

[ श्री चतुरानन्द मिश्र ]

देश के दूसरे हिस्सों में भी जाते हैं और वहाँ से प्लानिंग करके फिर वहाँ पहुँचते हैं। जनरल वेंच के मामले में यह बात साफ हो गयी है इसलिये इस चीज भी आप को देखना चाहिये और सार देश में उन पर निगरानी रखनी चाहिये।

अंत में मैं एक बात कहना चाहूँगा लंच टाइम हो गया है इसलिये मैं शीघ्र अपनी बात समाप्त करना चाहूँगा। कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने टेरोरिस्टों के साथ बातचीत करने का सुझाव दिया है लेकिन मैं इसके पक्ष में नहीं हूँ जब तक एक वातावरण न बने सरकार को ऐसे लोगों के साथ बातचीत नहीं करनी चाहिये। जिनके परिवार के लोग मारे गये हैं उनकी क्या स्थिति होगी यह सोचने की बात है। जो लोग हत्या करते हैं उनसे बात करने के बजाय अगर आप जनरल जिया या रीगन से बात करें तो वह अच्छा है क्योंकि वही उनको ट्रेनिंग देकर भेजते हैं और उनका हेड क्वार्टर वहाँ पर है। लेकिन उनसे बात करने की स्थिति अभी तक नहीं बन सकी है। अंत में, मैं फिर सरकार से अनुरोध करूँगा कि यह सिर्फ ब्युरोक्रेट की तरह स्टिरियोटाइप स्टेटमेंट है जो कई बार पेश किया गया है, सिमिलर टाइप का स्टेटमेंट है। अब पोलिटिकल विजडम लगा कर इस समस्या के निदान के लिये आप स्टेटमेंट रखिये। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): The House now stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M. today.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-six minutes past one of the Clock.

The House reassembled at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock. The vice-Chairman (Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): The Finance Minister will now lay on the Table Supplementary Demands for Grants.

## SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL) FOR THE YEAR 1986-87 (NOVEMBER 1986)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXPENDITURE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI B. K. GADHVI): Madam, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants (General) for the year 1986-87 (November, 1986).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Now we will continue with the Calling Attention. Shri Vajpayee.

## CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE—

The situation in Punjab

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : महोदया, गृह मंत्री ने अपने वक्तव्य में यह स्वीकार किया है कि अक्टूबर महीने से आतंकवादी कार्यवाहियों में अचानक वृद्धि हो गई, लेकिन उन्होंने इस बात पर प्रकाश नहीं डाला कि इस वृद्धि का कारण क्या है अगर आये दिन सामूहिक हत्याएँ पंजाब में खेल बनेंगी तो फिर यह आशा करना कि स्थिति सुधर रही है और सुधर जायेगी, दुराशामात्र होगी।

यह कहना भी ठीक नहीं है कि चूंकि सुरक्षा बलों ने आतंकवादियों के इर्द गिर्द अपना घेरा कसा है, इसलिये वह निराशा से उन्मत्त होकर अपनी गति-विधियों में तेजी ले आये हैं। जो तेजी आई है, वह एक योजना के अंतर्गत है, समझ वृद्ध कर कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं, चुन चुन कर लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, साथ ही सामूहिक हत्याएँ भी हो जा रही हैं।

डाइरेक्टर जनरल रिबरो के नेतृत्व में सुरक्षा बलों ने अच्छा काम किया है। उसमें पंजाब पुलिस भी योगदान है, लेकिन रिबरो के कथनानुसार ही अभी

तक "ए" ग्रेड के एक तिहाई आतंकवादी पकड़े गये या मारे गये हैं, दो-तिहाई बाँकी हैं। बी प्लस ग्रेड के भी बड़ी संख्या में आतंकवादी अभी तक चंगुल में नहीं आये हैं।

मुझे लगता है कि आतंकवादियों की संख्या बंद रही है और रिबेरो साहब उस बढ़ती हुई संख्या का कोई हिसाब नहीं रख रहे हैं। आतंकवादी पाकिस्तान से बड़ी संख्या में आ रहे हैं, इस तरह के समाचार हैं। सरकार इस दावे के बावजूद कि सीमा को सील करने के लिये कदम उठाये गये हैं, उनका आना रोक नहीं सकी है। मैं इस विषय पर बाद में आऊंगा।

इससे भी गंभीर बात यह है कि पिछले कुछ महीनों में पंजाब में जो राजनीतिक स्थिति बिगड़ी है उसके कारण नये नौजवानों को आतंकवादियों की श्रेणी में शामिल होने का प्रोत्साहन मिला है। अकाली दल में फूट पड़ी है, जो अलग हुए वे दरबार साहब में पुलिस भेजने के एक नाजुक मामले को मुद्दा बनाकर अलग हुए। जब श्री बादल साहब से पूछा गया था कि आप अगर मुख्य मंत्री होते और आतंकवादी गुरुद्वारों को अपना एक अड़्डा बनाते तो आप क्या करते? उनके पास कोई उत्तर नहीं था। लेकिन उन्होंने इसको एक मुद्दा बनाया और फिर वह इतनी दूर तक चले गये कि जो आतंकवादी हैं उनके साथ खुले आम जुड़ गये। हत्या करने वालों के भोग में शामिल होने लगे। इससे पंजाब का वातावरण बिगड़ा और रिबेरो के करे धराये पर बहुत कुछ अंश में पानी फिर गया।

पंजाब सरकार ने भी डील दिखाई। यनाइटेड अकाली दल के नेता सारे पंजाब के गांव गांव में जाकर जहरीला प्रचार करते रहे, हत्यारों की तारीफ करते रहे, उन्हें सरोपे देते रहे। प्रधान मंत्री जी की हत्या करने की खुले आम धमकी देते रहे। लेकिन उनका खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई। उन्हें पकड़ा

नहीं गया। जब यह मामला पंजाब में उठाया गया तो कहा गया कि यह टि-डडीदल की फौज है, इसको निकल जाने दो। वे जहाँ-जहाँ गये जहर के बीज बोते गये, आग की चिंगारियाँ फैलाते गये।

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में विशेषतः गुरुद्वारों में बड़ा घातक प्रचार हो रहा है और रागी, गायक उसमें लगातार रात दिन लगे हुए हैं। दुर्भाग्य से देश के शहीद बंट गये हैं। बसों में विप्लव प्रचार हो रहा है। जब अकाली दल में फूट पड़ गई और एक धर्म से जुड़े हुए सवाल को लेकर पड़ गई तो राजनीतिक वातावरण और बिगड़ा।

मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है और मैं इस मामले में गृह मंत्री जी से दो टूक जवाब मांगूंगा। इतना कहना काफी नहीं है कि हम पंजाब की सरकार को पहले भी मदद दे रहे थे और अब भी मदद दे रहे हैं। तो फिर हालत बिगड़ क्यों रही है? या आप भी संतुष्ट हैं कि हालत सुधर रही है? महोदया, यह कहने का कोई अर्थ नहीं कि आतंकवादी भाग रहे हैं। जब आतंकवादी निर्दोषों को मारते हैं तब हमारे गृह मंत्री को भाग कर जाना पड़ता है। हम लोग यहां दिल्ली से जाते हैं। आतंकवादी तो पाकिस्तान से भारत में आ रहे हैं, शहरों से गांवों में जा रहे हैं और जिन क्षेत्रों में वे सक्रिय नहीं थे, वहां वे अपनी गतिविधियाँ तेज कर रहे हैं। आतंकवादी कभी एक जगह पर बैठा नहीं करते। उनका स्वभाव है, चरित्र है चलना, वे डरे नहीं डालते, किले नहीं बनाते। हम इस खामख्याली में न रहें कि आतंकवादी भाग रहे हैं। पंजाब में स्थिति बिगड़ी है और केन्द्र इस जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकता।

मैं सीधा-साधा सवाल करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या केन्द्र बरनाला सरकार को रखना चाहता है या नहीं रखना चाहता? बरनाला का अपना बहुमत नहीं है। वह कांग्रेस पार्टी के बहुमत पर टिके हैं। भंडार साहब सदन में नहीं हैं। वे कह रहे थे कि इस सदन में पंजाब के संबाल पर एक अवार्ज में बोला जाना चाहिये।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

मैं भंडारे साहब से कहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस पार्टी स्वयं एक आवाज में बोलने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। पंजाब की कांग्रेस कुछ कह रही है, केन्द्र के नेता कुछ कह रहे हैं। मेरे पास एक वक्तव्य है; गुरदासपुर 10 नवम्बर, पंजाब प्रदेश ईका के अध्यक्ष बेअंत सिंह ने बरनाला सरकार पर सत्ता में बने रहने के लिय राजनीति के मौलिक सिद्धांतों को बलि चढ़ाने का आरोप लगाया है। बेअंत सिंह ने कहा है कि बरनाला सरकार बिना पंखों के उड़ने की कोशिश कर रही है। उन्होंने कहा कि अब तक 700 व्यक्ति आतंकवादियों का शिकार हो चुके हैं। उन्होंने इस आरोप को दोहराया कि कुछ मंत्री आतंकवादियों को शरण दे रहे हैं। फिर श्री बेअंत सिंह ने यह भी कहा कि हम कोई जम्मू काश्मीर की तरह पंजाब में मिलीजुली सरकार नहीं बनायेंगे अकालियों के साथ क्योंकि कांग्रेस एक धर्म निरपेक्ष पार्टी है और उसका किसी सांप्रदायिक पार्टी से गठजोड़ नहीं हो सकता। पता नहीं, अगर बेअंत सिंह मुस्लिम लीग पार्टी को सांप्रदायिक पार्टी मानते हैं या नहीं मानते? हैदराबाद के म्युनिसिपल कारपोरेशन में इतिहादुल मुसलिमीन के व्यक्ति को मेयर बनाना और उस इतिहादुल को अपना समर्थन देना उन्हें कहाँ तक ठीक लगता है?

नेकि मैं जानना चाहता हूँ, केन्द्र का नीति क्या है? क्या बरनाला को हटाने का फैसला हो रहा है? जो खबरें आ रही हैं, उससे पंजाब में एक राजनीतिक अस्थिरता पैदा हो रही है। स्वयं बरनाला साहब विवक्षित हो गये हैं। क्या आप सरदार बलवंत सिंह को लाने की सोच रहे हैं, जिन्होंने पाकिस्तान के साथ कोरीडोर बनाने की बात कही थी। सरदार बलवंत सिंह और श्री अर्जुन सिंह जो कि केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल में आ गये हैं कहते हैं, उनमें गहरी छान रही है। या आप किसी और को लाना चाहते हैं। क्या अमरेन्द्र सिंह की तरफ आपको नजर है?

गृह मंत्री महोदय के बयान में एक वाक्य ऐसा है, जो अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से उनकी तारीफ करने वाला है। उनके बयान की मैं भी तारीफ करूँगा, अगर वे बादल से अलग हो सके, अच्छी बात है। अगर आतंकवाद से लड़ने वाले सब इकट्ठे किये जा सके, तो हम उसका स्वागत करेंगे। मगर इसमें देर नहीं होनी चाहिए जम्मू काश्मीर की तुलना में पंजाब की स्थिति अलग है। मामला लटकाइये मत। अगर मामला लटकेगा तो आतंकवादियों का हौसला बढ़ेगा, प्रशासन की हिम्मत पस्त होगी। आप आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ जो लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं, उसकी ओर दूर तक आपको लड़ना पड़ेगा। क्या केन्द्र को कोई पंजाब नीति है?

