

[Shri Madhavrao Scindia]

This is all the information that the Members wanted. I would once again, on behalf of the Railway Administration, like to express my deep regrets for this accident. My deep condolences to the bereaved families. I would also like to tell the hon. Members that of the 13 grievously injured, eight are now totally out of danger, and with the blessings of Almighty, I am sure, that the remaining five also will survive the ordeal.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Payment of compensation?

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA: The *ex-gratia* amount has been distributed. Rs. 5,000 to the bereaved families and Rs. 1,000 to the grievously injured and Rs. 500 to those who have suffered minor injuries, simple injuries.

But, again, I would not like this amount to be confused with compensation. This is only an *ex-gratia* amount which is for immediate utilisation, for immediate requirement. The compensation amount will be decided by the *ad hoc* Claims Commissioner who is appointed in consultation with the Pradesh Sarkar. After the *ad hoc* Claims Commissioner comes to his conclusion, he will tell us how much compensation is to be paid and to whom it will be paid. This will be settled by the Claims Commissioner. That process will also be put into motion very soon.

श्री नरया सिंह (राजस्थान) : माननीय मंत्री जी आपने चालू वर्ष में मेल और एक्सप्रेस गाड़ियों के बारे में बताया लेकिन चालू वर्ष में माल गाड़ियों के जो एक्सीडेंट्स हुए हैं, उनके बारे में भी बताएं ।

श्री माधवराव सिधिया : मैडम, यह जो आंकड़े हैं, ये सभी हमारी जो गाड़ियां चलती हैं चाहे मेल हो, चाहे एक्सप्रेस हो, चाहे फास्ट हो चाहे सुपर फास्ट हों, सभी सम्मिलित हैं।

STATUTORY RESOLUTION APPROVING THE CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PRESIDENT'S PRO- CLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB— contd.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we will take up the statutory Resolution for discussion. Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal was on his legs. He may please continue.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, when we adjourned for lunch, I was saying that the Akali Dal has failed to present a strong leadership which is imperative and in fact a dire necessity at this juncture to overcome the present impasse. This is so because the view of the Akalis has always been jaundiced, and their approach guided by the narrow political considerations which are sometimes at variance even with the larger State and national interests. They have now voiced their opposition to violence and terrorism. But they still have to demonstrate the firm and resolute determination to stand up against terrorism and fight the menace to the finish. Till then their clamour for the revocation of the President's Rule in the State would not convince even the Punjabis.

My learned friend, who initiated the debate, is, unfortunately, not present in the House at the moment. He very vociferously pleaded for the reinstatement of the last Government headed by Shri Barnala. Madam, I agree that the intellectual power of some of the Opposition friends, particularly from the CPM group, is great, but their opinion of themselves is still greater; and sometimes, unfortunately, that tends to overtake the former. For over 20 minutes he tried to analyse the Punjab situation, but not once did he mention the most important factor involved in the Punjab situation today; and that was the emergence of the Panthic Committee. I do not know whether my friend has even heard of the name of the Panthic

Committee. It is this Committee which has passed secessionist resolutions; which swears by the name of Khalistan, which stands for the dismemberment of the country. I wish they understand the motives of the members of the Panthic Committee before passing any judgment on the role played by the Centre in dealing with the Punjab situation.

A reference was again made to the Punjab Accord. I would not like to take the time of the House on that account, but it has been repeatedly made clear that it is not the Centre which is wanting in its desire to implement the Punjab Accord, or any clause that remains unimplemented at the moment.

Madam, my hon. friend also took pride in saying that it is only the Communists who have launched the battle against terrorism in the State. Recently some all-party meetings were held in Punjab. And I can say with full sense of responsibility that if the Communists participated in those rallies, it was more by the number of their flags than by the number of their members actually present there. It was the Congress which took upon itself to fight terrorism in the State; and in the process we lost some of our stalwarts. A sitting hon. Member of this House was killed by the terrorists—Mr. V. N. Tiwari I am referring to. Our two former Ministers—Joginder Pal Pande and Satnam Singh Bajwa were gunned down by the bullets of the terrorists. Sewa Singh Bhinder, Radhey Shyam Malhotra and a score of other prominent Members of the Congress holding important positions have been killed by the terrorists. A sitting Member of the Lok Sabha, Mr. R. L. Bhatia, was made a target of a severe terrorist attack and it was only his good luck that he survived. So, it would not be in the fitness of things to apportion blame here. It is time for us to understand the situation prevailing in Punjab and try to find a solution to it.

Madam, for over five years now, terrorism has inflicted a very severe blow to the Punjab. Acting at the behest of hostile foreign powers, the terrorists have made every effort to paralyse and disrupt the normal life and spark off communal violence in the State. It goes to the credit of every Punjabi, and particularly the Sikhs, that their virulent designs have been frustrated. As true inheritors of the sacred legacy of the great Gurus, of the saints and of sages, the Punjabis have maintained the sanctity of the age-old traditions of mutual love, affection and goodwill. There may have been a case or two tending to cause some distrust among the communities, but that has always been very momentary, very short-lived and good sense has always prevailed.

Punjab has always been a prosperous State—made so by the hardworking people. However, the uncertain political situation and the deteriorating law and order situation have had a telling effect on the economy of the State. A casual visitor would not comprehend that, he would not notice that because no Punjabi is given to grumbling. But the fact remains that the Punjab farmer is hard-hit. It was the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi who understood the plight of Punjab farmers and the disturbing trends in our economy and took immediate remedial measures when hailstorm damaged the wheat crops in April-May this year, immediate compensation was granted. For the drought-hit farmers who incurred indebtedness and braved the prolonged drought to save their crops and replenish the national kitty, appropriate bonus has been given. Compensation has been announced also for those farmers whose crops have been damaged as well as small and marginal farmers who could not sow their areas because of the absence of rains. For the landless rural labour, a scheme has been announced only a few days ago to create about 40 lakh mandays of employment. Madam, as a result of these and other measures Punjab's

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

economy is bound to register buoyancy once again because as a responsible and conscientious guardian, the Centre is doing its utmost to rejuvenate the State's economy. This is despite all the challenges and the resource constraint.

