

[Shri Lal K. Advani]

that the said reports shall not be laid before the House of the People."

—"the House of the People", I emphasise these words. So, under this notification it is only the Lok Sabha that may be denied the Thakkar Commission reports. I do not know the rationale for this kind of indulgence by the Government. But I am very happy that Rajya Sabha at least is under no such embargo and therefore, through you, I would request the Government of India to place these very important Commission of Inquiry Reports of the Thakkar Commission before Rajya Sabha.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The notification is in conformity with the Act and the Section. The Commissions of Inquiry Act provides under Section 3(4) that the appropriate Government shall cause to be laid before the House of the People or, as the case may be, the Legislative Assembly of the State, the report, if any, of the Commission. Therefore, the only place where the report can be placed is the House of the People and the Legislative Assembly and it cannot be placed under this Section in Rajya Sabha unless it is placed in the other House. Therefore, there is no point of order....

(Interruptions)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: When I raised this point, I was aware that statutorily the Government is obliged only to place it in the other House, in the House of the People. The amendment of the statute also refers only to the House of the People. But then we have conventions which are not governed by Lok Sabha. In Lok Sabha no questions can be asked after a Minister makes a statement. But in this House the convention is that we ask questions in spite of objections. So far as the Chairman of this House is concerned, he has always upheld the conventions of this House. Now, as I said, it is the convention of this House to secure from the Government all re-

ports of Commissions of Inquiry. Even though there was no statutory obligation, these reports were always placed on the Table of the Rajya Sabha. I see no reason why the Thakkar Commission's Report should be denied to us, unless the Government feels guilty about what is contained in the Thakkar Commission Report. (Interruptions) I only want that the conventions of this House must be upheld.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are two aspects. (Interruptions). All of you please resume your seats. There are two aspects. One is a point of order. It is about the statutory requirement and whether it has been complied with or not. I have read out the relevant section and have said that the Report shall be laid only in the House of the People. Therefore, there is no breach of any regulation or rule or Act.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I said "Convention".

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no convention. The second aspect is the request. It is not a convention and there is no such convention. The request is noted here by the Minister and he will decide.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, what about the request?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has noted the request.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IM PORTANCE

The situation arising out of non-implementation of the Punjab Accord, the Terrorist Activities in complicity with Foreign Powers, the Migration of people from that State and the steps taken by Government to meet the situation

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the situation arising

out of non-implementation of the Punjab Accord and the terrorist activities in complicity with foreign powers resulting in the migration of people from that State and the steps taken by Government to meet the situation.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI BUTA SINGH): Sir, ..

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Sir, we have not got a copy of the statement that he is reading out.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We have not received them. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BUTA SINGH: We have already supplied and it is being circulated.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, as you know, the annexure to an answer was not available. Now a copy of the statement is not available. At least, Sir, you ask the Secretary-General to see that the papers are called for. Otherwise, we cannot work here. Without annexures, without papers, what can we do?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I too have not received a copy of the statement.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: I have already supplied it to the Secretariat, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not proper. The statement should be made available to the Members so that they can follow when you read out. Otherwise how can they follow? It is a difficult thing. (*Interruptions*). Now the Office is distributing it. Have all of you got the copies? All right. You can start now, Mr. Minister.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Sir, the violent and anti-national activities of the extremists elements in Punjab have been causing great concern. The Central Government is in constant touch with the State Government and is providing necessary assistance to deal with the situation. Intelligence and other information regarding terrorist activities is being shared with the State Government on a continuous basis. On the request of the State

Government adequate para-military force has been made available for internal security purposes in the State. The Director General of Police, Punjab, has been made responsible for proper coordination and exercises full control over the personnel of CRPF and BSF deployed in the State. He has been designated as Additional DG of BSF/CRPF for the forces deployed in Punjab and he has been provided adequate assistance at the officer's level.

The security arrangements on the borders have been strengthened to check infiltration and movement of terrorists across the border. Concerted anti-terrorist and counter terrorist operations have been mounted particularly in the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur.

The law and order machinery in Punjab has shown greater determination in recent weeks in tackling the terrorist problem. A number of extremists have been arrested and some have been killed in police encounters. A large quantity of arms and ammunition of various kinds has been recovered from the arrested terrorists.

Information about Pakistan's assistance to terrorists and their complicity in terrorist acts has become available through various sources including interrogation of persons apprehended at the borders on their return from Pakistan. This includes provision of arms, financial assistance, guidance and training to indulge in acts of terrorism. The matter has been taken up on several occasions both in writing and verbally with the Government of Pakistan through diplomatic channels.

On account of violent activities of terrorists a number of Hindu families have shifted either from rural areas to the urban areas within the State of Punjab or have moved to other States.

The Chief Minister of Punjab and I met the Hindu migrants in Delhi on 2nd July, 1986. The Chief Minister of

[Shri Buta Singh]

Punjab while assuring the migrants of their safety, persuaded them to return to their homes in Punjab. It has now been decided that Delhi Administration will provide lodging facilities until their return to Punjab is facilitated. The migrant families will also be given a suitable amount to meet their food needs.

In a letter addressed to the Chief Minister of Punjab on 4th July, 1986, I suggested that immediate steps be taken to instil a sense of security amongst members of the Hindu community so as to check their movement out of Punjab. I also requested him to depute prominent leaders of the State to persuade the families to return to their homes. The Government of Punjab and other concerned State Governments have been advised to review on a continuous basis the situation arising out of movement of Hindus and to take necessary steps to persuade such persons to return to their homes and also to ensure that no untoward incident takes place.

The Government of Punjab have informed that a number of steps have been taken to protect the lives and property of Hindus and to set at rest the apprehensions in their minds. These measures include deployment of additional companies of para-military forces, setting up of special squads in each district with the specific task of apprehending top extremists, deployment of CRPF in 33 focal points in Amritsar district and deployment of BSF in 75 focal points in Gurdaspur district.

Two Ministers of State of Punjab Government accompanied by senior Government officials visited Karnal in Haryana to persuade the migrant families to return to their homes. Prominent persons like the President of Punjab Brahmin Sabha have also been associated with these teams. The State Government have set up an All Party Committee headed by their Minister of

Agriculture for contacting the minority community families in the district of Amritsar. A similar Committee has also been set up in Gurdaspur district.

The Government is committed and determined to take all possible measures to ensure the security of lives and property of all the citizens.

The Government has been earnest in implementing the various items of the Memorandum of Settlement on Punjab right from 24th July, 1985, the date on which the Memorandum of Settlement was signed. The House is aware that 7 items have already been implemented. Action has been initiated to implement the remaining 4 items.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

The Chief Ministers of all States/ Union Territories have been requested to convey their views on the legislation in regard to the All India Gurdwara Act. As for the item regarding the sharing of waters, a 3-Member Tribunal has been constituted on 2nd July, 1986. Several steps have been initiated by the Central Government and Government of Punjab for expediting the construction of SYL canal. With regard to the promotion of the Punjabi language, the Ministry of Human Resource Development have taken a number of steps and a plan of action has been chalked out by them in this regard.

Regarding the item pertaining to the territorial claims, Mathew Commission was appointed on 20th August, 1985 to determine specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which shall go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. Since the Mathew Commission was unable to do so, the transfer of territories in terms of item 7.3 of the Accord could not be effected on 26th January, 1986. Following the Mathew Commission's report discussions were held with Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana and in the light of the above discussions,

a Commission consisting of Shri Justice E. S. Venkataramiah, Judge of the Supreme Court of India, was constituted on 2nd April, 1986. The Venkataramiah Commission submitted its report on 10th June, 1986. Immediately on receipt of this report, the Chief Minister of Punjab was requested to send his proposals specifying the 70,000 acres of land area in Punjab to be transferred to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh as recommended by the Commission. The Chief Minister of Punjab did not send his proposals in this regard and it was, therefore, decided to refer the question of specifying the territories consisting of about 70,000 acres to be transferred from Punjab to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh, to Hon'ble Justice D. A. Desai, retired Judge of the Supreme Court of India and Chairman of the Law Commission. A resolution dated 20th June, 1986 was notified and Hon'ble Justice Shri D. A. Desai was requested to submit his recommendations specifying the areas to be transferred from Punjab to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh, not later than the forenoon of 21st June, 1986. This time limit was fixed keeping in view the resolve of the Government to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab and the areas in lieu thereof to Haryana simultaneously within the set deadline. Subsequent to the resolution dated 20th June, 1986 referring the matter to Shri Justice D. A. Desai, the said resolution was amended on 21st June, 1986, as per text settled in consultation with the Chief Minister of Punjab and accepted by him. The amendment substituting 15th July, 1986 for 21st June, 1986 appearing in the Resolution dated 20th June, 1986, was made on the written request of the Chief Minister, Punjab, who requested that the transfer of Chandigarh be postponed till 15th July, 1986. Further the amendment prescribed that Shri Justice Desai should keep in view the parameters stipulated in para 7.2 of the Memorandum of Settlement consider the 30 villages measuring about 45,000 acres identified by Shri Justice Venkataramiah Commission provided they fall within the purview of para

7.2 of the Memorandum of Settlement. These two amendments had been made with the specific approval of the Chief Minister, Punjab.

The Chief Minister of Punjab informed in writing on 10th July, 1986 that as he was pre-occupied with improving the law and order situation in the State, he would like to discuss at a later date issues pending before Shri Justice D. A. Desai and that in view of this, the transfer of Chandigarh on July 15, 1986 may not be feasible. Accordingly, the resolution appointing Shri Justice D. A. Desai has since been suitably amended by another resolution dated 14th July, 1986.

I would like to reiterate Government's firm commitment to implement the Punjab Accord with the cooperation of Punjab and Haryana. I would also like to assure the Hon'ble Members that Government will spare no efforts to contain and eradicate the activities of extremists. Terrorist activities have no place in a democracy and I seek the cooperation of Hon'ble Members and Leaders of various Parties in restoring and maintaining conditions of peace and harmony in the State.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the very outset, I would like to caution the Government against any complacency in the matter of this anti-terrorist campaign that we have undertaken and in respect of which the Government claims to have achieved a measure of success during the last fortnight or so. I see some traces of this inclination towards complacency even in the statement when the Government compliments itself on the success that they have achieved and the determination that the State Government has shown insofar as these violent terrorist activities are concerned.

I may recall that shortly after Mr. Rebeiro took over in Punjab, perhaps a fortnight or so later, he also came out with a statement that the terrorists are now on the run and the situation is now fast improving. Periodically we have been having statements

[Shri Lal K. Advani]

of this kind from the spokesmen of the Central Government and the State Government on the basis of the arrests made or the death of terrorists in encounters. I have a feeling that this mood of complacency may become entrenched. I would like to caution the Government against it and like to tell it that so far as the touchstones of success in Punjab are concerned, it is not the number of terrorists we are able to kill in encounters; the touchstone is, how does the common man in Punjab feel? Does he feel secure? The touchstone is: Has the migration stopped? And when I refer to migration, I am not referring to migration only from Punjab to Delhi or from Punjab to Haryana or from Punjab to Rajasthan or Punjab to Himachal. I regard even those families who have been living in the villages and who leave their hearths and homes and go and take shelter in Ludhiana or Amritsar or in the larger towns and cities nearby as migrants. They are also migrants because they are leaving their hearths and homes. Has that migration and that motion stopped? And the last touchstone I would like to mention to the Government is that those who have migrated already either to the cities or to the towns of Punjab or to the adjoining States like Delhi, Haryana, Himachal or Rajasthan or Uttar Pradesh or Maharashtra—there have been people going as far as Bombay and Calcutta; and these figures have been given by the Home Ministry itself on the number of families migrating—are these migrants in a mood to return to their hearths and homes? These are the touchstones by which I am going to judge the Government's success or failure in this campaign against terrorism and violence.

Sir, this Call Attention that I have given today has four ingredients. First relates to non-implementation of the Punjab Accord. The second is about the terrorist activities. The third component is the complicity of foreign powers.

And the last and the fourth component

is migration of people. Now, I would like to deal very briefly with all these four components and then pose my questions to the Home Minister.

Sir, so far as the Punjab Accord is concerned, paras 13 and 14 of the Home Minister's statement are eloquent comments on the manner in which the Government has bungled the situation. Of course, there are views in the country. The 'Times of India' wrote an editorial with this caption that the Punjab is dead. But whether the Punjab Accord is dead or alive, no one can deny that the Punjab Accord is in a mess. It is in a soup even with regard to this one single issue of territory. There are various other issues in the Accord. You have mentioned the other issues also.

So far as territorial accord is concerned, and the territorial dispute is concerned, there were two components. One provision related to the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and Hindi-speaking areas in Punjab in lieu thereof where there was to be an exchange of Punjab to Haryana. Sir, I am sorry to say that the manner in which the Government of India has been appointing commission after judicial commission, hurriedly drafting its terms of reference and altering them at leisure, has not only brought the Government of India into contempt but even the institution of judicial commissions into ridicule. After all, it is patently ridiculous—I do not know who suggested it and how the Government agreed to it—it is patently ridiculous for the Government to appoint a Commission and ask it to identify 70,000 acres of land within 12 hours to be transferred to Haryana. How did we agree, how did the Government agree to this kind of ridiculous proposal? You have to explain. The deadline was 21st. (Interruptions) At that very stage you should have contacted Barnalaji and said that this is the position, what do we do? I am sure the Chief Minister himself would have agreed, "all right, you extend the time. After all, he has his own problems. But this kind of handling, this kind of announcement of commissions certainly brings the Government as well as the judicial commissions into ridicule. I wish it had not been done. The more touchy part is still there, i.e. the problem

about river waters. The Home Minister will recall that the accord says that the SYL canal shall be constructed and completed by the 15th of August, 1986. Now 15th August 1986 is just three weeks away, what is going to happen? I would like to know from the Home Minister as to what is the progress that we have made in this regard. How can the accord be implemented in this regard? How do we ensure construction and completion of the SYL canal by 15th August, 1986? And, if it is not completed, I am sure my friends from Haryana, they would have certainly a reason to protest about it. This is an important part of it.

Sir, let me refer to the terrorist activity; in Punjab. Till some time ago, terrorist activity in Punjab was directed at selected persons. It was selective killing of political leaders, of religious leaders, of policemen, of pressmen, of those who were opposed to Khalistan or who were opposed to terrorism and were resolutely campaigning against it, whether they were policemen, whether they were politicians, whether they were pressmen or whether they were religious leaders, they were identified and they were selectively killed. This was the phase of terrorism in Punjab till some months back. But during the past few months the phase has changed. Occasionally, some selected persons also may be killed, as, for instance, my colleague in Gurdaspur district; Mr. Ram Lubhaya, or some Congress men in some districts may have been killed. But, generally speaking, the objective of terrorist activity during the last four months has been far more sinister and that is somehow to strike terror in the Hindus living in Punjab and make them migrate from Punjab. Unfortunately, the terrorists have succeeded to some extent. How many families have migrated, is not very relevant. The Government of Punjab sometimes keeps on playing down the figures and says, the number is not very large. Whether the number of families who have migrated is one thousand or five thousand or forty thousands, as some have said...

SHRI SHANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Up till now the number has not been disclosed.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The Government of India has disclosed some number. But it is of families who have left Punjab and who have gone and who are in some kind of camps in Delhi or in Haryana or elsewhere but many people who have migrated are not living in camps. They have either taken up a small lodging of their own or they are staying with their relatives and there are many families in which only the female members have been sent to other places while the male member is still staying over in Punjab trying to dispose of his property, which he is unable to dispose of. But, as I said at the outset, when you think in terms of the size of migration, you should take into account also those families who have left the villages and gone to nearby towns or cities. They are also migrants. They are also displaced persons. They have been displaced from their hearths and homes.

In this statement for the first time a promise has been made, it has been said: It has now been decided that Delhi Administration will provide lodging facilities until their return to Punjab is facilitated. The migrant families will also be given a suitable amount to meet their food needs.

Sir, I have had occasion to visit the seven camps in West Delhi here, including the camp at Janakpuri, which the Hon. Home Minister of Government of India accompanied by the Chief Minister of Punjab visited and there he had a personal experience of the mood of the people. When I also went there along with my colleagues from the Delhi BJP, the first thing that they told me is that for God's sake do not ask us to go back. 'We cannot go back' and started showing us letters that they had received: 'Quit this place by such and such date; otherwise consequences will follow'. Where such letters come to say one hundred people telling them 'If you do not leave by 21st June, you will be killed and your family members will be

[Shri Lal K. Advani]

butchered' and after one hundred persons have received such letters and two of them are actually killed, the consequence is that, all the hundred would feel scared and start fleeing. And this is precisely what is happening. Therefore, the first thing they told us was: 'Please don't ask us to go back' and when the Chief Minister of Punjab suggested to them or tried to persuade them, what happened? Facts and figures were given to the Chief Minister and he was asked: 'You are asking us to go back. Can you go to Punjab without any security? Names were mentioned that Mr. so and so was along with you and these are the people who are supporting terrorists.

Sir, my specific question in the context of terrorist activity is, is it not a fact that today in the political set up of Punjab, here are elements who are colluding with the terrorists? It was bad enough for the police to be mixed up with terrorists. The police does not command any confidence in Punjab today. The BSF and CRP do command some confidence but their training is of a slightly different nature than that of the army and therefore we had demanded that in the three border districts army may be deployed. We do not ask for deployment of army in the whole of Punjab. We demanded deployment of army in three of the border districts. Two have been mentioned here; Gurdaspur and Amritsar where the migration has been the maximum, and the third district is Ferozepur, and we said that there the presence of the army is even otherwise needed, that being the border area. Where infiltration from across the border is connected with terrorism, it, therefore, becomes all the more imperative that army be deployed in these three districts entirely in assistance with the civil authorities. We never pleaded that this be given to the army. But unfortunately the Government has made this also a prestige issue. The situation is bad. Ask any person there and he says that so long as the army does not come, we do not feel secure. Maybe; with deployment of the army a psychological relief could be provided. Also, there is a difference between the training of army and the training of BSF and the CRPF. In this

context, I asked some people in the army also some senior persons I was happy to read a very elaborate rationale, advancing cogent arguments, from no one other than General S. K. Sinha as to why in these three districts deployment of army is necessary.

After all, we have provided in the Constitution and in the law that in certain circumstances, civil authorities may invoke the assistance of army authorities. This has been done with the full knowledge that the function of the army is not policing and that ordinarily this should not be done. But there may be situations, there may be circumstances when the police and the paramilitary forces do not measure up to the challenge and to the threat and then, army must be deployed. I hold that Government by delaying this matter has in a way contributed to the migration, otherwise migration may not have taken place. The people in Punjab who are even otherwise bold and valiant have been facing this kind of situation for the last many years without being dislodged and upset and are sticking to their hearths and homes. I feel if the Government had acted in time, this would not have happened.

