

(iv) The Tobacco Board (Amendment) Bill, 1985.

(v) The Estate Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1985.

(vi) The Judges (Protection) Bill, 1985.

(vii) The Lighthouse (Amendment) Bill, 1985.

(viii) The Railway Protection Force (Amendment) Bill, 1985.

### RE. SUSPENSION OF LUNCH HOUR

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** As we have very heavy business today, we will dispense with lunch hour and continue. I hope the House will agree. *The Home Minister.*

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय :** मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

**उपसभापति :** किस पर है ?

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय :** मंत्री जी जिस विधेयक के लिये प्रस्ताव रखने जा रहे हैं उस पर मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

**उपसभापति :** श्री होम मिनिस्टर साहब का स्टेटमेंट हो रहा है आज विफोर टाइम बोल रहे हैं।

### STATEMENTS BY MINISTERS

**Re. assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shiromani Akali Dal and a shooting incident at Jullundur**

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN):** Madam, I rise to make a statement on a very sad and grave tragedy that has taken place in the death of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of Shiromani Akali Dal and on the

shooting incident at Jalandhar resulting in the death of Shri D. D. Khullar, a Congress (I) leader.

A conference of Istri Akali Dal was organised at Gurdwara Akal Prakash, Sherpur Village, district Sangrur, on 20th August, 1985. There was a congregation of about 5,000 persons. Santji had just finished speaking and was receiving Saropas when around 5.40 P.M. Santji was fired upon. The bodyguard of Santji fired towards the assailants as a result of which one assailant suffered injuries. The injured person and another assailant were apprehended. The third person managed to escape.

Two .455 revolvers, each alongwith five (5) empty cartridge and one live cartridge have been recovered from the assailants.

Immediately after the incident a Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was incharge of Sant Longowal's security, forthwith took Santji to the Civil Hospital at Sangrur but in spite of immediate medical attention Santji succumbed to his injuries. In the shooting which took place within the precincts of the Gurdwara one more person was killed and some others were injured.

The State Government had made arrangements to provide security to Sant Longowal at his place of residence, during his road journeys and at known places of meetings etc. Inside the Gurdwara, a security team of plain clothed police personnel was available with Santji. In addition, an S.P. with a group of commandos had already positioned themselves in the Gurdwara before the arrival of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. It is most unfortunate that in spite of all these arrangements, this dastardly event has taken place.

It is with a sense of anguish that I have also to inform about the shooting incident at Jalandhar on 20th August, 1985. Three unidentified

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

persons came in a car to the residence of Shri Gurdial Saini, ex-M.L.A. They parked the car outside the house. Two of them went inside the house and sprayed bullets on Shri Gurdial Saini, Shri D. D. Khullar, a Congress (I) leader and others. After committing the crime, the assailants managed to escape, Shri Saini and Shri Khullar who were seriously injured, were rushed to the hospital. Shri Khullar succumbed to his injuries, Shri Saini is reported to be out of danger. Another person who was injured in this incident is also out of danger. The car used in the crime was found abandoned in the city. A case has been registered in connection with this incident and efforts are afoot to apprehend the culprits. Both, Shri Saini and Shri Khullar were provided with police gunmen, but at the time of the incident, the gunmen were not present. For their negligence they have been placed under suspension. On search of the car used in this crime 4 live cartridges of .455 bore revolver have been recovered.

The State Government have alerted the concerned authorities in the State to be vigilant and to take necessary steps to curb terrorists activities to apprehend culprits involved in the two incidents.

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal had shown statesmanship and great sagacity in finding a solution to the Punjab problem. In the cause of peace and communal harmony he has sacrificed his life. I hope that the bullets that killed him will not silence the cause that he so boldly espoused. I am sure that all Members of the House will join millions of our countrymen in expressing a deep sense of shock at this national tragedy.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I join the Union Home Minister to express my deep sense of shock at this national tragedy. I share the views of

the Union Home Minister that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was an astute politician who showed rare courage to face the most difficult situation obtaining in the Punjab and to sign an accord with the Central Government with a view to bringing back peace and normalcy and harmonious relationship between the different communities living in the Punjab.

But Madam, at the same time, I must express my anger, not anguish, as expressed by the Home Minister, at the abject failure of the security system of the Central Government as well as the State Government of Punjab, due to which this national tragedy has occurred once again. In the statement, it has been simply mentioned—after stating what security arrangements were made—that “it was most unfortunate that in spite of these arrangements, this dastardly attack had taken place.” But the question is, how was it possible? If, according to the statement, inside the Gurudwara, there was a security team; if, according to the statement, inside the Gurudwara, there was a group of commandos, how could the assailants’ escape? Will the hon. Minister kindly tell us?

Madam, I, along with other leaders of the Opposition parties, visited the Longowal village yesterday, to pay our homage to this national leader and we have seen with our own eyes, how the people have reacted to this dastardly act and how the people are also apprehending the things to come up. Madam Deputy Chairman, should we not distinguish between the courage and the recklessness. It was Longowal who showed courage in facing a difficult situation and signing the accord in his bid to improve the situation and restore normalcy in Punjab. It was the recklessness of the Central Government which declared hostilely the date of elections in Punjab, despite the forewarnings by the Opposition parties....

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): And Longowal.

**SHRI DIPEN GHOSH:** And Longowal and other leaders of the Akali Dal. It was this recklessness of the Central Government which, in fact, encouraged the forces of destabilisation and the forces of terrorism to strike bullets at this hero who wanted to restore normalcy in Punjab. The Opposition parties had forewarned the Government that instead of trying to gain immediate political advantage by holding elections, we should unite, try to consolidate the gains of the accord and help improve the situation. But, instead, it was the Central Government, particularly, the ruling party at the Centre which, in its bid to secure immediate political gain, declared the elections. Even now, we think, there is time for the Government to distinguish between courage and recklessness. Even now, we think, there is time for the Government to refrain from holding the elections, as declared earlier. While taking this opportunity to express my sorrow and deep shock, at the loss of this national leader, I would appeal to the Home Minister to see that the elections, which are scheduled for the 22nd September, are deferred. Let it be deferred and let us unite together to work for improving the situation in Punjab.

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI** (Madhya Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I join the Home Minister and my colleague, Shri Dipen Ghosh, in paying homage to Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. It is a tragedy beyond words. Shri Longowal has fallen a martyr for the cause of Hindu-Sikh unity and I share the Union Home Minister's hope that the bullets that killed him will not silence the cause that he boldly espoused.

Madam Deputy Chairman, as Mr. Ghosh has just now said, we had occasion to visit the Longowal village yesterday to pay our last respects to the departed leader. I wish we could reach in time—we were somewhat late. There was something about the arrangements which I am still not

able to understand, how it really happened. Any way, that is a matter which I would not raise at this time. On this occasion I would refer to the Home Minister's statement about the security team provided to the Sant. I am happy that he has mentioned this fact that there was a security team of plain cloth police personnel available with Santji and also, in addition, there was an S.P. with a group of commandos positioned inside the Gurdwara before the arrival of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. This is a warning for us that if in spite of this security Santji could be assassinated, what can happen to an ordinary person, an ordinary citizen who is active who is exposed but does not have this kind of security.

I am sure the Government is fully aware that after the signing of the accord next to the Prime Minister it was Sant Harchand Singh Longowal who was the principal target of the terrorists' wrath. Everyone know it and in spite of that, this has happened. Two days back, when we opposed the announcement of elections, it was being said that terrorists' threat was under control and the things would pass off smoothly. This is what has happened. I am mentioning this because it cannot just be dismissed as "unfortunate." It is not fortune or misfortune which comes in here. It is a failure of the Government, it is not just unfortunate. Perhaps the Government can say that we cannot provide cent per cent security to everyone. I can understand that, that stand can also be understood. But it is precisely in that context that I would like Government to reconsider its stand. Today is the 22nd of August. The Election Commission has already declared its intention to issue a notification on the 23rd August, just one day is left. We are at the brink and at this brink I would once again like to warn the Government not to plunge into an election. When Assam elections were held, even at that time we had said,

[SHRI LAL K. ADVANI]

please do not held elections. we are willing for an amendment of the Constitution. I know that an amendment is not ordinarily desirable. But I may recall that last year we had an amendment. If someone had said that elections should be held and elections had been held in September and October last year, what would have been the consequence? It would have been very bad. It seems today also we are not very far from that position. In a way however today it is a better position. After this accord and after the relief that has been brought in Punjab, we can look forward hopefully that within the next six to eight months the situation will stabilise. That was not clear last year. If we proceed on the basis that we have built and build on that, the situation can stabilise, we can consolidate. But I am surprised that here is a ruling party which against the wishes of the CPM, against the wishes of the CPI, against the wishes of the Janata Party, of the Lok Dal, of the BJP and against the wishes of the Akali Dal also is determined to hold the elections. It is significant that the Election Commission has called for a report from the Punjab Government. Never before has such a situation arisen that one day before the notification is to be issued, the Election Commission starts having doubts as to whether it is desirable to hold an election or not. The Election Commission committed a grave blunder when it acquiesced in the Government's wish to hold an election in Assam. It would be committing another grave blunder if it acquiesces in the wishes of this Government to hold an election. Please, for God's sake, do not do this. When the announcement was made about elections, I said that it was a seckless decision; today I say you are taking a suicidal plunge. And for what? Only because you are likely to get a majority in the present euphoria. You had a majority in Punjab. What happened? Therefore, please, I plead

with you. with the Government not to fust this election. The Home Minister is here. He is not personally responsible for the Law Ministry, but as a senior member of the Cabinet, one day before the notification is to be issued, he should respond to the unanimous desire of the Opposition parties—almost unanimous—a colleague of mine Mr. Upendra is here, he would express his own views on that point—near unanimous desire of the Opposition parties not to hold an election.

