

[Shri S. M. Krishna]

ernment servants only about 400 participated in the strike. Of this 300 suffered break in service. However, they were given a second opportunity to submit an explanation and all except a handful have received condonation of break in service. Some of them who have apologised have come back. Anyhow that point would be looked into and a reasonable decision with reference to them will be taken. (Interruptions) Well those who have apologised for past misbehaviour will certainly be taken back and their interest will be safeguarded.

The Government of India do appreciate the concern that the House has shown for the people of Pondicherry. We will take note of all the suggestions and it is in this spirit that I commend these two Bills for consideration of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will now put the motion.

The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the Union territory of Pondicherry for the services of a part of the financial year 1984-85, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. 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 S. M. KRISHNAN: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up the Pondicherry Appropriation Bill, 1984. I will put the motion.

The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the Union territory of Pondicherry for the services of the financial year 1983-84 as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. 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 S. M. KRISHNA: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

श्री उमश्यापति : सदन की कार्यवाही रात्रि दो बजे तक के लिये स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at eighteen minutes past two of the clock,

Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up the Resolution, the Budget (Punjab) 1984-85 and the Punjab Appropriation Bills. The Home Minister.

I. STATUTORY RESOLUTION APPROVING THE EXTENSION OF PRESIDENT'S RULE IN PUNJAB FOR A FURTHER PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS.

II. THE BUDGET (PUNJAB), 1984-85 GENERAL DISCUSSION.

III. THE PUNJAB APPROPRIATION (VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL, 1984

IV. THE PUNJAB APPROPRIATION BILL, 1984.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI): Sir, I beg to move:

"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, 1984."

Sir, as the House is aware, the atmosphere of public order in Punjab had seriously been vitiated on account of illegal activities of the extremist, terrorist and secessionist elements in the State. In spite of having an absolute majority in the Assembly in the larger interest of the State and the country, Shri Darbara Singh, the then Chief Minister did not wish his Cabinet to continue in office and tendered the resignation of his Cabinet of Ministers effective from 6-10-1983, recommending that the Governor may request the President to exercise his power under article 356 of the Constitution and take over the administration of the State for a temporary period. He had also suggested suspension of the powers of the State Legislative Assembly. The Governor accordingly recommended to the President to exercise his powers under Article 356 of the Constitution and for keeping the State Legislative Assembly under suspended animation. Accordingly, Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution was issued by the President on 6-10-1983 bringing the State under President's rule and the State Assembly was kept under suspended animation.

Approval of the Lok Sabha as well as Rajya Sabha for the issue of Proclamation under Article 356 was obtained on 16.11.1983. The Proclamation so approved, will now cease to operate on 5-4-1984 at the expiration of the period of six months.

Government has made various efforts to find a solution to the demands of the Akali Dal through negotiations. The hon. Members are aware of these. The agitation launched by the Akali Dal and the extremist violence, however, continue. The law and order situation and the activities of extremist elements in the State have been causing serious concern. Soon after the proclamation of President's rule, various legislative and administrative measures were taken to curb violence and to maintain order. There were signs of gradual improvement in the situation but there has been a setback due to the sad events of February, 1984 and the recent spurt in the activities of extremist elements.

The Governor of Punjab in his report to the President has stated that the Congress Party enjoys absolute majority support in the State Legislature but it has not indicated its intention to take over or re-assume office. Since the situation in Punjab State continues to be disturbed, the Governor has recommended for the continuance of President's rule in the State for a further period beyond the date on which it is due to expire, that is, 5-4-1984.

Keeping in view the situation prevailing in the State, it is proposed that the President's rule may be continued for a further period of six months with effect from 6-4-1984. If so approved, the President's rule, unless revoked earlier will continue up to 5-10-1984.

In view of the position explained by me, I request the honourable House to approve:—

"The continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 6th October, 1983 in respect of Punjab, issued under Article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 6th April, 1984."

The question was proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we shall take up the Appropriation Bills.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI S. M. KRISHNA): Sir, 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 1984-85, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, I also 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 1983-84, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the first Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 1,030.28 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on 19th March, 1984 and Rs. 559.29 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Punjab as shown in the Vote on Account pamphlet circulated along with the budget papers on 12th March, 1984. These amounts have been sought to enable the Government of Punjab to meet essential expenditure during the first six months of the next financial year, that is, April to September, 1984, pending approval of the whole year's budget by the appropriate Legislature. Sir, full details of these provisions are given in the Vote on Account pamphlet.

Sir, the second Appropriation Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 56.52 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 19th of March, 1984 and Rs. 474.22 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 available in the supplementary demands circulated to the Members.

Sir, I move, both these Bills be taken into consideration.

The questions were proposed

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, only five months back we have discussed the Punjab Proclamation in the House. Although generally we are opposed to the Proclamation because the President's rule is in no way better than a popular Government, we are not opposing this. In this case, I think, the Opposition thought it proper in the situation prevailing in Punjab not to oppose it. But at that time I clearly stated that the administrative measures alone were not going to help in improving the situation in Punjab, that some bold initiative was required to come to a settlement of the political questions, that otherwise the situation would go on deteriorating and that whatever measures you would take subsequently and even bring some other ordinances, they would not help in solving the problem and finding a solution.

We have found during the last five months that the situation had further deteriorated. Whatever the claim the Home Minister is making it is a fact that the virus has spread to certain other areas. Earlier it was Punjab alone. Then in the month of February it spread to Haryana also, and it is having its effect on the rest of the country.

Now the question is: What steps has the Government taken since then, when the warning was there. Some solution has to be found. The Government always goes on saying and claiming that it has taken many steps and that it is prepared for negotiations. What steps has the Government actually taken, we would like to know from the Government.

The only thing which we know is that on the 7th February the Prime Minister called a meeting of the Opposition parties and informed them

what has happened so far. That means nothing. The information given was: "The Akalis are not reasonable. They are not agreeing to any proposition. Therefore, you have been called to be informed." At that time the Opposition made a suggestion to call them again to a tripartite meeting and have discussions because earlier we have played some role and there was some narrowing-down of differences which was accepted by the Home Minister also. He admitted that only one problem had remained and that on other issues the differences had narrowed down very much. It was on the suggestion of the Opposition parties. It is very good that the Government had accepted it and the tripartite conference had been called.

The Home Minister will agree with me that the Akalis had come with a determination to resolve the problem. On the 14th when certain very serious incidents took place in Amritsar where a replica of the Golden Temple was destroyed and a photo of Guru Ram Das was destroyed, even inspite of these, they decided to continue the talks. Subsequently, what happened in Haryana, which the Home Minister also did not mention? On the 15th with further worsening of the situation, they had to go back. Everybody has agreed on that. As the Home Minister has stated that the attitude of the top-most leaders who had come to the meeting was to come to an understanding.

And the position was hopeful that we would come to some understanding in the tripartite talks. Who sabotaged the talks? Can the Home Ministry enlighten us? When the Akalis were prepared to come to an understanding and when the Opposition leaders were putting their heads together along with the Government to find a solution to the situation, who sabotaged the talks? Why don't you go into that factor? Why the situation on the 14th, 15th, 16th deteriorated.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sorry, Sir, nobody sabotaged it. They went out.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Who went out? Don't ask me who went out. On the 15th it was agreed by all present.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: The Akalis went out because of the situation in Punjab and said that they would come back.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: That situation was brought about by whom? I am saying that on the 14th, everybody's assessment was that the Akalis were prepared for a settlement. At that time the situation was such that everybody felt, not only the Akalis—don't lay the blame on the Akalis—the Government, the Opposition and the Akalis all felt that in that situation, it was difficult to continue the talks and after two or three or four days, we would come again. That was the situation. And who is responsible for the deterioration of that situation? What happened between the 14th and 19th and 21st? Who is responsible for that? There you will have to fix the blame. Otherwise, you won't be able to fight out the divisive forces—the divisive forces who are out to disrupt the unity of the country and who are threatening the unity of the country. You won't be able to fight them out unless you pinpoint them. Don't try to hide anybody. I would say, anybody who is responsible for that situation, who has spoiled the whole atmosphere, to whichever party he may belong, nobody should allow any access to them; they should be turned out of the political parties, those who are spoiling the atmosphere in the State. Subsequently what happened is known.

When the Akalis decided to burn article 25 of the Constitution, all sections condemned it. They could not get any support from any quarter. In fact, I would say, they are playing either into your hands or into the hands of the extremists because to

not been able to put them down. And now you have issued a warrant for sedition against Sant Longowal. I think you want all of them to unite and fight you. I think you yourself are interested in creating this atmosphere in the State. Naturally this will not help you. I do not know from what angle you are looking at it—from the narrow angle of party, as to how it will benefit you or how it will affect the party in the elections. What elections? If these things go on happening, the situation, which is very bad, will not remain there; it will spread throughout the country also. Repeatedly when we asked, the Home Minister placed the Governor's report here that 53 cases of crimes by the extremists have been traced—cases of looting, of murder, of arson. We have demanded, why don't you come forward with a white paper, why don't you publish the facts, why don't you take the people into confidence, so that the people can take the initiative. But, no. I know also the state of affairs of the administration. When the people took the initiative in Charhata and caught hold of the extremists who wanted to attack somebody, and took them to the police station, there ended the matter; no interrogation of those extremists at that police station, because some telephone comes to the police officer from the Golden Temple, from the extremists, saying they are my men. There are many people who say 'my men'. These 'my men' are not touched. These people, who are extremists, who are indulging in acts of violence, who are vitiating the whole atmosphere, are not touched by the police, by the administration. All these conflicts, which have been there, about the CRPF, the local police, all these are a result of the state of affairs of the administration there. I do not want to go into them now. But I would emphasise this point. Even when people come forward in arresting the extremists, and handing them over to the police, you are not trying to expose them. I would appeal to you again about the 53 cases which

have been traced, bring them before the people, isolate those extremists. Why don't you fight them on a political level? Fight a political battle. Merely taking some administrative measures won't do. When we are demanding a white paper, you are denying it. You have always ignored our demand. Why don't you bring those facts before the people? If your Government cannot do anything, place the facts before the people of Punjab and they will fight. Tell them these are the extremists, we want to fight them politically. Mere administrative action won't do. Moreover, what is your Government doing? Opposition is trying to help you. With the help of the Opposition formulate proposals and confront the Akalis with these proposals and let us see who stands where. If they don't agree with those proposals, then the people will be able to see for themselves that the Akalis are out for something else, not for a settlement. But that situation is not being created. A policy of drift being pursued by you and no effort is being made for a solution at all. Punjab is burning and it is being allowed to burn. You go there, visit the areas. We praise the people of Punjab. But the minds of the people are being poisoned by these Bhindranwales. There is another organisation which has come up now like Hindu Sangathan or something like that. They are poisoning the minds of the people. We have never seen such a hatred developing there between the two communities; it was never there since independence. They have been living as brothers and sisters, as related to each other. We have never seen such a position. Why has this step about Longowal been taken now? Why was it not taken at that time when the Commonwealth Conference was held? Is it not a provocation to him, asking him to join with Bhindranwale? Secondly, Opposition is with you. On all other issues a solution has been found. Only the territorial question remains. Take the Opposition into confidence. Find a solution and then you can confront them with it, let them come out with what they

say. You must have a clear-cut idea. Thirdly, about the activities of the extremists, come out with whatever material is available with the police, expose them (time-bell) I only want to point out one or two things more. Economy in Punjab has been in a very bad shape. The Finance Minister should have told this House about this because all the business is at standstill. Nobody is advancing any money. Only cash payment is accepted and no credit is given. The industrial position is also very bad. The working class is also affected by this. you some sections of the working classes have left the place of work and have gone. This is the position. But that is not taken note of in your proposals.

