तक सीमा पर सिक्यूरिटी बेल्ट नहीं बनगी। लोगों का आना-जाना रोकना होगा। सिक्यूरिटी बेल्ट क्यों नहीं बन रही ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब-जब पंजाब की हालत बिगड़ती है सरकार अपनी विफलता पर पर्दा डालना चाहती है, तब-तब पंजाब के मामले में पाकिस्तान के हस्तक्षेप की जोर से चर्चा होती है। यह चर्चा मैं 1980 से सुन रहा हूँ। ज्ञानी जैलसिंह जी जब गृहमंत्री थे, वे फारेन हैंड कहा करते थे।

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ क्या यह सत्य नहीं है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं इस पर आ रहा हूँ। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि अगर सरकार सुनिश्चित है, मुझे नहीं जानकारी दी गई, मुझे विश्वास में नहीं लिया गया। प्रधानमंत्री ने विरोधी दलों के सामने वह दस्तावेज नहीं रखे, वह सबूत नहीं रखे जिनके आधार पर पाकिस्तान को कठघरे में खड़ा किया जा सके। लेकिन मैं इस मामले में सरकार पर

भरोसा करने के लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले को पाकिस्तान के साथ हाईस्ट प्रिऑरिटी के मामले के रूप में क्यों नहीं उठाया जा रहा। भारत के विदेश सचिव गए थे पाकिस्तान में प्रधानमंत्री के विशेष दूत बनकर। क्या विदेश सचिव का विदेश सचिव होना काफी नहीं है, उसको प्रधानमंत्री के दूत की पूछ लगानी जरूरी है। मैं उस मामले को नहीं उठा रहा। मैं नन गए पाकिस्तान में किस बात पर बात करने के लिये ? पंजाब में पाकिस्तान के हस्तक्षेप पर बात करने के लिए नहीं, अफगानिस्तान पर बात करने के लिए। पंजाब पहले है या अफगानिस्तान। पाकिस्तान का हस्तक्षेप पहले है या अफगानिस्तान के मामले में भारत की भूमिका। अभी देश के रक्षा सचिवों की बात होने वाली है, पाकिस्तान के हस्तक्षेप के सवाल पर नहीं, सियाचीन के सवाल पर। मैं मानता हूँ अफगानिस्तान भी महत्वपूर्ण है, सियाचिन का मामला भी हल होना चाहिए लेकिन सवाल, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रिऑरिटीज का है। इसलि मुझे शक होता है। सरकार इस मामले का दृढ़ता के साथ उठाना क्यों नहीं चाहती, पाकिस्तान को दुनिया भर में बेनकाब क्यों नहीं किया जा रहा है। पाकिस्तान सार्क का मੈम्बर है, सार्क ने समझौता किया है टैरारिज्म के खिलाफ। आप सार्क के सदस्य देशों से कहिए कि पाकिस्तान का आचरण रोकें।

विदेश मंत्रालय के एक अफसर ने मुझे बताया कि जब हमने पाकिस्तान के साथ उनके हस्तक्षेप का मामला उठाया तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम हस्तक्षेप बंद करने को तैयार हैं अगर आप सिंध में हस्तक्षेप बंद कर दो। मैं नहीं जानता कि सिंध में भारत सरकार हस्तक्षेप कर रही है या नहीं कर रही है, मैं नहीं जानता। अगर कर रही है तो गलत बात है। लेकिन यह बात केवल अफसरों की बात नहीं है, यह बात पुराने विदेश सचिव श्री वेंकटेश्वरन ने अपने भाषण में कही है। हम पाकिस्तान से दो टूक बात करें।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

अगर पाकिस्तान तत्काल में मदद दे रहा है और भारत की तोड़ना चाहता है तो पाकिस्तान के साथ दोस्ती नहीं हो सकती, फिर अफगानिस्तान पर बात नहीं होगी, फिर सिंधियाचिन पर बात नहीं होगी। यह शत्रुतापूर्ण कार्रवाई है, आप इसे दृढ़ता के साथ उठाते क्यों नहीं। प्रधानमंत्री पाकिस्तान जनरल जिया को टेलीफोन करते हैं अफगानिस्तान के मामले पर, पंजाब के बारे में नहीं। क्यों नहीं? उठाइये दृढ़ता के साथ :

लेकिन इस मुगलते में मत रहिए कि पंजाब की सारी परिस्थिति के लिए पाकिस्तान का हस्तक्षेप जिम्मेदार है। पाकिस्तान परिस्थिति का लाभ उठाने की कोशिश कर रहा है। उन हस्तक्षेप से परिस्थिति बिगड़ेगी। लेकिन यह हमारे घर का मामला है, यह हमारी अपनी विफलता है, इस विफलता को ठीक तरह से समझने की जरूरत है और कदम उठाने की जरूरत है। परमात्मा के लिए अगले चुनाव पर नजर रखकर पंजाब के मामले को चुनाव का मुद्दा मत बनाइये। हो सकता है आप चुनाव फिर से जीत जाएं, फिर पंजाब की स्थिति आपके गले पड़ी रहेगी। हम ऐसे सत्रालों का पार्टी की कसौटी पर नहीं देखते। हमें दुख हुआ कि हम पंजाब की चर्चा कर रहे हैं और चर्चा शुरू होने के बाद ही जिस तरह से आज विवाद हो गया। सबसे हम हरिजनों की, वनवासियों की बात कर रहे थे। सारा सदन इस पर एकमत है कि उनके साथ न्याय होना चाहिए, उन्हें अधिक प्रतिनिधित्व मिलना चाहिए, फिर वह बात पार्टी के अमले में उलझ गई।

महोदय, आज तो राष्ट्रपति राज है, क्या आल पार्टी पार्लियामेन्टरी डेलिगेशन पंजाब नहीं जा सकता, या प्रधानमंत्री पंजाब नहीं जा सकते? ब्लू स्टार के बाद मैंने स्व० श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को पत्र लिखा था कि जो कुछ पंजाब में हुआ है उसका पश्चाताप करने की जरूरत है। आप स्वर्ण मन्दिर में विरोधी दलों के

नेताओं को भी ले जाती तो हम स्वर्ण मन्दिर में खड़े होकर यह कहते कि जो कुछ हुआ वह भविष्य में नहीं होने देगे। जो कुछ हुआ है बहुत गलत हुआ है। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने मुझे पत्र लिखा था कि मैं बूढ़ा सिंह जी को साथ नहीं ले गयी तो विरोधी दल के नेताओं को क्यों ले जाती। प्रधान मंत्री क्या विरोधी दल के नेताओं के साथ बैठ कर पंजाब के बारे में एक राष्ट्रीय नीति नहीं बना सकते? लेकिन नीति कैसे बने ?

एक मामले को और कह कर खत्म करूंगा। यह मामला उठाया जा चुका है। इस का खंडन नहीं हुआ। खंडन हुआ है मगर कनिक्स करने वाला। खंडन नहीं हुआ। आइजवर 24 अप्रैल, 1988। जनरल अरोड़ा ने यह सवाल उठाया था कि अफगानिस्तान से जहाज़ में भरकर गोला-बारूद और हथियार लाये गये हैं। उनमें एक राकेट भी था। जो पंजाब में राकेट चलाये जा रहे हैं उसी तरह का राकेट था। श्री धीरेन भगत जिम्मेदार संवाददाता हैं। उनकी रिपोर्ट है :

Caches of arms, including rockets, are being smuggled into India from Pakistan — not by terrorists but by the Indian secret services.

In an extraordinary incident which could throw light on the Rajiv Gandhi Government's recent actions in the Punjab, the "Observer" has discovered that the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) India's external intelligence outfit, has been receiving secret consignments of arms. On the afternoon of Thursday the 19th November, 1987, an alert security man at the Indira Gandhi International Airport in New Delhi spotted bullets rolling out of a crate which had arrived on an Indian Airlines flight from Kabul. The crate was one of a large consignments, 23 crates according to my information, 22 crates according to airlines freight records. (Interruptions)

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब) :  
वाजपेयी जी यह सबने पढ़ा हुआ है।

श्री बोरेंद्र वर्मा : पढ़ा है तभी तो  
बता रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या  
आप मानते हैं यह सही है? सरकार ने  
इसका खंडन नहीं किया है।

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल : किया है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह  
खंडन नहीं है कि यह खबर गलत है। इस  
खबर में डिटेल्स दी गयी हैं कि इंदिरा  
गांधी इंटरनेशनल एयर पोर्ट पर एअर  
इंडिया के जहाज से क्रेट आये। उनका  
राजिस्टर्ड नम्बर भी है। श्री जसवंत सिंह  
जी ने मवालों के दौरान उन नम्बरों को  
कोट किया था। फिर उस क्रेट को  
लेने कौन आया? मैं तो पढ़ कर दंग रह  
गया। मैं नहीं समझता सारे सदस्यों ने  
पढ़ा होगा।

The examination revealed more than dropped  
bullets. According to infor- mation  
obtained by the "Observer an eyewitness  
claims there was at least one rocket  
launcher in the crates.