I would like to conclude with a reference to foreign complicity. Here, the Government has said: "Information about Pakistan's assistance to terrorists and their complicity in terrorist acts has become available through various sources including interrogation of persons apprehended at the borders on their return from Pakistan. This includes provision of arms, financial assistance, guidance and training to indulge in acts of terrorism." I cannot regard anything as a more unfriendly act than what has been stated, if it is true. I would think, in a situation of this kind, it is really preposterous for the Government of India to keep on making friendly overtures to Pakistan, about enlargement of trade relations and all that. At the same time, I am conscious that though statements of his kind have been made by the Government for the past several years, we have not been able to convince the world that this is true. I do not know why. Here, I have with me a statement made by Shri Shiv Shanker in London that the Government of India is in possession of photographs of training

camps organised in a neighbouring country, obviously meaning Pakistan, to train these terrorists. I see no reason why we should keep it to ourselves. Let us show it to the world. I demand, a white paper be published on Pakistan's hand in Punjab terrorism. White paper is not such a rare document that it should be published only once in a decade. In other Parliamentary democracies like the U.K., white paper is a very normal device for informing people, for informing Parliament, about important facts. I think, facts in this regard are important. Facts should be placed before Parliament. Facts should be placed before the world, how Pakistan has been encouraging and abetting terrorism in Punjab.

I am of the view that at the outset, it was our mistakes, our bungling, which led to the kind of situation that has developed in Punjab. It was not Pakistan's creation. But once we allowed a situation of this kind, once we allowed it to take roots, Pakistan has been trying to take full advantage of it. It is then they started all this. The dates in this regard would be very crucial very pertinent. I would, therefore, like to know, when these training camps were organised, where were they organised and who were the people who were dealing with it? There is no reason why Government of India should be hesitant to place these facts before Parliament.

Lastly, Sir, these days, a major operation has been undertaken to deal with the terrorists. But only this morning, I saw a statement made by the Punjab Revenue Minister, Shri Major Singh, describing the operation as a fraudulent operation 'Operation fraud'. This is not the first time that such Ministerial statements have been made. Even earlier, in the month of April, I saw a statement made by a Punjab Minister, which surprised me. Can the Government be divided on this? Can Ministers in the Government keep on making statements of this kind? In the month of April, a police report had been submitted indicting two or three Ministers and these Ministers continue to be in the Government. I am unable to understand this because here, in this

statement, which he has placed before us, the Home Minister himself has admitted' The Central Government is in constant touch with the State Government and is providing necessary assistance to deal with the situation; Intelligence and other information regarding terrorist activity is being shared with the State Government on a continuous basis'. Am I to understand that even though these Ministers are mixed up with the terrorists and the Government of India wants these Ministers to be dropped, the Chief Minister of Punjab is not willing to do so? As far as my reading goes, all that is happening or not happening in Punjab, in so far as the anti-terrorist campaign is concerned, has the endorsement of the Central Government. If the Government of India had asked the Punjab Chief Minister to throw out the Damdami Taksal and the All India Sikh Students Federation who had seized control of the Golden Temple, on 26th January and allowed Khalistan flags to be flaunted from the spires of the Golden Temple, I am sure, Barnala would have taken action on that very day. But the Government of India did not advise him to do so. Three months later, when the five Granthis in the Golden Temple called a Press conference and made the announcement declaring Khalistan, Government of India work up and asked Barnala to take action. He took action and did the repentance also subsequently. He did what he was asked to do. My point is, why should the Government be half hearted on this? If we want to succeed in the campaign against terrorists, it is not sufficient merely to kill terrorists in encounters. It is not sufficient merely to arrest terrorists, we can arrest them, but the police, the administration and above all the political set-up must be cleansed of all such elements who have even the slightest sympathy towards these terrorists or these secessionists. I am sorry, the Government of India has not been able to achieve this and unless it achieves this, this operation cannot succeed.

Sir, I think the rebel Akalis have done a grave disservice to the country by

[Shri Lal K. Advani]

identifying themselves with the terrorists. I did not expect this of Mr. Prakash Singh Badal at least with whom we have worked together in Government and about whom, generally, people in Punjab used to believe that he is the most sober person and he is the person or the Akali leader most committed to Hindu-Sikh unity. Unfortunately, his utterances and actions these days have disappointed the entire society. As I said, it is a grave disservice to the country that they have done by identifying themselves with these terrorists. They have been asking the Government of India to bypass Mr. Barnala and negotiate with the Damdami Taksal and the Sikh Students Federation. I was dismayed by what Mr. Badal said, I was dismayed by what Mr. Tohra said. But I was certainly shocked when I read in the papers that in distant Aizawl the Prime Minister declared that he was willing to negotiate with them, he was willing to discuss with these people all questions all issues. Subsequently, when Mr. Tohra came out with a statement, laying down certain pre-conditions for talks, the Prime Minister tried to go back on what he said. Sir, I would like to warn the Government that any dilly-dallying in this regard, any hesitation in this regard or any confusion in mind in this regard is going to affect the Punjab situation very badly. Let us be clear in our mind and let Government very categorically declare that with those who subscribe to violence directly or indirectly we are going to have no talks, no negotiations, under no circumstances. There is no question of conditions or pre-conditions. It is not because of Mr. Tohra's pre-conditions that you have turned down the proposal for talks but basically you must affirm that you cannot talk to the Damdami Taksal and the All India Sikh Students Federation who have till now always subscribed to this path of violence.

So, Sir, my specific questions are with regard to:

- (1) A commitment in so far as these elements are concerned, that no talks with these elements;

- (2) A White Paper on Pakistan's note about migrants;

- (3) What precisely are you going to do about the migrants who have come to Delhi, because Delhi is the Union Territory. Are you going to advise other States where they have gone? Is it possible for the Government to form a committee under the Home Ministry involving all the Chief Ministers of States where these people have gone and the Chief Minister of Punjab to ensure that so long normalcy is restored in Punjab, full relief and rehabilitation will be given to these migrants?

Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Since there are a large number of speakers I would request the hon. Members to confine themselves to the clarifications only.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Sir, at the outset let me make it clear that the Punjab Accord constitutes the sheet anchor of the desired political solution of the problem. It is strange to note that an impression has gained ground today that the Rajiv-Longowal agreement is dead because it has failed to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab as per the schedule. Sir, I would like to make it clear that the country cannot afford to allow the Punjab accord to die because it is on this basis that the problem can be effectively solved and also solved in the interest of the nation's unity, integrity and security. Therefore, none should be allowed to take the position that Punjab Accord should die and it should not be implemented. Whatever might have been the set-backs in the past in the matter of implementation, the Accord has to be salvaged and salvaged with all seriousness and sincerity.

While emphasising upon the need of early and quick implementation of the Accord I am to say that the Government of India has not been serious in the matter of implementation. Its approach has always been, right from the beginning, one of

leisurely intervention, not serious enough in understanding the implications of the Accord and that too in the interest of the nations unity, integrity and security. Let me elaborate my point within a short space of time. Mathew Commission was appointed. Everybody will agree with me that it was a futile exercise. It was quite known that Abohar and Fazilka have no contiguity with Haryana. It was a well known fact. It was not unknown either to the Government or to the Chief Minister of Haryana. I would say that this was precisely because of this that the 1970 Award on Chandigarh had to provide for a corridor. Therefore, it was not unknown that the principal of contiguity which is ingrained in the Punjab Accord in respect of transfer of territory cannot be satisfied in relation to Fazilka and Abohar. My question is, is it not a leisurely approach to the problem of implementation of the Accord? Was it not meant to delay the implementation of it knowing fully well the basic facts involved in the issue?

Then, Venkataramiah Commission was appointed and I am surprised to note that the recommendation made by Venkataramiah Commission was not properly interpreted. There was a controversy regarding its recommendations and that controversy was raised by the Government -- I will accuse, by the Home Minister himself, particularly with reference to jurisdiction or purview of clauses 7.2 and 7.4. The Accord was very clear regarding the purview of clauses 7.2 and 7.4. Above all, all areas to be transferred were to be identified on the basis of three conditions -- (1) language, (2) contiguity and (3) village as a unit. *Inter alia* I want to mention that clause 7.2 of the Accord relates to transfer of Chandigarh and Chandigarh alone. It has nothing to do with the claims and counter-claims by the Government of Haryana or the Government of Punjab. Why it was not made absolutely clear that the recommendation of Venkataramiah Commission was under the purview of clause 7.2 of the Accord? As I have mentioned earlier, it is my accusation that this wrong interpretation was given by the Home Ministry only to further add to the complications of the situation.

Lastly, what about the Desai Commission? It is ridiculous and it is better not to mention it again as it has already been mentioned not only by Mr. Advani here but on many occasions. Sir, these are instances of how the Government bungled the issue, particularly in relation to implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal Agreement.

Sir, the Akali Party is not above criticism. They are also to be criticized constructively. My criticism of the Akali Party is that they failed to rise equal to the occasion and implement the mandate they received in the last election. They did not muster sufficient courage to deal strongly against the terrorists. They were also hesitant and the basic reasons for this hesitancy are: The Akali Party still believes in religion-based politics. They are still thinking in terms of Panthic Government. Let them make it clear that Punjab belongs not to Sikhs alone. Punjab does not belong also to Hindus alone. Punjab belongs to Hindus. Punjab belongs to Sikhs. Punjab also belongs to the people of other communities and other religious faiths. How is it that the Akali Government always speaks in terms of a Panthic Government and not in terms of the Government of Punjab not based on Panthic unity? Therefore, these are the reasons for the weakness of the Akali Party and the Akali Government.

Whatever may be the earlier position taken by them, the recent position and stances taken by the break-away group led by Mr. Prakash Singh Badal—I am sorry to make this comment—ultimately go to support and serve the purpose of the terrorists in Punjab. I don't know whether they understand the implication of the support extended to them. In this connection I would also like to ask how was it that the Prime Minister made a statement that he is also prepared to talk with them the Damdami Taksal and the All India Sikh Students Federation, knowing the implications of it.

Sir, involvement of foreign hands has been the constant refrain of the Government. Then why does not the Government bring forward the evidence of involvement of foreign powers, particularly Pakistan, the United States of America, the U.K.

[Shri Lal K. Advani]

and Canada because that constitutes a weapon for isolating the terrorists from the broad Sikh masses? It cannot be denied that the terrorists still enjoy some kind of sympathy from the Sikh Community. It will be wrong to assume that they are not enjoying any sympathy. Sir you will excuse me when I say this, but if you are really to fight against the terrorist campaign, a counter-campaign is necessary. And this counter-campaign can be successful only when the people are mobilized against the terrorist campaign. In order to educate the broad masses in Punjab, Hindus or Sikhs, it is necessary to expose the wrongs, to expose the evil and to expose the conspiratorial actions of the foreign powers who are interested only in destabilizing this country. This involves the security of the country and no responsible Government worth its name can ignore this aspect.

Therefore, Sir, I am constrained to note that there has been no consistent effort on the part of either the Central Government or the Akali Government there in Punjab to mobilize the masses against the terrorists to unleash a counter-campaign and isolate the tiny groups of terrorists from the broad masses of Punjab. In this connection, sometime ago, only a month or one-and-a-half months before, a Standing Committee on Punjab was set up consisting of members of the National Integration Council under the chairmanship of the late Lamented Babu Jagjivan Ram. It did not work. Does the Government propose to activate that Committee? At least it held out a hope before me that that will work on the basis of political understanding and assessment of the problem. Again I reiterate that the Punjab problem is not merely a problem of law and order, but the Punjab problem is political problem and has to be solved politically based on political assessment of the actual situation prevailing there. Terrorism today is a political phenomenon and his terrorism can be fought only by political attitude, political programme, political campaign and based on the political assessment of the situation.

My question is whether the Government will activate that political campaign. If not, what is the other alternative?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: The construction of the SYL Canal is a part of the agreement. The accord cannot be treated in a piecemeal manner. One is related to the other. What is the progress of the construction of the SYL Canal? Does the Government of India propose to take over the construction of the SYL Canal in order to assure the people of Haryana that they will get their due as per the accord? If not, what further steps does the Government propose to take in the matter of completion of the construction of the SYL Canal by the 15th of August?

Sir, it has been very much clearly stated in the statement of the hon. Minister, the involvement of the foreign powers. Here the question of the border security assumes great importance. Does the Government propose to seal the border or does the Government propose to have a programme or a scheme to de-populate certain areas, border areas and keep strict vigilance so that the infiltrators cannot enter into the Indian soil and encourage the terrorist activities within India?

These are the three specific questions which I intend to put for clarification. I will be glad if the hon. Home Minister desires to reply to these questions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Krishna Kumar Birla. Not present. Mr. Murlidhar Bhandare. We will adjourn for lunch now.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): You always call me in two instalments, pre-lunch and post-lunch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will adjourn now and resume at 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-eight minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at two minutes past two of the Clock.

Mr. Deputy Chairman In the Chair.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are discussing an issue which raises some of the most fundamental questions of grave national concern. The issue raises in the forefront the question of unity and integrity nay, it raises an even more important question of the survival of democracy itself, whether we will yield to the politics of violence, whether we will succumb to the use of a gun or whether we will preserve and uphold the high democratic values and standards which have been a matter of prestige for our nation.

It is very easy and facile to criticise 'accords', accords which get into some difficulty while implementing. I do not want to say as a lawyer, but even a layman hardly comes across agreements which do not run into difficulties. But it cannot be forgotten that these accords have brought us nearer democracy; and a distance which we have covered in Punjab or for that matter between insurgency and democracy in Mizoram is difficult to calculate in terms of miles or time. It is unimaginably a long distance covered in an unimaginably short time and it has, if I may say with all humility and respect to my colleagues in the Opposition, taken our country a step forward and not a step backward. Therefore, when we talk about the Punjab problem, we must remember that the Accord was the beginning of the restoration of democracy in that State. Therefore the Accord is a must and at all times remains basis of democracy in that State. But one cannot find a complete connection between the Accord and disturbing conditions particularly the conditions of terrorism and violence which are prevalent in Punjab. Many of us have our own views and we feel that the connection between violence and the implementation or the non-implementation of the Accord is really very thin and imaginary. I have my own doubt that even after the Accord is completely implemented whether violence will completely disappear.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: On that I agree with you.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Obviously the extremists, the terrorists have altogether different designs. They are not within the Constitutional framework. They are not within the patriotic apparatus of our country. When we look at this problem and when we say that it is a problem which is political as has been rightly pointed out by the hon. Member, Mr. Chitta Basu, one must look at the political apparatus that is available to solve this problem. We have an elected Government in Punjab and the responsibility primarily if not solely of preserving law and order is on that Government. What the Central Government can do, it is doing and nobody has any complaint that it is lacking in its efforts to back it up fully. I think it is the duty of every one of us in this House and outside to back up that Government fully. It is a matter of tragedy that this democratically elected party which formed the Government should have soon broken up. I remember the days when we were out of power and Janata came into power. Sir believe me nobody must have prayed more fervently than I that they should remain in power for full five years, because that would have been the beginning of a very strong democracy in the country. If today we find that regionalism, communalism and other fissiparous, parochial and divisive forces are strengthening because of the absence of any national alternative. Likewise despite my grave premonition, serious apprehensions and misgivings I really wish to the Akalis that they continue unitedly and they fulfill the task and discharge the trust which the people of Punjab had shown in them. Ultimately the difference of votes was less than 1 per cent what we polled and what the Akalis polled. But I am very pained to admit that my fears came true and they broke up. I can understand their breaking up but they broke up in a manner that the dissident group shows to side with

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

the terrorists and the extremists. I am discussing the political apparatus which is available to us. The result was damning it beyond expression and what happened was that instead of strengthening democratic forces this plea had the effect of strengthening the forces of terrorism and I do not want to mention the names. But their conduct is amazing and they will be held answerable by future generations. Today we find even this splinter group is about to break now—few on one side and few on the other. All this will only lend support to the terrorist activities which will not strengthen the political forces of democracy. In this connection, the last incident which has happened was a democratic process, and one must welcome and one finds it a little heartening and that is the election of our colleague General Jagjit Singh Aurora to this house. It has shown that the majority of the legislators are still for a democratic process. It has shown that those who are against the democratic process are only a handful and therefore when we discuss this question in all its dimensions and I have rarely come across such a calling attention which has been so vitally worded. Of course, it could have been put under a very comprehensive umbrella of the Punjab situation today but I am glad that it has been split up into various components because it is necessary not only to deal with those components individually and separately but also to take an integrated, comprehensive, unified picture of the situation. Therefore, let me first turn to the implementation of the Accord because Accord as I said is the basis of democracy and restoration of democracy. The main difference is the territorial one. About the river water dispute about rivers Ravi, Beas, there is a tribunal. It is going into it, doing things expeditiously and things as they appear I think, it will stick to the deadline which has been given to it sometimes in September and I do hope when the award is given by that impartial tribunal, it will be accepted by all the States particularly by Haryana, Rajasthan and also by Punjab. I must also mention that Delhi gets a part of the water and they should not neglect Delhi. Now, how should

the territorial dispute be solved. It was sought to be solved by the Government by the only permissible and most impartial mode by which it could be resolved and that was to refer the dispute to one of the great luminaries who has adjourned the bench of the Supreme Court. In my career, I have rarely seen Judges of the Supreme Court having such a great constitutional approach and acumen as Justice Mathew. I personally hold him always in high regards and high esteem. It was therefore a matter of regret that he could not give us an award. I feel disappointed I think, I have consulted many jurists of many shades of many political opinions and those who have read that award have come to the conclusion that Justice Mathew could have well done to resolve the whole dispute on the interpretation of the phraseology used in para 7.2 and not to say that the test of contiguity and village as a unit was not satisfied. Therefore, can you blame the Union Government? Can you blame the Prime Minister for choosing one of the best legal luminaries and the legal luminary for reasons which we must now respect, not rendering an award? What was the next step? Was it anything? I am accepting that the two parties come together and discuss a suggestion to which I will come a little later. Then the next step was to constitute another Commission and this time, we had another equally eminent, equally independent and equally impartial Judge in Justice Venkataramiah to constitute the commission. He has given his report. You know what he did and that is well known. I still believe that when he came to the conclusion that 70,000 acres were to be given in lieu of Chandigarh, he should have asked for extension of time to determine that acreage. After all, time is not of an essence one likes. All these things should be time bound because people have a faith that this is an accord and this has to be implemented and the parties have all the bonafides to implement it. But if a sitting judge of the eminence of Justice Venkataramiah were to tell the Central Government, "Well I feel that 70,000 acres should be given; give me time to identify the village", I am quite sure that even the parties would have agreed. I

mean, he need not have expressed his opinion.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): He did not want time. He said, "Please don't put me on the panel".

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: That is why I am saying that instead of saying "Have another commission", he could have asked for time. To that extent, I share my disappointment with Justice Venkataramiah, as much as I had with the Justice Mathew Commission. What I am saying is that now the whole question is slightly different.

SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK (Haryana): There was no need for extension of time. He could have done it on the data available before him within a few hours.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: No, you may be right, but we must go by what Justice Venkataramiah said. He said he had not enough time to determine those villages which would make up 70,000 acres. We must go by his difficulties, not by what you would have done if you were in his place.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): He refused to do it. He said, "Put somebody else. I hope to God it is not me."

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: I think you are all supporting me on this. After fixing 70,000 acres, after determining that quantum, to say, "Now please relieve me and ask somebody else to do it", I think that was very disappointing. And for a failure like this to render an award which would have implemented the accord, can you really blame the Central Government? I think these are the questions which must be placed before all.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: What would have happened if Radcliffe had done it?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: I will tell you.

When Radcliffe wanted to have the main water-works in Pakistan, Bikaner was the party which objected and V.P. Menon went to Lord Mountbatten. After waiting here for three days it happens with VVIPs V.P. Menon, was then Dewan of Bikaner got a meeting with Lord Mountbatten for two minutes. Lord Mountbatten said to V. P. Menon, "No, this is not my jurisdiction. This is the jurisdiction of Radcliffe. He will decide." to that, V. P. Menon replied, "In that case, we change our opinion, Bikaner will become part of Pakistan." Then they had to give up, and the water-works are now preserved in India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: This was a digression.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: You are putting ideas into people.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Then comes the Desai Commission. Now the Desai Commission is appointed with the judge accepting the job which is entrusted to him, the duty which is given to him. So I am quite sure that Justice Desai must have looked at what he was asked to do. He must have known what he was going to do, that he was to identify the 70000 acres. I do not have that material in my possession, but he must have that data.

Coming to the question of violence and migration ... (*Interruptions*) Let me complete. You take my time and I am the victim. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohunta, you are getting a chance to speak. So let him speak.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Now the first task is to halt violence. Whether it is a question of migration or it is a question of insecurity, I think we must halt the violence because today if any migrant who has come to Delhi were to ask me,

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

"Can I go back?", I myself would say, "I do not think it is safe for you to go back". If there is no assurance in our minds, what will be the assurance in the minds of those who have already migrated to Delhi or other places? Therefore, the first priority is to halt the violence. And I must pay compliments to Mr. Ribeiro for what he is doing. His task is very difficult; it is a thankless task. I think he is seeing to it that he does not mix up the symptom and the disease and he is attacking the disease. My esteemed friend, the honourable Advaniji, mentioned about the whole apparatus. I wish one could change it so easily. But it is just not possible. I would like the people of this country to remember that there is no easy or early solution of this problem and that we will have to live with it. Advaniji also said that from selective killings of known political leaders and workers now they have come to indiscriminate killing of innocent people. That itself shows that they cannot any more plan and design and carry out a conspiracy to shoot any one particular person. That shows how the law and order machinery is improving and strengthened. . .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am afraid. I cannot agree.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: You may not agree. But that is the way I put it. Then we come to the complicity of Pakistan. . .

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: You are satisfied with the killings of innocent people?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: No, I am not satisfied. I was talking of the whole violence. This is not a matter for scoring a debating point. I am not here to score a debating point. I am as much concerned as anyone else. I am brought up under surroundings and circumstances where I do not distinguish caste, community, religion or anything of that kind. Therefore, it is a matter of shame.

Then, when one comes to Pakistan, these people who are extremists, are, some of them, of very tender age—16, 20, 21. They require three things: first, an arm, a training in those arms, and the third is a conspiracy or a design, or a plan to use the weapons and the training that has been given. It is extremely difficult under the present circumstances to acquire arms unless they come from across the border. And it is equally difficult to get training within India with the Forces that are there, the para-military forces like the CRPF, and the BSF. Therefore, it is natural to expect that Pakistan is guilty of this unfriendly act and we have repeatedly asked this question. In fact, my question in the last Session was about this. And the Minister of State for External Affairs said that Gen. Zia has denied it. If one were to look at the denial of Zia, it is so bogus, it is so palpably false and fallacious. I think the Government should do better to expose the falsity and bogusness of Zia's denial. There is a suggestion of a white paper; I do not know. Ultimately one has to think of larger things and one has to tackle those forces which are against us, who are out to destabilise our country in a very subtle but a very effective manner. That brings me to the question of migration I am quite sure that the migration must stop. It is the duty of any civilised Government to see that people are not forced to leave their homes and that people return to their places with full assurance of safety of their person and property and honour. Things are not bad. I do not like even one migration. I am very uneasy when even one person migrates. I do not count the numbers. Four thousand, to me, is the same as forty thousand. Things have not gone beyond control. The communal amity is still there. It is possible, what is most important is, to preserve the communal amity and the national character which has permeated through generations and centuries. I have nothing here to add. I

want the Government to take very, very positive steps while they deal with Pakistan. Tell them that this un-firmly 'act of training will not do. Formerly it was restricted only to confessions of the terrorists' cause. But now we have found, and in fact, I have read in the newspapers that the Prime Minister himself said that we have positive evidence of the implication of Pakistan. I want you to take up the matter very seriously and tell them that they must behave themselves in this matter. I also want the Government to see that the forces of democracy are strengthened. I do not believe that the army is the answer today. Maybe that it is so tomorrow. But, as I see it, the terrorists are on the decline. But I entirely agree with my honourable friend, Shri Advani, that that should not make us complacent. And, Sir, I am quite sure that I may become complacent, but my Government will not become, and my Prime Minister will not become, because till we weed out the last trace of terrorism and violence from Punjab, we will not really rest assured that democracy has been restored and, to that extent, there is no question of any amnesty and there is no question of compromising with the anti-national elements. I want that assurance. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta,

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there is no denying the fact that the situation in Punjab has deteriorated or that the situation in Punjab is dangerously alarming. It is also true, from the greater national perspective and interest, to say that the situation there in Punjab today is extremely painful. But Sir, while discussing the problem, we must also identify the reason why the situation has become like this. Secondly is it not a partial truth to say that killing is taking place on a mass scale and there is no resistance on the part of the people living in Punjab? I am asking this question because, Sir, only the other day, a worker and an employee were killed and, after that killing, the entire workers of the factory and the employees of that office struck work and organised a proces-

sion and a demonstration and they gheraoed the administration and demanded that something tangible must be done immediately to put down violence. Therefore, in a modest way a beginning seems to be taking place even on the soil of Punjab, so far as resistance of people to the trend of violence and terrorism is concerned. Therefore, I believe and my party believes that the situation is not all that lost. There is a silver lining under the dark clouds in the sky which seems to be densely clouded.

Sir, I believe that the main reason why it is so in Punjab is that the Government is suffering not only from a paralytic inaction, but also—I charge the Government—it lacks the political courage and conviction and also the political perspective so far as the implementation of the accord is concerned. The Government lacks the courage, the Government lacks the political will, to carry out the accord. I say this because there have been Commission after Commission, Report after Report, incomplete Report and, therefore, somebody else to complete that incomplete Report. Also, the person who had been given the responsibility of completing the report leaves the Report incomplete and then again another Commission is appointed. Whatever may be the reason for this—my friend was arguing his case on behalf of the Government—to the people of Punjab, Sir, it remains a fact that the accord has not been implemented, that Chandigarh has not been transferred and the Hindi-speaking villages have not been transferred to Haryana. Therefore, this incomplete implementation of the accord makes the ground fertile for the development of terrorist activities on the soil of Punjab. We know that killings cannot be killed by Signing an accord. Killings can be stopped and at least the ground from under the feet of the killers can be eroded if political solution is found. I believe and my party believes that there is no solution in Punjab except a political solution. We are totally against the step of sending the military under any circumstances to Punjab, even to some parts of Punjab, and sending the military is no solution. If the Government or the political leaders take to military on a number of occasions and if the

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

military feels that it is a part and parcel of the life of the country, then there is a danger that the military may come to believe 'why do it indirectly? Let us do it directly, let us take over the administration itself.' Therefore, let us not pamper the military in this way. We have an example in Pakistan, we have another example in Bangladesh. We have got examples in this sub-continent, and we know what military is. Of course I have my regards for the military and I have no intention to suspect its patriotic understanding, but there is a danger inherent by the excessive use of military as a solution to the problems which we, may otherwise find out politically.

Sir, what is the Government doing? The Government lacks the political will. That is not the whole part of it. Another part is that either the Government lacks the political courage or it has taken to dilatory tactics deliberately, because the Government is having its own problem in Haryana. Because of the problem in Congress Party in Haryana, the problem in Punjab is not being solved. Therefore, for the partison narrow interests, the national interest is being sacrificed. That is my categorical charge against the present Government led by the present Prime Minister, who signed the Accord, but who has not the goodwill and courage to implement the Accord. And that makes the situation better for the terrorist activities in Punjab.

The most important point is that Pakistan is meddling. Of course, but who is the master of Pakistan? Definitely, Pakistan is giving training, but who is the master of Pakistan? We should not fight shy of naming the real force behind Pakistan. It is not Pakistan only which is conspiring against India. It is Washington. I do not know what the Minister will reply on this, but why is the Government shy to speak of America, to speak of Canada, to speak of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. I know you need dollars and so many things from them, but the security of the nation is in danger not by Pakistan alone, but by the US backed Pakistan. Therefore, I must say there is a Washington-London-Karachi nexus. And if any White Paper

is to be published, the White Paper should not tell only of the activities of Pakistan, but also of the activities of the imperialism, in general. Imperialism threatens our country and Punjab has become an important point from our national security and integration point of view. India has been threatened from inside and outside. India is being threatened by Diego Garcia, India is being threatened by the American bases in the Indian Ocean and India has been threatened from within. And who is behind it? Pakistan is in the fore-front, Pakistan is only a doll that is dancing on the stage, but who draws the strings? Therefore, the White Paper of course, but not on Pakistan only. It should be about the American conspiracy in India. The White Paper should be about the role of American imperial imperialism in India and about the collusion of Khalistan Movement and American imperialism and Pakistan.

Secondly the most important point is with regard to combating the American imperialism the Khalistan insurgency and to combat the Pakistan backed insurgency activities. Here what we need is not sending military, but the building up of people's resistance. The resistance of the people must be built up. My party does not want military to be sent. It wants setting up of Committee in the villages by all parties and the members of the Committee must be armed and the people must be taken into confidence and motivated, activated and politicalised. It is by building up the people's resistance against American backed conspiracy in India that we can find a permanent solution. I believe our brothers, friends and comrades in Pakistan are as patriotic as we are; they are as much part of India as we are. If we can build up a political campaign and if we can motivate them, then the soil below the feet of insurgency will be eroded. I know that the killers will not be able to put an end to the killings. But we can rob them of their strength. We can not only rob them of their strength, but popular peace can definitely be strengthened. Therefore, we want people's resistance. We want people's committees. We want those committees to be armed instead of sending military. Those committees should be the most important protection against insur-

gency. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I believe that popular resistance can be developed if there is a national endeavour at the national level of all parties. There must be a national consensus. There must be a national endeavour and to build up national endeavour, there should be co-operation between all those who run the Government and all those of us who are sitting in the opposition. We want a national endeavour. We want a national consensus. We want a national resistance. That is the only solution to the problem in Punjab. But I do not know whether the Government is really interested in it. If the Government is really interested, then why did that Committee appointed by the Prime Minister not meet? Jagjivan Babu has died. But I hope that the committee has not died. It is still alive. I would like the Minister to tell us when that Committee is going to meet. Punjab is burning and the committee is not meeting. Is the Government interested in national consensus? There are many parties which have not been represented. The Committee must be effective. The committee must be representative. The committee must include all those who matter in the politics of Punjab and in the politics of the country. (*Time bell rings*) If the Government is really interested in getting the support of everybody, I suggest that there should be an all-party delegation which should go to Punjab and speak to people. Let the all-party delegation speak to the people and try to instil confidence in the minds of the minorities who are coming out of Punjab. It is a dangerous thing. I believe that the Barnala Government should do more than what is being done there. I want that an all-party delegation should be sent there and that delegation should instil confidence in the different sections of the people. My point is that it is a political problem. It is a political question. Your source of strength is not the barrel of the gun. Military is no solution. Political solution is the only solution and for that political solution, it is necessary to build up the people's resistance. To build up people's resistance, there must be a national consensus and to build up national consensus all the parties interested in hav-

ing a solution in Punjab must be united and the Government must take the lead.

Secondly, the Accord must be implemented. I feel that there is still deficiency in the perspective of the Government. I believe that the problem of Punjab will be solved and it will be solved only with the participation not only of Punjab, but of India as a whole. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in every session we have been hoping that this would be the last debate on Punjab and a solution would be there. Now, seeing the present situation, I don't know how long the successive Home Ministers would continue to make such statements repeating the same thing and how long we should go on expressing our concern over the situation in Punjab. Initially, the problem was complicated by the bungling of the Government starting from encouragement to Bhindranwala, allowing arms to go into the Golden Temple, replacing a popular Ministry but allowing the things to deteriorate and finally to the ill-advised Blue-Star Operation. That was the contribution of the Government at that time. But, Sir, the problem has been more complicated now after the signing of the Accord. Today, the problem remains where it was. It is perhaps more complicated. In another two days, we will be completing a year of Sant Longowal-Rajiv Gandhi Accord. But still the solution is nowhere in sight. Successive Commissions appointed by the Government have only helped in complicating the matter rather than solving it. As Mr. Bhandare just now pointed out, the Mathew Commission has done its bit to complicate the issue. And we thought that Justice Venkataramiah would help us out. But, in fact, he made the position worse. And the Judge—I do not want to cast personal aspersions—who could give an award earmarking 70,000 acres to be transferred to Haryana without any basis but by just a rough arithmetic—he calculated and said that 70,000 acres should go—if he had gone to that extent, he could also have identified those 70,000 acres which should go to Haryana. And when it came to those brass tacks, he evaded the responsibility. He threw the responsibility on some other Commission

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

and he excused himself by saying, "for God's sake don't put me there." And this type of Commissions and their awards have not really helped us but only complicated the matter. And now another Commission has been appointed, its terms of reference have been changed, and no time limit has been fixed for this Commission. That means, the problem will be allowed to linger on for an indefinite period, meanwhile leading to more incidents and more complications.

Sir, the Government said that seven items of the Accord have already been implemented. That is no satisfactory answer. With the main problem unsolved, you cannot take credit that you have already implemented seven items of the Accord. We are not worried immediately how you preserve the Punjabi culture and how you promote the Punjabi language. We will take care of them later. But the main problem remains as it was. The question of territorial dispute, the question of water dispute, the question of terrorism, all these remain unsolved. And I am sorry the Home Minister tried to take satisfaction over minor matters ignoring the failure of the Government in major issues.

Sir, when the Home Minister convened a meeting of the Opposition Leaders to talk to them on the Punjab issue, we were convinced of his sincerity and his desire to end the stalemate. And several alternatives were discussed at the meeting. And I also had the occasion to discuss the matter with the Prime Minister subsequently. And one solution at that time, which we thought would take the matter a little further, was the transfer of Chandigarh as Scheduled area and transfer of some area of Punjab to Haryana in lieu. And Mr. Justice Venkataramaiah identified 45,000 acres or 30 villages as Hindi-speaking which could be transferred straightaway. And our suggestion was that instead of going into the technicalities whether these villages fall under 7.2 or 7.3 or 7.4, these should be straightaway transferred, if the Punjab Government has agreed to the transfer of 70,000 acres in principle, and Chandigarh

should be transferred as promised on the appointed date. We had the impression that the Government would ultimately accept this via media solution after testing the Barnala Government whether they would give 70,000 acres. We were sure that it was not possible for Mr. Barnala to transfer 70,000 acres. If 70,000 acres could be identified Mr. Justice Venkataramaiah himself would have identified. If only 45,000 acres could be identified by Mr. Justice Venkataramaiah, it means he could not identify the balance 25,000 acres as Hindi-speaking. And how could you expect Mr. Barnala to transfer 25,000 acres of Punjabi-speaking area within a week and save his face there and save his life there and save his Government there? It was purely impractical and the Government bungled once again in postponing the matter and in expecting Mr. Barnala to give away 70 thousand acres* in a matter of days. Every one was given the impression that if Mr. Barnala failed to identify the 70 thousand acres, which we normally expected he would not be able to identify, the Government would accept the Venkataramaiah solution of transferring 45 thousand acres before June 21.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: No such assurance was given.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: That was the impression we got. Unfortunately that was an opportunity missed by the Government and again the date has been changed and today there is no sanctity for these dates, we say January 26, June 21, July 14, July 15 and the result is that today there is no date, it is all indefinite. When this is the situation how can the people have confidence in the words of the Government and what is the credibility of the Government if you go on changing the dates? What is the sanctity of commissions if one commission passes on the buck to the other commission? You have to take courage in your hands and solve the issue. You cannot expect every Chief Minister to accept whatever you say. And, in the present position in which Mr. Barnala is placed, do you expect him to voluntarily agree to such things.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is not possible. It is unpolitical. If you think that it can be done, you are not a politician. You must give some allowance to the predicament of the Chief Minister also. And, when he accepted in principle that 70 thousand acres will be transferred, 45 thousand now and 25 thousand later, you should have accepted it. I do not know why this was not accepted by the Government and you missed another opportunity, I am sorry to say that. (Interruptions). And, our impression is that Mr. Bansi Lal has said that Haryana is not particularly worried so much about a few villages here or there. It is more worried about the SYL canal and about the capital region and money for that. The Central Government should have assured the Haryana Government that the SYL canal will be constructed and completed by the Central Government and you should have given Rs. 200 crores for the capital construction and been more liberal there. Then Haryana people would have been satisfied. It would have been more prudent to do that. But unfortunately the Government has not done it and the Haryana people were disappointed to that extent.

The next point which is worrying more is the migration of Hindu people from Punjab. Even in the worst days when the worst troubles were there, the November riots, complete Hindu-Sikh amity prevailed in Punjab and there was no migration. But, unfortunately, recently certain incidents have provoked exodus of Hindus from Punjab and this should be stopped. There is special responsibility on the Punjab Government to stop this and give complete protection to Hindus. Sikhs are noted for their tolerance towards Hindus. Earlier there were no incidence for a long time and that tradition should be maintained. I hope all the Sikh leaders and the Government there will ensure full protection to the minorities there.