One thing more. In this statement a candid admission has been made so far as Dr. Khullar is concerned and so far as the attack on Shri Saini is concerned that the Government has failed, that there was negligence on the part of securitymen entrusted with the job. The two securitymen have been put under suspension. But this is only a pointer that here was an ex-MLA who was likely to contest once again. Along with him was a senior leader of the Congress Party. Something goes amiss somewhere and one person is killed, a valuable life is lost. Others are killed. What would happen in a campaign? Can a campaign be properly conducted in an atmosphere of this kind? I have seen that atmosphere. All I can say is, you ask a common citizen. He is not interested in an election today. The common citizen of Punjab does not want an election. Therefore, once again I reiterate my view and my party's view and the view of the Opposition that elections should not be held in this situation. All of us should exerts unitedly to consolidate the atmosphere of peace and harmony that has been created. In fact, I hold that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's martyrdom can prove a turning point, if properly utilized. The Boeing Crash that took place had opened the eyes of many abroad. Some sections of Indians living abroad had a lurking sympathy for these terrorists. That Boeing crash shook them up and made them view

the happenings in Punjab in a different light. I am sure that Sant Longowal's martyrdom also is going to have an electrifying effect on many sections within the country itself and make every one realise that Punjab must stand together and those who try to drive a wedge between communities, those who try to weaken the unity of the country. Should be given no quarter. Those who indulge in violence and terrorism should be isolated absolutely. This is an occasion when all of us can exert jointly to achieve that.

**उपसभापति :** श्री एस. सी. मोहनता : मेरे पास 14 नाम हैं, आप क्रीफ में बोलिए क्योंकि सभी का एक ही विषय है . . . .

**श्री सुशील चन्द मोहनता (हरियाणा) :** महोदय, मैं इस बात पर अभी कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ। इस मामले के ऊपर कभी फिर मौके पर जवाब दूंगा। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो अडवाणी जी ने अपने विचार रखे हैं, मैं उनके साथ शत-प्रतिशत सहमत हूँ। आप लोग आपोजीशन पार्टी को सलाह के लिए बुलाते हैं। इस मामले पर भी आपने बुलाया, पंजाब के मसले पर भी बुलाया कि इस समय इलेक्शन होने चाहिए या नहीं हाने चाहिए। जो नेशनल पार्टी आपोजीशन की है और जो इस नार्दन जोन की है उन तमाम पार्टियों ने आपको राय दी, कोई हल्की-फुल्की राय नहीं दी। बड़ी संजीदगी से और जोरदार राय आपको दी थी कि पंजाब के अंदर मेहरबानी करके इलेक्शन मत कराइए, पंजाब के अंदर कत्लेआम हो जाएगा, बेहद नुकसान होगा, अशांति हो जाएगी, पुराने जखम हरे हो जाएंगे आप मेहरबानी कीजिए, लेकिन आपने अपनी पार्टी के 60 एम. पीज. को पंजाब में भिजवा दिया निरीक्षण करने के लिये कि अगर आज इलेक्शन हो जाये तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के जीतने के चांसिस कैसे हैं और मेरी इत्तिला है कि कुछ ने आपको बताया पंजाब में शांति के हालात नहीं हैं, वहां इलेक्शन होने से शांति बिखर जाएगी, लेकिन अपनी पार्टी के कैंडिडेट जीत जाएंगे। तो

आपने एक छोटे, नर्रो आउटलुक से आपोजीशन की राय को कुरा दिया, उसकी बेइज्जती की। आपको अपने एम. पीज. ने सावधान करने की कोशिश की थी, लेकिन आपने उनकी राय को भी ठुकरा दिया इसलिए कि आपकी अवसरियत वहां आ जाएगी। आपको पता था कि जब-जब पंजाब का मसला मुलझने पर आता है कोई न कोई ऐसी दुर्घटना घटित होती है जिस से अशांति का वातावरण फैल जाता है और जो मुद्दह कदम उठाए जाते हैं, अच्छी दिशा में कदम उठाए जाते हैं उनको रोका जाता है। लेकिन कभी आपने ख्याल नहीं किया। आपको पता था कि लोंगोवाल की जिम मस्य यहां मे एकाई करके गए थे उनको सीक्योरिटी की कितनी जरूरत थी। यह ठीक है कि इसलिए आपने सीक्योरिटी मुहैया की। लेकिन उसके बावजूद आपने यह कभी नहीं सोचा कि इलेक्शन होंगे तो लोंगोवाल जी को तो प्रोटेक्शन आप दे देंगे लेकिन बाकी लोगों को कम प्रोटेक्ट किया जाएगा। आप इलेक्शन के लिए अंधरे में कूद गए बिना यह सोचे हुए कि इसके परिणाम गंभीर हो सकते हैं और उस अंधरे में कदने का अजाम यह हुआ कि ऐसी कीमती जान जो इस समय देश के सामने उभर कर आई थी और जो हिन्दू-सिक्ख एकता का प्रतीक बन गई थी खासकर पंजाब में उस कीमती जान को हम खो बैठे आप हैरान होंगे यह जानकर कि उस गुरूद्वारे मे एंटी पोइंट कितने थे और कितनी सीक्योरिटी मौजूद थी। आदमी जो अंदर आ गया, वह बाहर चला जाता है और आपके सीक्योरिटी वाले उसको रोक नहीं सकते। मैं जानना चाहता हू कि आपक सीक्योरिटी वालों ने क्या काम किया। मैं अब भी यह निवेदन करता कि आप कुछ दिमाग से सोचिए, अपनी प्रेस्टिज पर मत अड़िये। लोगों का भला देखिए। आपने पांच-मान हजार आनाम मे मरवा दिए आपोजीशन की राय न मान कर। वहा आपने इलेक्शन को प्रेस्टिज पोइंट बनाने की कोशिश की।

**उपसभापति :** आप सवाल करिए।

**श्री सुशील चन्द महन्त :** मैं कोई कड़वी बात करता हूँ तो . . . आप एक्साइट मत कराइए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling the next speaker... (Interruptions) Mr. Mohunta, don't cast aspersions on the Chair. I will ask the other speakers now because I called you to seek clarifications and not to make a statement of speech. Mr. N. K. P. Salve.

श्री सुशील चन्द महन्त : मैं अमेरिकेशन पृष्ठ रहा हूँ। क्या आपके दिमाग में यह बात आई है कि पंजाब के अंदर इलेक्शन करवाना इस भाँके पर लोगों को खतरे में डालना है और जो आग बुझाने की कोशिश आज हो रही है और बुझाई जा सकती है अगले छ. महीने में इलेक्शन होने से वह फिर भड़क जाएगा और बेहद नुक़्सान होगा। क्या पंजाब का प्राबलम देश का प्राबलम नहीं माना जाएगा या पार्टी का प्राबलम ही माना जाएगा। इस बात पर मैं स्पष्टीकरण मांगता हूँ और जानना चाहता हूँ कि होम मिनिस्टर नाहिब क्या करते हैं ?

दूसरी बात जो बहुत अहमियत रखती है वह यह है कि सन् लॉगोवाल जी के साथ जो हुआ वह हमने देखा और मुझे इस पर बड़ा अफसोस है और चिन्ता है और मैं मानता हूँ कि सत जी की शहसियत एक नई क्रांति यहां के विचारों में ला सकती थी। उनके निधन पर मैं बहुत अफसोस है। लेकिन मैं यह पृच्छना चाहता हूँ कि क्या डम में आपने कोई नक्कल लिया जबकि आपको यह पहले से पता है और अखबारों में हमने रिपोर्ट पढ़ी थी कि पाकिस्तान से तकरीबन एक हजार से ज्यादा बेल ट्रेड इस देश में दाखिल हो चुके हैं ? तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब की इन वारे में सूचना क्या है ? उनको कोई खबर थी या नहीं, और अगर खबर थी तो होम मिनिस्टर ने इस वारे में क्या प्रकाशन लिये ?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, the assassination of Sant Harchandsingh Longowal has removed from our midst a great saint, statesman, leader who had shown exemplary courage and vision to solve the Punjab problem. Rightly has it been said that he was the Mahatma Gandhi of Punjab for he laid his life preaching the very same gospel which Mahatma Gandhi

was preaching and laid his life, the gospel of communal harmony. We ardently hope his assassination would expose once again the extremely deleterious and pernicious effects of violence in politics. He shall always be immortal because people are not remembered for the wealth they amass, the position they hold or the authority they enjoy. And even heroic deeds are forgotten and stirring events are forgotten. What is ever remembered by human beings is the moral example which a leader sets.

Madam, it is unfortunate that his assassination should be sought to be politicalised. Lapses are found to be existing with the security arrangement. The Home Minister is there to explain. But as far as I have known, they have refused all sorts of securities in guruwaras. He will explain that aspect of the matter. And I have no need to hold a brief for him.