A dispute began between customs and  
security, each claiming the credit for what  
they believed to be an incredible discovery  
of terrorist contraband. As the appreciation  
letters were being written out — letters that  
would help the officials to claim a reward  
— a man in civilian clothes identified himself  
to Neogi as an operative of RAW. He  
claimed this was Government property  
and whisked away the crates before  
Neogi's security men could open them  
and make an inventory of the contents.  
According to the freight records, these  
crates were collected from the cargo  
warehouse the following day. The crates  
bore two addresses. The sender's address  
was given: Director-General, Communica-

tions, Pul-e. Bag, Hea, Amoomi,  
Kabul. The consignment was ad-  
dressed to the Director General, Com-  
munications, Sanchar Bhavan, New  
Delhi. संचार भवन, नई दिल्ली में कोई  
डायरेक्टर जनरल नहीं है। ये क्रेट कहाँ  
गये? आगे रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि पंजाब  
में एक क्रेट सी० आर० पी० पोस्ट पर  
फंका गया एक दिन पहले। पोस्ट वाले  
बच गये मगर दूसरे दिन पंजाब में इमर-  
जेंसी घोषित करने का विधेयक लोकसभा  
में पेश किया गया। मैं नहीं जानता यह  
सही है या नहीं लेकिन यह सरकार की  
डिबिलिटी पर प्रश्न चिह्न लगाता है।

आप जानते हैं कि आतंकवादी इसका  
कैसे उपयोग कर रहे होंगे। आप जानते  
हैं कि हमारे मन में कैसी आशंकाएं उठ  
रही हैं। लोगों का यह विश्वास करने का  
जी चाह रहा होगा कि सरकार इस तरह  
के काम करा रही है। इस संबंध में सर-  
कार और प्रतिपक्ष के बीच में इस तरह  
का विवाद नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन  
आपने नवम्बर में दिल्ली में हुए दंगों के  
हत्यारों को सजा नहीं दी। आपने जोधपुर  
के नजरबंदों को छोड़ा, मगर टुकड़ों में  
छोड़ा, बहुत देर में छोड़ा। अभी भी  
जो निर्दोष हैं उनको छोड़ देना चाहिए।  
मगर दोषी को सजा मिलनी चाहिए।  
फौज के जो भगीड़े थे उनके खिलाफ  
अगर कोई हिंसा का आरोप नहीं है तो  
उनके साथ नरमी बरतिए। लेकिन आप  
किस घड़ी की प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं। आप  
पंजाब में अंधेरे में डटोल रहे हैं, किन्तु  
कत्तव्य झिम्मे हो गये हैं, और इस कि-  
कत्तव्यविमूढ़ता के कारण आपको दिखाई नहीं  
दे रहा है। आप सोचते हैं कि किसी भी  
परिस्थिति का अन्ततोगत्वा चुनावों के  
समय लाभ उठा कर फिर उससे बहुमत  
प्राप्त कर लेंगे। यह सोचने का तरीका  
अत्यन्त दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है। इस तरह से पंजाब  
की समस्या कैसे हल होगी। कहीं ऐसा न  
हो कि पंजाब की स्थिति काबू से बाहर  
चली जाये।

re. Punjab

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, while recognising that there is no alternative to the extension of the President's rule in Punjab in the present state, I still oppose this motion on moral grounds and because of the Governmental responsibility for bringing the situation to such an intractable state.

In the last one year of President's rule, the Government has utterly failed to handle the situation effectively. Leave alone finding a solution, it has made the problem more intractable and complicated. If there were good reasons to sack the Akali Dal Government last year for unsatisfactory performance, as is often claimed, there are even more cogent reasons for the present Government to resign for the dangerous situation it has created to the integrity of the country. The imposition of horrendous and suppressive measures, distinct from the rule of law, has made the Government more unpopular than ever. Whereas I condemn the wanton killing of innocent people most strongly, by the militants, I cannot accept the imposition of State terrorism as a justifiable policy.

Let us now consider the latest situation. The halfhearted stab at the political initiative has turned out to be a damp squib. The imposition of emergency to coincide with the release of the Head Priests made the task of the Akali Dal Jathedar more difficult. To further jeopardise his credibility with the extremists, Shri Azad, the General Secretary of the Congress Party, lauded him as being more moderate than Sardar Prakash Singh Badal. I fail to understand as to what was the occasion to make such a pronouncement.

I would draw Government's attention to the special mention I made on 29th April about the arrival of several crates of arms and ammunition by a scheduled Indian Airlines

flight from Kabul at Indira Gandhi Airport Delhi on 19th November 1987, which was obviously meant for and collected by Research and Analysis Wing personnel. Government has given no written explanation so far to my special mention. Does it propose to take the same attitude as was taken by the Cabinet Secretary that he could neither deny nor confirm it? Or is it a reason that the Government has not yet worked out a "cover-up" plan? This news has created much doubt and a great deal of apprehension in the minds of the people specially in the Punjab. I would urge the Government to permit a short-duration discussion on this subject to bring out the true facts in the open. The present Government denial through the UNI has not satisfied anyone.

In the last few weeks, the Government actions and pronouncements have caused much confusion and alarm. There appears to be no clear-cut policy. It appears that the Government is just floundering while inexorably heading towards a disaster. I hope, by now, the Government has worked out a comprehensive action plan in detail; if possible, time-bound; as to how this problem is going to be resolved step by step. Mere Presidential Rule, howsoever long the period may be, or, more repressive measures or continued State terrorism are not going to resolve this issue. I would urge the Government again that a practical solution to this continued violence neither lies in direct confrontation — bullet for bullet nor in bargaining with the terrorists alone. Please remember that the moderates cannot be ignored as irrelevant. The people of Punjab believe in the integrity of the country and are, therefore, moderates. How can you ignore their views and sentiments and talk only with the militants? I consider that this is a device to divide the Sikh community more.

In spite of the extremely strong and strident pronouncements about Pakistan, one is not clear whether "the Government has incontrovertible proof about the perfidy of that country. If so, why does not the Government place on the Table of the House the detailed proof? In fact, why not publish a White Paper and circulate it to all concerned and also take up this matter with the United Nations, if possible? Unrestrained and strident speeches do not achieve results. In fact, they result in loss of dignity and worsen the relations needlessly.

In spite of the tall claims, I maintain that President's Rule smacks of a dictatorial attitude. All efforts by the administrative machinery to win friends and influence the public have been superficial and cannot overcome the roja-praja barrier. Only a democratically-elected Government can really bring about a participative atmosphere.

There are only two courses open for the Government. One is, — this has been tried now long enough — to carry on with the repressive measures with greater force and vigour. But this cannot, and will not eradicate violence. Nor can it give any solace to the poor public who are the real sufferers. Only the other day, a few bereaved Hindu families came to see me with their young children. They related their tale of woe; very heartrending; how the terrorists had killed their near and dear ones. This is really condemnable. But what is worse is, they were equally condemning the greed and inefficiency of the para-military forces who have failed to protect them. When the people wanted assistance, they wanted to be paid for it.

Therefore, the second and the only chance for the Government is to establish its credibility and sincerity with the people of Punjab by removing their hurt and anguished feelings. I am not going to go through all those steps again because they have been

mentioned time and again but they seem to fall on totally deaf ears. Unless you can make the Sikh community feel accepted and valued, it is not going to achieve their confidence. To admit mistakes and undo wrongs requires great qualities of generosity and good leadership. It needs a great man who can stoop to conquer. Rigidity and false pride cannot solve the problem. You can win a massive mandate on slogans but you can govern successfully only by inspiring trust and being just.

I suggest that the Government gives itself a time frame, that is, in the next six months for which you are asking the extension you will be able to solve this problem, you have a detailed plan to solve it, and if you fail, you must admit that you are unfit to govern this country. I am sure your days are numbered. No amount of contrived populist slogan-mongering will be able to hide our disastrous performance.

To end up, I would like to support the recommendations first made by hon. Shri Yashwant Sinha in his very able maiden speech and now the hon. Member from BJP, who has made a very inspiring speech and said that this is a national problem and it is necessary that all parties must get together to find a solution. It is not entirely a home affair for the Congress Party.