दूसरी बात मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान से आतंकवादी आ रहे हैं, यह हम बरसों से सुन रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान का नाम लिया जा रहा है कि पाकिस्तान हथियार दे रहा है, पाकिस्तान ट्रेनिंग दे रहा है। मैंने श्री चिदंबरन का एक जवाब देखा है। उन्होंने कहा है कि हम नौ अवसरों पर पाकिस्तान का ध्यान खींच चुके हैं। अगर कोई उनसे पूछता कि अब आप आगे क्या करेंगे? तो वे कहेंगे कि हम दसवें अवसर की प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं। आखिर यह सिलसिला कब तक चलेगा? वैसे रिबेरो साहब ने जो कुछ कहा है, मैं चाहूँगा कि गृह मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान उस ओर जाय। उनसे जब पूछा गया पाकिस्तान की लिप्यता के बारे में, तो उन्होंने कहा कि पाकिस्तान छोटे हथियार दे रहा है और अब उन्हे जानकारी मिली है कि पाकिस्तान हथियार बेच रहा है। मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से चाहूँगा कि आपके पास दस्तावेज हैं, आपके पास सबूत है, हमें विश्वास में लीजिये, पाकिस्तान के मित्रों को वह दस्तावेज और सबूत बताइये, पाकिस्तान को बेतकाब करिये, पाकिस्तान से दो टूक बात करिये कि अगर आप आतंकवादियों को हथियार और ट्रेनिंग देने का सिलसिला बन्द नहीं करते तो आपके साथ सम्बन्धों को सामान्य

प्रधान की बातचीत नहीं चलेगी। क्या सरकार यह नहीं कर सकती ?

एक बात में यह जानना चाहता हूँ महोदया, कि पिछले अधिवेशन में बड़े जोर जोर से हमारी देशभक्ति को ललकारते हुए संविधान के अनुच्छेद 249 के अंतर्गत एक प्रस्ताव लाया गया था और उस प्रस्ताव पर भाषण करते हुए हमारे गृह मंत्री महोदय ने बड़ी मर्मस्पर्शी बातें कहीं थीं, उन्होंने सारा दोष दूसरों पर डालने की कोशिश की थी और यह कहा था कि इच्छाशक्ति की कमी है। मैं उनके शब्द उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ।

"There has to be a political will, there has to be a determination, and there has to be an adequate organisational set-up in the field itself which is committed, which is prepared to die for the security and integrity of the country. It is that thing which is lacking."

वे प्रदेश सरकार की ओर इशारा कर रहे थे। इसलिये केन्द्र ने कहा कि हमें विशेष अधिकार चाहिये, हम सीमा को पूरी सख्ती से सील करना चाहते हैं, हम पुलिस के, प्रशासन के, अदालतों के, जेल के मामले में कुछ अधिकार लेना चाहते हैं। उसके लिये कुछ विरोधी दलों ने सरकार का साथ नहीं दिया, मगर हमने साथ दिया था और हमारे दल के सदस्य श्री जसवंत सिंह ने भाषण करते हुए कहा था कि हम आपको अधिकार दे रहे हैं, अब आगे बहाना मत बनाना।

गृह मंत्री महोदय ने भाषण में और भी बातें कहीं। उन्होंने जो प्रश्न उठाये मैं उन्हें उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ :—

"My three questions to the leadership of the opposition are: Are they aware that a situation exists which is of national importance? My simple question is this. Are they convinced that there is a situation which is of national importance in the border areas? Secondly, there is such a situation, are they satisfied that the manner in which the situation is presently being tackled

is satisfactory, and, thirdly, if not, then what is the avenue left? Are we to be spectators? Are we to be standing and watching innocent people being butchered day in and day out, people being driven out from their hearths, people being sent out of the State? These are the three questions. Unfortunately, no hon. leader of the opposition has answered these questions."

आज मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से केवल एक सवाल पूछना—संसद् से आप जो अधिकार चाहते थे, वे आपको मिल गये। अब किसकी कमी है? किस की खामी है? प्रश्न पूछा गया था कि अनुच्छेद 249 के बारे में क्या हुआ? जबाब दिया गया कि हम राज्यों से सलाह कर रहे हैं, हम विचार कर रहे हैं। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि मामला गम्भीर नहीं है, तुरन्त फैसला करने की जरूरत नहीं है। जब सरकार यह अधिकार मांग रही थी, हमने सरकार से पूछा था पंजाब की सरकार अगर साथ नहीं देगी तो आप क्या करेंगे? हमें कहा गया था कि पंजाब की सरकार के बावजूद देश की रक्षा के लिये अगर कदम उठाने जरूरी होंगे तो उठाये जायेंगे। लेकिन आज कहा जा रहा है कि बरनाला सरकार नहीं मानती। बरनाला सरकार आपके वोटों पर टिकी हुई है। बरनाला सरकार से आप अपना समर्थन वापस ले लीजिये, बरनाला सरकार गिरती है तो गिरने दीजिये। लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता कि बरनाला सरकार इस बात को नहीं मानेगी। मगर संसद् से अधिकार प्राप्त करने के बाद पांव उठाने में आपके पंजों में पसीना आ गया। अगर कहीं इच्छाशक्ति की कमी है तो इस सरकार में कमी है, दिमाग साफ नहीं है। पंजाब में फिर से शोटे बैठाई जा रही हैं, पंजाब को फिर से दलगत और दल के अंदर भी गुट की राजनीति का मोहरा बनाया जा रहा है। यह खेल कब तक चलेगा ?

महोदया, कुछ और भी सवाल हैं, जो मैं उठाना चाहूंगा। बार बार यह बात कही जाती है कि हमें पंजाब में

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

आतंकवादियों को अलग-थलग करना चाहिये। इसके लिये जरूरी है कि पंजाब के समझौते पर अमल किया जाये। मैं मूढ़ मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहूंगा, प्रधानमंत्री जी की विदेश यात्रा में जब एक स्थान पर उनसे इस बारे में पूछा गया, तो उन्होंने कहा कि पंजाब समझौते को लागू करने में हमने इसलिये ढिलाई की है क्योंकि बरनाल सरकार स्वयं नहीं चाहती कि तत्काल समझौता लागू किया जाय। क्या यह बात सच है? सच है तो फिर बरनाला सरकार को सफाई देना होगी। 26 जनवरी को अगर चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को दे दिया जाता, तो मुझे आपत्ति नहीं होती। 15 अगस्त तक नहर बन जाना चाहिये थी, वह नहीं बनी है। लेकिन मैं आज आतंकवाद और पंजाब के समझौते को लागू करने का मैं सीधा कोई संबंध नहीं मानता हूं। अगर समझौता पूरी तरह लागू कर भी दिया गया, यद्यपि समझौता अन्तर्विरोधी है, उसमें परस्पर विरोधी बातें हैं, जल्दबाजी में किया गया समझौता है और हरियाणा की राजनीति पर नजर रखकर उस समझौते को लागू करने का बल केन्द्र सरकार जुटा पायेगी, मुझे इसमें संदेह है, लेकिन मैं यह बात कहना चाहता हूं कि यदि समझौता लागू भी हो गया तो बादल गुट कहेगा कि हमारी मांग आनन्दपुर प्रस्ताव को लागू करने की है, उससे कम पर समझौता नहीं होगा और आतंकवादी अलग बातें कहेंगे उनका एक कट्टर गुट है, जो खालिस्तान के साथ जुड़ गया है, उन्हें कैसे वापस लाया जायेगा? मैं अपने मित्रों से सहमत हूं कि जोधपुर जेल में जो बंदी हैं दो साल से और जिन पर मुकदमें नहीं चल रहे हैं, जिन को कोई सजा नहीं मिल रही है, उन में जो निर्दोष हैं उन को छोड़ दिया जाना चाहिये और जो अपराधी हैं उन को सजा मिलनी चाहिये

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती कनक मुखर्जी):  
आप को 15 मिनट हो गये हैं। अब आप समाप्त करें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय पंजाब का मामला है और आप जानती हैं कि हम लोग उस के साथ जुड़ हुए हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती कनक मुखर्जी):  
फिर भी संक्षेप में कहिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : श्रीमों के डेजरट्स का भी सवाल है। जो श्रीमों से भागे उन को डेजरट्स कहा गया, म्युटिनस नहीं कहा गया। उन के बारे में क्या स्थिति है? बरनाला साहब ने दावा किया है कि कुछ डेजरट्स भी छोड़े गये हैं कितने छोड़े गये? जोधपुर जेल में बंदी लोगों की क्या स्थिति है? मैं चाहूंगा कि गृह मंत्री महोदय इस संबंध में सदन को विश्वास में लें जो पंजाब से निर्वासित हो कर आये हैं दिल्ली में भटक रहे हैं उन के लिये सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया है। वह एक विस्फोटक पदार्थ है। उन को शान्त रखने की आवश्यकता है। अन्य प्रदेशों से सिखों का पंजाब में जाना रोका जाना चाहिये। रंगनाथ मिश्र कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित करने की मांग की गयी है। मैं उस मांग में अपनी आवाज मिलाना चाहता हूं। मैंने तो सुना है कि रंगनाथ मिश्र कमीशन की रिपोर्ट राष्ट्रपति महोदय तक को नहीं दिखायी जा रही है। मैं नहीं जानता कि इस में कहां तक सच्चाई है। लेकिन अगर रिपोर्ट सच है और अगर उन्हें ही नहीं दिखाई जा रही है तो हम लोग किस मुह से मांगें। लेकिन दिल्ली के दंगों में जिन के हाथ खून से रंगे हुए हैं वह पंजाब की समस्या का सफलतापूर्वक समाधान कर सकेंगे इस के बारे में मुझे संदेह है। दिल्ली के दंगों के लिये किसी को दोष लेना पड़ेगा। किसी को सजा भुगतनी पड़ेगी।

जब कभी हम पंजाब में जाते हैं और हिन्दू सिख भाई चारे की बात करते हैं तो हमारे मुंह पर कुछ सवाल मारे जाते हैं। यह पूछा जाता है कि इंदिरा जी की हत्या के बाद जब सैकड़ों सिख वहां मारे जा रहे थे तब आप कहाँ थे। हम तो अपने ढंग से उसका जबाब दे

देते हैं क्योंकि हम हत्यारों में शामिल नहीं थे लेकिन यह सरकार जरूर कटघरे में खड़ी है। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि आप ने दंगों की जांच के लिये कमीशन बनाया, देर से बनाया और उस को ठीक तरह से काम नहीं करने दिया, लेकिन अब उस की रिपोर्ट को दबाइये मत।

सीमा पर जो लोग मारे जा रहे है, जिन के बारे में "फ्रेक एन्काउन्टर" की बात कही जा रही है उस पर भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। मैं डाइरेक्टर जनरल रेबेरो की बात कहना चाहूंगा कि सीमा पर जो कुछ हो रहा है वह बांडर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स कर रहा है। वे उस से संबंधित नहीं हैं। उनके कथनानुसार पुलिस पर निर्दोष लोगों को मारने का आरोप नहीं लगाया जा सकता। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि डेरा बाबा नामक में जो लोग मारे गये वह सचमुच में पाकिस्तान से आये थे। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि अगर ऐसी घटनायें होती है तो उस में जांच करने में केन्द्र को आपत्ति क्यों होनी चाहिये। कभी-कभी सुरक्षा बल भी ज्यादातियां कर सकते है। पंजाब बीसी परिस्थिति में ऐसी कुछ ज्यादातियां हम समझ सकते है, लेकिन अगर उन को इस की आदत पड़ गयी तो आतंकवाद को दबाने के साथ साथ आप एक नये आतंकवाद को प्रोत्सहन देंगे। इस बात को भूलना नहीं चाहिये। धन्यवाद।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE):** Mr. Kulkarni, Please take five minutes only.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra):** This is the misfortune to go behind a tall leader and argue my own case. Actually I thought I would get more time because this is like a maiden speech. In the last two sessions, I could not speak on Punjab because of our expert on Punjab sitting there. But I gave him the chance. But I said let me take some time myself. I am not going to take more time; I am also not going to

give any verbose arguments also and I will go point by point; it will be like an examination paper.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Another batchelor's speech!