You have always neglected the industrial development of Punjab. Whatever development is there in the small-scale sector is due to the efforts of the Punjabis themselves. The Centre has not tried to help them. Although all the raw materials are there for starting industries, only two or three of them are there, including some power stations. The Government here has rejected even the proposals sent by the Punjab Government.

In relation to agriculture some proposals are there. The water problem is there. In 1964 Thein Dam proposal was there. Then the cost of the project was estimated to be Rs. 70 crores. Now it has risen to about Rs. 700 crores. And the water is flowing to Pakistan. It is not being used for irrigation by us on the excuse that Rajasthan is involved and Haryana is involved and ultimately the water is allowed to be flown to Pakistan territory because of our failure to use it. If the project is completed, 480 MW power will be generated there and the project will irrigate 8,40,000 acres of land. But for this project the allocation is Rs. 20 crores. What is this joke? The Prime Minister went then and four years back she said that the Thein Dam is sanctioned. It is only on paper. If it

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

is not completed now, the cost will further escalate to Rs. 1000 or Rs. 1400 crores. For social welfare measure, only very little is provided.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not think we should discuss these details.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Sir, I am saying that if the Thein Dam was completed by this time, the present agitation would not have been there. From Bhakra project, Delhi is getting power at a cheap rate. I would only say that a little more attention is required to be paid to the various sectors in regard to plan allocations. You have read about the farmers' agitation in Punjab where they gheraoed the Governor. Then there was some agreement. No notice of this has been taken note of. The Home Minister has to do something about the agitation. Otherwise, whatever you spend will go waste and the economy is in the doldrum because of this agitation. Something should be done to stop the deterioration.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is an irony of fate that the part of Punjab which is in Pakistan and the other part which is now part of India are both under Martial law. One is under military rule while the other is under para-military forces. The brave, chivalrous, heroic and hospitable people of Punjab, these people coming from one stock, having common culture, language and common way of life have been painted by us to be ferocious, uncompromising and indulging in extremist and terrorist activities endangering the peace and tranquillity of that part of the area. But this very propaganda of ours has been given a life and it has been proved to be false and wrong when recently about 30,000 people assembled in Chandigarh for more than four days. They were gheraoing the Governor in the Raj Bhavan in Chandigarh and making certain demands in a peaceful manner and not a single instance of

violence was reported from Chandigarh. How many people did you screen who had collected over there in Chandigarh? How many people did you check? How many para-military forces you deployed over there to see that no untoward incident took place? If the people of Punjab had wanted just to create a state of anarchy, then Chandigarh was the best place for that and this was the opportunity for them. More than thirty thousand farmers of Punjab had collected over there and they were concerned with their demands which they were putting up. They were there from morning till evening, sitting over there, cooking their food, squatting there, making their demands and raising slogans. But they remained peaceful throughout. So,....

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Because they were not political.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: They were farmers of Punjab, people coming from all over Punjab.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR: Not aligned to any party.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: So, not a single extremist or terrorist, or any person with different designs could become a part of that. But you had no means of checking it up. So, to say that the conditions are bad there is wrong. Whatever may be happening in Punjab today, worse things happened in Assam and in spite of that, in Assam you held elections over there. Similarly, popular rule must come back to Punjab also. But why is it that you are continuing the President's Rule in Punjab still? Why don't you rely on their good sense? Why don't you rely on the people of Punjab to solve their own problems? They have the will to do that. But you don't want to allow them to solve their own problem. But you want to rule Punjab through foisted people, and I would like to use a particular word for that. You want to rule Punjab through para-troopers. People from here are made to land

there in Punjab like para-troopers and they are given positions of importance and these people are given powers to rule Punjab authoritatively and in a dictatorial manner, in a dictatorial style of functioning. That is what is going on there.

Sir, when India became free, we just thought that our fate would be decided by ourselves, through our representatives, through our right to vote and through our right to have an elected Government. But you are going completely against it. While the Punjab problem is outstanding, today you are not finding a solution and it is your own failure and not the failure of the people. All the other parties are co-operating with you and a certain level of understanding and agreement was reached. But, all of a sudden, we are again in a terrible fire and everything is going wrong. So, I am asking you now: Why don't you come forward with a clean slate and tell the people of Punjab, "You people solve your own problem. We do not want to stand in your way. We are fixing a date for holding elections in Punjab and for reversion to popular rule." Why don't you say that? Popular rule must come back to Punjab. I am really surprised at one thing. You simply went in there, imposed the President's Rule and suspended the Punjab Assembly and did not dissolve it. What could be the intention behind it? What is the suspension of the Assembly going to do? The Chief Minister at that time was Mr. Darbara Singh who admitted his inability to govern Punjab and tendered his resignation. Then the only alternative left was not that there should be President's Rule in Punjab. He gave his resignation. Well, immediately after he tendered his resignation, you could have asked the people of Punjab to go to the polls again. That is the way. If the Chief Minister feels that he cannot govern or that his Government does not have the majority or that there are circumstances in which he requires a fresh mandate from the people, then, in a democratic set-up, the only way or the

only alternative is to go to the people and ask them to give their verdict on it. But you did not do it. You should have done that. But you are ruling Punjab through puppets. Mr. Darbara Singh and his men, who belong to your party, they are representatives of the Sikh community also and they are puppets in your hands. And today you want to rule Punjab not through Mr. Darbara Singh, but through your puppets. This cannot be allowed. You must make up your mind once for all that in India if democracy is to thrive successfully, one thing must be made clear that the people of that particular area or region must be allowed to pick and choose their own representatives, for governance, not through people sent as 'paratroopers' from the Centre. This must stop. What do you want after all? You have blamed the Opposition parties. You have blamed everybody. You are the only persons who have tried to take all the credit for yourself for restoring normalcy in Punjab. And Punjab day by day is going worse. You are forcing those people to raise demands, to raise new ideas, to come forward with fresh demands before you every time, and the whole law and order position is getting worse. You are interested in it. And your interest I can understand. You are pitting one community against another, so that whenever there is the electoral battle to be fought one particular set of people are behind you blindfoldedly because they may be thinking that you are their saviours. This is no good. Do not create a rift between communities coming from a common stock, having the same culture, having the same language, having the same interests and, above all, who are heroic, brave, and who have proved their mettle in the most difficult times. Tell the people of Punjab. We have placed you under President's rule because the popular government at that time was not in a position to govern Punjab, but today we give you another opportunity to govern Punjab through your own representatives. And I tell you that the people of Punjab will choose for themselves the best

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

form of government and the people of Punjab will see to it that Punjab does not go aflame and is not reduced to ashes.

Now, on this budgetary exercise I will take a few minutes. What does this budgetary exercise reveal? Through this budgetary exercise what are you making, what have you said in this Budget which will go to further develop or give fresh vitality to the people of Punjab? There is nothing in it. What has been the main cry today? Water and electricity are the greatest demands today. There is no worthwhile entry in this Budget or there is not even a mention in this Budget how you are going to solve this problem. And Punjab has the potentiality of arranging for itself water and electricity, provided you give it—No. 1 priority and provide funds for it. Today the people of Punjab are manning the higher echelons of administration, judiciary, scientific, education, law—all branches of society. These people can be trusted to choose for themselves the Government that they want.

The terrorism that is going on in Punjab... (*Time Bell rings*) I will say that whatever you say, you must say with a sense of responsibility. There is no evidence with you that it is organised and it has a well-planned strategy or whatever is happening is the outburst of certain unsocial or misdirected people. What is it? If it is organised, then by this time you should be having clues as to who are the people organising it, who are the people backing it, (*Time Bell rings*)... and who is giving them the arms and ammunition, what is their plan what are their rules and so on. And if there is no such organised activity, then you cannot say that Punjab is in a disturbed state of condition. The only thing is you need a better Government with more sincere people looking after it, not people who are thrust over there as para-troopers. Even at this stage I would request you that it is high time

you came forward sincerely, started implementing the 1970 award given by the Prime Minister to which there is no resistance or antipathy from either side. For instance, everybody agreed at all time that area, apart from Chandigarh, Fazilka and Abohar, should be handed over; the position or demarcation of those areas, where they are Hindi-speaking, they should go to Haryana, where they are Punjabi-speaking, they should go to Punjab, should be determined by a commission. That commission should be appointed immediately. We will look after Chandigarh and Fazilka and Abohar. But you do your part; you don't shirk your responsibility. You appoint a commission straightway leaving aside Fazilka and Abohar, leaving aside Chandigarh. You appoint a commission immediately and let the commission come out with its report as to which area should go to Haryana and which to Punjab. Then it is very possible for the parties to come together and reach an understanding on the territorial issue. But this issue has been kept pending by you since 1970. What was the reason behind it? This question has been debated and raised so many times. It is now 1984. Why are you keeping silent for the last so many years? Why have you not appointed that commission? Who stood in your way? Most of the time it is your Government which has been in power both in Punjab and Haryana. What was the reason behind your not appointing that commission so long? The only obvious intention is to create a situation of disturbance and then take advantage of that troubled situation and send in forces as I have just described, your paratroopers, to go and rule over Punjab. You cannot decide the fate of the people of Punjab sitting in Delhi, of the people having different customs, different ways of living. This has to be respected. Their right to governance must be respected. And continuance of President's rule is absolutely uncalled for. It must be done away with. Let the people choose their own representatives. That can be the only solution to the problem.

SHRI V. N. TIWARI (Nominated): Sir, my friends came from Pakistan's rule to Budget. I choose to come via Budget to President's rule. To me both are interlinked. The honourable Finance Minister, while presenting the Budget, has given a deficit of Rs. 109.45 crores, and they want the popular Government to levy taxes to cover the deficit. And the honourable Home Minister has asked us to allow President's rule for six months more. Who is going to look after this deficit after continuance of President's rule in Punjab? My humble submission to the honourable Finance Minister will be: don't leave this deficit to that State which is already suffering, which is under economic strain. Nobody is investing money in Punjab. Whether Hindu or Sikh or Muslim or Christian, nobody is investing money in Punjab. How do you expect Punjab to bear this burden? Therefore, my first submission will be: let this deficit be owned by the Central Government to help the economy of Punjab rather than taxing the people of Punjab.

