

sion, I am not concerned with and we are not concerned with it. At least we have to go to Chandigarh and meet there. I am strongly advocating this because we have little time now to discuss these economic and administrative problems of the State in Parliament. But, in a Consultative Committee meeting, we can have much time and we can discuss in detail also the problems and we have also to contribute something beneficial to the State in a positive manner.

With these words, Sir, I would like to conclude my speech. Before concluding, I would like to repeat what I said in the beginning of my speech regarding the accord arrived at between the Government and the Akali leadership. There may be some reservations about this accord in the neighbouring States and some grievances also might be there. But, in the name of those grievances and reservations, nothing should be done to vitiate the atmosphere now prevailing. All should help in strengthening the unity and integrity of the country and the interests of the country and I do hope that everyone will co-operate in this. Thank you, Sir.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT RE. STATEMENT BY HOME MINISTER ON THE TRAGIC DEATH OF SHRI LALIT MAKEN

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Before I call the next speaker, I would like to inform the Members that the honourable Home Minister will make a *suo motu* statement on the tragic death of Shri Lalit Maken at 5.00 P.M. today in the House.

#### THE PUNJAB APPROPRIATION BILL, 1985—contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Now Mr. Sultan Singh.

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह हम सब लोगों के लिए बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि हम किसी

भी प्रदेश का बजट अपने इस हाउस में पाम कर रहे हैं। अगर हमारा प्रजातंत्र ठीक तरीके से चलता तो पंजाब का बजट पर यहां वहम करने की जरूरत नहीं थी। यह पंजाब की असेम्बली में होता। लेकिन देश का वातावरण ऐसा बन गया, खासतौर पर पंजाब का, जिसकी वजह से जो पंजाब के लोगों का काम था, जो पंजाब की असेम्बली का काम था वह पार्लियामेंट को करना पड़ रहा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, पंजाब के अन्दर जो घटनाएँ घटीं वे बड़ी दर्दनाक रहीं। जसवंत सिंह जी यहां नहीं बैठे हैं, आडवाणी जी भी नहीं बैठे हैं। लेकिन पंजाब की बरबादी की बनियाद 13 अप्रैल, 1978 को रखी गई थी जब निरंकारियों ने कुछ सिखों को गोली से उड़ाया। उस वक्त पंजाब के अन्दर जनता पार्टी और अकालियों की मिली-जुली सरकार थी और भारत के अन्दर जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी। वह था पंजाब की बरबादी का दिन। उसके बाद अक्तूबर, 1978 को लुधियाना के अन्दर आल इंडिया अकाली पार्टी का कन्वेंशन हुआ, जलसा हुआ, कान्फ्रेंस हुई और उसमें आनन्दपुर साहिब प्रस्ताव को इन्डोर्स किया गया। उस प्रस्ताव के भुवर श्री प्रकाशसिंह बादल थे, जो जनता पार्टी की सरकार के मुख्यमंत्री थे। वे अकाली दल के थे और जनता पार्टी अकाली दल के साथ कोलेशन में थी। बलराम दास टंडन और बलदेव प्रकाश जो वहां बी० जे० पी० के बड़े नेता हैं, जिस पार्टी के नेता श्री जसवंत सिंह जी इस फैसले को क्तिटसाइज कर रहे थे, वे उस वक्त प्रकाश सिंह की मिनिस्ट्री में थे। उसके बाद यह बात बढ़ी और तब यह आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ। बारबार हमारे हाउस में भी और बाहर भी हमारी स्वर्गीय प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी ने कहा था कि मूवमेंट एक बार चलना बहुत आसान है लेकिन उसको रोकना आसान नहीं होता और जब मूवमेंट में वाइलेन्स आ जाता है तो वह और भी ज्यादा खतरनाक हो जाता है। पीसफुल मूवमेंट में आप ब्रेक लगा सकते हैं लेकिन वाइलेन्स आने पर उस मूवमेंट में ब्रेक लगाना आसान नहीं होता। उसके अन्दर सारे वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट शामिल

[ श्री सुलतान सिंह ]

हो जाते हैं, सारी साजिशें उसके अन्दर दाखिल हो जाती हैं। अगर अकाली इस बात को महसूस कर लेते कि मूवमेन्ट के अन्दर वाइलेंस आ गया है और वे मूवमेन्ट को विदा कर लेते तो शायद यह वातावरण पैदा नहीं होता, जो आज हुआ है। आपको याद होगा कि कांग्रेस मूवमेन्ट अपनी पीक पर था लेकिन जब चोराचोरी में वाइलेंस हुआ, तो महात्मा गांधी ने सारा मूवमेन्ट विदडा कर लिया। जिस वक्त वाइलेंस मूवमेन्ट में आ गई अगर उस दिन उसको विदडा कर लिया होता तो शायद आज यह दिन न देखना पड़ता। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री आज जो कि प्रधानमंत्री हैं उन्होंने बड़ी सूझबूझ का सबूत दिया है और मैं गलती नहीं करता अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि इसके अन्दर संत लोंगोवाल का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है। उन्होंने सारे पंजाब के अन्दर घूमकर और सारे हिन्दुस्तान में घूमकर यह महसूस किया है कि वे राष्ट्रीय धारा से कटते जा रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि शक और शुक और शुबहा बढ़ता जा रहा है। उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि इस मूवमेन्ट से हमारे धार्मिक स्थानों की बेइज्जती हुई है। ये सारी चीजें जब उन्होंने महसूस की तो उन्होंने सोचा कि जो इतनी बड़ी दरार, जो इतना बड़ा डिस्टेंस आपस में पैदा हो गया है, इस डिस्टेंस को खत्म करना चाहिए और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बड़े खुले दिल से उनके साथ बात की। यह फैसला करके मुल्क का एक चिन्ता में मुक्त किया है लेकिन हमारा दुर्भाग्य है और वह क्या है कि जब भी हम अच्छे दिनों की तरफ जाते हैं कोई न कोई ताकत सेबोटज करती है प्रोग्राम को। यहां घल्लूधारा का आह्वान था पंजाब में, देश के प्रधानमंत्री की विदेश यात्रा थी और उन दिनों हिन्दुस्तान में भी अमन रहा और विदेशों में प्रधानमंत्री की यात्रा कितनी कामयाब रही। उसके बाद आपने देखा सारे वर्ल्ड का जो मीडिया था वह प्रधान मंत्री जी के प्रोग्राम की बड़ाई कर रहा था, तारीफ कर रहा था, राजीव जी का इमेज बनता जा रहा था लेकिन एक वाक्या हुआ बल्कि वाक्या नहीं वह तो साजिश थी हवाई

जहाज का गिरा कर के सारे मीडिया को डाइवर्ट कर दिया दूसरी तरफ और जो इमेज राजीव जी का बनता जा रहा था उसको एक दम से रोकने की कोशिश की गई और इस तरह से सारे वर्ल्ड का मीडिया डाइवर्ट हो गया। २४ जुलाई, को संत लोंगोवाल जी और राजीव जी का एक अकाई हुआ, फैमला हुआ। २४ जुलाई, से कल तक सारे देश के अन्दर वाह-वाही थी, सभी लोग बेलकम कर रहे थे, सारा देश सुख की साँस ले रहा था लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से ललित माकन जो हमारा एक हॉनहार नौजवान था पता नहीं देश में कितना उन्होंने काम करना था उनका, उनकी पत्नी का उनके साथियों का कत्ल कर के यह २४ तारीख के अकाई को सेबोटज किया है ताकि राजीव जी और लोंगोवाल जी की बात दूसरी तरफ डाइवर्ट हो जाए और देश का मीडिया दूसरे काम पर लग जाए। इसी तरह से आपने नोट किया होगा २४ तारीख को अकाई हुआ, २५-२६ तारीख को सभी लोगों की तरफ से अखबारों में सभी पाटियों ने बेलकम किया। लेकिन जो पाटियां आपने आप को राष्ट्रीय पाटियां कहती हैं, नेशनल पार्टीज कहती हैं उन्होंने क्या रास्ता आख्तियार किया है? हरियाणा के अन्दर बन्ध का आह्वान किया यह तो ठीक है कि जनता ने उनकी सुनी नहीं, राजस्थान के अन्दर धरना दिया और उसी मौके पर ललित माकन जी का कत्ल हो गया ताकि यह अकाई फेल हो जाए और जनता का इसकी तरफ से ध्यान हटे और देश फिर उसी जगह आ जाए जहां पहले खड़ा था। यही नहीं संत लोंगोवाल को कत्ल करने की साजिश की गई, उन पर अटैक किया गया लेकिन दुनिया में तो दिलेर वही है जो हवा को मोड़ना है। मैं समझता हूँ कि संत लोंगोवाल ने बड़ी दिलेरी का सबूत दिया है क्योंकि उन्होंने हवा के रुख को मोड़ने की कोशिश की है और जलती हुई आग से देश को निकालने की कोशिश की है। इसमें क्या हरियाणा का बनेगा, क्या पंजाब का बनेगा जहां राष्ट्र का सवाल है वहां पर यह माइनर बात है और जहां तक इस फैसले का ताल्लुक है मैं तो यह भी समझ पाया हूँ

मोहन्ता जी शायद मेरे ब्राद बोलेंगे और पानी का जिक्र करेंगे। अगर पंजाब में नहर हा नहीं खुदे और कहें कि सारा रावी और व्यास का पानी हरियाणा का है बगैर कैरियर के यह पानी नहीं आएगा। अकाउंट के अन्दर पोजिटिव वान लिखी है कि 15 अगस्त, 1986 तक सतलुज धमुना लिंक केनाल मुकम्मल हो जाएगा ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता (हरियाणा) :** उसमें आएगा क्या? उस केनाल में क्या चलेगा, वह क्या चीज है?

**श्री सुलतान सिंह :** पानी चलेगा और क्या चलेगा। सारा रावी का पानी आपको दे दें और कैरियर केनाल न हां तो पानी ... (व्यवधान) ... आपको याद होगा मोहन्ता जी, चौधरी देवी लाल मुख्य मंत्री थे, उधर प्रकाश सिंह ब्रादल मुख्य मंत्री थे। हमारे देश की स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी जी ने जो फैसला किया था रावी और व्यास के पानी का, आप उस फैसले के खिलाफ सुप्रीम कोर्ट में गए थे। उस फैसले के अन्दर यह लिखा था कि 7 मिलियन एकड़ फिट पानी में से 3.5 मिलियन एकड़ फिट हरियाणा को मिलेगा। इस फैसले के खिलाफ देवीलाल जो सुप्रीम कोर्ट में गये थे। इसलिए अगर आज राजीव गांधी और लौगोवाल जी ने कह दिया कि पानी का मामला ट्रिब्यूनल के पास जाये तो बताओ कौन सी बात हुई। अगर आप सुप्रीम कोर्ट में नहीं गये हों तो बताइये ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता :** जानबूझकर नासमझी दिखा रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

**श्री सुलतान सिंह :** इसके अलावा एक बात और बताता हूं। हम इस हाउस में कुछ बातें कहना नहीं चाहते हैं और इसलिए नहीं कहना चाहते हैं कि हम उन लोगों को मुश्किल में नहीं डालना चाहते हैं जिन्होंने इस फैसले को किया है ... (व्यवधान) हमको पता है आप पंजाब में यह हवा देना चाहते हैं, कुछ लोग पंजाब में जाकर यह हवा देने हैं, कि लौगोवाल जी ने कुछ नहीं किया। लौगोवाल

जी ने फैसला ठीक नहीं किया। वही लोग हरियाणा में आकर कहने हैं कि हरियाणा को कोई पानी नहीं मिलेगा, कोई टेरीटरी नहीं मिलेगी। हम नहीं जानते हैं उन लोगों को? यही बी०जे०पी० के लोग बलराम दास टण्डन और बलदेव प्रकाश का बयान पढ़िए। अमृतसर में क्या बयान देते हैं? वे कहते हैं कि पंजाब को बिल्कुल बर्बाद कर दिया है, पंजाब के हक में फैसला नहीं हुआ लेकिन फिर वे ही लोग हरियाणा में आकर बन्द की काल देते हैं कहते हैं हरियाणा को बरबाद कर दिया। ये सारी चीजें इस सारी बात को सैंबोटेज करने के लिए हो रही हैं ताकि पंजाब के अंदर शांति न हो। मैं तो आपसे इतनी बात कहता हूं कि राजीव जी ने जो फैसला किया है, जिस सृजबूझ का सबत दिया है उसने खाली पंजाब को हां नहीं बल्कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान को बचा लिया है और जहां तक पंजाब के विकास का ताल्लुक है सरकार ने इतनी बरबादी के बावजूद भी, इतनी लड़ाई झगड़े के बावजूद भी, पंजाब के विकास कार्यों को बन्द नहीं होने दिया है। अब की बार भी 60 मिलियन टन अनाज पंजाब से हिन्दुस्तान के पूल के अन्दर आया। यही नहीं राजीव गांधी जी हुसैनीवाला गये, सरदार भगत सिंह, राजगुरु और सुखदेव की समाधियों के सामने खड़े होकर कहा कि पंजाब के अन्दर रावी के ऊपर थिन डैम बनाएंगे; पंजाब के अन्दर रेनवे की कोच फैक्ट्री होगी और पंजाब को किसान को गेहूं का भाव 5 रुपये क्विंटल हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों में ज्यादा मिलेगा। क्यों ऐसा किया? चूंकि पंजाब एक ऐसा स्टेट है कि वहां के बहादुर लोगों ने, कमाऊ लोगों ने, मेहनत-कश लोगों ने सारे देश को उभारा है और कुछ लोगों के दिल में जो भ्रम पैदा होता जा रहा है कि राजीव गांधी जी पंजाब के दुश्मन हैं, पंजाब की मदद नहीं करने तो इस भ्रम को हटाने के लिए उन्होंने दिल खोलकर पंजाब की मदद की और आप देखते हैं कि उसके बाद कोच फैक्ट्री का भी काम एक तरह से शुरू हो गया है बनने का और थिन डैम के ऊपर भी काम शुरू हो गया है। मैं ज्यादा न कहते हुए एक बात अपने लोकदल के दोस्तों से और बी० जे० पी

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

के दोस्तों से कहता हूँ कि कई बार मुल्क में ऐसा समय आता है कि अपनी इच्छा और अपनी आवाज को भी दबाना पड़ता है लार्जर इन्टरेस्ट के लिए । आज ऐसा समय है कि आपको राष्ट्रीय तौर पर सोचना चाहिए । भैरों सिंह शेखावत का पोजीशन किस बात में बनेगी उस पर नहीं सोचना चाहिए, चौधरी देवी लाल हरियाणा में कैसे पापुलर होंगे, वह नहीं सोचना चाहिए उनके पापुलैरिटी का पता लगा पहले तारीख को कि कितने पापुलर है जब बन्द की काल दी, सारी पार्टियों के लोगों ने दी लेकिन लोगों ने बन्द को ठोकर मारी । एक बम बन्द नहीं हुई एक स्कूल बन्द नहीं हुआ, एक कालेज बन्द नहीं हुआ । क्यों ऐसा छोटी-छोटी पापुलैरिटी के लिए सारे देश को बरबाद करते हैं यह अच्छी बात नहीं है । मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि जब कोई खुशी का दिन आता है तो कोई न कोई साजिश रच करके सारे प्रोग्राम को सैंबोटेज करने की कोशिश की जाती है । आज हम सबका फर्ज है कि हम सारे मिल कर एक मत हो करके राजीव जी और लॉगोवाल जी का जो एकार्ड हुआ है उसको कामयाब करें और उसको सीमेंट करें और जो लोग उस एकार्ड को तोड़ना चाहते हैं, जो उसकी खराबी करना चाहते हैं, वह फिर इस सारे देश को वहीं ले जाना चाहते हैं जहां आज से चार-पांच महीने पहले था ।

तो इन शब्दों के साथ, मंत्री जी, आज आप जो विधेयक लाये हैं, मैं उसका समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि सारे राष्ट्र के इन्टरेस्ट में...