The statement also refers to the complicity of the Pakistan Government in

extremist activity in Punjab. We know this for a long time. It is time that we are stiff with Pakistan and also I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps he has taken to protect the border and insulate it from the influx of terrorists across Pakistan. Are we leaving the border just like that. When we said that the border should be sealed, they said it is impracticable. Why are you keeping such a large army then, if you cannot check the infiltration across the border and prevent them going to Pakistan and getting arms from there? The Home Minister has to satisfy us on this account. The Prime Minister, I do not know, very unwittingly gave an indication during one of his speeches that he was prepared to speak to extremists if they abhor violence and certain other things. I feel that it is not a very wise statement which he made and he should not have made it and given indirect encouragement and recognition to their existence by offering to talk to them. (Interruptions) It has become a habit with the Prime Minister to make a hurried statement and then retrace it. It is one of those statements. (Interruptions) It has become a habit with him. I appreciate his retracing the steps. I only said that it has become a habit with him to make impulsive statements and then retrace. (Interruptions). Lastly, a committee was appointed to advise the Government on Punjab affairs. I do not know whether such committees can advise the Government at this stage and whether Government will accept such advice also. But for all its worth I feel there should be a consultative committee to consider the situation that arises and advise the Government. I feel a Parliamentary committee with representatives of all parties, and if necessary a political parties committee also should be appointed as early as possible to study the situation and advise the Government from time to time. I also endorse the views of Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta that an all-party delegation, not merely a delegation but a peace-yatra by senior leaders of all the parties in the country, must go to Punjab to instil confidence among the people there, particularly the minority community, and also try for establishment of peace in Punjab.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, पंजाब में जो स्थिति निर्मित हो रही है उसकी और मैं आपका ध्यान बड़े दुःख के साथ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मानव इतिहास मानव इतिहास ने अपने अतीत में अनेकों बार जातीयता, विषमता, दासता व विदेशी हस्तक्षेप के खिलाफ जहाद छोड़ा है। ये शक्तियाँ बार-बार शकल बदलकर उभरी हैं और इन्होंने विनाश को अंजाम दिया है। पंजाब एक संवेदनशील सीमागत राज्य है जहाँ कर्तव्यपरायण लोग हैं। आज पंजाब समस्या एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है जिसमें राजीव जी सुलझाने के लिए कृत-संकल्प हैं। पंजाब की धर्मयुद्ध की आग सारे देश को झूलसा रही है। इस सबका विरोध सच्ची देशभक्त पार्टियों को करना चाहिए। आज जरूरत है हम संकीर्ण विचारधारा त्यागकर मिल-जुलकर एक व्यापक दृष्टिकोण अपनायें। यह पुनीत कर्तव्य न केवल सत्तारूढ़ पार्टियों का होना चाहिए बल्कि सत्ताहीन पार्टियों का भी होना चाहिए। पंजाब से हिन्दुओं का पलायन एक गंभीर संकेत है और साथ ही यह राष्ट्रीय एकता को धोखाधियों की चुनौती है। इतिहास साक्षी है भारत ने जब-जब तरक्की की है विदेशी शक्तियों ने हस्तक्षेप किया है और इनके लिए उन्होंने जयचंद और मीरजाफरी का सहारा लिया है। ठीक इसी प्रकार पंजाब में हो रहा है। लंदन में विश्व सिख संगठन का गठन हुआ है जो खालिस्तान की राष्ट्रीय परिषद बनी है एजीक्यूटिव इन्टेलिजेंस रिव्यू के संपादकों के मुताबिक उसमें विदेशी रिचर्ड होजर, जगजीत सिंह के गुरु लंडम वाटिंग क्विस्टोफर सेकल, पीटर स्टाकडेल, धर्मांतरित अमरीकी सिख रात्मा सिंह हैं। मान्यवर, मेरे खालिस्तान समर्थक जगजीत सिंह अकाली भाजपा गठबंधन सरव्जर में डिप्टी स्पीकर रह चुके हैं। पिछले 8-10 दिनों से तलायन पर निश्चित रूप से नियन्त्रण हुआ है, इसके लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार बधाई की पात्र है और उपवादियों के खिलाफ भी धरपकड़ जारी है। जहाँ तक बार्डर सील करने की बात हमारे विरोधी सदस्य ने उठाई है उसके संबंध में मेरा आग्रह है कि बार्डर इतना बड़ा है कि उसको सील नहीं किया जा सकता बल्कि उसको टाइटन किया जा सकता है।

(व्यवधान)

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : मेरा प्वायंट आफ आर्डर है। यह कौन से गठबंधन की सरकार की चर्चा कर रहे हैं जिसमें भाजपा है? ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : 1967-69 में। मान्यवर, हमारे विरोधी सदस्य भाई आडवाणी जी ने पंजाब समझौते की बात उठाई है। इनकी आदत बन गई है कि हर अच्छी बात का विरोध करते हैं। क्योंकि ये उस पार्टी के हैं जिस पार्टी की बुनियाद है हाफ पेंट पहनकर डंडा चलाने वाली संगठन आर. एस. एस. जिसके गुरु गोलवलकर रहे हैं जिसने 'बंच आफ थाम' 15 अगस्त, 1947 को बौमसाल गद्दारी का दिन निरूपित किया। ... (व्यवधान)

जी हाँ, इनके गुरु गोलवलकर ने यह किया, यह पपर इस बात का सबूत है। जहाँ तक पंजाब समझौते की बात है, चंडीगढ़ का हस्तांतरण और पंजाब समझौते से आतंकवादियों का कोई संबंध नहीं है। अव्यवस्था में विदेशी हाथ है, विशेष रूप से पाकिस्तान का हाथ है। भारत सरकार ने भी इस संबंध में प्रोटेस्ट किया है, जिसके संबंध में माननीय गृहमंत्री जी ने अभी वक्तव्य दिया है। तीन बार, पंजाब की अकाली सरकार के अनुरोध पर चंडीगढ़ का हस्तांतरण रुका। यह दोष चंडीगढ़ हस्तांतरित न करने का केन्द्रीय सरकार का नहीं है। भा. ज. पा. केवल दो मुद्दे नीती नहीं अपना रही, बल्कि तीन मुद्दे नीति अपना रही है। हरियाणा में यह चंडीगढ़ न देने की बात करते हैं, पंजाब में समझौता लागू हो यह बात करते हैं और दिल्ली में अडवाणी जी सीमावर्ती जो जिले हैं पंजाब के वहाँ सेना भेजने की बात करते हैं। इनके अलग-अलग स्थानों पर अलग-अलग भाषा के संकेत मिलते हैं। अवाद की बात जहाँ तक इन्होंने उठाई है, मैं बड़े अदब से इससे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन अकाली असंतुष्ट नेताओं के संबंध में इनकी क्या राय है, जो कि उपवादियों के भोग में जालंधर में शामिल हुए थे, क्या गारण्टी है कि टोहरा, बादल असंतुष्ट अकाली पंजाब में बरनाला सरकार में अव्यवस्था नहीं फैलाएंगे? अभी अडवाणी जी

ने एक मुद्दा और उठाया है कि हमको पाकिस्तान के साथ व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध तोड़ लेने चाहिए। माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने अभी हाल ही की पाकिस्तान यात्रा स्थगित कर दी है।

मान्यवर, मैं आपको स्मरण दिलाता हूँ कि अटल जी जब विदेश मंत्री थे जनता पार्टी की सरकार में, चीन की यात्रा जब उन्होंने की थी तो वहाँ जाकर रुक गये थे। उस समय के प्रधानमंत्री मोरारजी देसाई के कहने पर ही बमुश्किल वपस आये थे। जबकि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने पाकिस्तान की यात्रा स्थगित करके एक सूझबूझ का संकेत दिया है। अभी इन्होंने एक पंजाब के रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर के वक्तव्य को उजागर किया है और यह कहा है कि क्या एक विषय में दो मंत्री अलग-अलग राय व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। मेरा इस संबंध में ज्यादा नहीं कहना है बल्कि विनम्रतापूर्वक यही कह सकता हूँ कि संभवतः पंजाब सरकार के इन मंत्री ने सन '77 से '80 के बीच जनता पार्टी की खिचड़ी सरकार के वक्तव्य पढ़े होंगे या सुने होंगे। उस समय जब अड़वाणी जी, बहुगुणा जी के बारे में कुछ बोलते थे, बहुगुणा जी मोरारजी देसाई के बारे में कुछ बोलते थे और मोरारजी भाई अटल जी के बारे में कुछ बोलते थे। और अटल बिहारी वाजपेई राजनारायण जी के बारे में कुछ बोलते थे। संभवतः यह चीज उनमें ली गई होगी।

जहाँ तक टोहरा और बादल से बांन-चीन करने का प्रश्न उन्होंने उठाया है। मान्यवर, मैं बड़े गौरव के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस पार्टी, जिसका सिद्धांत है धर्मनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्र की स्थापना करना, जिसका उद्देश्य है समाजवादी समाज की रचना करना, उसी नीति का हमारे प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी जी ने दूरदर्शिता के साथ अनुसरण किया है। उनके सामने राष्ट्रहित सर्वोपरि है और इसी के तहत दूरदर्शिता का परिवर्ण देते हुये पंजाब में शांति और सद्भाव के लिये यदि बात करने को तैयार होते हैं तो यह एक राष्ट्रीय भावना से ओतप्रोत उनसे व्यापक दृष्टिकोण का प्रतीक है। यह उचित समय था पंजाब में आतंकवादियों पर काबू पाने का, आतंकवादियों को उजागर करने का, उनको

अइडेंटिफाई करने का, परन्तु पंजाब में दुर्भाग्यवश भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने शिव सेना और हिन्दू मंच को संरक्षण देकर वहाँ की प्रतिक्रिया बंदी तकतो को बल दिया है। इससे आतंकवादियों को काफी प्रोत्साहन मिला है। हरियण में संघर्ष समिति क्या है, इसमें भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोग हैं, जो यह मांग कर रही है कि चंडीगढ़ पंजाब को नहीं मिलना चाहिये। इस तरीके से चंडीगढ़ के हस्तांतरण में कौन विलम्ब कर रहा है ?

मान्यवर, मेरा खुला आरोप है कि हस्तांतरण में विलम्ब के लिये दोषी ये लोग हैं। यदि कोई व्यवधान पैदा कर रहे हैं, तो मेरा खुला आरोप है कि वे यही लोग हैं। मान्यवर, भोपाल में 19 जुलाई को हिन्दू मंच के माध्यम से, जिसमें कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी और अन्य विरोधी पार्टी के लोग शामिल थे, एक सिख का पुतला वहाँ जलया। इन सारी गतिविधियों के पीछे इनकी यह मंशा है कि पंजाब से हिन्दुओं का पलायन हो और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्य राज्यों से सिखों का पलायन हो और खालिस्तान बनाने की इनकी मंशा की पूर्ति हो सके... (व्यवधान)... भोपाल में सिख का पुतला जलाया जाना और उसमें विरोधी दल के लोगों का शामिल होना निश्चित रूप से आतंकवादियों की गतिविधियों को बढ़ावा देना है... (व्यवधान)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Will the hon. Member tell us who pampered Bhindranwale?

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मान्यवर, मेरा केन्द्रीय सरकार में अग्रह है कि ऐसे प्रयत्न किये जाने चाहिये कि हिन्दुओं का पंजाब से पलायन रोक जा सके और उग्रवादियों के खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त कार्यवाही की जा सके। उनकी सुरक्षा की पर्याप्त व्यवस्था की जा सके और रसीना पार से मिल 3.00 PM रूढ़ी मदद पर रोक लगाई जा सके। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः केन्द्रीय सरकार से अग्रह काटूंगा कि पंजाब में जो एक स्थिति निर्मित हुई है उसे गंभीरता से लेकर सामयिक पहल करके निश्चित रूप से इस पलायन को रोकें और उन आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ सख्त से सख्त कार्यवाही करें जो देशद्रोहियों के जाल में फंसे हुये हैं।

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this Call Attention relates to the implementation of Rajiv-Longowal accord as well as the law and order situation in Punjab. I think these two issues are inter-connected, but there was an argument that even after the full implementation of this accord we will not be able to contain terrorist activity in Punjab. To a certain extent I do agree that even after the implementation of the accord the extremists may continue to play their game because we are all aware of their intentions and the forces who are abetting them, the imperialist forces all over the world and those who are interested to destabilise our country. But to contain the terrorists' activities in Punjab and to isolate the issue, for that I do not think the administrative or police action alone would be sufficient. Here comes the importance of the implementation of the accord. I am emphasizing this, especially because in his speech my esteemed colleague, Shri Advani, concentrated on the migration of the Hindus, rather the minority community from Punjab to other States. In fact, in his argument he has given first importance to containing the terrorist activity and he has given second importance to the implementation of the accord. I do agree with Shri Advani to the extent that the situation is really serious and this particular issue of migration of minority community from Punjab is a serious issue, we have to find a solution to that, but my point is that implementation of the accord itself is an effective weapon in the hands of the patriotic people of this country to contain terrorist activity in Punjab. My complaint and my charge against this Government is on this score. May I recall that after the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord there was such an enthusiasm among the people all over this country, there was such an enthusiasm among the peace loving people, among those who are interested in the unity and integrity of this country and especially among the people of Punjab? In that context, the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord was a blow to the extremists. They were actually on a run and it was a severe blow

to the imperialist bosses of the extremists, but, Sir, that enthusiasm has been lost.

Now I am speaking on the first anniversary of the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord. Valuable 12 months have been lost for us. By this time nothing has materialised and the extremists have utilised that situation and become strengthened again. Sant Langowal's death, his martyrdom aroused the anger of entire Punjab people, whether Hindus or Sikhs. His martyrdom gave a great verdict to the Akali Dal then. All of us expected that with this massive majority, the Akali Government would be able to contain the terrorists' activities, maintain law and order in the State, restore confidence among the minority community and safeguard their lives and property. Unfortunately, the power wrangling inside the Akali Party diverted the whole issue and I have no hesitation in saying that the treacherous conduct of Badal and company has been utilised by the extremists in their favour.

At the same time what was the attitude of the Central Government regarding the implementation of the Accord and to contain the terrorists? The Government of India took so leisurely and so casually the implementation of this Accord. They did not see that implementation of this Accord is an urgent matter. They appointed commissions after commissions. My colleagues have described all this. There was the Mathew Commission report, the Venkataramiah Commission report and then you appointed the Desai Commission. Within 12 hours you asked for a report from him. The judicial commission itself became in the minds of people a useless one and its credibility has deteriorated like anything. I charge that political interference is there, otherwise you cannot ask Mr. Desai to submit a report within 18 hours—or 8 hours even. Even if he were to work throughout the night it would have been only 18 hours. This is political interference, I charge, otherwise you can not ask him to submit a report within 8 hours or 18 hours.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA:
And what kind of a Judge he is.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: What is the use of appointing a commission? You have reduced judiciary itself to mockery. It is high time you come to understand that commissions will not solve this problem. Determination and political will of all concerned is a must, whether it is the Central Government or Mr. Barnala or the Government of Haryana. It is a question of political will and determination to face the situation. I am not concerned with some acres from Punjab or Haryana. I am more concerned about this country. I am proud to be an Indian. I am not concerned about any acreage. Are you prepared to come to this point? You are playing with acres, you are playing with water, you are playing with canals and every thing, but you are not acting as an Indian. I am proud of being an Indian. That is why I am saying this. I apologise to you, Sir, if I am a little emotional. I would like to say that the purpose of the Accord itself was to contain terrorism and to create confidence among the people and to stabilise the unity and integrity of this country.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal) in the Chair].

But what happened? Everybody knows that. Therefore, the Government of India has to find a solution.

In this statement it is stated that "Information about Pakistan's assistance to terrorists and their complicity in terrorist acts has become available through various sources." As responsible representatives of the people of this country we would like to know the details. I am not asking for a White Paper. You have already brought out a White Paper and we have seen it. What was there? It was a blank paper, actually. It was the compilation of a police report. We are not demanding such a thing. As responsible representatives of the people of this country we would like to know—I demand—the conspiracy of Pakistan to train these terrorists on their soil and send them to India to destabilize this country and we would also like to know which are the

forces behind that. We know that Pakistan alone cannot do this without the support of the imperialist forces of this country. So, we would like to know the details of this conspiracy.

Secondly, Sir, regarding Haryana, I am very much concerned about Haryana's demands as well as Punjab's. Some people can take up arms in their hands and do anything in this country and they can grab anything, but I am not for that. I am always for the demands also of the Haryana people. But, as far as I am concerned, and if my information is correct, Haryana people are more concerned about river waters than some territory, some 45 or 30 villages; no. The rural poor of Haryana are more concerned about the SYL Canal and river waters. That is my impression; I do not know what my esteemed colleague, Mr. Mohanta, is going to say. Of course, in the political game there are so many arguments but, actually, the rural poor of Haryana are more concerned about river waters. Therefore, I would like to request the Home Minister whether he would please give an assurance to this august House about the time by which this SYL Canal will be completed, giving the waters to the rural poor of Haryana.

Sir, my third point is this; The Venkataramiah Commission has already mentioned 45,000 acres and then another 25,000 acres. In categorical terms will you refer this to the Desai Commission and ask it to find out on the basis of paragraphs 7.2 and 7.4 of this Accord? We are always for a settlement but it should be on the basis of this Accord and we are not for violating the Accord between Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal.

Sir, because of paucity of time I conclude. Thank you.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I share with the hon. Member, Shri Advani the sentiments about the grave and disquieting situation in Punjab. Fortunately, lately with the reorganisation of the

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora]

Punjab Police and other security forces in composite teams, the Punjab Government has achieved some success in controlling the terrorist activities, and the rate of murder of innocent people has significantly dropped. The security forces have also captured and killed a large number of known and alleged terrorists and flashed their hide-out. For this the Punjab Government deserves our approbation and not just Ribeiro.

The recent lull has been achieved at great cost. But the present peace is superficial and transitory. Real peace can only come about by winning the battle of the mind, which cannot be done by suppressive measures alone. And to that extent I totally disagree with the hon. Member, Mr. Advani, when he wants to use army for this purpose.

Sir, I have had a certain amount of experience with 34 years or 37 years in the army. I have also had a certain amount of experience in the eastern border in Nagaland, Mizo Hills, Manipur. I would also like to mention here that if you use the army too frequently and too frequently for the sort of operation that was conducted in June, 1984, not only are you going to create more terrorists but you are also going to cause permanent alienation of a section or a minority which, I think, has contributed up to today more than their share in the defence of the country. In fact, I would also like to mention here that you may even break up the fabric of the institutions, the army, the air force and the navy which, to my mind, today provide possibly the best integrated institutions that there are in India emotionally and communally.

The next point I want to mention here is that in any operation of this nature in which you are capturing and killing known and alleged terrorists, a certain number of people who are innocent are bound to get killed or otherwise put to trouble. That does create unhappiness in the public whose children they are, and especially if they are innocent. So, if we are only

going to concentrate on this fact that we are going to carry out police measures, security measures in order to deal with this problem. I am afraid, in the long run it would be counter-productive.

