

the Bill is primarily meant to check the activities of the anti-national, anti-social and communal elements in the disturbed areas of Punjab and Chandigarh.

I would earnestly request the 3.00 P.M. hon. Members of the august House to give a serious thought to all these aspects and I hope and trust that this Bill also receives their support.

The questions were proposed.

I. The Budget (Punjab), 1985-86

II. The Punjab (Vote on Account) Bill, 1985

III. The Punjab Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1985

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI): Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of a part of the financial year 1985-86, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Madam, this Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 1176.45 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 26th March, 1985, and Rs. 953.46 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab as shown in the Vote on Account papers circulated along with the Budget paper on 19th March, 1985. These amounts have been sought to enable the Government of Punjab to meet its essential expenditure during the first six months of the next financial year, April to September 1985, pending approval of the whole year's Budget by the appropriate Legislature. Full details of these provisions are given in the Vote on Account Pamphlet.

Madam, I move.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): You

move the Punjab Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1985 also.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI): Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of the financial year 1984-85, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Madam, this Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 55.68 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 26th March, 1985 and Rs. 706.25 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab.

These amounts have been sought to cover the additional requirements in the current financial year. Full details of the provisions are given in the Supplementary Demands circulated to the Members on the 19th March, 1985.

Madam, I move.

The questions were proposed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Now, the Statutory Resolution moved by the Home Minister, the Motion moved by Shri Jagdambi Prasad Yadav, Motions for the consideration of the Bills and the Budget (Punjab), 1985-86 are open for discussion. Any Member desiring to speak may do so. Afterwards the Ministers concerned and the Mover of the Motion will reply.

SHRI SHANTIMOY GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam Vice-Chairman, in the beginning I must say that we are opposed to this sort of method, the method of proclaiming President's rule in Assam, which has now been done in the case of Punjab also. I may assure you that no such method can help the solution in Punjab. We have seen that in Punjab after the Proclamation of the President's rule such incidents took place. In fact,

[Shri Shantimoy Ghosh]

after the President's rule was imposed in Punjab, the most disastrous incidents took place in Punjab. What is required is no such methods but a political solution to the problem. We all know that the situation in Punjab is still very critical. And we are very much disturbed to see that there are forces to aggravate the situation also there. We are very much disturbed to see that communal polarisation in Punjab has taken place and there is a sense of alienation prevailing in the Sikh Community. Also there are extremists who are out to destroy any attempt, or sabotage any attempt, at solution. These extremists are helped and abetted by the imperialist forces.

We know that the Sikh extremists are also very active in various parts of the world, especially in England, Canada and United States and they are also in league with the J&K Liberation Front who are responsible for the murder of our Indian diplomat, Mr. Mhatre. These are all very serious matters.

It is appalling to know that some days ago, on the 7th of March, on the Holiday, the Akali leaders at Anandpur Sahib left the platform and gave it to the extremists. When Shri Longowal was released, he made a statement that he was against Khalistan, he was against any extremism and that he was for the unity of the country. He declared his adherence to the Constitution. Later on, we are now astonished to find that under pressure from Akali extremists, he is now issuing statements which are contrary to his previous statement and which will not help in finding a solution to the problem. Further, it has also come out in the press that the SGPC has in its budget, allocated some money for imparting military training. This is very detrimental to the interests of the country. It is now for Akali Dal to come out and pronounce their real intentions.

We are very happy that the Prime Minister—despite his utterances during the election campaign when he levelled charges against the opposition parties for supporting the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which was strongly refuted by all opposition parties—on the 14th of March in this House said that he was not insisting on withdrawal of Anandpur Sahib Resolution as the pre-condition for talks with Akalis. Again in the Rajya Sabha, on the 14th of March, the Home Minister also declared that the Government is prepared to enquire into all those happenings. We welcome all these steps and we feel that the Government's stand on these issues should be further clarified. We welcome the statement made by the Home Minister in Rajya Sabha. We do not rule out the possibility of holding an inquiry in regard to riots in Delhi, if that can lead to some proper solution to the problem. It would also be a welcome step. The other announcement is that the 2nd June statement of the late Prime Minister will be the basis for the negotiations. We welcome this statement also. Now, if the Akali Dal wants a solution, it is up to them to come out with suggestions and proposals. If they fail to do so, it will really be harmful for the country. In particular, it will be harmful for the people of Punjab, for whom they stand.

Now, the Akalis should remember, should keep in mind, that no party, no individual, in the country, will allow this country to be disintegrated. We will defend the unity of the country; all the parties present here. There may be genuine grievances of the people. They ought to be considered. But continuous surrender and compromise with the extremists has been making things difficult. We want that the Akali Dal leadership should come out in condemnation of the killing of the BJP leader, Shri Manchanda, two days ago. This is

desirable for creating a congenial atmosphere. I welcome, we all welcome, the release of the Akali leaders, as has been referred to already. Some more Akali leaders are still in jail. I hope, the Government will consider their release also. Their release will help in the creation of a congenial atmosphere because the released Akali leaders alone will not be able to take any decision. We feel, this will rather continue to perpetuate the position, the matter will be dragged on and we will not be able to find a solution. This will prove harmful to all concerned.

In the Rajya Sabha, on the 14th March, even in some other places, the Prime Minister said that the acceptance of the religious demands has proved to be a wrong step. This is what we also want to say. We should take a forthright stand and then only we will be able to find a solution. We cannot allow the Punjab situation to drag on any more. We all know that this is a border State. Across the border, Pakistan is being armed by U.S. imperialism. Therefore, if the situation in the area continues to be like this, it will certainly pose a serious problem to the security of the country. Therefore, in this context, Government should come out with a clear stand. Whatever intentions; whatever indications the Government have given in the Rajya Sabha, should be made very clear, more clear, particularly, in regard to the holding of enquiry into the Delhi riots. The Government may also consider bringing the incidents in other places into the ambit of the enquiry.

Now, what should be our attitude to the demands of the Akalis? What should be our attitude in regard to Chandigarh and other related issues? We feel a time will come when negotiations will be possible. The Akali Dal should not miss this opportunity. They should not surrender to the extremists. It is the duty of the Gov-

ernment to take the Opposition into confidence and do not bother about them. Government should unilaterally declare its position on Chandigarh, water dispute and other border villages. They should come forward with concrete proposals in this regard. As I said, the Akali Dal should not miss the opportunity. They should dissociate themselves from the extremists. They should take the opportunity, come to the negotiating table for talks and help in finding a solution to the problem. Even if they do not do it, the Government should declare its position unilaterally, take the opposition into confidence and mobilise the people in favour of such a proposition so that the entire country can stand with them and a solution to the Punjab problem is found.

With these words, I thank you.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE
(West Bengal): The House may know that this is his maiden speech.

श्री इन्दरारा सिंह : मैडम, मुझे जो सारे ईश्वर रखे गये हैं उन सब के बारे में कहना है। यहां कहा गया है कि पंजाब के मसले को हल होना चाहिए। जरूर होना चाहिए। पंजाब के मसले का हल सारे देश के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है और पंजाब का मसला हल होना चाहिए इस में कोई दो राये नहीं हैं। लेकिन जैसी हिस्ट्री बयान की गई है मैं उस के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो माडर्नाइज और नान-माडर्नाइज की बात कही गई है यह सोचने की बात है। वहां एक भिडरवाले ने अपना काम चलाया और वायलेस फैलायी। लोगों को मारा और बेगुनाहों का खून किया। किसी एक शख्स ने जो आज अकाली पार्टी में हैं उस के खिलाफ एक बार भी आवाज नहीं उठाई कि यह गलत बात है। उल्टे यह कहा गया कि यह जो अमृतधारी सिख हैं, बापेठाइज्ड सिख हैं उन को मारा जा रहा है, एनकाउन्टर में पुलिस उन को मार रही है। हम यह कहने थे कि गुड्डारे में सियासत नहीं होनी चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारा गुड्डारा और सियासत एक है। इसी लिये आज

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

मैं एक बड़ी अहम बात बताना चाहता हूँ कि साढ़े 12 लाख का जो बजट तैयार कर के उस की तकसीम की गई है उस में कहा गया है कि ढाई लाख रुपया आर्म्स की ट्रेनिंग देने के लिए है। यह ढाई लाख रुपया ही नहीं, इस से ज्यादा पैसा है जो उन को प्रचार के लिए खर्च करना है। वह हेट्रेड पैदा करने के लिए खर्च हो रहा है। वह सिखों को बचाने के लिए प्रचार नहीं होगा और आगे उन्होंने कहा सिखी जीवन देने के लिये यह हो रहा है। यह सारा प्रचार इसी बात के लिये होगा। आगे उन्होंने कहा कि मुकम्मिल अख्तियार मिलना चाहिए और इस नाम पर डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया फलां चीज पर खर्च होगा और वह सारे अखराजात इसी लिये हो रहे हैं। उन्होंने अपने प्वाइंट को कंसालिडेट किया है। आप बजट जरूर इस तरह का बना दें लेकिन जब भिडरावाले वायलेंस कर रहे थे और सारे कत्ल हो रहे थे तो लॉगोवाल जो आज बयान देते हैं वह हमेशा सौ, डेढ़ सौ आदमियों को रोज अकाल तख्त के सामने कसम खिलाते थे कि हम एक दिन के हुक्म पर अपनी जान बार में दे जिस का मतलब यह था कि वह ग्राउन्ड क्लियर कर रहे थे और उसका इस्तेमाल भिडरावाले करते रहे। यह बात सोची समझी स्कीम के मतहत होती थी। उन्होंने कभी यह नहीं कहा कि बेगुनाह मारे जा रहे हैं। यह कहा है कि बापेटाडज्ड सिख मारे जा रहे हैं और जो उन के साथ एन्काउन्टर में आये, जिन से असलहा मिला, जिन्होंने बेगुनाहों का खून किया अगर वह मारे गये हैं तो उन के पीछे रहने वाले जितने हैं उन सबको गुरद्वारे में ले जा कर उन की आनर किया गया कि उन के आदमियों ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। यह बात आप छोड़िये। इस बात के लिए जो भी कहा जा रहा है, कहा जाये लेकिन यह जो कहते हैं कि दिल्ली के दंगों की इक्वायरी करो, जब इन्दिरा गांधी का कत्ल किया गया उस के बाद का। वह कत्ल क्यों हुआ

है इस की बात नहीं करें और कहते हैं कि ब्लू स्टार क्यों हुआ। ब्लू स्टार नहीं होना चाहिए था और वह यह नहीं कहते कि इस ब्लू स्टार की नौबत क्यों आयी। इस बात के लिये भी कोई रजत देने के बजाय दो च जे अलग अलग करते हैं। हमारे अपोजीशन के लोग भी उस में बहक जाते हैं। कहते हैं कि इक्वायरी करो दिल्ली की। लेकिन अगर सरकार इक्वायरी कराना चाहती है तो यह इक्वायरी 1978 से होगी और इस से पहले से भी हो सकती है कि जब कि इस की बुनियाद रखी गई।

कैसे उन इलाकों में लोग मारे जा रहे थे जो कि उनके कल्ट नहीं हैं। 1978 में मंजी साहब गुरद्वारे से उठाकर उन लोगों को जो कि निरकारी कहे जाते थे, मारने के लिए तीन चार मील के फासले पर ले गये थे। आपको वहां से चलना होगा कि किन लोगों ने ये चीजें करवाई थीं। तो रिलीजन और पोलिटिक्स पर आपको अटके करना चाहिए। रिलीजन हमारा एक है, पोलिटिक्स अलहदा है। रिलीजन एक है, पोलिटिक्स कोई भी हो, इसके बारे में कोई जिक्र नहीं हो सकता। अब यह कहा जा रहा है कि गवर्नमेंट ने निश्चय कर लिया है, होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि उनको छोड़कर हम चाहते हैं कि हम किसी बात पर पहुंच सकें, हम उसके लिए तैयार हैं और यह भी कहा कि यह गलत बात है कि हमने कोई इलैक्शन के लिए किया। इलैक्शन के दौरान में कहा है कि अकाली पार्टी चाहे तो अपना व्यू-प्वाइंट रखे, हम गौर करने के लिए तैयार हैं। पार्लियामेंट के इलैक्शन में कहा, लैजिस्लेटिव ऐसेम्बलियों के इलैक्शन में सब जगह उन्होंने कहा। उसके लिए फोरी तौर पर जो पहला काम किया है, उन लोगों को छोड़ा है। उसके लिए तैयारी हो सकती है, लेकिन उसके लिए कुछ माहौल तो हो।

हमारे भाई साहब, अपोजीशन के बोले हैं। उन्होंने बताया कि आनंदपुर साहब का रैजोलूशन क्या है। मेरा ख्याल है कि लोग पढ़ते नहीं हैं या उसका गलत तर्जुमा करते हैं। होला मोहला में कहा गया

कि पहले आनंदपुर साहब रेजूलेशन की ये ये चीजों मानो तो हम बात करने के लिए आने हैं। तो कहां बात हो रही है? हम भी चाहते हैं बात हो। अपोजिशन के लोग जो यहां बैठे हैं, अपनी बातों को प्राइम मिनिस्टर को बताएं, उनको राय दें। कमेटी जा रही है, लोगों से मिलेगी। हर ख्याल के लोगों से मिलने के बाद अपना एक असैसमेंट यहां लायेगी और आपकी असैसमेंट, जो अपोजिशन की है, उनको कांफ्रेंस में लेकर हम चाहते हैं कि इसका हल करें। हम अपोजिशन के लोग जो यहां पर बैठे हैं, हम उनकी हिमायत के लिए नहीं बैठे हैं। हम उसका हल निकालने के लिए यहां बैठे हैं। तो उसके लिए कोआपरेशन का ऐटीट्यूड रखें, सामने आये ताकि यह पता लगे कि आप इसको हल करने के लिए मुआमान रहे हैं। यहां पर अपोजिशन के लोग यह रास्ता अख्तियार नहीं कर रहे हैं। तो वे चार पांच कंडीशंस लगा रहे हैं कि आल इंडिया सिख स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन के गिरफ्तार लोगों को बाहर निकाल दो। अब उनको कैसे छोड़ दें। नेशनल सैक्युरिटी ऐक्ट में जिन्हें पकड़ा हुआ है, जिन्होंने गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ कोई कसर नहीं उठाई, जिन्होंने सूत्रों को बरबाद किया, अगर उनको छोड़ दें तो क्या हो सकता है? इस बात को गवर्नमेंट कैसे माने? कत्ल सैकड़ों का हुआ, कत्ल मनचंदा का भी हुआ है, हर रोज कोई न कोई लूट मार कोयम है। तो जो सिलसिला है उसमें हम किसी फैसले की प्रहलियत की तरफ जा रहे हैं? ऐसा नहीं है। कुछ करते रहो और कुछ कहते रहो ताकि बात न बने। ये दोनों मिल-भगत की चीजें हो रही हैं। उनको साफ करने की जरूरत है। इसके लिए गवर्नमेंट ने फैसला किया और उनको छोड़ा है, गवर्नमेंट इसके लिए आगे बढ़ा है और हम चाहते हैं कि किसी फैसले पर पहुंच जायें। इसके लिए सरकार ने जो पहल की है, उसके जवाब में उनकी तरफ से कुछ नहीं हुआ। लॉंगोवाल, आप समझते हैं कि माडरेट्स में से है।

लेकिन उसके बयान आप पढ़ लीजिए कि माडरेट के हैं या क्या हैं? लोगों में घुसने के लिए उन्होंने कोई रास्ता अख्तियार किया हो, लेकिन जो बयान बयान है, आम लोग यह समझते हैं कि इनका स्टिफ ऐटीट्यूड है। लेकिन यह बात तब समझनी चाहिए कि पंजाब का मसला अकालियों का मसला कतई नहीं है। यह मसला पंजाब का है, पंजाब के लोगों का है। वहां हिन्दू और सिख का मसला है, दूसरे लोगों का है, जो वहां रह रहे हैं उनका है। मसला अकालियों का नहीं। अकाली तो 20 फीसदी होंगे। सारे सिखों के साथ नहीं हैं लेकिन मसले का हल सब चाहते हैं। उनके इन एकावटों से, उनके इन एक्शनस से जो नुकसान हुआ है उसके बारे में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। हमारी इकोनामी शैटर हुई है। इस साल के बजट में 440 करोड़ पंजाब के हिस्से आए हैं। 440 से क्या बनेगा जबकि उधर हरियाणा को 700 करोड़ से ऊपर मिला है। हमारे यहां पहले से कम हुआ है और कम की वजह यह है हमारी इकोनामी शैटर हुई है। हमारे यहां जो काम स्टेगेनेट हुए हैं उसकी वजह से, जो सारे एक्शन किये जा रहे हैं, लोगों का कत्ल किया जा रहा है, हरैसमेंट हो रही है, उसी वजह से यह कम हुआ है। एक कम्युनिटी को खासतौर से हरैस करने के लिये जो एक जरिया अख्तियार किया गया है उसकी वजह से यह इकोनामी शैटर हुआ है। हमारे यहां ग्रोथ रेट 8.8 थी और यह गिर कर 3.3 हो गई। आप समझते हैं हम कितना बैक हो गये हैं। हमारी पर-कैपिटल इन्कम सबसे ज्यादा थी वह गिरी है और गिरने के साथ जो आठवें कमीशन ने रिपोर्ट की है उसमें यह कहा है कि जो नुकसान हुआ है इस वजह से इस प्लान में 100 करोड़ कम किया है। हमारे हालात इतने गिरे हुए हैं उनको मंइनजर रख कर कमीशन को कुछ कहना चाहिये था लेकिन उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा। इकोनामी को शैटर हुई

देख कर पंजाब की सारी चीजें हकाबट में देख कर प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने हुसैनीवाला में एलान किया है। उन्होंने वहां एक थ्रीम डैम के लिये अपनी क्लीयरेंस दी है जो बरसों से वैसे ही पड़ा था उसके कम्प्लीशन पर करीब करीब 1000 करोड़ रुपये खर्च आयेगा। जापान और इटली वाले भी कहते हैं उन्होंने पाकिस्तान में भी डैम बनाया है, वह कहते हैं इसे पांच साल में तैयार कर देंगे। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस काम के लिये सरकार पैसा देने के लिए तैयार है। यहां फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा है पैसा जितना आपको चाहिये, जितने पैसे की जरूरत है हम देने को तैयार हैं। 80 करोड़ रुपए पंजाब सरकार खर्च भी कर चुकी है। वहां के लिये और भी रखा गया है।

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

मेरा कहना है कि पैसा रोके रखने से दूसरी जो हमारी रियायतें हैं, जो हमें मिलनी है सोशल तौर पर वह रुकती है। इसलिये सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि 100 करोड़ रुपया कम से कम रिलीज करे ताकि जल्दी से जल्दी थ्रीम डैम मुकम्मल हो सके।

इसके साथ-साथ वर्किंग ग्रुप ने 762 करोड़ का प्लान दिया था लेकिन हमें 440 मिला है। हमारे यहां खतरे बड़े हैं। वहां गडबड़ियां हुई हैं, इंडस्ट्रीज रुकी है। एग्रीकल्चर को नुकसान हुआ है लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी हमने वहां एग्रीकल्चर में ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन के लिए इंतजामात किये हैं। हमें इंटेंसिव क्राप प्लानिंग करने की जरूरत है। हमें इंटेंसिव इंडस्ट्री चाहिये। इंटेंसिव क्राप प्लानिंग की जरूरत इस लिये है ताकि उसके जरिये हम ज्यादा कमाई कर सकें।

हमारे यहां पंजाब में बिजली के लिये प्लेट रेट है। इसमें 150 करोड़ का घाटा हुआ है। वो तिहाई, हमारा जो प्रोडक्शन है फूड का उसका