Madam, the Centre is only burdened with manifold additional responsibilities during the President's rule. The Centre has nothing to gain out of the President's rule in the State and the suspension of the normal democratic procedures is no cause of joy for us. It does not give us any feeling of schadenfreude. The President's rule was clamped out of a compelling necessity to arrest the deteriorating situation in the State; to check the fissiparous tendencies and to contain the terrorist violence. There have been positive gains and the response of the people, as I said earlier, has been encouraging. At this juncture, it would not be prudent to revive the Assembly and hand over the Government to a group not enjoying the majority or the popular support. Fresh elections would also not achieve anything before the situation is firmly brought under control. With this end in view, the extension of the President's rule for another period of six months is definitely called for. But I must hasten to add that this period should be seriously utilised by all the political parties to reach out to the people, as Congress is presently busy in doing, to spread the message of amity, goodwill, peace and national integration and to create a congenial atmosphere conducive for the return of a democratically elected Government. The Akali Dal must shed its communal cloak. It must give up the practice of raising the bogey of discrimination against the Sikh religion. The needs of Punjab, the problems of Punjab have to be understood in the right perspective as secular problems and cooperation of all sought to solve those problems. It is time that the Akali Dal gave up its earlier policies because they have been exposed much

and their attitudes have caused us enough damage.

Madam, finally, I would only say what I have been saying earlier also that the Punjab problem is a national problem. This we all realise and admit, the Punjab problem, the Punjab challenge can be met only by putting a united fight against terrorism and not by finding fault with the Centre if it takes strong steps for the ultimate good of the State. The problem has to be met by a national endeavour and I am sure, in the next six months, an environment would be created whereafter meaningful steps can be taken to restore normalcy in Punjab and see that the democratic institutions finally triumph.

SHRI M. KADHARSHA (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I rise to oppose the resolution moved by the hon. Minister to extend the President's Rule in Punjab. The move is not only ulterior but undemocratic. India is the largest democracy in the world but nowhere in the democratic set-up, we have seen that Assemblies are dissolved and dismissed indiscriminately or kept in suspended animation indefinitely. This peculiarity can be seen only in Indian democracy. The hon. Minister can enlighten me whether this suspended animation is prevalent in any other democracy in any part of the world.

Madam, Deputy Chairman, the hon. Minister has stated that the Governor has recommended for the extension of President's Rule for another six months and it is on the basis of the Governor's report that the resolution has been moved in the Parliament. Here, I would like to mention that there are instances in the past when reports were prepared first by the Government and the signatures of the Governors were secured later. But in this particular case, I do not know what had happened. Anyway, I can only say that the Government has not taken any serious or sincere effort to explore the possibility of finding any alternative to the President's Rule. The former

Minister of Punjab, Mr. Barnala is staking his claim to form Government. As he claims to carry the majority with him in Assembly, why he was not given an opportunity? This is my first question to the hon. Minister. Mr. Barnala, further alleges that the Governor has furnished incorrect reports and as a result of this, President's Rule is being extended in Punjab. What is the answer of the Government? So, in this context, it becomes more important that the report of the Governor should have been placed in the House. The Government instead of looking to the formalities and precedents should have come forward to present the report in the House. The hon. Minister has listed the improvements that had happened after the President's Rule in Punjab, like the smooth conducting of marriages, the re-opening of schools and so on. I would like to point out him that even today, many of the schools in Punjab are occupied by the para military forces and the education is very much affected because there is no room to conduct classes as the para military forces are occupying the school premises. Even according to the statement of the hon. Minister, the situation has improved. If there is improvement, if there is normalcy, then where is the justification to extend the President's Rule in Punjab? The hon. Minister has not spelt out the policy of the Government about Punjab. What is their policy about Punjab, how are they going to solve the problem? Are they going to follow any political solution or military solution? If the Government is intended for military solution, I will categorically point out that it will not work. It will not be a lasting solution. If the Government is interested in political solution, then what steps have been taken by them? Whether any dialogues have been initiated by the Government with the moderate elements? No step has been taken by the Government so far. Madam, the hon. Minister has given some statistics about terrorist activities. He himself has admitted that terrorism has not been completely wiped out. Rather, the number of killings has increased during President's rule compared to the popular Government in Punjab. The police Chief has given certain numbers about

terrorists in Punjab. 'A' grade terrorists are 44 in number. Out of these 44, 12 were killed and 13 were arrested and nine others are still absconding. Regarding B grade terrorists, out of 170, 22 were killed and 90 have been arrested. Amongst B grade terrorists, out of 170, 22 were killed and 544 have been arrested. But the police Chief has not mentioned anything about terrorists who have escaped from the custody of police. How many escaped from the police custody? Against how many police officials action was taken for this escape? How many terrorists were charge-sheeted in Court and how many of them have been prosecuted? All these questions remain unanswered. It has been said that if one A grade terrorist is shot dead, 40 new terrorists are born in his place. So, the wise thing will be to bring saner elements into the picture. Unfortunately, the moderate Sikh community is kept out of action and the Government should take serious efforts to bring them into the national mainstream.

Secondly, in Amrit Prachar meetings, thousands of youths are participating and propaganda is made against national integrity. The Government has not taken any step to counter this propaganda. Madam, if the Government is really interested in wiping out terrorism from Punjab, the first and foremost thing to be done is to seal the border with Pakistan. Unless and until the border is sealed, there can be no end to terrorism in Punjab. The Government is spending crores of money on reinforcing the police and para-military forces. But if they are able to spend some more money to keep vigil on the border, these terrorist activities could have been stopped.