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा:** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय;  
24 जुलाई, 1985 में जब तत्कालीन  
भारतीय दल के नेता सरदार लोंगोवाल  
माहव ने और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पंजाब  
की समस्या पर समझौता किया तो देश  
को खुशी हुई लेकिन आतंकवादियों ने 20  
दिन पश्चात् हिन्दू सिख एकता पंजाब  
और देश में शान्ति और व्यवस्था  
स्थापित करने वाले शान्ति के मसीहा  
की हत्या कर दी।

**[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) पीठासीन हुये]**

जाहिर है कि आतंकवादी पंजाब में शान्ति और व्यवस्था नहीं चाहते हैं। जाहिर है कि उनकी डिक्लेयड पालिसी है कि वह खालिस्तान चाहते हैं और इसीलिए पंजाब के दोनों अकाली दल शिरोमणि गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक समिति भी वहाँ बेकार है दोनों अकाली दल भी बेकार हैं और वहाँ मान्यता है पंथक समिति की जो खालिस्तान में विश्वास रखती है। वहाँ मान्यता है आतंकवादियों का और यह सरकार के सामने चुनौती है। दो अकाली दल हैं। मान्यवर मैं प्रणसा करूंगा सरदार मुरजीत सिंह बरजाला की जब भी पंजाब में बेगुनाह लोगों की हत्याएं होती हैं तो वे उनकी निन्दा करते हैं भर्त्सना करते हैं कंडम करते हैं लेकिन उसके इलावा कई भी अकाली दल का नेता अथवा पंथक समिति अथवा मुख्य ग्रन्थी कोई भी इन हत्याओं की निन्दा नहीं करता है भर्त्सना नहीं करता है।

निर्दोष और बेगुनाह लोगों की हत्याओं P.M. को कन्डेम्न नहीं करते हैं। मान्यवर, जिस समय देश की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी जा रही थी, धर्म के नाम पर नफरत का प्रचार करके तत्कालीन मुस्लिम लीग के नेताओं ने देश का बंटवारा कराया। अंग्रेज हुकूमरान जो उस समय गुलामी के जमाने में थे मुस्लिम लीग को उनका आशीर्वाद था और हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि वह पाकिस्तान जा आज आतंकवादियों का ट्रेनिंग दे रहा है, हथियार दे रहा है, हर प्रकार की सहायता भी दे रहा है, उस पाकिस्तान को आज अमरीका का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त है। अमेरिका में भी ट्रेनिंग मिली है और अमेरिका भी यह चाहता है कि हिन्दुस्तान का पुनः बंटवारा हो जाये। मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से अपने सुझाव की दृष्टि से कहना चाहूंगा कि इस इश्यू पर हमारा दिमाग साफ होना चाहिये। चाहे पार्लियामेंट का प्रस्ताव हो चाहे भारत सरकार की यह घोषणा हो कि किसी भी कीमत पर भविष्य में देश का विभाजन बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जायेगा।

पुरा देश, देश की समूची जनता, सारे राज-नैतिक दल इस इश्यू पर भारत का समर्थन करेंगे, भारत सरकार की नीति का समर्थन करेंगे। आतंकवादियों को भी यह जान-कारी हो जाए कि भारत का आगे किसी भी प्रकार का कोई विभाजन देश में एक भी व्यक्ति बर्दाश्त करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। यह मान्यवर मेरा पहला सुझाव है। आप इसके ऊपर अपना स्पष्टीकरण अपने उत्तर के समय पर देंगे कि सरकार की क्या नीति है ?

दूसरा मान्यवर, मेरा यह सुझाव है कि पिछले 8-9 साल से पंजाब की स्थिति बिगड़ी है। जब निरकारी बाबा की दिल्ली में हत्या हुई थी तो उसके बाद से कभी धर्मयुद्ध कभी कुछ, निरन्तर हालात खराब होते चले गये। 8-9 वर्ष हो चुके हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय)**  
अप्रैल, 1980 में हुई थी।

**श्री बीरेन्द्र वर्मा :** तो पूरे आठ साल हो जाते हैं। बरनाला सरकार अगर नाकाम-याब रही है बकाल आपके...

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** ऐसा मत कहिए। सही बात बोलिए।

**श्री बीरेन्द्र वर्मा :** सही बातों की आवृत्ति है और सही बातें लेंगे। तो बरनाला सरकार अगर आपकी दृष्टि से फेल रही है जिसके कारण आपने हटाया तो सन् 1986 ई. में 520 आवृत्तियों की हत्याएं हुईं और साढ़े तीन महीनों में पहली जनवरी, से 14 अप्रैल तक जो सरकार ने एक प्रश्न का उत्तर दिया है उसके मुताबिक 617 व्यक्तियों की हत्याएं हुईं। इनमें अरतें भी हैं, बच्चे भी हैं और आदमी भी हैं और सभी सभी बेगुनाह हैं। खेत पर काम कर रहे थे, अपने मकानों पर सो रहे थे उनकी हत्याएं हुईं हैं, निर्मम हत्याएं की गयीं और मुझे दुःख है कि कोई भी पथिक कमेटी, कोई भी

गुरु ग्रंथी या मुन्ध ग्रंथी इन निर्मम हथियारों को कन्डेमन नहीं करते हैं... (व्यवधान) और न कहीं युनिफाइड अकाली दल के नेता कन्डेमन करते हैं... (व्यवधान) इसलिए वह सब बेमानी हो जाती है। मुझे यह भी अब तक ममस में नहीं आया कि जब आठ साल से यह मामला चल रहा है तो आठ साल के बाद अब भारत सरकार बार्डर पर वायर लगा रही है कांटेदार तार अब लगा रही है। क्यों 8 साल में अभी कौन सी आवश्यकता पड़ी थी? पाकिस्तान ने इच्छापिल की नहर बनाई। पाकिस्तान समझता था कि हिन्दुस्तान का उसे सारी उध्र मुकाबला करना है। पाकिस्तान नफरत के ऊपर बना है, नफरत के ऊपर कायम रहेगा और नफरत ही आज हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ पैदा कर रही है। इसलिए आपको जो भी खर्च करना पड़े उसके लिए मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को एक सुझाव दूंगा कि जम्मू-काश्मीर से लेकर गुजरात तक पाकिस्तान की हमारी सीमा पर स्थायी स्तर की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाये।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : क्या किया जाए ?

श्री बीरेन्द्र वर्मा : जैसे इच्छापिल नहर की कैनाल उन्होंने बनाई है, उन्हीं लाइन्ज पर आपको कुछ न कुछ अपनी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था यह मान करके करनी है कि पाकिस्तान नफरत पर बना है। नफरत का लगातार 40 साल से प्रचार कर रहा है। अपनी शक्ति से कई गुना बाहर वह अमरीका से हथियार लेता रहा है और वे सारे हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल हुये और आगे भी लेगा और वे हिन्दुस्तान के ही खिलाफ इस्तेमाल होंगे। इसलिए वहाँ पर स्थायी नेचर की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। मान्यवर, जहाँ तक संवाल है सुरक्षा व्यवस्था का वह वहाँ पर आपने कड़ी और मजबूत कर दी है और सुरक्षा व्यवस्था तो पिछले 8 साल से आप कड़ी और मजबूत कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारे हिमाचल से तो वह अब तक हुई नहीं। मान्यवर, मेरा यह सुझाव है कि पाकिस्तान बार्डर की जम्मू-काश्मीर से गुजरात तक की पट्टी को सेना के सुपुर्दे करें और

पुलिस का काम जो पंजाब के गांव है अमतसर है, गुरदासपुर, हंशियारपुरर फिर जपुर है इनमें सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था वहाँ की पंजाब की पुलिस, सेन्ट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस, बार्डर सिक्योरिटी पुलिस करे और केवल बार्डर पर सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था सेना के सुपुर्दे की जाये। मान्यवर, 26 अप्रैल, को माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने राज्य सभा में 21वें प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुये कुछ ऐसे उपाय बताए कि जिनकी आर आपने माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान आकर्षित किया था, उनमें मेरा यह भी सुझाव है कि हमारा गुप्तचर संगठन उस कदर दक्ष नहीं है, एफिशिएंट नहीं है जिस प्रकार का होना चाहिये। अब्बल तो आप मान ही लो कि जिस देश के प्रधान मंत्री का कल हो सकता है वहाँ का गुप्तचर विभाग क्या कर रहा है? रोजाना पाकिस्तान के आदमी आते हैं और पाकिस्तान में ट्रेनिंग लेने के लिए जाते हैं। रोजाना हथियार आ रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान के रेंजर उन आतंकवादियों को साथ ले करके वहाँ आते हैं।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई)  
पीठासीन हुये]

मेरी आपसे गुजारिश यह है कि गुप्तचर विभाग को अधिक में अधिक शक्तिशाली बनाएं जो बार्डर पर रहे, किनारे पर रहे। मान्यवर, अगला मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जितने भी वहाँ गांव हैं पाकिस्तान के बार्डर पर मिले हुये सभी गांवों में बायर-लेस की व्यवस्था कराये। विलेज डिफेंस सोसायटीज, कमिटीज स्थापित करें। हिन्दू और सिख जो आपके विश्वासपात्र हैं उनको आप हथियार दें और ट्रेनिंग भी उनको दें जिससे कि वे अपने गांवों में गुंडों से, आतंकवादियों से ग्रामवासियों की सुरक्षा कर सकें। मान्यवर, जिस प्रकार के हथियार उन आतंकवादियों के पास हैं, एके-47 चाइनीज राइफल या अमरीकन ऊजी कमांडो गन या स्टिंगर अमरीकन का, ये कहां से आ रहे हैं? सारे पाकिस्तान से आ रहे हैं जो अफगानिस्तान के लिए उसने भेजे थे, वे सारे आपके खिलाफ