सेन्ट्रल पूल में देते हैं और उसका भी 100 करोड़ का हम खूद घाटा उठाते हैं। इस घाटे को पूरा करने की जरूरत है। इसके साथ-साथ 4 लाख, 10 हजार ट्यूबवैल वहां चालू हैं लेकिन 1 लाख 25 हजार और खोलने की जरूरत है। बावजूद इस बात के कि पंजाब में यह कत्ल होते रहे हैं, ला एंड आर्डर की सिच्युएशन खराब हुई है यह सब कुछ हुआ है तीन साढ़े तीन साल में। मेरी सरकार ने जो काम किया है, सेन्टर की लीडरशिप के अंदर, उस बारे में बताना चाहता हूँ कि 650 मैगावाट बिजली और उसमें एडीशन की है। यह कोई छोटी बात नहीं है बावजूद इसके कि हम तकलीफ में थे, टेन्शन में थे। इसके बावजूद और जरूरत है कि हमें एटोमिक एनर्जी मिलनी चाहिए। एटोमिक एनर्जी के लिये जो जगह देखी गई है। और ये दोनों जगह ठीक पाई गई हैं। पांच हजार एकड़ जमीन और काफी क्यूमेंक पार्न हम देने के लिये तैयार हैं। अगर हरियाणा में रिफाइनरी लग सकती है और नरौरा में एटोमिक एनर्जी का प्लांट्स लग सकता है, और साथ ही राजस्थान में भी एटोमिक एनर्जी प्लांट्स लग सकता है तो पंजाब में एटोमिक एनर्जी का प्लांट क्यों नहीं लग सकता है? पंजाब को यह समझ कर कि यह एक बार्डर स्टेट, है इगनोर नहीं किया जा सकता है। आज बार्डर की बहुत बड़ी बात नहीं रह गयी है। आज इतने यंत्र निकल गये हैं कि बार्डर की बहुत बड़ी कीमत नहीं रह गई है। इसलिए हमें भी जल्दी से जल्दी एटोमिक एनर्जी मिलनी चाहिए।

इसके साथ ही आखिर में एक बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ और वह बात यह है कि प्लान का साइज बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। हमारा यह पंजाब जो एक बार्डर स्टेट है, इसकी ज्यादा मदद होनी चाहिए ताकि उस मदद से पंजाब अपने पांवों पर खड़ा हो सके। एक दफा यह अपने पांवों पर खड़ा हो जाएगा तो लाजिमी तौर पर, मैं आपसे

यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, फिर जबकि इसकी इकनोमी का ज्यादा मजबूत करने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी जो आज की जरूरत है। इन अर्जों के साथ मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि आप आज यह ठीक नहीं कर रहे हैं क्योंकि वहाँ पर हमारा ऐसी है जिनमें ऐसा करना पड़ रहा है, लेकिन सामेल हो जायेंगे तो फिर इसका बढ़ावा की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी और सब चीजें ठीक हो जायेंगी। यह जो मैंने इकनोमी का बात कही है, मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस पर ध्यान दिया जाय और पंजाब की इकनोमी को बढ़ाया जाय। इन सबों के साथ मैं इसका सपोर्ट करता हूँ।

SHRI P. BABUL REDDY (Amar Pradesh): Madam, in principle, I am against extending the period of the President's rule from time to time. But faced with the situation as we do, it has become inevitable.

The Punjab issue is a matter which should be considered free from emotion. No section of the society and no section of this august House could afford to add fuel to this burning problem. It is the duty of every patriot who really has the interest of this country at his heart, to do his best to solve the problem. It is not a question of taking any political advantage. That stage also has gone.

The problem had started as a very simple one originally, confining to some dispute, water dispute, sharing of water and some territorial dispute. That has gone back.

I am not going into the wisdom or otherwise of the Blue Star operation. Most of the parties have also welcomed, that except a few here and there. But, after the Blue Star operation the position that emerged was that the original problems of sharing water or claim for territory had receded. It has become a psychological and prestigious issue, whether that Blue Star operation was a wise act or not.

Then, the further situation developed after the assassination of Madam

Gandhi. We have all seen in the capital city of this country and also at very many other places very unwholesome things have happened. The Sikhs were attacked, and a feeling of alienation of the Sikhs from the mainstream of this country was created. So, what was started as the water dispute or the territorial dispute, has now taken the dimensions of a psychological issue. So, at this juncture, we should try to see how this problem should be solved.

Neither the Government nor the Akalis nor other citizens of Punjab should introduce any prestige into it. I was not happy when the Prime Minister stated that unless the Akalis categorically said that they would seek a solution within the framework of the Constitution or they condemned the violence, no negotiations should be started. I do not say that those conditions are bad conditions. It is not in that spirit I am saying but because conditions are not the approach to solve a problem of this dimension, more so when it has become a psychological issue. Nor I like the Honourable Minister's statement who is sitting on the floor of this House. I am reminding the House about a question that was put in this House. The answer given by the Government was I quote:

"We are taking Opposition Parties Cooperation. We will explore all ways and if necessary at a later stage. If it is found necessary, we will discuss and consult with the opposition parties."

I was sorry to hear that. Now, the grievance of the sikh community is mostly against one particular party. So, that particular party is ruling this country. I cannot say their grievances are rightly placed or not. It is not my purpose for the present. So, in a situation like that the Government should take the cooperation of the opposition parties. The Prime Minister very earnestly immediately after he has taken over the charge of the

[Shri P. Babul Reddy]

Office of the Prime Minister constituted a Cabinet Sub-Committee. But I do not know what action that Sub-Committee has taken in the last two or three months. I have not read it even in the newspapers. The House should have been taken into confidence. We should have been informed of the steps that this Cabinet Sub-Committee has taken to solve this problem which is really tormenting the minds of the patriotic people. Once Punjab was a pride of this country. It has proved to be a granary. Its hard working farmers have said once that they can feed the entire country, if necessary. Industrially it has made strides. Places like Ludhiana and Jullundur can be compared with some of the industrially advanced places in Japan. But these cities are facing a very bad situation. Guru Dev Tagore has given a pride of place to Punjab in the national song. He had mentioned the Punjab as the first State in the country. Now, such a State is reeling under this extremism. No doubt it is bad. Nobody supports this extremism. The Government has also taken a good stand in releasing the Akali leaders. But unfortunately, they have not gone the whole hog. They have not yet released Mr. Prakash Singh Badal who is repeatedly known as a very desirable moderator. He was the Chief Minister of that State. Mr. Tohra has also not been released. These technicalities, that those who were arrested under N.A.S.A., would be released and those against whom charges are pending would not be released, is also not good. If there are charges they can proceed with them. There is a machinery under our jurisprudence to bring them to book. But when a solution has to be found for this vexing problem, no prestige should be attached to it. For more than two years this problem is continuing. Therefore, none should be left unturned to solve this problem.

So far as the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is concerned, I have said once in this House, it cannot be said categorically that resolution demands a separate State. Because that resolution itself says in one of the paragraphs, I quote:

"The new Punjab should be a proud State in the real federal India".

It also says in another paragraph:

"That subjects like defence, foreign affairs, railways and posts and telegraphs should be reserved to the Centre. And the other powers should be very liberally given to the State."

That is not an idea consistent with a separate State.

I am very happy that Mr. Longowal has made a statement yesterday at Amritsar that they are not for "Khalistan"....

and that they do not support the violence of these extremists. These two conditions which the prime Minister insisted on are now fulfilled. So I appeal that we should go all out and see that a solution is found. Nobody should have an idea that patriotism is the monopoly of one section or one party. I was very unhappy when the Prime Minister, during the elections, went round and made certain allegations against some parties. Particularly about the Janata Party he said that some leaders are supporting the extremists and they are having negotiations in foreign countries. And the person concerned demanded a judicial enquiry. It is a very serious matter. On the floor of this House, I demand that judicial enquiry should be made. If he is really guilty action should be taken against him. On the other hand, if he is not guilty, such hollow allegations such baseless allegations should be exposed.

So I say that a solution to the Punjab issue should be found. Now this is the last extension. Under the present amendment also, there cannot be any further extension. So within six months some solution must be found. Now Mr. Longowal has demanded that there should be a judicial enquiry into the riots which took place immediately after Madam Gandhi was assassinated, on the three days, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd November. There were three unofficial bodies. One unofficial body was headed by a former Chief Justice, Mr. Sikri. They gave certain findings. I do not want to refer to them in detail. I have read them. Some of the reports of the committees were also circulated to all the Members. I, too got one copy. They have mentioned even the names of the persons who were responsible, who instigated the riots in certain areas. But Government says that going into them would be an unnecessary exercise and would only spoil our genuine attempt to arrive at a solution for this vexed problem. But now Mr. Longowal is very rightly demanding that there should be a judicial enquiry. I do not see any reason to oppose it. An eminent person like Mr. Darbara Singh, who was speaking just now, referred to the demand for a judicial enquiry and he was almost trying to reject it with emotion. I do not know why he said so. I would have realised the propriety of that demand if I am involved or my relations are involved. It is not necessary to go to that extent. So there is no need to introduce emotion and then reject that request. It is a very proper request. It is a thing which has really brought blemish to this country—what happened in those days. Whoever is responsible should really be identified. So, with these few observations, I conclude.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Madam Vice-Chairman, when one rises to speak in Parliament on the Punjab Budget or on other connected matters which fall strictly within the domain of the State legislature, or on a resolution seeking to extend President's rule in that State one cannot fail to recount with a gnawing pain the remorseful events which Punjab witnessed during last three years. These were the events which, in fact, dragged Punjab to the morass in which the State finds itself today.

Our democratic principles clearly postulate the holding of elections after every five years for Parliament and for the State legislatures. And inherent in the system is the sovereign right of the people to elect the Government they desire to rule them. When in 1980 the Akalis realised that the people of Punjab did not consider them worthy of representing them and that they could not rule the State winning the battle of the ballot, they first started a "morcha" at Kapuri. But having failed to evoke any public enthusiasm about it, they shifted the scene of their activity to the Golden Temple. And then it became their ardent desire to whip up communal feelings and mislead the hard working people to believe as if the Central Government was all bent upon harassing them. In the process the Akali leaders lost control over the agitation and it ultimately passed into the hands of extremists who dictated each and every minor detail to the Akalis as to what should be done and what should not be done on a particular occasion. In the process we found that violence for a purpose in fact deteriorated into violence for its own sake. The people misled by them lost sight of the objective with

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

which the agitation was purportedly initiated. The result, as we have all seen, is that the once vibrant economy of the State of Punjab has suffered a serious blow. Mr. Jagdambi Prasad while initiating the motion disapproving continuance of President's rule, was critical of the Government and went to the extent of alleging that it was the Congress-I which from time to time had been instigating one section of the society against the other. With utmost respect and the humility at my command I am constrained to say that either Mr. Yadav is ill informed or he has misinterpreted the things or there is a lack knowledge about of the actual facts. He wanted to know as to what is the policy of the Government and that is the policy of the Congress-I. I am sure he knows 80 per cent of the people of the country have given the answer to that...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD YADAV: Not 80 per cent of the people; 80 per cent of the seats only.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: At any rate, an overwhelming majority of the people of the country have reposed confidence in the Government, in the Congress-I, have returned over 80 per cent of our candidates in the parliamentary election and that has proved that the Congress-I stands for unity and integrity of the country that the Congress-I would not compromise with the unity and integrity of the country that the Congress-I would not compromise where the question of the country's prestige is involved, that the Congress-I would not compromise where the welfare of the people is involved. I do not for a moment wish to use any word that may be taken as derogatory for the Opposition but I do wish that they must match their words by their words. Was it

not the various conclaves to which

the Akalis were invited that emboldened them to take a recalcitrant attitude which they adopted? It was only when it dawned upon the Opposition that they could not really seek any support from the Akalis in Parliament that there might have been a slight change in their attitude. But at no definite stage during their honeymoon with Akalis did they ever try to say a word about the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. As far as the Congress-I is concerned, there has always been a consistent stand on it. We have been specific in saying that the Congress would not or that the Government would not enter into any negotiations with Akali Dal as long as it insists on making the acceptance of Anandpur Sahb Resolution a condition precedent.

Some Hon'ble Members have tried to interpret the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The right answer was given to them by Sardar Darbara Singh that perhaps Hon'ble Members on the opposition benches have failed to understand the pith and substance of the pernicious part in the Resolution. The Congress has never said that it is not within their rights to demand a federal structure for the country. But the Congress has definitely objected to the inclusion of certain provisions which unequivocally call for establishment of a separate nation or a Constitution different from the Constitution of India. And it goes to the credit of the Congress that irrespective of the ritual opposition to various moves of the Government the Congress Government is steadfast in its approach because what is before the Government is the unity and integrity of the country. With these few words, I would extend my support to the continuance of the notification under Article 356 regarding the President's Rule in the State, but with a fond hope that this is the last time that the Parliament may be called upon to do this. But as the Government is the

best judge of the circumstances prevailing in the country, it should be ultimately left to them to decide on the question of extension depending upon the circumstances. I think we have to cut across all party barriers in extending support to the Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Home Minister in the ultimate interest of the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Hon'ble Member may conclude now.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, I may humbly submit that there are four matters before this Hon'ble House. It may be permitted to say a few words on the first one also because, as I began by saying, the legislature in fact is not operating though in existence and it is only here that we can deliberate on the budget.

The continued spell of disturbed conditions in the State has inflicted a crippling blow on the State's economy because considering the State to be terrorist infested, no investor from outside would set his feet in the State. We are aghost when we have a look at the cost which the State has to incur in maintaining its police force. Over the years, it has been rising very steeply. In the budget estimates for 1984-85 the expenditure on police is estimated to be Rs. 48.89 crores, but with the duties that it has to perform and extra burden the State has to bear, in the revised estimates the amount has risen to Rs. 52.22 crores in just one year. On top of this we have to spend another Rs. 5.03 crores. This is a heavy price which Punjab has to pay to maintain Law and Order in the State. This has given a big jolt to the priority of development.

In Punjab we have had to face a well-organised terrorist movement aided and abetted by a hostile neighbour. However in spite of the damage done and suffering experienced, none

could create any fissure in the age-old amity and goodwill among the people of various communities. The frenzy and irrationality could not really vitiate the environment of communal harmony though it was strained to a great extent the third consecutive year. Taking into account the minimum price rise of 12 per cent, I think full justice has not been done to Punjab in this respect.

Madam, the Punjab problem is a national problem and when we are without our own Assembly in session, I make a fervent appeal to the Centre to see that, in order to restore the confidence of the Punjabis, everything possible is done on the economic front. The Punjab State must, however in fact, be grateful to the honourable Prime Minister for clearing the Thein Dam which, I am sure, would, on completion in the next five years, if there are sufficient funds for it, obviate most of the problems of Punjab with regard to water and electricity. There are various mini-hydel projects plans for which the State has to approach the Central Electricity Commission.

VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Please conclude.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: All right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Yes, Mr. Khushwant Singh.

SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH (Nominated): Madam Vice-Chairman,.....

SHRI DINESH CHAND RAY: Madam, he should have been allowed to finish his speech. Abruptly he was made to sit down. At least, he should have been allowed to finish his sentence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): All right. Mr. Bansal, you finish in two sentences.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
I have finished.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-
MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE):
Please conclude.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
Madam, I would request you to give
me five minutes more because I have
to speak on the Budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-
MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): But
you have already taken fifteen minu-
tes.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
Madam, the Punjabis have exhibited
a unique quality of resilience and the
State has endeavoured to go ahead
with its development activities unde-
terred by the bitter political events
stalking the State. In the last three
years, in spite of the disturbed con-
ditions in the State, 34,693 small-scale
and village industrial units have start-
ed production. In the Sixth Plan, we
have added 922 MW of power at a
cost of Rs. 991 crores as against the
target of 660 MW at a cost of Rs.
782 crores. This is no small achieve-
ment. The plant load factor of the
Guru Nanak Thermal Plant has been
57 per cent and that is the highest
in the country. Equally commendable
is the progress in various other fields
of activity including education, agri-
culture and industry. Punjab, a veri-
table granary of India, contributed
significantly to the national food
bounty. Last year, Madam, we contri-
buted 62.3 per cent of wheat and 42.2
percent of rice and we do hope to
continue doing so at the same pace.
But I am slightly pained to observe
that in the present Plan, the total
outlay for Punjab is again Rs. 440
crores which is the figure fixed for.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-
MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): That
is all right. You please finish in two
sentences.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
Thank you, Madam. I will just finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-
MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Yes,
you finish your speech.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
O.K. I will just sum up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-
MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Yes,
you sum up now.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
Madam, during the Seventh Plan,
we have sought to add another 1212
MW of electricity and for that we
have sought an assistance of Rs. 2500
crores from the Government and I am
sure that in order to help Punjab
help the country and keep the nation-
al food bowl full, necessary assist-
ance would be forthcoming and
would be given.

I have submitted that Punjab has
always remained in the fore front
whenever the question of contribu-
tion to a national cause has arisen.
But we find to our utter dismay that
Punjab's normal share of power from
the various Central projects has not
been forthcoming to it. The money
which the States like Rajasthan,
Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana and
even the Union territory of India
owe to the Government of Punjab
as the cost for maintenance of the
various projects of which those States
are the beneficiaries has not been
paid to the State of Punjab.

4 P.M. Industry is also facing crisis
in the State of Punjab.
The shortage of coal is really
hitting the Punjab Industry. The
1969 allocation of 36,000 wagons
has remained unchanged so far
though the number of industries have
risen ten times. The communications
have failed to meet the needs of the
industry. One has just to go to the
town of Gobindgarh or to any other
industrial town in the State to see
that even alighting call does not
mature within the stipulated period
of time.

Cycle, sewing machine and the hosiery industries of the State have earned considerable foreign exchange for the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Please finish now.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: One minute more please. The electronic and other industrial units at Mohali are also export-oriented. But the roads which are of strategic importance in the border State have not been so declared specifically by the Government. As I said, the Punjab problem being the national problem, it is for the defence of the country and in the interest of the country that the highways passing through the State of Punjab are declared roads of strategic importance and the expenditure on them incurred by the Central Government. The lining of canal distributories and the minors have also to be taken up with greater vigour to reduce seepage and alleviate water logging and to reduce maintenance costs. Finally, I would only say that the cost incurred on lining of canals should not be recovered from the farmers because I learn that the cost of recovery is much more than the cost to be recovered from them with the result that what we gain on the swings we lose on the running about.

About the water problem in the State, I have to submit to this hon. House that at present there are 1395 scarcity villages in the State. I find that there is an outlay of only Rs. 10 crores in the plan. I submit that the hon. Finance Minister may give a second thought on the quantum of assistance to be provided to the State and see that a vibrant limb of the national body politic does not decay and the State continues to prosper as ever before.

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

Sir, I find from a look at the various provisions in the budget that in receipts there is a substantial decrease in the revised estimates for 1984-85 as compared to the budget estimates for that period. Instead of 60.70 crores for stamps and registration fee, the revised estimates show 40.66 crores only. Similarly, the receipts through taxes on commodities and services show a decline of 48 crores as compared to the budget estimates. Last year's budget showed a deficit of 109.45 crores, but the revised estimates take it to 139.86 crores. That is the deficit with which we opened the new year. I hope as the year passes by, this deficit won't increase and that the Centre sees to it that more and more special assistance is given to Punjab to enable it to keep pace with the developing trends in industry and agriculture.

About 82 per cent of the total land of the State is already under cultivation, but we find that some land is still to be reclaimed. It is only with special central assistance that this land can be reclaimed which would ultimately benefit not only the State but the country as a whole. Following your gestures with these words, Sir, I conclude being very hopeful that though there are various constraints on the resources the Centre would again see to it that Punjab gets its due share.

SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I like to first comment the new Government for making a very good start in dealing with the Punjab problem. The Prime Minister made a Statement straightaway giving Punjab top priority. He also set up a Cabinet sub-Committee. That was in January and now we are in March. So far the only two positive achievements that one can mention are first the release of some Akali leaders, not all but a selective release of some and secondly one which, I think, is more impor-

[Shri Khushwant Singh]

tant, the Prime Minister's Statement at Hussainiwala spelling out certain plans for the economic recovery of the State. However you will agree that for three months this is not very much. What distresses the more is that in recent months is the tone of smug, self-righteousness, bordering on arrogance, which Government spokesmen have adopted when they deal with the Akalis. It would appear as if all the angels are on the side of the Congress and the Government, and all the devils are on the side of the Akalis; you are always ready to talk and the Akalis are unwilling to do so, you are always very sweet and reasonable but the Akalis are obstructive; you are generous, you release the Akalis but they are ungrateful in as much as that after having been released they have not returned your gesture; you are patriotic, you have the weight of the country on your shoulders and they are talking of separatism. You have the Government media in your hands and you have a subservient press to magnify your views and vilify the Akalis. Unfortunately, that is not the truth. Let me tell you: Not only is it not true but that is also not helpful in coming to any settlement in Punjab because all you achieve with kind of tone that you adopt and the way you deal with them is to make them harden their attitude towards you. They are now less willing to talk to you. You have announced that the Cabinet Sub-Committee will be visiting Punjab soon. If you had any foresight and statesmanship, something should have preceded this visit. You know perfectly well that when you go to Punjab, it will be an exercise in populist futility. You will only see officials. You will only see members of the Congress Party or your cronies. People you ought to see, people you ought to talk to will not see you, they will not talk to you because of the attitude that you have adopted.

Now issues are pretty clear. We are no longer talking of which State Chandigarh should go to. We are not talking of river waters any more. We are not talking of holy cities and all those little footling things. We are now concerned with one major issue. It is the dignity and the self-respect of a community of 14 million people whose susceptibilities have been deeply hurt. You have to learn how to assuage those feelings and win this community back into the community that comprises India. On this score, you know perfectly well that the *sine qua non*, without which no dealings with the Akalis or anyone else can take place, is the institution of a high-powered judicial commission of enquiry into what happened after the assassination of the late Prime Minister. You, Mr. Home Minister, have made it appear as if conceding that inquiry commission will be great act of generosity on your part; you made it appear as if it would be a part of the package deal with the Akalis. If you have to make a package deal, it will not be with the Akali but with the entire Sikh community.

Mr. Home Minister, you must have seen that there are three reports published so far by men of highest learning and highest integrity in this land—academics respected throughout this land than like Dr. Kothari, Judges including a retired Judge of the Supreme Court, civil servants of the highest order, and Justice Taraporevala and some others. Not one of them has said a word. If you have seen the damage, you will realise what a damaging indictment these three reports have made against your Administration and your party. You do not owe it to the Akalis. You do not owe it to me. You owe it to yourself and your conscience it have an impartial judicial inquiry. You must clear yourself of the calumny that has been cast in these reports. If you do not do so, you are strong

*Motion seeking
revocation of
Proclamation
issued by President*

[27 MAR. 1985]

on 6-10-85 u/a 356
of the Constitution in
relation the State of
Punjab

enough not to do so, this will go down in the books of history as the biggest black mark against you.

Mr. Home Minister, just a brief reference to the situation in Punjab which I had the privilege of visiting recently. You probably also have got information that the power has slipped out of the hands of the Akalis, as far as the Sikh masses are concerned. It has now gone into the hands of young thoughtless brigands in large numbers who have no real backing but are a very angry lot. You might not have been told that is the large number of young Sikhs today wear saffron turbans no longer blue or white. They are wearing saffron because they have taken an oath of vengeance. That means, in addition to this, they are up against a community feels unwanted, isolated, unhappy and sullen. You have to get round these people and a man on your side and free them of this atmosphere of hatred and bitterness that has been created. Although Bhindranwale is dead, he haunts the Punjab country side, disturbs the sleep of Punjabi Hindus, and disturbs the conscience of Punjabi Sikh. I happen to be one of the Sikhs, perhaps the only one, who condemned this man when he was alive.

Now I come to the more positive aspect. As I said, I welcome the Statement the Prime Minister made at Hussainiwala. He is right in highlighting the fact that at the base of the problems in Punjab are economic differences. Prosperity seems to be slipping out of Punjab. But economic plans are long-term measures; the longer the time they take to be implemented, the longer we will have to learn to live with stability.

It is well known that the economy of Punjab is largely based on agriculture. It has been the most prosperous agricultural State of this country. It is the first to achieve the

green revolution. But now it appears that the green revolution is fast approaching its plateau stage. Almost 83 per cent of the cultivable land is already under cultivation. The size of the families has increased with each generation and there are less and less lands available to them. The avenues that young Sikh agriculturists had earlier on, of going abroad and getting jobs in England, Canada, United States, Middle East, etc. they have closed down. They have now no avenues left except in Punjab. At the same time, a curious thing has taken place in Punjab which many people have not noticed. It is the education explosion. Just about every little village has a school. Just about every young man is going to college. He comes out of discovery. He has no future. He does not know what to do. He cannot get any jobs, because there are not enough industries. He is reluctant to go back to the traditional patterns of the work that his ancestors were doing. Your biggest problem is to absorb this ever-increasing number of educated young men. That can only be done if you put in a massive industries in the State. If you do not do it you really supply a ready material to fundamentalists and the people who believe in the use of the gun and the pistol.

I can suggest just four or five measures. I am not an economist and have no expertise. But it is evident ever to us that Punjab needs much more water and power. We have been talking of the Thein Dam. I saw the Thein dam under two or three Chief Ministers, Shri Prakash Singh Badal, Sardar Darbara Singh. We have been talking about it. Tents were there. Maps were there. Blueprints were there. And yet this bloody dam has not come up. If it had come up, there would have been hardly any problem of water or hydro-electric energy.

[Shri Khushwant Singh]

Secondly, Punjab must get much larger share of hydro-electric energy generated there. Those who come from Punjab would know that there are times in winter when the poor farmer has to get up at 2 O'clock in the morning to go and operate his tubewell because that is the only time he gets electricity. At the same time, people like us in Delhi run our air-conditioners. When we have our Republic Day, we light up all our buildings. Where does this energy come from? It is mainly from Punjab at the expense of Punjabis. In cities like Amritsar, there is power load shedding of 6 to 7 hours every day. Then, we must also have many more agro-based industries. Punjab is surplus in wheat, sugarcane and cotton. We do not have enough flour sugar or textile mills. A few private sector industries have got some sugar mills, but not enough to use all product of the State. And now that the private industrialists are reluctant to invest in Punjab, it is the duty of the State to put in State enterprises to absorb educated unemployed youth of the State.

Punjab is capable of maintaining 10 per cent growth in industry and agriculture. It has proved it in the past; it can prove it now. If you bring back prosperity to Punjab; you can bring back peace to Punjab. The only condition is that you must have the will to do so and the honest intention to do so. Some how, my own experience of what has happened in the past does not give me that confidence.

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब किसी भी स्टेट का बजट इस हाउस में डिसकस होता है तो दिल को बड़ा दुख होता है। हम चाहते हैं कि हर स्टेट में स्टेट एसेम्बली हो, वहां का बजट वहीं पास हो। लेकिन यह दुर्भाग्य है कि पंजाब में आज स्टेट एसेम्बली नहीं

है, सरकार नहीं है जो काम कर सके, इसलिए उसका बजट यहां डिसकस हो रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे साथी जो उधर से बोले, उन्होंने हमेशा एक चीज जाहिर करने की कोशिश की है कि पंजाब की जो समस्या है वह सारी समस्या कांग्रेस ही पैदा कर रही है। हर मेरे दोस्त ने जो उधर से बोला, आज नहीं जब से भी बोलते रहे हैं, हमेशा दुनिया को एक ही आइडिया देने की कोशिश करते हैं कि पंजाब में जो समस्या पैदा हुई यह कांग्रेस ने पैदा की। यह मेरी खुश-किस्मती है और आपकी मेहरबानी है कि मुझे बहुत बड़े महान व्यक्ति सरदार खुशवंत सिंह के बाद बोलने का मौका मिला। मैं इतना बता देना चाहता हूं कि पंजाब में जो समस्या पैदा हुई वह न तो टेरिटरियल डिस्प्यूट की बिना पर हुई, न वह रावी व्यास के पानी की बिना पर हुई, पंजाब में जो तूफान खड़ा हुआ आज और जिस जगह पर यह पहुंचा है यह तूफान पैदा हुआ जनता रिजीम में और कब पैदा हुआ ? यह पैदा हुआ 1978 में बैशाखी के दिन। अमृतसर के अन्दर जब निरंकारी सम्मेलन हो रहा था एक बहुत बड़े गिरोह ने उस सम्मेलन पर हमला बोल दिया और फिर निरंकारियों ने 13 अमृतधारियों का कत्ल किया। उस वक्त तो कांग्रेस की सरकार वहां नहीं थी। सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी, उस वक्त जनता पार्टी की सरकार सेंटर में थी और बैशाखी के दिन का वाकया है जिस दिन 13 लोगों को निरंकारियों ने कत्ल किया। और उस दिन के बाद पंजाब के अन्दर आग लगना शुरू हो गई। बाद जिसे भी वाक्यात हुआ वह रावी-व्यास के पानी से नहीं हुये, चंडीगढ़ से नहीं हुये या फाजिल्का से नहीं हुये। बाद जो बातें हुई वह हुई अक्टूबर 1978 में जब कि लुधियाना में आल इंडिया अकाली दल की कॉन्फरंस ने जगदेवसिंह तलवंडी की अध्यक्षता में आनन्दपुर साहिब रेजोलूशन को एंडोर्स किया। आनन्दपुर साहिब वकिंग कमेटी ने इसे पास किया था। आनन्दपुर साहिब रेजोलूशन क्या चीज है

अभी तक बहुत सारे लोगों की समझ में वह बात नहीं आई। मेरे पास एक पुस्तिका है जिसको सरकुलेट किया है सरदार नरेन्द्र सिंह भुल्ले ने, डायरेक्टर पंजाबी सूबा मोर्चा। इसमें आनन्दपुर साहिब के रेजोल्यूशन को तफसील में दिया है। आनन्दपुर साहिब के अन्दर बड़ा स्पष्ट उन्होंने कहा है। उसका पैराग्राफ 3 जो है उसको मैं पढ़ देता हूँ। यह पढ़ना जरूरी है।

"Thirdly, this autonomous Sikh region may be conceded and declared as entitled to frame its own constitution on the basis of having the power to and for itself except foreign relations, defence, communications, to remain as subjects with the federal Indian Government."

यह आनन्दपुर साहिब का तीसरा पैराग्राफ है। बाकी दो और हैं इससे साफ है। लेकिन मैंने यह पैराग्राफ तीन इसलिये पढ़कर सुनाया क्योंकि बहुत भाई यह कहते हैं कि आनन्दपुर साहिब रेजोल्यूशन में कोई अलाहिदागी की बात नहीं। आनन्दपुर साहिब में कोई अलग देश की बात नहीं। आनन्दपुर साहिब में खालिस्तान की बात नहीं। इससे आप समझ सकते हैं कि अटोनामस सिख रीजन, जिसका अपना कंस्टीट्यूशन हो और जिसके लिये सर्वेक्ट डिफाई कर दिये हैं कि इन सर्वेक्ट को छोड़ कर बाकी सब वे हों। मैं एक बात ही अपने विरोधी दल के भाईयों से कहना चाहता हूँ जो बार-बार कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस इसका समाधान नहीं करती। मैं उनसे इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे...

श्री खुशवंत सिंह : नहीं, नहीं।

श्री सुल्तान सिंह : इंडियन कंस्टीट्यूशन के तहत और कोई कंस्टीट्यूशन फंक्शन करे। क्या वह इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे कि इंडिया को इस तरह से आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता छोटी-छोटी अटोनामी दे कर स्टेट के सारे सिस्टम को भंग कर दिया जाए।

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one sentence before this, to what has been quoted by Shri Sultan Singh. It mentions about the time and place in regard to the new constitution for the Bhol Bala of Khalsa.

SHRI SULTAN SINGH: That is written there. I have left it out.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बार-बार कहते हैं बात करो। किस के साथ बात करें। खुशवंत सिंह जी आप ही बता दीजिए।

श्री खुशवंत सिंह : मेरे साथ।

श्री सुल्तान सिंह : लोंगोवाल साहब कहते हैं कि जब तक आनन्दपुर साहिब प्रस्ताव स्वीकार नहीं किया जाता हम बात नहीं करेंगे। तलवंडी साहब कहते हैं कि जब तक आनन्दपुर साहिब प्रस्ताव स्वीकार नहीं किया जाता तब तक हम बात नहीं करेंगे। हां, अगर गुरुपद स्वामी जी के साथ बात करने से बात बनती है तो अभी कर लेते हैं। सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी से बात करने से काम चलता है तो अभी लाबी में बैठ कर बात कर लेते हैं। फिर आप ही बताइये कि भारत सरकार का कसूर क्या है। भारत सरकार इससे ज्यादा क्या कर सकती है। अभी खुशवंत सिंह जी बोल रहे थे, यह वह रहे थे कि यह भारत सरकार के ऊपर काला धब्बा है जो कमीशन नहीं बैठाया जा रहा है। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह हिन्दुस्तान पर धब्बा है, अकेले भारत सरकार पर धब्बा नहीं है। अगर हमारे देश के अन्दर कहीं भी हिन्दू सिख फसाद हो रहे हैं या हिन्दू मुसलमान फसाद होते हैं तो उसे कांग्रेस सरकार पर या अकालियों पर ही धब्बा नहीं है वह हमारे सारे नेशन पर धब्बा है। अगर कोई यह कहे कि कमीशन बैठाने से वह धब्बा हट जाएगा, या बेगुनाह लोग जो तबाह हो गए हैं, वे द्वारा आवाद हो जाएंगे या कमीशन की बात को अकाली स्वीकार कर लेंगे, यह होने वाला नहीं है। मैं सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी को एक पुरानी हिस्ट्री बताना चाहता हूँ। मैं

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

उन आदमियों में से हूँ जो पंजाबी सूबा बनने से पहले सन्त फतेह सिंह जी के पास बैठे थे। मैं प्रो० शेर सिंह, चौधरी देवीलाल और श्री मूल चन्द जैन, हम चार आदमी हरियाणा की तरफ से गये और जब पंजाबी सूबे का मूवमेंट चल रहा था और यहाँ पर सरकार की तरफ से सरदार हुकम सिंह जी की अध्यक्षता में एक पार्लियामेण्टरी कमेटी बनी थी जो पंजाबी सूबे के ऊपर गौर कर रही थी तो उस वक़्त हम लोग सन्त फतेह सिंह महाराज के पास पहुँचे और सन्त जी से कहा कि सन्त जी, पार्लियामेण्ट की कमेटी के सामने हमारा एविडेंस है, उनके सामने हमारा बयान है। आप हमें बता दोजिए कि आपका पंजाबी सूबा क्या होगा? कभी आप ऐसा तो नहीं करेंगे कि सारे हरियाणा को वर्बाद कर दें और करनाल तक मांगना शुरू कर दें और उधर सिरसा से मांगना शुरू कर दें। इस तरह तो हरियाणा खत्म हो जाएगा। सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी, मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि अकाल तख्त पर बैठे हुए गुरुग्रन्थ साहब की तरफ हाथ करके सन्त फतेह सिंह जी ने कहा कि मैं सिख दा पुत्र हूँ, मैं सन्त हूँ, कोई पोलिटिकल आदमी नहीं हूँ, मैं गुरुग्रन्थ साहब की तरफ हाथ करके कहता हूँ कि जो एक्जिस्टिंग पंजाब रीजन है उससे ज्यादा एक गाँव भी नहीं मांगूंगा और उसके बाद हम लोगों ने मांग की और मैं मोटिंग बुलाने वालों में था कि अगर रामूलू आन्ध्र के लिए अपनी जान दे सकता है तो सन्त फतेह सिंह जी का भी अधिकार है कि पंजाबी भाषा के नाम पर पंजाबी सूबे की मांग करें। यह मेरी स्पीच थी। लेकिन उसके बाद क्या हुआ? उसके बाद पंजाबी सूबा बनाने का फैसला हुआ। शाह कमीशन बैठा। आज आप कमीशन की बात करते हैं। क्या अकालियों ने शाह कमीशन की बात मान ली? शाह कमीशन ने चण्डीगढ़ इन्क्लूडिंग खेड़ हरियाणा को देने की बात कही थी, लेकिन अकालियों ने उस बात को स्वीकार नहीं किया। जब से स्टेट अटोनेमी की बात उठी है, भारत सरकार ने सरकारिया कमीशन बनाया। क्या अकाली सरकारिया कमीशन की रिपोर्ट मान लेंगे? आज हम कोई कमीशन रायट्स की इन्क्वायरी

के लिए बनायें तो क्या अकाली उसकी रिपोर्ट को मान लेंगे? इन बातों की कोई गारण्टी नहीं है। अकाली मान जाएंगे, इसकी कोई गारण्टी नहीं है। आप जानते हैं कि अकालियों का कम्पटन क्या रहा है? यह सब आपके सामने की बात है। सन् 1956 में रीजनल फार्मूला बना, रीजनल कमेटी बनी और लैम्बेथ फार्मूले के मुताबिक सच्चर फार्मूला बना। उसमें यह फैसला हुआ, जवाहरलाल नेहरू और मास्टर तारासिंह के बीच में फैसला हुआ—

There will be two regions in Punjab, one is Hindi region and the other is Punjabi region.