Sir, to say that the announcement, the declaration, of the elections is the cause of his death is the height of irrationality. Were there no attempts on the life of Sant Harchandsingh Longowal and all other moderates before the elections were announced?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Who said it?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Has not the killing of Lalit Maken and Mrs. Maken very much a reality? Was not violence been something with which we have been living?

In declaring elections, Madam, they are attributing to us a narrow political motive, most unfortunately. What was the issue in the election? In the election the issue was very simple, and the issue was whether the people of Punjab wanted to endorse secession. If the elections are held, once for all it would be clear and clarified that the people of Punjab do not want secession. For that purpose, we are prepared to take risk. The Government was fully justified.

One can understand their anxiety. I do not want to go into it. But

everybody says that the Opposition has absolutely no ground left whatsoever in Punjab and that, therefore, they thought that if the elections were held in time they would be nowhere and thrown overboard. That is the matter, they are worried about. May be, they may be justified from their end. But to say that the assassination was linked with the elections is utterly unjustified, untenable and wholly irrational.

Only one point more, I want to make, Madam, and I am finished.

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** आप लॉगोवाल को नहीं बचा सके और हजारों को सेक्रीफाइस करेंगे ।

**श्री एन० के० पी० सल्वे :** मैडम, सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह आता है बुनियादी और उसूल का कि इलेक्शन कराना है या नहीं । कोई इस बात का आश्वासन दे सकता है कि छः महीने के बाद अगर इलेक्शन होंगे तो वायलेंस नहीं होंगे । आप चाहते हैं कि छः महीने का समय बीत जाय ताकि आप लोग वहाँ चार-पाँच सीट जीत सकें । इस दरमियान में कोई वायलेंस वहाँ नहीं होगी इस बारे में क्या कोई कुछ कह सकता है ?

Violence is a phenomenon, a wholly irrational phenomenon, and the extremists are not going to withhold violence so that the BJP, the CPI, the CPM, the Janata Party gain some political grounds. Please understand the basic reality. It is for the Government now to decide. They are well informed, not you.

You find lapses in security. He will explain. The question is, attempts were made on Longowal at a time when there were no elections, as I stated earlier. The extremists are on the run at the moment. You are catering to what they want by seeking postponement of the elections. This is what the extremists want exactly. They do not want normalcy, tranquility and peace to be restored.

These Opposition parties have been the ones who have been shouting stridently, vociferously and in no uncertain terms whenever there was the President's rule clamped in any State, that is suited the interest of the ruling party to continue with the President's rule. What has happened in Punjab?

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा :** पार्टी से बड़ा देश है । पार्टी से बड़ा पंजाब है ।

**श्री एन० के० पी० सल्वे :** आप को देश की आज चिन्ता है ।

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा :** सब को है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dipen Ghosh, when you were speaking, I do not think Mr. Salve interrupted you. You had your chance to speak. Let him have his chance to speak. Everybody has the right to put his view-points in the House.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I can take care of myself. Why I am stating all this is I want to drive home this point: look at yourself and do some introspection. Don't indulge in this sanctimonious humbug. We know that your political interests are in jeopardy during elections. You think that after six months time may be is not a crucial question there.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): What you say is humbug.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I did not say that you are humbug. If the cap fits on you I cannot help it. I have never said that you are humbug. It is their phrase. Madam, what I said was sanctimonious humbug. Let the Government decide in the calm and quite atmosphere; and in the larger interest of the nation as a whole keeping in view the fact that whether or not this would amount to giving in to the extremists. Today the extremists are demoralised. They are

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

limited in number. They have been isolated. At this juncture if the elections are not to be held purely out of fear to them there can be larger considerations as a result of which we may postpone. But surely not yielding to the threat of violence, because the threat of violence will exist, whether or not there is elections and there is no guarantee that the elections will be held after six months or one year. There is going to be absolute peace in Punjab.

Madam, in the end all that I have to submit is: let us not politicise the assassination. It is very unfortunate ...

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar): What clarification he is seeking?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What else?

श्री सुशील चन्द महन्त आपने मेरे को रोका। इन्होंने क्या क्लेरिफिकेशन पूछा? ... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohunta please don't argue with the Chair unnecessarily.

(व्यवधान)

श्री सुशील चन्द महन्त : आपने इनको नहीं कहा ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I asked everybody to be precise. I want everybody to be punctual. If you don't pay your attention to the Chair and you pay attention to the speaker, then, you will never hear what is happening.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Nobody likes truth to be told at home. The real anxiety of the Opposition parties has become absolutely clear today. My only request is: please don't go by what they have to say in this matter. You have your own decision and judgement with regard to peace and tranquility in Punjab. The demand of the Opposition parties is entirely politically motivated. If you

want to postpone it, postpone it in the larger interest of the nation and in the larger interest of determining whether or not at this juncture you want a verdict on secession or non-secession and consult the opinion of only relevant parties, that is, Akali Dal and the Congress. Thank you.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : लार्जर इंटेरेस्ट की बात केवल आप ही समझते हैं, कोई और नहीं? ... (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० सल्वे : आपकी 6 महीने बाद वही दुर्गति होगी वहाँ पर।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Khushwant Singh:

SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH (Nominated): Today the nation pays homage to Sant Longowal, because his killing has been a tragedy of national dimension. I would like to draw the Home Minister's attention to some points on which I seek clarifications. Do you think that this assassination was timed for Prime Minister's birthday? Or was it a mere coincidence? I have a strong feeling that this was deliberately timed on this particular day, because these terrorists wanted to convey a message to the people that these two people who stood for unity and integrity of the country were their enemies. Fortunately, they could not get to the Prime Minister. They got the other man. I think this matter needs to be investigated.

Mr. Home Minister every one knew that Sant Longowal was a 'marked' man. Mr. Ghosh and Mr. Advani have drawn your attention to the fact that these two criminals were able to get away. I am more interested in finding out what the congregation of 5,000 people was doing. Almost every sikh carries a kirpan. Some carry guns in Gurudwaras. You have your commandoes. Is this state of affairs in Punjab? That two of the four

thugs two can make a clean getaway and despite your jeeps, your cars, and your motor-cycles no one chased them and got hold of them? Is this the atmosphere that we are living in Punjab?

Now, Mr. Home Minister, I would like to draw your attention to yet another sinister fact. And perhaps you can give clarification. I have an information that two days before this dastardly crime, there was a meeting in a village, attended by Baba Joginder Singh and Mr. Talwandi there was a large crowd and publicly names of people who were meant to be liquidated were announced: beginning with the name of Sant Longowal and some others including mine. Have you any information of this meeting and what steps have you taken? What reports you got about this meeting? Could you now tell us in what strength these terrorists are today—their numbers and organisation. We have a right to know what kind of society we are living in? And, lastly, I would like to say something about elections. I am not a politician. I don't belong to that side. I don't belong to this side. Having heard my friend Salve's eloquence, all I can say, is: he knows more about income tax than he knows about the Punjab or the Sikhs. Is it not quite obvious to you that if you have elections today, the only issue on which factions of Akalis like the Talwandi and the Baba Joginder Singh group will go to the poll is to open up old wounds. They will talk of Operation Blue Star? They will talk of the atrocities which they think the Army, the Police and the para-military forces committed. What they will do is talk about the general massacre of the Sikhs following the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. These will open up old wounds. The one great achievement of the Accord signed between the Prime Minister and Sant Longowal was to bring back normalcy in the relationship between the Hindus and the

Sikhs of the Punjab. The one big casualty, if you have the elections now, will be to dissipate that goodwill.

Thank you

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, when the Opposition parties met, it was the Prime Minister asked to us whether the President's Rule will be liked or the elections should take place? We had a stand and myself and my friend. Mr. Upendra also said that elections may be held if the atmosphere is peaceful. It was stated by the Prime Minister and others that they have contained terrorism and they will take the decision on elections after consulting Sant Longowal, who was a party to the Punjab Accord. Shri Longowal had made a statement thereafter that they want postponement of elections. In spite of that the Government decided to hold elections by the end of September, 1985. When we met yesterday, we all felt that this is not a time for holding the elections for the simple reason that the situation has changed. Peaceful elections means that Government is able to maintain peace and law and order and the candidates can fight the elections on an open canvas and election campaign is peaceful. Now, in this statement, it has been stated in the paragraph:

“with a group of commandos and securitymen were present in that congregation”—

I would like to know even in the presence of commandos and the securitymen, we have done nothing. No action has been taken. On the other hand, I find that some gunmen have been suspended. No action either by the State Government or the Central Government has been taken against them. What is the use of commandos and the securitymen if they cannot protect a Sant-like leader, Sant Longowal? What protection you can give with the commandos and securitymen, to a number of candidates who will

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

fight the elections and therefore the Opposition demand is not self-oriented or for any self-interest. The national interest requires that Punjab accord and the atmosphere of amity and communal harmony should be restored there if the elections are to be held and therefore. I would like the clarification from the Minister: what sort of commandos and securitymen were there who could not even protect and what action has been taken against them? Lastly, on behalf of my party and myself, I pay humble homage to this symbol of national integration and unity who strived for his whole life like Mahatma Gandhi who had been to Noakhali for Hindu-Muslim unity. This man made a history in India and he will be remembered for ever for the great sacrifice—sacrifice for a great cause. Thank you.