[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

पहले भी आये हैं, अब भी आ रहे हैं और आगे भी आयेंगे। इसलिए आप अपनी सीमा को आखिर तक बुरस्त करें। जल्दी-जल्दी सीमा की सुरक्षा, सुरक्षा बलों की जिनको भी आप रखें उनको जल्दी-जल्दी बदलें क्योंकि तस्करी भी कोई मामूली नहीं होती। आज ही अखबार में 45 करोड़ रुपए की हीरोइन, हम तो यह समझते थे कि शायद हीरोइन होती है पिक्चर्स में। अब यह रोज ही हीरोइन का किस्सा हो गया, 50 करोड़ किसी दिन, 45 करोड़ किसी दिन, 25 करोड़ किसी दिन। हथियार भी पाकिस्तान से आते हैं, हीरोइन भी पाकिस्तान से आती है, हीरो भी पाकिस्तान से आता है और सभी मामला वहीं से आ रहा है। इसलिए सुरक्षा को और ज्यादा से ज्यादा मजबूत करने की जरूरत है, मान्यवर।

जहां तक प्रश्न मोबाइल स्क्वायड का है। मान्यवर, शुरू से लेकर आखिर तक आर्म्ड मोबाइल स्क्वायड आपका निरन्तर घूमता रहे वहां से लेकर वहां तक ताकि गांव वालों को भी सुरक्षा का विश्वास बना रहे और उनके हृदय में भी यह रहे कि यहां कोई घूमने वाला है, अगर कोई बात होगी तो उसको खबर देंगे। इसलिए आधुनिक हथियारों के साथ मोबाइल आर्म्ड स्क्वायड जीपों में, गाड़ियों में मुसल्ला वह घूमता रहे और वह पाकिस्तान के लोगों से, आतंकवादियों से ग्रामवासियों की और सीमावर्ती लोगों की सुरक्षा करे।

मान्यवर, अगर स्वर्ण-मन्दिर में पुलिस चली जाय तो वह अपवित्र हो जाता है, लेकिन गुण्डों से, आतंकवादियों से और कातिलों से? किस तरह से स्वागत किया है उन्होंने, जिस दिन पांच ग्रंथी छोड़े गए? खालिस्तान का नारा लगा करके, उस परिक्रमा के अन्दर घूमकर ए.के.-47 चाइनी राइफल छोड़कर के और खालिस्तान का नारा लगाकर के उनका स्वागत किया गया। कैसे टोलरेट किया जाय, कैसे वर्दाश्ट किया जाए? पंथिक कमेटी भी पूरा खालिस्तान में विश्वास रखने वाली है, इसलिए उसे भी अवैध घोषित करें और एलान करें। स्वर्ण मंदिर में और स्वर्ण-मन्दिर के अलावा जितने भी

गुरुद्वारे हैं उनकी पवित्रता के लिए आपको कठिन कदम उठाना ही पड़ेगा, यह तो कुनैन की गोली आपको खानी ही पड़ेगी। स्वर्ण मन्दिर और दूसरे जो धार्मिक स्थान हैं उनकी पवित्रता को आप कायम करें, उनको गुंडों से, कातिलों से, आतंकवादियों से मुक्त करें। सारी रात बोर्डर के ऊपर कर्फ्यू रहे, फ्लड-लाइट भी तेज रहनी चाहिए।

मान्यवर, हुक्मनामे सरदार बूटा सिंह के खिलाफ जारी हो सकते हैं तनख्वा के और न जाने कितनों को ही तनख्वा कह दिया। हमारे बूटा सिंह जी को भी तनख्वा का खिताब दिया था और सरदार ज्ञानी जैल सिंह जी को भी तनख्वा का खिताब दिया था। तो क्या कातिलों को नहीं दे सकते। कोई बातचीत हो, नो मेरा यह सुझाव है कि उसकी तरफ से ध्यान दें। अगर सुशील मुनि जी कोशिश कर सकते हैं तो केवल यह कोशिश करें कि जो निर्दोष व्यक्तियों की निमम हत्याएं हो रही हैं, उनके खिलाफ ये गुरू जो मुख्य ग्रंथी हैं, ऐसे हुक्मनामे जारी करें, जिनसे कि बेगुनाह आदमियों की हत्याएं न हों।

मान्यवर, मैं अब गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या वह बताने की हुपा करेंगे कि दिसम्बर, 1986 में, जिनको डेढ़ वर्ष हो रहे हैं, भारत के गृह सचिव और पाकिस्तान के गृह सचिव की आपस में मुलाकात हुई थी हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के मामलों में, जो आतंकवादियों का मामला चल रहा है, इस मामले में? दूसरा, दिसम्बर, 1986 में जो गृह सचिवों की इस संबंध में बातचीत हुई थी, उसकी प्रगति क्या हुई, और उसके नतीजे क्या निकले?

मान्यवर, इंफिल्ट्रेशन बढ़े हैं। यही मार्च और अप्रैल में पांच स्थानों पर पाकिस्तान से आर्म्ड इंफिल्ट्रेशन भारत में हुई और इस संबंध में सारे अखबारों में निकला। इसलिए मैं ज्यादा और बातें न कहने हुए मान्यवर गृह मंत्री जी से यह भी प्रार्थना करूंगा कि विश्वास स्थापित करने के लिए आपने जोधपुर के बंदियों को रिहा किया, आपने पांचों मुख्य ग्रंथी को छोड़ा और विश्वास ही पैदा करने के लिए

सन 1984 में जो गुनाहगार आदमी थे, उनके खिलाफ एक्शन क्यों नहीं लिया गया ? मुझे यह कहना है कि जिन आदमियों ने, जहाँ-जहाँ भी चाहे दिल्ली में हों, चाहे जबलपुर में हों, चाहे कानपुर में हों, चाहे कहीं भी हों, जो गुनाहगार आदमी हैं, उनके खिलाफ एक्शन लिया जाये। जो गुनाहगार आदमी हैं उसके खिलाफ एक्शन लिया जाये और जो आदमी बर्बाद हुए हैं, तबाह हुए हैं, उनकी सहायता की जाये। श्री अटल बिहारी जी ने जो क्रेट का प्रश्न उठाया है, यह गम्भीर प्रश्न है। मैं इसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा कि इस संबंध में सरकार का दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट करें और जनता के उस भ्रम को निकालने की कोशिश करेंगे।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ जिस प्रकार की कार्यवाही चल रही है, मुझे उसकी सफलता में संदेह है। मैं उसे असफलता मानता हूँ। अगर श्री बरनाला को मैं असफल मानता हूँ तो केन्द्र की सरकार को भी असफल मानता हूँ।

SHRI N. E. BALARAM. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the hon. Minister is seeking permission of this House for extension of President's rule by another six months in Punjab. Actually I thought that he would give answers to some of the new problems "that have cropped up much later. But, unfortunately, he did not answer any of these problems. Is there any improvement in the Punjab situation after take-over of the administration in that State by the Central Government? Why is it that demoralisation has already set in in the administration especially among the police force? Why are they not acting forcefully, so actively like in the past? I am talking only about the reports that appeared in the press.

• SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM; I am taking down the questions raised \*n the House.

SHRI IST. E. BALARAM: On the 20th of last month in a village very near to the border, Ramapura, about five houses have been completely destroyed and about ten people were killed. It came in all the newspapers. In Ramgapura village, we have got a police station. When everything was happening in the daytime the police force closed the door and stayed inside. If you want evident I will give, because I was there. If you go there you will know that. Why did it happen like this? What concrete measures would you take in the future to inspire the people, to inspire the administration so that we can assuage the feelings of Punjab people to some extent? Suppose once again you have extended President's rule there, what more step, are you going to take which you could not take in the last six months, because in the last six months, the entire administration was under the control of the Centre? You had sufficient time. You are asking again for another six months' time. What concrete measures are you going to take in Punjab? You simply want to extend the time because you do not want to hold the elections there. You will say that the Governor has said like that. We know what is a Governor nowadays. I am not accusing the Governor. How are you utilising the Central power through, the Governors? They are simply your agents, political agents, not actually working as Governors on the basis of the Constitution. I do not want to go into that point now. What I am saying is that the Minister was not answering any of these serious questions which are there in the minds of the public. Now, the situation is becoming much worse than before. I do not want to go into the past and make any remarks about the Barnala Government. But now the situation is much more worse than during Barnala's period. Everybody knows that. On one question, I would like to assure the hon. Minister that if you are able to find the