उसमें यह कहा गया कि पंजाबी रीजन में मिडियम आफ इंस्ट्रक्शन शुरू से पंजाबी होगा और चार जमात से उसमें हिन्दी शुरू हो जाएगी और हिन्दी रीजन में मिडियम आफ इंस्ट्रक्शन हिन्दी होगा और चौथी जमात के बाद पंजाबी शुरू हो जाएगा और दोनों रीजनस में डिस्ट्रिक्ट रिकार्ड दोनों भाषाओं में मिल जाएगा और हिन्दी रीजन में अगर कोई पंजाबी में दरखास्त देगा तो उसकी दरखास्त ली जाएगी और पंजाबी रीजन में अगर कोई हिन्दी में दरखास्त देगा तो उसका लिया जाएगा और जहाँ पर 10 बच्चे एक क्लास के अन्दर कोई भाषा मांगेंगे तो उसके लिए एक टीचर लगाना होगा। सरकार ने रीजनल फार्मूला बनाया और रीजनल कमेटी बनाई।

अकाली दल ने उसको माना था और माना ही नहीं अकाली दल कांग्रेस में मर्ज हुआ 1957 में ज्ञानी करतारसिंह, ज्ञानसिंह राडेवाला, प्रकाशसिंह बादल ये कांग्रेस के टिकट पर चुनाव लड़े और उसके थोड़े दिनों बाद फिर उन्होंने पंजाबी सूबे की मांग शुरू कर दी और जब पंजाबी सूबा मिल गया और चंडीगढ़ हरियाणा को मिला तो फिर चंडीगढ़ की मांग शुरू कर दी। इंदिरा जी ने 1970 में चंडीगढ़ को पंजाब को दे दिया और फाजिल्का और अंबोहर हरियाणा को दे दिया। कहने लगे कि चंडीगढ़ तो ठीक है लेकिन फाजिल्का और अंबोहर का फैसला गलत है। रावी-व्यास का फैसला इंदिरा गांधी ने किया कि 7 मिलियन एकड़

फीट वाटर में से 3.5 मिलियन फीट वाटर पंजाब को 3.5 मिलियन एकड़ फीट पानी हरियाणा को मिलेगा क्योंकि हरियाणा एक एरिड जोन है वहां कोई रिवर नहीं है, हमारे पास अपनी कोई रिवर नहीं है। पानी पंजाब से ही आना था और उस वक्त इंदिरा जी ने फैसला कर दिया तो कहने लगे कि यह फैसला हमको स्वीकार नहीं। उस फैसले पर पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री ने दस्तखत किये, श्री दरबारा सिंह ने जो कि यहां पर मौजूद हैं। पंजाब की जनता ने उन को इलेक्ट किया था और उन्होंने उस पर दस्तखत किये थे। उस पर हरियाणा के मुख्य मंत्री ने दस्तखत किये जो कि हरियाणा की जनता ने इलेक्ट किया था। इन अकालियों ने इस फैसले को मंजूर नहीं किया। जो अकाली हैं वे न तो इन्फ्लेटेड गवर्नमेंट को मानते हैं, वे किसी कमीशन को नहीं मानते हैं, इंडियन कांस्टिट्यूशन को वे नहीं मानते हैं, किसी से बात करना वे इसे नहीं मानते हैं और फिर आप कर रहे कि इतिहास लिखा जायेगा। पता नहीं क्या क्या क्या लिखा जायेगा। मैं सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी आपको बता देना चाहता हूं कि जब ईमानदारी से इतिहास लिखा जायेगा तो उसमें यह लिखा जायेगा कि उप्रवाधियों ने, भिंडराला ने और शिरोमणि गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी के चैयरमैन टोहरा ने जो गुरुद्वारों का अपमान किया, जो उनका दुरुपयोग किया और जो उनकी महानता घटाई शायद कोई सिख इसे वर्दीशत नहीं करेगा, आने वाले जमाने में। इंदिरा जी ने उस गुरुद्वारे की इज्जत बचाई वहां से डाकू और चोरों को बाहर निकाल कर। सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी से मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि इतिहास यह भी लिखेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक नौजवान ऐसा भी है जो अपनी मां के मरने शरीर को छोड़ कर दिल्ली के बाजारों में माइनारिटी की जिदगी बचाने फिर रहा था। क्या इतिहास यह नहीं लिखेगा? अगर इससे भी आपको तसल्ली नहीं होती है, इससे अकालियों की तसल्ली नहीं होती है तो फिर कलेशा चीरकर कोई दिखा नहीं सकता। उन गुरुद्वारों की महानता को कायम रखने के लिये, हिन्दुस्तान को इन्टीग्रेटेड कंट्री रखने

के लिये और सिखों की इज्जत और मान को बचाये रखने के लिये इंदिरा जी ने अपने शरीर की आहुति दी, क्या यह इतिहास नहीं लिखेगा? यही नहीं, अभी यह कितनी बड़ी बात हुई कि राजीव गांधी ने हुसैनीवाला में कहा कि वहीं थोन डैम बनेगा, पंजाब में इन्टेग्रल कोच फैक्टरी बनेगी, पंजाब के किसानों को बोनस मिलेगा। इससे ज्यादा कन्सेशन किसी को क्या मिल सकता है। क्या हमारे हरियाणा में किसान नहीं हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां बोनस का ऐलान नहीं किया और पंजाब के किसानों को बोनस मिलेगा। पंजाब को सबसे पहले प्रिविलेज दिया पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने और हिन्दुस्तान के आजाद होने के बाद सबसे पहले उन्होंने पंजाब में प्रोजेक्ट शुरू किया, भाखड़ा प्रोजेक्ट शुरू किया। मैं गलत नहीं कहता। यह तो मौके की बात है कि इस समय सरदार खुशवंत सिंह हाजिर हैं। जितना सिखों के साथ प्यार पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू, इंदिरा जी और राजीव गांधी ने दिखाया इतना शायद हिन्दुस्तान का कोई राजनैतिज्ञ नहीं दिखा सकता। जब गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी का जग चल रहा था, मोर्चा लगा हुआ था, लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ उस वक्त पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जिन्होंने खुद जाकर गिरफ्तारी दी थी वे नाभा जेल के अंदर थे। उन्होंने कहा कि आज भी मुझे उतना ही प्यार है जितना पहले था। मुझे ताजुब यह देखकर होता है कि पढ़े-लिखे आदमी भी इस लाइन पर जा रहे हैं और जब मैं सरदार खुशवंत सिंह की तकरीर सुनता हूं तो मेरा दिल हिल जाता है। वह इतिहास की बात करते हैं। मुझे कहना नहीं चाहिये हमारे बड़े बहादुर फौजी हैं जगजीत सिंह अरोड़ा, उनका मैं बड़ा मान करता हूं और सारे हिन्दुस्तान को उन पर गर्व है, जगजीत सिंह अरोड़ा फौजी भगोड़ों की वकालत करते हैं और कहते हैं कि जो फौज से भाग गये उनको माफ कर दो जो फौज के जनरल फौज की ट्रेडिशन को तबाह करेंगे जब फौज के जनरल यह कहेंगे कि भगोड़ों को माफ कर दो तो इस फौज को कौन कायम रख सकता है? (समय की घंटी) मैं ज्यादा न कहता हुआ इतना अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मुझे

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

इस बात का कष्ट हुआ कि पंजाब का बजट हम डिसकस कर रहे हैं। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब में अकाली समझें और एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करें जिससे पंजाब का बजट यहाँ नहीं बल्कि चण्डीगढ़ में डिसकस हो। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि वह दिन आए जब पंजाब की रोज़ रोज़ की बहस इस हाउस से खत्म हो और पंजाब में वही दिन आए जा दिन शानदार थे जिसमें पंजाब चमका था, उभरा था और सारे हिन्दुस्तान का नाम पंजाब ने किया था। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, India, after Independence, is faced with the most grim crisis ever experienced by it in the form of the Punjab problem. It is really sad and nobody sitting on the Treasury Benches can disown their responsibility that they have designedly or by inadvertence, inculcated a feeling in the whole lot of the Sikh community that they are unwanted people, that they are second grade citizens of this country, that Sikhs are equal to terrorists. This is the formula evolved by the Government—that a Sikh is equal to a terrorist.

Punjab has now been placed under President's rule for a sufficiently long time. I must say that the credit probably goes to the honourable Home Minister that very successfully he has combined both the issues—two separate issues altogether—and made them look like one. The problem was political. There was also the problem of law and order and terrorism. Both these issues should have been dealt with separately. They could not have combined; they are two entirely different issues. But I do not know why—just for a very very remote political advantage which would accrue to it probably the ruling Congress thought it could do so

—instead of dealing with both the issues separately they combined both the issues, with the net result that today you can't find in Punjab a single person belonging to the Sikh community who can appreciate the action taken by the Government of India in the Blue Star Operation, who can appreciate the riots which took a toll of a number of Sikh lives in Delhi and elsewhere in this country. Nobody can appreciate it. And Mr. Khushwant Singh is right: I have seen it myself while going through Punjab; there were young people of 18, 19, 20, 24 wearing saffron coloured turbans. This saffron coloured turban is not only to create a separate identity. As far as I understand, this colour represents the *basanti* colour—the colour of sacrifice.... (Interruptions)... You can't understand it. There is something wrong with you. You have created a situation where these people are forced—maybe wrongly—and they are probably, psychologically going in a wrong direction. I agree there, but who is responsible for it? You are responsible for it. You found the situation slipping out of your hands and did not wait, did not look, did not barter for a compromise anywhere for seeing that at least the bulk of the Sikh population which is not terrorist, should not be smarting under the impression that they are unwanted. Today, all the Sikhs, most of the Sikhs, in foreign countries are collecting huge amounts of money. They are having a separate organisation and saying, "Our people, we people, are being discriminated in India." I tell you, it is nobody's case. The Akalis, I understand, do not want Khalistan. No average Sikh gentleman in India or outside, nobody craves for Khalistan. They do not want it. Why do you want to force it on their throats? Khalistan is nobody's case. If there are certain extremists who are active, you must

know them by now. You have been there for a sufficiently long time in Punjab with the full force of the army with the full force of the CRP, with the full force of the Border Security Force and with the full force of the ordinary civilian police. You should have by now known who the extremists are, which are the pockets which are infested by the extremists.

I think, after the Blue Star operation till today, after the posting of the army in Punjab till today, a number of people have lost their lives. I do not know how many have been killed. You do not give their figures. When you go to the villages, you will find that a number of people have been missing from the villages. Where have they gone? They have left their villages, their homes, their hearths, their parents, brothers and sisters. They have left their properties. Where have they gone? They were in India. Have they crossed the border and gone to Pakistan? Or have they been killed? You have a responsibility to this House and to the whole nation. You should tell us what has happened to those people. Why are so many people leaving the villages of Punjab? It is not an ordinary thing. And somebody, a very very responsible person, came and told me, "Now they do not weep when a person is missing from a village. When they find that such and such a person is not there in the village, they do not weep. They say, 'well it is a part of sacrifice which we have to give.'" You have created an impression amongst those people that they are unwanted.

Now you want to solve the problem. You are making a joke out of it. You are belitting the whole nation, the whole people. You have released

a handful of Akalis, and now are raising a hue and cry that they do not talk to you, negotiate with you. Have you left them in a position to negotiate with you?

If you are sincere about it, you should have released the whole lot of them, in any case those people who mattered. I am sure, the hon. Home Minister probably knows that Sardar Prakash Singh Badal, the former Chief Minister of Punjab, and Sardar Gurcharan Singh Tohra are persons who matter. How much they are effective I cannot say. What is the gain that the hon. Home Minister felt would accrue to the Government or to the talks by keeping them in detention? What is the reason? If you have decided to release Mr. Talwandi, there is no reason why you should not release those people. You are saying that you must have a dialogue with whom? And who should have a dialogue with you? This is belittling them. It is challenging them.

And you know very well, Mr. Home Minister, that when matters reach such a pass, they are not settled through the radio and through the Press. You make statements in the press that the Akalis are not talking with you that they are not negotiating with you. It is not like this. Negotiations and talks are held across the table, not through the press. You have not created a climate where anybody could come and talk to you.

The Opposition parties at least could have been used. I do not say that the Opposition parties are representatives of nobody. But at least they are such that they have not lost their credibility. You could have made use of the leaders of the Opposition

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

parties in making the Akalis as well as other people come round to the table and negotiate and come to some workable solution. But, surely, you cannot associate these talks with what the extremists are doing in Punjab. The extremists must be handled in the toughest possible manner. No leniency should be shown to them. The law-and-order problem is the most important thing in Punjab. To that end we all lend our full support to the Government. No matter, the Government might have committed many blunders at so many points and places, but the law and order problem of the country is very dear to us and we will lend full support to you. We are prepared to help the Government in any manner to bring normalcy in Punjab. We know that the terrorists are isolated. They were punished. They were forced to abandon those places. Now, they cannot perpetuate terrorism in this country. We will definitely co-operate with you.

The Sikhs are smarting under an impression that they are being treated as second class citizens of this country. They are feeling that they are isolated, badly hit and grieved. They say that we are not looking them as equal partners in the travel of this country towards progress. The first and foremost duty of this Government is to see that this impression is removed completely. The Government should devise ways and means that they are no longer forgotten and neglected. They are afraid that they will not be accommodated in any services. Unless the Government eradicates this impression, I do not think, a climate can be created for resuming negotiations.

I read in the newspapers today that the Honourable Home Minister has

made a statement in the other House that the Cabinet Sub-Committee which was appointed would start touring the Punjab State in the first week of April, 1985. During the course of their visit they will take into the views of the people of Punjab, because no political party or any other leaders are there now. This Committee has no representative of any particular group or party. Indeed, I was astounded by such a statement. This Committee does not know anybody in Punjab. So, whatever information the officials provide to the computerised sub-committee they will listen. They cannot meet people freely, because there will be a security ring around these people. For the last one week again terrorists have created panic. In these circumstances, the team of the sub-committee cannot meet people. I do not know how they are going to ascertain the views of the people of Punjab. What will be the outcome of their visit? It will be a bluff to the whole nation. It is a way to bluff the people of Punjab. You cannot take the people for a ride. They have seen through you when this mischievous trend was started. I do not want to go into the details. When this mischievous step was started the Government was certainly at the bottom of it. Murders were committed. Nobody was arrested. There was a hit list with the terrorists. But the Government was not having any terrorists list in spite of their intelligence machinery at their command. The Government could not succeed even an inch in discovering the crimes in the Punjab State.

• One of our hon. Members Mr. Tiwari, was shot dead. The terrorists from their ran and escaped in a car and abandoned it somewhere in Ropar. The Government has got vans for patrolling streets and towns. They

have got walkie-talkie sets and wire-less sets but could not flash out the message to the Ropar police station that such and such people and car are wanted. I think it takes about 45 minutes from that part of Chandigarh to reach Ropar.

So, I am just trying to say: don't try to tell the nation that you suspect the Opposition, that they are interested in escalating the problem. We are not. Politics is politics. Here is the question of the integrity and unity of the country being at stake. Nobody has any difference on this; nobody has any different axe to grind. We are all interested in the unity and integrity of the country. You can take us for granted on this point. Whether it suits us or not, whether it may cause any advantage to you politically or not, we are prepared to sit with you just to see that the unity and integrity of this country is kept intact. You can utilise us. But you must come straight. You must be sincere. You must save everybody into confidence. Do not play tricks by releasing a handful of Akalis now and keeping the others in detention. What are you aiming at? I do not understand. And then you make statements that the Akalis do not condemn such and such action. You know it as a matter of fact that no Akali leaders have given a fillip to terrorist activities. You know it. Why do you want these statements? You must create a climate where they can talk to you, not that statements should be made and they should be put in the press and communicated to you and then you will issue another statement and it will be communicated to the Akalis and in this way you will create a climate of political advantage to you and leave the burning topic of Punjab. This is not the way. Mr. Minister. If you want to settle the Punjab problem, then you must keep in mind that the situation is ripe where, first of all, you must make up

your mind whether the Akali leaders are terrorists or not, whether the terrorists draw inspiration from the Akali leaders or not. If it be so, then these Akali leaders must be kept under detention. There is no other way out. But if you are convinced that these people have no links with the terrorists, that the terrorists are there in spite of these people, that these are the people who may be afraid of the terrorists and that the terrorists do not take orders from these people then in that situation, you should release all of them and allow them time to create conditions where they are in a position to come and talk to you and settle the various matters. In that respect. I can tell you, conceived as the Government may be, because it got a huge mandate in the last Lok Sabha elections, it has to talk with the Opposition on such matters. But if you will not talk with the Opposition, you will be missing a very opportune moment. And once you miss this opportunity, you will not get it again. So don't let the opportunity slip by. If you miss the bus now, I do not know what consequences are in store for us.

Therefore, while condemning with the greatest emphasis at my command the terrorists' acts in Punjab—nobody can support it—at the same time, I am suggesting to you, I am requesting you with folded hands: save Punjab. Don't put it into a crisis. Don't give excuses of the sub-committee touring Punjab. Don't try to fool the people by saying that you are trying to solve the problem by having the sub-committee tour the State. The Punjab issue cannot be solved by the sub-committee touring the State. (*Time-bell rings*) I am just concluding. If the Punjab problem can be solved, it can be solved by your exhibiting your full sincerity in the matter and not by trying to joke or to criticise or to create problems where there are none. Therefore, I would oppose this extension of Presi-

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

dent's rule because President's rule has brought no gains to you. The situation in Punjab has consistently deteriorated in spite of President's rule. A popular rule may help you in solving the problem. In any case, the law and order problem is the prerogative of the State. Therefore, I do not want that the Centre should for long meddle with the law and order problem of the State. It must be handed over back to the State. Therefore, President's rule should not be extended and in any case, elections should be held at the earliest in Punjab so that a popular Government can come in. I now come to the Budget. In fact, the Budget does not need much discussion because we have to pass it, we have to go through it and it actually pales into insignificance in front of the problem facing Punjab. I would request you once again to take courage, face the situation, get everybody round the table, we are all prepared to help you in solving this problem. The problem can be solved. It is not insurmountable.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

SHRI K. VASUDEVA PANICKER (Orissa): I am standing in support of the Resolution moved by the honourable Home Minister regarding extension of President's Rule in Punjab and Punjab Budget. The Punjab tangle has brought about a gloomy situation in India especially in agriculture and industry. Till a few years ago Punjab was producing possibly the maximum amount of wheat and other foodgrains and its production was so large that Punjab was contributing to national investment in the areas of agriculture and industry. Fortunately the people of Punjab, the State of Punjab as a whole, had taken up the responsibility and the leadership of bringing about the green revolution. Unfortunately today the old Punjab which was producing the maximum of wheat and other foodgrains, the same old Punjab which

was helping the process of transformation in the areas of agriculture and industry, is no more. So, the question before us is a question of rehabilitating the old Punjab in its proper place and situation.

For that purpose the nation has to contribute its own thought and the Government has also to take up the responsibility. There are certain people in this country, an insignificant and negligible minority, whose number you can count on your fingers, who are trying to create confusion, a misunderstanding, in the whole of India, to the effect that it is the Sikh community which has created the problem in Punjab. This is absolute falsehood because the Sikh community is a community which is an integral part of the Indian society, the Sikh community is a community which has contributed its might, its life for national rebuilding, the Sikh community whose members shed blood streams which drenched the land of India, they have shed their blood for defending India when we were attacked and humiliated by Pakistan, when we were attacked and humiliated by China and on so many other occasions. This is a community which has stood allthrough in history side by side with the other major communities, and with the other minor communities. The Sikhs in the villages of Punjab, the Hindus, the Muslims and other minor communities there are still living eating and sleeping as brothers. Nobody could till now come and poison the minds and hearts of the Sikh people in Punjab. The people in Punjab, including the Sikh community are an integral part of India and they will remain an integral part of India forever. Then what is the problem of Punjab. The problem of Punjab that we see is not the creation of any community, it is not the creation of any individual; it is the creation of certain forces, a conglomeration of certain forces, which have been trying to destabilise India which have been trying

to divide India, trying to cut India into pieces for the sake of their own interests. The very genesis 5 P.M. of the Punjab tangle or the very reason for the Punjab problem of today has to be traced to 1947 and 200 yeras ago because India was under the shackles and domination of foreign powers. Those people came to India two hundreds of years ago in order to capture India and establish their political sovereignty for the purpose of exploiting the people and plunder wealth of India. But after the freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose and other mighty leaders, they had to leave India in 1947. Once they were under compulsion to vacate from our land they said that though they were to go they would see that the same old exploiting forces would reappear in the coming years in a different form and destroy and divide India into pieces. They had taken this path and as a result that conspiracy to destroy India has now come into operation. They have prepared and encouraged certain reactionary and adventurist forces in Punjab in order to destabilise India and destroy the integrity and oneness of India.

In this context we have to understand the responsibility of the Congress Party and analyse their responsibility. The Congress Party, as a reponsible party, as the leading party which has created the Government of this country, has taken up the responsibility to solve the Punjab tangle. The late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi and her Government had called 26 meetings between 1981 and 1984 to find solution to this problem. Out of these, 10 meetings were tripartite meetings in which opposition party leaders, Akali leaders and Government participated. Out of the remaining 16 meetings, four were meetings in camera for the purpose of discussing and analysing the problem

and coming to the conclusion. It was the responsibility of the Government of India and the Congress Party to see that the Punjab tangle is resolved and normalcy brought into the State.