Thirdly, the hon. Minister has not said anything in his foot-note speech about the Punjab accord which was brought with much fanfare but which is now relegated to the back seat. I do not know whether the Punjab accord is also dead along with Sant Longowal. Madam, not only the Punjab accord, but most of the accords made by this Government have not succeeded. Not a single accord has created any record but only resulted in discord. These half-baked accords and

[Shri M. Kadharsa]

half-hearted implementation will not serve any purpose. So, the Government should take serious steps to bring normalcy in Punjab. The Government appointed so many tribunals like the Eradi Tribunal, the Venkatramaiah Tribunal and the Mathew Tribunal. But the recommendations of the Tribunals, the reports of the Tribunals, were thrown to the dust-bin and no action has been taken by the 4.00 P.M. the Government. The Government is not sincere to implement the recommendations of the tribunals. I would like once again to point out that Punjab problem can be solved not by arms and President's Rule but by a dispassionate and right approach. The Government should take a positive approach and they should allow the popular Government to continue. Punjab problem, as the previous speakers have pointed out, is a national problem. It will have repercussions and it is already having repercussions in Delhi and Haryana and it will spread to other parts also. So we are interested that the problem should be solved but that there should be only a political solution. So I oppose the Government Resolution to further extend President's Rule in Punjab.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, Deputy Chairman, it is really very unfortunate that for the last four years our beautiful and most fertile land of Punjab is caught up in the cruel clutches of terrorism. The earliest manifestation of terrorism took place on the Baisakhi Day in 1978 when so many Nirankaris were killed and since then thousands and thousands of innocent people, men, women and children, Hindus and Sikhs, all have been done to death by these terrorists. Besides the people killed, crores and crores of rupees have been looted, robbed, banks and post offices have been looted and robbed, and if I remember correctly, in just one incident that took place in February more than Rs. 5 crores were looted by the terrorists from the Punjab National Bank in Ludhiana. These monies are looted naturally for purchasing arms. So it is a very

unfortunate thing. We know that as a result of these terroristic activities our beloved Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was assassinated. Such a heavy price had to be paid and yet the terrorists are not satisfied. Why did Mrs. Gandhi die? Mrs. Gandhi also could have tried to appease the terrorists like Mr. Barnala. Mr. Barnala was elected and when he was able to form a Government, instead of pursuing a hardline policy, he started appeasing these people, hardened criminals were released from the jails and that was why he could not contain terrorism during his regime. Mrs. Gandhi, unlike him, refused to bow before these terrorists. She stood for the unity and integrity of the country and she laid down her life as a martyr trying to protect the unity and integrity of the country. So did Sant Longowal. He entered into an accord with Rajiv Gandhi. And there lies the statesmanship and farsightedness of Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal. Both recognised the need for such an accord and both of them wanted to wipe out terrorism from Punjab. But Sant Longowal himself fell a prey to the terrorist's bullets and he died. Had Sant Longowal not died, today he must have been trying to fight out terrorism from his land in an earnest and sincere manner. But, after him, you see, our own Prime Minister was eager to have a popular Government in Punjab and our own party, the Congress (I) Party was eager to have a popular Government in Punjab as early as possible and that was why all assistance was extended to Mr. Barnala, to his Government later on and, before that, conditions were created for a poll, for Assembly elections in Punjab, and Mr. Barnala got just one per cent of votes more than the Congress (I), just one per cent more. And, on the basis of that one per cent victory, the Akali Government was formed and our Prime Minister and all of us in this House and in the other House and all sane elements in the country expected that Mr. Barnala would be able to tackle this problem. But, as I said, Mr. Barnala tried to appease these terrorists and released the criminals. And what were his MLAs and Ministers doing? They were rendering all kinds of assistance to the

militants and in the houses of so many Ministers and MLAs these militants and these terrorists used to stay and from there they used to carry out their plans. That was not the way of tackling this problem. If the Ministers and the members of the Government themselves start sheltering the extremists, how can the Government tackle this problem? That Government can never tackle that problem and that was why that Government failed. On the 10th of January, 1986, Mr. Barnala himself had to admit, "Yes, my lenient policy has not paid.". This is the admission from the man himself, Mr. Barnala used to condemn both Pakistan and India. On the one hand, he used to condemn Pakistan for extending all kinds of assistance to the terrorists and, on the other, he would condemn the Government of India for not implementing the accord. But what did he himself do to implement the accord, to create conditions for the implementation of the accord? Mr. Barnala said that Haryana was not entitled to any water and, therefore, the digging of the SYL Canal would be a sheer waste of money and nothing else and he took no action to dig that canal. So, he himself created obstacles for the implementation of the accord. On the one hand, you create obstacles and, on the other, you condemn the Government of India saying that it is not implementing the accord. So, this kind of vacillation is not expected from the Chief Minister of a State or the leader of a Government. Then, you see, there is another thing. What happened to our Opposition parties? Whereas certain Opposition parties were very much interested in having the extremist or terrorist activities stopped, leader like Mr. Chandra Shekhar, leader like Mr. Bahuguna, never condemned the terrorist activities. They have never condemned terrorism in Punjab. I am yet to see a statement from Mr. Bahuguna condemning the terrorism and terrorists in Punjab and I am yet to see a statement from Mr. Chandra Shekhar condemning terrorism and terrorist activities in Punjab. You see, trying not to condemn a wrong thing just to get some cheap popularity among the masses or having friendship with the Akali Party is not statesmanship. That

is not in the best interests of the country and that is not in the best interests of the unity and integrity of the nation. But by these cheap methods these leaders only try to complicate things. Instead of helping the Government in improving matters, they only create conditions in which those terrorists and their activities get a fillip.

Barnalaji—in yesterday's "Statesman" I saw a statement—has told the Press people:

"During my regime, the maximum number of deaths that occurred in a particular month was 79."