[Shri N. E. Balaraih] solution, all of us would be very-happy about it. Whatever co-operation you want on that question, we are always ready for that. Whenever meetings are held by the Prime Minister to discuss the Punjab problem, we are giving positive suggestions according to us. I want to make it very clear. But now this time. I would like to ask the Minister a very pertinent question. I want to make it very clear on one point. As far as my party is concerned, we cannot agree with the present political approach of the Government towards the Punjab, problem. I am not saying that they do not have a political approach. They have a political approach but I am totally opposed to that political approach and I do not think that with that political approach, they can solve the Punjab problem. That is why, I am opposing it. Not that because the Central Government is following that political approach. Now what is the essence of the political approach? I do not want to go into the details. I do not want to do it. The essence of the political approach of the Government now is to appease the theocratic forces, to appease a section of secessionists, terrorists inside Punjab. I ask the Minister, can he deny that? They were doing it. The very approach has completely been changed over the last four-five months. They are now taking a different political course. You are under the impression that by seeking the help of these forces, these theocratic forces, a section of terrorist forces inside Punjab, you can create a new atmosphere, you can come to some agreement with them, you can solve the problem. That is your political approach. You have got the carrot and the stick in your hands. Stick is there because you have passed the emergency section but now you are using the carrot. I do not want to mention anything. What is happening now? What happened to that approach? The people whom you

trusted very much, the people with whom you thought you can come to some agreement, they are creating more problems now for you. You are in a vicious circle. You cannot get out of it. Now they are creating more problems. Instead of solving the problem, now you have created much more problems because of your new political approach of appeasing the theocratic forces, appeasing the terrorist groups. Now what is happening? Most of the gurdwaras are made fortresses of these forces. I do not say all but most of them. According to the newspaper reports, even in the Golden Temple now they are having all sorts of fortification inside. What is happening now? So my first suggestion is, you should give up this path of appeasing these forces. Give it up. You cannot solve this problem like that. You should give it up. You should try it with the democratic and secular forces inside the country. Then only you can solve the problem, if you go along with these lines, I think, you will be inviting more and difficulties, more and more problems and it will ultimately be a calamity for the whole country and not for Punjab alone. I wish such a course should not be followed by the Government. If I am asked, what is the alternative, we have been suggesting a number of suggestions. We had a discussion. In that meeting, all of us were asking the Prime Minister, why don't you at least seal the border? It was about nine or ten months back. We asked, "Why don't you seal the border?". Do you know the reply given to us? It was, "What do you mean by sealing, the border? Do you mean stitching the border?" Your Prime Minister told us, "What do you mean by sealing the border? Stitching the border?" Then we did not talk anything in that meeting. What is the meaning in talking there? Now, you are talking about sealing the border, fencing the border. Are you stitching the border?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: We are not talking about sealing the border.

SHRI N. E. BALAJRAM: You are talking about fencing.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have repeatedly said that I have not used the expression "sealing the border".

SHRI N. E. BALAJRAM: I am not very much concerned about expressions and all that. I am not an expert like you to escape on semantics. I want the real issue to be tackled. I want the border to be closed down so that infiltration could not take place inside the country, whether you call it sealing or stitching. That is what I want. The whole country wants it. Are you against it? You tell us whether you want or do not want to close the border so that no infiltration takes place. You can say 'yes' or 'no'. I am not going into the other things. The Minister has come up with a new discovery that Pakistan is behind this. What is the meaning of it? Pakistan was there from the very beginning. Not only Pakistan. Some American hand is behind it. Everybody knows it. There are no two opinions about that in this House. This is not a new thing. What I expected was the answer to the question, "What are we going to do to prevent infiltration, to build the confidence of the masses inside the country, inside the State?" This is the point I am going to raise. Unless you are able to create a new atmosphere by building confidence inside Punjab, you cannot solve the problem. What we require is a political solution. The path pursued is totally wrong. They must give it up. I will give you one simple example. I asked the Minister on 28.4.1987 a question on the review of the cases of Jodhpur detenus. I got the answer, "It is under consideration". They have released 40. I am not asking for the release of all of them. But there are a number of

genuine, innocent people among them. Please release them. This is what we are asking for from the beginning. They are not doing that. At least, please take up the cases against the killings in Delhi on the basis of Punjab. I do not want to take much time, Sir. We were demanding, my party was demanding, still I am demanding, that the Government should organize People's Defence Squads throughout Punjab. I am demanding this. Friends can understand what People's Defence Squads mean. They should be organized so that every village can be defended. The police force is demoralised everyday because they know that this path of theocratic forces will ultimately end somewhere where the police officers who act very well now will not have any place. That is why they are not effective. Thank you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand here to support the resolution which has been brought by the Government. I was not here to hear the very learned speeches made before me. But I heard two or three speeches. I do not want to go into a general discussion on this.

The first point I want to make is about a political solution. I am one with my friend today though usually I do not agree with the Communist party member sitting to my right. I do not think there is anything left for a political solution. We have seen in this country many times when political parties of different hues sit together each pulling in a different direction and ultimately no solution comes out. One says you do this; another says first solve the water problem; the third says the Chandigarh problem first and a fourth says release the detenus first. So, the whole situation must be seen in one perspective. I, therefore, think that

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

there is no political solution available at this stage of time. It might have been there earlier but at least at the present moment there is none available. When Longowal Accord was signed with the Prime Minister, everyone dapped that the prime Minister had taken a perfectly heroic decision and thereby he had changed the tune of the Government of India policy in regard to Punjab. Now suddenly something has gone wrong. Maybe, as my friend said, the implementation Part of that Accord might have been wrong. I can accept that. But I do not approve of any political solution at the present juncture. I do think — previously also I raised this question when we discussed it during Question Hour — if you want to bring the terrorists to the discussion table, they must know that we have the trump card; otherwise, this sort of, appeasement is not going to solve. Mr. Chidambaram, please be categorical in your statement. There is confusion and a rumour is spreading in the country that the Government is on the verge of talking with the terrorists. For heaven's sake, stop that talk. Today there is another im-proptu statement by Mr. Ribeiro — I have great respect for Ribeiro; he is a very valiant soldier, a very valiant police officer. He says the time has still not come to enter the Golden Temple. Don't talk like this because it creates more confusion, more reaction. So, Mr. Chidambaram would be well advised to say that Government has got nothing to do with the terrorist unless they talk within the framework of the Constitution of this country and unless the terms and conditions are fair. For that matter, when you talk to anybody, whoever it is, not only terrorists, they should be within the framework of our Constitution.

Then there is another aspect. I again request the Home Minister. You are taking ad hoc decisions. You

had taken a decision to release 40 detenus. Now, having taken a decision to release 40 detenus, go ahead and complete that process. Then the Panthic Committee, Rode, the Gurus, who are left out, they have also created a lot of confusion. Sushil Muni was trying to do something. He has also become irrelevant in this. Whoever is coming in is becoming irrelevant. I am very sorry to say this; I hope I am not exposing myself. . . (Interruptions) What I want to say is making the leaders of this country irrelevant is creating a sort of confusion in the process of taking a decision on the Punjab problem. So this is another aspect of it. Sushil Muni was there. They said they were talking with the moderates. But they were not talking with the moderates. And moderates like Badal and Barnala have also become irrelevant. It is because of some policy difficulty; I do not know. But this should not have happened. But about the implementation part of it, I would say that you should do it. It may be the river waters problem or some other problem. Now, today, Mr. Devi Lai says that he will have Chandigarh because it is a political problem for him. My friends also have a political problem. He says so because it helps him to assert that he will not leave Chandigarh. Naturally, it becomes a political issue for elections. So, this 'political problem mania' has to be put down.

Now, with regard to the security belt, as has been rightly pointed out, it was we here—I was there in the Opposition at that time—who supported the Government for creating a security belt and the BJP also supported it. But we do not know what has happened afterwards. Perhaps, I think, you will clarify whether the belt has been created or established or not and, if not, when it is going to be established. You have now taken powers again \*&

your hands under the latest amendment of the Constitution. So, you have taken the security belt authority, but you have not implemented it. Do that first so that at least the people will understand that the Government is in a mood to implement a rational policy.

New, I would like to draw your attention, Sir, and through you the attention of the Minister and the various leaders of the political parties to one thing. There is the fallout effect of this problem, the Punjab problem. Now, in this country, if the people, particularly the youngsters, see that terrorism is paying, then everywhere, whether it is Maharashtra or Tamil Nadu or Bihar, this mafiaism, the vicious circle of violence by the youngsters, instigated by various types of politicians, will grow which is a very bad thing. It is not that some political party or a party like my own is political. Everybody is political and therefore, political means political and these politicians do play their own games and make other political parties irrelevant. So, what I want to say is that if this fall-out is there, if the mafiaism created by the Senawallahs in this country is allowed to grow, then the entire concept of integration and the secular character of this country will be demolished. Therefore, I appeal to you Mr. Chidambaram, because you are a young administrator and you have a great future and the young Prime Minister has a great future and I hope you will convey my feelings to the Prime Minister that the Punjab problem will have its effect on the whole of the country and the fall-out effect of that problem will be there on the whole of the country. Already the Senawallahs are there. Whoever they may be, they are there very much. Perhaps I may be more concerned with the Sena's activities in Maharashtra because it is its active mafia force which is doing all that and in Punjab also there must be

another Hindu Sena and in Bihar there must be another mafia gang. Mr. Kesri, I do not mean you... (Interruptions) ... I mentioned it because he lives near that mafia gang, Sir.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Although you are near to the mafia gang!

SHBT A. G. KULKARNI: Therefore, Sir, I am seriously appealing to all my political friends that this fallout effect has to be considered not only by the political parties, but also by the Government and the younger-generation administrators. If the youngsters take it into their heads that just by violence, by killing somebody, they can loot the banks, take the law into their hands and do anything they like, then the secular character will not remain and you will not be able to maintain the secular character and you cannot stop the disintegration of this country. So, you find a solution to the Punjab problem. The important point is that the whole country is being affected. Political parties are becoming irrelevant and democracy is in danger. So, find a solution to the Punjab problem in whatever way you want. Take the bull by the horns—and see that the problem is solved. But the effect of that on the whole country has to be kept in view and I hope, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that the Minister will take cognizance of my feelings. Thank you very much for giving me time. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I strongly oppose the Statutory Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh, to approve the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 11th May, 1987.