My second submission is about what my learned friend, Surjeetjee, mentioned, the Thien Dam. My only submission is, once the Prime Minister cleared the Thien Dam the Finance Minister has written to the States No. 3 P.M.

State, what to talk of Punjab which is under great turmoil, can own this high ambitious, Thien dam project. The only solution is that it should be immediately referred to the World Bank if you want to save the State and the Thien Dam which will certainly be helpful not only to Punjab but to Haryana and other States also. Therefore, when a project is going to help many other States, either the project should be taken up by the Centre or the Centre should forward it to the World Bank to complete this. And I was mentioning the other day, Sir, while speaking on the Budget that Punjab must be provided with heavy industries. And when I am saying so, Sir, I am talking because I know the temper of Punjabis. That

is. if you give them this much of love, they will devote themselves completely to you. And I am quoting from one of the topmost poets of my language who said:

“प्यार नाल एह करन गुलामी,
दे ना मन्नण किसे दी...

Sir, give us heavy industries and just see the results. The way we brought green revolution, the way we brought white revolution, we shall bring energy revolution also in this country and that will again helping not only Punjabis but all the Indians alike.

Sir, my last submission is that from the Budget I am coming to the President's Rule. And it is with a very heavy heart that I have to support this President's Rule because when the President's Rule was imposed, at the time also I mentioned that Punjab needs a political solution. But what to do? The leader of the Congress Party says that he is unable to govern, and the Opposition which could form the Government have already resigned. Now what to do? One party says that they cannot rule and the other has resigned. I think the only alternative left is the President's Rule. But, Sir, a question with a very big question mark is: Has the President's Rule given security to the people of Punjab? Has it given stability, economic stability? The answer is, 'No', Sir. And, I think, here I will be only saying what I said in October, 1982 that for this entire problem, apart from politicians and political parties, Police is also responsible. And, in fact, it is being talked openly in the streets of Punjab that one police is pro-one community and the other police is pro-other community. Now, who will save the people when the police is not being trusted, the police which is supposed to be the custodian of law and order? Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, through you. I would urge upon the Home Minister that when these problems are hap-

[Shri V. N. Tiwari]

pening not only in Punjab but in other States of the country. as you have one Army to safeguard the security and the integrity of the country, the police should be made an all-India service so that their roots and their sympathies and their regional bases can be tackled. The time has come that if you want real peace and sovereignty of the country, this police must be overhauled, and overhauled in the interest of the country. Therefore, Sir, look after law and order whether through the police or through the BSF or through the CRPF or through the Military even, but even, but, Sir, those people who are ruling Punjab through the President's Rule must take all political parties into confidence, especially the secular elements, to fight out the communal elements. And, Sir, it has been properly done to ban certain organisations, communal and others. But I would urge the Home Minister that one communalism is not the answer to other communalism. He must ban the Hindu Sangathan also which is certainly arousing the Hindu communalism in the same way as certain forces are arousing the Sikh communalism. The time has come when the Government should fight out both the communalists with the same rod and with the same yardstick.

Lastly, Sir, the damage to the mental psyche is already there. The law and order will be looked after by the State. Political workers, if not today, will rise tomorrow to fight the communal forces but more than that almost a cultural consciousness has to be created in Punjab and for that, I think, much more money should be pumped into this Budget so that people from war, people from hatred, people from all these things can be taken away to fine arts and to other things and for those cultural policies more money is required. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, as I said, I want the hon. Finance Minister to look after the deficit of Punjab Budget and take steps to complete the

Their dam at least by given it to the World Bank and the Central Government must provide heavy industry to Punjab and there should be a rethinking about the police services, apart from taking the confidence and assistance of cultural organisations to fight out these communal elements, and for that more money is required.

Thank you very much.

SHRI KUSHWANT SINGH (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it would appear that all that could have been said on the problem of Punjab has already been said many time and there is nothing more that needs to be said by anyone. I personally see no light at the end of the tunnel which we entered nearly two years back. The situation has, if anything, worsened. The climate has become over darker and not a glimmer of hope do I see in this situation. What we feared and hoped to avoid is coming to pass. I have not the slightest doubt that the country is now on the brink of a major disaster. If the Akalis are impervious to reason, and I hold no brief for the Akalis, they have been impervious, I do not think that the Government can be exonerated from the charge of criminal dereliction of duty and let me spell this out. You have only relied on three alternatives, either to play for time and hope that something will happen, the time will take care of itself or shy away from this problem that is facing you. Occasionally, you indulged in the use of force and that also in a very sporadic and eccentric manner and constantly you have been telling every one that the doors of the Government are open, that we have conceded the religious demands of the Akalis. You know perfectly well that these religious demands are absolutely peripheral and do not touch the main issues. The doors may be open, but I do not think that the minds of the Government are open to a solution. And now the attitudes have even hardened. There is no doubt that the Akali leaders who were guilty of burning the Constitution

will, in due course, be sentenced to imprisonment. You will then have no one to deal with after except the second lot.

Then, yesterday you declared the All India Sikh Students Federation unlawful. I support you on that. It might have been done earlier. But once again you created a situation of confrontation and what I cannot understand is that Sant Longowal, who wrote this pamphlet five months ago, it is now today that you charge him for sedition. Would it not be taken that you are deliberating creating a situation of confrontation with the Akalis? The only thing I congratulate you for is that you have resisted the temptation of making a forcible entry into the Golden Temple, because you know that at this stage, the police the army trying to enter the Golden Temple would mean a blood-bath; it would be what Jalian-wala was to the freedom movement and this might become something to the Khalistan. And I know that none of us wants this to happen. We are really in a situation that prevailed in India in 1946 and 1947. There is all-pervading fear in the minds of the Hindus in Punjab; there is all-pervading fear in the minds of the Sikhs elsewhere. You have been told all about killings in Punjab, but the press has not told you what is happening to Sikhs in Haryana and elsewhere. You have not been told what is happening to Sikhs going along the Grand Trunk Road in the last few months, or by the trains. They have been picked up, hauled out of buses and trains, beaten up and insulted in all other ways. Nobody asks whether they are Akalis, but because they happen to be Sikhs, looking different from others, they are treated alike this. I mentioned it because it happens and the hon. lady Member sitting over there, Bibi Amarjit Kaur will vouch for it, and she was subjected to this treatment for no other reason except that she was accompanied by her Sikh husband. If this is the situation, aren't we coming to a very grim reality? Our papers

have not reported but the BBC has reported that the Punjab police and the CRPF are at variance against each other.

My friend Tiwariji referred to (it basically because Punjab police is largely Sikh police and CRPF forces are largely Hindus. It is no longer the fact that whether you are this side or that side, it is one force. Even the para-military forces have begun to take sides. Added to that is the economic motive which I think is the most sinister of all. This sense of insecurity has already started migration of small tradesmen from the cities and towns of Haryana to Punjab and from Punjab to Haryana. In Haryana, Sikh Gurdwaras were burnt; in Panipat, in Karnal and various places, Sikh shops were looted and burnt. Do you expect those people to settle back in those places? No. They are going to Punjab, and in their turn, they will drive out Hindu traders, and this movement will begin. In short, we have really played into the hands of extremists, Sikhs extremists under the patronage of Bhindranwale and his thugs and we have played into the hands of the Hindu backlash. What is happening is, what they could not achieve by popular persuasion in favour of Khalistan, is being done by a handful of people. All that they want to do in Punjab is to keep on killing in a stray manner, to invite Hindu backlash in the rest of the country, and then the migration will begin. Sikh population in Punjab is only 52 per cent; perhaps, within a few years, in this manner, the Sikh population may become 60 per cent, and you have Khalistan made absolutely on the platter.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to pose the question simply. Can we do anything now or have we passed the stage and reached a point of no return? I think that would be a hopeless turn. We must try to do our best and try to retrieve the situation. I don't think it can be done by gimmickry as was suggested in the other

[Shri Khushwant Singh]

House, about Members' group, or a delegation of the Members of Parliament visiting Punjab or Haryana. That would be pointless. I don't think it can be done by the National Integration council and things like that. They pass resolutions and they gather dust. My suggestions for whatever they are, are the following. First, treat Punjab and Haryana as one unit, because whatever happens in Punjab has its reaction in Haryana; whatever happens in Haryana, happens in Punjab. I entirely support President Rule in Punjab; I go much farther. The situation demands imposition of martial law in these two States, and that is the only way we can suppress violence. Secondly, now that no negotiations are possible with the Akali leaders because most of them are in jail and others also may soon be sent to jail I think, it is incumbent on the Government to take a unilateral decision on the demands of the Akalis and concede those which they think legitimate and reject those that are not.

Basically, there are only two gut issues. Ignore the rest. The two gut issues are: division of river waters and the readjustment of boundary. As far as the river waters question is concerned, I think, it is very simple. I think, the Akalis have been most reasonable in saying that they are willing to accept the verdict of a Judge of the Supreme Court. I do not know why the Government is digging its heels and trying to talk about a river waters commission, which, they know, will take years to decide and which will be subject to influence.

Then, remains the boundary dispute. I think, there again, you have already said that you are willing to appoint a commission. The only point of difference is the question of the terms of reference. I think, in the larger interests of the country the terms of reference must exclude Chandigarh. It must be announced exclusively belonging to the Punjab. The terms

of reference must not include Fazilka and Abohar. I am not taking any sides on it. It would be a bad precedent for the country if you talk of drawing corridors through different States. Haryana has to be compensated. It should be compensated with a capital of its own. It should be compensated with the transfer of certain villages which are contiguous to Haryana. I have no doubt that if this is done, a solution could be found. Undoubtedly, you have to consult neighbours. I have no doubt that in the last two years, you would have consulted Mr. Bajan Lal many times. But I think, the suspicion has grown that you not only consult him but you put him to tricks, that you use him, that he is being used as a spanner to throw into the works, so that no solution is found.

Finally, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, last year, about this time, I made a plea that this matter should really be handled by the Prime Minister in a dramatic manner. I suggested that on the Diwali day, she should go to the Golden Temple, not as the Prime Minister, but as a pilgrim, I said, the gesture would have an enormous and salutary effect. I think, she dismissed this as a kind of melodrama. I think, the situation does need some kind of a melodrama. We are going to have Baisakhi on the 13th of April, which is celebrated as the birthday of the Khalsa. From me and from other Members who are well-placed to plead with her, the suggestion is that she should use this occasion to go to Amritsar again, to the Golden Temple, again not as the Prime Minister, but as a pilgrim, give a gift to the Khalsa Panth and you will be giving an invaluable gift of peace to the entire country.