1-00 P.M.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I associate myself, my colleagues in the House and my party with the homage paid by the Home Minister and other friends in the House to the memory of the departed soul. Sant Longowal was a great patriot and a firm believer in Hindu-Sikh amity. I shall recall the three-hour conversation which myself and a few friends from the Opposition had with him in May when he categorically proclaimed himself in favour of national unity and integrity, Hindu-Sikh amity and against all extremist activities and the demand for Khalistan. He showed exemplary courage in coming to an accord with the Prime Minister and we all had hoped that the situation in Punjab would ease and peace would return. But unfortunately this incident happened and the whole thing has again come to the boiling point. Yesterday, after our visit to Longowal and after we spoke to some people, we are convinced that the greater and excessive the security arrangements for any individual, the bigger the ~~task~~ he would be facing. I

feel it is better to leave people's lives to fate and God, rather than have the security provided by the Government. I still cannot follow how you could not protect a great leader like him who was on the hit-list for such a long time, knowing that he was facing a greater risk after the accord. If you cannot protect one single individual, with thousands of men of your army, the State police, the Central police, para-military forces and all that, then what for are they? Moreover there is no stress on the preventive measures, or intelligence. You always try to deal with the situation as it arises. But don't you keep track of the people who are suspected to be extremists, who are moving about suspiciously? Don't you at least screen some people whom you suspect, with all the forces at your command. In fact, today's papers have said that after one man shot at him, the Sant sat in a corner of the dais and at that time, a second man went and fired at him at point-blank range. If this is correct, then what were the commandos doing, what were the security people doing when the first man fired at him and the Sant sat in a corner and then the second man shot at him? This itself shows the failure of the police as well as of the intelligence machinery. It is unfortunate that if such things can happen, people lose faith—they have already lost faith and they will continue to lose faith—in the efficacy of the Government's machinery and its security arrangements. Better not talk about tightening security in VIP areas and guarding the VIPs. As I said, it is better to leave it to God and fate.

Madam, there is reference to the elections and the stand taken by me and my party in the meeting with the Prime Minister. The first thing that I would like to clarify is that when we met the Prime Minister, there was no indication of the Government's mind on the issue. They had not come out either in favour of elections or against elections. Therefore, there was no question of our

party supporting the Government stand or opposing it. We based our argument on certain considerations which were valid at that time. One is, we thought that with the euphoria, with the public acclaim over the accord, the situation is opportune to divert the attention of the people from the extremist activities by going in for elections and that the electioneering itself would have a salutary effect on the public mind and it would not give time to the extremists to re-group and sabotage the accord. That was one reason. And the second reason is that so many awards are expected by the end of December or January and if you hold elections after these awards are given, every party will take a stand against these awards and nobody would accept the awards and every award will be subject to questioning. That was the second argument which we gave. And the third argument is that it would be desirable for a popularly elected Government to face the post-award situation in that State instead of the Centre making it appear that it was imposing it on the two States concerned. On these three considerations we said early elections might ease the situation. Finally we also said "you must consult Sant Longowal and go by his advice." and that is the final word we said.

Now, after this incident there are arguments whether this is linked with elections. I do not believe that this assassination is linked with elections. He was on the hit-list for a long time and his signing of the accord was itself a provocation for the extremists and his death came nearer because of that. But today even if you accept that the assassination is linked to elections, there is also an argument whether postponement of elections would not encourage the extremists further to continue with their extremism and tension in the State assuming that the Government is afraid, the people are afraid, and the Government is submitting. On the

other side, there is an overwhelming opinion from all Opposition political parties which are directly involved in that State and the possible contestants in the elections that they cannot carry on the electioneering there. In such a situation when all those, who are the likely contestants in the elections, are apprehensive of the situation, that they cannot conduct electioneering there, whether it is desirable to go ahead with the elections is also a point to be considered. Therefore, I would request the honourable Home Minister and the honourable Prime Minister to weigh the situation carefully and come to a quick decision because these two aspects are involved in this. Thank you.

**श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव (विहार)**

उपसभापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्यों ने जो यहां अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं, उनके साथ अपनी सहमति व्यक्त करते हुए मैं उस महान संत के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करते हुए इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार के मत्थे पर डालना चाहता हूं। आजाद भारत में यह तीसरी घटना है जब कि सत्ता महान व्यक्तित्व को बचाने में असफल सिद्ध हुई है। जब भारत आजाद हुआ था तो सत्ता राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी को बचाने में पूर्ण रूप से असफल हुई थी और सत्ता राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी को बचा नहीं पाई। सत्ता पूर्ण रूप से असफल हुई जब सत्ता सत्ता पर रहती हुई प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या को न बचा सकी और अब फिर सत्ता पूर्ण रूप से असक्षम रही जो वह संत लॉगोवाल को नहीं बचा पाई। जब समझौता प्रधान मंत्री और संत लॉगोवाल के बीच होता है तो यह सत्ता की जिम्मेदारी थी कि उनकी रक्षा के प्रबंध करती। संत लॉगोवाल ने भारत की एकता, अखंडता और साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना की विलिखेदी पर अपने प्राण उत्सर्ग कर दिये। लेकिन हमारी सरकार संत को बचाने में असक्षम रही है। भारत की सरकार आजादी के बाद लगातार तीन बार बड़ी हस्तियों को बचाने में असक्षम सिद्ध हुई है और यह जिम्मेदारी किसी और पर डालना,

[श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव]

कोई और बहाना बनाना, यह उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता। मैं पूर्णरूपेण सरकार को इसका जिम्मेदार मानता हूँ और सरकार को नहीं, बहुत से लोग कह सकते हैं कि इसके लिए गृह मंत्री जिम्मेदार हैं जैसे कि राष्ट्र पिता महात्मा गांधी की हत्या पर कहा गया था कि इसके लिए गृह मंत्री जिम्मेदार हैं। लेकिन उस समय हमारे नेता डा० लोहिया जिन्दा थे उन्होंने कहा कि गृह मंत्री नहीं, सरकार की यह जिम्मेदारी है, सरकार अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाने में अग्रफल हुई है। प्रधान मंत्री और संत लोंगोवाल के बीच में समझौता जब हुआ था तो आप जानते थे कि संत लोंगोवाल को, जो उग्रवादी सिख है उनके साथ किस धारा में बहना पड़ेगा और आपने उनको आमंत्रित किया। श्रीमती गांधी की अगर दो पागल सिखों ने हत्या की थी तो आज भी संत लोंगोवाल के चरणों पर सम्पूर्ण भारत का मस्तक नत होता है और उन सरदारों ने जो खून किया था, उनका बदला उन्होंने अपने खून को देकर दिया है, अपना उत्सर्ग देकर किया। उनके अलावा आप कौन बड़ी हस्ती है जो अपना खून देकर बदला चुका सकता है। अफमो, मुझ में ऐसी ताकत होती, मैं उस हस्ती का आदमी हूँ तो जो महात्मा गांधी ने नोवाखाली में किया हम भी इसमें कर सकते थे। आज हम निर्वचन देते हैं कि आइये, आगे बढ़िये। महात्मा गांधी ने नोवाखाली में अपना उत्सर्ग किया था उस समय को भी हम भूल गये हैं। आज संत लोंगोवाल ने, इतिहास की जो धारा कुंठित हुई थी, उस इतिहास की धारा को पुर्जीवित करने के लिए अपने को समर्पित किया है। उनकी हत्या के लिये सरकार पूर्ण रूप में जिम्मेदार है। मैं आपसे फिर पृथक्ता चाहता हूँ कि संत लोंगोवाल की हत्या हुई, जिस दिन समझौता हुआ, उसी दिन से लोग जानते थे कि उनके पीछे उग्रवादी लगे हुए हैं। लेकिन आप रोक पाये क्या? आपके गुप्तचर विभाग ने इसकी सूचना दी क्या? क्या आप यह जानते थे? जो आप किताब पर लिखते हैं, जो कागज पर आप बयान

देते हैं उसमें है कि सारी व्यवस्था थी लेकिन फिर भी मारे गये लेकिन।

उग्रवादियों से निपटने में सरकार असफल रही है। इसका मतलब क्या है? उग्रवादी प्रधान मंत्री के निवास में घुस कर प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या कर देते हैं, उग्रवादी आपकी सारी व्यवस्थाओं के रहते हुए मन्दिर में घुस कर सन्त लोंगोवाल की हत्या कर देते हैं, सरकार दोनों जगहों में अक्षम और असफल रही है। इसलिए हमारी सरकार को नैतिक अधिकार नहीं है कि सत्ता में बने रह कर हिन्दुस्तान की आम जनता की सुरक्षा की जिम्मेदारी ले। सरकार को क्या नैतिक अधिकार है सत्ता में बने रहने का? ... (व्याख्यान) मोलाना साहब चुप रहिये। इसलिए उग्रवाद के खिलाफ बोलने के लिए सभी चुप रहते हैं। क्या हमारी जिम्मेदारी आप लोग, आतंकवाद के खिलाफ जो बोलेगा उसकी जिम्मेदारी क्या यह सरकार लेगी, किस की जिम्मेदारी ले सकती है? कौन अपने आपको उत्सर्ग करेगा आतंकवाद के खिलाफ बोलने के लिए, किस की जिम्मेदारी सरकार लेगी? सन्त लोंगोवाल ने अपने आप को उत्सर्ग किया और देश की एकता के लिए अपनी जिन्दगी कुर्बान कर दी। हम में और आप में हस्ती नहीं है, हममें और आप में कुर्बानी देने का मादा नहीं है। हम भले ही बोल लें, बोल सकते हैं, लेकिन हमारे में साहस और शक्ति नहीं है। चुनाव की बात कह कर मैं अभी अपनी बात को समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। अभी सात्वें जी कह रहे थे विरोध पक्ष का क्या है। पंजाब में चुनाव होगा। सन्त भिण्डरवले की हत्या का एक तरफ प्रचार होगा, दूसरी तरफ इन्दिरा जी की हत्या का प्रचार होगा और अब फिर बीच में सन्त लोंगोवाल की हत्या का प्रचार होगा, सारे जो दबे हुए घाव हैं, सब अपने अपने स्वार्थ के लिए फिर खोलेंगे। मेरी पार्टी की बात आप क्या कहेंगे। पंजाब में मेरी हस्ती क्या है? दो तीन सीट पर चुनाव लड़ जाए तो लड़ जाए। मेरी हस्ती ही क्या है। आएं आप, लड़ेंगे आप, लड़ेगा अकाली दल, लड़ेंगे सन्त भिण्डरवाले, लड़ेंगे लोंगोवाल, आपका दल