Sir, I basically oppose Article 356. This is an article which has an anti-federal and anti-democratic character. No other Constitution in the world is having this painful clause, except Pakistan. If you go through

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V.  
Arunachalam]

the Constitutions of the United States, Canada, Australia and Switzerland, you will find that no federal Government is having the right to remove State Governments. Unfortunately, our founding fathers have incorporated this clause in our Constitution. Sir, the Government of India Act, 1935, also deals with taking the powers of the States as well as taking the power of the Government at the Centre.

[The Vaee-Chaifman (Shri H.  
Hanumanthappa) in the Chair]

The British Government during their period incorporated two sections in the Act for taking the powers of both the Governments. But our founding fathers conveniently, for the comfort of the Centre, have incorporated the clause to take the State Government under the control of the President. The Act of 1935 was strongly opposed by the Congress Party because of these two sections which assign the power to the Governor and the Governor-General to take the control of State and Federal Governments, respectively. The Act of 1935 was opposed by saying that it was a "black" Act. The principle of taking over the State Government was opposed during the freedom struggle. But, unfortunately, it is now abundantly followed by our Government. That is why I am to say that I am basically opposed to that article, and I register my protest against the article itself. Sir, we know well that in the past this has been utilized not in the interest of the nation, not for protecting democracy, not for protecting the federal principle, but rather to protect the interests of the party at the Centre, either Congress or Janata. This article has been utilised only for the benefit of the party, not for national interest.

Now the question arises whether this article has been properly utilised

in the case of Punjab or not. Sir, we know well that in the President's Address, Mr. Bhamra was lauded and complimented by the Government, saying; he has restored democracy, the situation has improved, the entire nation would be thankful to Mr. Bhamra, and so on. But after some time the Congress Party is not in a position to tolerate the government of Mr. Bhamra. So it removed the Bhamra Government from power by utilising Article 356, but at the same time it did not dissolve the Assembly. But now, Sir, on the eve of the elections of the Rajya Sabha the Assembly was dissolved for the interest of the party in power at the Centre, therefore, it is totally exercised for the benefit of the party here. That is not only in this case but also in other areas. I am to remind the House that the Government is not serious about the elimination of terrorism in Punjab. Sir, they thought that the State Government is not competent to deal with the situation effectively. But what do we see now? President's rule has totally failed to arrest the situation. Further it has escalated during the period of President's rule.

Sir, for the last one year, it has been reported in the Press, more than 2000 people have been killed by the terrorists. Since January alone, 750 innocent people have been killed by the terrorists. What steps have been taken by the Government? What steps have been taken by the concerned authorities in Punjab? This has been allowed to continue. At the same time, as far as this House is concerned, it has given adequate powers, even more powers, to the Government to deal with the situation.

The Parliament has passed laws and armed the Government with arbitrary power. We have approved

the steps to be taken under Article 349 of the Constitution. More than that, our Constitution has been amended. As far as the Parliament is concerned, it has done its best. But as far as the Government is concerned, there is no improvement. The situation is not at all improving. I would like to know what has happened to the decisions. So many decisions have been taken in this House. It was decided that a security belt should be created. Has the Government created that belt or not? The nexus between Pakistan and the terrorists should be broken. Now what steps have been taken by the Government so far to break this nexus between the terrorists and Pakistan? We always blame that Pakistan is aiding, giving training and giving shelter to terrorists. There is no difference of opinion on that. But what measures have been taken by the Government to check all these activities of the terrorists. You are acting like the common people. You are also saying the same thing that the common people say. But you have not taken any effective steps to break the nexus between Pakistan and the terrorists. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to what Lt. Gen. S. K. Sinha has written on the 4th. This article is worth reading. He has given so many suggestions to meet the situation effectively. I do not know how far our Minister would agree with the views expressed by Lt. Gen. S. K. Sinha. Because of our concentration on Sri Lanka, we are not in a position to arrest or check the terrorists in Punjab. That is the observation by Lt. Gen. S. L. Sinha. I would like to quote him

"The border should be saturated with troops and paramilitary forces. Over 70,000 of our soldiers have got locked up on a futile mission in Sri Lanka. If we had, instead, employed these troops for sealing the border in Punjab, we would have attained much better results."

This is the observation of Lt. Gen. S. K. Sinha. We are concentrating our troops in areas where they are unwarranted. We are doing work in an area where it causes controversy and where it is decried by both the sides. At the same time, where it is necessary, there we keep quiet. Therefore, hereafter, the Government must come forward to create a security belt and to take effective steps to break the nexus between Pakistan and the terrorists. With these words, I conclude my speech.

**श्री कल्याण राय :** आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन बढ़ाने का जो प्रस्ताव सरकार ने लाया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। पंजाब का सबाल आज भारत की राष्ट्रीयता और एकता का मवान बन गया है। एक बार अमरीका की एकता और अखण्डता को खत्म करने का प्रयास वहाँ के राज्यों ने किया और उन्होंने अपने को स्वतन्त्र घोषित कर दिया। अब हमें लिंकन उस जमाने के राष्ट्रपति ने अमरीका की एकता और अखण्डता को बचाने के लिए कई वर्षों तक अमरीका में युद्ध हुआ जिसमें 14 लाख लोगों की जान गई मगर अमरीका की एकता और अखण्डता को अब्राहम लिंकन ने बचा कर रखा और खुद उनकी जान भी चली गई मगर उनकी एकता और अखण्डता को उन्होंने नहीं टूटने दिया। इस पंजाब के माध्यम से भारत का डिस्टेन्स और अस्थिर करने का साम्राज्यवादी षडयन्त्र हुआ। उसी पंजाब और भारत की एकता और अखण्डता को बचाने के लिए पुनर्जीव श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को अपने को बलिदान करना पड़ा। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को पंजाब के आतंकवादियों से निपटने के लिए स्ट्रामेस्ट मेजज सबसे कड़े कद उठाने चाहिये और सरकार को आतंकवादियों से किसी प्रकार का कोई समझौता भी नहीं करना चाहिए।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार के द्वारा कहा जाता है कि पाकिस्तान के द्वारा आतंकवादियों को ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है।



[ श्री कल्पनाथ राय ]

सरकार के द्वारा यह कहा जाता है कि आतंकवादियों के कई ट्रेनिंग कैंपस पाकिस्तान के अन्दर कायम हैं, सरकार के द्वारा कहा जाता है कि मजाहिदीन को जो हथियार अमेरिका ने सप्लाई किये हैं अफगानिस्तान में वे हथियार पंजाब के माध्यम से आतंकवादियों को भेज रहे हैं, तो मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि इन सारे मामलों से निपटने के लिए सरकार को एक व्हाइट पेपर पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर लाना चाहिए और भारत की जनता को भी यह जानकारी देनी चाहिए कि आतंकवादी और पाकिस्तान किस तरह से भारत में राजनीतिक अस्थिरता कायम करना चाहते हैं। पाकिस्तान किस तरह से आतंकवादियों को ट्रेनिंग और हथियार दे रहा है और उनको हिन्दुस्तान भेज करके निर्दोष लोगों की हत्याएं करा रहा है। पूरे भारत की जनता को इस बात की जानकारी होनी चाहिए। इसलिए सरकार को एक व्हाइट पेपर इस पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर लाना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात हमें कहनी है कि पाकिस्तान की सरकार और आतंकवादियों के द्वारा जो षडयंत्र हो रहा है भारत सरकार को इसके लिए पाकिस्तान से प्रोटेस्ट लाज करना चाहिए कि अगर पाकिस्तान आतंकवादियों को ट्रेनिंग देना बंद नहीं करेगा तो भारत को मजबूर होकर सौचना पड़ेगा कि भारत के पाकिस्तान से जो संबंध है वे रहें या न रहें। भारत को प्रोटेस्ट करना चाहिए कि अगर पाकिस्तान अपनी गतिविधियों को नहीं रोकता है तो भारत सरकार को मजबूर होकर अपने एम्बेसडर को बुलाना पड़ेगा।

तीसरी बात हमें सरकार से यह कहनी है कि आतंकवादी जो गुरुद्वारों में मारकाट और खून करल करने वाले, राष्ट्रद्रोही, अन्यायी और राष्ट्रघाती वहां पर धरम ले रहे हैं उनके खिलाफ सरकार को कड़े कदम उठाकर इन को गुरुद्वारों से

तत्काल हटाना चाहिए वरना ये गुरुद्वारे फिर से किले बन जायेंगे और हमें फिर फौज को भेजने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ेगा।