**श्री दरबारा सिंह :** जो हमने फ्लड के लिए मांग की है, उसका तो समर्थन करें ।

**श्री सुलतान सिंह :** सरदार दरबारा सिंह ने मांग की है कि फ्लड के लिए ज्यादा पैसा मिलना चाहिए । मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ । मैं एक बात और भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब को रिहैबिलिटे

करने के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा वहां पर पूंजी लगनी चाहिए, ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्च करना चाहिए ।

**श्री भुल्लियार सिंह मलिक :** और हरियाणा की डिमाण्ड के बारे में ...

**श्री सुलतान सिंह :** हरियाणा की डिमाण्ड के बारे में—हरियाणा की असेम्बली तो जिंदा है । हम नहीं चाहेंगे कि हमारी डिमाण्ड यहां आए, यह तो बदकिस्मती है हमारी कि पंजाब की डिमाण्ड के बारे में हम डिस्कस कर रहे हैं ।

**श्री भुल्लियार सिंह मलिक :** हरियाणा की कैपिटल के लिए ही कर दो ना ।

**श्री सुलतान सिंह :** कैपिटल की बात वह अपनी असेम्बली में करेंगे । अपनी मीटिंग करेंगे । आज यहां यह बात नहीं है ।

मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि इस अकार्ड को कामयाब करने के लिए हमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोकल बातों को छोड़ करके, रीजनल बातों को छोड़ करके, राष्ट्रीय बातों पर आना चाहिए ।

धन्यवाद ।

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset, on behalf of Anna D.M.K., I wholeheartedly thank our hon. Prime Minister and Shri Longowal for having come to sign an accord regarding the problem of Punjab on the 24th July. The accord reached between our hon. Prime Minister and the leader of the Akali Dal has been enthusiastically welcomed by all the people. No doubt it is a historic achievement. The statesmanship and fortitude and courage shown by Sant Longowal and diplomacy, dedication and dexterity by which our hon. Prime Minister acted, has destroyed the barrier of religious fanaticism and lifted the

uncertainty of clouds and amothly paved the way for strengthening the unity, integrity and solidarity of the country. Most of the political leaders irrespective of their political affinity have hailed this memorandum of settlement without any reservation. Our hon. Chief Minister, Dr. M. G. R. has welcomed this accord by saying that it is a golden chapter in our history. The hon. Chief Minister of Haryana and the hon. Chief Minister of Rajasthan have jostled themselves in welcoming this agreement. Even though the Chief Minister of Rajasthan has expressed his displeasure regarding clause 9 of the agreement, he has sincerely welcomed the accord as a victory of the peaceful people of Punjab. Sir, the support with acclamations and appreciation among the Sikhs abroad is also notable. The Sikh Forum of United Kingdom has hailed this agreement. Mr. Prithi Pal Singh, Secretary of the Sikh Forum in the United States has stated in his statement: "The Sikhs abroad lend their support to Sant Longowal who had been able to pursue the Government to concede all the just demands of the Punjabis, especially the Sikhs." Sir, similarly the President of the Akali Dal in Britain, Mr. Cheema, has expressed his happiness for the outcome of these talks. The violent form of controversy and virulent flow of misunderstanding between sacrificial Sikhs and sacred Hindus has been put to an end. The political turmoil which was ravaging for the past five years in Punjab has lost its teeth. Sant Longowal has stated correctly that the period of confrontation is over. We are fully satisfied with the package.

Sir, I am not hiding the fact that there is some opposition to this pact. No accord is free from defects. No accord is free from criticism. It will not satisfy everybody. Imperfection is an inherent character of the human behaviour. Sir, the extremists, as usual, have disapproved of this accord. Some of the political leaders in Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan are

opposing this accord—the 11-point programme. To remove their apprehensions, our hon. Prime Minister, as far as the people of Rajasthan are concerned, has assured them that proper protection will be given to them with regard to distribution of waters. As far as the people of Haryana are concerned, he has assured them that the new capital will be better than Chandigarh. Blow hot is over; blow cold has begun. Tranquility and peace begin to bloom. Now the time is ripe for the installation of a proper Government in Punjab. Since October 6, 1983, Punjab has been placed under President's rule and the period is going to expire on 6th October, 1985, unless the Constitution is amended, it is impossible to extend President's rule after 6th October, 1985. Further extension of the President's rule is neither desirable nor warranted. Sir, President rule is not the panacea for solving the State problems. Placing any State, under any circumstances, under the national Government is a clear violation of democratic principles and it is anti-federal. No democratic Constitution of any European country has the baneful clause of placing a State under the national Government. Unfortunately, the founding fathers of our Constitution who strongly opposed this emergency clause during the British regime, either wittingly or unwittingly, incorporated this dangerous clause in our Constitution. Since its inception, this clause has been totally misused for the party in power at the Centre. **Therefore, there is no justification** either in point of law or point of fact to continue the President's rule in Punjab. I earnestly request the Government to make earlier arrangements to conduct elections before 6th October, 1985.

I am fortunate in getting the opportunity to speak on Appropriation Bill on Punjab. But it is unfortunate for the people of Punjab, because I do not know their internal problems; I do not know their grievances; I do

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam]

not know their administrative difficulties. Only the concerned MLAs are the competent people to deal with those problems effectively and enthusiastically. Therefore, earlier elections are necessary for the welfare of the people of Punjab.

Sir, I am pleased to note that even though Punjab was under President's rule for the past 2 years, its achievement in agriculture is remarkable. Production of foodgrains has increased from 147.77 lakh tonnes to 161.27 lakh tonnes. There is an increase of 9.1 per cent. With regard to achievement on the 20 point programme, I am pleased to see that there has been a 100 per cent success in 11 items, like the scheme of IRDP, IREP. Employment Guarantee Scheme and land distribution, etc. Sir, the Government has spent nearly Rs. 50 crores for giving bonus to farmers. I disagree with the rate of bonus of Rs. 3 per quintal of paddy and Rs. 5 per quintal of wheat. The amount is very meagre and insufficient. This should be enhanced to Rs. 10 per quintal on paddy and wheat. But in this context, I would like to say that you are giving bonus to farmers in Punjab but you are not allowing the Government of Tamil Nadu to give bonus to farmers. In 1983-84, our Government gave Rs. 35 per quintal to farmers. It was strongly opposed by the Centre as well as the Reserve Bank of India. The Reserve Bank of India threatened our Government saying that if the Tamil Nadu Government continues such bonus, risk bonus, to the farmers, the credit facilities extended by the Reserve Bank of India will be withdrawn. I do not know why you are following this discriminatory policy. At least, hereafterwards, the Central Government should allow the Tamil Nadu Government to give bonus to the farmers.

With these words, I conclude my speech

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH** (Nominated); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I

have had the dubious distinction, although a nominated Member for the last three years, of having opposed every single measure on the Punjab proposed by the Government, that was debated in this House. I do still maintain that it was a sequence of blunders, not committed only by the Janata Party before them, but by the Congress Party itself. But I have now, for the first time, great pleasure in supporting this measure without any reservations whatsoever, except for a few minor points which I will make. I do so because of the dramatic change which took place in the Punjab scenario on the evening of Wednesday, the 24th July. I think we will all agree that the clouds that had hovered over Punjab have lifted that we are, in fact, seeing light at the end of the tunnel, and this three year old, long, nightmare has ended. For this, I would like to felicitate the Prime Minister and his advisers, the Governor of Punjab and Sant Longowal. They have shown foresight, wisdom, courage and above all commitment to the unity and integrity of the country and its Constitution. Sir, I am a humble writer of the history of the Sikhs. You gentlemen have, in fact, made history. I do not think there has been any event since independence which deserves to be recorded in golden letters more than this one. I had in my moment of enthusiasm, blurted out to the Prime Minister that for this, he deserves Bharat Ratna. I am not in a position to award Bharat Ratna. But I think this is the occasion when the entire nation should feel grateful to this young man for having saved the country from the brink of an abyss.

What remains to be done is the implementation of this accord. We should bear in mind that in its implementation, we should not be unfair to the people of Haryana and Rajasthan, our neighbours, I have been told by many members particularly my friend, Mr. Mohunta, who has certain reservations and other Members

—that this has been done to favour the Punjab and the Sikhs at the expense of Haryana and Rajasthan. Let me assure them that if there is any injustice done to Haryana or Rajasthan, it would be people like me, both as a Punjabi, a Sikh and as an Indian, who would oppose it; we will see that nothing is done which will create ill-will between the people of the Punjab and its neighbouring States. I think, it will be generally agreed that this accord has been universally acclaimed by all people. Among the Sikhs, only a small lunatic fringe has raised its voice in opposition, and I am sorry to say, among the Opposition, a few nit-picking politicians will pick on small points to deny the universal acclaim which this accord deserves. What does it matter whether Rajiv Gandhi signs this accord as Prime Minister or as Rajiv Gandhi. He signed it as an Indian to save the country from the disaster that was almost facing it. I am glad, he did so. What we have to do is to go forward and to make sure that nothing vitiates the atmosphere in the Punjab and in the rest of the country?

I have just two points to make on the accord and the Budget. First is, the amount of money allocated for the police. I do not think this is adequate because, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will appreciate that the major problem of Punjab now and the one which constantly threatens to vitiate the whole thing is the existence of terrorism. It is in numbers but their capacity for mischief is infinite and we have seen how successively, every time situation appears to be on the mend, some act of violence takes place to prolong and recreate that atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. It is most important that the heads off the police should be further strengthened. Above all, we have found that our intelligence has been woefully inadequate. We have never been able to forestall when and who are the people who are going to do these acts.

Secondly, I see in the Budget provisions provision for an election. Many members of the House have expressed their opinion that sooner the elections took place in Punjab the better. I disagree. I put to all Members to reconsider that opinion. Let me tell you why. It is inevitable that if elections take place in Punjab, candidates will hark back on what events took place in the last three years. Can you visualise the Akali party, whether it is the Baba Joginder Singh group or the Longowal-Tohra-Badal group, going to the people and not asking for votes without referring to incidents like the Blue Star, the killings and massacre of the Sikhs in towns of Northern India? What will be the impact of that kind of propaganda in Punjab? Would it be right then that this new euphoria that has come with the accord should be fouled by propaganda carried out by partisans on that basis? And it is that basis—Sardar Darbara Singh will bear me out—that if there is election in Punjab, that will be the main platform on which the powerful Akali Party will fight elections with a hope to win. I think they should be prevented from raising the issues which have already fouled the atmosphere in the country. I think it would be my humble suggestion for all Members of this house to consider that elections should await the implementation of the accord. Once all the details of the accord have been gone through, transfer of Chandigarh, settlement of boundary disputes, setting up of the River Waters Tribunal and perhaps its decision, building of the link canal, we will be in a better position and in better frame of mind to go back to the people and say give your approval to the accord and vote for whatever party you want. And let the Gods favour you and Punjab get back on the road of prosperity.

Thank you.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL  
(Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,  
during the last two years, ever since

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

the promulgation of the President's rule in Punjab on 6th October, 1983, whenever this House discussed any legislative matter which fell strictly within the jurisdiction of the State Legislative Assembly, every Member speaking in this House expressed the fond hope that this be the last time that this House discussed any matter which, as I have said, would fall within the jurisdiction of the State Assembly. However, the things in Punjab continued to deteriorate and we know what price we have to pay in terms of life and property besides the shattering blow that it gave to the forces of national unity and national pride. Once again, today when we take up this Punjab Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1985, for discussion here, after the historic accord on Punjab last week between the Prime Minister and the Akali Dal Chief, Sant Longowal we can genuinely hope that this would really be the last occasion when Parliament legislates upon the matters that actually fall within the domain of the State Assembly.

As I have said, we would hope that this would be the last time when we discuss legislative matters concerning Punjab, yet I lend my support in actual fact to what Mr. Khushwant Singh has said that as far as the question of elections in Punjab is concerned, this has to be viewed in a wider perspective of the things to ensure that any declaration of elections at this moment does not give a setback or retard the process of normalisation of the situation in Punjab.

The accord, which has put to end a period of confrontation, a period during which the economy of Punjab suffered seriously and the welfare of the Punjabis was a major casualty, is the result of political sagacity and statesmanship of our Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the courage exhibited by Sant Longowal in the face of extremists' threats and intran-

sigence to break with the past and begin a new chapter in the history of the State. The untold sorrow and misery which the people of Punjab suffered during the last three years of uncertainty and political turmoil and the ensuing law and order problem are too wellknown to all of us to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that being a strategic border State, the Punjab problem became a national problem. It can indeed be termed as the worst crisis that the country has faced ever since the dawn of Independence. It has taken the life of our beloved Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who shed her blood for upholding the unity and integrity of the country and it had its repercussions in other parts of the country, where mad people let loose their communal frenzy by collecting in mobs and setting fire to property and taking a heavy toll of human life and property. All the victims were those innocent people who had nothing to do with politics, but were just content to live the life of an ordinary citizen of the country. In these circumstances, we found ourselves in dark alley and noting the posture adopted by the Akalis, none could even imagine as to what could be the possible solution that would return normal life to the strife-torn State of Punjab and put its once vibrant but now badly mauled economy on the rails again. With despair writ large on their faces, the people had resigned to their fate and there were some unfortunate cases of transfer of population as well. But the Prime Minister, committed to unity and integrity of the country, committed to accord- ing top priority to the Punjab problem and finding a solution thereto within the framework of the Constitution of India and undeterred by profound personal tragedy and all the gory events that rocked the country, did not rest for a while but continued his efforts with missionary zeal, with devotion and single-mindedness. His sincerely convinced even the irreconcilables among the Akalis. The result



was the singing of the accord on Punjab which was spontaneously hailed by every body and even by the friendly forces outside the country.

Sir, if the Punjab problem, as I said earlier, was the worst crisis since Independence, the Punjab accord can safely be said to be the happiest event the country has witnessed in the last ten years and we have every reason to be optimistic about it. The feeling of despair and even distrust that had seeped into Punjabi psyche as a result of the various events that took place in the country and the State during the last three years will now ebb and give way to that of hope and expectation. True to its unique quality of resilience, Punjab, forgetting the past as a bad dream, would now once again strive to march ahead in various fields of national life.

Sir, the annual outlay of the State for the last three years has been stagnant at Rs. 440 crores. Taking into account the minimum rise of prices because of the steep inflation, I can legitimately say that, in fact, there has been an ominous decline in the Plan outlay for the State of Punjab and some steps have to be urgently taken to salvage its economy. Punjab, as we all know, has been the largest contributor to the national food kitty. It has come up to the expectations of the country in all the developmental programmes and in all the programmes visualized and stipulated under the 20-point programme. Whether it concerns the provision of elementary education or whether it concerns the supply of potable water or the clearance of slums, Punjab has always exceeded the targets. But some how, Sir, because of the situation that the State has to face, a situation which was not the making of the Punjab but was the result of the various unhappy events that were forced on the State of Punjab, the developmental work, despite the tremendous progress made in the various fields, had suffered heavily. As we have been saying on earlier occasions, the Punjab problem

was not the problem of the State of Punjab alone; it was a national problem. During the time of war, whether it be in the west in Punjab or in the east, the country has always acted as a solid block, as a solid unit to defend the borders, to defend the frontiers of the country. And what we saw in Punjab during the last three years was a war, a war of a much complex nature. It was a war not fought physically on the frontiers but it was a war which was the result of an insidious conspiracy hatched at the instigation of hostile forces outside the country and, if I may say so, such a war is still more difficult war to fight. In such circumstances, the Punjabis do expect that other people in the country would again rise to the occasion as they do in times of actual war and adopt the attitude which Mr. Aladi Aruna as well as Mr. Sultan Singh adopted to urge on behalf of Punjab.

We, Punjabis, whether it be the Government of Punjab or it be the representatives of Punjab in Parliament, have been taking up the various demands of Punjab from time to time. We do note, with a sense of gratitude, that the Prime Minister ordered expeditious completion of the Thien dam and also decided to set up an integral coach factory in the State of Punjab, which would, provide employment to a really large number of people. But the problems of Punjab being unprecedented in dimension, I think these good gestures would not wholly serve the purpose of solving the socio-economic problems of Punjab. Because, permit me to say, Sir, on certain fronts we feel being discriminated against, wittingly or unwittingly. Take, for instance, the power front. The Punjab farmer has been doing his best and contributing his might to feed the country. But his state of affairs, his personal state of affairs, is quite pitiable. For the farm, he does not have enough power to run his tubewells. The Punjab industrialist being as enterprising as the farmer, does not have enough energy to run the wheels

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

of his machines. Though in the Sixth Plan Punjab exceeded its target of production in the field of energy, our demand being much more than what we have been able to produce we do look forward to the Centre for nothing more than our own allocated quota under the formula of distribution of power from Central projects. The share of Punjab from the Central project is of Bairasul and Singrauli comes to 12.5 per cent, but the actual supply that we have been getting is very meagre, just 10 per cent of what is permissible, whereas, on the other hand, U.P. and Delhi have been drawing more than twice the quota fixed for them, as a result of which, the total short supply that Punjab has got during the last three years from the Central projects is to the tune of 12,000 million units. And this time I would urge upon the hon. Minister to give an assurance in this House that steps would be initiated to see that the backlog, the shortage, that has been caused to Punjab on this front, would be made good and that in future Punjab would be supplied its due share of power so that, inspite of all its trials and tribulations, Punjab overcomes its difficulties; Punjab proves once again that here is a State which, inspite of the difficulties, inspite of the pulls and pressures, comes up to the expectations of the countrymen and acts as a perennial guard of the western border.