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:** I am one with many of my friends who have argued the case on this side. I am myself convinced. That is why I pleaded with Mr. Aurora to let me put up my viewpoints because I also represent a certain section of the people in Maharashtra. Madam, we have come to the conclusion that this country will not be free from violence unless the Punjab problem is solved. The question whether it should be solved politically or otherwise is best left to the Government because they have got all the information. As Mr. Buta Singh said in reply to one question, Pakistan is purchasing arms from the U. S. A. on the one side and on the other diplomatically, they are infiltrating into this country, through various sources, Sikhs, Pakistanis etc. That is why, I say we should stand as one nation and we should fight the terrorists.

Madam, I am not going into the history at all. As I said, I will go point by point. While asking the people and all political parties to stand as one, I would like to point out that there are many irritants. I would request the hon. Minister. It is very necessary that these irritants should be removed. I really felt that the Prime Minister really meant business right from the day he assumed office, the way he went about business right from the day he assumed by the Assam and Mizoram settlements. I am still of the view that the Prime Minister has got an honest assessment and he is taking, he is going to take, steps for the betterment of the country, which is based on honesty, more honesty than politics. While having this faith, I am really surprised when I see what is happening. You have the Punjab accord. If you had taken part by

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

part of the accord and tried to implement the accord, it would have given strength to Mr. Barnala in dealing with the terrorists. Perhaps, the elections in Haryana are weighing on your mind, Mr. Buta Singh, though you may not straightaway reply to me. This has not brought any credit to you or to the Prime Minister who has created such an impression in the country about his honesty. As I said, Madam, the Punjab accord should be implemented part by part. You should take early steps. You need not wait for the outcome of the Haryana elections. Whether you win or you do not win, you know how to bring in people. Our great friend is there. I do not want to take his name. He can bring in many MLAs from other sides to your side. He is an expert in that. You know about aya rams and gaya rams. Mr. Buta Singh, you believe in him and he will bring in your Government. Therefore, on that account, do not try to avoid taking political decisions.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:  
Is he also working on you?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: He does not have to move much.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: As you know, young and amateurish elements have been issuing statements. But it has not come up to my level. My level is a different one.

I agree with what Mr. Vajpayee has said about the persons detained at jodhpur. This is an irritant. You should have a case by case study. Why are you not doing it? For the last two years, they are suffering. I discussed this matter with some of my friends. I met one General Thorat in Kolhapur. I was discussing this question with him. He said 'Mr. Kulkarni, on no account, indiscipline in the military should be tolerated. whether he is a Sikh a Hindu or a Madras or a Maharashtrian.' I am one with that. But those innocent people may be Granthis, may be

devotees, should be let off within 15 days so that a proper atmosphere will be created. It seems to me that an undeclared fight—now it is a declared fight—is going on between the Central Government and the terrorists supported by Pakistan 3.00 P.M. and the Western countries.

Mr. Home Minister, in this fight Mr. Barnala is a junior partner. He is just depending on your party's political support and my friends are right when they say so. Even Mr. Barnala has stated that he is bringing some MLAs to meet the Prime Minister, to ask him whether he is going to support him or not. Mr. Home Minister, you are an experienced politician. Do you feel that such a shaky Chief Minister, who is seeking support of your party, will be able to deliver the goods or administer a State? It is impossible. So, I think in this fight you must see that Mr. Barnala is supported. It is not a question of one or two or six divisions. It is the moral of Mr. Barnala which has to be strengthened.

Mr. Home Minister, I want to ask another question. Many of my friends have expressed their opinion about Shri Badal and Shri Tohra. Badalji was a moderate person. How he has gone to that side. I just want to ask this question. I know Mr. Barnala. He is a gentleman. I know him for the last four to five years, right from the Janata party. I told him, you might be a gentleman but you are not a politician. Politicians are of different ilk, they have a manoeuvring capacity, they have a different sort of character. So, why did you leave Mr. Badal and Mr. Tohra. I can understand about Mr. Tohra. I know his history, he has always been a manoeuvring and manoeuvrable person, but I had hopes in Mr. Badal. It is just a chance that he has gone on that side and such elements have to be given a chance to come back and rehabilitate themselves.

Mr. Home Minister, I could not follow one thing. You know all about the recent meeting in Golden Temple

Amritsar, where all damn nonsense was talked about and neither Mr. Barnala nor you in the Central Government could do anything. It was just said that it is a State subject. I just want to know what has happened to Mr. Barnala? When people are raising anti-Indian slogans, when they are talking any damn nonsense which is against our very blood, why can't Mr. Barnala take any action? It seems Mr. Home Minister, Mr. Barnala could not do anything because he is politically weak. Mr. Barnala has to be politically strengthened, that is the necessity of the day.

Lastly, I want to make a point about Mr. Rebeiro who is doing a valient job. Such police officers are rarely to be seen. He has stacked his own life. He is carrying out a national duty. It is not a duty towards the Central Government or the State Government, but a national duty that he is performing. I do hope that Mr. Rebeiro, his deeds and his police force will always remain in the hearts of the people of this country because he is doing a national duty.

Madam, I have raised these points and I do hope that Mr. Home Minister will favour me with a reply to these points.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN** (West Bengal): Madam Vice-Chairman, I am one of the last speakers and I will try to be brief and precise.

Madam, this issue of Punjab has been debated in the House for the last four years and I do not know how long we will be discussing this issue on the forum of Parliament and elsewhere. I would just like to draw the attention of Shri Buta Singh to the three lines of his statement, where he says:

"I request the hon. Members to join me in condemning terrorism and in my appeal for the restoration of peace and harmony in Punjab."

I do not think there is any Member in this or that House who will not join in condemning terrorism or who will not desire restoration of peace and harmony in Punjab. Everybody desires it, but the problem is, who to restore peace and harmony in Punjab? Sir, immediately after coming into power, Shri Rajiv Gandhi concluded the Rajiv-Longowal Agreement. Everybody in this country supported this agreement. But about two years have passed and the Accord has not yet been implemented. I do not want to recount the shameful and sorrowful stories about how Government went on instituting one commission after another, went about the futile exercise of instituting commissions, getting reports and sitting over them. All these stories are known to everybody. My point is, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister how long this will go on. I would like to know from the Minister whether the Government is at all serious and sincere about the task of implementing the Accord. Mr. Bhandare from the Congress benches has said that it is the sacred duty of both the parties who have signed the Accord to get it implemented. Now Government is the bigger partner. What is the attitude of the Government in implementing this Accord? Now every body in the Government has forgotten about the Accord. Now they are looking at the problem as a law and order question. The present law and order situation has not grown all at once. It has a source. The source is the demand of Khalistan. The Accord was signed for that very purpose—that if the Accord is implemented, the people of Punjab will be on our side and the Khalistanis and terrorists will be isolated. Instead of isolating the terrorists from the people, the Government is delaying implementation of the Accord and as a result I feel the situation is aggravating day after day. Madam, I would like to know from the hon. Minister what is the actual time schedule and modus ope-



[Shri Sukomal Sen]

randi of implementing the Punjab Accord which was signed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal who laid down his life for that Accord?

Now about the Akali Government, here Mr. Buta Singh has said: "Government have lent full support to the State Government to curb terrorism and it will continue to do so." I agree that the Central Government has provided para-military forces and other forces to the Akali Government for curbing terrorism. But that is one part only. The other part is, what about political support? Political support means implementation of the Accord, as I have already mentioned. I have seen that while different political parties of Punjab have joined together in the calls for bandhs and strikes and in organising demonstrations and rallies against the killings and other acts of terrorism, the Congress Party has been backsliding. They are not joining in facing the people. The other political parties are facing the people; their workers are being killed; but the Congress Party as a political force is not really joining all those rallies to face the people and tell them how to curb terrorism and promote communal amity. They are not coming forward. Only providing para-military forces is not sufficient, they should also come forward and lend them political support. Without political support the Barnala Government will not be in a position to curb terrorism.

Another point I would like to know is, here the hon. Home Minister has said that misuse of places of worship should not be there. Now everybody knows that the Golden Temple has been the seat of all the political activities by the Akalis and also by the terrorists. Mr. Bhandare from the Congress benches has also said that there should be a differentiation between politics and religion. Our party is of the view that there should be a definite difference between politics and religion. But unfortunately in our country politics and religion are

mixed together. This is not only in Punjab but every where. We find that when the Congress Ministers visit different States, they go to a temple, they go to a mosque, they go to a church and plead for votes. So they themselves are mixing politics and religion. Now, Madam, in Europe and other Western countries these two things were differentiated two hundred years back. But in our country even after 40 years of Congress rule, this Government could not differentiate between religion and politics. They themselves mix the two things. So why blame the Akalis alone that they are using the Golden Temple for political purposes? The Government themselves should be careful about this difference between religion and politics.

The last point, Madam, is about Pakistan's involvement. Every time Government talks about Pakistan's involvement. We also firmly believe that Pakistan, a stooge of American imperialism, is behind this conspiracy. They are harbouring terrorists, training them, arming them and sending them into Punjab to commit terrorist acts. Whenever our Government talks about Pakistani involvement, at the same time the Pakistan Government's spokesmen vociferously deny their involvement in these activities. Now we believe that Pakistan is there; we firmly believe it. I think everybody in India believes that Pakistan is behind it. But since they are in the Government, they must be having definite proof, they must be having definite documents about it, some photographs of the terrorist camps or some documents which will genuinely prove that the Pakistani hand is there. Now when before the world Pakistan denies that they have no hand in it, that they are not involved in it, I would like to know from the honourable Minister why the Government is not coming out with full facts before the world and why they are not telling the world that this is the document, this is the photograph

about Pakistani involvement in Punjab. Then the world can know that Pakistan is definitely involved in it. Then, not only the Indian public opinion but international opinion also will go against Pakistan. But, instead of doing that, the Government is simply uttering the words that Pakistan is involved, Pakistan is helping and aiding the terrorists. I think now the time has come to do this. I also demand of the Government that Government should come out with a White Paper giving all details about Pakistani activities, their involvement, their complicity in the affairs of Punjab in aiding and abetting the terrorists of Punjab in arming them, training them and harbouring them in all their activities, should come out with documents and other photographs which the Government is possession of and place them before the world so that the people of the world can know what Pakistan is doing. I hope Mr. Buta Singh will give me concrete answers.

Another point is about the migration of people. He has also said that migration of people is taking place. I think migration is taking place from both sides. Some people from Haryana and other places are going over to that side. On migration, one honourable Member raised the point about the people who were killed after Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination. Their families are to be given some compensation. As yet nothing has been given except some bank loans. So, they are suffering I would also appeal to the Government that they should come out with generous grants so that the people who suffered after Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination are properly compensated because this will also assuage the feelings of the people who lost their kith and kin. I hope the honourable Home Minister will give me a categorical reply.

Thank you.

**SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN** (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, at the very outset I would like to say

that we are second to none in condemning terrorism in unmistakable terms. At least, in violence there is a justification, there is an element of heroism and there is a display of valour, but we must all know that in terrorism there is only an element of cowardice and we condemn this.

Coming to this kind of a statement by our honourable Home Minister, I would like to say that this looks more like a military dossier than a civil agenda. I have my own reasons for this. The honourable Home Minister says that on the request of the State Government, para-military troops have been sent and the Punjab police have also been supplied with the latest equipment. This is all good for tackling an immediate problem of terrorism. But I say this looks more like a military dossier for the simple reason that from the very beginning of this debate, starting from Mr. Gurupadaswamy, almost all Members have reiterated that this is not an administrative issue, this is not a law and order problem at all. But from the statement what we find is that the Home Minister speaks again and again of sending para-military troops and equipping the Punjab police with the latest devices and equipment to deal with the situation there. This only goes to prove that the Central Government believes, the Home Minister believes, that the problem in Punjab is only an administrative issue or a law and order situation. I would like to ask a very pertinent question here: Does he not think that it is not merely an administrative issue or a law and order problem at all? This statement goes to prove that we are fighting only the mosquitoes while the backwaters remain intact, we are only treating the symptoms of the disease, but the disease is still there, it continues, because the rot has already set in. We are always seeking, we are always finding solutions to the consequences, and we never treat the cause. I would like to ask a very pertinent question. He says:

[Shri Valampuri John]

"The pressure mounted by the law and order machinery had resulted in the decline of terrorist activities in the recent past."

And immediately contradicts his own statement by saying:

"However, there was a spurt in the terrorist acts in the month of October, 1986."

How is it possible, Madam Vice-Chairman? The Home Minister says:

"The pressure mounted by the law and order machinery had resulted in the decline of terrorist acts in the recent past."

He hastens to add:

"However, there was a spurt in the terrorist acts in the month of October, 1986."

If October 1986 is not a recent past, what else is the recent past? Why has then contradiction been brought in. It is here that the shoe pinches.

I would like to say this. He has not added anything further to the press reports which are already available. He says:

"There was a spurt in the terrorist acts in the month of October, 1986."

But is it not his responsibility to say why there was a spurt in the terrorist activities in the month of October. For why at least there was an increase in the terrorist activities in the month of October, 1986, can he not assign at least one line answer, one line reason?

Certain Members have said this in the House. I do congratulate. I have great salutation for the valour, heroism displayed by Ribeiro, the Police Chief of Punjab. But I would like to remind the hon. Home Minister that this Police Chief of Punjab makes more statements than the Chief Minister, Mr. Barnala, himself. Not only does he make more statements, but on most of the occasions he has contradicted the Chief Minister himself. I quote you one example. Very often the Centre's case is that Mr. Barnala,

on assuming the charge of the Chief Minister, released 2,000 persons from the prisons, and so there was a rise in the terrorism. This is the Centre's case. But Mr. Barnala, the Chief Minister has denied this in many of his interviews. In many of his public utterances he has said that it was not so. But Ribeiro in most of his interviews, press releases, has maintained to say that because of the release of the terrorists, the prisoners, there was a rise in the terrorism in Punjab. So, I would like to know whether the Punjab Police Chief is representing the interests of the Centre or he is reverberating the sentiments of the statement of the Chief Minister, Mr. Barnala.

When the Home Minister says that there was an increase in the terrorist activities in the month of October, the whole nation knows for certain that terrorists were correlating this kind of increase in the terrorist activity with the mass riots of October as well as November in Delhi and the rampages in Kanpur as well as Bokaro. Because they relate this, we should know for certain that your problem of tackling these terrorists is not there in Punjab. You can kill terrorists, but the terrorism will continue because the problem is elsewhere. They give you to understand that there is an increased activity on the part of terrorists only in the month of October which you have accepted because they give you to understand that you have not healed the wounds of 25 thousand Sikh families here and elsewhere. So, the problems are not lying there. While accepting that the problems are not lying there, you are not taking this problem seriously to solve it effectively and positively.

Again the statement says:—

"A number of infiltrators indulging in terrorist acts have been apprehended. Government is aware (the Home Minister concedes) of Pakistan's involvement and its ulterior motive in helping terrorists."

There are press reports and there are reliable reports also that the Pan-

this Committee had recently sent Rs. 25 lakhs to Pakistan to fetch arms. And the very funniest part of this is that Pakistan has condemned these terrorists; they have accused them, "You have not been using the weapons we have supplied as we wanted." There is the "accusation" also. The funniest part of this is this. Moreover, a sten gun which was available for Rs. 1,000 for some of the people from the Panthic Committee and terrorists six months back is now available at Rs. 6,000. When such an information is available, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether this Government has registered any kind of formal protest with the Pakistan Government. If it has not protested, why? I am asking only the information. "The migration of families from Punjab came down substantially in the months of September and October and we expect the Punjab Government to take further steps to contain the migration." If this is not contradiction what else is contradiction? A draft on such a very fiery thing like the Punjab issue has not been drafted properly, because you said the migration of families from Punjab came down substantially in the months of September and October. While in the first page you say in the month of October there was a spurt in terrorist activities, but after this on the second page you say migration was under check. It came down. How is it possible? Even to the sense of the common man, he can very easily understand there is a self-contradiction, because you maintain to say by the statement that while there was no increased activities from the terrorists, there was migration, but when there was intense activity from the terrorists this migration was under-check. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister why there is a contradiction. How does he substantiate that in the month of October when there was increased activity from the terrorists, migration was under check?

Again he has said "They have been espousing the cause of terrorists by

making unfounded allegations about killings of innocent persons by the Police." When you make such sweeping generalisations; I would like to ask our hon. Home Minister, does he mean to say that the Police does not kill any of the innocent persons anywhere in its operations?

I would like to read with your permission only a small passage from the SUNDAY OBSERVER. This goes to prove how the situation prevails in Punjab as far as the civilians are concerned. Quoting an incident to highlight his reasoning he talked of a mother's reaction towards her son while drinking water from the Bhakra Dam, the day it was breached and the police sent in large numbers to interrogate the youth. The annoyed mother told her son, "the police is arresting our children and taking them away. You will die if you do not drink this water now."

This is the situation with the civilians there. While we are with the Government in condemning terrorism and we stand by the Government in combating this kind of acts of violence and terrorism, at the same time, like other Members, I would like to drive home the truth that a solution is not there with more and more para-military troops and new equipment with the police.

With this you will be killing terrorists, but terrorism will continue because you know for certain that solution is not there in Punjab; solution is elsewhere. You have not healed wounds of the Sikh families yet. You have not set a political will. That goes to prove that you are not really interested in solving this problem.

**SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-RA (Punjab):** I first spoke about the Punjab on 22nd July, 1986. The Home Minister was upset about what I said. He could not follow whether I spoke as President of the Sikh Forum or as a Member of the Akali

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora]

Party. Today I would like to clarify to the Home Minister that I spoke then and I speak today as an Indian. The subject under discussion is a national problem and whatever be the colour and hue of one's political sensitivities, the national well being of the country must come first. On 22nd July, I had said that to bring about permanent improvement in the situation in Punjab, mere coercive measures are not enough. You have to win the battle of the mind. And for this political and economic measures must be undertaken.

I am sorry to say that in the last few months, the Central Government has been singularly reluctant to look at the overall dimensions of the problems. If it is hoping to eradicate terrorism by suppressive measures only, all I can say is that it suffers from myopia.

I had an opportunity of meeting Baba Amte yesterday. He had come back after his fourth visit to the Punjab and after visiting 64 villages. His impression was that the younger generation in the Punjab today is more rebellious than they were during his last visit. Now, this is something that you have to take note of, because he is not a politician. The other thing he said was both Hindus and Sikhs are greatly disappointed in the Government for not taking any political initiative. They expected the Central Government to take political initiative and practically everywhere there has been a demand as to why the detenus in Jodhpur are not being released. My hon. colleague, Mr Vajpayee has said about this in this House today and Mr Baldev prakash, BJP President of Punjab has also said about this in Amritsar three days ago. We have to bear in mind the legacy of "Operation Blue Star" and legacy of the carnage that took place in November, 1984. After "Operation Blue star" there was a "Woodrose operation". If nothing is done to assuage the feelings of people which

I think our hon. friend who just spoke before me has put it accross more than adequately, then you are not going to find an answer to the Punjab problem. Carnage of November, 1984 cannot be wished away. Every effort has been made by the Government to make it into a non-event. We would like to know what was it in the Mishra Report. To hold up action against the guilty of November, 1984 carnage is criminal. In fact, the Government stands condemned in the public eye for having failed to first protect the innocent and now it is failing to give justice to the victims. As I said earlier, even the compensation which has been paid to the victims is terribly tardy and very miserly.

I must make a mention about the innocent killings. There was a hue and cry about 10 people who were killed near Dera Baba Nanak. I am not saying that they were picked out from their houses and killed. Possibly they were coming from Pakistan and they were killed. They were practically unarmed. Here was a situation which seemed to have gone like a wild fire in the whole of Punjab when I visited the State. What the Punjab Government wanted to do was to have an enquiry, but there was a hue and cry from the Centre saying that if you have an enquiry the morale of the B.S.F. would suffer. Are we going to deny people justice? If B.S.F. has not done anything wrong, an enquiry would have proved them innocent and there would have been peace and calm in the whole of Punjab. If they have done something wrong they must be punished. Why an enquiry should not be held in a situation like this? There are a couple of other cases, where the Punjab Government felt that the police has gone beyond the limit. In fact there were certain excesses, but when they decided to institute cases against those people, they were transferred out of Punjab and their whereabouts were not told to the

state. The point that I am trying to make is that the Government has to win over peoples confidence. To them justice is supreme and everybody should feel that they will get the same treatment or same justice. I am sorry to say that this Government has failed in this regard from 1984 onwards. It is, therefore, imperative that the centre must do things so as to reestablish its credibility with the Sikh public and with the public at large. It is only the most effective way of weaning away the public from the terrorists. Today, there is more sympathy in Punjab with the terrorists than it was two or three months ago because of certain things that have happened and the Government has been reluctant to inquire into these and prove whether those things were right or wrong and that is no way of solving this problem.

I would like to mention now about the relationship between the accord and the terrorism. It is quite true that there is no direct relationship between the accord and terrorism because terrorist has not accepted the accord. But if the accord had been implemented speedily and sincerely, it would have got the public on the Government side as opposed to getting them on the terrorist side. This plays an extremely significant part which in this case did not.

I think it is unfair to blame Barnala saying that he did not want Chandigarh to be transferred at that stage. A situation was so created that Mr. Barnala was told that the decision about 25,000 extra acres will be given within 36 hours. Based on what? How could he go back and satisfy his people that this 25,000 acres were really Hindi speaking and were not Punjabi speaking and should rightfully go to Haryana. Now, if you create a situation like that and later on, blame the Chief Minister,

what are you Sir? In fact, I said previous so that apart from verbal sympathy and a whole lot of police effort Mr. Barnala has had no political support from the Centre whatsoever. I admire him the way he is carrying on to do his duty sincerely, honestly and loyally for the sake of the country but it is no thank to the Centre, the way they have mishandled him and the way they have seen how to make him unpopular.

I would suggest, before I finish, to everybody here and more to the Government, to read the article written by Rustam Ji in the Hindustan Times of last Friday. I think he has appreciated the situation in Punjab beautifully and he has also suggested how you can set about to put it right. What is required really is sincerity and honesty on the part of the Government and not being over-burdened with the concern how the next election is going to be won in Haryana. Thank You.

**SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA**  
(West Bengal): Madam, it is unfortunate that he has not condemned terrorism downright in his speech.

**श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) :** मैडम, मुझे बहुत ज्यादा इस पर नहीं कहना है, क्योंकि वक्त आपने कम ही देना है। मैं सिर्फ मोटी-मोटी बात कहना चाहता हूँ, वह यह कि यहां कहा गया कि लोंगोवाल जो पैकट हुआ था उसको गवर्नमेंट सिसियरल आगे नहीं ले गई।

... (व्यवधान) मेरी अर्ज यह है कि जो लोंगोवाल एकोर्ड है, सिसैरिट में आइम मिनिस्टर ने किया है इस बात के लिए कि वहां नार्मेलसी लाई जाए। हालात खराब थे। ये सारी पार्टियां मिल कर, जो आज डिस्टेंड्स बने हुए हैं, गवर्नमेंट में हैं, बाहर हैं, कहीं हैं, ये सारे ही पहले क्या करते थे वह भी हमें पता है, मैं उस बात पर नहीं जाना चाहता कि जसी गुरुद्वारे से क्या होता रहा है और ये सारे लोग क्या करते रहे हैं वह लंबी बात

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

नहीं कहना चाहता। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि तीन-चार मोटी बातें थीं। चंडागढ़ ट्रांसफर करने के लिए बिल्कुल कह दिया था कि हम चंडागढ़ का ट्रांसफर करेंगे। लेकिन मैं यह बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस हाउस में कोई ऐसा दोस्त है हमारा आन्टरेबल मम्बर, जो यह कह सके कि हरियाणा को हिस्सेदारों चंडागढ़ में नहीं है? जब यह पंजाब इकट्ठा था तो उस वक्त कहते थे कि पंजाब इकट्ठा है, जब डिवाजन हुई तो डिवाजन के बाद न वह रिपेरियन स्टेट रहा और न उसको हिस्सेदारों चंडागढ़ में रहा। कौन मानेगा यह बात? हिस्सेदारों के लिए जो कमोशन मुररर किया गया हिस्सेदारों देने के लिए कि 70 हजार एकड़ जमीन मिलनी चाहिए हरियाणा को, उसमें मुझे पता नहीं कि यह कहाँ को बकालत साखा हुई है, जो आज वहाँ पोजीशन में हैं। कमोशन फैसला करता है कि 70 हजार एकड़ जमान देनी है और वह कहते हैं कि 45 हजार तो अमां ले लो और 25 हजार हम बाद में देंगे, जब बाउंड्रीज का एडजस्टमेंट होगा। फैसला आज है और आज का फैसला कल लागू होता है। उसके बारे में तो कह रहे हैं कि फिर देखा जायेगा। इस 25 हजार एकड़ के बारे में फिर देखा जाएगा। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि बार्डर जो है उसमें कंबोडा के बारे में क्योंकि वह पंजाब स्पीकिंग था और इसने माना कि नए सिरे से शुमार हो जाए, वह नए सिरे से शुमार हुआ, सैलैज हुई उसमें तो एक गांव के लिए कहा कि हम ट्रांसफर नहीं करेंगे क्योंकि कंबोडा पंजाब में है और पंजाब स्पीकिंग है, इसलिए हरियाणा में नहीं ये दो हिस्से जा सकते। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह बात आप क्यों नहीं मानते कि हरियाणा को हिस्सेदारों उस चंडागढ़ में था और जिसके बदले में उन्हें जमान देना था। कंबोडा के बारे में कहा कि पंजाब स्पीकिंग है। राइट को डिवाइड। लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि आज कोई इतने बैंग है कि आज मुनाफदा है, जो यह कह सके कि जो 45 हजार एकड़ जमान देना चाहते हैं उनमें पंजाब

स्पीकिंग गांव नहीं है। तो फिर यह कहाँ का दलोल है कि बाकी 25 हजार एकड़ जो देना है उसमें पंजाब स्पीकिंग आयेगे और हम दे नहीं सकते। आज 70 हजार का फैसला कमोशन ने किया है। यह 70 हजार देना पड़ेगा। यहाँ प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा था। इसलिए आज चंडागढ़ को डिमांड उन्होंने छोड़ दी है और कहा है कि चंडागढ़ में हम इन्टरेस्ट नहीं हैं। उसके बाद बार-बार यह कहते हैं, देखिए अखबार भां नहीं देखते, लेकिन बात करके देखिए। कहते हैं कि न इन्टरेस्ट है हरियाणा जमीन लेने में और कोई कहता है कैपिटल चाहिए उसके लिए पैसा चाहिए और वह कहते हैं कि हमें चंडागढ़ नहीं चाहिए, हम जमान भां नहीं देंगे। तो फैसला तो उन्होंने करना है। इसमें प्राइम मिनिस्टर और उनको नायत पर शक करना मैं समझता हूँ कि सिवाय इसके कि एक गलत बात को ले जाना और कुछ नहीं है।

पानो का मामला है। कितने बयान है। पहले चाफ मिनिस्टर ये सदा बर बादल साहब जिसको सब कहते थे और प्रापोजीशन को पार्टियां भां कहता थीं कि बड़े नामंज से आदमी हैं, माडरेट जिसको कहते हैं। आज माडरेट का हाल देखा है कि कहाँ खड़ा है? उसने कहा था कि हम खून बहा देंगे। पहले यह कहते थे कि यह माडरेट हैं। उस माडरेट ने आपोजीशन में होकर यह कहा था कि हम खून बहा देंगे लेकिन साना का एककतरा भां हरियाणा को नहीं देंगे। हमने कहा कि आप न तो खून बहायेंगे और न हिस्सेदारों को रोक सकेंगे मुझे यह नहीं कहना कि पाकिस्तान कैसे नखर डाल सकता है, यह बात तो अलग रहा। लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि जो हिस्सेदारों हरियाणा का है, वह हिस्सेदारों देना पड़ेगा। उसके लिए इरेडा कमोशन का फैसला जो होगा वह दोनों ने माना हुआ है कि उसे हम मानेंगे। . . . (व्यवधान)

पर्यावरण और वन मंत्री (श्री भजन लाल) : राजा लेकर जमीन एकदमर की। . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री दरबारा सिंह : आप मिनिस्टर है। आप न बालिए तो अच्छा बात है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि इरेड कमिशन के फैसले का इंतजार क्यों नहीं करते? हाँ, जल्दी होना चाहिए। यह कहना कि यह इसलिए किया जा रहा है कि हरि-बाणा के इलेक्शन आ रहे हैं। क्या कल-परसों आ रहे हैं? वक्त मुकर्रर नहीं हुआ। केरल में इलेक्शन होना है या दूसरे सूबों में इलेक्शन होना है इसलिए रोक रहे हैं, यह बात गलत है। कमीशन जो बैठे हैं वह फैसला करेगा और वह दोनों सरकारों को मानना चाहिए। इसलिए जो लोग कहते थे कि एकादश पानी का नहीं देंगे वह सरकार में बिठा दिए गए... (व्यवधान) आप किसको खुश करना चाहते हैं। मुझे कहने दीजिए। मैं अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि यह सवाल मैंने एकादश का किया है जिसको हमारी पार्टी ने, जो सत्ता में है एक्सेप्ट करने से गुरेज नहीं किया। मैं अकालियों के कम्युनलिज्म के खिलाफ हूँ। कम्युनलिज्म मेरे गले नहीं उतरता। सारा सपोर्ट वरनाला को दिया जा रहा है। वह कौन दे रहा है? गलत बात है कि गलत तौर पर अपोजीशन को बैठा कर गलत ध्वादोशुमार दिए गए कि कितने लोग मरे हैं, मारे गए हैं। हमारे अजीज दोस्त ने कहा कि वहाँ बहुत मारे गए हैं। वह तो प्यूडलिज्म की लड़ाई है, जमीन की लड़ाई है, गरीब आदमियों को मारते हैं और जब गरीब आदमी मुकाबला करता है और उसमें मारे जायें तो वह नार्मल काइम में आता है। नार्मल काइम और टैररिज्म में फर्क नहीं निकालेंगे तो गलत बात होगी। अगर आप उलट कर कहते हैं कि नार्मल काइम टैररिज्म है तो गलतबयानी करते हैं। (समय की घंटी) मैडम, अभी तो मैं बोलूंगा।

कहा गया है कि जोधपुर से लोगों को छोड़ दिया जाये। बेस कमेटी ने जिस आदमी को छोड़ा था उनमें से आप को मारा गया है वह सीड करने वाला आदमी था।

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH  
AURORA: On a point of order. I would like to know from the honourable speaker whether killing poor people is not terrorism, State doing injustice is not terrorism, but only in Punjab it is terrorism.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: I think he will have to learn more because he is a new Member to this House.

मैंने अर्ज किया कि जोधपुर के बारे में कहा गया कि लोगों का जो वहाँ हैं छोड़ दो। कौन सम्भालेगा, कत्लगाह फिर बनाएंगे। जिनके खिलाफ केस नहीं बनता, जिन्होंने कत्ल नहीं किया, उनको छोड़ दिया जाये, उसमें एतराज नहीं। एतराज यह है कि आज जिन आदमियों को गवर्नमेंट में बिठाया हुआ है उनके आदमी वे हैं जो 5-7 कत्ल करके कारपोरेशन के चेयरमैन बने हुए हैं। क्या यह गलत बात नहीं है? बहुत बातें हैं जो मैं कह सकता हूँ। जो लोग बाहर से आते हैं उनको पैसा और जमीन, दूकान सब कुछ देते हैं और 60 करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया है। उन गरीबों पर क्या खर्च किया है जो वहाँ घर छोड़ कर दिल्ली या चंडीगढ़ और दूसरे सूबों में बैठे हुए हैं। उनको वापस बुलाओ। इनको वापस भेजो। जो एफवटेड हैं उनको उन सूबों की गवर्नमेंट सम्भालेगी। आप कौन सम्भालने वाले हैं? हिन्दू-सिख का रिश्ता मत तोड़ो। टैररिज्म वे लोग करते हैं जिनके दिमाग में फंडा मेंटलिज्म है, कम्युनलिज्म है। रिलीजन और पोलिटिक्स को अलग कर देना होगा। गुरुद्वारा, मन्दिर, मसजिद में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं करनी चाहिए जिससे पोलिटिक्स हो। पोलिटिक्स के लिए बाहर बहुत जगह है। आप पोलिटिकल पार्टी बनायें, मुकाबला करें, वोट लें, किसी को छोड़ें, किसी को रखें, लेकिन यह कहां लिखा हुआ है कि गुरुद्वारे में बैठ कर आप प्रचार करें और वहाँ पोलिटिक्स की बात करें। इस लिये धर्म और पालिटिक्स को अला-व्हाद करना होगा और धर्म में आप पालिटिक्स ला कर उस को खराब म



[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

करें। पहले कहते थे कि अच्छा किया है। हम उसके साथ हैं। गुरुद्वारे से उन्होंने निकाला है कुछ लोगों को। इस में हमारे से जो मदद होगी वह हम और सेंटर देने के लिये तैयार है। जितना रुपया उन को दिया गया है हमारे समय में, वह प्लान पूरा नहीं हुआ था (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप पोलिटिकल पार्टी बनाइये, कोन रोक रखा है आप को ?