और आप लड़ेंगे, बीच में दूसरा विरोधी दल आता कहां से है। आप तो ज़िद ठाने हुए हैं। यह ज़िद है जो राष्ट्र को तोड़ा करती है। इसी ज़िद ने कभी हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का बंटवारा किया था, इसी कट्टरपंथी, सत्तावादी क्रूर भावना के कारण ही हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का बंटवारा किया था। फिर यही ज़िद, फिर यही कट्टरपन पंजाब के मामले को तोड़गा, फिर यही ज़िद और कट्टरपन आगम के मामले को तोड़ेगा। राष्ट्र बड़ा होता है, राष्ट्र से बड़ा कोई नहीं होता है अगर आप राष्ट्र को ऊंचा मानते हैं तो चुनाव को जाने दीजिए, सत्ता को जाने दीजिए हा कांग्रेस पार्टी के हाथ में सत्ता है इतिहास कभी माफ नहीं करेगा। अगर उदारता से अकाली दल के हाथ में पंजाब की सत्ता सुपुर्द करने से देश की एकता बच सकती है तो पंजाब में अकाली दल को शासन करने दो। हिन्दुस्तान को बचाओ, देश को बचाओ, यही आज देश की पुकार है। लेकिन सत्ता के भूखे आप हो, ज़िद में, कट्टरपन में, सत्ता की भूख में, अहंकार में लगातार राष्ट्र की एकता को गड़ने में लगे हो। आप अक्षम साबित हो चुके हैं इसलिए आपको अपनी गद्दी पर बैठने का कोई नैतिक अधिकार नहीं है, इस्तीफा दो, खाली करो, देश को आगे बढ़ने दो।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Pawan Kumar Bansal.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to join the honourable Members and the millions of our countrymen in expressing our deep sense of shock at the cowardly assassination of Sant Longowal the other day. After the Punjab accord, Madam, this has undoubtedly been the most heinous crime and shattering tragedy that the country has had to face. It was in the face of the extremists' threat that Sant Longowal had to come over to Delhi and put an end to the turmoil in the State of Punjab and he has made the supreme sacrifice in his quest for peace, amity and goodwill. I think he can verifiably be termed as the crusader for peace in the country.

Though I am one with the honourable Members in expressing our shock over this tragedy, it has really pained me to hear them accusing the Government of being partisan in declaring the election on the 17th of this month. Madam, one may say that this one single incident has come as a great shock to the entire nation and has given a rude shock to the entire process of normalisation. But I feel it would be quite unfair to accuse the Government of being partisan or of having partisan ends or of selfishness in declaring elections last week. It was slightly gratifying to hear Shri Upendra referring to the various considerations that had prevailed in deciding the issue to hold or not to hold the elections and the most important one was that it would be in the fitness of things to have a popular government for the implementation of the various provisions of the accord that was reached between the Prime Minister and the Akali Dal. Whenever an amendment to the Constitution has come up for consideration before this honourable House, the hon. Members on the Opposition side have always vociferously opposed such a move, blaming the Government to the extent that it always tries to perpetuate its own rule. And now when a situation was there when the Prime Minister wanted to avoid amending the Constitution or to set up a precedent which would warrant the frequent amendment of the Constitution, it is surprising and quite painful that the hon. Members have again chosen to accuse the Government on that score.

The Government decided to call for the elections as a natural consequence of the accord which was a package agreement between the Government and the Akali Dal, and I feel it was just a natural consequence of that agreement that the elections had to be held to usher in an era of peace and normalcy in the State. We all know that in spite of the accord there were quite a few people in the State still active to thwart the implementation of the accord. And as Mr. Upen-

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

dra said, it was quite desirable that in those circumstances, the democratic process in the State had to be put into force so that the people could engage themselves in the democratic activities, in the process of holding elections, and thereby return peace and normalcy to the State. I do not for a moment mean to say that the accord had put an end to the terrorism as such. But if the very existence of some terrorists, aided and abetted by some foreign powers, should deter the Government or deter the people from pursuing the normal democratic traditions and avocations in life peacefully, well, I think if the Opposition really intends to say that being, afraid of a few extremists we should for all time put an end to all the democratic institutions, I think if they do so, they will, excuse me for saying so, they are nothing but the prophets of doom.

The other day when we were discussing the Appropriation Bill regarding Punjab, my hon. colleague Mr. Mohunta was very vocal in pointing out various things—well, all imaginary, in my view, which, he said, was the outcome of the Punjab Accord, in inflicting a blow to the aspirations of Haryana. Imagine today, he is telling us in this House that they had advised the Government not to hold elections in Punjab. So it is in the fitness of things in such circumstances that there should be a popular Government in the State to appear before the various Commissions, to put forward the case of Punjab Government, to put forward the case of Punjabis as a whole before the various Commissions, stipulated in the accord, and thereafter try to implement those in the interest of the State.

We are also shocked, as I said, at this crime, this tragedy, which has befallen the nation. (*Time bell rings*) But I would appeal to all concerned in the House and outside that they must not make political capital out

of it. The question whether the elections should be held or not, should be again left to the Government to see in the wider perspective of things and to come to a conclusion. It is imperative for all of us to join on this occasion to express our solidarity with the forces of peace and prosperity in the country. We have to rise to the occasion, to give a warning to the people that it is the wrong means which have often distorted the ends, and we have seen that violence finally has deteriorated to violence for its own sake. We have seen that a holy place has been chosen as a place to attack the saint, as a place of crime, in the State. The sanctity of a place depends upon the use to which it is put. Over the past years we have seen the use, the nefarious use, to which it has been put. Now is the time for all of us to join on this occasion and not apportion blame. Opposition members should not try to get any sense of satisfaction or what they say they said. It is a tragedy and we have to face it. Taking the Punjab problem as a national problem in the right perspective, we have got to see that we all pool our strength to usher in an era of peace and prosperity in the State.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, I associate myself with the hon. Minister and my esteemed colleagues to express my profound sorrow and offer my condolences to the members of the bereaved families. Yesterday, I had the occasion to visit the village Longowal to pay my respects to the departed leader where I happened to see the agony and anguish in the faces of hundreds of thousand of people of Punjab. This Tuesday has become a black Tuesday for Longowal as well as or the whole of Punjab. He has been living a very simple life, a dedicated life. But, alas, he had to pay a heavy price for his crusade to bring normalcy, peace and prosperity to his own State.

In the statement, the Minister has stated that inside the Gurudwara a security team of plain-clothes police personnel was available with Sant

Ji, In addition, an S.P. and a group of commandos had already positioned themselves in the Gurudwara before the arrival of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. What these plain-clothes were doing when there was firing according to the press reports? I admire the courage of the personal bodyguards who returned the fire risking their lives to protect Longowal. But what these people were doing? According to the reports in the press which appeared today, an eye-witness has stated that more than 3 or 4 persons were encircling the platform with a determination to finish Longowal and some of them were able to get away. For what purpose were these plain-clothes police personnel and commandos there? It is not for the purpose of criticising that I am asking this. If things like this happen, the people will lose confidence in our security system. Is there anything missing in our arrangements? How are they able to penetrate our security arrangements in a big crowd of 5000, commit the crime and get away?

Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to know whether some extremists who had some training in Pakistan entered our country and whether any reports were received from the Intelligence. I agree with Mr. Salve that Akali Dal is very much relevant as far as the issue of election is concerned in principle. I agree that elections should be conducted and the President's rule should not get extended. But, is the present atmosphere conducive to hold elections? Will you be able to give protection to all the candidates? Will you be able give protection to all the party workers and leaders? Will it be possible? There may be a few. One of the hon. Members said that these terrorists may be a few. But they are able to assassinate big personalities, whatever security arrangements you have provided. Have you broked them all? Have you booked them all and put them behind the bars? They are still at large. That is the problem. (Tim: bell rings). Have you taken

into account the views of the Akali Dal? Reports say that the Akali Dal leaders, at the present moment, after this assassination, do not want elections now. They have stated that. If I quote Mr. Tohra, he has said that if you have got some sympathy for the Sikhs, do not hold election now. The atmosphere is not conducive. Therefore, Madam, the Government has to consider all these aspects. Therefore, I request the hon. Home Minister not to rush to hold elections because serious things may happen. So, you take all efforts to nab the terrorists and put them behind the bars. And give security for the people of Punjab. Then, after consulting not only the Akali Dal but also all the leaders of the Opposition, you may come to a conclusion to conduct the elections. So, I request the hon. Home Minister not to conduct the elections now.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I associate myself with the homage paid by the Home Minister and my other colleagues to late Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and express sorrow of the loss the country as a whole, not only Punjab but the country as a whole has suffered in the passing away of a person who showed the rare courage of signing an agreement with the Prime Minister in order to work a way out of the impasse in Punjab. Therefore, it is a loss to the nation. But, Madam, I want to seek clarifications on three important points. One is this: Several hon. Members have raised questions about the efficiency or the efficacy of the security arrangements made. I do not want to repeal those questions. They are very much there. But I want to raise another question. I want to know whether the Government's attention, whether the Home Minister's attention has been drawn to pieces of news appearing in the Indian press that this assassination was planned outside India, probably in England, and that preparations were being made for some time. And I will not be surprised if this is found to be a fact in view of the fact a Minister of the

[Shri Indradeep Sinha]

British Government is on record having made a statement that printing of Khalistani Notes and issuing of Khalistani passports are not illegal. If this is the stand of the British Government, if this is the policy of the British Government on this question, then I shall not be surprised if British soil, British hospitality, even British resources were utilised for hatching the conspiracy to do away with Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. May be, others are also on the hit list. My dear friend, Shri Khushwant Singh says, he is also on the hit list. One of our leaders in Punjab—I met him yesterday, he said he is also on the hit list. So many people are on the hit list. I would like to know from the Home Minister who are the persons who have been arrested. Who are they? Do they belong to the Akali Dal? Do they belong to any other organisation, for example, the Sikh Students' Federations? Do they belong to Dal Khalsa, Babbar Khalsa? Were they ever before arrested? Were they ever released after arrest? What is their political complexion? That information would throw some light about the nature of the conspiracy and the elements behind this conspiracy.

Madam, you know an attempt was made on the Sant's life even at the Golden Temple some days back. Luckily he escaped that day. And the Government should have taken heed of it that attempts are being made. Other hon. Members have raised the point. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Salve, I do not want your income-tax arguments on a serious matter like this. We are not joking. Please take your seat. I am on my legs. (*Interruptions*). I said I am on my legs. I do not tolerate such income-tax humbug.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I asked him, were the elections announced?

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: I am not giving clarifications, I am not the Home Minister

Madam Deputy Chairman, many hon. Members have referred to the failure of security. I want to particularly raise the point about the so-called commandos. We have two instances about the performance of these commandos. One instance is when after the assassination of Madam Indira Gandhi what the commandos did was that they killed one of the assassins so that the evidence is erased. This was the work of the commandos at the time of the assassination of Madam Indira Gandhi. And here also the commandos were there. The commandos are trained, if I am not mistaken, to catch the assassins, even without the help of arms, by jumping at them. Did they jump? So, I would like to ask the hon. Minister to give us a clarification whether a high-level inquiry will be held into the security arrangement, into the character of the security men, into their possible links with the extremists, into the character of the commando unit and their possible links with the extremists. All these questions have become very very relevant.

Now, the second point on which I seek clarification is the point raised by Shri Khushwant Singh. Now, every Sikh carries a kirpan. This is a religious symbol and even in Gurudwaras and in meetings they go with guns. How was it that three or four assassins assassinate Sant Longowal and run away and all the people in the audience who are all Sikhs with weapons do not jump at them and do not catch them? Why were they paralysed? What paralyses them? And here, I want to raise the point which unfortunately we have missed so far. What is industrial terrorism? The Home Minister will excuse me if I quote Lenin. He once said: "Individual Terrorism is the punishment for opportunist policies pursued by a leadership. Terrorism grows because of opportunist policies". (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER: As Stalin did.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: And you are supporting now.

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: I am not seeking clarifications from you people.

I want to stress this point. Hon. Home Minister may kindly let us know. In Punjab, after this accord, what we need today is not a debate, a useless, fruitless arid debate whether to go in for elections or not. What we need today is a powerful united mass campaign against communalism, against extremism, against terrorism, to rouse democratic secular conscience of the Punjabi people, including the Sikhs to rouse their valour and patriotism, to rally them and to mobilise them behind the country, behind the unity of the nation, behind the secular character of the nation, and unless we are able to isolate the extremists politically. . .

AN HON. MEMBER: How?

SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA: You remove their mass base; they enjoy a mass base; it is a mass base they enjoy which paralyzes the common Sikh who does not jump with his kirpan at the assassins of Sant Longowal. You rouse their patriotism; you mobilise them; you inspire them, and it is for this reason that my party pleased with the Government, please don't hold the elections now. Let us go into a joint campaign in Punjab.

All political parties or groups who believe in nationalism, in secularism, in democracy, in the unity and integrity of the country, let all of us together go to Punjab, move from village to village, rouse the patriotism and the democratic conscience of the Sikh masses. That will isolate extremists. Immediate battle is the battle for winning the people of Punjab, the battle for winning the heart and soul of the Sikh masses, and if that battle is concluded properly then extremists can be isolated, and then they can be eliminated; they can never be eradicated through administrative action alone. But so long as they continue to enjoy mass support, with even a section of the masses supporting them,

it will be very difficult to deal with the problem. So, I would plead with the Home Minister not to be misled by unwise counsel of people who only count the seats and the votes they will get if the elections are held immediately. But that will not solve the problem of a vital region of the country like Punjab. Therefore, I request the hon. Home Minister to tell us who the assassins were, what were their antecedents, what investigations have been held so far, whether any enquiry will be held, and finally whether all possible medical help was given to the Sant after he was hit, because I have information that even blood transfusion was not given.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohapatra. Please be brief. There is no point in repeating.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa): I am always brief; you know it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fine. That is very kind of you.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: Madam, no tears can fill up the tank of sympathy created by the nationwide outburst of affection for the holy saints. It is unfortunate that the assassins chose the birthday of the Prime Minister to assassinate not only Sant Longowal, it was a triple murder. Mr. Khullar and another mahant. I forget the name; may be in Jullundur or Amritsar. In 24 hours, three ghastly dastardly murders took place.

What I want to ask the Home Minister—a seasoned administrator, a former Chief Minister—is to let us know what has happened to our intelligence system; what has happened to this security.

I was talking here in this Rajya Sabha a few days back; how many IPS officers and security men have been pulled up after the assassination of the late Prime Minister. There

[Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra]

was no announcement about it. Everybody goes scotfree: the law chief, the intelligence chief go scot free and get another berth. Intelligence chiefs and others get another berth after the assassination; these security chiefs get promotions and transfers to good places how the nation will excuse you, Mr. Home Minister? How the posterity will write about you that the Government was responsible for this, on its recklessness, callousness, indifference and neglect to allow the murder of the late Prime Minister, then, Mr. Lalit Maken, the young leader—who had to shed tears on that day—and today the holy Sant Mr. Minister. I have heard from senior intelligence officers,—many of them are my students in the university some of them are my good friends—that no Member of Parliament is safe because informers are coming to the gallery to watch who speaks what, who are aggressive who speaks against terrorism, who speaks against the terrorists. Madam, all sorts of people come to the reception in the Parliament House. It has become a fish market—Madam Deputy Chairman, you are responsible for it—; nobody comes through the metal detector. Every day, 500, 1,000, 1,500 people come. Any MP is vulnerable to anything there. What security steps you have taken? I came to the Parliament one Saturday, along with five people. Parliament was closed. A Consultative Committee meeting was going on. Ministers were there. The security people, with a salute, allowed the six of us into the Parliament House. What security you have, Mr. Minister? I say, the MPs, the Political leaders, the Prime Minister and Opposition leaders in this country, one by one, will be eliminated by these extremists. This is a Pakistani game. They are trying to take revenge for the role we played in helping to create a sovereign Bangladesh. You should be aware of it. As Mr. Indradeep Sinha has said, vested interests are in foreign countries. They want to balkanise

the country they want to destabilise the country. Your security, Mr. Minister, I say with all pathos and grim anguish in my heart, is a total failure. One by one, we will be eliminated. In eight months time, how many assassinations, how many times Parliament was adjourned, how many times we shed tears in Parliament. We cannot allow this to go on for ever.

Now, elections. Heavens are not going to fall if elections are not held in Punjab now. Democracy is not going to be ruined. Parliament is not going to be shaken if elections are deferred by one year. We do want elections, Mr. Salve. It is part of democracy. We should not allow ourselves to be subdued by these extremists. But the situation is such. You had to defer something is Assam. You had to extend the life of Parliament by one year in 1976. What happened? Heavens will not fall. In the interest of the country, peace and tranquillity of the nation, if we defer it for some time, I think, it will be in the interest of the country.