He has said that the number of such deaths numbered only 79. Seventy-nine deaths in one month; that is the maximum number of deaths in one month during his regime. And during the President's rule, a maximum of 150 people have been killed. It is not the question of number, how many people are killed in one month or how many people are killed in a particular day. That is not the question. The difference lies in the fact that he has had no willingness to fight out terrorism or to wipe out terrorism. His Government had no willingness. His Ministers were helping and abetting terrorists. (Interruption) Not every one, of course; some of them. And not all the terrorists; some of the terrorists. Now he is saying that so many have been killed. But the question is whether there is willingness on the part of the Government to pursue a hard line and eliminate terrorism from that land. That is the difference. That is now very much visible between what happened during the time of Mr. Barnala and during the present time. Today the Government of Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray and the D.G. of Police, Mr. Ribeiro, both are one in trying very sincerely to liquidate terrorism from this land. Whereas the Barnala Government used to release hardened criminals, today thousands of criminals are under arrest. They have been arrested and they are now languishing in jail. Today there are as many as 22 groups of terrorists which are operating in Punjab. There is a lot of in-fighting today among these groups and now many

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

groups have been rendered leaderless by Mr. Ribeiro and Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray. The terrorists have become panicky today. They may do something here or something there. But it is a fact, as Mr. Ribeiro has himself said, that although they have not been able to finish terrorism yet today these terrorists are panicky and out of sheer frustration they are doing certain acts here and there, but that force is not there. So, as I said, under the President's rule sincere efforts are being made by Mr. Ray and Mr. Ribeiro to contain terrorism in Punjab. Whether that is done today or tomorrow is not the question. That we will see, because you do not know where all the terrorists are and what they are doing. You have to find out, you have to use your intelligence or the police and other para-military forces. So this operation is a protracted one, it cannot happen in a day; everybody knows. But the willingness to do should be there. This willingness to do was lacking in the Barnala Government. And today this willingness is very much manifested in the actions of Mr. Ribeiro and Mr. Ray. As I said, among various groups an internal battle is going on. One group is trying to liquidate another; the second group is trying to liquidate the third one. That is going on, so much so that even Darshan Singh Ragi, the Acting Chief of the Akal Takht, has been declared to be person a *non grata*. In today's newspapers or yesterday's they have called him traitor. They say that they will not allow him to return to Amritsar. They say: We will try to resist his return to Amritsar. And they have foisted another so-called Acting Chief by their own Panthic Committee: Gurubachan Singh Manochahal. Gurubachan Singh Manochahal is an extremist and a known criminal. So many cases are pending against him in which he is wanted by the Police. If he is made the Acting Chief of Akal Takht and if the Police goes to arrest him because so many cases are pending against him, what will happen? They will start saying that the Government is taking vindictive action against the Acting Chief of Akal Takht. Now there are two Acting

Chief —Darshan Singh Ragi and Gurubachan Singh Manochahal. Both say that they are the Acting Chief. It is a very peculiar situation that is prevailing today. What is more important is that this Panthic Committee has announced a Council of Khalistan. It says that if any agreement has to be made, that agreement should be reached with this Council of Khalistan. Although the people of Punjab have not taken this Council of Khalistan very seriously, it is there and it includes four foreigners. These four people live in other countries. The question today is whether we can concede the demand for Khalistan and whether we can allow these terrorists to go in their own irresponsible fashion holding the whole State to ransom demanding dismemberment of the country or the people of India should unite and try to wipe out terrorism from this land, the sacred and beautiful land of five rivers. That is why there is need for the continuance of President's rule. Very sincere efforts are being made to contain terrorism. These efforts have borne fruits to a great extent. If Barnala Ji comes once again—That is another question whether he is in majority and whether he will be able to form the Government or not—the very formation of Government at this stage will not be conducive to the best interests of Punjab and the nation. Under the President's rule, very good efforts are being made and these efforts must continue. Let us see what happens in the next six months. Since the militants have become panicky, may be they are routed in the next six months. After that we will review the situation and see as to what should be done. Mr. Mohanan and others were saying that there should be popular Government, this and that. They should not try to achieve cheap popularity by supporting the Akalis in the name of popular Government. Our unity and integrity is at stake today. Foreign forces are involved. Pakistan is involved. Chinese rifles are being recovered from them. They should try to read the writing on the wall. Both Pakistan and China are trying to help the terrorists in their own way.

That is why they are doing what they are doing. Our Prime Minister said during

is visit to the United States that the Capital of Raja Ranjit Singhs empire was Lahore and not Amritsar. If you really want Khalistan, why don't you claim Lahore? But they will not claim Lahore because they are getting money, arms, training and everything from Pakistan. They live in India. We call them our brothers. Yet they kill us. They have killed innocent bus and train passengers. They have looted banks. These activities have to be contained. Terrorism has to be contained. Therefore, in the best interests of both Punjab and the country, the President's Rule must be extended by another six months, as proposed by the Government. After these six months, we can again take stock of the situation. We can discuss the matter and then we can decide what to do. With these words, I support the Resolution.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
Madam, Deputy Chairman, I rise to oppose this Resolution. While doing so, I would like to make it very clear that my Party is opposed to terrorism and extremism and my Party is also opposed to mixing of religion with politics. But I oppose the Resolution on several grounds. Basically we are opposed to the imposition of the President's Rule in any State where there is a possibility of a popular Government. It is undemocratic, unwise and unwarranted. Secondly, even at the time of the imposition of the President's Rule in May, we opposed it on the ground that removal of the Barnala Government would in effect result in the removal of the only buffer you have between the Union Government and the extremism there and things would worsen. Mr. Sukul was very eloquent in blaming Mr. Barnala. But he should not forget that this Government took the unprecedented step of making the President pay the highest compliments to Mr. Barnala in his Address to the Joint Session. He should not forget that even a few hours or even a few days before the imposition of the President's Rule, even the Prime Minister was on record that Mr. Barnala was doing his best. If some of his party-men or even one or two Ministers had misbehaved or had not risen to the occasion, that was no provocation for the

President's Rule. If that is the standard, none of your Governments, whether it is in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, has a right to exist interference with the administration is a daily occurrence in these States. And the Government did not listen because you had your compulsions. It was not the interest of Punjab. You knew Punjab has been lost to you. You had the Haryana elections in view. That is why, to placate the public opinion in Haryana with the fond hope of winning the elections there, you imposed the President's Rule in Punjab as a sop to people of Haryana. But we said at that time that you had lost Punjab, you would lose Haryana also in spite of the President's Rule in Punjab and in spite of the announcement of a largesse of Rs. 450 crores to Haryana. People are wise. You have learnt it at your cost.