Sir, there are various projects which the State of Punjab undertook in the last few years. It is indeed remarkable of the State of Punjab, I may say, that we have channelised various sources available to us to set up many mini hydel projects and that we have endeavoured to harness the entire hydel energy available in Punjab. For the Seventh Plan the State of Punjab has submitted to the Planning Commission an ambitious plan to generate 1212 mw of electricity, and for that the requirement, the outlay, is to the tune of Rs. 2,500 crores both for power generation and

strengthening the transmission system. I would urge upon the Central Government to consider it sympathetically and sanction the same.

As I said earlier, the case of Punjab is not to be treated like the case of any other State in the matter of allocation of funds. Punjab, as you all know, has had to pay a heavy price for maintaining peace and unity and integrity of the country. Over the last few years the expenditure on police has risen manifold and that, as I said, is for maintaining the unity of the country and not for just maintaining law and order in any particular State or a part of a State. And the amount that we have been spending on such accounts should definitely be made good by the Central Government.

Sir, lastly, come to one point. That is regarding water. All through these years we have been fighting for water. But now because of the unprecedented flash floods in the State, a time has come for us to fight against fury of water. The damage that these floods last fortnight caused to Punjab has been unprecedented. Large areas in the district of Jullundur, Kapurthala and Hoshiarpur have submerged in water. I feel the loss we may not be really able to assess and calculate, at the moment, that has been caused to the farmers and to the industrialists. It is time the Central Government immediately comes to our assistance and provides an interim assistance of minimum Rs. 65 crores to overcome such a tragedy that the people of Punjab have had to face. Besides this, it is imperative that a fresh inspection of crops is ordered; the payment of land revenue and the various forms of taxes is deferred for the time being so that the difficulties faced by the people of Punjab are not really compounded; and instead a feeling, a sense of confidence is instilled in the minds of the Punjabis that the countrymen are always anxious to see that Punjab prospers as ever before.

With these words, I support the present Bill. But once again I would request the Honourable Minister that either on his own or after discussion with the Honourable Minister for Energy, he gives us a definite assurance in this House that every effort would be made to ensure that the due share of Punjab in the power generated through the central projects is made available to Punjab and also keeping in view the fact that during the Seventh Plan the generation of power is going to be further substantially increased, the share that would further accrue to the State of Punjab would be given by direct connections and not through present intermediate systems so as to avoid chances of piracy. Thank you.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY.** (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for the last three or four years the issue of Punjab dominated our deliberations in Parliament. It dominated the press. It also dominated the media. I do not think, in my recent memory I have come across any issue which has pervaded the thinking of our people so much as Punjab has. This period witnessed many happenings in Punjab. There have been violence, killings, a tale of pain and suffering for the people of Punjab and also others. These three years were virtually dark days for Punjab.

**The Vice-Chairman (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu)** in the Chair. . .

I am happy, after going through this agony, pain and tragedy, there is an accord at last between the Government of India and the Akali Leadership. On this, I would like to say one thing that there was no escape but to reach an accord and to reach this accord. Now some friends have expressed some misgivings about this accord and even questioned the Prime Minister signing this accord with Longowal. I do not look at this accord from a technical angle. Perhaps, technically, it may be correct. The Prime Minister signing an accord

with the leader of a party is really not right. It is not normal. But let us not forget the situation confronting us was unprecedented, unique, never in the history of India, we witnessed such a predicament. I think, there was no escape but to sign this accord for the Prime Minister. If any one of us would have been in his position, he would have done the same thing, but the only thing I feel is: this could have been reached much earlier even in the year 1983. The same terms were talked about in 1983 among the leaders of the opposition, the government and the Akalis. The same terms were discussed and the Home Minister, at that time, had said, almost the accord had been reached except for certain minor details. So, it pains me to say that why we allowed this lapse of time. This agony to continue for such a long time? Why our statesmanship failed in 1983? Why our wisdom, sagacity failed in 1983? Why the Government dragged its feet? During this period, several ugly things happened. Many people died. There was tension between communities. The fraternity that was there in Punjab was broken, devastated and threatened. Peace was marred, harmony was destroyed. Why this was allowed? I think we failed as political leaders to reach an accord of this type in time which could have been done three years back. That is my sadness, that is my worry. I feel there was no alternative for the Prime Minister but to sign the accord and to find fault with that on technical grounds, I think, is not justifiable, to say the least. Let us keep ourselves away from this narrow angle, narrow consideration. Look at the accord in totality. The most important element in the accord, according to me, is the emphasis it lays on the preservation of the unity and integrity of the country. That is the core of the accord to which all are committed—the Akalis are committed, the Government is committed, we are all committed. And there is a reference to the Indian Constitution. The Akali leadership has, through the ac-

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

cord, agreed to stand by the Constitution. That is most important.

We are all having our own views on the Centre-State relationship. I, for one, stand for a strong Centre and strong States. I believe that a strong federation must have strong units and also a strong Centre. By weakening the Centre, the federation will become weak. And also by weakening the States, the units, even then, we will be making the federation weak. Therefore, I believe that a strong Centre and strong States will make for a strong federation and will ensure a healthy federal polity. On this we can have genuine differences. So, while reaching the accord, the matter of Centre-State relationship is being referred to the Sarkaria Commission. Let it look into that aspect thoroughly. We will consider the Sarkaria Commission report when it comes out. I agree with my friend here that the accord will not be unfair to anybody in its working, and after its implementation. There have been doubts and misgivings raised in Haryana, in Rajasthan, and there appears to be some ground for suspicion and doubt. They have their own feelings. Perhaps it would have been better if the Prime Minister had taken them into confidence before signing the accord. I do not know whether he had taken them into confidence at all. My information is that he did not consult the Governments of Haryana and Rajasthan before signing the accord with the Akalis.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: He sent Mr Shiv Shanker to Rajasthan.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He sent him, but he could have discussed himself with the Governments there.

SHRI SULTAN SINGH: In both places, there is a Congress Government and he is the leader of the Congress Party.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): It is not a matter of the Congress Party.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: It is not a matter of the party here. I am not speaking as a party-man. I am not speaking as a member of the Janata Party on this issue. I feel that the Prime Minister would have done better if he had consulted the Governments of Rajasthan and Haryana before signing this agreement with Longowal.

Sir, still Punjab is not out of the woods. It is not free from trouble. Rumbblings are there. Unrest is still there. After the signing of the accord, every day we are hearing that there are clashes and hurling of charges between different groups among the Akalis. That may vitiate the atmosphere. I feel strongly that this is the time when there has got to be an atmosphere for reconciliation. A proper and conducive atmosphere has got to be created so that elections may be held in Punjab. Please remember, Punjab is under President's rule for long. Really, it is not President's rule. We have been witnessing an army rule. We have got to draw a curtain to this kind of a thing. I hope and trust this accord will draw a curtain to the dark days, the ugly situation, the tragedy, the trauma, the travail, through which Punjab passed. But when we see the reports in the newspapers, our mind gets disturbed over continuing unrest. We really want reconciliation between the communities, between the groups, between the parties and various sections there. There has got to be a forging of the people so that the accord can be implemented soon and elections may be held to pave the way for a popular Government. I believe during these three-four years, the greatest damage has been done to the democratic institutions in Punjab. The stability of democratic institution has been destroyed; if not destroyed, it has been very much affected, threat-

ened, and challenged. Punjab is a border State, a very important State. We cannot afford the luxury of unrest, witnessing unrest, in Punjab. Therefore, when we see such rumblings in the press even now after the accord is signed, we feel perturbed in our mind as to what happened to us. I feel the accord is good in the circumstances. In the circumstances which obtain today there can be no other arrangement except this accord. I feel this way genuinely. If there are differences about the minor things in the accord, about the details in the accord, I think, if there is understanding and good-will on all sides, these can be sorted out, these can be resolved. When the accord itself has been signed, I don't think other small things will become insurmountable. I feel a major hurdle, a major obstacle, has been overcome, an understanding has been reached. If there are minor differences, they could be resolved by discussion, by talks, by negotiations. These should not come in the way of implementing the accord. These should not thwart the accord, the main issues contained in the accord. I think every section of the House should see to it that this agreement is implemented as early as possible, as smoothly as possible. For that the right kind of atmosphere, the right kind of mood, has to be created in Punjab. What happened yesterday in Delhi is very shocking indeed. If such things are repeated, I am afraid people will become unnerved. Therefore, it is the duty of Parliament, the political parties and the Government to see that the public morale, their confidence, is not shaken. What is required today is to create a psychology whereby we can bring different communities together. If there are separatists, extremists they have to be isolated. For that all of us have to endeavour to see that such elements are really isolated. Isolating them requires that they have to be identified first. Yesterday a fellow Member of Parliament was shot dead. Three people were seen. They were on the scooter. In broad day-

light the shooting took place. And yet nobody could chase and catch them. There were cars everywhere, other vehicles too. I do not know what happened to the police and the police vans. Such things are happening even today. There is not even one instance when such killings had taken place in day-time, the culprits were caught by the police. What has happened to the morale of the police and the police machinery? This is another problem which has got to be thought of and considered in all seriousness. Some time back, Sir, the Police Commission made a number of recommendations, very valuable recommendations, let alone implement them, Today, the police machinery, the law and order machinery, in all the States, including the Centre, is in a despicable State. There is no morality, there is no morale, no confidence, no efficiency, no honesty, in the police force today in the country. The police force has been used politically, for nefarious purposes, and the police force is full of people who were once upon a time anti-social elements. How can these people deal with the anti-social elements? I know about the recruitment which is going on in various States. People who were once anti-social are recruited to the police force now. But the point is—this was raised in the morning—that again and again we are inviting the army to deal with the law and order situation. The army is not meant for keeping law and order, for maintaining peace and stability and they are not trained for that purpose. But, in so many States, the army is being utilised for discharging the duties and responsibilities of the police force (*Time bell rings*). This is the most disturbing phenomenon in India. Nowhere in the world, where democratic institutions operate, where democratic systems function, the army is being recklessly used to keep peace and order as it is done in India; nowhere else. This, I think.....

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: But there are only armies which rule there.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** You did not understand what I said. Nowhere in the world, where democratic institutions operate, where democracy functions, is the army being utilised recklessly for keeping law and order as it is done in India. This is what I said. I think we should hang our heads in shame because it has got menacing consequences for the future. May I, therefore, Sir, ask the Government to think *de novo* about the law and order situation in the country and the kind of machinery that we have got to create and the reforms that are needed for modernising the police force and equipping them with proper machinery and giving them adequate facilities to function independently, impartially and effectively.

Sir, with these words, I would like to conclude and, in the end, I would like to say: Let Punjab live peacefully; let there be peace and harmony, goodwill and understanding between communities there; let the accord be implemented as quickly as possible; let there be elections, early elections, in Punjab; let there be a democratic Government; let the separatists and the extremists who are there still be identified; let them be isolated and dealt with; and let us all pray that Punjab will again not be an issue that would be debated in Parliament. Thank you, Sir.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU):** Now, Shri Vikal.

**श्री राम चन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि पंजाब विनियोग विधेयक पर, जो वित्त मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत हुआ है, आपने मुझे अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का मौका दिया है।

महोदय, सही जनतन्त्र दो ही तरह से चलता है। यों तो बहुत सी बातें जनतन्त्र चलाने के लिए हैं कि जो सरकार के अच्छे काम हों उनका विरोधी दल सही तौर

पर समर्थन करे और विरोधी दल के जो सही सुझाव हों उन पर सरकार भी श्रमगत करे। आज इस सदन में प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी जी के द्वारा और लोगोवाल जी के द्वारा एक एक बहुत दिन से उलझी हुई समस्या का समाधान हुआ है और उसका मुद्दा कंठ से सभी विरोधी दल के लोगों ने समर्थन किया है, शायद जसवंत सिंह को छोड़कर चाहे गुरुपदसामी हो, मोहन हो, चाहे डॉ. एम० के० क० लीडर हैं—खुशवन्त सिंह जी ने बहुत सुन्दर भाषण दिया, उन्होंने हृदय से समर्थन किया है। पहले के खुशवन्त सिंह जी के भाषण को देखें और आज के भाषण को देखें तो खुशवन्त सिंह जी भी बढ़ाई के पात्र हो जाते हैं, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस फैले का इस सदन में ही नहीं सदन के बाहर जो हमारे नेता हैं उन सभी ने समर्थन किया है, एक दं-पाटियों को छोड़कर उनके नेता भी समर्थन कर रहे हैं, लेकिन पब्लिक में विरोध करा रहे हैं। मुझे पता नहीं देवीलाल जनता पार्टी में है या लोकदल में है (व्यवधान) मैं यह कह रहा था कि पार्टी के नेता तो समर्थन कर रहे हैं लेकिन उनके फालोअर विरोध कर रहे हैं। यह समझ से बाहर है। कुछ और पार्टी होतीं तो समझ में आ सकता था। लेकिन भारतीय जनता पार्टी को तो मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ। सन् 62 में उत्तर प्रदेश में किसानों पर लगान लग रहा था तो यादवचंद्र चन्द्र दुबे लगान लगने का समर्थन कर रहे थे और बाहर आन्दोलन कर रही थी उनकी पार्टी। वही नक्शा आज नजर आ रहा है। मैं फिर भी सदन के सभी विरोधी दल के नेताओं का हृदय से आभार मानता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं विदेशों में ज्यादा तो नहीं गया, बहुत कम जाने का मुझे मौका मिला है, लेकिन वहाँ पर जो भारतीय लोग बसते हैं उनमें राष्ट्रीयता बहुत नजर आई। बिना किसी धर्म जाति और प्रान्त के बन्धन के घरों में बुलाते हैं और देश के बारे में पूछते हैं। जब हम भारत में आते हैं तो संकीर्ण भावना आ जाती है। मुझे बचपन की एक कहानी याद आती है। हमारे गांव में एक बुजुर्ग

थे शिवराम मुखिया। पुलिस के साथ जैसा चलता है और गांव में मुकदमें भी लड़वाया करते थे। मैं बहुत छोटा था। वह तब एक बात कहा करते थे—द्वीपों में द्वीप एशिया। द्वीप सबसे अच्छा, एशिया द्वीप में हिन्दुस्तान का देश सबसे अच्छा, हिन्दुस्तान में संयुक्त प्रांत—सबसे अच्छा और संयुक्त प्रांत में आगरा—अबध सबसे अच्छा और आगरा—अबध के सूबे में मेरठ कमिश्नरी सबसे अच्छी। मेरठ कमिश्नरी में बुलन्दशहर का जिला सबसे अच्छा बुलन्दशहर के जिले में सिकन्दरा नहसोल सबसे अच्छा। सिकन्दरा तहसील में परगना दनकौर सबसे अच्छा परगना दनकौर में अस्तौली का गांव सबसे अच्छा और अस्तौली गांव में शिवराम मुखिया सबसे अच्छा। हमारे छोटे-मोटे राष्ट्रीय दल सब शिवराम मुखिया बने हुए हैं। मैं किसी की कहना नहीं चाहता, बाहर के देशों में मुझे राष्ट्रीयता नजर आई।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री पवन कुमार बांसल)  
पाठासीन हुए]

मैं आज उनकी सराहना करना चाहता हूँ। राजीव गांधी, प्रधान मंत्री ने समझौता किया है। यहां कुछ लोग विरोध कर रहे हैं उस छोटे से राजनितिक लाभ के लिए। लेकिन विदेशों में कल रात मैं टेलिविजन सुन रहा था—कनाडा में, अमेरिका में हिन्दू और सिख सब ने बधाई दी है, सब ने राजीव गांधी और नौंगवाल को बधाई दी है। हमारे सरदार तेजा सिंह हैं, उन्होंने आशीर्वाद दिया और कहा कि मैंने जवाहरलाल जी को माला पहनाई और अब राजीव जी को माला पहना रहा हूँ।

4 P.M. वहां हिन्दू और सिख की यूनिटी का मुद्दा नहीं है। सब ने राजीव गांधी के प्रोग्राम का समर्थन किया। मगर यहां पता नहीं क्यों लोग विरोध करते हैं। कुछ पार्टियों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रीय पार्टियां वहीं बनेंगी जो राष्ट्रीय चिन्तन करेंगी। जो छोटे-छोटे संकीर्ण दायरे में जायेंगी वह कभी राष्ट्रीय पार्टियां नहीं बन सकती। मैं गांव की बात कहना चाहता हूँ इस लिये कि वहां की बात मुझे