चौथी बात मुझे सरकार से निवेदन करनी है कि भारत सरकार को पाकिस्तान को कड़े शब्दों में यह कह देना चाहिए कि अगर पाकिस्तान ने अपनी हरकतों को बंद नहीं किया तो भारत सरकार पूरे हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के बांडर को सील कर देगी। इसके अलावा पाकिस्तान जिन आतंकवादियों को हिन्दुस्तान में भेजने की कोशिश करता है सेना को उन आतंकवादियों को खदेड़कर गोलियों से उड़ा देना चाहिए। आवश्यकता पड़ने पर भारत की 75-78 करोड़ जनता मजबूत कदमों के साथ इन आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ तैयार है। जितने सख्त कदम भारत की सरकार इन आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ उठायेगी उतना ही भारत की कोटि कोटि जनता का समर्थन राजीव गांधी जी को रहेगा। आज पंजाब में निर्दोष लोगों की हत्याएं हो रही हैं, बच्चों औरतों और नौजवानों की हत्याएं आतंकवादियों के द्वारा और पाकिस्तानियों के द्वारा की जा रही हैं। मैं भारत सरकार से निवेदन करता हूँ कि भारत की एकता और अखंडता को बचाने के लिए अगर पाकिस्तान को सबक भी सिखाना पड़े तो भारत सरकार को तैयार होकर पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि सरकार कहती है कि जो 5 गुरुग्रंथी छोड़े गये उनमें से दो पाकिस्तानी एजेंट थे आज तक इन्होंने उन आतंकवादियों की निन्दा नहीं की जिन्होंने इंदिरा गांधी जी की हत्या की। अकाली दल ने या अन्यथा ने आज तक इंदिरा गांधी के हत्यारों की निन्दा नहीं की है। ऐसे गद्दारों से भारत सरकार को कोई बात नहीं करनी चाहिए। श्रीमती गांधी ने मातृभूमि की बलिबेदी पर अपने प्राणों का बलिदान किया। इंदिरा गांधी जी ने कहा था आज मैं जिंदा हूँ, हो सकता है मैं कल मरूँ या न मरूँ पर हमारे

खून की एक-एक बूंद भारत को मजबूत बनाएगी" तो जिस इंदिरा गांधी ने भारत की एकता और अखंडता के लिए अपने प्राणों की आहुति दी उस के हत्यारों की जो लोग निन्दा नहीं करते हैं या अकाली दल जो उनकी निन्दा नहीं करता है तथा जो सतवंत और बेअंत जैसे राष्ट्रद्रोहियों को, हत्यारों को पूजता है ऐसे हत्यारों से किसी कीमत पर कोई बात नहीं की जा सकती है ।

आदरणीय उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भारत सरकार से निवेदन करता चाहता हूँ कि भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता का समर्थन भारत सरकार को तब होगा जब भारत सरकार आतंकवादियों को कुचलने के लिए कड़े से कड़ा कदम उठावेगी ।

दूसरी अंतिम बात हमें निवेदन करनी है कि भारत की सरकार को इन आतंकवादियों से बार-बार सूलह ममझौते की बात नहीं करनी चाहिए, कम से कम आने वाले दो वर्षों तक किसी प्रकार की कोई वार्ता इन आतंकवादियों से या अकाली दल के उन जनघाती, राष्ट्रघाती नेताओं से नहीं करनी चाहिए और पंजाब में पूरी मिलिटरी का ताकत लगाकर राष्ट्रद्रोहियों को कुचलने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए । इन शब्दों के साथ हम पंजाब में प्रेसीडेंट रूल का समर्थन करते हैं । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI p. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have had an unusually peaceful debate on Punjab and I hope that the hon. Members will extend me the courtesy of listening on the points which they have mentioned. I will try to give my reply.

Sir, I was going through the debates on Punjab in the past and I find that on both the occasions in the past when we dealt with President's rule in Punjab when we imposed President's rule and six months ago when we asked for continuance of President's rule it fell to me to move the Resolution on both the occasions. Sir, on the first occasion when we

imposed President's rule I said and I quote: "Today the Government of India assumes this onerous responsibility. We take this responsibility upon us in a spirit of humility, but not trepidation. We take it upon us not quite knowing what shape things will take in the future and what forces will be ranged against us. But we do so with courage. We do so in the fullest confidence that the people of India will support us."

Sir, it was not an easy thing to dismiss the Government of Mr. Bar-nala and to take over the direct responsibility of governing Punjab. Six months later we came back to this House seeking support for the continuance of President's rule. Much had happened in the first six months. In my speech to this House on the 10th of November, 1987, I said certain things which I think are worth recalling, particularly because Dr. Vijay Mohan Efidy and Mr. Balaram had made certain references. They have said that what I have pointed out today, namely, the Pakistan connection is something which we have discovered today. Sir, I wish to quote a few sentences from what I said in this House on the 10th of November. Sir, I said this: "The most important element in the Punjab situation which we have to comprehend, face and fight is the Panthic committee and no one from the opposition was willing to narrate the actions of the Panthic committee, nor confront them, nor condemn the actions of the Panthic committee. The debate has proceeded as though the Panthic committee did not exist. The debate has proceeded as though the Panthic committee is irrelevant. In fact, many Members. I am afraid, are either ignorant of the Panthic committee or unwilling to mention it by name. Let us understand one thing clearly, Sir, that beginning from the 26th January, 1986, a qualitative change has come about in the situation in Punjab because of the Pan-

[Shri P. Chidambaram] this committee which is a usurper of all authority in Punjab today. The Panthic committee is an agent of imperialism". So, six months ago we recognised that a new element had come into Punjab and the Panthic committee was acting as an agent of imperialism. . 9.00 P.M.

Then on the Pakistan connection I said and I quote;

"We have evidence that the terrorists are trained abroad. We know that training and indoctrination centres have been set up in a not so friendly country. We have been able to identify the location of some such camps. We have taken up the matter but we find that while on the surface, there is protestation of innocence, truth is that in these camps, training and indoctrination are given to the terrorists."

A few days ago, when we debated Punjab here in connection with the working of the Home Ministry, and ihe« last Tuesday when we answered a question, I said that the advantage that the security forces and the Government in Punjab had gained in the first six months of President's rule and up to December 1987, seemed to have slipped out of our hands in January-February and March. I did not hide it; I said so. I said that perhaps the Government was not re-silinet enough and did not react quickly enough to the tremendous spurt in the infiltration of terrorists and arms and ammunition from across the border. It is not as though I have come to this House and painted a picture without any flaws. I have come to this House and on every occasion I have said, yes, we have made gains but we have also taken some losses. Let me say this once again. Terrorism in Punjab is not going to be a passing could. We are going to live with terroism for some more timr and let us, therefore, re-folve thni we will fight terrorkm as

long ae there is any force, any group, any committee, any organisation, any agent of imperialism, which wants to use the cult of terrorism in India.

We have taken a number of steps and I outlined these steps last week during the Question Hour. We have taken a number of steps. We have revamped the administration. We have looked at the problem more closely. We have sent better weapons. We have taken a number of steps. I will deal with the problem of sealing the border. Since 7th of April I have been monitoring the situation On a daily basis, and I hope many Membsrs of Opposite areTalso monitoring the situation colselly. Since 7th of April, there is a qualitative change in Punjab. The mprale of our forces was never low, I have spoken to everyone of the SSPs; I have spoken to the DMs. These are yoUng men with small families. Yet not one of them — let me repeat w\*tn pride, not one of them — says: Take me out of the scene of the battle. He says: I will stay here; I will fight; just give me the support. Not one DMj not one SSP said: I am tired. He ;s not physically tired; hg ^ not mentally tired; he is willing to fight. I have gone round the border outposts; I have gone round the CRPF camps; I have visited BSF camps; I have visited police stations; I have spoken to the Station House Officers, to constables. It is totally incorrect to say that the security forces m Punjab are demoralised. On the contrary, the morale of our frces is very high. And that is evident from lthe results we have obtained from 7th of April, 1988. Since 7th of April I think my figures are more or less upto-date; maybe they are behind by one or two days—36 terrorists have been killed; 176 terrorists have been arrested; 46 intrduers have been killed on the border of Punjab; 28 intruders have been killed on the border of Rajasthan; 636 intruders were apprehended on the border of Punjab; 640 on the border of R«-

jasthan, and 11 on the border of Jammu. Then, 44 pistol-Sten-revol-vers, 22 rifles, 12 guns, one sten-gun, one carbine, 8 grenades, 45 ' magazines, 4697 cartridges have been seized.

The BSF, the CRPF and the Punjab Police have never been more successful in fighting terrorism than in these 28 days commencing from the 7th of April. But I keep my fingers crossed. I am not yet going to take any credit; I am not going to claim any credit for it. I am not going to say "We have broken the back of terrorism". I am not going to say "we have won the battle". But looking into the problems that we faced in January-February-March, we have taken corrective steps. We have taken some vital decisions and, I think, the results of these steps and decisions are beginning to become apparent since the 7th of April. But as I said I want your support. Not that I want your support. Not that Government of India alone wants your support. We want your support, but it is the security forces out there who need your support more. The DMs, the SSPs, the company commanders, the havildars, the jais and the constabulary want your support. They are not fighting their own battle. They are fighting the battle on your behalf, on my behalf and on behalf of the people of this country. That is why they want your support and understanding.