Thirdly, Madam, we said that the President's Rule would not improve the matters and instead it would complicate. Your own statistics and your own admission indicate that things have not improved in Punjab even after the President's Rule. You dismissed Mr. Barnala because in one month there were 79 killings. As Mr. Sukul has pointed out and the others have told earlier, during the six months of the President's Rule, 900 people were killed and 614 persons were injured. There were 513 cases of looting. There were 208 cases of weapons-snatching, there were 203 cases of vehicle-snatching and there were 273 shoot-outs. There were nine bomb blasts. There were 96 seditious activities. And what improvement you are speaking about? Is this the improvement in your view? Besides, what happened afterwards? Terrorism has spread from Punjab to neighbouring States, to Delhi and to other States. And what is your track record? You claim that President's Rule is a panacea for all law and order problems and extremism. But in the capital, Delhi, which is directly under your control, why incidents are happening, why people are being killed mercilessly? And how can you blame the Barnala Government or for that matter any State Government that they are not able to control law and order? In the nation's capital if you are not able to control law

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

and order, with what face you can blame any other State Government? Therefore, the argument that the President's rule is a panacea to all these ills, that the President's rule would control the situation is a fallacy and it is not proved by facts.

Besides, by imposing the President's rule you have isolated the administration from the people. You have thrown away the moderates who were cooperating with the Government and that is the only result which the President's rule has achieved there.

You say the Governor's report is there. We all know how the Governors' reports are manipulated and obtained. No Governor makes an independent report. He is made to report whatever the Central Government wants. Besides, I am sorry to say that, the Governors who have been Chief Ministers, who would like to be Chief Ministers, those who fail to become Chief Ministers, they have got an itching sensation to rule directly and they always try for the President's rule which will give them an opportunity to rule directly. And, if this Government is wise, it has to reconsider the situation and it has to restore popular rule. That is our party's demand. We have been repeating that and I repeat that demand. Since the President's rule has failed to achieve its result, the Government must reconsider the situation and reintroduce popular rule in the State.

Having said that, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to ask the Government a few questions: How long this Government will treat the Punjab problem as merely a law and order problem? Where is the indication that this Government is thinking of any political solution? You have arrested five thousand people and put them in jails without even a trial. Out of these five thousand people, some maybe innocent. When they came into contact with extremists in jails, how their reactions would develop, how they would be converted in their thoughts is a matter to be considered.

At the time of the Bluestar operation, we were told that the number of extremists was about 700 to 800 people and today you are arresting thousands. How do you say extremism has come down? It has gone up. How new recruits are taking to extremism, Because if you kill one innocent person, more would become extremists. That is exactly what is happening. And when we asked the Prime Minister to try for a political solution, he said, 'No, until the extremism is wiped out I am not going to talk.' It is not a wise approach. It is not a statesman's approach. Can you imagine that extremism can be wiped out? It is not even in consonance with what the Government is doing elsewhere. You are devoting so much time for a political solution in Sri Lanka. You are lecturing for a political solution in South Africa. You are lecturing to other countries about political solutions but in your own country you say, I will not talk to anybody, I will not go for a political solution until each and every extremist is killed. Is it a practical approach? Is it a statesman's approach? You have to seek a political solution. You cannot treat it as a law and order problem for ever and go on killing the people. There is no end to this. There is a reaction to every action. Therefore, there has to be a political solution. And the Government has to initiate action on that.

There are so many other aspects in that. We have been repeatedly mentioning them. The Jodhpur detenus—what right have you go to put them in jail for years together without trial? If you have got evidence, you try them, put them in jail, hang them, we will support you. But you have no evidence and you are keeping them in jail for years. Is it a civilised Government's approach and do you think that the people will appreciate that? Why are you acting on these lines in spite of our repeated requests?

And then the arrest of leaders. You have arrested Mr. Badal. You have arrested Mr. Tohra. Simply because they differ, simply because they are not agreeing to your suggestions you put them in jail for months together.

Even the Britishers did not do so; otherwise Mahatma Gandhi would have remained in jail for ever. To control the situation you can arrest certain leaders for certain time, but not for months together and take them away and put them somewhere in Madhya Pradesh or Maharashtra. You have to talk to these leaders. These are eminent leaders; maybe today they might have taken a wrong track. But it is the duty of the Government to talk to these responsible leaders and arrive at a solution. And that also you are not doing.

There is another instance. We know several people were killed here after the sad assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in October, 1984. Even today, they are going on satyagraha. The riot victims are on satyagraha. There is a constant provocation to the people of Punjab. But you have not settled their problem; you have not given relief to them. Why are they on fast at the Boat Club repeatedly every month for several years? Even today, this problem is not solved.

I would conclude by saying there is nothing like a political leadership in this country. I am very sorry to make such a sweeping remark. The Government has no plan of action...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): You should be the leader.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Therefore, it is very necessary that you must have a leadership which is statesman-like, which has foresight, which is brave and courageous to tackle the situation. By being afraid to face the people or go before the people, you can never solve the problems. It is necessary that we must take a bold decision some time. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in spite of our differences with her, used to call the people, call the leaders of political parties and all the interested persons and have discussions repeatedly and she tried to thrash out a solution everytime. We have been demanding from this Government to talk to the people, to talk to the political parties, individuals and groups and try to solve the problem. What is wrong in that? What is the harm? Why is the Govern-

ment hesitating to do that? That itself shows that the Government has no mind of its own, has no plan of its own and it does not know how to tackle the situation, and it is only trigger-happy and think of only deploying military and para-military forces to solve the Punjab problem. It is very unfortunate. This way, we will continue to discuss this Punjab problem for years together in this House. One friend said that he has spoken twelve times on Punjab. Maybe, I spoke half a dozen times. Is there any end to it?