याद आती है। मेरे गांव में दो, तीन गांवों के बच्चे डकठे होते हैं और वे मिल कर कबड्डी या बालीबाल आदि खेलते हैं। वे मिल कर टूनमिट भी करते हैं लेकिन उस का नाम रखते हैं आल इंडिया टूनमिट। ऐसे ही आल इंडिया टूनमिट यहां होते रहते हैं और उन में वच्चे तीन गांव के ही रहते हैं। तो आज देश में राष्ट्रीय पार्टियां बनने की जरूरत है लेकिन अगर उन के चितन का दायरा छोटा रहता है तो वे छोटी बनेंगी और अगर वे ऊपर उठ कर राष्ट्रीय चितन करती हैं वे तो बड़ी राष्ट्रीय पार्टियां बनती हैं। देश सर्वांगीण है। हम जानते थे कि देश कभी आजाद नहीं होगा। यही भावना थी उन दिनों। लेकिन देश के लोगों ने कुर्बानियां दी और देश आजाद हो गया। हम ने आजादी देखी भी और उस को भोगा भी है यह बात कहने में हमें कोई संकोच नहीं है। लेकिन हमें उन की कुर्बानियों की याद आती है कि जिन्होंने अपना जीवन देश के लिए बलिदान कर दिया है और जो देश की आजादी देख नहीं सके। आज उसी भावना की देश में फिर जरूरत है जो आजादी प्राप्त होने के पहले देश के लोगों में थी। उस समय न मजहद का सवाल था, न पैसे का सवाल था और न कोई और मतभेद था। एक ही सवाल सब के सामने था कि किसी तरह से देश को आजाद होना चाहिए। आज देश इस मोड़ पर क्यों आ गया इस बात पर मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन अब देश इस मोड़ पर जरूर आ गया है कि हम अपने सारे मतभेद भुला कर, पार्टी-बन्दी से ऊपर उठ कर देश को मजबूत करें। पंजाब में पिछले कुछ दिनों तक जो दुखद घटनायें होती रही हैं उन पर हम सब को गर्म आती है और देश विदेश में सब जगह उन के लिये हमारा माथा नीचा रहा है, लेकिन उन की पुनरावृत्ति फिर न हो हमें इस के लिये प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। मैं सदन के माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दू सिख हमारे भाई हैं। मैं हिन्दू और सिखों को एक ही मानता हूँ, अलग-अलग नहीं मानता। उन के पूर्वज एक रहे हैं उन की पूजा का

[श्री रामचन्द्र विकल]

का रास्ता एक रहा है, लेकिन किन्हीं कारणों से वे थोड़ा उधर चले गये। मैं फिर सबसे अपील करूंगा कि वे उन में भाई-चारे की भावना बढ़ायें।

पानी को ले कर राजस्थान और हरियाणा का थोड़ा सवाल है। लेकिन जो हुआ है वह फाइनल नहीं है और खुशवन्त सिंह जी ने जां आश्वासन दिया है वह सब पार्टियों को पसंद आया। आज उन्होंने बहुत अच्छी बात कही यदि पानी क सवाल पर कोई बात आयेगी तो उस के लिये हम लड़ेंगे। फिर भी अपने राजस्थान और हरियाणा के दास्तों से मैं तहना चाहता हूँ कि पानी तो नीचे की तरफ जाता है। मैं तो गांव का बसान हूँ। गांव में सिंचाई के लिये वाले हैं, बबे हैं, नहरें हैं लेकिन टेल एंड पर सभी को पानी कम मिलता है। जहां नहर का अंत होता है वहां पानी कम ही पहुंच पाता है यही सदा देखने में आता है। जबरदस्त किसान तो ऊपर ही पानी काट लेते हैं नीचे वाले यू ही रह जाते हैं। तो इस पर पानी की वान में ऊपर उठ कर मोचें और अगर ऐसा कोई सवाल आयेगा तो हम सब लड़ेंगे। हरियाणा और राजस्थान भी हमारे देश के ही अंग हैं। सब का हित देश का हित है। आज तो हम प्रान्तों के ऊपर उठ कर सोच और बोल रहे हैं। मैंने मोहनन जी को सुना, गुरुपद-स्वामी जी को सुना और खुशवन्त सिंह जी को सुना। क्या यह बात प्रान्तों के आधार पर तय की गयी है और क्या देश का आधार हम इस में नहीं देखते जब देश के आधार पर हम इस बारे में चिंतन कर रहे हैं तो पानी का सवाल भी हम प्रान्त के आधार से ऊपर उठ कर सुलझा लेंगे।

कल की जा घटना हुई उस के लिये सभी ने दुख प्रकट किया है। यह घटना एक षडयंत्र का परिणाम है, राष्ट्रीय हो या अंतर्राष्ट्रीय हो, जो भी यह षडयंत्र-कारी है उन से हम सब को सावधान रहना चाहिए। सभी जनतंत्र के हिमायतियों

को इन से सावधान रहना चाहिए। जो निरंकुशतावाद लाना चाहते हैं जो डेमोक्रेसी को समाप्त करना चाहते हैं ऐसी ताकतें सब पार्टियों की चिन्ता का विषय हैं। वे केवल अकेले सरकार के लिये ही चिन्ता का विषय नहीं हैं। मोरारजी भाई के बयान मैंने कई बार पढ़े हैं। वे सराहनीय हैं और देश की जनता उनकी सराहना करती है। सही बात कही रहकर भी कोई बोलेंगा तो इस देश की जनता उसकी सराहना करेगी क्योंकि इस देश की जनता बहुत होशियार है। कभी कभी मैं कह दिया करता हूँ कि जब भी देश पर कोई संकट आया है, चाहे विदेशी चीन के हमले का हो या चाहे गांधी जी की गोली से हत्या हुई हो, चाहे इंदिरा गांधी का मर्डर हुआ हो, सब बात भूलकर इस देश की जनता एक हो जाती है। राष्ट्रीय संकट को हमेशा इस देश की जनता ने समझा है, इस देश के नेताओं की अगुवाई की है। यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है। अभी मोरारजी देसाई ने कहा कि अगर मैं होता तो मैं गोली और इन्दिरा गांधी के बीच में आ जाता। सारे देश की जनता ने उसकी सराहना की। दूसरा बयान भी उनका आया कि राजीव गांधी अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं, जनता को उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए, सबको उनका साथ देना चाहिए। अभी अभी उन्होंने कहा कि यह पंजाब का फैसला जो हुआ वह बहुत अच्छा हुआ, यह सब के हित में है। दण्डवते जी ने तो यहां तक कह दिया कि महात्मा गांधी के बाद दूसरा गांधी राजीव गांधी आया है। तो देश का चिन्तन करने वाले लोग सही बात को सही बोलेंगे। इसने उनका कुछ कम नहीं होता। डेमोक्रेसी उदार विचारों में बढ़ती है, संकीर्ण विचारों से नहीं पनपती है।... (व्यवधान)

चौधरी साहब समर्थन में बोल गए थे, मगर उनके लोग उनका समर्थन नहीं करते। मैं उनको भी यही कहूंगा कि वह राष्ट्रीय हित को समझें। मैं यह कह रहा था कि सिख और पंजाब के लोग मेहनतकश हैं और बहादुरी के लिए प्रसिद्ध हैं। मैं पी० ए० सी० की कमेटी



में गया था, कार निकोबार में पंजाबी आई बसें हैं। उन्होंने शिकायत की कि हमको यहां पर ये ये दिक्कतें हैं। हमारे चेयरमैन ने मुझसे कहा कि पंजाबी भाइयों का जवाब आप दोगे। तो पहली बार मैंने पंजाबी भाइयों से शिकायत सुनी। हमारे जो भाई उजड़कर आये पंजाब में और दूसरी जगहों में बसे, अपनी मेहनत से उन्होंने अच्छे अच्छे फार्म खोले हैं। नौकरी में वे आ गए, पोलिटिक्स में वे आ गए, वे किसी से पीछे नहीं। बाजार में दुकानों से सस्ता गल्ला बेचते हैं। हालत आज यह है कि जो नीचे बैठते थे वे ऊपर हो गए और जो ऊपर थे वे नीचे हो गए। जैसा सुलतान सिंह जी ने कहा राजीव गांधी ने संकटकाल में भी उन लोगों की सराहना की। मेहनत करने वाले कभी भी भूखे नहीं रहते हैं, न देश में न विदेश में। मैंने आज तक कोई भिखारी पंजाबी नहीं देखा। देश के विकास में उन्होंने महान योगदान दिया है। देश का विकास इनके ऊपर निर्भर करता है। इसलिए आदमी की मेहनत, उसकी ईमानदारी हमेशा देश को आगे बढ़ाने में काम आती है।

कुछ लोग पता नहीं छोटे मोटे सवानों को लेकर खालिस्तान का नारा लगाते हैं। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से देखिए तो कोई प्रान्त, कोई देश नहीं है जहां पंजाबी भाई न बसे हों और अच्छी तरह तरक्की न कर रहे हों। मैं अपील करूंगा सभी भाइयों से कि राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि में, देश के हित में, अपने छोटे मोटे स्वार्थों को भुलाकर देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिए काम करें और बलिदान करें। जैसे आजादी के लिए बलिदान दिया, उसी तरह देश की एकता के लिए भी बलिदान करें। इस लिए मैं फिर श्री राजीव गांधी जी और लॉगोवाल जी के बीच में जो समझौता हुआ, उसके लिए उनका आभारी हूं। लीडर वही होता है जो हवा को बदल देता है, जमाने को बदल देता है। लॉगोवाल जी ने उस हवा को तब्दीली दी है। लिहाजा वह भी बढ़ाई के

पात्र हैं, राजीव गांधी तो बढ़ाई के पात्र हैं ही। मैं सभी पार्टियों के नेताओं को भी, जिन्होंने इसके लिये अपना समर्थन दिया है, उनको भी हृदय से बढ़ाई देता हूं और आशा करता हूं कि इससे डेमोक्रेसी को मजबूत करने में सहायता प्राप्त होगी।

**श्री सूरज प्रसाद (बिहार) :** महोदय हम लोग अभी पंजाब के बजट पर बहस कर रहे हैं। हमारी उम्मीद यह है कि शायद संसद में यह अन्तिम बहस पंजाब के बजट पर होगी क्योंकि इसके बाद पंजाब के अंदर सरकार शीघ्र चुनाव करायेगी और वहां एक जनतांत्रिक सरकार की स्थापना होगी और वह बजट पारित करने की दिशा में कदम उठाएगी। हम, पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में लॉगोवाल और प्रधान मंत्री जी के बीच में जो समझौता हुआ है उसकी पृष्ठभूमि में बहस कर रहे हैं। हम और हमारी पार्टी अभी जो यह समझौता पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में हुआ है उसका समर्थन करते हैं और समझते यह हैं कि यह समझौता बहुत हद तक जो समस्या उपस्थित हो गई थी, उसके हल करने की दिशा में एक भारी कदम होगा। काफी दिनों से पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दू और सिखों के बीच में मतभेद चला आ रहा था। एक तरह से भाईचारे में कुछ कड़वाहट आ गई थी, सद्भाव में कमी आ गई थी। यह समझौता भाईचारे और सद्भाव को स्थापित करने में मदद पहुंचायेगा। देश की एकता और अखंडता पर जो खतरा मौजूद हो गया था उसे दूर करने की दिशा में मदद मिलेगी। लेकिन इस समझौते के बारे में मुझे एक बात यह कहनी है कि समझौते में मुख्यतः वही बातें हैं जो बातें बहुत दिनों से विरोधी दलों के लोग देश के सामने रखते हुए आ रहे थे। समझौते में मुख्य दिन्दु वही हैं जिसे इन्दिरा गांधी ने रेडियो पर 2 अक्टूबर, 1984 को प्रसारित किया था। यह समझौता देर से आया अच्छी बात है लेकिन दुरुस्त हो कर आया है इसलिये इस समझौते का समर्थन करने में शायद किसी की हिचक नहीं होगी। कुछ लोगों

[श्री सुरज प्रसाद]

को हितक हो सकती है लेकिन इसमें हितक नहीं होगी चाहिये। इस समझौते के बाद कुछ मतभेद जाग्रत हुए हैं खासकर राजस्थान और हरियाणा में। हरियाणा ने जल और क्षेत्र का प्रश्न उठाया है और राजस्थान ने जल का प्रश्न उठाया है। हमारी समझ यह है कि राजस्थान और हरियाणा को, जो उनकी मतभेद की बातें हैं उसे इस रूप में नहीं उठाना चाहिए जिससे तनाव बढ़े, दूराव बढ़े, मतभेद बढ़े। बल्कि इन समस्याओं के समाधान के लिये शांतिपूर्ण तरीका अख्तियार करना चाहिये और इसके लिये उन्हें आगे बढ़ना चाहिये। अभी लगता यह है कि कुछ प्रान्तीयता को उभारने की कोशिश हो रही है, कुछ क्षेत्रीयता को उभारने की कोशिश हो रही है। जाहिर है कि प्रान्तीयता और क्षेत्रीयता के उभारने से देश की एकता और अखण्डता का प्रश्न जो उपस्थित हो गया है उसमें आंच आ जायेगी और इसलिये हमारी इच्छा यह है और हम चाहते यह हैं कि हरियाणा और राजस्थान के जो हमारे भाई हैं वह इस दिशा में कोई ऐसा कदम न उठाये जिससे कोई प्रान्तीयता की झलक आए। वैमनस्य बढ़े, जिससे दूराव बढ़े। एक हमारी समझ यह भी है कि जब आतंकवादी वहाँ आन्दोलन चला रहे थे तो उस समय भी हिन्दुओं और सिखों के बीच में आम तौर पर सद्भाव और भाईचारा था। यद्यपि आतंकवादी यह चाहते थे कि अपने कर्मों के द्वारा हिन्दुओं और सिखों के बीच में दूराव पैदा कर दें और एक साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की स्थिति पंजाब के अन्दर पैदा कर दें। लेकिन हिन्दुओं और सिखों के बीच में जो बहुत दिनों से ऐतिहासिक सद्भाव और भाईचारे की भावना थी उसको वे दूर करने में सफल नहीं हो सके और आम तौर पर सद्भाव और भाईचारा वहाँ बना रहा। हमारी पार्टी, सी० पी० आई० सदैव इस बात के लिए प्रयास करती रही कि पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दुओं और सिखों के बीच में आम तौर पर सद्भाव रहे, भाई-चारा रहे, एकता रहे और किसी तरह की साम्प्रदायिक भावना का उभार वहाँ नहीं हो पाये। एक हद तक उसको इसमें

सफलता मिली है। मेरी समझ यह भी है कि इस समझौते से उस भावना को अब और अधिक मदद मिलेगी।

एक बात मैं इस संबंध में और कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब एक तरह से समझौता हो चुका है। हमें सोचना यह है कि अब हमारा दूसरा कदम क्या होगा? हमारी समझ यह है कि सरकार को शीघ्र चुनाव कराने के संबंध में विचार करना चाहिए और जनतांत्रिक हुकूमत पंजाब में स्थापित हो, इस दिशा में उसे कदम उठाना चाहिए। पंजाब की कुछ आर्थिक समस्याएँ भी हैं। मैं तो किसानों से संबंध रखने वाला व्यक्ति हूँ। मेरी जानकारी यह है कि पंजाब के अन्दर बिजली का संकट है, बिजली की आपूर्ति नियमित नहीं है। इससे किसानों में परेशानी है। उद्योगों को भी काफी ठेस पहुंचती है। वहाँ के लोगों की मांग यह है कि एक एटोमिक प्लांट की स्थापना वहाँ की जानी चाहिए। मैं सरकार से यह चाहूँगा कि इस दिशा में विचार करे। बिजली के बारे में बजट में प्रावधान भी देखने को मिला है। मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार को इस दिशा में कुछ कदम उठाने चाहिए। थिंग डेम के बारे में आज से कोई 30 वर्ष पहले समझौता हुआ था। उसका पानी बहकर पिछले 30 वर्षों से पाकिस्तान जा रहा है। उसके पानी का इस्तेमाल नहीं हो रहा है, पानी बर्बाद हो रहा है। मैं सरकार से चाहूँगा कि थिंग डेम को शीघ्रातिशीघ्र पूरा करने की दिशा में कदम उठाना चाहिए।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि पंजाब में काफी बेकारी भी है और आम तौर पर इस बेकारी का इस्तेमाल वहाँ के आतंकवादी अपनी मांगों की पूर्ति के लिए करते हैं। यह पंजाब में भी हुआ, यह आसाम में भी हुआ और उत्तर पूर्वी राज्यों में भी हो रहा है। हमारी समझ यह है कि सरकार को चाहिए कि इस तरह का कोई कदम उठाये जिससे वहाँ की बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान हो सके। सरकार ने और प्रधान मंत्री ने वहाँ कुछ कारखाने बेटाने के बारे में कुछ बातें कहीं। जैसे कोच