Thank you.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will first speak on the Budget. The Budget of Punjab for 1984-85 is a carry-on Budget for six months, pending the installation of a popular Government in the future. No other alternative

was left to the Government but to hand out this snail-paced developmental legislation, because of the stifling communal and fissiparous atmosphere created by the Akali Dal in the Punjab today.

In spite of this atmosphere, this Budget has tried to lay stress on the fact that Punjab being essentially an agricultural State, more should go into the fields of power, irrigation and agriculture. Even though it is estimated that,—it has been provided with—73.03 per cent of the total Plan outlay to be spent in these three areas, it becomes necessary to enquire from the Government of India as to how much of the Central assistance of Rs. 83.81 crores is being ploughed into these three interdependent subjects, specially, irrigation and power.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Syed Rehmat, Ali) in the Chair]

We know, Sir, that with the limited push from the Central and State Governments, the agriculturist of Punjab has done in the past and is today doing wonders in the field. But what is drastically lacking and will finally cripple the Punjab farmers in the near future is the dangerously progressive shortfall in power and irrigation. In this regard, Sir, it has become imperative for the Central Government to allocate special funds and develop a will to give clearance and complete on a war footing the Thein Dam; the Anandpur Sahib Hydel Project; the Mukerian Hydel Project, the U.B.D.C. Hydel Project-Stage III; the Shahpur Kandi Project; the SYL Project which is in lieu of the Anandpur Sahib project-Stage III, the Micro Hydel Schemes which number 19 small power projects; the Bhatinda Thermal Plant Extension Stage III; the Ropar Thermal Plant Stage II; and not the least, Sir, the immediate link-up in an effective form with the National Grid which includes power supply from Atomic Power plants outside the

State. I agree, Sir, that irrigation waters and power are short-supply items all over the country, but where a State is so advanced already in the field of agriculture—as is the case of Punjab and Haryana—it becomes incumbent on the Central Government to nurture this progressiveness by allowing sufficient financial fuel to maintain an even balance of progress, and not allowing the cracking-up of the solid super-structures created in these States by the sweat and toil of its people.

In the same vein, Sir, the implementation of schemes for drainage and canal linings are slow-marching due to the lack of sufficient funds, with the result that fertile lands are turning fallow. The scientific pattern of farming goes in the simple sequence of drainage levelling, irrigation and cropping. In this we see that drainage is as important as irrigation. In fact, Sir, the economic use of irrigation depends on the scientific planning of drainage schemes. It, therefore, becomes important to allot more funds for extensive and quicker implementation of drainage and canal lining schemes in Punjab.

In this sphere, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government the huge tracts of land in district Patiala which have remained fallow ever since the independence of India. This tract of land stretches all along the Punjab and Haryana border encircling the blocks of Dehra Bassi, Lalru, Rajpura, Chanaur and parts of the Devigarh areas in Patiala district. This area, Sir, is annually flooded by the flash rivers of the Ghaggar, the Tangari and the Markanda. There being no proper drainage, the flood waters, besides destroying the crops inundate this area for months on end. This area also suffers from the infirmity of having a very dry underground water strata, with the result that in the major portions of this area no tubewells are possible and there is no canal irrigation on the surface. Yet, Sir, a step across the boundary

[Shrimati Amarjit Kaur]

of Haryana brings us into lush green fields, simply because the Haryana Government has implemented with zest their lift irrigation schemes year ago from the very same Nirvana branch of the Bakhra main line which passes right through this fallow area in Patiala district. I, therefore, plead with the Central Government to take up this issue with the Punjab Government to draw up a comprehensive plan for drainage and lift irrigation for this acute dry belt in Patiala district.

Another urgent aspect of our Punjab agriculture is the acute shortage of weedicides and pesticides. The farmer in Punjab today considers the supply of these chemicals on par with the supply of fertilizers for his fields. To solve this problem in Punjab it becomes necessary to build industries producing these chemicals for the State in the State itself. Because the district of Patiala is the higher rice producing district in India, its claim for setting up weedicide and pesticide industries within its territory is only natural and totally justified. I ask the hon. Finance Minister to give due consideration to and an assurance on this plea of mine.

Sir, crop insurance has so far not been experimented with in the Punjab. The Punjab Government must now start this in a confined area—say in Patiala district—and see how it works. I am sure, Sir, that farmers holding 10 to 18 standard acres will latch on to this scheme quickly—though I must admit that this national scheme of crop insurance may not be palatable to the small and marginal farmers. Therefore it becomes necessary also to create a special fund for these farmers who suffer from natural calamities, because they can ill afford to pay the investment required for crop insurance.

Civil aviation in Punjab, Sir, has more or less become a defunct body.

There are four Flying Clubs in the State—at Patiala, Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Amritsar. The condition of these flying educational institutions follow an absurd pattern inasmuch as the employees are given their salaries every three to four months at an average. They live on I.O.U.s most of the time. The logic of this stems from the fact that the release of funds to these institutions is done in a manner whereby there is only enough to either pay the employees, or buy fuel for flying, or again for the maintenance of aircraft. Funds are never sufficient to cover all three at once. Therefore the payments go by rotation. This is not only an absurdity but a disgrace, considering the great officers and Ministers in the Punjab through whose hands the department has passed year after year. These Flying Clubs are only remembered during war conditions, when they are geared up to produce war material in the form of fighter pilots for the Air Force and the Naval Air Wing, reconnaissance pilots for the Army and civil pilots for our transport services. As such I would like to suggest to the Central Government to recommend to the Punjab Government the following remedial measures in this regard:

1. Nationalise these Flying Clubs totally and change their present position of semi-Government status ;

2. Change the names of these Flying Clubs to Flying Training Institutes, since the word "club" gives them an aura of fund and games for the affluent only;

3. Increase funds to these Flying Institutes in a substantial and reasonable manner, whereby flying-mindedness may once again become a national programme;

4. Introduce intensive flying training for the production of agro-spray pilots and pilots trained in the science of rain-making which is the need of the near future; and

5. If the four previous points made by me are not acceptable to the Punjab Government, then to wind up these Flying Clubs with immediate effect, since the condition they are in at present only makes them a burden on the taxpayer and a point of ridicule against the Government of Punjab.

And, finally, Sir, it was extremely necessary for me to plead the cause of Punjab for the allotment of Centrally sponsored large and medium scale industries to the State because there is an acute lack of them in the State, but to do so now will be an effort wasted, since the Akali Dal and its creation of extremists led by Mr. Bhindranwale with their wretched communalism and the leadership's personal perennial circle of bigoted egoism have created a stench so strong that it threatens to pollute the environment of the entire country to an extent, Sir, that not only have the existing industries in the Punjab come to a standstill, they have now started looking for alternative sites in other States to shift their business quickly, where the stench of communalism will not interfere with their progress. To this end, it becomes necessary for the Government of India to extend in the Punjab the President's rule for six more months to enforce the normal laws of society—to create a normal atmosphere for just, normal people—both Hindus and Sikhs—against abnormal people creating an abnormal atmosphere by expounding abnormal laws which will burn to ashes the grand followers of Guru Nanak.

Sir, I plead with the Government to take strong measures against these anti-national extremists like they have done recently against the AISSF, and put to an end once and for all the mad, animal like behaviour of these traitors.

With these words, I support the Punjab budget and extension of the President's rule in Punjab.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are debating simultaneously the Resolution seeking an extension of the President's rule in Punjab, as also the two Appropriation Bills. The Resolution seeking an extension of the President's Rule is a fit occasion... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Order, please. Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I was waiting for the convenience of the hon. Home Minister.

Sir, the occasion of the Resolution seeking an extension of the President's rule in Punjab is a suitable occasion for stock-taking. This is an extension which is mandatory. In that much it is an obligation which the Government is fulfilling. It has to go through the motion of extending it, outside of which there is no constitutional provision whereby the set up in Punjab can be continued. But in the process of stock-taking, it is my sad function to point out to two very significant manifestations. I am immensely saddened by them. The most sinister aspect of the continuance of the President's rule in Punjab is the disintegrative role that the Government of the day has played not only in the Punjab but as in ever expanding concentric circles the role it is continuing to play in the whole of the country. A stock-taking of the last six months is an account of drift, indecision, missed opportunities, constant politicisation and playing of domestic politics on issues which are not only vital for the security of the nation, concerning as they do sensitive border States, but also of the very seminal essence of the sentiments of our people. The Government of the day stands charged on all these counts. Well, they could easily attempt to dismiss what I am saying as political rhetoric, but history will certainly not leave them for the damage that they have caused in Punjab, the damage they caused earlier in Assam, and the damage

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

they are continuing to cause in a sinister and yet paradoxically an indecisive way. The Prime Minister...

SHRI P. C. SETHI: History will not forgive you also.

श्री जसवंत सिंह : मिनिस्टर साहब खड़े होकर बोलत तो मैं सुनता और जवाब देता ।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: History will not forgive you also.

SHRI HANRAJ BHARDWAJ (Madhya Pradesh): They have no history of their own.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It looks from the Resolution, the Government coming forward and moving such a Resolution and seeking an extension of it proves that on the triggering event, the killings in the bus, the temporary extinguishment of the Darbara Singh Ministry and the imposition of the President's rule has proved to be no solution. That the fault did not lie with the Chief Minister who was then in power. In the last six months has the situation improved, have you quenched the flames that you yourself lit in the last two years or so? The situation has not improved. Indeed, during the debate on the President's Address the Prime Minister herself was led to remarks that in the matter of arresting Sant Bhindrawale somebody blundered, somebody made a mistake. That somebody is not a foreign hand. That somebody did not come from outside the Government. It is an admission by the Prime Minister, pointing at a certain event, a certain negligence of somebody from within the Government. And if the Prime Minister has put a cloak and said that somebody had blundered on that occasion, it is surely as radical and as clear an admission of the Government's failure then and its continued failure now that we can see.

Sir, the current Appropriation Bill and the Resolution are in the background of the banning of the All-

India Sikh Students Federation, of continued violence and, to my mind, the most inexplicable action which has been referred to by earlier speakers also, the registering of a case against Sant Longowal. I think the banning of the AISSF was long overdue. The Government has thought it fit to do so now. What motivated the Government to act now, I cannot understand. The AISSF has been there. It has been committing all sorts of acts. What motivated the Government to act now, I cannot understand. As for the registering of the case against Sant Longowal, I would like to make it quite clear that the pamphlet and the letter which is supposed to have been circulated on the occasion of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference was ill-advised. It was impolitic, certainly highly regrettable. It was to my mind...

Sir, I am very sorry. I understand the lack of concern that the Treasury Benches have on the problems of Punjab, more so the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs. But, if he would like to have a political conference and does so outside the House, it will enable me to talk seriously about a matter which is the concern of all of us. Is that why the hon. Home Minister talked about history condemning something and some people?