As has already been said by various persons before me, the answer to this problem is really political. About a year ago—two days are left—when two wise and brave person; Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Longowal, took courage in their hands and achieved an article of understanding, the accord, that accord gave everybody a great deal of hope for the future. In fact, it set up an euphoria, and people felt that the moment the accord was signed there would be peace and tranquillity in Punjab and all the violence would disappear. Little realising what has happened in June, 1984 in the wake of Operation Bluestar and what had happened afterwards during Operation Woodrose when the army and other security forces went through villages picking up young people at random without finding out whether they were guilty or not and putting them in jail, which caused tremendous bitterness, if you want to bring army back again, I am afraid the result would be exactly what has happened after Operation Blue Star and Woodrose. You will have more terrorists and you will not be able to get rid of the terrorists. You can suppress terrorists with tremendous force, you can suppress terrorists with State terrorism, but you cannot eradicate them. So, it is important that we should try and find means which are going to win the battle of the minds. To that end the Accord which was signed was the only answer. But, I am very sorry to say that the implementation of that Accord by the Central Government has been most inapt. To appoint a Commission like the Mathew Commission and then at the last minute on the night of the 25th January realise that the Mathew Commission is not going to give an award is an absolutely amazing state of affairs by a Government that is supposed to run efficiently and faster. And then to appoint another Commission, waiting for it for a long period and then on the 31st of May when they were supposed to declare their

award you decide they need another ten days. And in those ten days what award comes out is that instead of sticking to the spirit and the letter of the Accord, Section 7.2, and specifying Hindi-speaking villages which are contiguous, Justice Venkataraman goes off a tangent and says they should get 70,000 acres. Where was it specified that he has to give 70,000 acres or 50,000 acres? He had to identify villages which were Hindi-speaking and they were contiguous and, therefore, could be given to Haryana. I am very sorry to say, and there is no doubt in my mind, that in this case the Central Government—I don't know whether willingly by design or unwillingly—became captive in the hands of Mr. Bhajan Lal. And there is no doubt the Accord was torpedoed both the times—I am sorry to say by the that time Chief Minister. And had that not happened, I think we might have achieved something.

Now, I would like to mention certain other things which are necessary.

MR. VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please conclude.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I am very sorry, I am coming at the tail—end and am not being given enough time. I do feel that this is an opportunity which I might be accorded, because I have something very important to say.

MR. VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please carry on.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: What I am trying to say is that if you want to win the battle of the minds, and there is no answer, you must remember that 15 or even ten years ago there was no terrorism in Punjab. Why it has come about? It is because an idea has been put into the minds of a certain community that they are not likely to get justice from the Centre. And today there is no confidence whatsoever in the mind of this community, whether they live inside Punjab or outside Punjab, that they can get justice from the Centre. That

is the root cause and you please have to understand it and you have to put it right.

I can assure you that you must not treat Barnala as your hatchet man. If you want him to govern and govern efficiently in Punjab, you have to strengthen his hands. Up till now you have given him a verbal support, but you have done everything to really ruin his position. Now, if you want to help him, I tell you the first thing. In the month of November, 1984, a carnage took place after very sad assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In that carnage thousands of lives were lost. It is surprising that the Government could not find anybody who was responsible for it. It could not find anybody who caused this havoc. You have not yet punished even a single individual. What moral has the Central Government got to talk about punishing others and capturing if they are not expected to do themselves?

Now, Sir, I would really not try to harangue people, but I would say in all sincerity that if we want to reach an Accord, if we want to solve the problem in Punjab, time is running out. If you want to solve it, is not going to be solved by giving speeches here only. It can be solved by the Government if they take certain definite action.

The first action is that get hold of the guilty and punish them who are responsible for the carnage of November, 1984.

The second action is it was accepted by the Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Sundarji when he took over the Command on the 1st February and he said that the Sikhs by nature are not anti-national, the desertions were of a small number, it was primarily failure on the part of the senior officers and headquarters and this thing should be looked at with compassion. Since after that no information has been given about these 3,000 people who were in jail against whom court martials were either held or are being still held. Whether they are going to show any compassion or consideration towards those people

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora]

who have been given sentences? What is going to happen to them? Today if you use your compassion and set those people free and reduce the sentences on others and inform their parents, it will cause tremendous wave of peace in Punjab. I can assure you on this. There is no doubt in my mind about this.

Furthermore for more than two years there are 365 or 375 people rotting in Jodhpur jail. It is well known that majority of these people are innocent and they are devotees who had gone there. It is high time that the Government is able to work out who are the guilty against whom they have really got proof. Then try them in open court. Why do you try them in special court. You can try them in an open court. If they are guilty, for God's sake, punish them. Anybody who is criminal, if you got proof, you punish them. But if you cannot prove them guilty and by bringing special black laws you try and keep them under lock for no reason at all—what does it create? It only creates suspicion in the minds of the community to which State they belong and they feel that the Government is not sincere, the Government does not want to give a fair deal and justice. I can assure you that without justice you will not be able to create sound foundation on this society whether it is underprivileged or minority group or he is the strongest person in this country. You must let them know that the guilty will be punished and the innocent will get justice. If you are able to do that, Sir, you have found the answer. You have the instrument of Accord. It is available to you. I quite agree the implementation of the Accord may not straight away bring in peace. The terrorists who are bitter who have also been brain-washed by certain unfriendly powers, we all know about them, they are going to come back to the fold. But there is no doubt once you have satisfied the people as a whole that the Centre means business, the Centre is honest and going to do justice, I am sure, slowly and steadily those people would be isolated and they will have no

other course but to come back to the fold and I can assure you a large number of them will come back to the fold if they are given a chance. One other thing I would like to mention here is and that is the centre's responsibility for being able to seal the border. I have just received information from Punjab that during the last two months, at least, 200 people have come across over the border and some of them in as large number as 15. Now, whereas you are blaming the Punjab Government for not doing their job properly, 200 people have come across the border and at one stage in a group of 15. What sort of job the security forces which are employed on the border are doing?

Last of all, I would again like to mention that the Punjab Government is doing a very difficult job. It is no use being inhuman and not realising that they are dealing with human beings, with young people, the children of those who are their voters, to whom they are related. They cannot act as butchers. If certain innocent people are killed. Ministers and M.L.As are going to raise their voice. That does not mean that they are disloyal to the country. It would be totally wrong if one was to consider that any Minister, who disagrees or is upset about an operation because he has received certain reports, is automatically disloyal. Lastly, about the people, the dissidents. It is very unfortunate that this has happened but I can assure you that if this accord was implemented speedily, if Chandigarh had gone to Punjab on the 26th of January, there would have been no dissidents. Thank you very much.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was listening with rapt attention to the speeches of Mr. L. K. Advani as well as Mr. Jagjit Singh Aurora. I was moved when Mr. Advani described the miserable plight of Hindus who have migrated, who have become refugees in their own land. Sir, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, during those turbulent days came to Delhi. When he signed the accord, he was so confident that Chandigarh will go to Punjab on 26th January. But alas! he

fell a prey to the bullets of the terrorists and who is responsible for such an unjustifiable delay in transferring Chandigarh to Punjab and implementing the accord? That is the question we have to ask. That is the clarification we have to seek from the Government and in the statement, the Minister has stated about the three Commissions. You could not simply say that we have appointed three Commissions. In fact, the appointment of the three judges itself was very wrong. Take the case of Justice Mathew. It was a very wrong choice because he was given an assignment in the year 1975 to probe the Samastipur explosion in which Mr. L. N. Mishra was killed. What happened? He was asked to probe into the general background and circumstances pertaining to the explosion but he, however, refused to investigate into the main issue on the ground that the criminal case was pending. He fumbled and failed there. Again, he has created a mess. Here also, he failed and created more confusion. He started a referendum in Kandukhera village. Then, he developed cold feet and he could not come to any conclusion. Many precious months passed. The first three to four months he wasted. Then the Government announced the Venkataramiah Commission. Justice Venkataramiah also has fumbled like this. Sir, on June 19, 1984, Justice Venkataramiah sitting as the vacation judge of the Supreme Court had to try two petitions for writs of habeas corpus in the wake of "Operation Bluestar". The law regarding the writ of habeas corpus is fairly clear and so is the duty for expeditious disposal of such cases. The fact that Punjab was in the throes of a grave crisis was no reason for any different treatment of habeas corpus petitions of our Indian citizens. But Justice Venkataramiah refused to hear them on the ground that the issues involved were too large and complex for a single judge to hear. This was the attitude of Justice Venkataramiah. So here again he fumbled. He took three months. Then during the last 10 days he worked out certain detail and he gave a verdict. About the 70,000 acres, Mr. Barnala, the Chief Minister of Punjab, was prepared to accept one formula, that is, transfer

of 45,000 acres to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh going to Punjab. He was ready to accept it. That was the point made by Mr. Upendra. That was a golden opportunity for the Central Government also. But you missed that opportunity. You missed the bus. Sir, just consider one aspect. Mr. Barnala has lost his leader. Most of his colleagues, top-ranking colleagues have deserted him at a crucial time, have stabbed him behind his back and most dangerous terrorists are always after his blood. At this juncture, he comes out and says, "Yes, I am prepared; let 45,000 acres of land be transferred to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh going to Punjab. About the remaining area, let any commission—Desai Commission or any commission—decide on the basis of two principles, contiguity and language or linguistic affinity." Then came the famous announcement about the appointment of the Desai Commission, the most absurd and ridiculous announcement ever made by any Government. He was asked to submit his verdict within 12 hours or 18 hours or 20 hours. I wonder why such an absurd announcement was made. Our hon. Prime Minister was a pilot. He might have considered like this: it would take only 30 minutes to reach Chandigarh from Delhi by flight; so he would be able to submit a report within 12 hours. But what is more absurd is that the judge accepted it. Had he said, 'No, I will not agree', it would have taught them a lesson to wake up to the absurdity of the assignment.

Now you see that the last two or three paragraphs of the statement of the Home Minister try to put the responsibility on the shoulders of Mr. Barnala, as if he is responsible for the delay in the transfer of Chandigarh.

Sir there is one thing which is bothering the mind of everybody. We are all very much concerned whenever innocent people are killed. In Punjab innocent Hindus are killed by terrorists for the simple reason that they are Hindus, for the simple reason that they do not belong to the Sikh community. That is why they are being butchered and killed. That is why they are migrating from Punjab.

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

I share the concern of Mr. Advani. They do not deserve to live in a civilised society. I would call them even beasts. All right, you have given all powers to one man, Mr. Retciro, the one-man army, to trigger the gun even at the sight of a terrorist. So the individual terrorist could be eliminated with the trigger of a gun. But by going on eliminating and liquidating individual terrorists you cannot solve the problem. That was the point made by Mr. Aurora. You have to win the minds and hearts of the community; otherwise, new ones will replace the old ones. They believe in a particular Punjabi song in the way of Manu's sickle, the more he wins, the more we grow. That is the battle song of the terrorists. In no uncertain terms I condemn terrorist activities. But then, when you launch your troops, when you launch your para military forces, when you launch your police, to eliminate, to liquidate, individual terrorists, what about the mob terrorism which was perpetrated against a particular minority community in the capital city of Delhi? That was the question asked by Mr. Aurora. What about that mob terrorism? They are panic stricken; that is, the Hindus are panic stricken. A fear psychosis is being injected in the minds of the Hindu community in Punjab. I condemn that attitude. They are the minority. But at the same time there is the Sikh minority community in other parts of the country. They live in Madras; they live in Coimbatore; they live in Bombay. They are everywhere. They are in Delhi. They are the minority. For the crimes committed by a few individuals—they may be hundreds—the whole community was butchered. What have you done? They were butchered in thousands. They were burnt alive. Even women and children were killed. By whom? That is the big question. There were many commissions. PUCL submitted its report as to who the guilty were. Who were the guilty? This pamphlet was distributed. A citizens' commission under Justice Sikri and five other eminent personalities probed what happened in Delhi, and they reported that this was done by a particular political party. That is the ruling party, some high-up; what have you done? You

have not taken any action. On the other hand, our honourable Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, goes to the Red Fort and speaks on the birthday of Indira Gandhi saying, "When a big tree falls, the earth will shake." Did he try to justify the holocaust and carnage which took place in Delhi? Unless you inject confidence in the minds of the community how do you expect communal harmony? When thousands have been killed, you have so far not prosecuted a single individual. You may say there is a Ranganatha Misra Commission. But what are its terms of reference? General allegations. You put the burden of proof on the shoulders of the victims. That is the problem. I warn this Government, don't try to weaken Barnala. Our Prime Minister is tempted at times. That is why he made that statement in Mizoram, "Yes, I am prepared to speak with the militants, the terrorists, the dissidents." Then, as usual, he somersaulted. Yes. You should pardon me for saying so. I wish better sense should prevail on him. He changed his statement and said, "No, no. I do not want to speak." Then why did the Prime Minister make such a statement in Mizoram? You are only creating more problems and confusion. That is why I warn you: Don't try to weaken Mr. Barnala and try to gain political capital. (*Time Bell*). You are trying to do it. You have not accepted the version of Mr. Barnala when he was prepared and said that if the formula was implemented, forty-five thousand acres could be transferred to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. Therefore, before I conclude, I would like to appeal to all the sections, the Sikhs as well as the Hindus, to develop communal harmony. At the same time, I warn the Central Government. You have bungled on this issue from the very beginning and you have been responsible for all these happenings and now you should try and take steps to strengthen the Barnala Government to face the situation and create a better atmosphere there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Now Mr. Aladi Aruna.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want only one or two clarifications from the honourable Minister on the situation that is prevailing in Punjab now.

The turbulence and turmoil which were brought under control soon after the signing of the Punjab accord have once again become rampant. The sigh of relief heaved by the people did not continue even for a few months. The confidence reposed by the popular Government has been shattered miserably. Once again we see the reign of terror in Punjab. Not a day passes without shooting, looting, murder and blood-shed. Peace and tranquillity in the State have become a fairy tale. Terrorists with the support of the anti-national forces, with the support of Pakistan and other anti-national elements, are gearing up their anti-national activities and acts of violence in some of the districts of Punjab like Amritsar, Kapurthala, Ludhiana and Ferozepur. They took over a part of the Golden Temple on January, 26 and they hoisted their so-called national flag and a five-member Panthic Committee declared the birth of Khalistan on April 29 from the Golden Temple. This is the profile of the anti-national activities of the terrorists in Punjab.

In curbing the violence and arresting the anti-national activities of the terrorists, though Mr. Barnala is not successful, with a sense of gratitude I am reminding the House of the fact that he is firmly taking action with great sincerity and honesty. With his limited forces he has flushed out the terrorists from the Golden Temple and without any reservation he has ordered rounding up of all the terrorists in Punjab. The results may not be encouraging or satisfactory. But his intentions are honest, his attempt is honest and his execution is honest. Though he confronts with the Centre on certain political matters in maintaining the law and order and in curbing the anti-national activities of the terrorists, Mr. Barnala has proved his loyalty to the country. Hundreds of terrorists have been arrested and imprisoned under the National Security Act. Shri Ranjit Singh, the so-called chief of the Khalistan armed forces, and Shri Gur-

mukh Singh, both of whom carried a reward of one lakh of rupees on their heads, and Shri Mohan Singh, another important terrorist, have been killed in an encounter with the police near Khalibanani village in Patiala on July 18. Police and paramilitary forces launched a greater and massive offensive against the terrorists in the Maand area, the so-called capital area of Khalistan. It is reported in the Press that since last October, 217 murders have been committed in Punjab of which 72 murders were committed in May, 1986. In Amritsar, the number of murders is 88, in Gurdaspur it is 42, in Jullundur it is 23, in Ludhiana it is 18 and in Ferozepur it is 16. Sir, it is said that there are 35 terrorist groups operating at various centres in Punjab. No doubt, they are getting training from Pakistan. It is true that inspite of our biggest offensive we are not able to curb the activities of the terrorists. All criminal laws have been exercised against them. Military force has been called for. Para-military force is always in operation. Yet the terrorist activities are still continuing. What is the reason? We must find out the factual position. They are carrying out their anti-national activities in the border areas with support of the people. The other question comes up consequentially: why do the people extend their support to the terrorists? The reason is that certain political issues have not been settled as promised by our national leaders.

The day after tomorrow, on the 24th, we are going to celebrate the first anniversary of Punjab Accord. Had Sant Longowal been alive, he would have preferred to commit suicide on the same day, because we have damaged the accord to that extent. How many times have we changed the dates? How many times have we fixed the date? Sir, there is no political acumen, astuteness and ethics in our dealings. The award passed by Mrs. Gandhi was duly examined by Justice Mathew Commission. The finding of the Mathew Commission was adverse to Harvana. Harvana's claim to Abohar and Fazilka was disregarded in deference to continuity clause. Justice Venkataramiah Commission constituted for the identification of villages in Punjab to be transferred

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam]

to Haryana in lieu of transfer of Chandigarh, submitted the report to the Centre that 70,000 acres be transferred from Punjab, but without identification. So the dispute remained unsettled. But what is more shameful to mention is that Haryana which is fighting for some area in Punjab for years together did not specify any village in the original claim—statement. But, Sir, on May 29th, two days before the last day of the Commission, Haryana submitted an additional statement of claim before the Secretary of the Commission, claiming 483 villages in Punjab. Because of this late claim statement, Venkataramiah Commission submitted the report without identification of the villages. Consequently, the Centre appointed Mr. Justice Desai Commission only for the identification of Hindi-speaking villages in Punjab within 18 hours. This is a world record of foolishness in our administration.

Regarding the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, I think the differences have been considerably reduced. Now the dispute is only about the identification of 20,000 acres of land in Punjab. In principle, Mr. Barnala has agreed to the transfer. But to implement the accord the Centre has unfortunately failed. Even now, I think Mr. Barnala is cooperating with the Centre in an honourable way. So there is a ray of hope and a signal of success. Since Mr. Barnala has agreed to allow Haryana for keeping its office in Chandigarh for another five years we must thank Chief Minister Barnala for his good gesture. Perhaps it may appear to be an ordinary thing to some of our friends. But I have to remind that when Andhra Pradesh was separated from Tamil Nadu, the then Chief Minister Rajaji did not allow a single day to the Andhra Pradesh Government to keep its office in Madras. But Mr. Barnala has allowed the Haryana Government to run its office in Chandigarh for another five years. Why I mention all these things is because Barnala is more accommodating. He is more sincere in settling the issue so that the political climate is very favourable, understanding is widened and differences are narrowed down. Therefore, let us not lose the opportunity and we should transfer Chan-

digarh to Punjab without any further delay. It is the greatest tribute which we can pay to late Longowal who has sacrificed his life for the unity and integrity of this country. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir after hearing a large number of speeches, there is not much for me to say on this problem. But I would like to concentrate on two or three specific issues. These issues have been mentioned in the statement of the hon. Minister himself. One is the issue of terrorism in Punjab. The second is the issue of political settlement and the Accord. The third issue is the foreign element especially the role of Pakistan in Punjab.