फैक्ट्री के बारे में कहा। मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन यही काफी नहीं है। वहाँ की जो जनताविक शक्तियाँ हैं उनकी मांग यह है कि पंजाब के अंदर औद्योगिक विकास को जिस तरह से बढ़ा दी जानी चाहिए वह शह नहीं दी जा रही है। एच. बार्डर स्टेट के नाते यह कहा जाता है कि क्योंकि पंजाब एक बार्डर स्टेट है इसलिए वहाँ पर बड़े कारखाने या मीडियम स्तर के कारखाने स्थापित करना सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से सही नहीं है। लेकिन इस तरह के कारखाने वहाँ न बिठाने से वहाँ के जो लोग हैं उनके बीच में बेकारी की समस्या बढ़ती जा रही है। इसलिए हमारी समझ के अनुसार बार्डर स्टेट के नाम पर जो औद्योगिक विकास की उपेक्षा वहाँ बहुत हद तक होती जा रही है उसका परित्याग किया जाना चाहिए और सरकार को वहाँ पर इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स के कारखाने, इंजीनियरिंग के कारखाने, कपड़ा उद्योग, चीनी उद्योग, इस तरह के उद्योगों की स्थापना करनी चाहिए। इन चीजों के लिए वहाँ पर भूमि भी है और रा-मैटीरियल भी है। चीनी के कारखानों के लिए वहाँ शुगर कैन काफी पैदा होता है, कपड़ा उद्योग के लिए कपास वहाँ काफी पैदा होती है। वहाँ रा-मैटीरियल बाहर से मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। कुछ अखबारों में समाचार आया था कि आपकी सरकार ने पैप्सी कोला को साफ्ट ड्रिंक बनाने की इजाजत दी है। पैप्सी कोला एक मल्टी नेशनल कंपनी है उसको इस तरह से इजाजत नहीं दी जानी चाहिए। सरकार ने ऐसा ही किया जो हम समझते हैं उचित ही है। किसी भी मल्टी नेशनल कंपनी को इस तरह की सुविधा नहीं दी जानी चाहिए। कोका कोला को आपने मार भगाया और पैप्सी कोला को भारत में आर्माइत किया जय तो यह उचित बात नहीं होगी। इसलिए सरकार ने अगर उसको इजाजत नहीं दी तो यह अच्छा ही काम किया है। उपमहाध्वक्ष महोदय, पंजाब के अंदर फल उद्योग के विकास में हाल के दिनों में काफी प्रगति हुई है। इसलिए हमसे वहाँ नये नये उद्योग विकसित हो सकते हैं। मैं सरकार से चाहूँगा कि सरकार को फल

पर आधारित उद्योगों की स्थापना की दिशा में कदम उठाने चाहिए ताकि पंजाब की जनता के सामने जो कुछ सवाल हैं, उनको हल करने की दिशा में भारी प्रगति हो सके।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

**SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD** (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill on Punjab. Sir, economic development and financial strength of a State depends on political stability. Punjab today appears to be breathing with expected political stability, rejuvenated with life and vigour. The ominous roduct of 1977-79 havocful misrule, the Punjab problem, was the most miserable and unfortunate blot on the pious and sacred body of Mother India. I heartily congratulate the first and the best son of Mother India, Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi for having made tremendous efforts for the obliteration of this sinful stain. The country bows its head in debt and gratitude to Shri Rajiv Gandhi, for having brought about a magical solution to the enigmatic problem of Punjab. The country in its 38 years of independent and sovereign existence has never suffered such a trauma. One which, at times, appeared to have rudely shaken its very foundations. Amidst the frightful clouds of darkness and uncertainties, came the surprising and welcome announcement in Parliament by the Prime Minister about the solution of the Punjab problem. The whole country was thrilled with such joy as if the country has gained a second Independence, much to the mournful sorrow of our enemies. I hope the success of the Prime Minister's untiring effort has got root deep enough to withstand any onslaught in future. To believe failure of our enemies will be slackness and foolishness on our part. We must guard against any mishap in future.

All said and done, Sir, the agreement is yet to be tested on the envil of execution. To trust is good but to trust without caution is fraught with

[Shri Mahendra Prasad]

dangers. Here the integrity and future of the country is involved. We have got no right to play with the future of the country. Optimism is good, pessimism may be bad but optimism with eyes closed is grave and unenterprising risk. To believe is good but to believe blindly is inviting doomsday. Slackness on our part, as a result of merely signing of the agreement, may deceive us to fall in error, weakening us and endangering the unity and integrity of our country. I hope the intention of the other signatory is trustworthy and emerges from the depth of their heart and soul and out of the realization for the good of different communities and the country. We have heard the incoherent and dissenting voices of many on the other side. If we fall prey to slackness, two precious lives will be in danger; the life of our country as it exists today, a strong and united India, and the life of our Prime Minister. Alertness and caution should be our watchword.

Sir, to note here is the fact that all along we have maintained and have maintained rightly that the Punjab problem is the creation of foreign intrigues. Right from the divide and rule days of pre-independent British India, when a section of Akali Sikhs along with Muslim League of Jinnah etc. used to help Britishers by way of giving a call at the instance of Britishers to divide India, the Punjab problem has been initiated, philosophised; financed and maintained by foreign powers. Now we have come to an agreement with the Akalis, that too seemingly with a section of them as the newspapers' reports go. Has this agreement got sanction of those foreign powers who have sworn to create problem for India? If yes, the country should know. If no, then the verifiability of this agreement is very much in doubt. No doubt, the state of Punjab will get certain benefits like the one of getting Chandigarh, but the Punjab problem with all its ferocity will remain. We run a

great risk of being lulled to sleep. Even if Longowal and his brand agree to be nationalists and patriotic, the foreign powers can create several other unpatriotic and anti-national Longowals. Already Badal, Tohra, Joginder Singh and their brands are at war with Sant Longowal for having come to an agreement with our Prime Minister. I hope and pray these two brands, Longowal's and Joginder Singh's, are genuinely different and at war with each other.

I hope and trust it is not a planned blow hot by one and blow cold by the other.

Sir, let us assume that the agreement of the other side is also well intentioned as it is from our side, even then we should be careful while thinking of committing the action of cutting two fingers to save one. That the mother should feed only the crying child and ignore the silent but hungry child is unmotherly. For us, for the Government and for the Prime Minister all the States and their people are equal. There should not be anything in the agreement and its final implementation whereby one State should outweigh others. There should be no robbing of Peter to pay Paul. For us the States of Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab and their people are all equal citizens of our great country. Nothing should be done to favour one against the other. Doing anything such as this will be setting an example and incentive to create problems by starting a bogey of independent and sovereign States. We should not do anything so that tomorrow there is a demand for several Khalistan's in place of one. The people of these four States are basically agriculturists and they all need water for irrigating their life-like crops. I am sure the people of all these States have got a good mother in the present Central Government and the Prime Minister who will take care to feed these States and the people of these States without their crying. There should be fairness in distribution of river waters. If necessary, more

dams should be constructed to create adequate reservoirs of water so that all States are equally fed and there is no cause for ill-feeling and bitterness.

Sir, the people of this country are particularly concerned about that part of the agreement which envisages rehabilitation of army deserters. We should remember those dark days when our beloved leader, the late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was assassinated. The country bows its head in perpetual reverence and indebtedness to Shrimati Indira Gandhi for having made an unparalleled sacrifice for the sake of unity and integrity of the country. Our armymen are supposed to safeguard the integrity of our country. Army deserters last November had wanted to help disintegration of the country by way of deserting the Army in support of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. I am sure the Prime Minister must have agreed to this unpalatable clause in the larger interests of the unity and integrity of the country. He has the support of all of us, I pray such rehabilitation does not become an example and a Precedent for others to desert and to rebel.

Sir, we are the only truly secular country in the democratic world. Our constitution provides for secularism and under our Constitution the Government maintains equi-distance with every religion. We should not do anything to disfigure and malign the constitutional position with regard to religion. For us all religions are equal. We are neutral. Nothing should be done to favour one religion over the other so that it does not become a permanent irritant which may cause tremors in future in Punjab and elsewhere in the country.

It is with the deepest concern that I notice that here is no mention in the agreement about condemnation by the Akali Dal for the most deplorable and heinous assassination of Mrs. Gandhi

Indiraji's assassination was more brutal than the assassination of the Father of the Nation and the best son which India has produced for centuries.

Before I end, I again want to put a word of caution. Negligence and lack of caution and alertness will be suicidal and fatal. I am specially concerned about the security of the Prime Minister. One who is enemy of India, his first target of attack should have been Rajiv Gandhi. Enemies of India are not fools. They say, "finish Rajiv Gandhi finish India." Lack of alertness in the Prime Minister's security and the security of others concerned because of the recent agreement will be a grave mistake. There should be no slackness.

With these words, I congratulate our Prime Minister and Sant Longowal for having come to an agreement giving India and specially Punjab a great sigh of relief. I wish Punjab well after this invigorating agreement. Punjab, I hope Punjab progresses under peace and stability. I once again support the Appropriation Bill on Punjab under consideration of the House.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** Sir, looking at the Appropriation Bill, it seems that the Government has not yet decided to go in for elections in Punjab. This Bill provides for more than what is necessary if elections to be held by the 5th or 6th of October this year. I do not know why after going through this agreement, called the memorandum of settlement they are still different, vacillating, not sure of their ground and what has led them yet not to conclude as to when to hold the elections. The other important thing which is apparent from the Appropriation Bill itself is the amount which is shown to be reserved for the construction of

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta] the Thien dam. But there also, I personally feel that at this rate they won't have the Thien dam. For the last 30 years the Thien dam has eluded us and I do not think that at this pace we will be seeing the Thien dam within a short period, in any case not within this decade. And what does Thien dam mean? Thien dam is not a problem of Punjab alone because Thien dam would mean water and electricity for at least the States of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir and even UP, Delhi and other areas. It means electricity and, of course, irrigation to three States—Punjab, Rajasthan and Haryana. But I am happy in one respect, that the emotional problem which was pervading the atmosphere, the scene, has to some extent been solved. But the price that is being paid for this solution is too heavy and great. Very great price we are paying, and this price is being paid mainly by the State of Haryana and, to some extent, by Rajasthan. If this accord, this agreement, this settlement had to be arrived at, in 1982-83 itself we could have had this settlement.

The territorial demand of the Akali Party was only to this extent that they wanted the immediate transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab. Regarding other disputed areas they said that a Commission may be appointed. This was their earliest demand. Chandigarh, according to the Shah Commission, was awarded to be part of Haryana, but because of the subsequent agitations in Punjab, the Prime Minister, the late Mrs. Indra Gandhi intervened and in 1970 gave an award by which she conceded Chandigarh to Punjab but in lieu of Chandigarh, Fazilka and Abohar tehsils of district Ferozepore were given to Haryana. Now, after this award was announced in 1970, there was jubilation in Punjab but resentment in Haryana. There were agitations and

police, firings and more than a dozen people died in those firings. But the people of Haryana, having a wider perspective of the thing, having a liberal view, a nationalistic view, agreed to part with Chandigarh and have Fazilka and Abohar tehsils transferred to Haryana at the time Chandigarh was to be transferred to Punjab. But the Akalis did not want it. Subsequently the Akalis came forward with a demand that Chandigarh should be handed over to them and that Fazilka and Abohar should not be given in lieu of Chandigarh and at this particular time the transfer of Chandigarh should be unilateral. We opposed it. The Government of India recognised our demands. They understood that it would be very unfair to the State of Haryana, that they were taking away from Haryana what was awarded to it by the Shah Commission and giving it to Punjab and that in return they were giving it nothing.

In this accord what we find is that they have acceded to the Akali request made a number of years ago that Chandigarh be transferred to Punjab and that for the remaining areas a commission be appointed. If we had to do it today, we might as well have done it earlier and avoided all this bloodshed and destruction of property and unsettled conditions and creation of terrorism and all these things.

**SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK:**

Have you read the award?

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** I have read it. I have got a copy.

**SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK:**

The Hindi-speaking areas will be simultaneously transferred to Haryana along with Chandigarh on the 26th of January, 1986.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** Mr. Mukhtiar Singh, please give

me this much credit. I will go through this document and come to know what its meaning is. Don't worry. Have patience. I am coming to it.

**SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK:** On this 26th of January, Chandigarh is not going to be transferred to Punjab without transferring the Hindi-speaking villages to Haryana.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** Have I permission to proceed, Mr. Chairman?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL):** Mr. Mukhtiar Singh, let him proceed.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** Since 1970—now this is 1985—15 long years have passed.

**SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK:** At the time of transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, the Hindi-speaking villages will be transferred to Haryana.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** I expect at least from Members from Haryana that in Parliament if they cannot support what I am saying they will remain quiet to see that the interests of Haryana are not jeopardised.

**SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK:** You can say anything you like.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** You are trying to damage the interests of your own State.

Any way, for 15 long years we have waited, Sir, for transfer of Fazilka and Abohar to Haryana and consequently Chandigarh remained a Union Territory.

On page 12 of the White Paper issued on 10-7-84, para No. 23 mentions about the demands of the Akalis. "The present demand is that while Chandigarh should be immediately transferred to Punjab, all other claims and counter-claims including those relating to Abohar and Fazilka should be referred to a commission". This was their demand. They say "including Abohar and Fazilka." But what do we find? Mr. Mukhtiar Singh just unnecessarily got angry with me

for nothing. In this document, this memorandum of settlement, the names of Abohar and Fazilka are missing. There is no name.

**SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK:** There is no need. Two separate commissions are appointed. One shall give its award by the 31st of December, 1985. Fazilka and Abohar need not be mentioned in it.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** In clause 7.2 it has been mentioned:

'It had 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.'

I do not understand why they are feeling shy of the fact. They say, "some Hindi-speaking territories". Why are Abohar and Fazilka not mentioned here? Shrimati Indira Gandhi gave Chandigarh to Punjab in place of Fazilka and Abohar to Haryana. The Shah Commission also mentioned "Hindi-speaking areas." Why have those two names not been mentioned here? And why are they shy of it? I do not know. (*Interruption*)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL):** Mr. Malik, let him speak. Otherwise he will exceed the time allowed to him.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** If I keep on answering each and every part of the queries, they will take many hours. He should note down the points. I would request you to allow him to speak.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL):** You please proceed with your points.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:** Thank you, Sir. Not mentioning the Tehsils of Fazilka and Abohar in this memorandum of settlement, is an appeasement, and it goes beyond the Akali demand. Because Akali demand for Abohar and Fazilka

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]  
be referred to the Commission. This does not even mention regarding Abohar and Fazilka. So, I would say that it is a surrender before the Akali Dal in a manner which I can say amounts to sacrificing interests of my State completely. Now, the other thing I saw in this Memorandum of Settlement is regarding Clause 9 Sharing of River Waters. (*Interruptions*) Clause 9.1 says and I quote:

"The farmers of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan will continue to get water not less than what they are using from the Ravi-Beas system as on 1-7-1985. Water used for consumptive purposes will also remain unaffected. Quantum of usage claimed shall be verified by the Tribunal referred to in para 9.2."

From this I gather that on 1-7-1985 the water which is being used by the three States—Haryana, Rajasthan and Punjab is protected. Whether we are using less or more than our share is protected and they cannot be referred to the Commission. What is going to be referred to the Commission is only the remaining water—the surplus water. Regarding the surplus water I want to draw the attention of this House....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please be brief and try to conclude.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: I cannot. I have not even started. Mr. Mukhtiar Singh Malik was pulling me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Your party has been allotted only five minutes. But you have taken more than 11 minutes. Please be brief.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: I want to be brief. Wherever you find me I am irrelevant, please stop me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): I won't judge upon that. Try to conclude.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: I want to give the position as on 1-7-1985. Even the "Tribune" newspaper has also given the information as to how much water each State is using. The water available from this system was taken from Pakistan by paying Rs. 110 crores; and this water was taken for the arid regions of Haryana and Rajasthan. They needed Water. For this purpose, the World Bank team also came here and toured the whole area. Actually they found that the people in Rajasthan were drinking muddy Water from the tanks. Once the tanks go dry there will not be even a drop of water to drink. They were going to give India only 30 per cent of the water which they have given. But at the request of the World Bank they have given us 17.1 million acres feet of Water; and the principal recipients of this water according to the international treaty were Rajasthan and Haryana. But as on 1-7-1985, 6.4 million acres feet of water is being utilised by Punjab, Haryana utilising only 1.3 million acres feet of water on 1-7-1985 and Rajasthan is utilising only 5.79 million acres feet of water whereas Rajasthan was allocated 8.6 million acres feet of water and Haryana was allocated 3.5 million acres feet of water. What we are utilising is only 1.3 million acres feet of water and Rajasthan is utilising 5.79 million acres feet of water. Now, leaving aside this, Punjab is a user of 6.4 million acres feet of water though its allocated share in 1976 when Madam Prime Minister gave the award was only 3.5 million acres feet of water but subsequently increased in 1981 to 4.2 million acres feet of water. That also we took with a pinch of salt but when the users position is settled and we take the users position of Water as on 1-7-1985, Water which remains is only 2.83 million acres feet. So, the commission which is proposed to be appointed to decide the shares of each State in these remaining waters i.e. 2.83 million acres feet of water, when this is



taken, what is going to be given to Haryana, what is going to be given to Rajasthan. Punjab has already taken the lion's share of it. So, this is no agreement.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair] (Interruption.) Now the question which arises is that SYL canal will be dug within a stipulated period. (Interruption.) As I put this question to Mr. Sultan Singh also, when he was speaking, I said, when this SYL canal is dug, what is going to be put in it because there is no water left. Water is already consumed and utilised. Whichever Tribunal or Commission or what authority is appointed to go into it, it has nothing before it to give it to us. (Interruption.)