Mr. Minister, I have great regard and reverence for you. What do these sten gun people do? I was living next-door to Mrs. Gandhi, in No. 2, Safdarjung Lane, in 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984. I have seen these people reading newspapers, hearing radio, gossiping, walking. I have never seen such a thing in other countries. I have seen in many countries where there is military dictatorship. Madam, you had been to Iraq. You have seen how Mr. Saddam Hussain lives amidst the people, going round. At least, have regimentation to save the life of the Prime Ministers and other political leaders. But do not allow, in the name of democracy, these sten gun people to go round, listening to radio, reading newspapers and gossiping. I had once suggested to the former Defence Minister, Mr. Venkataraman, why do you give eight hours duty to the security people, why not four hours? At a stretch, I have seen in countries, where there is military

dictatorship, security men standing erect; they do not look to the left, right, here and there; absolutely straight. This type of security you need. All these security people, all these policemen, surrounding Longowal in the Gurudwara, could not save him. Two young men fled away in motorcycle. They always come in motorcycle. You know it. Mr. Minister. All assassinations have been done by motorcycle wala. Wherefrom they came? Where do they get the weapons, They come and run away and there were 5,000 Sikhs listening to their leader. Nobody followed them in motorcycle. The policemen did not follow them. Do not suspend them. Dismiss them, put them behind the bars, these people, who have failed in their duty. These police people, these commandos, bring bad name to the very word commando.

Madam, I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister, forget everything, concentrate on security, improve intelligence but you should not be pampered by intelligence reports which boost you up by saying that everything is alright. You may win elections everywhere. But I say, everything is not alright with the Congress. I because your intelligence system is bogus. Build up the intelligence, train these people as the M15 does, as the KGB does, as the CIA does.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is how President Kennedy was killed.

DR. SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: Take people from faculties of science and technology, of education of history, of political science. I have read books about them, how the people are recruited. But don't transfer IPS people from security to intelligence, from intelligence to RAW, from RAW to police and all that. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call only Mr. Hanspal because rest of the Members are just going to repeat what has already been said. After him the Home Minister will reply.

श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब) : मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, मैं भी अपने सब साथियों के साथ संत लोंगोवाल जी के बलिदान पर बहुत बड़ी सहानुभूति पेश करता हूँ। संत लोंगोवाल एक ऐसे पुरुष थे जिनकी पहचान से कहीं ज्यादा अब जरूरत थी देश के लिए, खासतौर से पंजाब के लिए। उनकी हत्या, उनका बलिदान मैं समझता हूँ कि देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिए हुआ। ऐसी रिपोर्ट हुई है कि जब उनकी लास्ट स्पीच हो रही थी तो अन्त में उन्होंने ये शब्द कहे कि हिन्दू और सिख दो अलग-अलग धर्म नहीं हैं। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि पिछले कई महीनों से और खासतौर से कुछ हफ्तों से वह हिन्दू-सिख युनिटी की बात ज्यादा करते थे जो उनको बहुत प्रिय थी। मेरा उनके साथ काफी सम्पर्क रहा और उनसे मिलना भी रहा। वह जब भी बात करते थे तो गुरुबाणी के आधार पर बात करने थे और अक्सर यह कहा करते थे कि पता नहीं कैसा जमाना आ गया, कैसा वक्त आ गया कि आज हिन्दू-सिख में फर्क आ रहा है। उनका बलिदान हिन्दू-सिख युनिटी के लिये हुआ। हम को इसको इसी तरह से इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए कि आज के बाद, उनके बलिदान के बाद, जो फर्क आ चुका था और वह न बढ़े और जितनी जल्दी से जल्दी वह कम हो सके, खत्म हो सके उतना ही अच्छा है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से यह जानना चाहूंगा उनकी स्टेटमेंट में तो यह बात नहीं है लेकिन प्रेस में रिपोर्ट हुई है शायद स्टेटमेंट में भी हो, कि तीसरा आदमी भी पकड़ा गया है। दो आदमी उसी वक्त पकड़े गये और दो भाग गये थे उसमें से एक आदमी और पकड़ लिया गया। शायद यह भी रिपोर्ट हुई है कि उस आदमी के ऊपर आलरेडी बहुत सारे चार्ज हैं—मर्डर के या इसी किस्म के और कामों के। यह बात समझ में नहीं आती कि जब उस पर बहुत सारे चार्ज थे और यह मालूम था कि वह आदमी हलवाड़ा का रहने वाला है तो पहले क्यों नहीं पकड़ा गया और विद इन एन अवर, कुछ ही घंटों में संत लोंगोवाल की हत्या के एकदम बाद कैसे पकड़ा गया। इसका मतलब यह है कि कहीं न कहीं एडमि-

[श्री हरवेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल]

निस्टेशन में कमी है। इस कमी को हमें जरूर ध्यान में रखना चाहिए और इस कमी को दूर करना चाहिए ताकि ऐसी हरकत दुबारा न हो सके।

रही बात चुनाव की, इलेक्शन की। शायद सारी अपोजिशन ने यही कहा कि इलेक्शन रद्द कर देने चाहिए, नहीं होने चाहिए। शायद मैं भी उनके साथ सहमत होता इस बात में कि इलेक्शन नहीं होने चाहिए लेकिन उनकी यह प्ली कि इलेक्शन क्योंकि इस वक्त कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी को सूट कर रहे हैं इसलिए कराये जा रहे हैं। यह कैसे आप कह सकते हैं। संत लोंगोवाल की परसों हत्या हुई और हत्या होने के बाद कुछ हमदर्दी सिखों में जरूर जागी होगी। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि कुछ ज्यादा हमदर्दी हिन्दुओं में भाजगी है, सिखों में तो जगी ही है। इसलिए हमदर्दी का फायदा अक्काली पार्टी को पहुंचेगा या कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी को पहुंचेगा यह जजमेंट आप खुद ही कर लीजियेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमदर्दी का फायदा जरूर अक्काली पार्टी को होगा। इसलिए यह कहना कि कांग्रेस (आई) को सूट करता है वहाँ पर इलेक्शन कराना इसलिए कराये जा रहे थे, यह ठीक नहीं होगा। वहाँ पर यह भी याद करवा दूँ कि लास्ट ईयर इसी सदन में हमारे भूतपूर्व होम मिनिस्टर, पी०वी० नरसिंहराव थे, जब वह अग्नेडमेंट बिल यहाँ लाये थे उस वक्त सारी अपोजिशन ने यह कहा था कि क्योंकि आप को प्रेजिडेंट रूल सूट करता है इसलिए आप यह अग्नेडमेंट ला रहे हैं। अगर अब प्रधान मंत्री यह चाहते हैं कि इलेक्शन हों क्योंकि एगार्ड के बाद नाकी हालात सुधरे हैं, अगर वह यह चाहते हैं कि अग्नेडमेंट लाने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी, अच्छा होगा कि हम इलेक्शन करा लें तो इसमें क्या खराबी है। मैं तो नहीं समझता कि इस सारी चीज की पोलिटिकलाइज किया जाय। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जैसी रिपोर्ट आपके पास पहुंचे उसके अनुसार आप फैसला लीजिए ताकि पोलिटिकल भेदभाव से या किसी और कमीड-

रेशन से कोई फैसला न किया जाय। यह नहीं कहा जा सकता और इस बात की गारंटी नहीं हो सकती कि दो महीने बाद, चार महीने बाद या छः महीने बाद इलेक्शन हों तो वायलन्स नहीं होगी, टेरोरिज्म नहीं होगा या एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट उस वक्त तक खत्म हो जाएंगे। एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट्स, टेरोरिज्म एंड वायलन्स इज नोट कैफाइन टू इंडिया। यह तो इंटरनेशनल फेनोमेना है। यह कब खत्म होगा और कब खत्म नहीं होगा, कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता। इसलिए मैं यह चाहूंगा कि आपके पास जो भी रिपोर्ट है, आप उसके आधार पर फैसला कीजिए। पोलिटिकल व्यू से फैसला न कीजिए। यह बात कहकर मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ।

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I have heard with rapt attention the views expressed by hon. Members about the very sad incident which took place in the assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and everybody is bound to have full sympathy. The way he was assassinated has also raised a number of issues to which otherwise most of the hon. Members might not have applied their mind at all. In fact the circumstances in which he signed the accord, he showed great courage and also statemanship. He rose above his party limitations and took courage in both hands in signing the accord to bring about normalcy in Punjab and also showed to the world that it is not only Hindu-Sikh unity which is very dear to his heart but that Akali Dal believes in the solidarity and integrity of this great country. This was a very great thing that he had done and that is why we are aware of the fact that he is going to be the target; especially of the extremist elements who did not like his coming to Delhi, signing the accord. They are bound to be after him and that is why special security was provided to Sant Longowal. I do not think that anybody in the country has got such a security as was provided to Sant Longowalji. A large number of people were placed there,

especially at his place of residence where he used to stay, his normal areas where he used to go on tour. Special teams of officers were sent beforehand to make necessary arrangements. But you have to make a distinction between meetings addressed in a Gurdwara and meetings addressed outside the Gurdwara. Outside the Gurdwara, the security people can have their full say in the matter of what kind of arrangements need be made. But in a Gurdwara, if the meeting is being addressed—and he used to address about three to four meetings on an average in a Gurdwara—you cannot insist on a particular kind of distance that has to be kept between the speaker and the congregation. The first line will be even up to the speaker himself and that is the place from where he can shoot point blank; nobody can help doing anything. Santji was very much against providing him security and he used to plead with the people: "Please, for God's sake, don't give me security. My holiness will go if security is being provided by the State. As a person amongst the Sikhs I can go freely and if anything were to happen, you need not bother about it". That was the kind of man he was. In a gurdwara he did not like uniformed people being posted there. He did not allow even proper screening of the people who used to go and attend a meeting in a gurdwara. In fact it was with great difficulty that we could persuade him at least to allow ordinary clothed people to go into the gurdwara, get themselves posted and at least see that he was properly secured. I may inform the House that some of the people who were provided, specially the higher level officers—it will not be out of place here and I won't be divulging any secret if I were to say that—were his chosen people, people in whom he had full faith.