Sir, I would like to reiterate that the circulation of that letter on the occasion of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference was impolitic, it was regrettable, it was ill-advised, just as the letters of the Assam movement leaders circulated on the occasion of the Non-aligned Conference were equally mindless to my mind. But the commission of that act is already 5 months old. The Government now moves to charge Sant Harchand Singh Longowal with sedition. Charges like sedition, terrorism, preaching or practising of violence are not charges to be deliberated upon. These are not charges for deliberation. They are charges for action. If the Government were convinced on the occasion of the circulation of this

letter that this was a seditious act, why did you not act then? And if you have chosen to act now, five months later, I cannot refrain from commenting that as in the case of many other things, in Punjab what you are doing is to use the instrument of registering of cases as a kind of a cover for inaction. You think that you are displaying or demonstrating your decisiveness, your ability to act, merely by registering cases. I submit to you that this cloak no longer works because in the case of Punjab, you have overused these tactics. You have overused this method. Whenever you have wanted to project to the rest of the country and wanted to cloak your inaction by projecting action, you have said, "We have registered cases." There are cases registered against many others in Punjab. There are cases registered against Sant Bhindranwale. And an earlier speaker has mentioned about 53 identified cases. Why have you not acted after registering the cases? It no longer carries conviction. I cannot, therefore, help feeling that yet again the Government is falling into the trap created by its own indecisiveness, by its own inability to sort out what it wants to do for the sake of the country and what it wants to do for the sake of the party. It is inherent in their party structure—this kind of indecisiveness is inherent in the manner in which this party is constituted. I will accept that the party is free to do what it wishes to do, that they can declare today that they in the party are going to go by familiar, lineal descent and have successive leaders on that basis. It is their look-out...

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: What is this nonsense? He is talking about the party. He does not have manners. You should have manners when you are discussing what are you discussing today? What do you talk? Sir, what business has he to talk about our party—lineal descent and all that? This should be ruled out of

this discussion. He should have manners here.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Having deliberately and as a matter of policy obliterated the difference between party and Government and party and person, when, therefore, I talk about a party, it is their doing. They have obliterated the difference between party and Government.

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: You should advise Morarji Desai, not us. You should advise Atal Behari Vajpayee and Charan Singh, not we people. We don't want your advice. (Interruptions) Rajiv Gandhi is our leader and will be our leader.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): Let him be the leader. But we have got a right to criticise your leader as Prime Minister.

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: That is why I am replying to you.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would like to reiterate, Sir, that having obliterated the difference between party and Government, the Government of the day today stands charged with neglect and all this kind of obfuscation that the ruling party attempts to indulge in—you may attempt to browbeat me; you may all of you rise in your seats and attempt to question me ...

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: Everybody knows your role. Everybody knows your role in Punjab. Do we have to remind you? Everybody knows that you are friends of the Akalis and you have been enjoying power with them. You know it. Everybody knows your dubious role everywhere in Assam, in Punjab, everywhere. (Interruptions) And in Kashmir also. That is why you speak with one voice in this House.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: This is a strange thesis put across by the Treasury benches. It is a strange thesis which is put across that patriotism is only their prerogative

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ:
Yes, it is ours.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: This is a strange thesis put across. The hon. Home Minister is here. He is unable to restrain members of his own community from putting across and subscribing to the thesis that patriotism is the prerogative only of these persons....

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ:
As much as you are a patriot, we are also patriots.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Mr. Bhardwaj...

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ:
Why is he criticising our party? Let him discuss Punjab and the budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): If you want to take part in the deliberations, I will call you.

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ:
But there should be some decorum in the House. He is criticising our leaders. They have no leader. I know it. They are leaderless. They can say anything. It is a leaderless party.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would like to repeat that it is a very strange and questionable thesis that the ruling party puts across that it is only they who have the prerogative of patriotism and it is only they who will interpret what patriotism is all about.

It is because of such thinking that we see the manifestations that we are currently seeing, whether it is in Punjab or it is in Jammu and Kashmir. Patriotism is not your sole prerogative. You alone are not the sole repository of patriotism. Don't for heaven's sake, play in the manner that you are continuing to play in Punjab. It is playing in a sinister manner, almost Machiavellian. It is this kind of indecision which has led the situation to drift to the point

of inflammation and engulfment of the entire region. Just as my friend, my colleague, Mr. Khushwant Singh, who spoke before me, said, it is because of your indecisiveness, because you allowed the situation to drift, that what was earlier confined to Punjab, has now spread to Haryana. I would just quote Sardar Khushwant Singh's views, although I don't subscribe to his remedy of marshal law. It is a kind of an extreme step which we cannot lightly talk about or take. But I do certainly subscribe to his view that the ruling party is conniving through the instrument of the Chief Minister of Haryana to instigate trouble in Haryana. They stand exposed to this charge. They don't come out with a white paper and come out with facts. It is not an electoral point alone. I submit, through you, that the ruling party must rid itself of its indecisiveness and because of this indecisiveness attempting to look at every problem through the haze of electoral advantage, because it is only a haze, it is a mirage, what you today think is an electoral advantage, because you divide one against the other, is going to turn around; it is a monster that you are creating, and it is going to turn back and eat all of us... (*Time bell rings*) (*Interruptions*)

I would like to point out just one other aspect the situation in Punjab because no other speaker has thought it necessary to highlight it. I have witnessed it earlier in Assam. There are two stages of discontent. There is a stage of discontentment in a people which results in the kind of mindless violence that we are witnessing today in Punjab. It is reflective, please understand, of despair;—it is reflective of channels of communication having slogged up because of prejudice and because of indecision. That desperation results in violence. That desperation has a horizontal transfer effect and the horizontal transfer conveys itself to forces of law and order. In Assam we witnessed armed fights between the CRPF the Assam police. In Punjab we have witnessed the same thing happening. When the agencies

through which you wish to enforce, bring about a semblance of law and order, are the very agencies which you corrupt, because of their mis-employment or because of your indecisiveness you are cutting the very arm with which you wish to handle situation. Please think about it very seriously. These are not matters with which—I have said it and it merits repetition—you can play petty party politics.

On the question of the Appropriation Bill, the damage done in the last two years to industry, to trade, to commerce and to agriculture and in what was at one time the most thriving, the most prosperous and the most forward looking State in India, is incalculable. This damage is continuing. The damage is manifesting itself in what other speakers have spoken, in people moving out of Punjab, of stopping to make fresh investments in Punjab. The damage reflects itself in the kind of Gherao and Bandh in Raj Bhavan in Chandigarh farmers' demands electricity dues and so on. Punjab was a model state. It was a model State because the people are outward going. They work much harder than lot of us do. They are more more enterprising and they take risks where risks need to be taken. When I say this I make no distinction between one faith and another to which they may subscribe. All these qualities of the people of Punjab have been set at naught by the indecision of the Government and their mishandling of the situation in the past two years. Grievous wrong has been done to the State of Punjab, Grievous harm has been done to trade, industry, agriculture and commerce in Punjab. It will take a very long time to set at right all these damage.

The Appropriation Bills with which we are concerned today, as I had said on an earlier occasion, do not reflect the language or the spirit of that concern. There has been a mention about Thein Dam. I would like to underline the importance of an early completion of that project in Punjab. The whole project will benefit Punjab. Today water continue to go to Pakistan. This is again on account of the indecision and inability of the Government

to come to any solution on matters in Punjab.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to conclude with one last concluding sentence. I would appeal through you to the Hon'ble Home Minister and to the Treasury Benches to please reflect deeply about what you doing in Punjab. It is all very well if it helps you to solve the problem by putting blame on my head and on my Party's head. Do it by all means. We will stand pilloried if we are the cause of all troubles in Punjab. I do think that the leadership of my Party and the members who constitute my Party have both sufficient resilience and ability to stand all the criticism that you wish to put on our head. But it is my bounden duty to tell you that the kind of mindlessness which is afflicting the ruling party today is causing and will continue to cause very deep wrong not only to Punjab, but to the whole of the country. That will be the result if you continue to be as mindless as you are today.

DR. SARUP SINGH (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not think we should mention history. And I do not think anyone has really spoken of posterity. We are faced with a problem which frankly is not easy to solve. We may continue blaming each other, but that does not take us very far. The fact is that we have made all kinds of mistakes—all of us. And now we are confronted with a situation which may create terrible kind of havoc not in this country, but elsewhere also.

I am lucky in the sense that I belong to an area where the anti-Sikh feeling has not become very strong as it has become in some other areas in Haryana. But then it is bound to happen.

I think Sardar Kaushwant Singh was very correct when he said that Punjab and Haryana are one unit. They are one unit emotionally, There was one unit politically only

[Dr. Sarup Singh]

yesterday. Whatever happens in Punjab affects Haryana. Those of us who are interested in the welfare of Haryana must not forget the welfare of Punjab because the two go together.

However, what shall we do? I do not know the answer. I do not think the Government has been necessarily playing a sinister game. But I think the Government has not shown intelligence, or maybe the Government had not been well-informed of what happened there at certain times. There were occasions when the settlement had almost been reached, when something went wrong. When it went wrong, I do not know. But I do know that things have reached a very near settlement. Now, the Government should have grabbed that opportunity and taken action. The Government did not. I frankly, am not clear in my mind as a lot of other people are, because, if all that has been happening were to be happening simply because the Congress wants to win the elections in Punjab or elsewhere, then I would say that the Congress is an extremely idiotic organisation, because you want to plunge the future of the country for the sake of elections here or there.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: It is not true.

DR. SARUP SINGH: I am myself saying that. (*Interruptions*). Please listen. I am myself saying that I don't think that that could be the reason. Therefore, let us not confine ourselves to this. There must be deeper reasons. What are these reasons? Let me mention one reason that I have heard from the various people here and there. There is a fear and the fear is—I have heard this from Congressmen and I have heard this from the Opposition people—that whatever concessions the Akalis want today are only temporary concessions. You give this concession today and to-

morow they will want something more and they will continue to demand something more and more and so on till they reach a stage where there will be a *de facto* Khalistan. That is one fear. All right. Even if this were correct, would the present policy of drift help? No. I would say: Grant the concessions which need to be granted today, and don't ask for guarantees for the future. No political party can give guarantees for the future. After all, you have a leadership today and they have a leadership today. But the leadership changes tomorrow and a new leadership emerges. My regret is that every time the Akalis want something, there is the question of religion. It is there everytime. It was Sant Fateh Singh yesterday; it is Sant Bhindranwala today; and tomorrow it will be some one else, and it goes on and on, and I feel hurt. I say. Demand whatever you want to demand. But, for God's sake, do not bring in religion. You belong to Punjab and you have the problem of river waters. All right. We will try to solve. You have the problem of boundary. All right. We will do something about that also. But, when you raise the question of *dharm yudh*, then I really feel utterly helpless. What shall I do, because I don't want *dharm yudh*? Then what could you do? These are the facts of the Indian situation today. The Sikhs are in a majority in Punjab, the only State in India where they are in a majority. Unless you create some kind of a formula, whereby—please be careful about this—the Akalis can reasonably expect to get power in Punjab, political power, things will not get solved. You may say that in a democracy that cannot be done; you may say that Punjab cannot be handed over to the Akalis because that is an organisation of the Sikhs and that organisation says that it is their political body. No non-Sikh can perhaps become a member of the Akali Dal because in a democratic set-up anybody can win the elections. (*In-*

terruptions). Please remember one thing. If tomorrow the Congress wins the elections, say, in Kashmir...