मैं कैसे बोलूँ। (व्यवधान) यह एक मीटर हैं जिस पर मैंने बोलना चाहा है।

उपसभापति : आप बोलिये।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : मुझे तो सिर्फ पांच मिनट ही बोलना है। न देना चाहें तो दो मिनट में ही अपनी बात कह दूंगा लेकिन वह तो मुझे एक मिनट भी वरदान देना नहीं चाहते। वे कोई दूसरा प्वाइंट आफ व्यू सुनने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। अगर उन की तारीफ कर दी जाये तो उनको अच्छा लगता है। दूसरा प्वाइंट आफ व्यू उन को बताइये। तो उनको चुनचुनी लग जाती है।

(व्यवधान)

तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो एवार्ड हुआ है उस पर जो यह स्टेटमेंट हुआ है कि इसके इस मभोरेंडम आफ स्टेटमेंट में कौन सी चीज लिखी हुई है जो हरचन्द सिंह लोंगोवाल जी ने कंसीड की है। यह कंसीड किया जा सकता था कि गुरुद्वारों को टैरोरिस्ट एक्टिविटीज में फाँट रखा जायेगा। लेकिन इसमें यह नहीं है। इस में यह रखा जा सकता था कि जो लोग टैरोरिस्ट्स ने मारे हैं उन के लिये .... (व्यवधान) ऐसे कैसे बदल देंगे।

उपसभापति : अब तो आप को बन्द करना होगा।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : जब मेरी बारी आती है तो आप मुझे बन्द कराने की कोशिश करती हैं (व्यवधान)

कुमारी सरोज खापड़ (महाराष्ट्र) : मोहन्त जी के भाषण में ऐसा लग रहा है कि इस तरह की बातें सदन में बार के बें संत लोंगोवाल जी को प्रोवोक करना चाहते हैं। यही उनकी पार्टी की नीति है।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : जहाँ तक अकालियों के साथ सेटिलमेंट का संबंध था मैं अकेले इस तरफ से बोलता था कि उनके साथ सेटिलमेंट होना चाहिए, लेकिन हमें इस तरह का सेटिलमेंट नहीं चाहिए था कि जो हमारे राइट्स पर ही कुठाराघात करे और जो हमारी ही कास्ट पर हो और (व्यवधान) यह तो वही बात हुई कि बेगानी शादी में अब्दुल्ला दीवाना।

कुमारी सरोज खापड़ : हरियाणा का जहाँ तक सवाल है उस का तो वही हाल हुआ कि हींग लगे न रुटकारी और रंग भी आया चाखा।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : आपको क्या मिला ? कोई मुझे बता दे कि हरियाणा को इतना पानी और मिल सकता है।

उपसभापति : हमारे हाउस में इतिफाक से कोई अब्दुल्ला नहीं है नहीं तो

[उपसभापति]

प्रिविलेज का सवाल बन जाता। अब आप खत्म करिये।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस एवार्ड को बेलगम करने हैं। इसमें पीस, गुडविल सब आयी है, लेकिन मैं इस एवार्ड को जहाँ तक हरियाणा के इंटरेस्ट का सवाल है उस में नहीं समझता और, आप इसके जरिये हरियाणा के इंटरेस्ट को काटकूट कर पंजाब को देना चाहते हैं और इस लिये मैं इसका सख्त विरोध करता हूँ मैं एक निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभापति : नहीं, अब नहीं। अब आप बैठिये।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : एक मिनट में मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूँ। असली बात यह है कि जहाँ यह एग्रीमेंट दो आदमियों के बीच हुआ है लोगोवाल जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी के बीच में....

उपसभापति : बहुत हो गया। आप अपनी बात कह चुके।

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : अब भी इस बात पर आरोप हो सकता है कि दो आदमियों में जो एग्रीमेंट हुआ ठीक हुआ, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि संत लोगोवाल किसके नुमाइंद थे? क्या सारी स्टेटों का अख्तियार उनके पास था। हरियाणा, राजस्थान की तरफ से वह कमिटमेंट कर सकते थे? या प्रधान मंत्री के पास अख्तियार था कि हरियाणा के इंटरेस्ट और राजस्थान के इंटरेस्ट को वह कंप्रोमाइज कर सकें? 1981 का जो कमीशन हुआ, उनमें राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री, राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री और पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर के दस्तखत थे जो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के साथ किया गया है। दरबारा सिंह जी यहाँ बैठे हैं।

उस फैसले को रद्द करने का इनमें से किसको अख्तियार था? ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Upendra.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Madam, last two sentences.

उपसभापति : अब आप बैठ जाइए (व्यवधान)

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : मैं सिर्फ एक बरी और कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरा कहना यह है कि इसके ऊपर आप बिगुल न बजाइए। हमको हक दीजिए, हमको हमारा पानी दीजिए। यह एग्रीमेंट है, जितनी अंग्रेजी मूजे आती है उसको पढ़ने से यह पता लगता है कि 1-7-85 का पानी प्रोटेक्ट किया जाएगा। तो फिर कमीशन के पास भेजने की क्या जरूरत है? Without obtaining the signatures of the parties to the 1981 agreement, how can this agreement be upset?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Otherwise it will not be recorded. You cannot keep on speaking for any length of time. Let us have some accord here over time. (Interruptions)

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : जो कमीशन बैठाया है उसकी क्या जरूरत है। ... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dont record him.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may speak, but nothing is being recorded.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: \*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the Home Minister will make a statement.

\*Not recorded.

## Statement by Ministers

II. Shooting Incident in Delhi Leading to death of Shri Lalit Maken, Member of Parliament and his wife.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN):  
Madam Deputy Chairman,

The House was informed yesterday about the shooting incident in Delhi leading to the unfortunate demise of Shri Lalit Maken, Member of Parliament, his wife Smt. Geetenjali Maken and a visitor Shri Bal Krishan Khanna.

I take this opportunity to inform the House about further details of this tragic incident. On 31-7-1985 at about 10.28 hours, information about an incident of firing at L/106 Kirti Nagar, was received at Police Control Room from an unknown caller. The Police Control Room Van on being directed reached the spot at 10.33 hours. Meanwhile one Shri Roshan Lal had also informed the police about this incident at 10.32 hours.

The local police which had also been informed about this incident reached the spot immediately. Meanwhile the injured persons had been rushed to Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital.

Briefly, the facts of the incident are that on 31-7-1985 at about 10.00 hours, while Mr. Lalit Maken had come out of the house (L/106 Kirti Nagar) to get into his car, two persons standing outside the gate started firing at him. Meanwhile his wife, who had gone inside the house to fetch some household goods for the new resident at AB-15 Tilak Marg, reached the main gate. The assailants also fired at her. Another person, one Shri Bal Krishan Khanna, who had come to see Shri Lalit Maken, also suffered bullet injuries. Shri Suresh Malik, one of his associates was also injured by the assailants.

After committing the crime, the two assailants rushed to a scooter No. DEH-8346, Bajaj Super (light

green) which had been kept with its engine running by a third accomplice. All the three persons managed to speed away on this scooter. A case vide FIR No. 315 dated 31-7-85 u/s 307/302/34 IPC and 27/54/59 Arms Act has been registered at Police Station Moti Nagar. The investigation of the case is being carried out by the Crime Branch of Delhi Police.

During the course of investigation, 16 empties (fired cartridges) were found from the site. A team of the Central Forensic Science Laboratory had visited the spot and examined it. From the site inspection and the fired cartridges, it appears that the weapons used were .303 Mauser and 9. M.M. pistol. Six eye witnesses have been examined. The owner of the Scooter (DEH-8546) from whom the Scooter had been snatched away on the preceding evening has also been examined to ascertain the description of the assailants.

On being rushed to the Hospital, Shri Lalit Maken was declared dead. Smt. Maken and Shri Bal Krishan Khanna later succumbed to their injuries in the hospital. Postmortem of the dead bodies was carried out at All India Institute of Medical Sciences.

Shri Lalit Maken had shifted to his official residence at AB-15, Tilak Marg where an armed guard of 1 Head Constables and 4 Constables was posted for his protection. He used to visit his old residence in Kirti Nagar occasionally to meet his constituents and workers.

Immediately after the incident, an alert was sounded and all incoming and outgoing passengers at railway stations, bus tands, border check-posts and airport are being screened. As a precautionary steps, the Commissioner of Police has imposed Section 144 Cr. P.C. in Delhi. The Commissioner of Police has also announced a reward of Rs. 1 lakh for anyone giving information leading to the arrest of the culprits.

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

Further investigations in the case are in progress and all out efforts are being made to trace the culprits. I would request the Hon'ble Members to bear with us till the investigations are concluded and request the public not to give credence to any rumours.

5.00 P.M.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, it is with a very heavy heart that I rise to seek a few clarifications on the statement of the Home Minister. Before that I would like on behalf of the All India Anna DMK party, to convey our grief and deep sympathies to the family members of Shri Lalit Maken and his wife. It is rather unfortunate that the life of an young and ebullient MP who was so active, should come to such a tragic end. The motive and the persons behind the dastardly crime, I am sure, will soon come to light and I am quite convinced that the Government, as I see from the Home Minister's statement and even otherwise, is taking all steps to track down who these mysterious assailants and their motives in committing this dastardly act, are. But on this occasion I would like to ask the Home Minister whether it was a fact, though he states on page 2 of his statement—

"Shri Lalit Maken had shifted to his official residence at AB-15 Tilak Marg where an armed guard of 1 Head constable and 4 constables was posted for his protection."—

that the said armed guard was provided, whether his statement is exactly correct, because I was given to understand that the police protection for Shri Maken, the armed guard which was given to him, was withdrawn on the 25th July 1985. I would like to know whether this is a fact; if so, what the reasons were why the Government or the Commissioner of Police or whoever was in charge, withdrew that armed guard. Secondly, I would like to ask of the Home

Minister whether the Intelligence agencies of the Government of India had warned them that Shri Maken was in the hit-list of some of the terrorists—I do not know what priority he had been given in the hit-list—and if this information was available with the Government and particularly when the Government know very well, since there was recently the accord with the Akalis, that some of the terrorists who wanted to thwart this accord would do something like this and also in view of the fact that even a person like the honourable Member of this House who is sitting there opposite, Shri Darbara Singh, had also warned that some terrorists had come to Delhi and would like to take some precipitate action, why the Government, in spite of all this knowledge, chose to withdraw the armed guard.

Madam, in this country, many persons come from various walks of life into public life to do their bit or contribute their bit to the public life of this country and I am sure that an end like this too heavy a price for any person who comes into the public life in this country. Even the other day there was a complaint from an honourable Member saying that because he had complained to the Finance Minister or the Minister of State in charge of Banking who is sitting here just now that some persons were indulging in some fraudulent activities, the persons against whom he had complained came to his house and threatened him. So, this is the state of affairs. I would like to know from the Minister whether he would consider giving police protection or armed protection at least at the residences of MPs, at least of those MPs who so desire and also whether he will consider giving armed escorts also to certain MPs if they so desire. Thank you, Madam.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
आदरणीय उपसभापति महोदया, मैं यह  
मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या  
सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि

ये हत्याएं दिन-दहाड़े हुई हैं ? निरंकारी बाबा की हत्या से लेकर श्री ललित माकन तक की हत्याएं हुई हैं वे सब दिन में और पुलिस अपराधियों को गिरफ्तार करने में पूर्णतः असमर्थ रही है । यह जो पुलिस सिस्टम है, दिल्ली की पुलिस है, वह हमेशा अपराधियों को पकड़ने में असमर्थ रही है । क्या यह सिद्ध नहीं करता है कि यह जो पुलिस सिस्टम है, यह वर्तमान समस्याओं को हल करने में आउट-डेटेड साबित हुआ है ? क्या यह सही नहीं है कि पूरी इंटेलिजेन्स बेकार हो गई है ? क्या सरकार इंटेलिजेन्स एजेंसीज का पुनर्गठन और उसका आधुनिकीकरण करेगी ? आप जानते हैं कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी की हत्या प्राइम मिनिस्टर के घर के अन्दर हुई और दिन में हत्या हुई इससे बड़ा इंटेलिजेन्स सिस्टम के कोलेप्स का दूसरा उदाहरण नहीं हो सकता है । दुनिया के इतिहास में इंटेलिजेन्स सिस्टम इतना खराब नहीं रहा जितना हमारा रहा । अरबों रुपया इन इंटेलिजेन्स एजेंसीज पर खर्च होता है । मेन्ट्रल इंटेलिजेन्स है, सी० बी० आई० है और अन्य कितनी ही इंटेलिजेन्स एजेंसीज हैं जिन पर अरबों रुपया खर्च होता है । इन्दिरा जी की हत्या उनके घर के अन्दर हो गई । वे हिन्दुस्तान की नहीं विश्व की नेता थी । उनकी हत्या उनके घर के अन्दर कर दी गई । पूरे इंटेलिजेन्स को पता नहीं क्या हो गया है ? कैसे हत्या हो गई, यह आश्चर्य है । लोग कहते हैं कि भाग्य में यही लिखा था । दुनिया के किसी कम्युनिस्ट राष्ट्र के राष्ट्रपति या प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या आज तक नहीं सुनी गई है । सी० आई० ए० और अन्य साम्राज्यवादी और पूँजीवादी ताकतें इसी फिराक में रहती हैं कि कास्त्रों को खत्म कर दिया जाय । लेकिन उनको कभी सफलता नहीं मिलती है । ऐसी स्थिति में क्या सरकार पूरे इंटेलिजेन्स सिस्टम को ओवर-आल करने की कोशिश करेगी ? क्या यह सही है कि नेशनल पुलिस कमिशन ने जो सिफारिशें की हैं उन सिफारिशों को लागू नहीं किया गया ? नेशनल पुलिस कमिशन सरकार ने बनाया । उसने अपनी बहुत-सी रिपोर्ट्स सबमिट कीं ।

लेकिन नेशनल पुलिस कमिशन की रिपोर्ट की ओर उसकी सिफारिशों को आज तक लागू नहीं किया गया है । क्या सरकार यह बताएगी कि नेशनल पुलिस कमिशन ने जो सिफारिश की थी उनको आज तक लागू क्यों नहीं किया गया है ? क्या सरकार नेशनल पुलिस कमिशन की सिफारिशों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए वर्तमान पुलिस सिस्टम को मोडर्नाइज, ओवर-आल और रिस्ट्रक्चर करने की कोशिश करेगी ताकि इस तरह की घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति न हो ?

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairman, I on behalf of Jammu and Kashmir National Conference express my grief and anguish at the sad demise of Mr. Lalit Maken. The episode itself sets us re-thinking about our security and the security of other VIPs and VVIPs. It is a sad commentary and our own sad experience that our law enforcing authorities, especially the police, are wise after the event and they shut the door after the horse has bolted. All sorts of advices are expressed and even platitudes used that we should keep mum or cooperate. But here is the glaring instance of the incapability and guilty negligence of the police. In this case, while the Tilak Marg residence of the MP is guarded, the Kirti Nagar residence of the MP is not guarded at all, where the lanes narrow. I hope the hon. Minister will explain why this guard was removed. The Police Commissioner himself says that they used to provide security guards off and on. That means, not regularly. And it was withdrawn. When the "Statesman" correspondent met the officer concerned and put the question, "what was the task of the intelligence", he did not answer that point. Was the intelligence failure responsible for the sad killing of that MP, his wife and others? Why was that security guard withdrawn? And why was there no security guard at Kirti Nagar? That is most essential. In this respect, Madam, we have seen that if this scooter was stolen at gun point at Greater Kailash on the pre-

[Shri Gulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl]

vious day, what action had the police taken in that behalf to recover it. We have seen that at police stations there are boards hanging giving numbers of Ambassador cars, Fiat cars and scooters that have been missing. What action does the police take, and especially in this case, knowing fully well that cars and scooters are stolen and used for such purposes by terrorists?