Therefore, my earnest request is, please try for a political situation. It is a national problem. It is not Punjab's problem only. We are not taking any partisan stand; we are not acting in a partisan manner. We are nationalistic; we want a quick solution to the Punjab problem and we are ready to cooperate. If opposition parties' cooperation is required, definitely we will come forward. Therefore, please do something about it and try to solve the problem not as a mere law and order problems but try to deal with the political aspects and come to a settlement. Thank you.

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब) :
मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, अभी इन्होंने यह कहा कि बरनाला सरकार को हटा कर प्रेजीडेंट रूल लगाना ठीक नहीं था। सबसे पहले मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा... (व्यवधान)... 1987 में जब बरनाला सरकार का राज वहाँ चल रहा था उस वक़्त स्थिति पंजाब की यह थी कि करीब-करीब एक पैरलल गवर्नमेंट वहाँ पर चल रही थी, ला एंड आर्डर की सिचुएशन तो खराब थी ही...। इसके अलावा यह पोजीशन थी कि कोई भी व्यक्ति अपनी मर्जी से वहाँ मीट की, बीड़ी की, सिगरेट की, शराब की या नाई की दुकान नहीं खोल सकता था। लोग 4-5 बजे शाम को ही अपनी दुकानें बंद करके भयभीत होकर अपने घर चले जाते थे। पुलिस और इंटीलिजेंस फोर्स में इस कदर इंटरफेरेंस थी कि वे पूरी तरह से डीमारलाइज्ड थीं। इन दो कारणों से वहाँ लोगों के अंदर

[श्री हरचन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल]

भय था, डर था और इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि बहुत बड़ी तादाद में माइग्रेशन होना वहाँ से शुरू हुआ। बरनाला सरकार के टाइम में माइग्रेशन शुरू हुआ और इसके कारण एक हजार फैमिलीज वहाँ से निकल कर दूसरी जगहों पर चली गई थी। इस कारण से यह जरूरी हो गया था कि उस सरकार को हटाकर वहाँ पर प्रेसिडेंट रूल लागू कर दिया जाये। प्रेसिडेंट रूल लागू करने के बाद इन दोनों स्थितियों में, जिनका मैंने अभी जिक्र किया, इनमें बड़ा इम्प्रूवमेंट हुआ। पहले पुलिस और इंटरलैजेंस फोर्स में इंटरफेरेंस इस हद तक था कि वे हाथ पर हाथ धरे बैठे रहते थे। वहाँ पर ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गई थी, जिसमें इंटरलैजेंस फोर्स काम नहीं करती थी और इस कारण यह पता नहीं चलता था कि वहाँ पर क्या होने वाला है। ऐसी हालत में पुलिस कैसे ऐक्ट कर सकती थी। मान लीजिये थोड़ी बहुत सूचना मिल भी जाये लेकिन पुलिस इन-एक्टिव हो जाती थी। इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में डीमारलाइजेशन इन फोर्स के अंदर आ चुका था। प्रेसिडेंट रूल लगाने के बाद इन सब बातों में बहुत बड़ा इम्प्रूवमेंट हुआ और आज यह स्थिति वहाँ पर है कि उनके हाइड आउट्स को ढंढा जाता है, वहाँ पर रेड किया जाता है और इसमें हजारों टैरोरिस्ट्स, हजारों एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट्स को पकड़ा गया है। उनके अड्डों पर बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में साफेस्टोकेट गन, अग्नेशन भी पकड़ा गया है। महेदया, मुझे अभी पंजाब में जाने का मौका मिला। एक नवम्बर को फिरोजपुर में था। 31 तारीख को वहाँ एक नरुकी गांव में एक इन्सिडेंट हुआ। टैरोरिस्ट आये। क्योंकि उनके आने का वक्त नहीं होता, जगह मालूम नहीं होती। वे आये और वहाँ पर एक दुकानदार को मार दिया और एक दूसरे दुकानदार को जकड़ी कर दिया। पुलिस और उस गांव के लोगों ने उन टैरोरिस्टों को जो तीन थे, उनको फालो

किया। ईसवी फायदा यह हुआ कि एक टैरोरिस्ट को उन्होंने गोल मार कर गिरा दिया पुलिस और गांव के लोगों ने जब उसमें पूछा कि उसके साथी अब वहाँ जायेंगे तो उसने बताया कि यहाँ से निकलकर वे फलाँ जगह जायेंगे। उसकी सूचना पर पुलिस ने उनको फालो किया और उन दो में एक को जब वे जा रहे थे मार गिराया और दूसरा वहाँ से भाग गया। यह वाक्या यहाँ पर सुनाने का भाव यह है कि अब लोग और पुलिस उनको फालो करते हैं। लोगों के अंदर अब वह डर नहीं रहा कि अगर हम उनको पकड़ेंगे तो वे हमारी फैमिली को, हमारे बच्चों को मारेंगे। अब लोगों को मालूम है कि पुलिस काम कर रही है, इंटरलैजेंस काम कर रही है और इस कारण लोगों ने पुलिस का साथ देना शुरू कर दिया है। माइग्रेशन जिन फैमिलीज का हुआ था उनमें से 125 फैमिलीज वहाँ वापस आ चुकी हैं। बरनाला सरकार के राज में जो फैमिलीज माइग्रेट करके बाहर जा रही थीं उनका अब वापस होना शुरू हो गया है। यह एक बहुत शुभ ओमन है। यहाँ पर यह बार-बार कहा गया है और खासतौर से अपोजीशन पार्टीज की तरफ से यह मांग की जा रही है कि वहाँ पर पापुलर सरकार बननी चाहिए। यह बहुत ठीक बात है, जरूर बननी चाहिए। लेकिन इसके लिये अनुकूल स्थिति तो पैदा होनी चाहिए ताकि वहाँ पर पापुलर सरकार बन सके। वहाँ पर जो मुख्य पोलिटिकल पार्टी, अकाली पार्टी है वह इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में शक्तिशाली है कि उसको इनकोर नहीं लिया जा सकता। अकाली पार्टी का अब यह हो गया है कि पहले इन्फा हैड आफिस गोल्डन टैम्पल बम्बलेवम के अंदर था। अब पार्टियाँ दो हो गई हैं यह बहुत पुरानी बात है। लेकिन वे दोनों अब अपनी पार्टी के दफ्तर उठाकर चंडीगढ़ में ले आये हैं।