Sir, we will suffer losses. We will make gains. But as Mr. Rustomji said, let us not get euphoric when we score a few gains and let us not lose heart and become despondent when we suffer a few losses. It is a longdrawn battle. We will wear the terrorists out. Here, we have laid down one clear rule. We will not step out of the framework of legality. We will stick to the legal processes. We will use the laws that Parliament has given us. We will

fight terrorism. We will wear them out and I am confident that the security forces can do this.

Sir, last week, the Home Minister stated the three parameters. I want to repeat the three parameters. We will talk to anyone because we believe that the final solution can only be a political solution. But we will talk only within these three parameters. The demand for Khalistan or a separate state or any kind of secessionist demand should be completely given up. Violence and the killings of innocent people should end. Ke-ligious places should not be used for political purposes. I think these three parameters clearly set out the framework of the Government's policy.

In the last four weeks, Sir, we have set for ourselves certain objectives. I think the message has percolated down to the lowest level of the administration and the security forces. The foremost objective is to reassert the authority of the State and the authority of law throughout - Punjab. There were setbacks in Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts. But not to the extent that Mr. Vajpayee tried to portray. I was just trying to look into the, newspapers of the last few days to find out where the hon. Member, Mr. Vajpayee, got this information that a twenty sq. km. area was being liberated.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I did not say so.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The translation may have been wrong. It has been said that a twenty sq. km. area has been more or less declared as an area where the terrorists have gained an upper hand or whatever it is. I think the statement which has been published in the newspapers has been attributed to the General Secretary of your party. There is no such thing. Let me make it very clear that there is no area anywhere in Punjab where the writ of the Government does not run. But what we

[Shri P. Chidambaram] are trying to do is to reassert the authority of the State and the authority of law because, to a certain extent, because of the heightened terrorist activity in January-February-March, there has been a certain amount of undermining of the authority of law. But we have tried to restore the authority of law and we have succeeded in a fair measure. However, we have to press on. As I said, we have suffered some losses. But everytime when the security forces and the people of Punjab suffer some losses, we should not be come despondent. We have to fight with redoubled vigour. We will make gains. Knowing the mood and the fighting spirit of the security forces and the determination of the administration, I am confident that we will make gains.

Sir, I want to make this clear because references were made by hon. Members and I understand the anxiety with which such references are made, there will be no appeasement of terrorism and there will be no surrender to theocracy. We deplore theocracy, we deplore terrorism. We are not going to use theocratic means to talk to any one who wants to achieve the ends of democracy. Theocracy is not compatible with our system of democracy. Let me make it very clear that this Government does not subscribe to any kind of theocratic idea, we are not going to use any theocratic means, we are not going to surrender to any theocratic goals. We are not going to appease terrorism. Terrorism has to be fought. A message has to go that we will not yield to terrorism and terrorism will not pay. But the final solution can only be a political solution.

Some questions were asked, some doubts were raised, some criticism was levelled and I do not wish to take the time of this hon. House dealing with each point, but I think it is unfair on the part of hon. Mr. Yashwant Sinha to have said that we

, have dealt with this matter in a Partisan manner. Sitting across the aisle on the opposite side it might appear that we are dealing with this matter in a partisan manner or it might appear that he is speaking with a partisan voice. I do not believe that there is any scope for partisanship here. There is no partisanship here. What is the issue? The issue is the very survival of India as a united nation, the issue is the integrity of India and I humbly ask you for support and understanding. We have not dealt with this matter in a partisan manner and we will not deal with this in a partisan manner. I know some hon. Members are concerned that we have not consulted them as often as they think we should have consulted them. I am willing to renew the process of consultation. I am willing to meet leaders of opposition parties to explain them the things that we have done since 7th April, to share with them our views, some of which can be made public, some of which cannot be made public. I sincerely hope that when we share some of the steps that we have taken with the opposition Members, they will understand our desire for a certain amount of confidentiality. I shall certainly do so in the next few days after consulting the Home Minister.

There are no secret contacts with terrorists and let not any one believe that there are any secret contacts with terrorists. What amazed me to a certain extent was that a Member should have accused us of having secret contacts with terrorists and demanding that we disclose those contacts! If there are secret contacts, we certainly are not going to disclose them, but let me tell you that there are no secret contacts with terrorists and here is nothing for me to disclose.

Sir, Mr. Vajpayee raised a pertinent point about a report appearing in the Observer of London and in one of the Indian newspapers. I want to

be very careful in the choice of my words so that I am not misunderstood. An official denial was issued denying the allegation that an intelligence agency imported weapons which found its way into Punjab. An official denial describing the report and the allegation as highly preposterous "was issued. Intelligence agencies in this country — and Mr. Vajpayee who has been in Government knows it — do obtain equipment from time to time for their own purposes, namely, analyses, research and keeping themselves abreast of what is happening in the world. No Government ever comments publicly on the activities of intelligence agencies, but let me assure the House that the equipment which came in has all been accounted for. It is highly unfair, preposterous and wrong to suggest that any part of any equipment found its way m<sup>^</sup> Punjab or to the hands of terrorists in Punjab. I sincerely hope that this unnecessary, unseemly and baseless controversy will come to an end with this statement of mine.

Sir, the House knows that the Home Secretary of India visited Pakistan sometime back and had talks with the Home Secretary of Pakistan. We did not believe that much would come out of those talks because Pakistan simply protests its innocence. There is incontrovertible evidence that Pakistan is training and aiding terrorists. There is conclusive evidence that arms and ammunition are being smuggled from across the border. Two Pakistani Rangers were killed only a few days ago on the border while they were helping intruders cross the border. I do not wish to labour the point because the Home Secretary of Pakistan will be coming to India in the next few days and holding talks with our Home Secretary. We will place material before <them to show that we have evidence of Pakistan's involvement and interest in this matter. And I sincerely hope that Pakistan will

realise that this policy of aiding, arming and helping terrorists is a suicidal policy which will be of no benefit either to India or to Pakistan.

Sir, it is broadly agreed that we cannot hold elections in Punjab now. This is not the time for elections; this is not the time for polemics; this is not the time \*or electoral battles. President's rule will have to continue. Our object is to strengthen President's rule. Our object is to strengthen the administration. Our object is to extend support to our security forces. Our object is to ensure that peace and harmony return to Punjab. We will continue to fight terrorism, but we are conscious that the final solution cfln only be a political solution.

Sir, I seek the whole-hearted support, the unanimous support of this House to the continuance of President's rule in Punjab.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Now I shall put the Statutory Resolution ..

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Just a moment, Sir. He has not spoken anything about the sealing of the border, at what stage it is.

SHRT P. CHIDAMBARAM; Sir, I have never encouraged the use of the expression "sealing the border". The Resolution under Art. 249 was intended to give Parliament the power to make laws in respect of State subjects. Even while that Resolution was passed, a condition was attached, namely, that we should consult the States. Government consulted the States at that time. The then Government of Punjab was not willing to create what was described in loose terms as a "security belt" because that would have required depopulating large zones along the border. So it was a non-starter; it was a non-

[Shri P. Chidambaram] starter from the day go". After that there was a change in Government. After that the Art. 249 Resolution itself lapsed. It was no longer necessary because President's rule had been imposed and under President's rule we have always that power (to make laws on state subjects). What we are trying to do is—I want to use this expression — "a more effective policing of the border". "A more effective policing of the border" involves a number of elements. Firstly, a high wire fencing along the most vulnerable segments of the border and cat-wire fencing along the nakas, ravines, approach routes and other known access routes. We have also supplied to our Border Security Force equipment which will detect intrusion. We are also installing some equipment compatible with the equipment already installed by the Army which will help detect intruders. But for obvious reasons, I cannot reveal the nature of the equipment. We have put up over 200 border observation towers. We want to put up another 707 border observation towers. Work has started on a crash basis. We have set up Special Committees to grant the sanctions. I have visited the border. I have seen the fencing myself. Work is going on day and night, seven days a week. Fencing will be complete in eight weeks from last week. We think that these measures coupled with some other steps that have been taken, which obviously I cannot disclose on the ground of public interest, will mean "a more effective policing of the border". I think the results are already apparent. Yet, as I said earlier, I would like to keep my fingers crossed and see what happens over the next eight weeks.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the proclamation issued by the President

on the 11th May, 1987, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th May, 1988."

The motion was adopted.

### THE FINANCE BILL, 1988

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE (SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWAR): Sir, I beg to move:-

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year, 1988-89 as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The details of the proposals of the Finance Bill have been spelt out in the Explanatory Memorandum, which has been circulated along with the Budget papers. The important features of budget proposals were also explained in the Budget speech. I will not, therefore, take up the time of the House by going over the same ground.

I am most grateful to Hon'ble Members on both sides of the House for their valuable suggestions regarding the provisions of the Finance Bill during the general debate. I also had the good fortune of receiving suggestions from Economists, Chartered Accountants, Taxation Experts and other knowledgeable persons. Personally, I felt gratified that the overall approach of the Budget and various proposals contained in it have received wide-spread support. Certain suggestions have also been received for modifications in the original Budget proposals. In response to these, I have decided to make certain amendments in the original Budget proposals.