Sir, let us understand the issue in right perspective. The Punjab problem is not a mere law and order problem. It is a law and order problem emanating from the politics of Punjab. The main issue is political. The law and order issue is only incidental, although it has assumed very serious proportions. Sir, the answer to the problem of Punjab is to bring about a political settlement. In other words, it is to implement the Accord. It is here that we are not showing firmness, determination and the necessary skill needed for the purpose. It is amazing that an Accord was signed to which all the political parties have agreed. But still it is not implemented for one reason or the other and doubts have cropped up about its implementation. My friends have referred to this aspect and some of them have said that the main answer to the problem is to implement the Accord. Therefore, let us understand that the implementation of the Accord as soon as possible will solve many many of the problems facing Punjab. The Government has failed in this and the Prime Minister has failed more miserably because some of his statements have created a new problem. It has given scope to detractors, dissidents and terrorists to operate.

4 P.M.

The statement of the Prime Minister which has been denied later was most unfortunate. Sir, I firmly believe that

there should be an early implementation of the Accord and that should be done as early as possible.

Coming to the question to terrorists and terrorism, Sir, I said the law and order question flows from the political problem of Punjab. While dealing with the law and order problem one has to remember that this has to take into consideration the psychology of the people of Punjab. I agree with Gen. Aurora that the people of Punjab should be won over, their hearts should be won over, their minds should be won over. We cannot afford the alienation of a large section of our people. One thing that is troubling the minorities—I have to straightaway agree with my friends—is that when the carnage took place in Delhi after assassination of Indiraji, when the Commission was set up and when the report was submitted, no action was taken. Why? The Government has still to answer this question. I would like my friend to answer this question. This is working in the minds of a large number of Sikhs. Why these double-standards are being followed by the Central Government? Sir, for ages, for centuries Sikhs and Hindus lived together as brothers. After the partition of India, it was the Sikh community which saved a large number of Hindus and Hindu families. Even today, in Punjab, Sikhs and Hindu live together as brothers. I still remember, Sir that after partition, in Pakistan schools and college there were text-books which taught the students in Pakistan that Sikhs were tyrants. The Sikh was described as a tyrant to Pakistani students. The Pakistanis hated the Sikh community. And the Sikhs took the odium. But after Ayub Khan came to power in Pakistan in 1959, things began to change. Pakistan began to woo the Sikhs in the border. Sir, now we are witnessing a situation where some of the extremist Sikhs—the lunatic fringe if I may say so—are being trained in Pakistan in the art of terrorism. The purpose is to destabilise Punjab and

thereby destabilise India and to create a law and order problem, a problem of instability in this country.

Sir, the Prime Minister the other day told us, the Leaders of the Opposition, that he has got direct evidence to show that Pakistan is training a large number of Sikhs. We asked him, "why not you confront Pakistan with this evidence?" He said, "yes we have drawn the attention of the President there. But he has said that his Government is not involved." Perhaps, his Government is not involved but other agencies are involved. I would like the Prime Minister to tell President Zia that such things cannot go on if he wants friendship of India and they should be made to understand that training of such hostile elements in Pakistan will be treated by India as a hostile act, as an unfriendly act. General Zia has to be told all this. Likewise, the Governments of England, Canada and the U.S.A. where some of the extremists operate should be told this thing. Some of these extremists have got our passports. We should firstly ask those Governments to extradite them to India so that they may be tried here. People with our passports are operating on foreign soil. But the action of this Government is ineffective to get them back here for trying them. I would like the Government of India to exercise its diplomatic and political pressure on these Governments to see that such elements are brought to book.

Sir, talking of the law and order may I say that certain things are necessary. Firstly, the police force in Punjab should be restructured, streamlined and strengthened. I know some efforts have been made to restructure the police force there. That is not enough. We should talk to Barnala. It is very necessary that efforts are made to streamline and strengthen and restructure the law and order machinery there. It is at present demoralised, paralysed. Such a situation should not be there in future. How long can we have para military forces on soil of Punjab. It can be for a

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam]

year or two. It cannot be for ever. Ultimately, it is the police force, it is the law and order machinery there which has to take over. It is they who have to maintain peace and order. Therefore, Sir, it is urgently necessary that steps are taken to restructure and streamline the police force in Punjab.

Sir, lastly I would like to say that I do not like any time-limit to be placed on commissions. We have had enough of these things already. But it is very necessary to see that the commission, the Desai Commission, should finish its work as early as possible. We have seen that already much of the time has been wasted. I do not want to comment on these commissions. My friends have already commented and adverse comments have been made. I want to avoid those comments. I want this commission to finish its work as early as possible. In this task the co-operation of the Chief Minister of Punjab is very necessary. Sir, Barnala is in very great difficulty. He is facing a tough situation. It has been made out by my friends here. But I want the Central Government to give its full support and co-operation to the Government of Punjab, to the Chief Minister of Punjab in particular. *(Time bell rings)* In this context may I say why Akalis got divided, I want to know. That is creating a situation in Punjab. Whether the Akalis should unite or not, it is their concern, I do not want to argue here. But why this thing has happened? Lastly, Sir, because of lack of time I am saying this, as a citizen of India I feel strongly that religion should be taken away from politics. It is high time that it should apply to all of us. We have mixed up religion, caste, creed in politics too much. That has been ruining our country. That has been ruining our society and our public life.

(Interruptions)

SHRI HARVENDRA SINGH HANS-PAL (Punjab): Ask Akali Dal about it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I speak to all, I think. That includes Akalis also. And in the context of Akalis, I have said this. Religion should be separated from politics and should not be mixed up.

AN HON. MEMBER: Don't mix all the parties here.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADHASWAMY: When I say this, I say that it should apply to all. We have already suffered; the country has suffered; our society has been divided and sub-divided and fragmented on the basis of religion, caste and creed and it is high time that we eschew religion from politics.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री पवन कुमार बांसल) : महन्त जी, आप 7 मिनट में खतम करिये ।

श्री सुशील चन्द महन्त : मेरा सबसे पहला तो यह निवेदन है कि 1 तारीख को मेरा आखिरी दिन है इस सदन में और यह मेरी मोर-आर-लेस लास्ट स्पीच है आन ए मंजर टापिक । और यह टापिक बड़ा अहम है और इस टापिक पर आप कंजूसी से समझ की सीमा को न बांधिये, सदन से इंपाटेंट चीज यह है कि मैं उस स्टेट को बिलांग करता हूँ कि जो एक पड़ोसी स्टेट है और सब से ज्यादा कंसर्न है इस से ।

संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केशरी) : तो बोलिये न ।

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, from whichever angle you may have a look at the problem, in whatever manner you may like to solve it, one thing is clear that the Punjab accord has proved to be a still-born child. It died before it was born. This Punjab accord has met the fate which it deserved. I knew I am making a statement today which most of the Opposition parties would not relish. But let me put things straight.

The Punjab accord deals with certain items which concern another State, the State of Haryana. To some extent it impinges upon the rights of the State of Rajasthan also. What can an accord have a meaning in which Governments and the people's representatives of these two States are not parties? There could be no agreement. Under the law there is no agreement. No agreement has any sanctity whatsoever; if at all there is sanctity, it may be for Sant Longowal and the Akali Party; it may have sanctity for the Central Government, but not for the States of Haryana or Rajasthan. So, to that extent, this accord has met its fate. I never had any doubt about it. Even in my first speech in Parliament I had expressed my doubt if this accord could have any legs.

Now, most of the speakers have mixed two problems relating to Punjab to which this call attention motion refers. First is the terrorist activities in Punjab, the lawlessness, the killings of innocent people in Punjab. That is a matter not at all concerned or connected in any way with the implementation of the accord. Acts of terrorism in Punjab are correlated with it. I can assure you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Sant Longowal would not have met that fate if the people of Punjab had thought that the Punjab accord was the panacea for the evils; Sant Longowal would not have been assassinated. Therefore, even till today, whenever Chandigarh is to be transferred to Punjab, we find a spate of terrorist activities emanating from Punjab. Can we say that the people of Punjab are really interested in the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab? On the contrary, last time I visited Chandigarh and there were voices heard that the Akali Party itself was having the second thought about transfer of Chandigarh. Probably they thought that they can leave Chandigarh if they are given Rs. 200 crores and 70,000 acres of land from Haryana. Chandigarh is not the bone of contention. Implementation of the accord and dealing with terrorism

should be kept separate. When we look at it, we know that one is not connected with the another. Terrorism in Punjab should be dealt with a strong, firm and iron hand. What is happening in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur? You will not be able to deal with the situation by soft methods. The police in Punjab have failed. The Punjab Government has completely failed. The only method by which you can bring in normalcy, bring in order in those areas is by deployment of the army. I am really surprised. I have heard speakers over here advocating that the deployment of the army would not help in dealing with the situation, I wonder. They also gave the argument that the Blue Star Operation should not have been undertaken. I would like to ask the hon. Minister. What are his views about it? Does he still justify this or they have second thoughts over it? After all, if Blue Star Operation can be justified, then, the deployment of the army today in these areas can also be justified. Unless strong and firm steps are taken in Punjab, terrorism cannot be controlled. Transfer of Chandigarh is not co-related or connected with terrorism.

There is another point which I would like to make in regard to the transfer of Chandigarh. Chandigarh is a city, vibrant city, with a population of five lakh people and it has been a Union Territory for a long period. People in Chandigarh put this question. They pointedly ask this question. If the fate of the whole area of Abohar and Fazilka could be decided by the census taken in a small village of 2,000 acres, with a population of 4,000, which is linguistically different from Abohar and Fazilka, if the census taken in a small village of 2,000 acres could decide the fate of an area—Abohar and Fazilka—of 4 lakh acres, whose population is totally different in language and culture from the rest of Punjab, if that one small little village could decide the fate of Abohar and Fazilka, how can we decide

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

the fate of Chandigarh today? How can we decide the fate of Chandigarh which has a population of more than five lakh people? The question is, why can't a census be taken in Chandigarh so that the people of the city can decide where they want to go? I would warn the Government. You cannot, at this time, throw the people of Chandigarh into the hand of the terrorists. Today, Punjab is boiling with terrorism. Murders, arson, rape and the killing of innocent people is going on. Chandigarh is peaceful. How can you force the people of Chandigarh to surrender and how can you expose them to acts of terrorism?

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

It is totally unjust. We should have second thoughts over it. I do not think this Government has ever been serious about the sanctity of any accord. Had it been so, they would have implemented the 1970 award. The 1970 award, in regard to the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and the transfer of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana, is still to be implemented; this has not been implemented. This award has been damned. Then, there was the 1976 water agreement. Till today, this has not been implemented and this has also been damned. In the case of the SYL canal, which was to be constructed in 1976, when the present Chief Minister of Haryana, Mr. Bansi Lal, was the Defence Minister at the Centre, which was proposed to be completed in the shortest possible time, is still languishing. How can the Central Government say that they will be able to do justice? How can the Central Government say that they are concerned about the sanctity of awards? What happened to the 1981 agreement, leaving aside everything else? The 1981 agreement was signed between the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Darbara Singh then, the hon. Member who is sitting here, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan and the Chief Minister of Haryana,

when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. What happened to the sanctity of this agreement? Everything steam-rolled. There is no sanctity about any agreement. What difference does it make if this accord also meets the same fate? We know for certain that—this accord is absolutely unjust as far as the interests of Haryana are concerned. You just want to take away Chandigarh from us and give it to Punjab and you say we will be compensated by Abohar and Fazilka. Now the Mathew Commission said that the only area which they can award to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh is Abohar and Fazilka. Abohar and Fazilka I cannot give under the award. Because of the tight wording of the language of the accord I cannot decide the fate as to which area will go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. This is Mathew Commission's writing. And then what did the Venkātaramaiah Commission say? These are the words of the Commission itself that you cannot compensate Haryana by an area which will automatically go to Haryana in lieu of the Punjabi-speaking areas which are to be given to Punjab. The accord has two aspects. The first is, that Chandigarh be given to Punjab and in lieu of Chandigarh certain areas be given to Haryana. The other aspect is, that the Punjabi-speaking areas in Haryana be given to Punjab and in return Hindi-speaking areas in Punjab be given to Haryana. These are two separate things altogether. You cannot overlap the other. You cannot say that we will give this portion in lieu of Chandigarh and this particular area out of the Hindi-speaking areas will be given in lieu of the Punjabi-Speaking areas. You look at the conditions. You will laugh over them. The language of the accord itself damns the accord.

Now, about the tribunal, what is this water tribunal? The 1976 award was made under section 78 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act which provides that if the States of Punjab and Haryana cannot agree to the allocation of water between themselves, the

Central Government will after a period of two years intervene and finally decide the issue. Under section 78 the Central Government decided the issue because Haryana and Punjab could not decide the distribution of water between the two. Under section 78 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act it was decided that Punjab will get 3.5 MAF, Haryana will get 3.5 MAF and a water channel or water link known as SYL would be constructed. What happened to that? Till today this award given under section 78 has not been revoked. What about the 1981 solemn agreement between the three State Chief Ministers of three States and the Indian Government? That agreement till today has not been revoked. How can this tribunal sit? This tribunal is supposed to be an inter-State river water dispute tribunal set up under the Inter-State River Water Disputes Act. It is really surprising. The dispute or the issue between Punjab and Haryana today is not inter-State at all. We were one State. The whole water was allocated to the erstwhile State of Punjab. Punjab was trifurcated into three States Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana and we are only demanding our share of water because of the trifurcation. It is not an inter-State dispute at all, it is a division of assets between the two separating States. How can this problem be brought under the Inter-State River Water Disputes Act? It cannot. Therefore, the whole approach towards the problem is wrong. Finally, I would like to refer to the last meeting with the hon. Home Minister. He had called all the opposition parties. Fortunately or unfortunately, I was present there for a limited time. There I had mentioned about the rally which was attended to by more than a lakh of people and in Delhi more than 25000 people were arrested. We have held a complete Haryana Bandh where not a bird fluttered or flocked. There was not even a sound of vehicle on the road, no wheel turned its spokes, no traffic whatsoever and no shop was opened. After that we held

a *samast* Haryana Bandh at Jind where more than 25 lakh people from Haryana were present. Was it not a sufficient proof that the people of Haryana are also concerned about what is happening all around? Did the Central Government ever think that there are some people in Haryana who should at least be called and apprised of the problem? Should we not be asked? Are we some people who are disloyal or anti-national? If we are raising a voice for our own interest, for the interest of Haryana, should we not be asked what our problem is? Is the way in which Punjab people are indulging in terrorism the only way to shake the Centre and make them hear you. I am very sorry to say this because we have resorted to peaceful methods, there is no reason why we should be ignored. Don't force the people of Haryana to go the Punjab way. It is a very sensitive issue. It is not too late, Mr. Home Minister. You must give an answer to this query which I am raising: why the people of Haryana have been ignored till today? Why no one as representative of people of Haryana was made signatory to any agreement concerning the interests of Haryana? Why till today the people of the Sangarh. But may I ask what is the call their popularity and proved that the people of Haryana are solidly behind them, or are for the demands that they are raising, have not been invited and asked what the trouble is. I am thankful to the Members, even from the Opposition side, who have been graceful and kind to give us 45,000 acres of land in lieu of Chandigarh. But may I ask, what is the calculation behind it? What is the basis on which the Venkataramiah Commission came to the figure of 45,000 or 70,000? I really do not understand whether there is any formula behind it. He says, 4 lakh acres were to come of Abohar and Fazilka areas, but since Fazilka and Abohar cannot be given to Haryana and Chandigarh consists of about 15,000 acre of land, divide 4 and odd lakh by four and comes to 70,000 and which I give

[Shri Sushil Chandra Mohanta]

Haryana. Even the calculation, the divider, every thing is wrong. How has 70,000 acres been arrived at, I fail to understand. We do not ask for any charity. We are not beggars. We are claiming our right. Don't give us what is not due to us. But don't take away from us what is due to us. Talk to us, ask us what the problem is. I can tell you we are loyal. We are second to none in loyalty. We will always be prepared to face sacrifice of the greatest of our interests if ever we come to know that our demands stand in the way of the integrity of this country. We will never run away. But at the same time, please don't sacrifice us at the altar of terrorist activities of Punjab.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, काफी सवाल उठे हैं लेकिन मैं अपनी बात को उस हद तक सीमित रखूंगा जिस हद तक कालिंग अटेंशन में यह सवाल उठाया गया है। अब से पहले अकार्ड की बात कही गई है। अकार्ड अब भी जिन्दा है। अकार्ड पर अमल हो रहा है। अकार्ड पर अमल हुआ है और जो बाकी चीजें हैं जैसे पानी का मामला है, चण्डीगढ़ का मामला है यह इसलिए खड़ा हुआ है कि जो फसला हुआ है उसको सरकारी तौर पर पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने रद्द किया है और कहा है कि हम 70 हजार एकड़ जमीन इसकी बदल में नहीं देना चाहते हैं। 45 हजार एकड़ जमीन वह देना चाहते हैं और 25 हजार एकड़ उस वक्त के लिए रखते हैं जिसका एडजस्टमेंट 7.4 के तहत होगा। तो सवाल यह है कि चण्डीगढ़ का मसला और उसके बदले में जमीन का जो सवाल है वह यह है कि चण्डीगढ़ के बदले में क्या देना है हरियाणा को। इसलिए जो भी फसला होगा वह साइमलटैनिंगसली ट्रांसफर की बात है। अब मैं इस झगड़े में नहीं पड़ना चाहता कि एक कमीशन बना, दूसरा कमीशन बना फिर तीसरा कमीशन बना और उसका फैसला करते वक्त किसी बात पर नहीं पहुंचें लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह सब उनकी मरजी से हुआ है

जो वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोई आठोक्कीसी नहीं है, यहां डेकोक्कीसी में एक दूसरे से बात करके ही फैसले किये जाते हैं और यह फैसला इसलिए हुआ है, दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह पानी का मामला बहुत लंबे है। अब इसका फैसला कमीशन के सुपुर्द है। हरियाणा और पंजाब में किस तनाव से फैसला करना है वह करेगा। अब इस बात के लिए भी यह झगड़ा काहे के लिए उठाया जाता है कि पानी का मसला तय नहीं हुआ, चण्डीगढ़ का मसला नहीं हुआ। वह टेरीरिज्म हुआ है। आई डोन्ट शेयर दीज व्यूज। बिल्कुल गलत बात है। जो लोग टेरीरिस्ट्स हैं जो उनको हिदायत है किन्हीं दूसरों की तरफ से वे उन बातों के लिए काम कर रहे हैं। गुरुपदस्वामी जी ने ठीक बात कही है। जब तक हम हिन्दुस्तान में यह बात कायम नहीं करते कि रिलीजन और पालिटिक्स इकट्ठे नहीं चलेगी तब तक यह फैसला किसी रिस्के नहीं बढ़ेगा। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि बाहर के एजिटेशनों में से हटकर जब आखिरी पनाह गुरुद्वारे में ली, वहां से कसमें खिलायी गयीं, गुरु ग्रंथ साहब पर हाथ रखाये गये फिर आगे कहा मरजीवणे हैं, वे सारे की सारे मरने के लिए तैयार हो जायें, मजहब के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर, फिरके के नाम पर फिर तो हमारे सामने वही नतायज होंगे जो हो रहे हैं। उनको कसमें खिलायी जाती है जा पाकिस्तान में गये हैं उनको भी कसमें खिलाई जाती है कि कसम खाओ आप जाकर मरेंगे। यहीं नहीं बहुत से लोगों से हम कह रहे हैं कि पाकिस्तान हमारे खिलाफ ट्रेनिंग दे रहा है, बहुत से ट्रेनिंग कैंम्प खोले हैं। बेशक अपने अल्फाज में कुछ कहें, हम चाहते हैं कि उनसे फ्रेंडली रिलेशनशिप करें लेकिन वे तो यह करते हैं कि ट्रेनिंग भी देते हैं और उसके साथ इन्कार भी करते हैं। इन्कार इस बात का नहीं करते हैं, इन्कार करते हैं। इन्कार करने में फायदा है क्योंकि उन की पीछे जो ताकत चल रही है वह पैसों और सोफिस्टिकेटेड आर्म्स से उनको मद्दद कर रही है। इसलिए पाकिस्तान भी इस बात से इन्कार करता