But my question is what is the contribution of the opposition parties including the BJP, the CPM and other national parties—they are not nationalist parties—in the matter of solving the problem of Punjab. I have to submit that the opposition parties which are clamouring for solution, which are crying and weeping in this House have never contributed towards the solution of the Punjab problem. On the other hand every step they have taken regarding the Punjab tangle aggrandized and activated the Akalis and dragged the Akali party into a corner from where they could not escape with the result that they had to take a position that hey got cut off from the mainstream of our national life. In 1977 my elder friend, Shri Advani's party which was then known as Jan Sangh joined the Government formed by Prakash Singh Badal in Punjab. Later, when Morarji Desai formed a Government at the Centre, the Akali Party participated in that Government from 1980 onwards. In these Governments the Jan Sangh was there, the DMKP was there. The Communists supported them. We have to understand that the Akali party has done no credit to the opposition parties. The opposition parties do not have the face to show before the Akalis for the simple reason that in 1973 when the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was made, these parties knew that the resolutions stood for a separate geopolitical identity. The contents of the resolution were simple. It was for the constitution of a separate geo-political identity meaning thereby Khalistan and nothing but Khalistan. When, in 1973, the Akali Party drafted and passed the Anandpur Sahib Resolution asking for a

[Shri K. Vasudeva Panicker]

separate identity, cut off from the mainstream of India, asking for a separate State, the CPM Party was supporting them and the BJP was supporting them and today's Mr. Charan Singh's DMKP was supporting them. All the parties were supporting them. Knowing that the BJP is standing for an 'Akhand Bharat' and who is not satisfied with the present India, but wants 'Akhand Bharat', and knowing that the Akalis were demanding that India be cut off into Khalistan and Hindustan, they were supporting them and they were hand in glove with the Akalis and supported... (Time bell rings)... that Government at that time. So, the threat is that, in the Indian context in the last many years, it is the Congress Party, under the leadership of the late Shrimati Indira Gandhi and it is the Congress Party under the leadership now of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi alone which is giving a lead and direction for finding a solution to the Punjab problem. I say this again it is not a problem of the Hindus and it is not a problem of the Sikhs. But it is a national problem which has so intimately affected the people of India and it is a problem which will affect the prestige and dignity of India. The question is whether India is to stand united, whether India is to maintain its oneness and whether India is to lead itself to the 21st century. For this purpose, we have to find a solution to the problem of Punjab. But the Akalis as also the Opposition parties are not prepared to come to a reasonable settlement within the four corners or within the four walls of the Constitution of India. (Time bell rings). This is the main problem. The Opposition parties and the Opposition leaders are not prepared to reconsider this question. The question is whether they are prepared to reconsider this question, with an open heart and with an open mind, to find a solution. If they are prepared to reconsider this ques-

tion in this manner, the problem will be solved and the Congress Party is ready for that. And it is for this purpose that Shri Rajiv Gandhi the Prime Minister, has unilaterally released the detenues. We are crying for a solution. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now Mr. Upendra.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I express, at the outset, my unhappiness that this House has to sit and approve the extension of the President's Rule in Punjab which is proof positive that the situation in the State has not returned to normalcy. It is a very unfortunate situation and it is very delicate situation also. Madam, nine-and-a-half months ago, when the "Operation Blue-Star" was launched, our party and our leader, Shri Rama Rao, were the only exceptions in the chorus of support given to the operation. Even friends on this side were enthusiastic that the action was justified and that it would solve the problem for ever. Today, I can dare ask my friends on this side and also on the other side whether they honestly feel that after 9½ months they were able to solve the Punjab problem with that operation. We were then called anti-national and we were in those days called unpatriotic and our leader was derided. But if you were able to solve the Punjab problem through that operation, there would not have been any necessity today for us to discuss the subject again and to extend the President's Rule in Punjab. It is very clear that you have failed in solving the problem even though such a dramatic action was taken. We only said at that time that the action would not solve the problem, but would aggravate the problem. We never supported the extremists, and we condemned the extremists' action. We condemned the vacillation of the Akalis also. But we were very positive that that action would not

lead to a solution, but would, instead, aggravate the situation which it did. In your attempt to flush out a few hundred extremists, you were successful in alienating nearly 14 million people of the Sikh community, a community which has played such a vital role in the defence of this country for decades. You speak to any Sikh today and you will find that he is burning in his heart with indignation and with humiliation. What have you done to heal up these wounds? Have you done anything during all these months to assuage their feelings? Nothing at all. Instead I am shocked and surprised that during the recent awards for bravery, as many as 5 Ashok Chakras and 84 Shaurya Chakras were awarded to the participants in the Blue Star Operation. I do not see any bravery in killing your own people. I do not know whose brain wave it was. If it is Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao's idea, I must say that he bungled enough in the Home Ministry and is now bungling in the Defence Ministry causing fresh problem for the Home Minister. I should not bring in the name of the President. But, as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, he should have refused to give those awards. These are the awards given to the people who show exemplary bravery in war and other operations and not in operations against your own people, against temples or against sacred institutions. It is very unfortunate that such awards were given and accepted. I must say that this only added salt to the wounds of the Sikh community which is unfortunate and should be condemned by all.

Madam, the Prime Minister has taken some positive steps to solve this problem. He has released some of the Akali leaders. I do not know why some of them are still kept in jail. Those who are kept in jail are known for their moderate views. Why are they not being released in spite of the

repeated demands from all sections? It is well known that unless these two important Akali leaders are also released, they cannot come to the negotiating table. If you are serious about the settlement of the problem, you should release all the leaders, allow them to discuss among themselves and then come to you for discussion. This is another point that the Home Minister has to reply to.

Madam, the solution to this Punjab problem was there for all to see. An agreement was ready which was about to be signed. A plane was kept ready to bring the leaders for signatures. It was called off at that stage. Therefore, there is nothing new to be done. The solution is there already. The blueprint for a solution is there. We have only to pick up the threads. If the Government is genuine in its desire to solve the problem, they can start the negotiations quickly. There is no point in putting pre-conditions, whether they are about Anandpur Sahib Resolution or something else.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: These conditions are from their side

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I do not think the pre-conditions are desirable from either side. Some are talking about Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Shri Darbara Singh knows very well that there were two resolutions, one was of 1973 and another of 1978. People are only harping on the earlier resolution where they committed a mistake by including certain unpatriotic demands. Now, they have revised those demands.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: I am sorry to say that in 1978 they have endorsed the resolution of 1973.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: They did not endorse.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: I think you should go through it again.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: They have only said: With reference to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, we are passing this resolution. They did not say that they were endorsing the earlier resolution. Otherwise, there was no need for another resolution. I have got the document. I can read it.

Madam, negotiations should be started immediately with the Akalis. Extraneous issues should not be brought into the picture. I find that there have been some feelers from the ruling party side and some Chief Ministers—Mr. Bhajan Lal and other leaders are talking about the reunification of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, trying to put the clock back. This solution is not workable. It is impracticable. It will lead to further delay in bringing about a solution to this problem. People will not accept it. The States have been reorganised on linguistic basis. You cannot go back on this principle. There is no point in continuing with such a proposal.

I also feel that the time has come to restore popular rule in Punjab. In fact, inspite of my differences with Mr. Darbara Singh, I think he is a good administrator and probably he would have been more useful than Mr. Satarawala or Mr. Arjun Singh who has recently been sent there. Perhaps he would have been able to heal the wounds and solve the problem. Sending these Governors one after the other would not solve the problem in any manner.

Madam, I have just attended a meeting of the Sikhs in Boat Club, and really they are breathing with indignation, and a sense of injustice is borne by them. They have a very legitimate demand and they are asking for judicial inquiry into the November riots here. Though this is remotely connected with the Punjab problem,

probably this is inter-linked. Therefore, there is no harm in agreeing to that demand because several independent agencies have conducted inquiries and they have indicted very senior leaders of the Congress Party with complicity in the November riots. Therefore, it is very necessary or rather all the more necessary for the ruling party to order a judicial inquiry into these incidents that happened in Delhi and other States. And if they feel that the events in Punjab prior to the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi had also to be enquired into, then very well they can do it and there is no harm in doing that. But on that account, they should not refuse a judicial inquiry into the events which have occurred in Delhi and other States in November last.

With these few words I oppose the extension of the President's rule in Punjab. I demand restoration of popular rule as early as possible.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri H. L. Kapur—not here. Shri Kalyanasundaram to speak.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, those who value the cause of national unity and security of the country would feel very much concerned about the happenings in Punjab even now. Even a few days ago, a BJP leader was killed in the capital city of Chandigarh. In this House, we were listening to two speeches by two prominent Sikhs—one is Mr. Darbara Singh and the other is Mr. Khushwant Singh. To me both of them appear to be very good Sikhs and also good Indians. But in their views, why

should they differ so much. I do not know. Mr. Khushwant Singh made a very moving plea for creating congenial atmosphere and to heal the feelings of the Sikh community. And Mr. Khushwant Singh is not the one who will support either directly or indirectly the terrorists—(Interruptions) I have known Mr. Darbara Singh very closely for some time. He is a good nationalist. And it is unfortunate that he was removed from that State. It is the Congress Party's inner politics. And the effort to woo one section against the other aggravated the situation. I do not say that this is the main reason. But it aggravated. When we have to win over the Akalis and isolate the terrorists, even now the effort should be to mobilise all the forces who believe in national unity and who believe that Sikhs are a community, a part of India and not a nation. Sikhs are not a separate nation. We should reject the theory of creating a nation on the basis of religion, whether Sikhs, Muslim, Hindu or Christian. We may have regional and linguistic differences. But as Indians, we are one. That feeling should be there. But what is happening now? We can go on criticising the Congress leaders for their sins, and the congress party for its sins. Similarly, the people can oppose the Akali Dal leaders for their actions. Both of them are guilty for not taking a proper attitude at the right time, i.e., earlier than 1978. But now what is to be done? Don't think that the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Delhi incidents are separate incidents unconnected with the Khalistani terrorist activities from outside. It is a pity that in none of the speeches which I heard in this House today there is any reference to the foreign hand which is instigating and that makes the solution very difficult. If

the Sikhs were free to act on their own, I do not think that things would have come to this pass. Why do we hide the foreign hand? I blame the Congress party. Do you think that the Congress leaders alone can discharge the duty in this national task? That is how we create difficulties. Whether it is Assam, or Kashmir or Punjab. The Congress men think that they alone can do it, that they are the only patriots. There are patriots who suffered for this country more than any Congress men who are here today. Why don't you take all of us into confidence? The opposition parties should be taken into confidence. True, do not blame all the opposition parties in one lump.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): We suffered the British Jails... (Interruptions).

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Madam, I am not well. I request my friends not to interrupt me. It is very difficult for me to talk.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt. He is not well.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Madam, It is true that the opposition parties tried to cultivate the Akali leaders but not for political gain. We have been repeatedly saying that the opposition parties are not doing it for electoral alliance. It was meant to bring about a consensus about national unity. It is in that spirit that some of the opposition parties approached the Akali leaders also and tried to persuade them to get away from the famous Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which states that Sikhs are a separate community. Whether it is based on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution or reiteration of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, it is all quibbling in words. So long as these conditions are there, the

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

Sikhs have been fed with the idea that the Centre in Delhi is a conceptual myth. Do we recognise that whether it is Rajiv Gandhi or Indira Gandhi or Morarji Desai or somebody else tomorrow who is the Prime Minister, we all have to recognise him. Just because I do not agree with him, can I refuse to recognise him or his Government. India is a large country where there are so many communities. It is natural for so many communities to have grievances about their communities, regions, religious practices. It is natural because we have inhabited a country which was ruled by aliens for 150 years, who thrived only on divide and rule. Now what should be done? We should think about how to bring about a political solution. It partly rests with the leaders of the Akali Dal also. I do not say that the Government has done everything it has to. There is the Government and the Prime Minister. You know very well under what circumstances he had to take over. He lost his mother; the country lost its Prime Minister and we were all agitated. It was not an ordinary case of killing or an ordinary case of assassination. It was attack on the entire Indian nation. The whole world was moved. And in that background, he took over and tries to solve the problem. But difficulties are many. It is not so easy to solve them. On behalf of my party, a delegation today met the Prime Minister in the afternoon led by our party General Secretary, Comrade C. Rajeswara Rao and Comrade Indrajit Gupta, leader of our party group in Lok Sabha. We made certain proposals. We have stated in that memorandum that steps he has taken are in the positive direction, that is, release of some leaders and the announcement which he made in Hussaini-

wala, and promised about the Integral Coach Factory. In fact, I should feel sorry about it; but I am prepared to agree. It was to be located in Tiruchirapalli or somewhere in Tirupati, near Madras. He has suddenly promised it now. If that can bring the Sikhs into the national mainstream, let them have it; not one, but any number of factories. Mr. Khushwant Singh was very much concerned about the Sikh youth who are educated unemployed. I don't know whether Mr. Khushwant Singh has visited any of the public sector plants in other parts of the country. Mr. Khushwant Singh, I want to inform you that 15 to 30 per cent of non-Tamils are in every public sector plant in the South, whether it is Avadi defence factory or BHEL factory or Manali fertilizer factory. I see a lot of young Sikhs working there. The whole of India is open to Sikh community; whole of India is open to Sikh youths, not the small patch of Punjab alone. Why should we take a narrow view of it? Who is creating these difficulties? I am only quoting some instances. Is that the main cause? If economic reason was the main cause, things should have been different. The solution would have been easier. Every time you give certain things, the demand drifts or shifts.

Prime Minister has said about the package deal. That is all the demands should be settled in one lump, within the framework of the Constitution. What is wrong about it? He has categorically stated that all demands should be settled in one lump, at one time, and not piecemeal, within the framework of the Constitution. Yesterday, our Home Minister, Mr. Chavan also made a conciliatory and persuasive speech in Lok Sabha. He offered to examine cases of all others against whom there are no serious charges

to review such cases for release. But action must be swift. It is not enough to say things alone; the nation is watching your actions; you may displease or please the Sikhs but you are answerable to the whole nation. If Punjab goes, what will happen to the country? Punjab is not a problem of Punjab or Congress party or Akali Dal; it is a problem of the entire Indian nation. It is a border State. Similarly is Kashmir. Now, the threat is spreading in the South also when we see what is happening in Rameswaram and other coastal areas. So it is not the Congress affair alone.

I have some suggestions to make. They are more or less contained in the memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister today. About demand for enquiry into Delhi riots, Delhi riots did not take place abruptly. Delhi is linked with assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi which is linked with Operation Blue Star. When these questions are raised, it becomes clear. Blue Star operation was inevitable. Just as we say today, that extension of President's Rule is inevitable, that time, every one of us most of us at least, agreed that this was inevitable. This was not a happy thing. Nobody had the illusion that Blue Star operation will be the final solution. We all knew that further steps should be taken.

Therefore, in regard to this demand, I would urge upon the Government to immediately appoint a commission of enquiry on the Delhi riots because there are allegations against the Congress. There are allegations against the R.S.S. There are allegations against some political parties. Therefore, let us know what it is. Who are responsible? The Congressmen may say that they are above all these

charges. But I know many of the names. But I do not want to provoke anybody at this stage. A Commission of enquiry should be appointed to go into the causes of these riots and identify those who are responsible for it and punish the guilty. But this should not be confined to the Delhi riots alone, because it is connected with the assassination of the Late Prime Minister; it should include the Rajasthan terrorist operation and the whole of Punjab. In the humble opinion of my Party, the enquiry should cover all these things; if possible, from 1978 when the first mass terrorist action took place. It was the beginning; 1978. Nobody has a right to kill anybody due to political differences in this country. If you appoint a commission of enquiry, this will satisfy the Akali leaders and other Sikh organisations also, who have raised this demand. (Time bell rings)

Two minutes more and I will conclude. This is such an emotional issue. I am not able to speak without referring to my notes.

Then, with regard to the maintenance of law and order, true; the Home Minister has said that the role of the Army will be receding gradually. It is not our suggestion that you should withdraw the Army immediately. This may not be possible. But the role of the Army, to deal with the law and order problems, should be restricted to only those situations, when any danger occurs.

There is another important thing. The Prime Minister has dissociated himself with that demand in regard to the merger of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and what not. The person who has made such a statement is not an ordinary person. He is the Chief Minister of a State, Haryana.

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

He has been a controversial person. He should not speak like that. Will it not provoke the people of Punjab; whether it is Sikhs or Hindus? What is this merger? Does it not imply creating a Hindu majority State? Does it not imply the isolation of the Sikhs? This is what Jayewardene is doing? This is what is being done in Sri Lanka by Jayewardene. He is shifting all the Sinhalese to the Tamil areas, destroying the Tamils. This is a very malicious demand. I would ask the Home Minister, both at the political level and at the administrative level, to tell the Chief Minister of Haryana to desist from making such malicious statements.

Now, about the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The Prime Minister has taken a conciliatory attitude. He has not demanded that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution should be withdrawn 'Sikhs as a nation' contained in it should be withdrawn. Other issues connected with Centre-State relations can be referred to the Sarkaria Commission and the Akali leaders can make their submissions to the Sarkaria Commission, which will examine them and expedite its decision, with particular reference to Punjab and its special issues requiring immediate attention, as in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, because this is also a sensitive border State. The terms of the Sarkaria Commission can be modified to satisfy the Sikhs, not basically but to that extent, in regard to Centre-State relations.

About the economic situation, don't go by the budget prepared by some administrators. The availability of funds required for economic development of the State should not depend on the package settlement. Let it take its own course, but the economic projects should be immediately started. Whether it is the question of river waters or construction of their

dam or location of some factories, all these works should be started immediately to give confidence to the people of Punjab, whether they are the Sikhs or the Hindus. This will show that the Central Government is earnest and serious about reaching a settlement.

At the same time, I will appeal to the Government to take the help of the opposing parties to bring about a change in the attitude of the Akali leaders. I hope the Government will take speedy action to release others also, I do not want to mention their names. As many as possible should be released so that they can sit together, consult and create a condition for a peaceful settlement. A settlement is necessary but that settlement will be possible if Akali leaders also took the initiative and responded. There is, however, some disappointing and disquieting news coming from the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. It has passed a resolution demanding that all the army men who entered the Golden Temple on June 5, should be declared as traitors. What does it mean? Similarly, it says that those who deserted the army should be honoured. I can understand their demand with regard to relief for those victims, that is right, there should be no hesitation to accept that demand. But to demand like this, does it show any change of heart in favour of unity or change of heart towards Khalistani terrorism? It is Khalistani terrorism, not an ordinary terrorism, they have a particular aim. So, what is the attitude of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee?

Yesterday a mention was made by some Members and today also I think Mr. Darbara Singh pointed out that they have allotted a fund of Rs. 2.5 lakhs. It may be a small amount, but for what purpose is it allotted? It is allotted for the nefarious purpose of giving arms. How can we, as a nation tolerate this? Do

they want to terrorise one particular political party to reach a settlement conceding their un-reasonable demands? The nation will not tolerate it. It is the nation's issue, not of a particular political party or a particular Government. So, I will appeal to the Akali leaders and the SGPC leaders to re-think, take this opportunity, and the opposing parties and the nation will be with them. Whatever may be the intransigence or the attitude of the Government, they may think that you are the vanquished and they are the victor, but that attitude is very dangerous. Today they may be vanquished, but don't think they are in a small minority. They are a powerful community and a powerful minority. So, I will appeal to the Government and also to the Akali leaders to try to take the help of opposition parties. They must also take the help of all those opposition parties who are pledged to safeguard the unity and security of the country so that the problem can be contained. Even if you are not able to settle it immediately, at least it should be contained. Some truce must be there. The problem should not be allowed to escalate. The dangerous possibility is both in words and deeds. There is a tendency to escalate. This is neither good for the country nor for the Government nor for the Akali leaders. Therefore, I appeal to all the Akali leaders, on behalf of my party, to take a serious view about the future of this country, future of their own community and of their State and try to respond to the call of the Prime Minister. Thank you, Madam. I am sorry, I have taken some more time.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, days were there when Sikh youth participated in national sports and games and came out with flying colours. They were greeted and applauded throughout by all sections. Days were there when Bhangra dance conducted in the

cultural festivals was welcomed by all sections. Days were there when the enemy cannons roared in the North-west frontier and brave Sikhs shed their blood. Their valour and sacrifice was honoured and greeted by all sections throughout. Days were there when Sikhs participated in the festivals of Hindus and Hindus participated in the festivals of Sikhs. In every Hindu family there were some Sikhs also. Gone are those days. Now in every household of Sikh community there is nothing but anger, there is nothing but anguish, there is nothing but distrust, there is nothing but deep sorrow. And Hindus are migrating from Punjab, coming out of Punjab, and Sikhs are migrating towards Punjab. This is going on. And my friend, Mr. Mohunta has said that in the countryside they are wearing saffron turbans and they are for some sacrifice.