Then, there is another point. They say that they had received a letter one hour before that something will be done. Is it a fact? And if one hour before that letter was received, what precautionary measures had the police taken in this regard? Time-bell rings) And, Madam, then there is another point. The Police Commissioner said that due to lack of manpower they cannot provide security officers for everybody who receives threatening letters. As my friend said here, all MPs be provided security guards. That is not the question. Here the question is that a person is either on the hit-list or received a threatening letter that he will be done away with, and the Police takes no precautionary measures to save him at that point of time.

I hope the hon. Minister will enlighten us. As far as cooperation is concerned, whenever it is sought we are ready to extend it.

Thank you.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY** (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, with a painful heart, I express my heart-felt condolences to the members of the bereaved family. With all the force at my command I condemn in unequivocal terms the terrorists or the criminal maniacs who have committed this cold-blooded murder. What a blow of providence to that unfortunate 5-year old daughter of the Makens. Madam Deputy Chairman, the police have miserably failed as usual in the capital city of Delhi. In this city, one day a diplomat was killed. Another day a diplomat was ab-

ducted. Dacoities and free-style shootings take place in the streets of Delhi frequently.

In this incident, it is reported that the previous night the scooter was snatched at gunpoint. Was any complaint lodged by the owner of the scooter? Was any alert signal given to all the police posts? After the crime took place, the police was very alert to put road blocks as if they were locking the stable after horse had galloped out. What had they done after receiving the complaint? Was it not the duty of the police to alert the entire police force about the number of the scooter and the colour of the scooter? In that case, this could have been averted. Is it a fact that Mr. Lalit Maken received an anonymous letter on 27th of July that there is a plot to assassinate him? If so, was this matter brought to the notice of the police? Madam Deputy Chairman, life has become insecure in the capital city of Delhi. A dedicated political and a powerful trade-union leader has been snatched from us in the prime of his youth by the cruel hands of these monsters. They must be none other than the human beasts. So, I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps he is taking or going to take in future in order to avoid such crimes, taking into consideration the past crimes.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN** (West Bengal): Madam, on behalf of the CPI(M), I strongly condemn this dastardly act. What worries me deeply is that this incident has taken place in the capital city of Delhi and that too in broad-day light and the assassins, after committing the crime, have succeeded running away and till now they are untraceable. This is causing deep concern to everyone of us.

Madam, other Members have stated that during the last few months several killings have taken place in the city of Delhi. There have been killings of diplomats and others. After the murder of Mrs. Gandhi, killing of the Soviet diplomat and abduction of another diplomat, the Govern-

ment's police machinery and particularly the Intelligence Service would be revamped and security of the VIPs would be tightened. We had hoped that the Government will try to maintain law and order of the city in a better way. But this incident which took place yesterday has totally disappointed us. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps the Government has taken for effective security of the M.P.s. and other VIPs. So many developments are taking place in our country and we have to express our views freely and we have to act according to the dictates of our conscious or according to our political ideas. What is the guarantee that if I express my views in any development that is taking place in the country or I act according to my ideal, my life will be secure and will not be endangered by those who don't subscribe to my ideal and don't like my activity? So, there is no security of life in the city of Delhi for any person who wants to act according to his ideal or who wants to express freely. Now, Madam, I would like to know what the Government is doing to tighten up the security of the M.P.s and the VIPs. And at the same time, I would also like to know from the hon. Minister as to what he is thinking about maintaining the law and order in the city of Delhi. Now, it is very difficult to live peacefully in this city of Delhi. Delhi is the capital. Everybody expects that Delhi will be a place where people will be able to live peacefully. But now that hope has been belied; it has been shattered. I want to know what the Government is doing to maintain the law and order in the city so that the people can live in the city in a peaceful way. People should not live in this city always with the fear in their mind that at any time some violence can take place, some dacoity can take place. I want to know what take place or some other such thing can take place. I want to know what the Government is doing in that respect, particularly in tightening up the Intelligence services.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is with a sad heart I stand today to seek some clarifications from the Home Minister. At the outset I would like to associate myself on behalf of my Party with the sentiments expressed about the sad demise of Shri Lalit Maken. This incident touches us most because Mrs. Lalit Maken is very dear to us as she happened to be the daughter of the Governor of our State.

Having said this, I would like to ask the Home Minister a few questions. Exactly about nine months back, a very serious incident of this type took place. I would like to ask the Home Minister as to what precise steps have been taken during these nine months to improve the conditions by which law and order could be maintained. Since then have the Forces been increased? How much of modernisation took place? And what are those precise steps that have been taken? There is no point in simply saying after an incident takes place that we will take all the necessary steps, we will try to improve the situation and so forth. Therefore, I would like to ask the Home Minister to precisely state as to what were the steps that have been taken during these nine months to improve the conditions of law and order in the capital city. Secondly, Madam, the Intelligence in this country had been failing. There has been enough evidence of it. I would like to ask the Home Minister once again as to what precise steps have been taken to strengthen the Intelligence machinery. It is very strange that at least seven or eight minutes must have been taken since Mr. Lalit Maken comes out and is about to get into the car when the first shot was fired. Then he runs crying inside and in the meanwhile the door is closed and, therefore, he tries to move here and there. The fellows, whosoever, they were, emptied so many cartridges. In the meanwhile his wife has also come out. Then they also fire at her. The nephew of Mr. Lalit Maken who is there tries to run up stairs and he is

[Pro. C. Lakshmanna]

shot at. And then they come back and they also fire at Mr. Bal Krishan Khanna who was standing near the telephone pole. And also Mr. Suresh Malik, who had been an associate and who was also driving the car was also shot at. That means, if that much of activity had taken place, there must be some time lag. And in the meanwhile even the Police already had the information as reported to them by some unnamed caller at 10.28 itself. Then at 10.32 hours there was a call from Mr. Roshal Lal. And still they did not think it fit to reach the place. They did not plug the routes from which they can escape. What does not appeal to me, what does not strike me is that the Police thought that the people will be waiting for them to be caught, to be apprehended. What steps did they take precisely, instead of rushing to the spot, therefore, to go elsewhere and also to alert other places. I would like to know from the Minister as to what steps the Police did take. Did they simply go to his place or did they also take steps to see that those who have been running away are apprehended. This is another point. Thirdly, Madam, on a particular day Mr. Lalit Maken receives a threatening letter and that is precisely the time, as per the reports of newspapers, when the police protection is withdrawn. But the Minister's statement says that the police protection was available at AB-15, Tilak Marg, of one head constable and four constables. If five people were posted at Tilak Marg residence and Lalit Maken leaves the place and goes to Kirti Nagar, what did they do? Did they offer that one of them should go with him? What exactly was the position? How is it that five people were left behind to protect the house which was empty? These five people were posted there to protect the life of Mr. Lalit Maken, as per the statement of the hon. Minister. But all the five are left behind and Mr. Lalit Maken goes to Kirti Nagar and they are at Tilak Marg. Therefore, I would

like to know from the Home Minister what exactly was the position. How did they arrive at this decision that they will not go with him and that they will stay back?

Then, as per the description given by three witnesses, as reported in the newspapers, is it that difficult for them to identify and apprehend even after, now almost, 32-33 hours have elapsed? That means that Government are not able to apprehend. With the precise description as given by three witnesses and others when will it really be possible for the Government to really apprehend the culprits? And, has the scooter been located? They ran away on the scooter. If the whole city had been searched, they should have been able to locate the scooter. I think they ran away on the scooter. That means they have gone on the highway and then it should have been easy for the police to nap them, or the scooter must have been left behind. What has been happening?

Finally, Madam, this scooter was snatched away the previous evening.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That has been asked by many speakers

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: The scooter was snatched away the previous evening. What precise steps were taken by the different police stations in the city of Delhi to locate the scooter? Incidentally, the scooter which was snatched away from a person, with all its description had been reported. What did the police do? And, incidentally that scooter is now being associated with this ghastly crime. Therefore, I would like to know from the Home Minister what were the various steps, a, b, c, d, etc. that were taken between that evening when the snatching away of the scooter was reported and the next morning when this unhappy, ghastly, diabolical crime took place. How did the police fail to locate the scooter which was moving about on the streets of Delhi? It was stationed there outside Mr. Lalit Maken's house



for that much of time and imagine there was nobody to identify that. Therefore, I would like to know from the Home Minister as to what steps have been taken by the police to trace the scooter and what is the action that they propose to take to apprehend the criminals. Of course, we all will be very happy if they apprehend them soon and we will shut our mouth as desired by the Home Minister so that the investigation can take place in a proper atmosphere. There is no doubt about it.

Madam, I would like to know what are the precise steps, on all these various points, which have been taken by the Government.

श्री लालू प्रसाद आडवाणी (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति जी, श्री ललित माकन की इस क्रूर हत्या से संसद ने एक नौजवान, होनहार सांसद खोया है और उस परिवार के लिए तो दोहरी त्रासदी है, डबल ट्रेजडी है कि श्रीमती माकन की भी हत्या साथ-साथ हो गई और सात वर्षीय बालिका, बच्ची अपने माता-पिता को खो बैठी।

हिंसा और हत्या हमेशा निन्दनीय है, लेकिन हत्या और हिंसा की राजनीति, वह तो भयावह है और लोकतंत्र की जड़ों पर कुठाराघात होगा अगर हम हिंसा और हत्या की राजनीति को रोक नहीं पाते। यह हम सब का दायित्व है कि सार्वजनिक जीवन में हिंसा और हत्या के लिए कोई स्थान न रहे, इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करें।

यह कहने के बाद मैं निराशा प्रकट करना चाहूंगा इस वक्तव्य के साथ, इस वक्तव्य में आखिरी वाक्य है, संसद सदस्यों में अपील है कि वे अफवाहों के आधार न चले। सही बात है कि रयूमर्ज के आधार पर नहीं चलना चाहिए। लेकिन यह तब सम्भव होगा जब गृह मंत्री कम से कम संसद को जितने उनके पास निबिन्द सत्य हैं, उनके बारे में पूरी जानकारी दें। इस वक्तव्य में

जितनी जानकारी है, उससे कहीं अधिक मैं अखबारों में पढ़ी है और जायद यह स्कूटर का नंबर इत्यादि भी मंत्री जी के वक्तव्य में नहीं आता, अगर वह अखबार में न छपा होता। इसलिए पहला-पहला निवेदन मैं यह करूंगा कि इस प्रकार की घटनाओं के बाद अगर गृहमंत्री जी कोई बयान देते हैं तो बयान में कम से कम जितने निबिन्द सत्य उनके पास हैं, वह दें। मैं यह भी मानना हूं कि जब जांच होती है, सारी जानकारी भी नहीं दे सकते, हम भी चाहते हैं और वे भी चाहेंगे कि हत्यारे पकड़े जायें। ऐसी जानकारी देना, जिससे हत्यारों को पकड़ने में अमुविधा हो, वह नहीं दी जानी चाहिए। हां, स्कूटर के मामले के बारे में जैसा एक-दो सदस्यों ने भी पूछा है, मैं यह उम्मीद करता था कि कम से कम वह बताते कि स्कूटर को चोरी करने हुए उन दोनों ने पिस्तौल दिखाकर के लिया। इससे पहले भी जब हत्याएं होती हैं वाहन प्रायः चोरी किया हुआ स्कूटर या कार होता है, स्कूटर कहीं से पड़ा है किसी गली में पड़ा है, किसी क्लब के बाहर पड़ा है, उठा कर ले आए और उससे अपराध कर डाला। लेकिन यहां पर परसो शाम को ग्रेटर कैलाश में उस स्कूटर वाले को पकड़ करके अगर दो आदमियों ने पिस्तौल के सहारे उठा लिया, तो प्राइमा फेसी हमारे मन में स्वाभाविक संदेह होता चाहिए था कि उग्रवादी, आतंकवादी कुछ करने पर तले हुए हैं। उसके बाद क्या कार्यवाही हुई, इसकी मैं उम्मीद करता हूं गृहमंत्री जी अपने जवाब में पूरी जानकारी देंगे। यह मेरा पहला-पहला सवाल है।

मैं उन सवालों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता, जो और माननीय सदस्यों ने पूछे हैं। मुश्का बब हटाई गई, क्यों हटाई गई? मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि उनके जो सवाल हैं, उनका उत्तर गृह मंत्री जी अपने जवाब में देंगे। लेकिन मैं एक महत्वपूर्ण बात की और गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं, उन्होंने अपने बयान में कहा है कि हत्या 10 बज करके

28 मिनट पर हुई और 10 बज करके 36 मिनट पर पुलिस वहां पहुंच गई।

एक माननीय सदस्य : 10.00 बजे हुई..

श्री लाल कृष्ण झाड़वानी : इस में जो फैक्ट्स दिये हैं, उनको मैं काट करना चाहता हूं।

At about 10.28, information was received...

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): They got the information at 10.28; but incident took place at 10 O' clock. 10 O' clock.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Facts are here; it is 10 o'clock.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am sorry: it is 10.

तो 10.00 बजे हत्या हुई और 10.36 पर पुलिस वैन वहां पर पहुंच गई। मैं गृह मंत्री जी को इस बात की जानकारी देना चाहता हूं कि जिस समय हत्या हुई, उसी समय एक पुलिस वैन

fitted with wireless in connection with another crime, was standing at a distance of barely 40 yards from the scene of incident.

कीर्ति नगर में कोई हर्षाश कान्ड हुआ था। जिस हर्षाश के कांड के सिलसिले में गिरफ्तारी करने के लिये पुलिस वहां पर गई और पुलिस वैन वहां पर वायरलेस के साथ एक्विपड खड़ी थी। जिस समय हत्या हुई, उस समय वहां पर पुलिस वैन खड़ी थी। देखन वालों ने बताया कि पुलिस वहां पर थी और कुछ लोगों ने, जैसी वहां के नागरिकों ने जानकारी दी, जिनमें हमारी पार्टी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी दिल्ली प्रदेश के श्री मदन लाल खुराना भी हैं। श्री खुराना उस क्षेत्र के मेट्रोपोलिटन कौन्सिल के मेम्बर हैं। उनके मकान की पीठ और श्री ललित माकन के मकान को पीठ साथ-साथ है। उनकी जानकारी के अनुसार कुछ लोगों ने जाकर के पुलिस वैन को कहा कि इस प्रकार की घटना हुई है,

आप चेज करिए। लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि यह हमारा थाना नहीं पड़ता।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They must be immediately suspended.

श्री लाल कृष्ण झाड़वानी : यह जो मैं जानकारी दे रहा हूं वह जानकारी वहां के नागरिकों के आधार पर और जो खुराना जी ने मुझे कन्व की है, दे रहा हूं। मैं चाहूंगा कि इसकी आप पूरी तहकीकात करें, पूरी जानकारी करें और अच्छी तरह से छानबीन करें। इसके बारे में कि किसको पकड़ने के लिए पुलिस वहां हर्षाश के मामले में गई थी, वायरलेस वैन वहां पर थी, वहां पर उनको रुकने के लिए कहा गया, बावजूद इसके वे वहां रुके नहीं और चले गए। हो सकता है कि अगर वे अपनी ड्यूटी समझते, वे अगर ड्यूटी करते तो हम केवल स्कूटर को ही नहीं पकड़ते, स्कूटर सवारों को भी पकड़ लेते। मुझ पता लगा है कि आज स्कूटर पकड़ लिया गया है। यह कहां मिला है स्कूटर? यह मैं नहीं जानता हूं। यह भी मैं जानना चाहूंगा मंत्री जी से कि स्कूटर कहां पर मिला। उस से अन्दाजा लगेगा कि वह कितनी दूर तक पहुंच पाए वहां से चल कर।

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS (Karnataka): Found abandoned near check-post in Kalkaji area.