रहेगा। हमारे शिव शंकर जी न लंदन में जो बयान दिया था उसमें यह कह दिया था। अगर कहा गया कि तस्वीर दिखाओ तो यह बात आपको पता है। सरकार के पास सबूत मौजूद है। अगर हमको पता है तो आपको भी पता है कि वे कहाँ ट्रेनिंग ले रहे हैं किन-किन जगहों में, किन-किन जगहों, किन-किन किशों में या और जगहों पर दरिया के पास व्यास के पार या रावी के पार दे रहे हैं। यह सब कुछ पता है।

अगर यह एकाई 6 महीने पहले तय कर देते तो ऐसा नहीं होता वैसा नहीं होता यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। आप दो चीजों को अलहिदा अलहिदा देखें। एक चीज है कि पॉलिटिकली जो उनसे एकाई हुआ है, पंजाब से, उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हो। दूसरी तरफ यह है कि टेरेरिज्म का एकाई से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। बार-बार वे कहते हैं कि हमारा इससे ताल्लुक नहीं है। हम नहीं मानते हैं यह एकाई क्या है। हम चंडीगढ़ को नहीं जानते, हम खालिस्तान चाहते हैं। एक बात में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि हम इस बरनाला सरकार को फली सपोर्ट करते हैं और इस बात के लिए करते हैं कि वे कहते हैं कि हम मेन स्ट्रीम में आना चाहते हैं। इसके लिए लगजिमी है कि वह वे बातें छोड़ें, उन लोगों को छोड़ें जो धर्म से ताल्लुक रखते हैं यानी उनको अलहिदा करें। यहां कहा गया कि 26 जनवरी के अन्दर हो जाता तो ऐसा होना वैसा नहीं होता। जब वे गये हैं तो माफी मांगते हैं धर्म के नीचे। उसका जो अपना दबाव है उसके बदले में उनको चाहिये कि वे नेशनल आऊटलुक में सोचें। इसलिये मैं दुबारा अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब का मसला सिर्फ इस बात के लिये न मोचा जाये कि यह मसला पंजाब का ही है। यह पंजाब का मसला नहीं है। हम हिन्दुस्तान में स्टेबलाइजेशन चाहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान को मजबूत करके आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं सवाल यह है। इस सवाल के पेगनजर सारी बातें करने की जरूरत है। मैंने चंडीगढ़ और वाटर डिस्प्यूट के बारे में कहा है। मैं मोहन्ता जी से अर्ज करना

चाहता हूँ कि 9.1 और 9.2 में वाजे नौर पर कहा गया है कि जो फैसला कमीशन करेगा। जो पानी 1-7-1985 को था, वह कितना था, उसकी भी वह जांच करके ही बतायेंगे कि कितना कौन किस वक्त ले ले रहा था और फिर उसका फैसला जो है, वह आगे बढ़ेगा।

मैंने जब फैसला बरवाया था नेट प्राइम मिनिस्टर से, तो 4.22 गांव को मिला था और इनसे कम जो है, वह हरियाणा को मिला था। मैं उस वक्त में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि इरादी कमीशन में वह चना गया है, तो आप उसकी बेट करेंगे, आप कमीशन को यह तो नहीं कह सकते कोई—यहां कमीशन के खिलाफ, जजों के खिलाफ बहुत कुछ कहा गया है, लेकिन यह भी कहा गया है कि है बहुत अच्छे। लेकिन उनकी यह नामांकन बात जो है, वह हमारी समझ में नहीं आती। एक ढंग से उनको डेनिग्रेट किया गया है, यहां कुछ मेम्बरों ने किया है।

मैं यह कहता हूँ कि अगर आप सारी बात को देखें कि कैसे कमीशन ने बन-बन कर अपने फैसले किये हैं—अब यह कहा गया है कि एक गांव के बदले में हरियाणा में जो दो — फाजिल्का और अबोहर थे, वह नहीं जा सके। मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि 1981 की मेंबर में बिल्कुल वाजेह है कि जो गांव कूड़ेड़ा है, वह पंजाबो स्पोर्टिंग है। इसमें काफ़ी दो राय नहीं है और फिर वह एक्तरसाई जा गई। वह एक्तरसाईज भी यह ले गई। ता उक्त बदले में साइ-मल्टेनेयसली जो कमीशन ने किया है, हम ता उसका मानते हैं। हम उससे इतर-उधर नहीं हैं और यह बात कही गई है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने वहां कह दिया था उससे बड़ा नुकसान हुआ है कि टेगरेस्ट जो है, वह आकर हमें बात करते हैं।

उन्होंने यह कहा था कि हम हर किसी से बात करने के लिए तैयार हैं, कोई अकालियों से तो नहीं, हर किसी से हम बात करने के लिए तैयार हैं, जो कंस्टीट्यूशन के अंदर है, आकर अपनी बात कह सके। वह रास्ता हमेशा खुला है। कौन कहता है कि कंस्टीट्यूशन के अंदर रह कर झंडा जला कर—नहीं

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

कांस्टीट्यूशन को फाड़ कर—नहीं, लेकिन इस चीज को—मैंने समझा था कि वह बैठेंगे, सुनेंगे, पर वह तो चले ही गये । उनके लिये ही तो मैं सब कुछ कह रहा हूँ ।

मैं अर्ज कर रहा था, उन्होंने बहुत कुछ कहा है । टेरोरिस्ट जो है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहते हैं कि जो बादल गुप्त है, वह सपोर्ट कर रहा है टेरोरिस्ट्स की । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, यहां सब लोग बैठे हैं, मैं कुछ कड़वी बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन कुछ लोगों ने उनके साथ बहुत काम किया है, मिनिस्ट्री में भी और बाहर भी किया हो, और उनको सब से ज्यादा माडरेट कहते रहे हैं । मैंने कभी नहीं कहा कि कोई माडरेट है, या कोई एक्सट्रीमिस्ट है । अकाली एक्सट्रीमिस्ट नारे को अपने पल्ले बांधते हैं, वह कभी भी पीछे रहने वाला नहीं है । आज भी हालत इसलिये खराब हो रही है कि वह एक्सट्रीम किस्म का नारा देकर आगे बढ़ते रहे हैं । अब वह जो आदत उनको पड़ गई है, वह अब भी उसके काब में आगे चल रहे हैं । इसलिये जो माडरेट थे, वह आज एक्सट्रीमिस्ट जाहिर हुये हैं, जो एक्सट्रीमिस्ट थे, वह माडरेट हैं क्योंकि वह सरकार में हैं । हम आज सरकार को इसलिये सपोर्ट करते हैं क्योंकि वह डेमोक्रेटिकली चुनी हुई सरकार है, चुनी हुई सरकार को सपोर्ट करते हैं और हम उसको डिस्टेबलाइज नहीं करना चाहते हैं । वह अपने बोझ से कहीं ऐसा उनका हो जाय, हमें पता नहीं, अपने बाझ से चले जायें, वह उनकी मरजी, लेकिन सवाल यह है — मैं यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहनता : गुलशाह ने जैसे कश्मीर का हाल किया था । (व्यवधान)

श्री दरबारा सिंह : आपको इसलिये इजाजत दे रहे हैं कि आपकी आखिरी वारी है । गुलशाह का या किसी का सवाल नहीं है, बात यह है कि अपने आपको उससे बाहर मैं नहीं ले जाना चाहता हूँ । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहां किसी एक डिसिडेंट को इजाजत किसने दी अन्दर जाने की

ताकि वह झंडा जला सके ? वह सारे उस वक्त इकट्ठे थे ।

मैं ज्यादा इसकी डिटेल में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ, आज भी मैं हाँ करता हूँ कि बयान दिये हैं, मिनिस्टर्स ने बयान दिये हैं— मिनिस्टर यह कहते हैं कि यह बोगस है । मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर 200 कोई वहां टेरोरिस्ट और सस्पेक्टेड टेरोरिस्ट्स हैं, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जो काम रेब्यू ने किया है, उसको तो तारीफ होनी चाहिये कि उसने आन दी रन कर दिये हैं वह लोग । अब इस मामले का हन किस हद तक और कब तक होगा, यह लगातार एक बात है जिस बात को हमें सोचना पड़ेगा । उसके लिये सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने जो किया है, मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ । आल आउट हेलप और सपोर्ट जितनी पंजाब सरकार को मिली है इतनी कभी किसी सरकार को नहीं मिली होगी । हालत के अनुसार इसको आल आउट सपोर्ट मिली है । इसके उसे वहां एक मजबूत डोजीपी दिया गया है । इसके साथ माडर्न वैनज, ट्रान्सपोर्ट नई तरह की, सारे के सारे हेली-काप्टर और दूसरी चीजें जिनका भी वह इस्तेमाल करना चाहे मिली है । गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया हैज प्रोवाइडिड दैम फुल टू देअर डिमांड । इसके साथ अगर कोई इन्फर्मेेशन हिन्दुस्तान को सरकार को मिली है तो वह भी उसमें पास आन को गई है । यह सब कुछ अगर देखा जाए तो इससे ज्यादा किसी राज्य को मदद और क्या हो सकती है कि उस राज्य को सरकार अपनी स्टेट में ला एंड आर्डर को कायम करने के लिए पूरी तरह से आगे बढ़े । वहां पर रिबरियों आगे बढ़ रहा है । लेकिन हमें इस बात का अफसास है कि आज उन्हीं मिनिस्ट्री में से कुछ लोग लगातार यह कह रहे हैं कि यह बोगस है, यह पकड़-धकड़ गलत है, इन्फर्मेण्ट आदमियों को मारा जा रहा है, गिरफ्तार किया जा रहा है । डकैती करने वाले लोगों को, कत्ल करने वाले और लूटने वाले जो लोग हैं वे सारे के सारे पकड़ में आ जाएं तो उनको छुड़ाने के लिए अगर सरकार के कुछ मिनिस्टर कहते हैं तो यह अपने हाँ बोझ से टूटने की बात नहीं तो और क्या है? मेरी अर्ज

यह है कि यह जो बैस कमेटी है यह हमने नहीं बनाई थी वह पंजाब सरकार ने बनाई थी, उसने कितने लोग छोड़े, वे कहां गए, किसके साथ हैं, क्या काम कर रहे हैं इसका कुछ पता नहीं? बैस लन्दन में भी गया। उसने वहां जाकर खालिस्तान का नारा दिया। यहां आया तो सब को छोड़ दिया। जिसने 5-7 कत्ल किए हुए हैं उन सब को छोड़ दिया, किस बात के लिए? पंजाब में जो कुछ हो रहा है और जिस वान के लिए हम चाहते हैं कि पूरी पकड़ हो सके उसके लिए जितनी हिम्मत से प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है और होम मिनिस्टर ने चिट्ठियां लिखी है, सब सरकारों को कहा है कि आप जो कम्युनिटीज हैं जो छोटी कम्युनिटीज हैं उनका ध्यान करिए। इससे ज्यादा क्या हो सकता है? सरकार को यह देखना पड़ेगा कि जो लोग वहां से 20-25 हजार आए हैं उनको किस प्रकार की प्रेफ़रेंस दी जाती है। आया कि उन्होंने सर्टीफिकेट लिया है दूसरे सूबों में कि वे इफैक्टिव हैं और इसलिए उनको सर्टीफिकेट दिया है कि वे इफैक्टिव हैं और हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते? पंजाब की सरकार को चाहिए कि उनको अपने घरों में भेजे जहां से वे आए हैं, प्रोटैक्शन उनके जिम्मे है जो दूसरी सरकार हैं। इसलिए उनको आप प्रायंटि वेसिस पर मकान, दुकान सारी चीजें दें। इनके साथ जो टैरोरिस्ट टाइप के लोग हैं जो जाकर कहते हैं यह काम करवा दो, ऐसे आदमी उन्होंने बड़ा, बड़ा चैयरमैनशिप पर दिए हुए हैं। वहां पर बैठे हैं। यह काम उनका कर रहे हैं। यह सारा हटाना होगा।... (व्यवधान) मेरे ह्याल में आपको तबीयत ठीक नहीं तो मैं कुछ नहीं कर सकता। सवाल यह है और मैं एक बात अर्ज करने लगा हूँ कि सारं पार्टियों को इन बात का सोच करनी चाहिए कि जितना हिन्दुस्तान का बार्डर है उसका कुछ इंतजाम हो। यह बात आपके लिए कहना है कि आज जो बार्डर को मील किया है वह इफैक्टिवली मील किया है। लेकिन फिर भी उसमें कुछ प्वायंट हो सकते हैं जहां से कि वे फिर भी दाखिल हो जाएं क्योंकि वह बड़ा जिग-जैग एरिया है। बावजूद इसके बात के उनकी रीटिंग हो रही है,

सब कुछ हो रहा है। मैं जल्दी-जल्दी कहना चाहता हूँ कि सब लोगों को और पार्टियों को इस बात पर ध्यान देने को जरूरत है। कुछ हिस्सा जो है बार्डर के साथ दस-पांच मील का, उसको देखभाल हिन्दु सरकार करे और उसमें जो बसने वाले हैं सारे के सारे, उनकी एकानामिक हालत ठीक करने के लिए जमीन ठीक करके ऐसे लोगों को देनी चाहिए जो वहां बैठें, उनको जमीन एलोट की जाय ताकि कोई भी किसी के छूप्ने और पनाह लेने की गुंजाइश न हो सके। अगर ये बातें जो हैं, की जायें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान के ट्वीनिंग कम्पस के बारे में जो यहां कहा, ईजाद दी गई है, यह किया गया है, तो मैं कहता हूँ कि बार्डर क्रांस करके, यहीं नहीं बल्कि और जगह से भी आते हैं, वेपन्स और भी जगह से आ रहे हैं। क्वाको द रहे हैं? मैं यह कहता हूँ कि भिण्डरावाला उन लोगों की पैदावार थी, जो लोग, मैं उन लोगों का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, जो पावर में हैं या नहीं हैं... (व्यवधान)... आपको शायद नहीं पता, आपका इतना पता है अपने सूबे के बारे में कुछ जान सकें, आप इसे मजबूत में मत लीजिए। हिन्दुस्तान की सबसे मजबूत बाज जो है, वह हिल गई तो आप कहीं नहीं दिखाई देंगे। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि किसी को बन्दूक का गोला जो है, वह हिन्दू-सिख की तमीज नहीं करता, मुसलमान की तमीज नहीं करता, मंदिरों की तमीज नहीं करता, गुरुद्वारों की तमीज नहीं करता, वह तो सिर्फ उग्रवाद करेगा। ऐसे हालात पंजाब में हैं, उसे पूरे तौर पर हल करने के लिए सब पार्टियां मिल कर काम करें, आइए, मैं आपको साथ ले चलता हूँ और आप वहां कहिए, लोगों के पास आइए, दोहात में जो हिन्दू और सिख बैठे हैं, वह तो बैठे हैं, लेकिन बाहर से आकर जो हमला करते हैं, उनको डिस्टर्ब करते हैं, उनको दबाए।

मैंने माइग्रेशन के बारे में अर्ज किया। आपने बहुत अच्छा किया कि हिन्दु सरकार ने एल. जी. को कहा है कि वे इसकी देखभाल करें और इसके साथ-साथ जब हालात नार्मल हों तो वहां चले जायें। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो भी है इन अफाज के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब की प्रॉब्लम

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

को पंजाब तक ही महुदूद न रखिए । सारा हिन्दुस्तान जुटकर, सारी पार्टियाँ मिलकर जायँ, लोगों को समझाएँ और बिना पार्टी की पालिसी को लिए सिर्फ इस बात तक महुदूद रहकर कि कैसे पंजाब का वचना है उन लोगों से, जो टेररिस्ट एक्टिविटीज करके एक कम्युनिटी को धकेल रहे हैं और बाहर से लोगों को वहाँ मंगवा रहे हैं, काम करें ।

इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं समझता हूँ कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब इस बात का पूरे तौर पर वाजिब तौर पर बयान करगें, जो-जो रुबाल यहाँ किए गए हैं, उनको जवाब दें ।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have always been saying that we in Jammu and Kashmir have vested interests in peace in Punjab. Not only that our tourist traffic is completely dependent upon Punjab. Our vegetables, eggs and other commodities also come from Punjab. My only request to the hon. Home Minister would be to assure us on one or two points. Many things have been stated as to what happened in Punjab and what has been done so far. But I would like him to assure the House that he would persevere in his effort to reach an agreement and see that the Punjab Accord is implemented in full. This assurance is very much necessary in order to assuage the feelings or doubts in the minds of the people that this Accord is dead. This assurance is highly needed in the interest of the integrity of the country.