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): It will not.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Please listen. Suppose they win the elections in Kashmir tomorrow. The Kashmiri population, the Muslim population, somehow does not accept you as the natural rulers. Then you have a problem. Similarly, in Punjab also, you win the elections. But the Sikhs do not accept you as their natural rulers. There is a crisis. Now, what should a religious community do?

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA (Maharashtra): What is this question of natural rulers and unnatural rulers? (*Interruptions*).

DR. SARUP SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am merely stating the facts which are unpleasant. But the Sikhs have to be given the feeling that they also control a State, if you like, as a religious community.

You may not like it. The 4. P.M. Muslims have to be given the feeling that they control a State as a religious community. You may use any rhetoric. You may talk in any terms—democratic, secular, etc. These are facts of Indian life. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, there is nothing like India. India has been converted into a situation where everybody is compelled to think in terms of his State, in terms of his religion, in terms of his language. I will not go into that. But we are confronted with a kind of situation which is not easy to handle. I am not blaming the Government. I am not saying that there was an easy solution and that the Government could have taken advantage of that. I am not saying that. But, unfortunately, these are facts.

Sardar Khushwant Singh has merely mentioned the situation in Haryana. He has not mentioned the

situation elsewhere in the country. I know personally one incident in Bombay which is a very emancipated kind of place.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA: Nothing happens in Bombay.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Nothing happened in Bombay except one thing that a friend of mine, a Sikh gentleman, who is a brilliant student, who got into an excellent job there, was told by his boss who looks after a very important hotel that he should be...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): May I just interrupt the hon. speaker? Will the hon. Member make one thing clear? He has made the statement that Sikhs have to be given the feeling that they control a particular State as a religious community and that the Muslims can also be given the feeling in this country that they control a particular State as a religious community. Are these views of the hon. Member of himself or of the party to which he belongs?

DR. SARUP SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have never spoken on behalf of the party—this party, or that party. I have always spoken as an individual. I want to make it clear that I speak as an individual. Today also I am saying this because, unfortunately, the situation is very ugly. (*Interruptions*).

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA: He is neither a Sikh nor a Muslim. As far as the Sikhs are concerned, I have nothing to say. As far as the Muslims are concerned, we have not given him the right to speak on behalf of the Muslims. (*Interruptions*).

डा० सरूप सिंह : वाइस चैयरमन साहब, मुझ से बड़ी गलती हुई। एक उर्दू के शायर हुए हैं इकबाल साहब। उन्होंने एक शेर कहा था :

‘मरी वज्र में एक राज की बात कह बी,’

डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला : कोई राज की बात नहीं कही है। जो आपके दिल की बात है वह कही है। राज की कोई बात नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली): इकबाल ने यह भी कहा...

श्री सतपाल मित्तल (पंजाब) : यह इकबाल का शेर नहीं है।

डा० सरूप सिंह : किसी का सही हो (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : वाइस चयरमैन साहब शेर सुना रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली) : डाक्टर साहब मैं यह कह रहा था कि इकबाल साहब ने 15 मिनट :

हिन्दी हैं हम वतन हैं हिन्दुस्तान हमारा। (व्यवधान) डाक्टर साहब आपका टाईम खत्म हो रहा है।

डा० सरूप सिंह : मैं खामूर रहा हूँ। सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी ने तीन बातें आखिर में कहीं, मैं उनके ऊपर थोड़ी सी रोशनी डालना चाहता हूँ। एक तो उन्होंने कहा कि पंजाब और हरियाणा दोनों को एक यूनिट समझो। चाहे मार्शल-ला करो या कुछ और करो लेकिन ऐसा हो कि कोई बात वहाँ हो और उसका असर यहाँ पड़े तो उसको अच्छी तरह से संभाल लिया जाए। मार्शल-ला के बारे में मुझे यकीन नहीं है। लेकिन यह ठीक कि पंजाब और हरियाणा की एक यूनिट हो। कम से कम हमारे दिभागों में यह बात आनी चाहिये कि जो कुछ वहाँ होगा यहाँ भी हो जायेगा। कोई तरीका ऐसा, निकालिये जिससे वहाँ का असर यहाँ पड़ने से पहले आप सिच्युएशन पर काबू पा सकें। दूसरी बात यह है, जो उन्होंने कही, वह भी ठीक बात है कि उस पर नेगोशिएशन से हल करने की कोशिश करिये। मुझे पता चला है नेगोशिएशन अभी भी हो रही है।

बहरहाल, नहीं हो रही हैं तो कोई बात नहीं है। इन्होंने कहा कि नेगोशिएशन की बात छोड़िए अगर नहीं हो रही हैं लेकिन कम से कम कोई रास्ता निकालिये और रास्ता निकाल कर एनाउन्स कर दीजिये यूनिटेटरली। आप एनाउन्स कर सकते हैं; एनाउन्समेंट करने में कोई मुश्किल नहीं है। एक दो मोटी-मोटी चीजें हैं। रिवर वाटर के बारे में बहुत हद तक रास्ता निकल आया था। बाकी बाउन्डरी का भी खासा रास्ता निकल आया था। उसमें कोई परेशानी नहीं थी। उसका रास्ता भी निकल सकता था। लेकिन आप कम से कम एनाउन्समेंट तो कर दीजिये। जहाँ तक रिलीजियस डिमांड्स का सवाल है, उनमें कोई खास बात नहीं है। आखिरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे यह मानने में थोड़ी दिक्कत है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर वहाँ जाये। देखिए, चली तो वे जायें, हम यह कह सकते हैं कि चली जायें, लेकिन जब हमने यह सुना, किसी एक मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि वे अमृतसर गये तो गवर्नमेंट के लोगों ने उनसे कहा कि आप गोलडन टेंपल में न जायें क्योंकि अगर आप जाएंगे तो हम सेक्योरिटी का इंतजाम नहीं कर सकते हैं।

श्री प्रकाश चन्द्र सेठी : मैं तो गया नहीं अमृतसर।

डा० सरूप सिंह : मैं आपका जिक्र नहीं कर रहा हूँ। किसी और मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि उनको कहा गया कि सेक्योरिटी का इंतजाम नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिये मैं श्री खुशवंत सिंह जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुश्किल यह है कि कुछ लोग एक कल्ल करके सारे मुल्क में आग लगा देना चाहते हैं, अगर किसी वजह से प्राइम मिनिस्टर के साथ कोई वाक्या हो जाये तो सारे मुल्क में आग ऐसी लगेगी कि सिखों के लिए मुसीबत हो जाएगी। इसका जिक्र मत करिए, ऐसा रिस्क मत लीजिए।

श्री (मोलाना) असराखल हक (राजस्थान) : जनाब, अभी इन्होंने सिखों और मुसलमानों पर इल्जाम लगाया है। उन अल्फाज को आप कार्यवाही से निकाल दीजिए... (व्यवधान)।

شری (مولانا) اسرارالحق

(راستہاں-جانب ابھی میں نے

سکھوں اور مسلمانوں پر ایسا

ہے۔ ان الفاظ کو آپ کاررواہی سے

نکال دیجئے (مداخلت) [

श्री सतपाल मिश्रल : वाइस-चेयरमैन साहब, पंजाब एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल और प्रेजी-डेंट रूल के पंजाब में एक्सटेंशन के मुद्दों पर बोलते हुये अपोजीशन वालों ने अपन हिसाब से इस मामले को सियासी रंगत देने की कोशिश की है। एक दो को छोड़कर कोई भी ऐसे हमारे आनरबल मेम्बर नहीं हैं जिन्होंने अपनी पार्टी के नुक्ते नजर से हटकर बात की हो। देश के नुक्ते नजर की बात की हो, नेशन के पाइन्ट आफ व्यू से बात की हो। मुझे इस बात का सख्त अफसोस है कि हमारे फाजिल दोस्त और सरूप सिंह जो जैसे लोग जो पढ़ाते रहे हैं और हमारे देश में टोचरों में जिनका ऊंचा दर्जा है, उनकी जुबान से यह सुनकर कि सिखों को यह महसूस कराना होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की किसी एक स्टेट में उनका राज है, मुसलमानों को ऐसा अहसास कराना होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के किसी एक स्टेट में उनका राज है, इससे ज्यादा गलत बात कोई नहीं कह सकता है, कोई नहीं सोच सकता है। अगर जानी जैल सिंह जी जो फरोदकोट डिस्ट्रिक्ट के एक छोटे से घराने में पैदा हुए जिनका नाम उनके पिता ने बड़े लगाव से जैल सिंह रखा ताकि वे एक जेल के शेर हों, वे सारे हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान बन जायें, सबसे बड़े हमारे व्यक्ति हो जायें, देश के राष्ट्रपति हो जायें तो क्या किसी को इस बात में संदेह

होगा कि जिनकी ये लोग बात करते हैं कि एक छोटे से सूबे में वे राज करें ? उनको हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने, हमारी पार्लियामेंट ने, हमारे देश के लोगों ने, सारे देश ने राष्ट्रपति बना दिया। मैं बड़े अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब की स्टेट में जब श्री प्रकाश सिंह बादल चीफ मिनिस्टर होंगे तभी सिखों का राज होगा और जब श्री दरबारा सिंह चीफ मिनिस्टर होंगे तो सिख राज नहीं होगा जिन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन जेल की तंग कोठरियों में देश की आजादी के लिये बिता दिया ? अगर बख्शी गुलाम मोहम्मद जम्मू काश्मीर के चीफ मिनिस्टर हों या गुलाम मुहम्मद सादिक चीफ मिनिस्टर हों या श्री कासिम चीफ मिनिस्टर हों तो क्या वे मुसलमान चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं ? राजस्थान में श्री बरकतुल्ला चीफ मिनिस्टर हों तो क्या वे मुसलमानों के चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं ? बिहार में श्री अब्दुल गफ्फुर साहब अगर चीफ मिनिस्टर हों तो क्या वे मुसलमानों के चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं होंगे ? वे हमारे नेता रहे और आज भी हैं... (व्यवधान)। आपने श्री अंतुले जी का नाम ले लिया, यह भी बिलकुल सही है। अंतुले साहब को चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया। हम चाहते हैं कि मुसलमान जो हैं वे हमारे देश के मुखतलिफ सूबों में जाए, जहां उनकी मेजो रिटी भी नहीं है वहां के मुख्य मंत्री बने, बन रहे हैं और कल भी बनेंगे। असम में अनवरातमूरबनी चीफ मिनिस्टर, एक लैंडी और मुसलमान, यह आपको समझ लेना चाहिये डा० स्वरूप सिंह जी कि...