On the eve of the December poll, there was a message from the Congress platform: "Don't support the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The opposition parties are supporting the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and they want to divide the country. There are sessionist forces and Opposition is supporting the sectarian forces". There is a press release of the Sikh Forum which has appeared in the Indian Express: "Here is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution". If some portions are objected to by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and by Mr. Darbara Singh, why don't you give a press release, "these are the objectionable portions of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution?" As far as the demand for more powers for States is concerned, as far as the demand for States autonomy is concerned, I belong to a party which whole heartedly supports the Resolution. Mr. Panicker has stated in his speech that there is a demand in the

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

Anandpur Sahib Resolution for separate identity of the community. What is wrong in it? The originality of the different ethnic groups of the different cultural groups of the different linguistic groups, of the different racial groups should be maintained.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: Do you accept that there should be a separate nation and separate constitution for the Sikhs?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: No, not separate nation, Mr. Darbara Singh. According to Marxist philosophy there are different nationalities in this country. So I am not for a different nation. But when they want to maintain their own identity, what is wrong in it? I am for it. If you call me anti-national I am prepared to welcome that I am for a separate identity of my own culture, of my own ethnic pace, of my own language, of my own linguistic entity. What is wrong in it?

You stated that unless they withdraw the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, there will be no more talks. You have bungled. You have now Dunkired. You have been issuing contradictory statements. You have been issuing a statement on a platform and coming to Parliament House and giving a contradictory version. And what happens? A sense of alienation, a sense of isolation is setting in throughout the Sikh community. Don't shut your eyes to realities. Try to see the writing on the wall.

Whenever attacks came from the north-west, Punjab was the buffer. They shed their blood; they were in the front line. Now you have lost your grip on the north-east, you have lost your grip on Kashmir and

you are losing your grip on Punjab. This is a danger signal. Why is this sense of alienation, this sense of isolation setting in? Who are the guilty?

AN HON. MEMBER: The Akalis.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Not the Akalis, there is a different story, mister. Please listen. All of you have spoken, I am the last speaker (*Interruptions*)... You have to listen to me. Who are the guilty? What happened in the aftermath of the sad assassination of Madam Gandhi? Rampage, unprecedented rampage. By whom? By vandals, by thugs, by hooligans, the hooligans swooped on every Sikh household, maiming, killing, raping, molesting and what not. Under the very nose of the Central Government, for three consecutive days and three consecutive nights it was going on. What was the police doing? They were idle spectators. What was the Army doing? They were not given the powers to handle the situation. This has come out. You are not prepared to order any judicial inquiry. This is a report by the People's Union for Democratic Rights and the People's Union for Civil Liberties. Who are the guilty?

My hon. friends from the Treasury Benches should not get shocked and surprised to hear that this is a dark chapter about the Congress (I) Party. This is by an eminent Jurist and here is a report. I quote from the *Indian Express* dated 17th March. Under the caption. *The time has come...* Mr. M. V. Kamath writes:—

"A Citizens' Commission composed, if you please, of such eminent men as former Supreme

Court Chief Justice, Sikri, former Foreign Secretary and UN negotiator, Rajeshwar Dayal, former Ambassador and Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, Badruddin Tyabji, former Governor, Govind Narain and former Home Secretary Srinivasa Varadhan, having taken its own independent evidence, has made this observation.

'Many who came forward to relate their experiences and provide eye-witness accounts to the Commission, have specifically and repeatedly named certain political leaders belonging to the ruling party. These included several MPs in the outgoing Parliament, members of the Delhi Metropolitan Council and members of the municipal corporation, Scores of political functionaries in local areas or blocks and area *pradhans* were also named. They have been accused of having instigated the violence, making arrangements for the supply of kerosene and other inflammable material and of identifying the houses of Sikhs. Some of them have also been accused of interceding with the authorities to obtain the release of their followers who had been arrested for various crimes.'

People were burnt alive after pouring kerosene on them—innocent Sikhs. Whoever commits a murder, I condemn it; I condemn violence. Mr. Manchanda, the BJP leader, was killed the other day. I share the grief of his widow and her children. I condemn those terrorists. They do not deserve to live in a civilized society.

I would say. But the same vandalism was committed in Delhi against innocent

Sikhs. By whom? By Congress(I) VIPs and functionaries. ... (Interruptions)... This is the report. ... (Interruptions)... This is the report which has reached the door of every Parliament Member—that the vandalism, the rampage, was done by the Congress(I) functionaries in Delhi. This is the report. This is the report of the inquiry commission. For three days and nights it was done. ... (Interruptions)... You are responsible; you are responsible... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
Why don't you order a judicial inquiry? ... (Interruptions)... If names are mentioned, go for a judicial inquiry.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Rajiv Gandhi—Mr. Clean—is not prepared for a judicial inquiry. That is why you are not prepared to order a judicial inquiry. ... (Interruptions)... You are responsible. The Congress (I) is responsible for the rampage for three days and three nights in Delhi. It is written here. I don't want to name them. But names are given; MPs' names are given in the report. They don't belong to the opposition parties. The persons do not belong to the opposition parties. They are not politicians. They are Judges, eminent Jurists who have given the report. You were responsible.

Madam Deputy Chairman, when Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated, some rumours were spread that a Muslim had committed the crime. Immediately there were clashes. What happened, you know. Immediately, all the political leaders were invited to make a call to the public to bring peace, to bring amity, to bring harmony between the communities. Even our late Periyar and Anna were invited to make a broadcast over the radio. What happened now? For three days and nights what was going on? Innocent Sikhs, women, children, kids were burnt alive. This has happened. You are laughing when I describe the horrors. But the history is going to laugh at you. You are going to lose

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

Punjab, I warn you. You are going to lose Punjab, I warn you. You are laughing. How much they would have cried, the innocent widows, the innocent children...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you wind up.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: ... when they lost their bread-winners. In Delhi it took place. It did not take place in a remote, dark corner of Africa. But it took place in the capital city of India. This is the report. If you have any guts and courage, you order a judicial enquiry.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: Have you ever noticed what happened in Amritsar?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I condemn the killings. Whenever a killing is committed by anybody, I condemn it. I condemn the killing and the terrorist activities. But the same terrorism was committed by the ruling Congress Party in Delhi. (*Interruptions*) I condemn the terrorists. Equally I condemn the terrorism committed by the Congress (I) party in Delhi under the very nose of the Government for three consecutive days. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Why do you not have a judicial enquiry?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Arora led the troops towards Dhaka ... (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is really shameful on the part of those belonging to the organisation of Mahatma Gandhi to conceal it. Let them have a judicial enquiry.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: There should be a judicial enquiry by a Supreme Court Judge. Are you prepared to take the challenge? You order a judicial enquiry by a Supreme Court Judge.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you do not wind up your speech immediately, I will order that you will not go on record.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The N.S.A. provisions have been violated in Punjab. I quote from the "INDIAN EXPRESS" dated March...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am concluding within two minutes. These N.S.A. provisions have been violated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक: (उत्तर प्रदेश): मेरा व्यक्ती का प्रश्न है। वह यह कि एक पटिकुल रिपोर्ट कोड की गई है। आप जानते हैं, वह रिपोर्ट क्या है? चेयर को क्या वह दिखाई गई है... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: If you are interested, you take the report from me. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Let him make the point of order.

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक: मेरी आपत्ति यह है कि कोई डाक्यूमेंट बिना चेयर को पहले दिखाये, बिना चेयर की सेटिस्फिकेशन के सदन के पटल पर नहीं रखा जा सकता।... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This is not a report by any mean politician. This is a report by Judges.

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक: यह कोई ऐसा डाक्यूमेंट नहीं है। मैंने इसको पढ़ा है। इसका लिखते वालों को यह भी तमीज नहीं है। उनको वाल्मिकी और भगी विरादरी का फर्क मालूम नहीं है। उन्होंने लिखा है जगजीवन राम के संबंधी वाल्मिकी होते हैं और भगी उनके

खिलाफ होते हैं। ऐसा लिखा है।
इतनी बेसिक जानकारी भी उनको नहीं
है... (व्यवधान)... बिना आपको दिखाये
कोई रिपोर्ट सदन में कोई नहीं कर सकते
हैं।

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: We
want a ruling on that point of order. He
has forgotten the rules.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.
Gopalsamy, you have taken more time
than allowed to you. You please wind it
up without any reading, without any quot-
ing.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This is a
pertinent point regarding N.S.A.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.
Gopalsamy you cannot quote unofficial
records.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Why he
should not quote... (Interruptions) You
show me your ruling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He should
wind up. This is my ruling. You can see
the records.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
We want to know whether we should quote
this or not.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: We
want a ruling whether unofficial records
should be quoted on the floor of the House
or not. In the morning, how Mr. V. P.
Singh has quoted so many unofficial re-
cords.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: N.S.A. provi-
sion has been totally violated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may
please wind up.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will take
only two minutes.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West
Bengal): Madam, I understand your ruling
has been to ask Mr. Gopalsamy to sit
down... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are not
the Deputy Chairman to give the ruling.
I know how to respect the Chair. Let
the Deputy Chairman tell me to sit down,
I will take my seat. But you cannot de-
cide it. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let the
Home Minister reply. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am waiting
for his reply. Madam, before I conclude,
I want to make these demands to the
Government.

They should have courage to order a
judicial enquiry by a Supreme Court Judge.
The Government should release all the
detenus immediately. Ootherwise... (In-
terruptions)... The guilty are sitting that
side.

SHRI DEVA PRASAD RAY: Madam.
I am challenging him, let him prove that
even a single Congressman was associat-
ed with Delhi riots.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You read the
report.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Mur-
lidhar Chandrakant Bhandare.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT
BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Madam, De-
puty Chairman, I think this is an occa-
sion when we should try to leave out
passions out of our debate, because this
is a too serious a problem which can
neither be clouded by passion nor begged
down by any fervent fervour or bias for
or against one party or the other. One
must realise that this is a problem which
is going to face the country for quite some
time to come. And unless we are ex-
tremely responsible and responsive to the
sensitive nature of the problem, we will
be failing in our duty particularly to this
House and also to the nation. But this
problem must now be looked at in the
back drop of certain very, very important
landmarks in the history of our country.
Those three landmarks are: (1) The Blue

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

Star Operation of June, 1984; (2) the dastardly assassination of our revered leader Indiraji on 31st October, and (3) a free democratic elections of December, 1984. Because today the people of our country have given a definite mandate to this Government and also to everybody in this House as to how this burning problem can be solved. If we do not solve this problem, in the light shown to us by our sagacious, democratic and freedom loving people to maintain the unity and integrity of this country, we will be guilty of great breach of faith which the people have placed in us. Therefore, I am pained when insinuations are made from the other side. Baseless allegations are made.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Not by me.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am coming to you. If any Member has tried to bring in lot of passions, I do not know for what. I mean, by putting Lanka on fire he is trying to get something here. The point which I am making is that the matter on which the right hon. Member, Mr. Gopalsamy has made his speech is not correct. In fact, I must pay my compliment to a maiden speech by Mr. Shantomoy Ghosh for the reason which he brought—for the sobriety and the forthrightness which he brought in his speech. It was so constructive that I think we could take a lead from the hon. Member who has made his maiden speech in the House today.

Now, therefore, three or four things must be kept in mind. The first and foremost...

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: Mr. Gopalsamy also deserves to be congratulated.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I will come to him later.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: The first and foremost thing is that the solution must be such as will not only preserve but promote and enhance the unity and integrity of the country. We have proved ourselves not only to be the largest but, I believe, the best democracy and anything which tries to affect that rule of law, that basic structure of democracy must be put down with an iron hand. And if we fail in that, we will be letting down our people.

The second thing is that there is no room for making ad hoc adjustments on this point. I am not saying that the Government should not be flexible. We should have a flexible attitude because in the very nature of things, this problem has to be solved through discussions, this has to be solved through adjustments, this has to be solved through compromises. Therefore, it will not pay any party to take a very rigid and unalterable stand. If this is to be done, then I would say that we must eschew all those things which will be a threat and danger to the democratic process of settling the issue by bilateral negotiations. One clearly sees what is in the air. You just see how it happens. The young, dynamic Prime Minister made a promise to the people that he would do everything within his power to solve this problem. The first thing he has done is that he has appointed a committee of the senior-most Ministers. That committee—I have read from the papers, and the hon. Home Minister has also said it—is going to tour the whole of Punjab to build up a climate of confidence. Then the Prime Minister himself visited Punjab and made certain economic concessions, which will go to show that whatever may have happened in Punjab, our Government is not going to hold it against that State, but it wants to see that the State gains prosperity and develops further and further. And I must say that we are proud of the Sikhs because they are the brave ones, they are the gallant

ones. And to me who comes from Bombay, a mini India, which finds no difference between a Hindu, a Sikh, a Muslim, a Jew and a Parsi, to me the care-free nature of a Sikh, a Sardarji himself telling Sardarji jokes, is ever a matter of joy as well as pride. Therefore, it pains us when we look at the divide between the two communities. I think only a secular party, a democratic party, a socialist party like the Congress can really bring about a union on the more sound footing of secularism.

The second point — the first is about unity and integrity — is upholding democratic principles. Therefore, the solution must be by negotiations and any act of terrorism must be firmly put down. And when we are creating a situation for dialogue by the release of Mr. Longowal and others, with a promise of further release in the near future, what do you find? One of them just goes and presses the bell at Mr. Manchanda's door and when he opens the door, he is shot down. This is a deliberate attempt to see that the door of negotiations is bolted once and for all. And if this is the climate which any party is going to create, which any party is going to tolerate, which any party is going to support or connive at, then I think we should refuse to negotiate with such a party. They must accept the basic principles for which our country stands for which our people stand. This is the second aspect of the matter.

The third aspect of the matter is that this is no time for piecemeal concessions. I have listened to Mr. Khushwant Singh. He is not here at the moment. He himself says in every speech, and I have got extracts of all his speeches, to point out that even he does not know just what the Akalis want. The Akalis have placed themselves in a position where (a) they are not united, and (b) even if they are united, they are not agreed upon many of the things which are necessary for a right and just solution of the problem.

Therefore, my third appeal to the Government is that no piecemeal negotiation will help, let us have once and for all a package deal which will settle all the outstanding issues, whether they be territorial, whether they be economic, whether they relate to water dispute, whether they relate to some of the fringe religious demands which are still there. Let us solve them one and all, once and for all. This is the next point I am making.

As has been rightly impressed on this House by someone for whose secular views I have the greatest esteem, Sardar Darbara Singh, I think we must end this politics of religion. We in our country who pose to be secular, will not permit this politics of religion to come in, and the seeds—what seeds! it is a big tree now; it has grown into a poisonous and venomous tree now—must be smashed. You find the provision in the budget of the Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Samiti apparently of lakhs, but hidders of crores, for military training and if we are going to shut our eyes to all these things, then I think we are again going to miss the bus and our fellow citizens will not pardon us for ignoring this stark reality which is facing us. These are the few things which I wanted to say.

There is something which has been said about what happened on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of November. On the 31st October nothing much happened; only a few cars were burnt but nobody was really hurt. I must say I as an Indian hang my head in shame when I think of those occurrences and I don't think any Congressman will have any different feeling on that point. All that I can say is that we must see and we must try to see that these things are not repeated ever in our country. I cannot forget that with the corpse of his mother on one shoulder, the young Prime Minister shouldered this great burden of misery when the whole of Delhi was set afire; he went out before the funeral of his mother, visited the sites, brought in military, and I don't think anybody else in any other country could have

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

succeeded in putting down this sort of carnage in such a record time as our young Prime Minister achieved this, and full tributes must be given to him for that. Of course, people go on making this demand or that demand. I do not want to say anything on that. I can produce any report. Let them not pay too much attention to this because I come from a city where occasionally these things happen, even worse things happen. (Interruption) I can tell you in 1969 we had the Bhiwandi riots. Madam, you know of it. And we had a commission of inquiry appointed. Justice Madon, then Judge of the High Court and later Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and now a Judge of the Supreme Court, presided over that commission and after three years the report came. Nothing happened. Then we had recently Bhiwandi riots again. I myself and you, Madam Deputy Chairman, worked day and night during those days and yet we have not appointed a commission of inquiry for those riots. Therefore, I do not think that unless you appoint a commission of inquiry you get the truth. May be I am told that there are some names mentioned. I do not know whether it is true or false. Whatever it is, they have been returned with such an overwhelming majority in the election. The people have tried them and given them a clean chit...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Not all of them have contested elections.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: The person whose name has appeared has contested and got a majority even beyond my imagination. The point I am making is that I am not against any judicial enquiry... (Interruptions).

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Is majority the criterion?

SHRI P. BABUL REDDY: In Andhra Pradesh your party was defeated. Therefore, the people there are against you?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, I want your protection. I did not interrupt them when they were speaking.

These names have been quoted by the peoples court and their is no use shutting your eyes to that. I am not against the Commission of Inquiry. But it has a limited effect. I do not know how far this demand for a judicial enquiry is really a *bona fide* one. Are they not providing another tool to foment an atmosphere of uncertainty or to foment an atmosphere even of hatred among different communities? I am not against finding out the truth. I said in the beginning that I hang my head in shame. If you feel that you need truth to be found out... (Interruptions). I think you have some perverse joy in churning and re-churning...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are perverse in your ideas; that is why you are against any judicial enquiry.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, it may appear to be rather odd and strange. But I must put it on record. We have had so many communal riots, whether they are in Bombay or in U.P. or elsewhere. Has any man gone to jail after the report of the commission of inquiry or after a trial? The trial goes on for two or three years. Once the wounds have healed and scars have disappeared, there is always a genuine danger that the wounds will again fester, if something of that kind is done. I am not against punishing the guilty. You do it swiftly if you can. All these things, after a while, are forgotten and it is not desirable to rake up the past. Let us not rake up the past. Let us try to build up an India which is free from communal hatred. This is a psychological problem. My Sikh friends are today in a psychological trauma. I do not think we will be serving their cause either by repeating these things.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: In Delhi it was not a communal clash or communal riot. Everybody knows that.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am deeply grateful to the Hon'ble Member. Then the whole report is wrong.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: What happened in Delhi was instigated by political elements with a political motive. They used communal elements for the purpose... (Interruptions).

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDAKANT BHANDARE: I am glad that you say this because by saying this the Hon'ble Member has exposed himself and all his colleagues... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: Those communal elements are in your party... (Interruptions)

SHRI K. MOHANAN: They are on your side... (Interruptions).

It is your part only and it is there in the Report. (Interruptions) It is your party which has instigated it. (Interruptions)** (Interruptions) Why are you shouting like that? (Interruptions) You**. (Interruptions)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: I will continue to shout like this. (Interruptions) I will continue to** ** (Interruptions).

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Yesterday also you behaved like this. (Interruptions)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: What do you think of yourself? (Interruptions) Don't shout here. (Interruptions) You cannot talk like that.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, may I say... (Interruptions)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: Madam, if a Member threatens, either you take care of him or** ** (Interruptions).