The second point that I would like to bring to his kind notice is that a lot has been said about difference between 70,000 acres and 45,000 acres and the negotiations that are going on between the Central Government and the Punjab Government. I am inclined to agree to the Resolution passed by the BJP executive two or three days back at Gwalior that point No. 7.2 and 7.4 may be amalgamated and certain adjudication could be done on the territorial dispute so that this problem is solved for all times to come. Tomorrow Jus-

tice Desai may give some interpretation on point No. 7.2 and 7.4 and some other authority may give some other interpretation on these points. Therefore, 7.2 and 7.24 may be amalgamated and a way may be formed that a Joint Commission on territorial issue should give the verdict so that this problem is solved. I again say that on my behalf and on behalf of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, I extend my wholehearted support to the Government of India for this accord and want that they should persevere in seeing to it that this accord is implemented in letter and spirit. Thank you.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is yet another opportunity for me to express my grateful thanks to all the Members who took part in today's discussion on a very very serious issue, an issue of national importance facing the Punjab today. Shri Advaniji rightly pointed out the four major issues contained in the Calling Attention Notice which he gave today alongwith his other distinguished colleagues. Sir, the four major issues are: (1) they have put it non-implementation of the Punjab Accord, I will put it implementation of the Punjab Accord, (2) terrorist activities, (3) complicity with foreign powers and migration of the people and (4) the steps taken by the Government to combat the situation created by the terrorists in Punjab. Also he has asked three questions and his questions are only the repetition of the resolution passed by the BJP in a recent conference. He has pleaded for the deployment of army. Sir, this question was raised in the Consultative Committee also. I had the occasion to react to that question. Sir, the border State of Punjab has a peculiar situation. During the last five years, it has been badly stricken with violence, blood shed, communal hatred and things like that. General Aurora mentioned in the most uncharitable terms the role played by the army in Punjab which was the least I could expect from a General of the Indian army of which he had the honour to preside over a section of the Army. Also I was pained that General Aurora whose stature should have risen after

becoming the Member of Parliament at least have been in his remarks, addressing only one particular community. I thought perhaps, now, after coming to this forum he will have a wider approach to the issues which are facing the nation. Sir, I am not very much aware whether he is a member of the Akali Dal Party or not because he has his own organization. Whether he has resigned from the organization or was he speaking as a spokesman of the Akali Dal party to which he has the honour to represent here. He said a few things quite incoherent of what the Akali Dal has said and of what he has been advocating as the leader of the forum. Therefore, Sir, I think, as representative of the Akali Dal party, General Aurora must consult the leaders of his party before placing his views or he should qualify that these are his views as Chairman of the Sikh Forum and not of the Akali Dal Party. Having done that, Sir, he paid lefthanded compliments to our central forces who have done remarkable job in the past fortnight or 20 days. But he failed even to appreciate the leadership provided by Mr. Ribeiro. I can only imagine the position if a General was in his place. He got the plaudits of the world for what happened in Bangladesh. Although it was the outcome of the labour and the sacrifice of the Indian army, Gen. Aurora always stands out to share all the plaudits. But when it comes to Ribeiro, he says "odd man Ribeiro". Sir, what has been tackled in the borders of Punjab is something which we cannot realise sitting outside Punjab. It is a very very serious situation. You have to operate in the thickest of the population among the people and isolate the terrorists who are being given shelter by people who have very high and very respectable places in the society. They are sheltered, they are given supplies, they are given all kinds of assistance by very very influential people. You must have read in the press that some of the highly placed politicians in Punjab have been found colluding with these forces which are working against the country, which are killing innocent people in the bor-

der areas. They have to discharge that onerous task, a most difficult job among the civilian population. To save one particular family in a village, you have really to put yourself in a very very difficult position. The nerves of the jawans, whether they belong to the CRPF or the BSF or the Punjab Police, are on test and they are doing a very delicate job. They are isolating the extremists, the terrorists, and they have been dealt with very severely. If you were to look at the situation that prevailed about a month back in that particular area, whether it was Gurdaspur or Amritsar or Firozpur or Kapurthala, people were saying openly—and you could yourself see—that there was no Government. Now in that area, at least there is a sense, there is a feeling among the people that there is a Government. Sir, deployment of the army is so simple. You just have to ask the Army Headquarters and it is there. But, Sir, the situation on the ground is not that simple. Therefore, that has to be kept in mind. I am not on any technical ground, whether the State Government asks for it or not, because our concern is to save the lives and properties of the people of Punjab, the people of India. Therefore, as I said in the Consultative Committee—I am prepared to repeat it here also—our options are not closed. We have to see which method, which way is more effective. As Shri Advani said, the touchstone of the whole exercise, whether it is the accord or the Government in Punjab or the Government of India or the forces operating in that area, whether it is the army or the CRPF or the paramilitary forces, is whether we are in a position to restore the confidence in the minds of the people that their properties are safe and their lives are safe, they can operate freely and they can live in peace. That is the touchstone. My assessment of the situation is—and it is borne out by facts; I am not here today to disclose all that we have done and how we have done; but I am sure the House will broadly agree—that the exercises undertaken by the Central forces with the cooperation, with the involvement of the Punjab Government have yielded

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

results. And we cannot say that we can throw away everything and tell the army people to come in that area. Sir, we are also not complacent, as Advaniji has said. Complacency perhaps is the biggest enemy that anybody in charge of a situation can have. We, the Government of India, have been telling Barnalaji also that there should be no laxity in the operation and keeping up the pressure, the physical pressure on the anti-national forces is the only check which can establish peace in that area. Sir, we had the opportunity of meeting those unfortunate brothers and sisters who have come out of Punjab. Shri Advani also met them. Shri Vajpayee must have met them. Many honourable Members must have gone and seen them. Their misery is a difficult thing to explain—their tales of woe, their harrowing tales of suffering. It was very, very saddening to see our own kith and kin leaving their places in terror. But this is exactly the situation, as Shri Bhandare, Sardar Darbara Singhji and my friend, Pachouri, mentioned, that the enemies of the country want. They want that the population must be forced to leave one part of the country to another. There are families moving from other States also to Punjab. This is what they want, unfortunately. Most of my distinguished colleagues emphasised, one after the other, that Barnala Government must be helped. Yes, by all means. But we also expect that Barnala Government, his party, his party workers, must be very clear on some of the fundamental things which the people of the country expect them to do. They want that everyone and especially those in power in Punjab, should place the country at the top of every interest that they have. There positions, ministerial positions, MLAs, everything, can wait. The interests of the country cannot wait. Therefore, when they do certain things, which go only for certain sections of society—for example, there have been advertisements appearing in the national dailies inviting people of a particular community to come to

Punjab, making special arrangements for their rehabilitation—what message does it send across the sections of society? Even then, we have been helping the Punjab Government headed by Shri Barnala because he has shown at least that he has the courage of conviction, whether it was inside the Golden Temple or it is on the border areas; he has shown the interests of the country as the first and foremost. And we will continue to support Barnala Government. What is lacking is this. Honourable Members know the circumstances under which the Accord was signed, what the background of the Accord was. Punjab was bleeding, at that time there came a great leader by the name Sant Harcharan Singhji Longowal, who sacrificed his life. He knew it while coming to sign the Accord. Similarly, another great leader came, the young Prime Minister of India. He knew that the interests of the country were higher than the interests of the party. Both of them went ahead with a scheme of things called the Memorandum of Settlement on Punjab. And that Memorandum of Settlement was put on paper. Unfortunately, most of my distinguished colleagues have criticised commission after commission. What can I do? You read any clause of the Memorandum. It ends in a commission. Commissions are not coming out of my portfolio. Commissions are mentioned in the Accord itself. Look at the number of commissions stipulated in the Accord. Clause 3: Ranganathan Commission; Clause 7: Chandigarh Commission; 7.2: Chandigarh Commission; 7.4: another Commission; 8.2: Sarkaria Commission; 9.1: Tribunal—another Commission. So, this whole Accord is full of commissions. Perhaps at that time it was felt that was the best way out... (Interruptions). This is something which I am reading out of the document; I am not reading out of my turban. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): You continue.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Sir, after a full day of very very tense moments, if my honourable colleague does not

rant to be a little light, then I am sorry.

Sir, the Commissions are the by-products of the accord itself, perhaps logically, because the Akali leadership wanted that they should not agree to so many things straight away and they wanted something behind which they could agree because, unfortunately, as Darbara Singhji rightly mentioned, it is this very leadership of the Akali Party which has driven a particular community to such an extent that now it is difficult even for them to send their message down. What has been happening in Amritsar? This is the perpetuation of a propaganda which was systematically carried on with the unlimited resources of the Golden Temple and the other gurudwaras. The people of that particular community were addressed three times a day and every time hatred and division on communal lines were being preached. Now it is too late in the day even for those who used to call themselves as moderates to do anything, and I entirely agree with Darbara Singhji that it is very very difficult to find out who is a moderate and who is an extremist and it is very very difficult to brand him. It can just be a difference of degree only. But here is a leader, Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, who was an able lieutenant of Sant Harchand Singhji Longowal, and he came forward and he has a team of people with him who are at the moment controlling. There are certain people even in his Cabinet. Today, you must have read in the papers that some of his Cabinet colleagues have given certain statements to the Press which are not in keeping with the spirit in which Barnalaji wants to tackle or he is tackling the problem of Punjab terrorists. But, Sir, the honourable Members wanted that we should help Barnalaji. Yes, to an extent we are helping Barnalaji. But we cannot tell Barnalaji how to run the Akali Party. It is his job to see that the Akalis become of one mind, that they serve the national interests as compared to the parochial interests of their own constituencies, of their own areas and of their own people. Sir, it was only after myself and my col-

league, Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad visited some of the affected areas in the border sector of Punjab that some of the Ministers and the Chief Minister and others went to those areas and it was only after the honourable Prime Minister expressed his concern and showed his determination that things started picking up.

Now, Sir, as I mentioned earlier, we have been able to achieve certain results in Punjab. We will not relax, but we will strengthen further. Sir, this House is supreme, and Parliament is always supreme and it can always guide us and it can always direct us. But let us take the cooperation of the local Government there, the democratically-elected Government there. They are co-operating and we want to take their co-operation and with their co-operation we want to handle this menace on the border.

Sir, there are certain other points raised by Shri Advani and most of my other colleagues about the White Paper and the Pakistani connivance with the terrorists. Much has been said from both the sides and my distinguished colleague, the Minister for External Affairs, made a very elaborate statement on this issue and I do not want to elaborate further on that. And, Sir, our honourable Prime Minister, while putting off his visit to Pakistan, also said that such exchange of visits—this is what appeared in the Press—should promote good neighbourly relations. But he felt that these good neighbourly relations are not being promoted by Pakistan and, therefore, the visit was called off. What does it show? That shows that we are not at all prepared to listen to all the excuses that are being advanced by that country when that question is put to them that they are encouraging the anti-Indian terrorists and the extremists who are indulging in this kind of things which is harmful not only to our own country—we are capable of tackling it and we will tackle it—but to them also. They should realise this.

Much has been made about the hon. Prime Minister's remarks at Aizawal. But I think everything has been cleared.

[Shri Buta Singh]

I do not need again to clarify what has been clarified most authoritatively by the hon. Prime Minister. But, Sir, there are two ways. We have been often charged by my distinguished colleague, Mr. Mohunta—he is enjoying his sleep—*(Interruptions)*—that we are taking decisions which are not strictly in conformity with democratic norms. There cannot be a bigger democrat than the hon. Prime Minister who has said that we are willing to talk to those elements who conform to the Constitution of India, who believe in the peaceful methods for achieving their aims, whether they are political, social or economic. I think, Sir, this is a general remark which should have been appreciated by all the political parties.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : अपनी पार्टी में डेमोक्रेसी नहीं रख सकते हैं तो दूसरे को कैसे कह सकते हैं ... *(व्यवधान)* ।

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Sir, I am most amused that Mr. Gopalsamy finds fault—I am sure he was only trying to score a point on me... *(Interruptions)* Yes, I can yield to you. But certainly on these basic issues it has been clearly established that true democratic traditions set in this country by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Bapuji Gandhi and Smt. Indira Gandhi are being carried on with double vigour and zeal by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and we will not budge an inch from these democratic traditions from any quarter.

About the migrants, I started by saying that it is very, very difficult for one to leave his house, especially in places where they have lived for generations. And, Sir, this is an artificial divide between the Hindus and Sikhs, and I for one cannot for a moment entertain this idea that they are different. It is just like saying that the tree is different, leaves are different, flowers are different and the fruits are different. There are certain flowers, the colour of which is different from the leaves. But it does not mean that they do not belong to that tree. Sir, the Sikhism which was, I should say, the most progressive and the latest reforms in the Hindu religion, is now under an attack. Was it not the sacrifice of the

Sikh Gurus and Sikh heroes which gave a sense of realisation to the Indians. If you really make a careful study of Sri Guru Granth Sahib, it is nothing but the rich heritage, ancient Indian culture, of Hindustan which has been written in the most simple folk language. I can profess to know a little bit more of the Vedas than Pandit Vajpayeeji because I learnt it from Guru Granth Sahib in my own language. I could not read Sanskrit which he has the privilege. Where is the difference? So, this divide is artificial. I wish Gen. Aurora were here; he could also listen certain things which, because of his preoccupation with the Army, were denied to him. *(Interruptions)* Sir, this is an artificial divide. It is brought out only by the enemies of the Indian culture, the enemies of India. It can never stand the test of time. The Sikhs have always stood for the protection of the country, for the protection of the under-dogs. Their history is full of sacrifices. I need not repeat those things here. I can tell you that this divide is very artificial. It is said that posters are pasted outside the house of the minority community in Punjab. Yes. They are the enemies of the country. But why certain other organisations are trying to copy those enemies of the countries? The posters are appearing in Delhi. Why should they do it? If one is bad, does it mean that the other must also go bad? Therefore, these things should go. We are one people and nobody can divide us on communal or religious lines. Once we are united, nobody can touch India. What are these small neighbouring countries? We are not threatened by these countries.

Shri Advani Ji asked about migrants. Yes, of late, their outflow from Punjab has lessened, I took the hon. Chief Minister of Punjab with me. We met them. We also met those people who are not at all prepared to go back. They narrated some of the incidents and circumstances under which they had to leave. They named persons and places, I impressed upon the Chief Minister to go back and make a thorough investigation into all the things that were related to him by the people from Punjab. He promised that he would look into it and he would see that the

guilty are punished. Their fear is genuine and well-placed. They say that until the conditions are created in Punjab in which they can go back and live in their houses, they cannot go. There are about 40 families. I met them. They are from Gurdaspur. They said that if I could assure them that I would protect them, they would go back tomorrow. The next day, these 40 families went back. We made arrangements for their return and safety in their houses. The Central Forces are keeping a vigil. We have deployed these forces all along the border in Districts Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozpur. The forces are equipped with the latest methods of communication. The police stations have also been activated. There is an understanding between the Central Forces and the Punjab Police. We are getting full cooperation. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. House that we should not disturb those who are handling this most difficult situation in Punjab by some of the remarks that were made either in this House or in the other House. We must encourage them and strengthen those elements amongst the Akalis who have come out to associate themselves with the feelings of the nation. Let us encourage them. Let us not repeat what has happened in the past.

Sir, I need not dwell upon those points which have been mentioned by my hon. friends about the transfer of Chandigarh and about 7.2 and 7.4. I may be allowed to read 7.2 from the document which is called the Memorandum of Settlement. I want to highlight only one small point which will set at rest the Resolution passed by the BJP about 7.2 and 7.4. Now, let us understand what is mentioned in 7.2 of the Memorandum. 7.2 says:

"It has always been maintained by Shrimati Indira Gandhi that when Chandigarh is to go to Punjab, some Hindi-speaking territories in Punjab will go to Haryana. A Commission will be constituted to determine the specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which should go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh."

It is mentioned in the same paragraph:

"The work of the Commission will be limited to this aspect and will be

distinct from the general boundary claim which the other Commission referred to in 7.4 will handle."

Now it is a clear distinction. What you can do under 7.2, you cannot do under 7.4. What you have to do under 7.4, cannot be covered by 7.2. This distinction must be borne in mind because it is given in the Memorandum of Settlement. How can we do it, Sir, unless of course, all those who signed the Memorandum—Haryana, Punjab and the Central Government—agree? The three parties—Haryana, Punjab and the Central Government...

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Haryana was not involved in this.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: No. They passed a Resolution. Their Assembly passed a Resolution. Their ruling party passed a Resolution. For that matter, Rajasthan, this House and the other House also passed Resolutions. They approved this Accord. (Interruptions)

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, I just want to...

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Sir, I am purposely avoiding Shri Mohunta's references because not only they were uncharitable but they were in bad taste also. He said that they saw to it that no sound is heard on the road. Is that the way you want to run the democracy in the country? In what way are you different from those terrorists then, I want to ask you.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: It was a complete protest by the people of Haryana against what you are doing.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: No, no. Mohuntaji, you want to get with the help of a lathi which the others are doing with the help of a stengun. There is no difference. Your method is the same.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: No.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: You cut a number of trees. You burnt the buses. You put the whole of Haryana, not only Haryana but the rest of the country also into difficulty because the GT road is passing through Haryana. My goodness! The things that you have done are now here better than what the Punjab terrorists are

[Shri Buda Singh]

doing. Therefore, Sir, let us not vie with them. Let us eschew violence in whichever from it comes whether it comes from the Sangharsh Samiti or it comes from what is called the Panch Member Committee. It is the same thing. Violence is violence. Therefore, we have to see that our social life is free from violence. Whatever we have to do, we do with the involvement of the people, through consensus, by negotiation and by adhering to the laudable principles which have been enumerated for us by the Father of the Nation, by the makers of the Constitution of India. That is what is more important for us. It is only when we work under those high principles that this country can remain united, that we can make some progress, that we can alleviate poverty, that we can serve our people better. And any deviation from that line, Sir, will finish this country. This is the message I want to send across the country.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Are you going to convene that meeting I mentioned? Are you going to include new members?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: About that Committee, the matter is receiving the attention of the hon. Prime Minister. We have already called a meeting of the National Integration Council. I am sure he will give his thought. And this will be a useful forum on which Advaniji did not like to serve. I would still appeal to Advaniji that his participation we value.

THE REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL, 1986

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to repeal certain enactments and to amend certain other enactments.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. S. KAUSHIK): I want to just in-

form the House that Special Mentions will be taken up after the consideration of the Electricity Bill.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, after all, if there had been no Calling Attention, Special Mentions would have come first of all. Earlier special mentions came before call attentions. Subsequently we have agreed to the change that if there is Calling Attention then the Special Mentions would follow the Calling Attention. Now if the Special Mentions are to come after the Legislative business, it is totally wrong.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): That is the established practice of the House. You should not change it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: This will be a violation of the established practice. We have never agreed to it.

संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम कोसरी) : आप ठीक कह रहे हैं मगर बात यह हुई थी ... (अवधान) बिजनेस एडवाइजरी में कमेटी में बात यह हुई थी कि जिस दिन काल उटेशन होगा स्पेशल मेशन नहीं होगा । मगर आज उन्होंने स्पेशल मेशन दिया और यह कहा कि बिल के बाद लिये जायेंगे ... (अवधान) उस समय ... (अवधान) हमारा विरोध नहीं है ।

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): No, no.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): No, no. (Interruptions)

श्री सीताराम कोसरी : आप ठीक कह रहे हैं कि पहले लिया जाना चाहिए था, काल उटेशन के पहले लिया जाना चाहिए था, आप ठीक कह रहे हैं मगर यह तथ्य हुआ था कि कालिंग उटेशन जिस दिन होगा उस दिन स्पेशल मेशन नहीं होगा । मगर आज ...

श्री लाल कृष्ण अडवाणी : यह किसने माना है ... (अवधान)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I think my friend is aware...