श्री दरबारा सिंह : आप मेरी बात सुनिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती कनक मुखर्जी) : 15 मिनट हो चुके हैं। आप खत्म करिये।

श्री दरबारा सिंह : मैं दो मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ। फौजी साहब यहां बैठे हैं। मैं उन की इज्जत करता हूँ। मैं ने डेजरटर्स के बारे में कहा ही नहीं। वह तो इंडियन आर्मी है। जब उन्होंने कहा कि वे इंडियन हैं तो मुझे सुन कर बड़ी खुशी हुई। लेकिन फिर भी आप फिरकापरस्ती को बढ़ावा देते हैं। हम को उस झगड़े में मत फंसाइये। मैं उसी को इंडियन समझता हूँ कि जो अब से पहले अपने को इंडियन कहे। कोई आप से पूछेगा तो आप पहले कहेंगे कि मैं सिख हूँ। अपने नाम के पीछे भी आप ने अरोड़ा लगा रखा है। हम जात पात और दूसरी तमाम बातों में फंसे हुए हैं। इस लिये अगर आप इंडियन हैं तो इंडियन आर्मी के साथ इंडियन की तरह से व्यवहार कीजिए। इंडियन आर्मी में न सिख आर्मी है, न हिन्दू आर्मी हैं, न जाट आर्मी है। यह सारी की सारी इंडियन आर्मी है। इस लिये डेजरटर्स के साथ वही व्यवहार होना चाहिए तो एक इंडियन आर्मी के पर्सनल के साथ होता है। एक लफ्ज भी उन्होंने टेरोरिज्म की मुखालिफ्त में नहीं कहा। पाकिस्तान

यह सब कर रहा है। वहां से उन को मदद हासिल हो रही है और उस के लिये यहां प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने और हमारे होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि उसके लिये हमारे पास सबूत तक मौजूद हैं। (व्यवधान)

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-  
RA: May I say one thing? (Inter-  
ruptions).

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: I do  
not yield; I do not give way. (Inter-  
ruptions).

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-  
RA: Calling myself Indian, I think,  
is total nonsense... (Interruptions).

श्री दरबारा सिंह : यह सारी चीजें हैं जो मैं इन सब को खोल कर रखता अगर वक्त मेरे पास होता। वक्त का तकाजा मेरे सिर पर है। बाद में आप से बात करूंगा। लेकिन अर्ज यह है कि डेजरटर्स की बात भी यहां नहीं कही गयी टेरोरिज्म को कंडम नहीं किया गया। यह टेरीरिज्म कहां से आता है? अकेले पाकिस्तान से नहीं आता। यहां जो लोग बैठे हैं उन के पास से भी आता है। बादल साहब हैं, वह कुछ नहीं करते इसके लिये। आप ने या किसी ने इस को कंडम किया है? बेंत सिंह की विधवा के गले में हाथ डालते हैं। यह क्या नेक काम किया है? और दो तारीख को प्राइम मिनिस्टर पर जिस ने अटैक किया उस के लिए कहते हैं कि हम उस को मेडिल देंगे। उस को आप जिन्दा शहीद मानते हैं। मेरे पास बहुत सा मटीरियल है कहने के लिये, लेकिन वक्त के तकाजे के साथ में अर्ज करता हूँ कि अगर हिम्मत हो और हिम्मत होनी चाहिए तो आप इकट्ठा हों और जो दूसरी पार्टियां हैं, प्रोग्रेसिव पार्टियां हैं, हम उन के साथ चलते हैं आप और हम देहातों और कस्बों में चल कर लोगों के हाथ जोड़ें कि वहां हिन्दू और सिख दोनों को

इकट्ठा हो कर रहना चाहिए और पंजाब को इकट्ठा रहना चाहिए। उस का विभाजन करने के लिये जो फोर्सज लगी हुई है उन का हम को मुकाबला करना चाहिए। आप लोग करते कुछ नहीं और सिर्फ तकरीर कर के अपने अपने घरों को चले जाते हैं। हमारे दोस्त बहुत दूर से आते हैं और यहां आ कर समझते हैं कि जितने फैसले प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने किये हैं ठीक किये हैं। मेरे एक दोस्त ने कहा कि एकार्ड का जो फैसला है वह नार्मलसी लाने के लिये है और उस को डिस्टेबलाइज करने के लिये जो ताकतें खड़ी हुई हैं उन को खत्म करने की हमारी कोशिश है। इसलिए मैं अर्ज करता हूं और अपील करता हूं कि आप इकट्ठा हो कर आये और इस टेरोरिज्म का मुकाबला करने के लिये तैयार हों और ऐसा कर के देश की मदद करें। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की नीयत साफ है लेकिन नीयत साफ नहीं है उन पार्टियों की जो तीन हिस्सों में बंटी हुई हैं। वे यहां भी हैं, उधर भी हैं, इधर भी हैं। उनकी नीयत साफ नहीं है। उनकी नीयत साफ करने के लिए आइए हम इकट्ठा होकर कुछ करें। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Now, the last speaker on this Calling Attention. Shrimati Amarjit Kaur.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Madam Vice-Chairperson, the holding of a "Shaheedi Samagam" within the premises of the Golden Temple on 31.10.86 by the self-proclaimed Panthic Committee is serious and alarming, in so far it appears that these three disruptive organisations of the AISSF, the Damdami Taxal and the United Akali Dal have, in collusion with the rabid extremists and terrorists who are guided by the present Government of Pakistan and the CIA of the USA, declared open war against this country and are bent upon destabilising the unity and integrity of our nation.

Madam, it is a matter of grave concern that these anti-national elements had managed to enter the premises of the Golden Temple right under the noses of the present Akali Government in Punjab and more so, under the present administration of the S.G.P.C., with no attempt made by either party to stop or even curb the activities of these anti-national groups. Is it, Madam, because they were afraid to come into direct conflict with these elements? Or was the S.G.P.C. thrown out of the Golden Temple and then such anti-national meetings held? What, Madam, is the reading of the Government on this incident, and what steps are being contemplated to prevent such incidents ever occurring again?

Madam, the holding of the 'Samagam' was well known to the Punjab Government and the S.G.P.C. at least three weeks in advance. It was also well known to them that hardcore extremists and terrorists were going to attend this function within the Golden Temple. These anti-national elements walked into the Temple, said their piece and walked out free men. 'Sarbat Khalsa' meetings were held, 'Hukamnamas' were doled out and ex-communications done with impunity as though the Golden Temple existed in some other country. This is a grave precedent allowed to be set by the present Akali Government and the S.G.P.C. This is the terrorists' last ditch stand, Madam, and the Government of India cannot afford to leave it now to the present Akali Government and the S.G.P.C. alone to tackle the situation as it stands today, since any weak-kneed attempts will shatter the unity and integrity of the country.

May I know through you, Madam, what steps the State Government and the S.G.P.C. have taken to assure that these places are not misused and their sanctity is preserved? So far we are not aware of any.

[Shrimati Amarjit Kaur]

The State Government has failed miserably to infuse confidence amongst the minorities, in the State, and I wonder how the Chief Minister clarified this point to the Opposition leaders when he met them last week. Also, is not the fixation of quota for allotment of houses to Sikh migrants from other States a step in tune with the desire of the protagonists of Khalistan?

Madam, the serious in-fighting amongst the Akalis has contributed tremendously to the aggravation of the situation in Punjab. The Home Minister has rightly pointed out in para 5 of his statement:

"It is unfortunate that some leaders of Punjab who profess to be secular and opposed to terrorism have been sharing platforms with and attending ceremonies of terrorists. They are participating in assemblages organised by terrorists and secessionist elements in which the assassins of Smt. Indira Gandhi and Sant Longowal are honoured..."

We have yet to see what salutary effect the advice of the opposition leaders has had on the Akalis. Madam, I was surprised to hear the opposition leaders accusing the Central Government of not extending full support to the Barnala Government to fight terrorism. This is far from the truth. Rather the Government has spared no effort to provide any help to the Barnala Government that it asked for. In the present situation, what is really called for is the demonstration of a strong will by the Barnala Government to tackle the situation honestly in the interest of the State and the country.

I conclude by appealing to my learned colleagues on the other side not to be swayed by all that Mr. Barnala says, but to ensure that he rises to the occasion and fulfils his

duties, and not betray the confidence that the people of Punjab reposed in him one year back.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Madam Vice-Chairperson, the House has discussed a very serious problem facing the nation in Punjab through the Calling Attention today. The hon. Members have expressed themselves with all sincerity bringing out the various facets of the situation that is prevailing in Punjab. The hon. Member who initiated the discussion today, Shri Gurupadaswamy, has not really gone into the depth of the situation. I have my respects and regards for him. But unfortunately he has relied more on the reports made available to him. The hon. Chief Minister came here and gave his version of the situation. That is one aspect. But when we see the thing in totality and analyse the factors which are aggravating the present situation, we find that the real facts are far more serious than the picture that Shri Gurupadaswamy Ji has sought to present before this House, followed by Shri Upendra and several other friends. Shri Vajpayee really focussed the attention of the House to those factors which are contributing to the situation in Punjab.

Before I come to the points raised by the hon. Members one by one, I would like to say something on a few general observations made by the hon. Members. I agree that it cannot be tackled purely as a law and order situation and also that it is not only the Administration which should be the forum to tackle this. A lot of things other than the Administration of the State have to be mobilised. By all means, I agree with these two general observations. But to make them oversimplified is also not a correct approach to the whole situation. When we say that it is not only a law and order situation, we mean that there are factors beyond law and order. Most of the hon. Members have mentioned one

factors and that is the implementation of the Punjab Accord. I will deal with it a little later.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. P. Kaushik) in the Chair].

Firstly, I would like to inform the House about the forces which are abetting, aiding or helping the terrorist tendencies in Punjab. General Aurora, towards the conclusion of his speech, has made one fact known to the House and that is that the number of terrorists is increasing and that it is more than what it used to be. Now this being the

4.00 P.M. case, let us now analyse what are the forces, what are the factors which are helping the terrorists? It is no need now going through those difficult days, those arduous tasks that the national Government had to face and also the part that they had to play under the most difficult circumstances. It is very easy to criticise the Bluestar Operation, the Woodrose Operation and what not. But those who were responsible for bringing about the circumstances which led to these unfortunate things also have the responsibility towards the nation. Is it not a fact also that the entire resources of the SGPC were available to those factors and those elements and those forces operating from within the premises of the Golden Temple? And where are those forces now? What

is the role of those forces? Shri Darbana Singhji rightly mentioned that legally and constitutionally it is the responsibility of the SGPC which continues to be the custodian, if not in practical shape, to ensure more for the Sikh people's own safety that these premises, these holy precincts are not allowed to be used by certain elements who are out to destroy the unity of the country, who are openly getting support from the enemy of the nation. Unfortunately, before the Accord, even after the Akali Party came into power in Pun-

jab, this particular forum, the SPGC has yet to exhibit, yet to demonstrate that they really mean business, they really meant discharging their duties. Otherwise, there is no reason why, one after the other, the sammelans, the conventions, the Sarbat Khalsas every now and then are being allowed knowing fully well the people behind these various functions and various conventions. Is it not high time for the SGPC to come and pass a resolution unanimously, if not anything else, that henceforth these holy precincts will not be allowed to be used for the purposes, for the forces by the forces which are anti-national? I am sorry nothing of that kind has so far happened. Even in this last Sarbat Khalsa the condemnation has come by the five High Priests. But the SGPC has yet to pass a resolution. No responsible forum in the SGPC, whether the Executive Committee or the General House has even met on that. Now, I would like to pose a humble question to Gen. Jagjit Singhji, who happens to be the representative of the Akali Party, the ruling Akali party in the SGPC. I will come to the Government a little later. As a representative of the Akali Party, is it not one of his functions to bring it to the notice of the high command of the Akali Party that we are the ruling party in the SGPC, we should address ourselves, the SGPC must rise to the occasion? Sir, it is this kind of attitude on the part of the SGPC...