वहां वां रह नहीं सक्ते; जा नहीं सक्ते। चलिये यह तो एक पोलिटिकल पार्टी थी यह अच्छा हुआ कि वो वहां से निवृत्त गये क्योंकि हम पहले ही चाहते थे कि पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के दफ्तर रिलीजियस प्लेसज में नहीं होने चाहियें। यह तो एक बहुत अच्छी बात हुई। लेकिन अब जो दर्बनाक बात हुई, जो घिनौनी बात हुई जिसका बहुत बड़ा हमें नुकसान होने वाला है कि शिरोमणी गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक वमेटों की भी दो वमेटियां बन गई और यह वहां बनीं यह अमृतसर में नहीं बनीं जबकि अमृतसर में इनको बनना चाहिये था। वहां से दोनों पार्टियां भाग कर उन्होंने अपने अपने प्रेजिडेंट्स को और एग्जीक्यूटिव वमेटोज को आनन्दपुर साहब में जा कर चुना उनकी यह हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि अमृतसर में चुनाव कराते जबकि उन्होंने गोल्डन टेम्पल कम्प्लेक्स को हल करना है मैनेज करना है। उनकी यह भी हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि वो अपना दफ्तर वहां ले आए। अपने दफ्तर उठा कर के बाहर चले गये। उन्होंने दो एस.जी.पी.सी. बना दीं। एक दुख की बात यह हुई कि अकाल तख्त के उत्थेदार भी दो बना दिये। अकाल तख्त के उत्थेदार का अकाल तख्त में सर्वोच्च स्थान है वहां रागी दर्शन सिंह को बनाया गया। प्रोफेसर दर्शन सिंह बनने से पहले भी और उत्थेदार रहते हुए भी उसके बाद भी लगातार कांग्रेस पार्टी का और इस सरकार को बुरा भला कहते रहे हैं और कहते हैं। न हमने उनको बनाया और न हमने उनको वहां से भगाया। वहां खुद ही खुद ही उन्होंने बनाया और खुद ही भगा दिया और उनके रहते हुए एक नया आदमी वहां पर उत्थेदार बना दिया। सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि यह अयाटी किस के पास है? सरबत खालसा की बात आई। पंथक कमेटी की बात आई। पंथक कमेटी के पांच आदमी अपनी मर्जी से चुन लिये। जो मर्जी हुई हाथ में बन्दूक पकड़ कर फैसला कर लिया।

अगर यही तरीका है सिख धर्म को चलाने का तो कहीं पर भी पांच आदमी बैठ जाएंगे अपनी बात चलाना शुरू कर देंगे। सरबत खालसा ऐसी चीज नहीं है। अब यह भ्रम पैदा कर दिया गया है कि सरबत खालसा हर दीवाली और बैसाखी पर अमृतसर में होता है। लेकिन ऐसी कोई हिस्टोरिकल बात नहीं है। सरबत खालसा गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह के टाइम में उस वक्त होता रहा जब कोई बहुत बड़ी ऐसी बात हो जाए जिसका एक छोटी कमेटी या कुछ आदमी फैसला न कर सकें तो उसके लिए सरबत खालसा बुलाया जाता था वंस इन मैनी ईयर्स। उसके लिए कोई एक तारीख या डेट या साल निश्चित नहीं था सरबत खालसा का मतलब है सब। उस में जितने भी सिख धर्म के सेक्टर्स हैं सब शामिल हों। इसका मतलब यह है कि जितने भी सेक्टर्स हैं चाहे कोई भी हो जैसे उस में उदासीन सिख भी आ जाते हैं। उदासीन सिख वो हैं जो गुरु नानक को मानते हैं और उसके बाद गुरुवाणी को भी मानते हैं लेकिन केशधारी नहीं होते निर्मल हैं और जितने भी सेक्ट हैं मैं यदि सब के नाम लूं तो बहुत लंबी लिस्ट बनेगी। उन सब को बुलाना वहां पर बहुत जरूरी है।

[सभापति महोदय पीठासीन हुए]

सब वहां आए और आकर फैसला करें कि अब पंथ के सामने जो समस्या है इसके लिए क्या हल निकालना चाहिये। यह किधर का सरबत खालसा हुआ? दीवाली बैसाखी पर वैसे ही सिख वहां पर जाते हैं गोल्डन टेम्पल में अपनी श्रद्धा से लोग लाखों की तादाद में वहां पर जाते हैं। वहां पर एक पंडाल लगाया और माइक पर बोलना शुरू कर दिया और एक रेजोल्यूशन पास कर दिया और सरबत खालसा हो गया। यह कोई सरबत खालसा नहीं होता। यह सब की बनाई हुई बातें हैं। मुझे यहां पर एक बात और कहनी पड़ेगी कि इस दफ्तर का हुआ। सरबत खालसा उन्होंने बुलाया हुआ था चाहे जिस किस्म का बुलाया हुआ था वहां की एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन

[श्री हस्वन्त्र सिंह हंसपाल]