One of the hon. Members has said there seems to be some possibility of a linkage between the extremists and the securitymen, and that is why I have been forced to say this that some

of the people were his own chosen people and at least prima facie we don't find any kind of link between the security people and the people who indulge in this kind of a heinous crime.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Were these security people, chosen by Sant Longowal there in the gurdwara?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Yes, they were very much inside the gurdwara and, specially when this incident took place they were there.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Did they constitute the commandos?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am not for cross-examination here. You better address these questions at the time of proper investigation. Certainly all these aspects are relevant but I don't think it will be proper on my part to give any more details because if I were to give any more details, I will be held responsible for adversely affecting the investigation which in fact is bound to be there. So I don't propose to give any more details on this aspect. But I was myself surprised, having provided such a security, in a gurdwara, in the presence of 5000 people how Santji could be assassinated where he has been assassinated. Now, of course, I don't hold a brief of any of the officers who have given me all the details but this is the information I am just supplying to the House. It does not necessarily mean that we are ruling out other aspects of the question. It is for the investigating machinery to see that all people who are directly or indirectly connected with the commission of this crime are properly booked. Proper investigation is being done and we would like to get at the root of the problem and find out who are the people who are responsible.

A question was raised, Madam Deputy Chairman, whether I am aware of the fact that before this incident took

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

place there was a meeting near by, which was addressed by Baba Joginder Singh and his friends, and whether a hit list was read out there. I am aware of the meeting but I am not aware of the hit list which the hon. Member seems to have referred to—that names were read out, that these were the people who were proposed to be eliminated. I don't think even in the worst of cases it will be so and even mad people cannot think in terms of reading out the names of people whom they would like to eliminate. If they have to do it they will do it in a different manner and I don't think they will adopt this line that they will publicly go and publicise that there are the people whom they propose to eliminate. At least that is the information that I have. The meeting I am aware of but about the list of people whom they had named there, at least we don't have any information.

Similarly, another information was sought by some hon. Members—whether a thousand people who have been trained in Pakistan have entered our country and whether they have a definite plan. We are aware of the fact that some of the people are being trained outside our country. Pakistan is also taking a very active interest in the training of some of the extremists, but how many people have been trained and how many have crossed over, that, of course, is very difficult to say. I don't think it will be proper on my part to say anything on that, but we are aware of the fact that some of the people have infiltrated, crossed over to our country and they have come. Madam, most of the 2-00 P.M. points, I have answered. I do not think they have sought any other information. The emphasis was mostly on postponement.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Has any action been taken against the comman-

does? Has anybody been suspended or any other action taken?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: That is a matter about which, unless we have some kind of a prima facie case, I do not think that in a huff I can merely say that since the incident has taken place, immediately this man should be suspended or that man should be suspended. That sort of thing we do not do. If somebody has defaulted or he has been negligent in performance of his duty, certainly we can take action. But without any sort of thing, I do not think that we can sort of take action. At least I do not have that information at this stage. It is the Punjab Government which deals with these matters. But the information that I have with me, I have given.

Madam, the main emphasis of almost every Member of the Opposition was on postponement of the elections as if, after the signing of the accord the Congress Party as such is trying to take advantage of the prevailing situation and that instead of allowing things to normalise in that area, Congress Party seems to be interested in taking advantage of the prevailing sympathy due to the signing of the accord. That was the main theme of the arguments put forth by the hon. Members. I do not know ultimately what the decision will be. Today is the last day when we will have to take a decision about it. We have not yet taken any decision. But certainly we would not like to give an impression that because of the extremist activity, if some people were to threaten that if we would hold the elections they would do this, that and the other, merely because somebody has succeeded in killing a person even conceding of the stature of Sant Longowal, we will consider whether it will look proper or not, that it is also one of the factors which has to be taken into account that view that the extremists can hold the entire country to ransom and force the country to follow to what they dictate, that elections are postponed. Normally the

machinery of the Government is not being installed for that. Whether the countrymen would like to give this kind of a message is a thing which everyone of us will have to coolly consider.

What are the chances of Congress Party or the Akali Dal? These are irrelevant matters. I can assure the hon. Members that no political considerations have weighed in ordering the elections. And to say that the Election Commission seems to have committed the greatest blunder is, I think, rather stretching too much and accusing the Election Commission of a partisan attitude which, in fact, is not called for at all. I can assure the hon. Members that no political consideration has ever weighed with the Government when the elections had been ordered in Punjab. In Punjab we are interested in bringing about.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: had specifically put the question that 40 to 50 Congress (I) MPs were sent to Punjab to evaluate the chances of success and only after that this decision was taken. (Interruptions).

SHRI M. S. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): We can go anywhere. How are you interested? That has nothing to do with the Government. That is a party affair.

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता (हरियाणा) : भई, हमारी सरकार थी। (व्यवधान)

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : मैंने बड़े पण्ट तौर से कहा कि 40-50 एम०पी० जाब में भेजे गये यह रिपोर्ट देने के लिए कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के जीतने के कितने चांस हैं। उन्होंने जब रिपोर्ट दी कि कांग्रेस विजयी तो बाद में इलेक्शन आर्डर किये गये (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० लालवे : हमारे आदमी हाँ पर दो साल से जा रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री सुशील चन्द मोहन्ता : अन्तर्गत में के बाद भेजे गये। (व्यवधान)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Congress (I) workers were sent there to restore peace and tranquility and to isolate extremists. In the last two years five times mass contact programme has been undertaken there. That has been interpreted here in this manner.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I think the hon. Shri Mohapatra seems to have the minutest details on when the decision about the elections was taken, whether it was taken after getting the reports of the Congress workers who had gone to Punjab and came back and thereafter. He seems to have very minute details of the decision taken by the Government. I can assure him and also all the Members of the House that no political consideration has been taken into account before we took the decision of holding elections in Punjab. We are interested in restoring a democratically elected Government in Punjab at the earliest. That is the main motive which we had. And when you say that because the Congress people had gone there and they gave a report that conditions are very favourable here—at least you will admit that we know enough about Punjab to take any decision rather than taking the decision only after getting the report from.....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: To restore democratic process of functioning of the Government, did you dismiss the Darbara Singh Government for that?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: What parallel you are drawing between the two situations?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I do not think that I should reply to that question at all. Again I can assure the hon. Members that all aspects and all facts of the situation prevailing in Punjab whether the conditions in Punjab are favourable or not will be taken into account before we finally take a decision today. Thank you.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now, we will take up the Essential Services Maintenance (Amendment) Bill, 1985 and Statutory Resolution. Now, Mr. S. B. Chavan.

**I. STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.  
DECLARATION OF URANIUM  
INDUSTRY AS ESSENTIAL  
SERVICE**

**II. THE ESSENTIAL SERVICES  
MAINTENANCE (AMENDMENT)  
BILL, 1985**

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN):**  
Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to amend the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

As the House is aware, the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981 was brought on the Statute Book as part of a major effort to keep the wheels of production moving and with the object of ensuring uninterrupted maintenance of essential services so essential for national security and defence as well as for the economy. I would like to recall the circumstances which necessitated the enactment of this law. In 1980-81 there were certain disquieting trends on the Labour front affecting the maintenance of essential services in some vital sectors of the economy. The locomen agitation and the prolonged agitation by public sector workers in Bangalore were illustrative of such trends. The labour situation which was marked by increasing violence brought matters to a head. It was considered necessary that if disruption of the normal life of the community was to be avoided and if production essential for national security and defence as well as for the economy was to continue, discipline and operational efficiency had to be maintained in all essential services.

The Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1981 was accordingly promulgated on the 26th July, 1981 to secure these objectives. The Ordinance was replaced by the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981 which has a wider compass than the Ordinance, in as much as it empowers the Central Government to prohibit not only strikes, but also lock-outs and lay-offs in essential services.

When the legislation was being discussed in Parliament Government had made it clear that the objective was to create a healthy climate in which production would increase at a faster rate and essential services would be maintained without any disruption. It was also reiterated in Parliament that the powers available to the Central Government would be used with great care and caution and only after Government is convinced that, if the powers are not exercised, the situation would deteriorate and grave hardship would be inflicted on the people. In the course of the last four years of the working of the Ordinance/Act, Central Government have invoked the powers under the Act only on 30 (Thirty) occasions to issue orders prohibiting strikes in essential services or to extend the period of operation of such orders prohibiting strikes. These orders were issued to meet grave situations such these arising out of call for Assam Bandh, strike by Maharashtra State Electricity Boards engineers and threat of strike by employees of Food Corporation of India, Central Warehousing Corporation, Coal India Limited, Mathura Oil Refinery, AIR and Doordarshan, CPWD (connected with public conservancy, sanitation, water and power supply in Delhi), Security Paper Mill, Hoshangabad, International Airports Authority of India, etc. On every such occasion when an order under the Act was issued, there was full consultation with the Ministry of Labour. As the Hon'ble Members would appreciate, the powers under the Act have been used very sparingly and only to meet situations in which non-exercise of the po-