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Yesterday also he shouted here, "Get out". (Interruptions) What is this?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: This is unfair. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He was shouting. (Interruptions) He was shouting, "Either you behave or I will take care of you". He cannot shout like that. (Interruptions) He cannot say that.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I am on a point of order, Madam. He cannot threaten like that. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, you must ask him to withdraw. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: An honourable Member cannot threaten him like that. What does he mean? (Interruptions) Madam, you give your ruling. (Interruptions) You should give your ruling.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He must know how to behave in this Parliament. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Everyday he is doing it, not today alone. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, you should not allow this to go. We cannot allow this to go, Madam Deputy Chairman. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Is it permissible? (Interruptions)

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, what can I do now? I am helpless. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, I am on a point of order (Interruptions) Madam, I am on a point

[Shri Nirmal Chatterjee]

of order. Mr. Bhandare, please excuse me. I am on a point of order.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: On a point of order?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Yes, but not on your speech. Madam, is it permissible for any Member to state in the House that if you* * * *? Is it permissible? Yesterday also, Madam, he shouted like this. I want to know this from you. (Interruptions) Where is the Leader of the House? You ask him. (Interruptions) We will approach the Chairman today. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: He should withdraw that remark. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. (Interruptions) Mrs. Alva please ask the Members on your side to sit down. (Interruptions) Otherwise, I cannot hear or speak. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He was shouting from there and it is a threat to an individual Member. Unless he withdraws it and expresses his regret, it is no use. (Interruptions) You give your ruling. We want your ruling. (Interruptions) It is a point of order. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will request all the honourable Members to sit down. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You talk to the Leader of the House. (Interruptions) Is it the ruling party? (Interruptions) Today, he is threatening a Member. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, you give your ruling.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Is this the way to improve parliamentary standards? (Interruptions) The ruling party must ask him and he should express his regret. (Interruptions). He should

party must ask him and he should express

express his regret or should withdraw it. Unless this is done, we do not come back. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would like to know what the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs has to say on this.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): Madam, I would like to say that if there is anything that is unparliamentary on the record, it is in your discretion to have it expunged. You may examine the record and expunge it. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: That is not enough. Madam Minister, that is not enough. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. MOHANAN: He must withdraw it. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He is abusing me today. Tomorrow he may abuse somebody else. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: So much has been shouted on both the sides. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: In the name of parliamentary democracy, he should withdraw it. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Kindly give your ruling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. (Interruptions) All of you, please sit down. (Interruptions)

Please sit down. I cannot shout like you. Please let me speak. I will see the record and if anything is derogatory to any Member, I will expunge it.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: For the benefit of the hon. Member, you should also issue a warning to him. Otherwise, tomorrow he will threaten you also.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He should express regret or we will walk out. This thing cannot be permitted.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: What is there to check in the records? You have heard him properly.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I must make a fervent appeal to the opposition....

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Not to the opposition. Make it to your own colleague.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am not making an appeal to them not to raise points of order. I am only making an appeal to them to change their attitude to the Punjab problem. I think the Government has shown its anxiety and its determination to consult the opposition at every stage whenever it is necessary. It is only a question of stage. If you consult them today when there is nothing to consult, I do not think that consultation will have any meaning. It is only when there is something to consult that the opposition has to be consulted. I am quite sure—I don't think I have to appeal to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs—that he will keep on consulting the opposition as often as is necessary to bring about a permanent and lasting solution to this problem. At the same time, I will appeal to the opposition not to run with the hare and hunt with the bound. (*Time bell rings*). They should really look beyond small narrow gains for the time being and help in bringing back the nation out of this traumatic experience. I think all the parties will join together in providing the healing touch. This great India which has achieved harmony through such great diversity will continue to be even more harmonious in years to come. For the Government, I will say that the best bet for them seems to be to crush the extremists and encourage the moderates. I know that all Sikhs are not Akalis and all Akalis are not extremists. But a situation has

come where the moderates have lost their control and the extremists are still in control of the situation, which must be changed at the earliest possible. I think the Government will continue to release more and more people under detention on the basis that those whom the Government does not intend to prosecute should be released. I hope that soon we will have an occasion to bury the past and build up a glorious future for a united India which will be and which has been the envy of the rest of the world. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Khuswant Singh has already spoken. Please be brief. Only three minutes.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is really painful that we must today sit here to give another extension to the President's rule in Punjab. I would have very much liked that the popular Government should have been restored and whatever they could do, it would have been better than the President's rule. So may Governors have been changed. It would have been better if popular rule had been restored there. We are also seeking to pass the budget today. But that is also an important thing to be done because Punjab has to go along the path of progress. Madam Deputy Chairman, Kashmir is the worst affected part as a result of the Punjab impasse. All our tourist traffic to Kashmir and from Kashmir passes through Punjab. All our merchandise to Kashmir passes through Punjab. So, when we heard the other day the news that the Akalis are going to launch an agitation from the Vaisakhi day, it has begun a shiver in our spine because of the simple fact that it is precisely the time when our tourist season starts. I would urge the Prime Minister, I would urge the Home Minister to kindly see to it that things are not escalated and that the agitation is not started by them in Punjab on the Vaisakhi day as they have announced.

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

Madam Deputy Chairman, our leader Farooq Abdullah has issued an appeal from Poonch only yesterday to all the Akalis and the Akali leaders to respond to the invitation given by the Prime Minister and have a negotiated settlement of this issue. I think this is the most propitious time for a settlement of the Punjab issue. But at the same time I must say that the Prime Minister as well as the Home Minister have to do something to assuage the hurt feelings of the Sikhs. And, I think, it will not be degrading the dignity of the Government or in any way compromising its stand on the issue if a judicial inquiry in the post-Indira Gandhi assassination riots is immediately ordered for.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the second point that I have to make is that the Home Minister is making announcements that he is going to release the Akalis very soon. I think

जो काम कल करना है उसको आज ही किया जाए ताकि उस चीज के लिए जिस एटमोसफियर की जरूरत है वह पैदा हो जाए और लोग नेगोशियेटिंग टेबल पर बैठ कर इस मसले का हल ढूँढ़ें।

Madam, the third point that I want to make and which has been made by the hon. friends in the Opposition, particularly Mr. Kalyanasundaram is that it is very important for the Government to take the Opposition into confidence and try that they should use their good offices in bringing these Akalis and others to the negotiating table. Nothing will be lost. After all, the Government has its own stand. And if it helps to achieve that objective and when that objective is to achieve peace in Punjab which is a very important thing to be done, they should take them into confidence and use their good offices. I think, the Home Minister will respond to our request and take the Opposition into confidence so that their good offices are used to bring the Akalis to a negotiating table. This is very important and that atmosphere has to be

created. And these are the only few points that I have to make. And I have no objection if the Budget is passed because there is no other alternative for it. But we have not liked the extension of the President's Rule. If there had been a popular government by Sardar Darbara Singh or anybody else it would have been better because this will be creating a bad precedent. And I hope this will be the last instalment of extension of the President's Rule in Punjab. Under no circumstances would this House be allowed to pass another extension for the President's Rule in Punjab. Thank you, Madam.

श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव (बिहार):
उपसभापति महोदया, अभी सदन में जिस गम्भीर विषय पर हम विचार कर रहे हैं मैं कुछ अन्य बातों में सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट इसलिए करना चाहूंगा कि जब राष्ट्र पर संकट हो और देश पर खतरा हो तो उस समय सरकार के साथ-साथ सम्पूर्ण समाज की जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है कि उस संकट से निकलने के लिए कोई रास्ता ढूँढ़ें और उसमें सरकार की सबसे ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी इसलिए होती है क्योंकि सरकार को करना पड़ता है। लेकिन मैं एक प्रश्न की ओर इस सरकार का और इस सदन के मारफत सम्पूर्ण भारत का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब में जब अकालियों का सवाल उठता है, सिख का सवाल उठता है तो राष्ट्र विरोधी हो जायेंगे। कहीं अपने अधिकार का सवाल हिन्दुस्तान का हरिजन उठाता है तो राष्ट्र विरोधी हो जायेंगे, कोई मुसलमान उठाता है तो राष्ट्र विरोधी हो जायेगा, हिन्दुस्तान का पिछड़ा वर्ग अगर अपने सम्मान और अधिकार की बात इस क्षेत्र में उठाता है तो राष्ट्र विरोधी हो जायेगा? तो इस देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रभक्त है कौन? अपने सम्मान के लिये न केवल हम अन्य चीजों की बात करने हैं लेकिन जब देश आजाद हुआ है अंग्रेज चला गया है, मुगलों का शासन चला गया है।

इस देश के अन्दर आजादी आई है तो आज हिन्दुस्तान का हर व्यक्ति, हर समुदाय, हर समाज, समता समाज चाहता है, हर आदमी समानता चाहता है। समाज के सभी वर्ग के लोगों के मन में लालसा है कि इस आजाद भारत में इज्जत और रोटी समान रूप से मिले, किसी भी नागरिक को कोई विशेषाधिकार प्राप्त न हो। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन के मारफत सम्पूर्ण देश से और तथाकथित कट्टरपंथी लोगों से कि इस देश के अन्दर दयानन्द सरस्वती जी को जहर देने वाला एक हिन्दू था, गौतम बुद्ध को सूअर का कच्चा मांस खिलाकर मारने वाला एक हिन्दू था, राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी के सीने को अपनी गोली से छलनी करने वाला एक हिन्दू था। राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी को एक हिन्दू के हाथ से छलनी किया गया था लेकिन उससे क्या किसी एक हिन्दू का घर उजड़ा था, क्या किसी एक हिन्दू का घर लूटा गया, किसी हिन्दू के घर को जलाया गया, किसी हिन्दू की बहन बेटी की इज्जत लुटी गयी थी। लेकिन संयोग से मैं इसको गलत मानता हूँ—हिन्दुस्तान का दुर्भाग्य था कि हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान-मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी के सीने पर गोली चलाने वाला एक सिख था और उस सिख ने अगर गोली चलायी और उस गोली से इन्दिरा गांधी जी की मृत्यु होती है तो उसके अपराध में हिन्दुस्तान का कट्टरपंथी हिन्दुवाद उभरता है। मैं 31 अक्तूबर को दिल्ली में था, घूम भी रहा था अपनी आंखों से मैंने देखा, हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में—दुनिया में कहीं नहीं देखा और रायट्स होते हैं, कल्ल होते हैं, मारे जाते हैं, मार कर फेंक दिये जाते हैं, लेकिन जिन्दा इन्सान के देह पर कपड़ा लपेट कर पेट्रोल डाल कर, जला कर तड़पा तड़पा कर मारने के लिए नहीं किसी को छोड़ा जाता है। मैं इसलिए इन प्रश्नों को उठाता चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस राष्ट्र को जोड़कर रखना चाहते हैं

अगर हिन्दुस्तान को एक बनाकर रखना चाहते हैं, अगर हिन्दुस्तान की एकता चाहते हैं तो क्या हिन्दुस्तान में सभी धर्मों के लोगों को समान अधिकार नहीं मिलना चाहिये। सभी धर्म के लोगों के बीच में यदि मतभेद और विवाद खड़े हो जाये तो सरकार की जिम्मेवारी है। सरकार सम्पूर्ण धर्म के माननीय लोगों का एक सम्मेलन क्यों नहीं बुलाती है। केवल राजनीतिक नेताओं का मेलन, केवल राजनीति की दृष्टि से उस पर विचार हो? नहीं हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर अगर सांप्रदायिक सहिष्णुता कायम हो गयी है तो कहते हो अगर संयोग से हुक्मदेव के सीने पर गोली चलाने वाला एक मुसलमान साबित हो जाये तो हिन्दुस्तान के तमाम मुसलमानों के घर उजाड़े जा सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव के सीने पर गोली चलाने वाले रामानन्द यादवी जी हों या उन पर गोली चलाने वाले हुक्मदेव नारायण हों तो इस अपराध में किसके घर उजाड़े जायेंगे? मैं इस मनोविज्ञान, इस आचरण की ओर सरकार का और देश का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। हिन्दुस्तान के तमाम लोगों को इस पर गंभीरता से सोचना चाहिये। अगर इस देश को शक्तिशाली बनाओगे, सम्पन्न बनाओगे तभी चलोगे।

गुजरात के अन्दर अगर हिन्दुस्तान का हरिजन संविधान की धारा में लिखा हुआ है अगर उस धारा 15 (4) के तहत अपने अधिकार के लिए मांग उठाता है तो कहीं भी राष्ट्रविरोधी कहकर उसके सीने पर गोली चलाते हो, जैसे पंजाब के सिखों पर गोली चलाते हो, अगर आसाम में कोई सवाल उठाता है तो राष्ट्र विरोधी कहकर, मुसलमान कहकर उनके सीने पर गोली चलाते हो। लेकिन याद रखो कि इस देश में अकबर का सेनापति मानसिंह था और हल्दी घाटी के युद्ध में महाराणा प्रताप का कमांडर इन चीफ एक मुसलमान था। राष्ट्रीयता धर्म के साथ नहीं जुड़ी होती है। केवल कट्टरपंथी इस देश में राष्ट्रभक्त है

[श्री हुक्म देव नारायण यादव]

और बाकी देश के अंदर राष्ट्रद्रोही है तो हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव इस प्रथा के खिलाफ विद्रोही रहेगा। केवल मुट्ठी भर लोगों को राष्ट्र भक्त कहलाने का अधिकार नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए अपने सीने पर गोली खाने वाले—आज मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ ... क्या इस हिन्दुस्तान को उन तमाम लोगों ने जो कुबानी दी थी उसको याद करते हैं ?

इसलिए मैंने थोड़े से शब्दों में अपने सवाल को उठाया कि इस हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर अगर हिन्दू हो या मुसलमान, सिख या ईसाई कोई भी हो लेकिन उसके पहले हिन्दुस्तानी मान कर के सोचने के लिए क्या तैयार हैं। हिन्दुस्तानी मान कर के सोचेंगे नहीं।

अब मैं अंतिम बात आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्राचीन दर्शन में एक बाणासुर नाम का राक्षस पैदा हुआ था और जब उसने बहुत भक्ति की, तो भगवान शंकर ने कहा, बोलो बाणासुर तुम क्या चाहते हो ? उसने कहा, प्रभु मेरी भुजाओं में इतनी शक्ति हो गई है कि कोई मुझ से लड़ने वाला नहीं है ! इसलिए मैं वरदान मांगता हूँ कि मुझ से लड़ने वाला कोई पुरुष दो। और नतीजा यह हुआ कि कृष्ण के पौत्र अनिरुद्ध ने जाकर उसकी हत्या की थी और उसी के हाथ से मारा गया था और उसकी पीती से उसने शादी भी की थी।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने इतिहास को उलट कर पढ़ो। जब सत्ता धारः दल के अंदर बाणासुर जैसे कहते हैं कि मेरी भुजाओं में बाणासुर की तरह इतनी शक्ति हो गई है कि मुझ से कोई लड़ने वाला दो—मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने आपको चार सौ सीटें दी हैं। पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को भी वह सौभाग्य प्राप्त नहीं हुआ जो राजीव गांधी को सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है।

लेकिन अगर भारत की जनता ने आपको चार सौ सीटें दी हैं, तो बाणासुर के जैसे लड़ने वाले भुजा में पूरी शक्ति समा नहीं रही, इसलिए मुझे लड़ने वाला दो, याद रखो इससे भी बड़ी-बड़ी शक्ति ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद की सत्ता जिसके राज में कभी सूर्यास्त नहीं होता था, उस राज को भी इस मिट्टी में लोगों ने जाते देखा है, उस राज को भी इस मिट्टी पर उलटते देखा है।

किसका राज रहा है ? राजलक्ष्मी किसी के साथ सर्वदा नहीं रही है ? राजलक्ष्मी किसी के साथ नहीं रहेगी। आपके ऊपर इतिहास ने जिम्मेदारी दी है और इतिहास की जिम्मेदारी केवल राजीव गांधी के हाथों में नहीं है, जो राजीव गांधी के प्रशंसक हों, उनसे मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जो पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू और इंदिरा गांधी ने एक जिम्मेदारी ली थी, हिन्दुस्तान की राष्ट्रीयता के प्रवाह की जो धारा चलती रही है, उस धारा के विमुख मत ले जाने दो।

बातें अगर कहूंगा तो चोटें लग सकती हैं। अगर दिल्ली के अंदर जो कांड हुए उनकी न्यायिक जांच का सवाल हो, मैं मानता हूँ कि न्यायिक जांच में बहुत दिन लगेंगे लेकिन जनरल कोर्ट की बात—मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म कर दूंगा। अभी भंडारे साहब बोल रहे थे जनरल कोर्ट की बात करते हो, 1981-83 के बीच आन्ध्र प्रदेश में गिरफ्तार किये गये व्यक्तियों की संख्या है 2602, जिस पर मुकदमे चलाये गये 2172, जिन्हें सजा दी गई 23 आदमी, असम में गिरफ्तार किये गये 14795 और जिन पर मुकदमा चलाया गया 1252, सजा दी गई 14, बिहार में गिरफ्तार किये गये 908 और जिन पर मुकदमा चला था 701, सजा दी गई 95 आदमियों को, गुजरात में गिरफ्तार किये गये 1715, और मुकदमा जिन पर चला 685, सजा दी गई केवल तीन को। यह छोटा सा उदाहरण मैंने इसलिए दिया कि इतनों पर मुकदमें

चलते हैं, इतने लोग गिरफ्तार होते हैं, पर सजा दी जाती है तीन को, पांच को या आठ को। हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर अगर वह कट्टर पंथी हिन्दु के नाम पर तुम राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ को बदनाम करते हो, मैं भारत की सरकार को चुनौती देना चाहता हूँ कि इतने दिनों तक उनके लिए कोई सोदाहरण प्रमाण क्यों नहीं दिया।

मैं अपनी बात को खत्म करते हुए आपसे निवेदन जरूर कहना कि जो कट्टरवाद भारत में उदय हो रहा है और कट्टरवाद के उदय का मतलब जो हिन्दुस्तान की सम्पूर्ण सत्ता पर केवल 10 प्रतिशत जो एक द्विज वर्ग के लोग हैं या ऊँचे घर में पैदा हुए हों, या ऊँचे घराने के लोग हिन्दुस्तान में अपने को राष्ट्रवादी और बाकी हिन्दुस्तान के पिछड़े वर्ग, हरिजन, मुसलमान, सिख इत्यादि को राष्ट्रद्रोही कहते रहेंगे, तो इस देश को एक नहीं रख सकते हो। आज खालिस्तान की बात उठती है तो कल यहां हरिजनस्थान की, कहीं पिछड़े स्थान की बात उठेगी, कहीं किसी स्थान की बात उठेगी। उसके जिम्मेदार आप होंगे। न तो संविधान के तहत उचित अधिकार हमको दोगे (समय की घड़ी) और न संविधान के तहत सम्मान से जीने दोगे... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : यादव जी अब आप बैठ जाइये।

श्री हुकुम देव नारायण यादव : मैं अपनी बात खत्म करते हुए अदब के साथ कहूंगा कि इस सरकार को न केवल राजनीतिक समाधान, बल्कि उसके साथ आर्थिक धार्मिक और साम्प्रदायिक समाधान के लिए न केवल राजनीतिक नेताओं के बोझ से भर दें, बल्कि सब मान्य पुरुषों का एक अलग से सम्मेलन बुलाओं कि हिन्दुस्तान में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना कायम रखने के लिए कौन कौन से उपाय किये जा सकते हैं।

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I must express my gratitude to all the hon. Members in spite of the fact that they have been mainly responsible for generating a kind of heat which I never expected in this kind of a debate of a very serious nature.

In a way, it is a very good opportunity for hon. Members to speak and for the Government also to properly assess as to what are the different shades of opinion even among the opposition parties. We come to know about the different kinds of opinion through this kind of discussion. Madam, I am not very happy at the way some of the hon. Members spoke here, Members who would otherwise have been very sweet with me. But the way they spoke during the course of this debate clearly indicated as to what is their thinking even on national issues which require, in fact, no party affiliation; we, as Indians, should come together and try to find an amicable solution to such a serious problem. But I am sorry to say. The way some of the hon. Members spoke created a doubt in my mind. I was having an exercise of calling some of the Members of the Opposition, discussing matters with them and at a later stage, we also thought that it is necessary that they should be fully involved at the final stage of finding solution to the problem. But if this kind of attitude is going to be taken, if this is the kind of attitude, this creates a doubt in my mind whether this is going to be really helpful in finding a solution. Madam, I may tell you, at this stage.