श्री लाल कृष्ण झाड़वानी : उप-सभापति जी, सब सदस्यों ने कहा है कि श्रीमती गांधी की हत्या के बाद उम्मीद की जाती थी कि हम अपने इंटेलीजेंस सेटअप और पुलिस सेटअप को मजबूत करेंगे, लेकिन लगता है कि कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई है? कुछ भी नहीं हुआ है और हमारी पुलिस की व्यवस्था पूरी तरह से फेल हो चुकी है। मैं उसके कारणों में नहीं जाना चाहूंगा कि किस तरह चार वर्षों में चार पुलिस कमिश्नर बदलते रहे हैं। आज मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह सही है कि हत्यारे श्री

ललित माकन के मकान के बाहर काफ़ी देर तक खड़े रहे। पानी मांग कर उन्होंने पिया। अगर यह बात सही है तो इस सब से रिफ्लेक्शन पुलिस की सारी व्यवस्था पर पड़ता है। इसकी जानकारी गृह मंत्री जी दें।

मैं एक बात और जानना चाहूंगा—मैं उम्मीद करता था कि उसके बारे में भी वक्तव्य में उल्लेख होगा—अखबारों में छपा है कि तहकीकात के सिलसिले में तीन व्यक्तियों को पकड़ा गया है। वह तीन व्यक्ति कौन हैं? मैं नहीं चाहता कि इसकी जानकारी मुझे इंडियन एक्सप्रेस और जनमत्ता या दूसरे अखबारों से हो। अगर किसी को डिटेन किया गया है तो हमको उनके बारे में मालूम होना चाहिए।

आखिरी सवाल, राष्ट्रीय पुलिस आयोग की सिफारिशों के बारे में सरकार का रवैया क्या है? अभी तक राष्ट्रीय पुलिस आयोग की जितनी सिफारिशें हैं—उनमें से 70-75 केन्द्र सरकार ने स्वीकार की हैं—उनके बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार प्रदेशों की सरकारों को हिदायत देती रहती है कि सब को इम्प्लीमेंट करो। क्या यह सही है कि प्रदेशों को तो केन्द्रीय सरकार राष्ट्रीय पुलिस आयोग की सिफारिशें इम्प्लीमेंट करने के लिए कहती है, लेकिन दिल्ली यूनियन टेरिटरी में जहाँ सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट है वहाँ पर एक भी सिफारिश इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं हुई है, और अगर नहीं हुई है तो क्यों नहीं हुई है। सरकार इसके बारे में क्या करना चाहती है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Madam Deputy Chairman, we are meeting under a pall of gloom. What took place yesterday has shocked every one of us, not only shocked, but shaken all of us. It is not a matter which could be described in so many words. Really, words fail me to describe the dimensions of this tragedy. We have not been able to protect the life of our own colleague

in the capital. Life in Delhi is becoming a nightmare, a grave risk. This is not the first tragedy which has struck us. If it had been so, it could have been excused. Delhi is witnessing a number of such tragedies in succession. Tragedies are repeated and repeated and before our own eyes. This has added to the poignancy of the situation. Here is a case where security men have been provided to protect the life of a Member of Parliament but they are not able to protect his life. Men are provided to protect him, but they cannot protect him. If they had no protective force or security personnel, I would have excused the law and order machinery that it was not here and, therefore, he died at the hands of an assassin. It is not so. Security measures were taken in his case, but what kind of security it was? They were there in Tilak Nagar. They won't follow him where he went. Madam, my friend, my colleagues here have raised a few doubts, justifiable doubts. I do not know whether the Home Minister is in a position to answer them at this stage, but as a Member of Parliament, as a leader of party, as an ordinary human being in this country, I want to be assured whether I will get protection, whether a right to life is still relevant in this country and in his capital city. Delhi has become a capital of crimes, not a capital of government which I expected. Again and again it has been proved beyond doubt that the law and order machinery here is fragile, weak, ineffectual, rotten to the core, but nothing has been done by the Government to improve. This increases the poignancy of the situation and stalwarts are being shot, daylight murders go on and the assassins go scotfree in the capital city of Delhi. Every day Members of Parliament, politicians, leaders have to go to the House to discharge their duties under fear, threat to their life and the life of their families. If this is the situation, I do not know whether we have any law and order, whether we can

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

depend upon the law and order machinery here. Again and again I think the Home Minister has to make statements here that this man was killed or that man was killed. We have to hear him and that is our misfortune. Madam, without taking much of your time or the time of the House, I think the time has come to write an epitaph—I say the word 'epitaph'—on the law and order machinery of this Government.

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA** (Haryana): I want to join the other Members of this House in condemning the violent incident yesterday taking the valuable life of Shri Lalit Maken. My heart goes for his small daughter. She has been orphaned, but she is safe. A very valuable life has been lost. He was a young M.P. with a very promising future. The important thing as a result of this case is that the Delhi police by now should have known it where MPs are residing, which of the MPs are residing in their own houses. Police should have also known about those houses. Normally, many MPs live in the houses allotted to them by the Parliament Committees. But some M.P.s. are there who have their own private houses and live in those houses. There are not many. Those names should be with the police. Especially so in the case of Lalit Maken because he belongs to Delhi. Riots took place in Delhi in November and it is possible that people may have harboured some sort of illwill against him. Or being a trade union leader, it was possible that he might have some people who may be thinking ill of him. The police should have been on the guard that such a life should be protected wherever he goes. There should have been an intelligence network around him. It is not very difficult. People do it in other countries. But here time and again we are faced with the problem where a precious life is lost like this and the police reaches the scene after the as-

sailants escape and nobody is able to identify them. I think the working of the police should be gone into again. priorities should be fixed and guide lines given as to what actually they should be doing regarding those persons at least who are Members of Parliament or occupying important positions, or whose actions may, to some extent, be considered as controversial. In their case, their movements should be kept a track of and their lives made safe. After all the way it has happened sends a shiver down anybody's spine. It can be anyone. Sometimes crimes are also committed with the aim of just getting into headlines. "A M.P. shot at" or "killed". Those people can be taken care of.

I would not say much more on this except that the police must be cautioned that it must keep track of the addresses of the M.P.s., their possible movements also. It should not be difficult with these walky-talkies every 100 or 200 yards away.

**श्री बोरेंद्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
इंसिडेंट के बाद कौशन देने में सरकार बहुत प्राम्द है।

**श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता :** स्कूटर पर अग्रर गये हैं तो रास्ते में स्कूटर डिपाजिट हुआ मिला है। तो रास्ते से गुजरा होगा, गाड्ड लाइन देखी होगी। उसके बारे में किसी ने रिपोर्ट की या नहीं? पुलिस वालों ने इक्वायरी की या नहीं? उनसे जिन्होंने उनको देखा क्या इफार्मेशन इल्लिसिट हुई, यह मैं मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ।

**SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA** (West Bengal): Madam Chairman, the blow has again been struck. A tragedy has again occurred. The cult of violence has again raised its head. Therefore, on behalf of my party, the Communist Party of India, I express our deep sympathy and sorrow at the cowardly murder of our colleague, Mr. Maken, and his wife.

But let me be very clear, Madam, we not only express sorrow and our mourning, but we express our deep sense of indigna-

tion and anger because an air of helplessness has crept into the city of Delhi because of the constant failure of the law-enforcing authority in this city. It is a matter of national humiliation that the citadel of power has become a den of criminals. I would only ask our Home Minister to tell us clearly how many lives are going to be lost before Delhi Police administration comes to senses and takes upon itself the responsibility not only of finding the criminals after the crime is committed, but takes upon itself the task of preventing the crime before it is committed in this city of Delhi.

**SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA** (Delhi): Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to ask the Home Minister to find out whether he has any plans for putting an "Eye in the sky", that is, a helicopter with commandos, to be able to guide the operations of the police as it is being done in most modern cities. In New York, London and so on, they have this police helicopter always available, which could be in radio contact with vans. This shooter could probably have been apprehended provided it could be seen from the air because they are able to act quickly, they are able to land where the culprits may be, and there is a better chance of protection for all people. Thank you.

**SHRI S. W. DHABE:** Madam Deputy Chairman, it is with great anguish and sorrow that I mourn the loss of my colleague, Lalit Maken, who was an eminent trade union leader. When Mr. Devaraj Urs was the Congress President, Lalit Maken was the President of the Delhi PCC(U). A stalwart who fought for the cause of the working classes fearlessly, the loss is all the more of the trade union movement and the working classes. It is unfortunate that such a man has become a victim of assailant's bullet.

There is a story which is told. I would like to know why, when such an eminent trade unionist was working in Kirti Nagar, armed guard was not provided at his other residence which was his place of operation. In fact, all his activities were there only and he used to go there often. But the armed guard was posted at the official residence. I want to know whether the ar-

med guard accompanied him to Kirti Nagar or only stayed at his official residence.

On behalf of my party I pay my tributes to a great trade union leader of our country.

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** Madam Deputy Chairman, I can well understand the feelings of resentment which hon. Members have expressed on this very sad incident which occurred in Delhi. It will be very difficult for me to say anything more and I may say at this stage that whatever information was possible for me to give, I have already given. Anything more than what I have already stated will create problems and adversely affect the investigations which are going on. In fact, it is the duty of all of us to see that the investigations are properly done and the culprits are brought to book.

There are one or two things about which I would like to clarify. One is about the scooter which was snatched away on a previous evening. It has been located in Western Extension Area, Karolbagh, about four to five kilometers away from the scene of the incident in Kirti Nagar.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Not Kalkaji?

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** This is the authentic information that I have. Some of the hon. Members were asking me as to whether information which I have supplied is more authentic or the information which they have read in the newspapers is more authentic.

**SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA** (Andhra Pradesh): Not authentic, exhaustive and, in that sense, whether you have given anything more than the newspapers... (*Interruptions*)...

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** I have been patiently listening to whatever you said. ... (*Interruptions*)... Just listen to me; I will come to that point.

One of hon. Members has said that the Home Minister has made a statement that armed guard was provided while the papers said that the armed guards were withdrawn. Which of the two is correct is the point, to which I am trying to reply—not the other aspects. So, the authentic information that I am giving is, at the official

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

residence armed guards have been provided. One head constable and four constables were posted there. Now, the subsequent point which hon. Members are interested in finding out is, are the armed guards supposed to follow the persons whom they are supposed to protect? I think we are trying to confuse between the two. One is the armed guard which is given at the residence, and the official residence was one thing where they were shifting. Actually the entire shifting was also not completed. A part of it was shifted. An armed guard was provided. There is one more.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Was the security guard accompanying Mr. Lalit Maken withdrawn on the 25th? That is the point.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am trying to explain the position. The armed guard provided at the residence was not withdrawn. He was there. So, the question of following the person does not arise.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: The question is about the security guard accompanying the person, the body guard.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Have patience to some extent, I am also coming to that point. There was a P.S.O., Personal security Officer, who was provided by the Delhi Police during the genocide week which was celebrated all over Punjab. There was a threat, and the perception of the Delhi Police was that he might be one of the targets. The information given by the Additional Commissioner of Police to me is that during this week, PSOs were attached with Mr. Lalit Maken during the ghallughara week. The PSOs were withdrawn and posted on other duties after the ghallughara week was over. The decision to post the PSOs and to withdraw them was taken by the Delhi Police itself on the basis of its own assessment, MHA or the IB was not involved in this decision. So, this is the factual position, I am giving you.

Hon. Members have been asking me about some of the aspects.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Was the police aware...

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I am not subjecting myself to any cross examination. Whatever information I have, I have tried to give to the House, to the extent it is possible. If it is not available with me, I cannot possibly supply it to the House.

Another point which was raised, and very rightly, is what is being done about improving the law-and-order position in Delhi. Other points raised are about the recommendations of the National Police Commission and also about the Srivastava Committee which was appointed and whose report we have received by the end of February, 1985. These are the two reports that we have. About the National Police Commission—I think the hon. Member is a Member of the Consultative Committee—I explained the position that out of all the recommendations, there were 85 recommendations which concern the Central Government. Out of 85, we have taken decision on 70 recommendations, and only 15 recommendations are still there which require some kind of consultation with either the State Governments or other administrative Ministries, due to which these 15 are pending, and we hope that very shortly we will be taking decision even about those 15 points which are still requiring our attention.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Implementation?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: They have been implemented. Most of the recommendations of the National Police Commission, which concern the Central Government, have been implemented. About the rest of the recommendations which are the concern of the State Governments, we have requested all the State Governments to expedite kindly the scrutiny of all these recommendations and to see that they are implemented as early as possible.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Are they implemented in Delhi?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Yes, yes. When I say 'Central Government', I will have to verify which of the recommendations are there because, according to my infor-

mation all these 70 recommendations have been implemented by the Central Government, and the Central Government also means the Union Territory. If there are any of the recommendations which they have not been able to implement, certainly I will check up, and we will then have to inform the hon. Member which of the recommendations are still pending for implementation.

The Srivastava Committee recommendations have been received, and those which did not involve any financial commitments have been accepted by the Government, and they are being implemented. About 6.00 P.M. other recommendations, financial implications involved. We have to refer these cases to the Ministry of Finance to obtain their approval. After the approval is received from the Ministry of Finance, the rest of the recommendations will also be implemented. The important recommendations are: To increase the strength of the police force in Delhi; to create more police stations and to provide them with more equipment so that they can tackle the situation and ensure that the kind of atmosphere which has been created can be avoided to the extent it becomes possible.

Every time it is expected of the intelligence agencies; and I think it is very difficult for intelligence agencies, because they have to collect the information from sources which they cannot disclose. The information is being passed on to the authorities concerned who are proposed to make them operational. This is nothing new. After the accord with the Akalis on the settlement of Punjab issue, we had given clear instructions to all the State Governments and Union Territories that there is a section among the Akalis who are not happy with this kind of settlement which we have reached. So, you should expect some kind of a trouble. There should be no relaxation in the security arrangements which have been made. These are very clear instructions. There is no question of relaxing these instructions. Even before instructions were there, but this unfortunate incident did take place.

One hon. Member was pleased to ask me: whether the Government was aware of the fact that a letter containing a kind of veiled threat was sent to Mr. Lalit Maken on the 27th and what action was taken? According to the information supplied to me just now, this letter was handed over to the police on 31-7-1985. This is the information.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: What was the time? It could be before the event or after the event?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: In the chit supplied to me just now, I do not have the time. This veiled threat letter was handed over to the police on 31-7-1985. It is a matter of investigation and I can assure you that some of the police officers did have the information, they were supplied.

Honourable Member, Shri Advani Ji has said that there was a police van and some of the people had approached them and the person in-charge of the police van refused to send the information immediately. Of course, he also got this information from some source. I will have to verify it. Unless I verify it, I cannot possibly say as to whether the police acted in a correct manner or they should have done their duty in a different manner. So, unless facts are verified it will be difficult for me to say anything.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: There was a delay of four days. How do you explain it after the receipt of the letter

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: This is exactly what I am saying. Suppose an hon. Member receives a letter, unless that letter is handed over to some police officer, I do not think that he can possibly think that this was the letter which was given to him and he is supposed to act on it.

Yesterday, I got a letter from one hon. Member who received a veiled threat letter. I gave instructions immediately to the police officers that this is the kind of complaint one of the hon. Members has made.

One ex-Member of Parliament also wrote to me about the threatening letter which he received. I immediately told the police officer to see that proper protection

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

is given. Now, I do not think that it is going to be possible to provide a squad, personal security to every Hon'ble member. However, where a threat perception is there, certainly, all these steps are necessary but to expect that every Hon'ble member should be provided with all these arrangements is going to be a very difficult proposition. I do not think that this is going to be possible.

**SEVERAL HON'BLE MEMBERS:** We don't ask for this also.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** I am just clarifying in the context of the point raised by one of the Hon'ble members.

**SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN:** Mr. Minister, I said it for those who asked for it. I didn't say for everybody.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** Those who asked for the same and where according to the Police, the threat perception is there, if it is established, certainly, even without your asking, it has to be provided. But if one asks, certainly, it is the responsibility of the police officer and if they are satisfied that the threat is there, they will have to provide whatever protection is considered necessary. These are all the points.

**SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL:** Our question was if Tilak Marg residence had security guards, then why although it was well-known that he used to hear public from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. in Kirtinagar any guards or security officers were not present at Kirtinagar?

**SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:** Sir, we are interested to know about the security of the common people, citizens living in Delhi. We are interested to know what steps you have taken to ensure law and order in Delhi itself not only for VIPs and VVIPs but for common people also.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** I think one of the questions to which I should really react is about why is it that security guards were provided only at his official residence and

not at Kirtinagar? I think, the hon'ble member is aware of the fact that this is the information which the police officer has given to me. It is published in the newspapers that not only at Kirtinagar but on different days, he also used to meet people at different places. So, the security guards could be provided at one place where he used to stay. If for one hour or two hours, you have to go out for meeting people everywhere, it is going to be difficult to provide security guards. All the seven days, he used to meet people at different places. If it was only at Kirtinagar, I could have understood it but if it was going to be at seven different places, then, of course, it is very difficult...

**SHRI VISWA BANDHU GUPTA:** He has not answered my question whether helicopters and police escorts are to be provided?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN:** I am happy that the Hon'ble member has given this suggestion. This will have to be properly scrutinised.

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—contd.

##### I. Notifications under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962 and related papers

##### II. Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue) and related papers

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now, Mr. Janardhan Poojari to lay the papers on the Table of the House.

**SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI:** Madam Deputy Chairman, with your permission, I beg to lay on the Table of the House:

I. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue), under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962, together with Explanatory Memoranda on the Notifications:—

(i) Notification No. 240/85-Customs, dated the 1st August, 1985, exempting low phosphorous pig iron, having phosphorous content not exceeding 0.1 per