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURO-  
RA: On a point of order. I say the SGPC President, Shri Kabul Singh, has more than condemned this already. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please allow him.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have purposely brought that Kabul Singh's statement

[Shri Buta Singh]

into my statement. And if I read it again, it does not amount to condemnation in my own humble opinion. What has he said? He said that the only person who is authorised to call a Sarbat Khalsa is the Jathedar of the Akal Takht. Is that condemnation? What about the so-called Sarbat Khalsa which was held in the precincts of the Golden Temple itself? The SGPC Chief has not said a word. I should say, I owe to those five High Priests at least who have declared that none of the decisions taken will be applicable to the Sikh Panth. That is quite bold and quite emphatic and I appreciate that. But the forum which controls the affairs of the SGPC under the law has yet to come out. This is my contention, General sahib, and I am sure you will kindly share these sentiments with me and you will take it to the high command and tell them that this is their first and foremost duty. They are the trustees. It is squarely the responsibility of the SGPC to come out squarely not only to condemn this thing but also to see physically that no anti-social, anti-national element is allowed to enter the premises of the sacred Golden Temple. It was this callous attitude of the SGPC that resulted into that most unfortunate tragedy called the Bluestar. Therefore, Shri Auroraji and Shri Vajpayeejee mentioned it, yes, by all means the Accord must be implemented. But I have not come across any document upon which I can rely and see that the terrorists are also interested in the Accord. I think neither Aurorasahib nor Vajpayeejee has made it clear nor any of the hon. Members, the hon. leaders including Upendraji has mentioned it. As a matter of fact, they have nothing to do with Punjab. They have nothing to do with India. They have nothing to do with the Sikhs. They are playing as enemies and agents of enemies in our country and that must be condemned. I am sure, General Auroraji will definitely make haste to condemn these ele-

ments which are out to destroy the image of the Sikh people, image of the Sikh gurus, image of the high traditions of the Sikhs and these elements must be condemned unequivocally. No verbose statements need be made. No statement should be made in such a manner that they can also get some kind of a strength from the statements of some of the leaders in Punjab.

Shri Vajpayee wanted me to spell out the attitude or the policy of the Government of India and I have said it in very very clear terms in paragraph 7 and I reiterate: The State Government is handling a difficult situation and it should shed all inhibitions and summon every ounce of energy to fight the menace of terrorism. I am sure you have read this statement carefully.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:  
That is not enough.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: The Government have lent full support to curb terrorism and it will continue to do so. Therefore, there is no uncertainty.

AN HON. MEMBER: There should be political backing.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: So long as the Barnala Government is fighting a national enemy, is working for the promotion of national integrity, communal harmony, development of the State, yes our full support to that Government, by all means. But Sir, so many other factors were brought in. Now the case of Accord itself is there. Unfortunately the wording of the Accord cannot be wished away and also we cannot substitute it. Take any issue. There are three major issues. The territorial issue, the water issue and the canal issue, they are all there. The time schedule is given. Simultaneously, is the underlying factor. It cannot be done unilaterally. It has to be done bilaterally. It has to happen simultaneously. My hon.

friends made a very very simplified statement and said why not take 45,000 acres now and 25,000 day after tomorrow. I am sorry, Shri Upend-raji, you have not understood the findings of the Commission and you have tried to ridicule commission after commission. What can I do? It is given in this Accord itself.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-  
RA: At one stage you had agreed.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Never go by one-sided stories. Go by the Accord itself. An Award was given. It was accepted in the Assembly. After having accepted in the Assembly, then changes were made in the Cabinet meeting. Further changes were made in one letter. Then further changes were made in the second letter. And the biggest change was made in the last letter when it was said: We are not interested, please go slow. General Sahib would like me to tell the people that we forced the situation. I am sorry this is not the way of our functioning. Situations were not forced; accord was not forced. It is a voluntary accord signed with full knowledge, prepared with full knowledge; every word of it was discussed by both the parties. After having done that when it comes to implementation, you say only the plus points for me and minus points, no. You have to share the full responsibility. Pick up the courage; show the statesmanship. I do not think at the time of signing the accord, everybody was aware of Haryana elections. It is easy to say that this is all done for Haryana elections. Mr. Gopalsamy, I would like you to kindly visit Haryana and Punjab and only then you will realise the situation there. These narrow political ends are never allowed to come in the decision that would affect the life of the whole nation. Haryana has shown so much of generosity. Punjab must also accommodate and only then the accord could be implemented.

One hon. Member made a remark about our hon. Prime Minister having given a twist. No, it is not that. It was a statement of fact and that too in the context entirely different from which this is being quoted. Some question was put to the hon. Prime Minister as to why the accord has been going slow and the Government was being accused. He said, no, it is not true. Its slow pace has also been on the initiative of the Punjab Government. And what is wrong in that? On the other issue—the canal issue is there; water issue is there—there has been some progress. There has been some progress in the canal digging. We are much keen. The Punjab Government is in touch with us. We are trying that it should be speeded up. The work has been going on but much is desired to be done. Erady Commission is still sitting. All these things are time-consuming. All these things are to be gone into in the proper forum and in a proper manner as specified in the accord itself. On the other eight points, which seem to have become less important in the light of these three major issues, nobody has bothered. There has been implementation on these issues. On the Gurudwara Act, things have been circulated and the States are giving their opinion. All concerned organisations are involved in that exercise. and this exercise is going to be completed. As soon as it is completed, results will be known. The Government will take initiative on that.

On the other 7 or 8 issues which have been mentioned in the accord, action is being taken at various stages. If you want, I can read out from number 1 to 11. The first was compensation to the innocent persons. Punjab Government has intimated that it has taken action to make ex-gratia payment to the kins of those killed in the incidents of mob violence. About action by security forces or by terrorists in Punjab. relief is also being paid for the loss of movable and immovable property.

[Shri Buta Singh]

And this item stands implemented to my knowledge. On army recruitment, Ministry of Defence who had been addressed in the matter, have informed that all able-bodied citizens of the country, irrespective of caste or creed, continue to have the right to enrol in the army on the basis of merit and suitability. For administrative reasons, immediately after the mutiny following Operation Blue-star, recruitment only to Sikh Regiment had been suspended but was revoked in December, 1984. Recruitment of Sikhs into the army and services other than Sikh Regiment continues throughout and was never stopped. In fact, recruitment of Sikhs in the army has been much higher than their numerical proportions. Thus, this item also has been implemented.

Now, about enquiry into the November, 1984 incidents, Justice Ranganathan report has come to the Government. Action is being taken. As soon as formalities are completed, Government will take initiative in that also.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: After all, the enquiry is not for your benefit only; it is for the benefit of the country.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: If you know the working of the Government, you should know that the report has to be examined. Follow-up action has to be taken at various stages. After the whole exercise is completed, the appropriate fora are informed. It is not that you receive it and place it on the Table of the House.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Will you assure.....

SHRI BUTA SINGH: We are taking action on that. (*Interruption*). Then, rehabilitation of those discharged from the army. In a Press release dated 17th August, 1985, the Govern-

ment have clarified the position regarding the action against army personnel following the Army action in the Golden Temple. Nine hundred persons who were tried and given minor punishments have been rehabilitated within the Army. As said in the Press release, 237 discharged persons were to be recruited in the defence corps. Out of these 237 persons, 209 persons have since been enrolled and despatched to the training centres. Therefore, to a great extent, this has also been implemented. About the All India Gurudwara Act, I have already said. (*Interruption*)

Then, disposal of pending cases. The notification declaring the State of Punjab and Chandigarh as disturbed area under the Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special Powers Act has been rescinded since 24th July. The Terrorist-Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act has been amended. Therefore, this item has also been implemented.

Then, the seventh item, the territorial thing. The argument of the Punjab Government is that this 45,000 acres and 25,000 acres should be explored. During the course of the proceedings and in the course of arguments, Justice Venkataramaiah, on a representation, identified that 45,000 acres of land is traceable in the villages which are Hindi-speaking villages all along the border, not in one set of territory, but all along the border in two-three districts. This was a part of the arguments. It was not a part of the decision. He said, this has to be transferred not under 7.2, but under 7.4. The Punjab Government strangely picked it up and said 'Look, this is the area of 45,000 acres; you take it'. A thing which is not to come under 7.2 is sought to be included under 7.2, a thing which is a subject-matter of 7.4. Now, I would like to read for the benefit of this august House clause 7.2 of the Punjab accord. It has been very

very specifically mentioned therein that areas identified under 7.2 are different from the areas to be identified under 7.4. Therefore, how can you club the portion of the land which is to be identified under 7.4 and operate it under 7.2? Then, what is left to be decided under 7.4? Therefore, I would request Mr. Upendra and Mr. Gurupadaswamy to realise, to know, the intricacies. It is not that a piece of land from here is to be transferred to Punjab. The whole thing has to be analysed and has to be tackled in a manner which has been specified in the accord itself. It is not a workable proposition.

Then, one hon. Member, Shri Aurora said that only 36 hours were given. Very true. We were left with no option. There was an award, a time-bound award, to which the Punjab Government and the Haryana Government were a party. The judge had given the decision. It was not quantified. Punjab was not coming forward to quantify it. No other way was left with us. We wanted to have another judicial forum to quantify the decision which was given by Justice Venkataramaiah.

Therefore, under the advice of the hon. Chief Justice of India the forum was made available and what was to be done, whatever has been specified by the Justice Venkataramaiah Commission was to be only demarcated by Justice Desai. All the detailed documents produced before Justice Venkataramaiah by both the parties were made available to Justice Desai also. He invited the concerned parties, namely Punjab and Haryana, to come and assist him in defining that area which has been awarded by Justice Venkataramaiah. So, there was no hurry no force. This is the only legal course available with the Government of India and there should not have been the charge of discrimination against Government of India for undue haste because the date was given. On all the three occasions the date was indicated

by the Chief Minister of Punjab. First the date given was 26th January but it could not be possible for the reasons given by Justice Mathew himself in the report. Later on, when it was changed, again it was changed in consultation with the Punjab Government. It was further changed on a letter from the hon. Chief Minister. So, all these steps go a long way in establishing that the Central Government has been very very keen, we have been very eager to carry both the State Governments to reach a decision which is mutually agreeable, based on a decision given by Justice Venkataramaiah. I do not see any fault in that, I do not see any undue haste on the part of the Government of India. I should say that we again accommodated the hon. Chief Minister of Punjab when he said, if it is not possible within the specified date, I do not mind if it is delayed.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Can I interrupt? Mr. Home Minister, just now you explained about paras 7.2 and 7.4. In para 7.2 it has been clearly stated that some Hindi-speaking territories in Punjab will go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. The venkataramaiah commission has identified 45,000 acres as the Hindi-speaking area here and there. may be, not at one place but at different places. From where will the Punjab Government give 70,000 acres of Hindi-speaking area? The principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity, with a village as a unit, has also been made the basis of such determination. And in view of this condition of contiguity and linguistic affinity with a village as a unit, from where will the Punjab Government give 70,000 acres and why did the court of 'justice Upendra'. I would identify 70,000 acres?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not arguing a case in the court if 'justice Upendra'. I would actually read out to him the most relevant part of 7.2 para and that is the concluding line in addition to what he



[Shri Buta Singh]

has said. The most important part of para 7.2 is and I would like you to read with me:

"The work of the Commission will be limited to this aspect and will be distinct from the general boundary claims which the other commission referred to in para 7.4 will handle."