श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव (बिहार) : आज कौन-कौन हैं ?

श्री सतपाल मिश्रल : आप बैठे रहेंगे तो किसी को भी नहीं रहने देंगे। इस तरह से सोचा जा रहा है कि किसी एक स्टेट में मुसलमान चीफ मिनिस्टर हो, लेकिन हम पूछना चाहते हैं कि दस स्टेटों में मुसलमान क्यों न हों, पांच स्टेटों में मुसलमान क्यों न हो?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : क्या काश्मीर में कभी हिन्दू बनेगा ?

श्री सतपाल मित्तल : माथुर साहब बैठिये । आप कोई भी रंग या चोला पहन लें लेकिन रहेगा जनसंघ वाला चोला । कुछ भी बदल लोजिये माथुर साहब, आप अपना चोला और रंगत बदल दीजिये, गिरगिट की तरह इधर, गिरगिट की तरह उधर लेकिन रहेंगे वही । जब आपके मन में झांका जायेगा तो वहां आर० एस० एस० और जनसंघ निकलेगा । आपको इस बात का फिक्र है कि जम्मू और काश्मीर में हिन्दू होगा या नहीं । हमारे देश पिता महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि जब तक इस देश में माइनारिटी को साथ लेकर नहीं चला जायेगा, उनको समता नहीं दी जायेगी, उनको उबारा नहीं जायेगा, उनको प्रोत्साहन नहीं दिया जायेगा तब तक इस देश में रामराज कायम नहीं होगा । यह दूसरी बात है कि आज अपोजिशन वाले कामयाब हैं नफरत फैलाने में, नफरत पैदा करने में । मंदिर, गुरुद्वारों और मस्जिदों में दीवार खड़ी करने वाले जो हैं, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं कि ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव : हम प्रस्ताव करते हैं कि माइनारिटी को प्रधान मंत्री बनाइये ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : यहां तो खानदानी माइनारिटी है । नेहरू खानदान जो है वह माइनारिटी में है । (व्यवधान) ...

श्री सतपाल मित्तल : डा० स्वरूप सिंह जी, अगर आपकी बात मान ली जाये ...

DR. SARUP SINGH: May I offer a word of explanation?

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: Not now. Let me complete.

DR. SARUP SINGH: All that I was saying was....

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: Let me complete now. You don't run away. Let me complete now.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Let me offer...

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: I am not yielding, Doctorsaheb.

मैं योल्ड नहीं करूंगा । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं डाक्टर साहब कि यह गांधी का देश है, जवाहर लाल नेहरू का देश है । इसमें डा० जाकिर हुसैन भी राष्ट्रपति हुए, इसमें श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद भी राष्ट्रपति हुए, इसमें सिख भी राष्ट्रपति होगा, हरिजन भा हांगा ।

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव : सब कुछ बना सकते हैं लेकिन प्राइम मिनिस्टर नहीं बनायेंगे । (व्यवधान)

श्री सतपाल मित्तल : आप नहीं बनने देंगे ... (व्यवधान)
You don't interrupt me. I will deal with them.

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: We are not interrupting you.

SHRI SAT PAUL MITTAL: I will deal with them. (Interruptions).

लेकिन अगर कभी आपको मौका मिल जाये तो दूढ़कर ऐसा प्रधानमंत्री लायेंगे जो सारे देश की नाक कटवा देगा । जैसा आप पहले लाये । आप दो बार अपना प्राइम मिनिस्टर लाये । आप जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर लाये वह 18वीं सदी और 19वीं सदी का दूढ़कर लाये जो कि प्रगति के खिलाफ थे, जो सेकुलरिज्म के खिलाफ थे, जो सोशलिज्म के खिलाफ थे, जो देश में कम्युनल हारमोनी के खिलाफ थे । आप ऐसे लोगों को दूढ़कर लाये । मेरी जुबान मत खुलवाइये । (व्यवधान)

डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, मैं बहुत अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी ने यहां पर कुछ बातें कहीं हैं । यह उनकी अपनी राय है । लेकिन बहुत सी बातें माकूल बात नहीं

हैं। उन्होंने और अपोजीशन वाले ने, किसी ने भी उठकर नहीं कहा कि आल इंडिया सिख स्टुडेंट फ़ेडरेशन पर जो बैन लगाया गया है, हम उसको हिमायत करते हैं। उन्होंने उठकर खड़े होकर कहा कि उस पर बैन जो हुआ है यह काम खराब है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसी जमातें सिखों में हों, हिन्दुओं में हों, मुसलमानों में हों, किसी में भी हो जो जहर फैलाकर नफरत पैदा कर रही, एक कम्युनिटी और दूसरी कम्युनिटी के दरम्यान जो फैसला बढ़ाती हैं, उनको जब भी सरकार उचित समझे, उस पर सरकार को बैन लगाना चाहिए। मैं इससे विल्कुल इत्फाक करता हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरदार खुशवंत सिंह जी की इस बात से इत्फाक नहीं करता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री जी चल कर गोल्डन टेम्पल में जायें क्योंकि गोल्डन टेम्पल में जाना बड़े संभाव्य की बात है। गोल्डन टेम्पल में जा कर अपने मस्तिष्क को गुरुद्वारे में उस मुकद्दस मुकाम में जा कर झुकाना यह बहुत ऊँची बात है लेकिन आज वह गोल्डन टेम्पल हमारे गुरुओं का वह मुकद्दस मुकाम, उसमें क्या है? उसमें पूजा करने वाले नहीं हैं। उसमें हमारी मुकद्दस किताबों को पढ़ कर उनकी शिक्षा देने वाले नहीं हैं। आप तो खुद जा आए हैं। लोग हथियार लिए फिर रहे हैं। उनकी बगल में गंस हैं, रिवाल्वर हैं और उनके पास स्टेन गन हैं, बम हैं। वह असलाह कहां से आया मुझे उसको कहने की जरूरत नहीं है। खतरनाक से खतरनाक असलाह उनके पास मौजूद है। ऐसी हालत में प्रधान मंत्री जी को यह कहना कि वह गोल्डन टेम्पल में जाएं यात्री के तौर पर जाएं प्रधान मंत्री के तौर पर नहीं जाएं वह किसी तरह भी जाएं इन्दिरा गांधी किसी व्यक्ति का नाम नहीं है। इन्दिरा गांधी हिन्दुस्तान का ही नहीं बल्कि संसार के अमन चाहने वाले अनगिनत

लोग जो हैं उनको आशाओं की प्रतीक हैं। इन्दिरा गांधी 103 देशों के चेयरमैन हैं यह आपको समझ लेना चाहिये। दुनिया की तारीख में जब से मानव ने जन्म लिया है कभी 103 देश एक जगह पर इकट्ठे नहीं हुए हैं। यूनाइटेड नेशंस में भी इकट्ठे नहीं हुए हैं। उनके सरबरा बादशाह, शाहनशाह, प्रधान और प्रधानमंत्री किसी एक जगह पर आज तक इकट्ठे नहीं हुए। जब से मानव ने जन्म लिया इकट्ठे हो कर किसी एक को अपना नेता नहीं कहा। इन्दिरा गांधी सिर्फ हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री नहीं है वह अमन पसंद ताकतों की रहबर हैं। सारे संसार में वह अमन और जंग के दरम्यान खड़ी हैं। आज की हालत में उनसे इस किस्म की प्रार्थना करना उनको ऐसे कहना मेरे ख्याल में वाजिब नहीं है। मैं यह भी कहूंगा कि अपोजीशन वाले चिल्ला-चिल्ला कर कह रहे थे कि इन्दिरा जी ट्राइपार्टाइट टाक्स करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। अपोजीशन पर इल्जाम लगाया जा सकता है कि वह इस सारे मसले को उलझा रहे हैं। जब इन्दिरा जी ने ट्राइपार्टाइट टाक्स के लिए बुलाया यह अपोजीशन वाले बैठे हैं मैं इन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों नहीं खुल कर कहते कि अकाली दल टाक्स को फेल करने के लिए जिम्मेदार है। क्यों नहीं कहते। अकाली दल वाले यहां से यह कह कर उठ कर गये थे कि पंजाब की हालत ठीक होने पर आएं लेकिन लौटने के बजाय वहां से स्टेटमेंट दे दिया कि हम अब नेगोसियेशन टेबल पर नहीं आएं। अगर कोई सच्ची बात है तो उसको कहने से यह क्यों डरते हैं। उसका एक ही कारण है। आप इसलिए डरते हैं कि आपकी उनके साथ साठ-गांठ है। यह बीच में मिले हुये हैं। वहां जा कर के भिडारावाले से मिलते हैं। उसकी पीठ ठोकते हैं। बाहर आ कर उसके खिलाफ बयान देते हैं। इन्हीं के जो नेता वहां जा कर कहते हैं कि डेटे

[श्री सत्तपाल मित्तल]

रहो और यहां आ कर कुछ कहते हैं। वहां कहते हैं यह जो दफा 25 कांस्टा-ट्यूशन की है तुम इसको जलाओ कोई बात नहीं है क्योंकि सेंटर की सरकार इसको मान लेगी और इधर आ कर कहते हैं कि यह बहुत बुरा कर रहे हैं। यह दो रूखी नहीं चलेंगी। आपको एक रूख होना पड़ेगा और फिर हर बात को आप सियासी और पार्टी के नुक्तेनजर से देखें क्या कोई देश के नुक्तेनजर से भी देखेगा और सारा हिन्दुस्तान आज परेशानी और चिन्ता में है। ऐसी हालत मुठी भर लोगों ने देश में कर दी है कि हमारे गुरुओं के प्यारे सिख जो हैं वे सारे हिन्दुस्तान में मशकूक गिने जा रहे हैं, अच्छे से अच्छा देशभक्त सिख जो देश के लिए बड़ा से बड़ी कुर्बानी करने को तैयार है, कुर्बानी की भी है आज उसको भी शक की नजर से देखा जा रहा है। इसका ज़िम्मेदार कौन है? इसके ज़िम्मेदार हैं वह मुठी पर अकाली वह मुठी भर एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट। मैं अदब से कहना चाहता हूं कि जो कुछ हरियाणा में हुआ है यह बहुत बुरा हुआ है। इससे बुरा हो नहीं सकता। हमारे मुकद्दस मुकाम जो हैं, गुरुद्वारे हमारी पूजा के मुकद्दस मुकाम हैं उनको जलाया जाय इससे बड़ी अफसोसनाक बात नहीं हो सकती है और इसको जितनी जोर से मजम्मत की जाए वह कम है लेकिन मैं अदब के साथ यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हरियाणा में एक दो दिन जो हुआ वह पंजाब में जो किल्लिस हो रही थीं इनोसेंट लोगों को कत्ल किया जा रहा था मारा जा रहा था, बैंक लूटे जा रहे थे, छोटे-छोटे मासूम बच्चों के पेटों में नेजे भोंके जा रहे थे, जैसे गुरदासपुर डिस्ट्रिक्ट में कई जगह-जगह पर हुये, यह उसका एक रिएक्शन था और रिएक्शन जैसा मैंने कहा कि लोग पागल हो जाया करते थे, मैं पागल कहूंगा, हत्यारे नहीं कहूंगा और उन पागलों ने न्ह काम किया जो हत्यारे भी नहीं कर सकते हैं। उसकी