ने फार सट्टेन रीजंस उसको रोका ताकि दीवाली के ऊपर वह न हो सके और कोई ऐसी बात न हो जाए जिससे पालस को एक्शन लेना पड़े या किलिगज वगैरह न हो जाए क्योंकि हालात उस वक्त इस किस्म के हो गये थे। चार पांच आदमियों ने जिसको पंथक कमेटी कहा जाता है, उन में से जब कोई पकड़ा जाता है या मारा जाता है तो एक नया भर्त्ता कर लिया जाता है, कौन करता है, कौन सी अर्थार्थी करती है यह किसी को भी पता नहीं है। जो आदमी वहां पर अब बनाया है गुरबचन सिंह मनोचहल इसके पहले उसको उन्होंने पंथ से निकाला हुआ था पंजाबी में उसको छेका हुआ कहते हैं। जब दूसरे मर गये अरड सिंह वगैरह तो फिर उसको ला कर बैठा दिया। अब पोजीशन यह है गोलडन टेम्पल कम्प्लेक्स के अन्दर, मेरी रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक, सिर्फ उन में से चार लोग थे वह भी कोई प्रोमिनेंट नहीं, न पंथक कमेटी के मेम्बर थे न कोई प्रोमिनेंट आदमी थे। उन्होंने हाथ से एक कापी कुछ रिजोल्यूशन्स की बनाई, वह हाथ लिखी हुई कापी एक प्रेस के किसी आदमी को दे दी, उस प्रेस वाले ने उस एक कापी को बाकी प्रेस वालों को दिखा दिया :

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly resume your seat. You may continue afterwards. The Prime Minister.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN (Maharashtra): Copies of the statement have been given to very few privileged in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Copies have been distributed to those who are allowed to seek clarifications. You will get them afterwards. You kindly hear him.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: That is not the rule here.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): That has not been the practice in this House. Everybody is entitled to have a copy.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are only 25 copies with the Secretariat. So we are

giving to those who are seeking clarifications.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: May I report to you, Sir, that because copies were not circulated, once the statement had to be delayed. That is what the practice of the Rajya Sabha is. And the Prime Minister cannot be an exception to this practice of the Rajya Sabha.

श्री जगदंबी प्रसाद यादव : (बिहार)
इनके वक्तव्य के और पहला आन चाहिए था, वह और महत्वपूर्ण होता है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will ask the Government to get you copies as early as possible.

श्री जगदंबी प्रसाद यादव : प्रधान मंत्री सचिवालय इनडिफिनिट है, आपका राज्य सभा सचिवालय इनडिफिनिट है। यह तो बहुत बुरी बात है.... (व्यवधान)। अधिकारों का सवाल है, परम्परा का सवाल है, हाउस के अधिकारों का सवाल है, सदस्यों का सवाल है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसकी हिंदी प्रतिलिपि भी नहीं दी होगी। एक समस्या और होगी राजभाषा के अपमान करने का आपके सचिवालय और प्रधान मंत्री सचिवालय का कर्तव्य रहा है कि राजभाषा की प्रति लोगों को नहीं मिलनी चाहिए। एक भी प्रति अभी तक नहीं है।

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल : हिंदी ट्रांसलेशन अवेग, उसकी मुनिये।

श्री जगदंबी प्रसाद यादव : कब आएगा, वक्तव्य के बाद ? वक्तव्य के पहले चाहिए।

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Because I am raising this point, I have been given a copy. Others have been denied. This is not how the Rajya Sabha was run previously.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The fact is that this has been multiplied. Why could it not be multiplied so that it could be circulated to all.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will try to get the copies as early as possible and I hope the Government, while making a statement, will follow this practice.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : अपने ही देश में अपनी ही राजभाषा का (व्यवधान)

श्री सभापति आप लोग सब समझदार लोग हैं, आप लोग उसको हिंदी अंग्रेजी दोनों में समझते हैं और ... (व्यवधान) ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : कम से कम आपकी तरफ से यह कह देना चाहिए कि अभी नहीं है । लेकिन यह परम्परा गलत है । इतना तो आप कहिए इतना कहिए कि सरकार गलत काम कर रही है । काम चले वह अलग बात है... (व्यवधान) मैं यह समझता हूँ कि शसक पार्टी के लोग थपथपी लगाकर काम चला लेंगे लेकिन हम लोग जो बिना थपथपी वाले हैं उनको तो कुछ बोलने का भी अवसर मिल, सुन करके ।

SHRI VISHVJIT PRITHVJIT SINGH (Maharashtra): Sir, never before has this happened. Every time there is a statement, copies are always distributed and they are always short. Nobody has ever complained. They are only doing this for your benefit, Sir, and also because the hon. Prime Minister is here. Believe me, Sir, this is a show. Don't take it seriously.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: This is an insinuation, Sir (Interruption).

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : सदस्य ने यह रिमार्क कस दिया, हाउस का कितना अनुभव है, पता नहीं है । अपनी अज्ञानता का परिचय दे देना उनके लिए महत्व रखता होगा । ... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us carry on with our work. In future, I hope, they will see to it.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER Implementation of Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI RAJIV GANDHI): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I

rise to inform the House about progress on the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement, including the background to the operations of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in the Jaffna peninsula.

The Agreement has been acclaimed internationally. There is a widespread consensus that the full implementation of the Agreement will be of universal benefit. Tamil aspirations would be met, the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka preserved, and peace and stability restored to the region. Some of our important security concerns would also be met. Therefore, the Government of India are committed to the full implementation of this Agreement. We believe that this resolve is shared by the Government of Sri Lanka.

In the three months since the Agreement was signed, we have made satisfactory progress on many fronts. Sri Lankan security personnel have stayed in their barracks, Home Guards in the Eastern Province have been disarmed and the Special Task Force has been largely withdrawn. Over 3,300 Tamil detenus have been released under an amnesty, and the rest would have been freed if the LTTE had not disrupted the return to normalcy.

The contours of civil administration in the North and the East were being drawn on lines suggested by Tamil representatives ranging from the LTTE to the TULF. The Interim Administrative Council had been announced, with the LTTE given a decisive majority share. The return of the refugees from India had been planned in consultation with the Government of Sri Lanka. We had identified priority areas for rehabilitation, to be financed through a grant of Rs. 25 crore announced by India. Peace had been established in the North and the East of Sri Lanka. The return to normalcy was imminent.

It is a matter of great regret that the LTTE threw away all this. They went back on every commitment they had given us. They deliberately set out to wreck the Agreement, because they were unable or unwilling to make the transition from