Actually, this is not meant for Justice Venkataramaiah, he could not touch para 7.4 (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Why did Justice Venkataramaiah go into para 7.4 when he was not supposed to deal with it?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: He just mentioned it. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: If he was to deal with 7.2 para only...

SHRI BUTA SINGH: If you cannot understand, I cannot make you understand. The simple thing is, he said that para 7.4 was not for him. He said that for that another Commission will have to be there. Therefore, how could the Government identify it. The award given by the Judge, a judicial authority, has to be identified and accepted by the concerned parties. Therefore, I was only analysing that. Let us not over-simplify the things. Now, no doubt, the political will is there and it will continue to be there. I agree with most of the hon. Members that we should try to remove the feelings of the hurt among the people of Punjab and Sikhs. But again it is also not one-sided affair. The Government of India is willing, the Punjab Government also is willing, but the second partner, the most effective partner, in this is the Akali Party, whether it is this group, that group or the other group. But it is Akali Party's preachings, Akali Party's propaganda which has taken the people away from the national feeling, if I am permitted to say so.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: But not outside Punjab.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Now what Mr. Vajpayee has said is very very correct. The kind of propaganda that United Akali Dal is carrying on from village to village is dangerous for the country, is more dangerous for the Sikhs. The kind of fundamentalism which is being preached to the younger generations is far more serious and it is the duty of every Akali leader having some faith in national unity to stand up and preach the proper, the right teachings and not sway the people out of the mainstream but bring the people into the mainstream. This is not the occasion for me to really dwell on the teachings of the Great Gurus but I just cannot believe that somebody can say that Sikhs and Hindus are different, are not one, because the entire teachings of Guru Granth Sahib are of all the Gurus and the sacrifices of the Sikh people are such that it is unbecoming of anybody to say that the Hindus and the Sikhs are different people. I should say that we should stop calling the terrorists as Sikhs and the victims as Hindus. They are the children of the same mother and father. The terrorists are the enemies of the country; they are the enemies of Sikh religion; they are the enemies of the Sikh people. Therefore they deserve no sympathy. Yes, the youth who have been misled by the wrong preachings must be brought back and the responsible leaders of the Akali Party must take it upon themselves as a duty to bring them back, not by singing praises of the murderers, not by citing stories which go a long way to pour hatred in the hearts of young people in Punjab but by evoking the most innermost sentiments of the Sikhs for sacrifice for the country, love for the humanity and the preaching of universal brotherhood given by Great Guru Nanak. Unfortunately that kind of realisation has not come. Only from incident to incident we have started living. If something happens, some of the Akali leaders condemn, some of them do not react and some of them react in a manner that it spreads that kind of hatred. It is high time that the Akali leadership of one hue or the other, should realise that if there is to be any unity among them, let there be unity on this—that let the nation know that we are patriots first and then anything else, which has been the history of the Sikhs. That is one single fac-

ter. Any number of accords will not match that kind of spirit and I am sure General Sahib who has himself been a great soldier of this country, who led a very victorious army, will take upon himself this task. I am sorry he misunderstood me the other day when I spoke. I asked him a specific question not to, in any way really, cast any aspersion. I was only requesting him that because he was speaking on the policies, either of the Akali Party or the Sikh Forum which has only one policy, that is service of the people, that is why I was asking him that when he spoke here, he gave more time to some of the ideas which were not shared in that spirit in which he spoke here by the Akali Party to which he has the honour to belong. Therefore I put that question and I was very satisfied when later on we met and exchanged ideas. I do not question his wisdom. He is far more wise, far more learned than I am. I am a rugged man from a small village, very poor. He had the opportunity of having high education. But one thing. I would like the honourable Members belonging to all the political parties, whatever their political affiliations, to stick together while speaking on an issue like this. The situation in Punjab does not really allow us to bring in political angles. The situation is far more serious, far more grave than our political perceptions. Therefore, I am appealing to all sections of the House kindly to have that kind of approach in handling the situation in Punjab. It is highly delicate, volatile. The sentiments of the people are sought to be involved. The terrorists are purposely using the religious cover while calling the congregations on the *bhog* ceremonies of those known terrorists who are killed in encounters with the police, and it is that kind of respectability which is helping the terrorists in increasing their strength.

One honourable Member asked me, what is the reason because I said that the terrorist activities increased in the month of October. Perhaps it was my friend, Mr. John, who said that there is a contradiction. There is no contradiction. Also I would like to briefly mention the reasons why in October there has been a sudden spurt. If you see very closely the reports of the Punjab Government and the Punjab

police, in their efforts in striking at the roots of the terrorists towards the end of September, they have almost picked up the entire so-called high command of the terrorists. There was Manveer Singh, there was Avtar Singh, there was Tarsem Singh—those who were the real commanders, and they had been brought nearly to a position where they were cornered and their sources were dried up. Then, suddenly, the forces which are helping these terrorists came to their rescue suddenly with money, arms and ammunition, and then they wanted to establish their superiority and they started hitting back. There were stray cases, a large number of killings, and the number of incidents also increased. This is how it has coincided my dear Mr. John. It is always like a battle. When you push the enemy, either he completely gives in or, as a tactic, when he is nearly eliminated, he strike with doubled force to make you realize that he is not finished. But let me tell you of the determination of the people handling the situation.

Mr. Ribeiro's name has been mentioned, and rightly so. He deserves appreciation from all sections of this House as of the people of the country for fighting a great national cause at his own risk. Thank God he was spared! But look at the design, look at the manner in which he was attacked. That is why there are doubts. But let me tell you, the same force which is working under the command of Mr. Ribeiro is capable enough. Almost all the major cases are now solved and I am sure, with the kind of leadership that Mr. Ribeiro is able to give and the cooperation that he is having from the men under his command, it will not be difficult for us. But the only thing is, so long as these forces which are moving in Punjab under the name of a religious party continue giving them shelter, our task will become more and more difficult. As soon as these parties and elements realize that the Government in Punjab is fighting the enemy of the nation, the enemy of the people of India and they help us in isolating the terrorists, it will not be difficult. I must mention here that Punjab, perhaps, is the only State where all the political parties, irrespective of their different viewpoints—the Communist Party

[Shri Buta Singh]

(Marxist), the Communist Party of India, BJP and Congress—are moving among the people. An honourable Member said that the Congress Party is not doing it. You have every right to criticize us. They have every right to criticise us. But if you look at the list of the people killed, I think the largest number of persons killed by the terrorists were Congressmen. But we are not hesitating, we are not afraid. The Congress Party, along with other progressive parties, is making the protection of the people of Punjab a public cause, a cause of their own existence. The Congress Party will not be found lacking. We will always be with the people shedding our blood, saving the integrity of our country.

Sir, the hon. Members wanted certain figures. Firstly, I would like them to believe that we will not spare any effort. According to the information, from October, 1985 to October, 1986 the number of people arrested were 1334; under the NSA, 44; the number of people killed are 421; terrorists, 69; policemen, 35. This shows that the battle is very severe. The number of policemen killed, the number of terrorists killed, the people killed also show that the Government of India is living up to the depth of the situation.

The hon. Chief Minister, perhaps, has briefed the Opposition leaders. I do not know whether he has said it or not. But since Shri Upendra says, I believe it. But never has a request come to us in writing. On the country, when this unfortunate thing happened in Khubban, I went there and met also the hon. Chief Minister, the Director-General of Punjab Police and other officers, I suggested that the same sector scheme should be extended to that area, which is operating in that sector which was earlier very difficult and in which now there is calm and peace because the striking force of our Punjab police and the para-military forces have routed out to a great extent some of the gangs of the terrorists. Therefore, they are trying to shift their areas to new areas from where they can easily operate. We hope that the same system will be extended to that area. Let me assure this august House that the Government of India will not lag behind.

Whatever force, whatever equipment, whatever resources are required by the Punjab Government or asked by the Punjab Government, we will extend.

And Shri Barnala is doing a national task, I must say, with all the pressures from his own party, and his own people who were with him yesterday, are not with him today.

One hon. Member questioned me why I praised Shri Amrinder Singh. I have praised his statement. You also did the same thing. And anybody coming out of that rut in which Mr. Badal and his colleagues have fallen...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:  
Are you thinking of replacing Mr. Barnala by Mr. Amrinder Singh?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Well, I have appreciated the spirit of his statement, and I must say to this House that we must pull out these people from that rut, whether it is Patiala or Badal. I would like to say that mos of them will come. I appreciated the spirit in which that statement was made. How far he is able to live up to that statement is a question. We will watch his performance.

But let us not jump at conjectures and things like that. The Government is resolutely behind Mr. Barnala who is doing a national task, and there is no deviation from it.

About the statements of our local leaders of the Congress Party, when they go to visit some of the victims, the innocent people killed, they are with the people. They have to represent the people before Mr. Barnala. If something goes wrong, it is their duty to represent to Mr. Barnala, and I do not think that they are doing anything wrong, and there is no difference between the approach of the Punjab Congress and the Government of India. They are also under the same national policy.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:  
Mr. Home Minister, your party in Punjab boycotted the meeting called by the Chief Minister. Is it the way to co-operate?

**SHRI BUTA SINGH:** If they are so disappointed by the things happening there, they have every right, why not? They can represent to Mr. Barnala.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Both the Congress (I) and Badal boycotted the meeting.

**SHRI BUTA SINGH:** Well, Vajpayee Ji don't really press me to say who is near Badal—whether the Congress (I) or the BJP. He was your champion here and he was your champion in Punjab twice, but I am not quarrelling simply because you are trying... I say your party also in Punjab along with other parties is joining. We are fighting a national menace. It should be fought in the same spirit and we should not try to see any political gain out of it. There is no political gain which we can achieve if we are able to really save the life and property of the people in Punjab, bring out the communal harmony among the people in Punjab and also rejuvenate the same sense of patriotism, dedication and love for the rest of the country. in the Punjab. If that is done, I think we have done the job. I am sure my colleagues here in this House will be one with me when I request them to condemn terrorism unequivocally and also stand up as a national force to fight the anti-national tendencies.

Terrorism has to be eradicated. It has to be eliminated. We will not shirk our responsibility in doing that. No cost is higher than eliminating the terrorism from the soil of Punjab.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE** (West Bengal): Since he mentioned the flanking movement of the terrorist, would he like to comment on a news item which has just now been published in the Daily Telegraph that the Dal Khalsa has extended its total support to Subhash Geishing for Gorkhaland. Would you like to make a comment on that?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK):** Please sit down.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN:** What about Pakistan's involvement? Are you prepared to issue a White Paper?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK):** Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora's remark that "it is a total nonsense" may be deleted from the debate.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Why?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK):** This is an unparliamentary sentence.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** No, Sir. Nonsense is permitted. Nonsense is not unparliamentary. I am in Parliament for the last 28 years. 'Utter nonsense', total nonsense, 'fantastic nonsense', Pandit Nehru used to say. It is not unparliamentary.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK):** If it is unparliamentary, then it will be deleted.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Pandit Nehru has said 'fantastic nonsense' many times.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK):** We will look into the records. If it is unparliamentary, then we will delete it, otherwise not.

**SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:** We hear so much of it from that side. How can you ban it?

**SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA:** Most of us talk nonsense most of the time. If you take objection to it, it is all right.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK):** Please don't repeat the word so many times. This is yet to be decided whether it is Parliamentary or not.

**THE INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1986.**

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE** (West Bengal): I was trying to find out to what extent I may extend my support to this Bill. I must confess, Sir, that I have failed and then I decided to leave it to Mr. Jha.