Some hon. Members have referred to political advantage being taken by the ruling party. In this connection, I may tell you what happened when matters had come to such a stage, ultimately, when a solution was almost in sight. I think, hon. Members will appreciate the fact. Most of us are aware that those who come for discussions are not the final authority. They have to ask somebody else. Not only in the party. But sometimes, there are forces which are working.

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

I am not talking only about the extremists. Everybody who has anything positive to say is terribly afraid of his life. As I said, there are also other elements. Apart from the extremists, there are other elements also who are interested in creating destabilising conditions in our country. Some of our neighbours, some of the other powers, would like to see India become weak. India become destabilised, who are not interested in the solution of this problem. Whenever we found that a solution was in sight, some of the negotiators who had come to the negotiating table went back on their stand and they completely took a new turn. They put forth some new demands and this is how things have been happening.

Madam, I must also say this at this stage. I won't be surprised if some of the violent incidents which have taken place in Punjab, have some kind of a connection with the type of atmosphere which has been created after the release of some of the detenus. The Prime Minister has stated that Punjab and Assam problems will get top priority in the agenda of the Government. We have been trying to give priority and see that the necessary atmosphere is created. But every time—I would not charge anybody with deliberate attempt on their part—by coincidence, whenever a settlement was in sight, violent incidents, activities, have been on the increase. Therefore, there are elements which are not interested in finding a political solution to the problem. We have to be very careful about these elements also.

I am sorry, Mr. Khushwant Singh is not here. I was really pained to learn that he also seem to have entertained some doubts in his mind. I do not know on what basis he has come to the conclusion that he said 'You have released the detenus and you feel that you have been very generous; the generosity has even reached to the extent of arrogance'. I do not know on what basis he said this. I do not know what made him say all

this. Yesterday, I happened to refer to the Sikh Forum. I believe he is one of the members of that Sikh forum and about the Sikh forum I did say that let us not start our discussion with the Sikh forum. At a later stage certainly they can be taken into confidence, we can discuss at length with them. If this is the matter which seems to have angered him, due to which he feels that this has gone to the extent of arrogance, I am really sorry. A man of his stature, I have great respect for his views, knowing full well the kind of attitudes he has been taking on different matters at different times, but still he is a good critic, he is a good journalist, objective writer, sometimes gets himself involved, it is a different matter, but I was surprised myself that he should have said this. In fact, I was very much interested to find and I am still going to pursue with him as to what made him utter those words on the floor of the House. I am not very happy the way he spoke here, anyway.

Madam, some questions have been raised and Mr. Khushwant Singh was one of them who said that this is just a publicity gimmick. I do not know what he has in mind. He said that some of the Sikh young boys are wearing saffron turbans, they are very angry with you. It is all right they are angry and that is why we are going there, we would like to see them, meet them. And sense of alienation is there. Certainly we would like to go over there and give them an opportunity to discuss the matter with us. Let the steam come out so that there is better atmosphere to discuss the matter with them. And I do not believe that the Akalis are the only people who represent to be the representative party of all the Sikhs. Other Sikhs, other intellectuals, teachers, they are there. And when this Cabinet Sub-Committee goes there we have not made up our mind. We would like to go there, listen to different shades of opinion, and having come back there are certain issues on which we would like to finalise our views. So, there is nothing wrong and I do not think that we are

interested in having this kind of publicity gimmick. More visit of our Cabinet Sub Committee is also creating some kind of doubt as to what exactly is going to happen. I do not think that anything worse is going to happen than what has happened already. So, let us go there, try to discuss and read them properly. I do feel that the Sikhs as a class should not feel alienated. Their ego also will have to be properly nurtured, properly maintained. I do not want to create an atmosphere in which they have this kind of a feeling. Certainly, Government is not interested in giving this kind of impression. On the other hand, we would like to gain their confidence and treat them very generously. That is exactly what the Prime Minister did when he went to Punjab on his own. Sikhs were released on our own. The Prime Minister announced the kind of economic activity which has to be started in Punjab and this was done on his own, nobody asked for these things. Now they are asking that this needs to be done and that needs to be done, but when the Prime Minister went there, there was no demand for all the three things which he announced. One was about the Thein Dam for which a provision has been made in the budget. Though it may be inadequate, when the Prime Minister has announced that we are interested in seeing that the work of this multi-purpose project should be completed at the earliest, necessary funds will be provided. My colleague, the Minister of State for Finance, will be able to give more information on that point. Important decision about the coach factory has been announced. The railway coach factory giving employment potential of almost 10,000 to 15,000 people has been announced. Punjab has been given a special treatment in matter of agricultural prices. These are the three very important decisions taken on our own. *Suo motu* we have done this. I do not think it is in response to anybody's demand that these things have been done. This has been done with a view to creating necessary atmosphere so that they may not have the feeling that they have been treated separately. In fact there is no justification for any of the hon.

Members also to have this kind of a feeling and go on repeating the same kind of argument over and over again that Sikhs are being treated as second class citizens. I am really surprised the way things are being said on the floor of the House. On the other hand, there is substantial evidence and I do not want to take more time of the House by giving all the examples as to how generously the entire Punjab area has been treated and Punjab deserves to be given all the help and assistance that is necessary to maintain the status which they have been enjoying so far. We are really proud that the per capita income in Punjab happens to be the highest in the country. Agricultural produce happens to be of first rate. There is no doubt about it. All that they require for maintaining this kind of a position in fact needs to be done, not for helping Punjab, but in the interest of national unity. In national interest that has to be done. There is no doubt about it.

Madam, I think I had made this point about finding a package deal. Anandpur Sahib Resolution has been a very controversial issue. The Prime Minister in his first statement had stated, before we start any negotiations, on Anandpur Sahib Resolution the Akali Dal will have to take an unequivocal stand and say that they are totally dissociating themselves, violent activity they will have to totally condemn and say that they do not associate themselves with it. Later on, in the same House the Prime Minister announced that it is not the total Anandpur Sahib Resolution but the part which deals with secessionism. And there is no doubt about it that there is a part which deals with it—at least there is scope for this kind of interpretation, because the wording is such and especially it has been written in Gurmukhi, which gives all the more scope for different kinds of interpretation. We do not want to leave anything. I can assure the hon. Members of this august House that when this Cabinet Committee deals with any section of the people, we can do anything on Punjab but so far as unity and integrity of the country is concerned, there can be no scope for any

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

kind of compromise. That is not going to be a point for any kind of negotiation. If any one thinks that they can negotiate on this point, I think he is totally mistaken. We will never negotiate on that; this is not negotiable at all.

So the Sarkaria Commission is there. Centre-State relation is nothing very peculiar to Punjab. All other State Governments have also been asking for more kind of improvement in their autonomous character, for more financial devolution under the Constitution. A number of things are being stated. And that is why, as in the case of other States they are approaching the Sarkaria Commission, similarly if the Akali Dal feels that their demand is quite genuine, let them also approach the Sarkaria Commission and Sarkaria Commission will be able to give a verdict on it.

Madam, there is only one point and that is, I am very sorry at the kind of document which was relied upon by some of the hon. Members in the House. I do not want to say anything on the basis of that document, but I know the source, I know wherefrom this document and other things are being circulated. We are fully aware of all the activity which goes on. But whatever be their own conclusion in that report, there has been a demand about having a judicial inquiry done in the case of post-assassination riots which happened in Delhi. My friend, Mr. Bhandare was at pains to explain as to how this is going to create a situation wherein the situation might deteriorate, a kind of healing touch has been given, it may create again strained relations, you will be opening the wounds. But there are people who are interested in having some kind of a judicial inquiry. I had stated yesterday in the Lower House and I am prepared to repeat the same thing here also—that Government will not rule out the possibility of having a judicial inquiry of this nature provided there is a final settlement of the entire thing. Thereafter there should be no scope for saying that this item is left out or that

item is left out. If a total settlement is in sight, if we are arriving at it, and merely because we are not holding a judicial inquiry that happens to be an impediment in having a final solution to the problem, ultimately you can't have a piecemeal settlement in this case. It has to be a package deal, and in entirety if everything is being decided and this is the only thing due to which finality can't be arrived at, certainly Government will not be averse to holding even a judicial inquiry in this matter. Now, which period to be covered, what terms of reference are to be given, it is a matter of detail. But certainly, as some of the hon. Members stated here, the earlier period also—how the whole thing started, how the killings started which ultimately resulted in the Blue Star Operation and subsequently in the assassination of our beloved late Prime Minister and the happenings thereafter, this entire period—will have to be included if a judicial inquiry has to be gone into. But these are matters on which I would request hon. Members—let us not be led away by emotions. These are matters on which you will have to do very cool thing—whether it is really worth while in the interests of the country to reopen the thing which ultimately is not going to help anyone. That is my appeal to all the hon. Members. I can, at this stage, without going into the details of all the different points which hon. Members made—general points I have tried to reply—only appeal to all the hon. Members: There are a large number of issues on which we have difference of opinion with each other. But this is an issue in which we, as the Congress Party, will not take any political advantage out of it, and I would also request you not to think in terms of political advantage or disadvantage if solutions on particular lines are being found. Let us approach this problem as a national problem, create the necessary atmosphere and try to make the maximum use of our goodwill with the friends who are creating this kind of a situation there.

Extremist elements will have to be put down with a very heavy hand. But, at the same time, if there are genuine de-

mands we should not be oblivious of the genuine demands which are being put forth. But, in the name of genuine demands, nobody has a right to say that he will ask for secession and that his part of the country he will take out from India. If that is the feeling which is being nurtured, I am also aware that in the South also there were particular parties who had this history. I would request all the hon. Members....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Minister...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt him.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am not yielding.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He stated there are some parties from the south. I want to clarify. There were some parties. We gave up the demand for Secession in 1962 itself. We are second to none to rise to the occasion in defending this country. We demanded separation in this House, but it was before 1962. We were the only party....

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I don't think you are the only Member who can shout at the top of his voice every time. I don't think you have the right to hold the House to ransom like this. We are not going to yield to you. You can't shout like this. Every time you go on shouting like this. This is not proper, this is not the way. You can put forth your point of view—I am prepared to understand you. When you were talking, we never interrupted you. And I don't think I have said anything by which you should unnecessarily get upset. I said there is a history. Don't you say there is a history?... (Interruptions)... Therefore, I have been appealing to those sections who have this kind of a history, please, for God's sake, help preserve the unity and integrity of this country at all costs. I don't think we can have narrow, sectional interests at the cost of our country.

I would appeal to all the sections of the House to use their good offices in persuading our friends and I am also taking this opportunity to appeal to all the Akali leadership as also the young friends—who seem to be very angry because of some narrated stories fed to them—that they should not resort to this kind of a thing. 7 P.M. Unnecessarily they will mar the image of the great Punjab. The Sikhs have a very brilliant history. They are very valiant people. They have been in the forefront both in the war of liberation, the freedom struggle, and different wars that India fought with different countries. I do not think that this is an opportunity for them to malign that kind of history. This is not issue on which this bright history that they have should be unnecessarily tarnished by small incidents of this nature. They should keep away from terrorist activity and come round to the negotiation table. About economic activity we are prepared to discuss at length with them but so long as it does not compromise with our national unity and integrity. This is all I wanted to say. Thank you very much.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: May I seek your kind indulgence for a minute, for a single minute, Mr. Minister? We have given up the demand for separation, that philosophy. I am not criticising you. On a personal explanation I seek your indulgence. We have given up the demand.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He tried to attribute a motive. We have given up the demand for separation long back.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Do not think you only are patriot. Patriotism is not the monopoly of the Congress alone.

श्री जगदम्बो प्रसाद यादव : माननीय उपसभापतिजी, मेरे प्रस्ताव का जिन्होंने समर्थन किया है उनका मैं धन्यवाद करता हूँ। कांग्रेस दल की तरफ से जो लोग बोले हैं उन्होंने भी इतना तो स्वीकार किया ही है कि अब इसको आगे नहीं बढ़ाया जाए। इसको जो दो दो बार बढ़ाया गया और अब चौथी बार बढ़ाया जा रहा है, यह देश के लोगों को बर्दाश्त नहीं है। इसलिए मेरा प्रस्ताव बड़ा सटीक है जिस पर मैं दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ।

गृह मंत्री जी ने जो कहा वास्तव में यह किसी पार्टी का इश्यू नहीं है, यह नेशनल इश्यू है। हमने पहले भी यही कहा था कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने इसे अपनी पार्टी का इश्यू बनाकर इसको डील किया जिससे कठिनाई पैदा हुई। अगर इसको प्रारंभ से ही नेशनल इश्यू के रूप में डील किया जाता तो सभी पार्टियों द्वारा इसमें सहयोग दिया जाता। लेकिन ज्यों ज्यों साल्यूशन के नजदीक आते थे तो उस समय भी बात बिगड़ दी जाती थी। तो नेशनल इश्यू के रूप में आज जिस ढंग से यह रखा गया है, पहले ऐसा नहीं किया गया। इसलिए मैंने कहा कि चुनाव के वातावरण के समाप्त होने के बाद अब सरकार इसको नेशनल प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से देखे और इस पर विचार करे। जब नेशनल प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से विचार करते हैं तो एक बात साफ तजर में आती है कि कंफ्रंटेशन की स्टेज पर बात नहीं होती है, बात को अपरेशन में होती है। इसलिए सबसे पहले इस आति को दूर करना नितान्त आवश्यक है।

दूसरा प्रश्न क्राइसिस आफ कांफिडेंस का है। जो भी सिख अकाली दल के समर्थक नहीं थे, समय की गति से या लांग ड्यूरेशन होने के कारण वे भी उसमें इनवाल्व हो गए, चाहे या अनचाहे हो गए। इसलिए जो क्राइसिस आफ कांफिडेंस है वह उनके दिल दिमाग में

भी आ गया है। उनके दिल और दिमाग में भी ऐलिनियेशन की भावना घर कर गई है। आप भले ही कहते हैं कि सभी अकाली सिख नहीं और सारे सिख अकाली नहीं। हमारे खुशवंत सिंह जी के मन में भी यही बात आई। अगर सरकार इस ऐलिनियेशन को दूर करने की बात नहीं करेगी तो जैसा हमारे हुक्मदेव जी ने कहा, यह पोलिटिक्स का सवाल नहीं है, यह रिलीजस, साइको-लौजिकल, मोशियोलॉजिकल भी है, इसको सभी फ्रंटों पर हल करना चाहिये तो यह हल होगा, बरना नहीं होगा। जहां तक पंजाब के बारे में कहा गया कि इस आन्दोलन से सभी के लिए खतरा हो गया। मैं कहता हूँ कि कई स्टेट्स को इससे खतरा हो गया, जैसे मैं बिहार से आता हूँ, वहां के लैबर्स के लिए बहुत खतरा हुआ। हजारों हजार लोग यहां आकर काम करते थे, रोजी-रोटी कमाते थे लेकिन आज वह नहीं आ पाते। उसी तरह से जिस तरह हमारे कश्मीर के भाई कह रहे थे कि यात्रियों का सैलाव जाता था वह रुक गया। इसी तरह से पर्सनल है और पर्सनल भी हमारे सामने है। दरबारा सिंह जी वहां चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, वह वहां नहीं रहे तो यहां हमारे हाउस में चले गए। यह डेंजर तो सब ओर से है। मैं आपसे फिर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने जो सब-कमेटी बनाई उस सब-कमेटी ने अभी तक कोई काम नहीं किया। हमने यह सोचा था कि जब यह सब-कमेटी बनी है तो कुछ काम जरूर होगा और जिससे यह पता लगेगा कि सब-कमेटी प्रोग्रेस कर रही है। आज यह आवश्यक है कि हीलिंग टच दिया जाए। लेकिन हीलिंग टच कैसे होगा? इसके लिये कुछ न कुछ रास्ता ढूँढ़ना होगा और उन रास्तों को ढूँढ़ कर लाना होगा। मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि खाली सिख समुदाय नहीं है इसमें हिन्दू और सिख दोनों मिले हुए हैं। किसी का भाई सिख है तो किसी की बेटा हिन्दू है, किसी का सम्बन्धी सिख है तो किसी का सम्बन्धी हिन्दू है। यह बांड आफ रिलेशन है, बन्ड का रिलेशन है, जो टूट नहीं सकता है। नहीं तो जितना बड़ा षडयंत्र चल रहा है उतने में

यह सम्बन्ध टूट जाता। सारे देश में यह एक बात बनी हुई है कि सिख मारे गये हैं। यह हिन्दुओं के दिल-दिमाग में भी है कि हिन्दू मारे जा रहे हैं। यह रिपरकेशन चल रहा है और इसका भी असर पड़ा है। दोनों के दिमाग साफ करने की आवश्यकता है। जबतक हम दोनों के दिमाग साफ नहीं करेंगे तब तक नेशनल इन्स्टिग्रिटी, नेशनल यूनिटी नहीं रह सकती। हम हमेशा इसके लिये कहते रहे हैं और हमारे लोग मारे भी जा रहे हैं और आगे भी मारने को तैयार हैं। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि हमारी बूढ़-बूढ़ देश के काम आयेगी। हम देश की एकता और अखंडता में लगे रहेंगे। इस अखंडता के लिये भ० ज० प० का एक-एक आदमी अपना बलिदान करता रहेगा। इसलिये मैं पुनः कहूँगा कि देश की एकता, अखंडता, अखंडता को बनाए रखने के लिये पार्टी पालिटिक्स को पक्ष रखकर राष्ट्र के सभी लोगों को सम्मिलित करें। तभी देश का कल्याण हो सकता है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing your motion?

SHRI JAGDAMBI PRASAD YADAV: No.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Statutory Resolution of Shri S. B. Chavan to vote.

The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 6th October, 1983, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Punjab, for a further period of six months with effect from the 6th April, 1985."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jagdambi Prasad Yadav motion is barred.

I shall now put the Motion regarding consideration of the National Security

15 R.S.—13.

(Amendment) Bill, 1985, as passed by the Lok Sabha be taken into consideration.

The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the National Security Act, 1980, in its application to the State of Punjab and the Union territory of Chandigarh, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we will take up the Punjab (Vote on Account) Bill, 1985.

The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of a part of the financial year 1985-86, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

Bill, 1985

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI :
Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I shall now put the motion regarding the Punjab Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1985, to vote.

The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab for the services of the financial year 1984-85, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI :
Madam, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now we take up the Government of Union Territories (Amendment) Bill, 1985. Shri Chavan.

THE GOVERNMENT OF UNION TERRITORIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1985

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

"That the Bill further to amend the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Madam, by this Bill the anti-defection Act which was passed is being made applicable to the Union Territories. Wherever they have Assemblies, it will be made applicable to them. That is the only point.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : It can be taken up tomorrow. We can debate it tomorrow.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : There is hardly anything. The anti-defection Act which was passed by both Houses, inadvertently was not made applicable in the case of Union Territories.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh) : Why?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : That is because of the fact that we were under the impression that automatically it would become applicable, but later on the Law Ministry gave us to understand that this would not be applicable in the case of Union Territory Assemblies and that a separate Bill amending the Union Territories Act would have to be brought if the anti-defection Act was to be made applicable.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA : Then the Law Minister should be hauled up for wrong advice.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : That is not his fault.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA : He should be hauled up. Why should we take the time of the House?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Actually this is a very simple proposition. There is hardly anything except the same provisions which we had debated earlier.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : When you make your speech, they will realise it.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Madam, in the case of Legislative Assemblies of the States and both Houses of Parliament, the Constitution has already been amended to provide for disqualification on grounds of defection. Provisions of the Constitution relating to Legislative Assemblies do not apply to the Legislative Assemblies of the