मजम्मत की जानी चाहिये। मैं मजम्मत करता हूं पूरे जोर के साथ। लेकिन सरदार खुशवंत जी ने कह दिया कि दोनों स्टेटों में मार्शल ला लगा दिया जाये। जरा खुशवंत सिंह जी अपने दिल से पूछें कि जब ये दो वाक्ये हुये तो हरियाणा की सरकार ने उनको सख्ती के साथ दबाया कि नहीं दबाया? एक भी वाक्या उसके बाद हुआ है? पंजाब में रोज कत्ल हो रहे हैं बसें रोकी जा रही हैं, गाड़ियां रोकी जा रही हैं और सिर्फ यही कहा जा रहा है कि जो हिंदू हैं निकलकर आ जायें। हिंदू कौन हैं? गुरु तेग बहादुर, गुरु नानक, गुरु गोविंद सिंह के मानने वाले और जिनके मान, ईमान, धर्म को बचाया उनको मारने से कोई गुरु राजी हो सकते हैं? उनको मारने से जो हमारे महान गुरु हुये हैं उनकी रूहें शांत होंगी या अशांत होंगी। यह जो कुछ हो रहा है निहायत ही दुखदायी है और मैं कहना चाहूंगा सियासी पार्टियों के नेताओं से जो यहाँ बैठे हैं कि वे भगवान के लिये, परमात्मा के लिये, वाहेगुरु के लिये एक बार इकट्ठे होकर इस नेशनल डिलेमा को दूर करने के लिए अपना सर जोड़ें।

जहाँ तक तंजाव खी प्रॉब्लम बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है मैं कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा इतना कहूंगा कि 10 साल पहले जब थीन डैम को स्पॉन्सर किया था तो उस वक़्त 60—70 करोड़ कास्ट थी आंच 669 करोड़ उसकी कास्ट है, 10 टाइम्स कास्ट बढ़ गयी है (समय की घंटी) एक मिनट लूंगा। लेकिन अफसोस की बात यह है कि प्रधान मंत्री के थीन डैम को क्लीयर करने के बावजूद इस बात पर कि तीन स्टेटों का शेयर क्या हो उसका फैसला न होने की वजह से पानी पाकिस्तान को जा रहा है हालांकि इन्डस ट्रीटी के मुताबिक उसका पानी 71 में बन्द हो जाना चाहिये था। यही नहीं हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी बैठे हैं ये इसको स्पॉन्सर नहीं कर रहे हैं फार एक्सटरनल असिस्टेंस। वर्ल्ड बैंक के पास नहीं भेज रहे हैं। ये कैसे भेजें। इसका हल निकालना चाहिये। इसके पहले कि 60—70 करोड़ का अब जो 669 करोड़ है यह

6 हजार करोड़ हो जाये, इसका कोई न कोई हल निकाला जाना चाहिये। यह मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

हमारा ड्राई पोर्ट कोई नहीं है इंडस्ट्री सफर कर रही है। कोयला कहां से आता है, लोहा कहां से आता है, लुब्रीकेंट कहां से आते हैं, फर्टिलाइजर कहां से आते हैं और हम पंजाब में बार्डर स्टेट में बैठे हुये हैं। बार्डर स्टेट की प्रॉब्लम आप जानते हैं। हमको पुलिस पर इसलिये भी खर्चा करना पड़ता है कि हमको जो बार्डर्स हैं उनको सेफगार्ड करना है। स्मगलर्स और दूसरे एन्टी सोशल एलिमेंट्स जो आस-पास पाकिस्तान के साथ लगे हुये हैं उन पर भी खर्चा होता है। आपने सिर्फ 115 करोड़ रुपया हमें इस बात के लिये दिया कि पाकिस्तान वाले जो हैं वे रावी का पानी हमारी तरफ धकेलते हैं ताकि उनका नुक्सान न हो हमारे गांवों का नुक्सान हो। आपने प्रॉब्लम को समझ लिया, रिकग्नाइज कर लिया यह बहुत थोड़ा है। सौ करोड़ का घाटा हम कैसे पूरा करेंगे। वित्त मंत्री जी ने 12 तारीख को लोक सभा में उस वक्त कहा होगा जब शायद यह फैसला न हुआ हो कि प्रेजिडेंट रूल की मीयाद बढ़ानी है। अब तो मीयाद बढ़ गयी। अब कोई पापुलर गवर्नमेंट आने का चांस नजर नहीं आता। ऐसे हालात में यह जो डिफिसिट है यह हमारे सर से हटाइये और यह सौ करोड़ रुपया पंजाब को दीजिये। जो देश का गल्ले का नेशनल पूल है पंजाब उसमें 60 फीसदी देता है। पंजाब स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री में करोड़ों अरबों रुपये का देश का सामान बाहर भेजकर आपके लिये फारेन एक्सचेंज कमाता है। इसलिये सारी तबज्जह इस तरफ देनी चाहिये। श्रीमन्, हम तो बात करते हैं कि हमें एटॉमिक प्लांट दीजिये और अकाली बात करते हैं कि जो हमारी कृपाण है उसका मुट्ठा 6 इंच का होना चाहिये, उसका ब्लेड 6 इंच का होना चाहिये, मुट्ठा 3 इंच का होना चाहिये। पंजाब की प्रॉब्लम है कि

बिजली नहीं है, पंजाब की प्रॉब्लम है कि फाइनेंस नहीं है, बैंक वाले जितना हमारा डिपॉजिट होता है वह हमारे ऊपर खर्च करने की बजाय बाहर खर्च करते हैं। प्रॉब्लम हमारी आर्थिक है। और हल जो निकाले जा रहे हैं वह हैं कि कृपाण का ब्लेड कितना हो, मुट्ठा कितना हो, इससे ज्यादा अफसोसनाक बात हो नहीं सकती। पंजाब को बचाइये इन फिरकेवाराना दरिन्दों से जो हिन्दुओं में भी हैं और सिखों में भी हैं। अगर नहीं बचाया जायेगा तो गांधी और जवाहरलाल का यह देश बर्बाद हो जायेगा। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आप का धन्यवाद करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे मौका दिया।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand from the floor of this hon. House with a sense of deep anguish. I should have thought that this particular subject which is for discussion before this hon. House at this juncture, would not be used as a political stick to beat the Government with for partisan purposes, but all the hon. Members of this House would join together to raise a powerful voice against the events and happenings in Punjab which have become a mockery of the Constitutional ideals and the ideals of the nation. But unfortunately, this has not been realised.

Sir, before I deal with some of the points raised by the hon. Members, I would like to say that in order to understand the happenings in Punjab, it is necessary for us to have a historical perspective of the events and the career of the Akali Party, in the post-Independence India. The Akali Party in the post-Independence India started its career with a demand for Punjabi Suba. The rationale of this demand was not that India should be divided into linguistic States. The rationale was this. It was based on the assumption of the Akali Party that in the Punjabi Suba,

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

it will have a total sway over the Sikh masses and will be able to enjoy perpetual political power. This was the background of this particular demand. However, once the country as a whole decided to divide itself into linguistic States, the formation of Punjabi Suba was a rational and logical outcome of that decision. But then the trouble started. The Akali Party was in for disillusionment. In the course of time, it discovered that its sway over the people, over the masses, Sikh masses, in Punjab, could not, for ever, remain a total sway, so as to ensure to it a total, complete and perpetual political power. It was this political disillusionment and the frustration of the Akali Party which led to what I would come to, just in a moment, namely, the Anandpur Sahib resolution. Along with this political frustration, there was also the growing fear in the Akali Party over the gradual assimilation of the Sikh masses in the mainstream of national life. The Akali Party owed its existence to the separatist concept of the Sikh and the gradual assimilation of the Sikh masses in the mainstream of national life posed a political threat to the future and the existence of the Akali Party. It was this political frustration combined with the political fear which ultimately led to the passing of the Anandpur Sahib resolution. The various terms of this resolution bring forth the fear and the political frustration of this particular Party.

I will, Sir, just quote a few paragraphs of this resolution. It says:

"The Akali Dal shall be active and committed to the realisation of the following aims: (1) The propagation of the Sikh way of life and the removal of atheism and non-Sikh thinking.

(2) Maintaining the feeling of a separate independent entity of the Sikh Panth"

The separate entity of the Sikh Panth. Why? Fears over the gradual assimilation of the Sikh masses in the mainstream of the national life. And as to its further political ends the Resolution provided that the object of this resolution would be, I quote: "to give the birth right of the Khalsa a perpetual shape, creation of the necessary environment and achievement of a political constitution are the basic ideological plans of the Akali Dal." This was a step forward to the dream of a perpetual political power in Punjab, a separate political entity in the Punjab to be created by the Sikhs being treated as a separate, altogether different religious entity. I respectfully submit, Sir, the history of the Akali Dal after the passing of this resolution reflects the extremist decisions which it had gradually started taking whenever it was out of power. This resolution was thrown into the limbo when it came into the power. It was resurrected once again when it lost power in 1980. That is the tragedy of Punjab. The tragedy of Punjab is not the dispute over water, it is not the dispute over Chandigarh, it is a sheer naked, but unfortunately for the whole country, a tragic pursuit of political power. I submit, Sir, if that be the position, hon. Mr. Jaswant Singh has accused the Government of indecisiveness. It is good to use the expression 'indecisiveness', but his whole speech, I respectfully submit, is marked by evasiveness. There is not one particular point on which he has come forward to take a categorical stand on the part of his political party. If he says that the Government is indecisive, in what manner? On that he remains silent. And I am not surprised. He has dug into history. I will not go far in history, I will go back only by one year when these political parties, including

the party to which he belongs, hungry of political power and lust for political office, made a beeline to Vijayawada. And who are the persons who joined hands with the representatives of the Akali Party? Along with the representatives of the Akali Party they pass a resolution, and what does this resolution say? It makes a very heartening reading. It says, "the country was threatened by fissiparous tendencies, communalism and casteism." I submit, Sir, there can be nothing more in the line of political hypocrisy and political chicanery than to pass such a resolution, joining hands with the regional forces who were inaugurating this conference or this conclave, or with the communal forces from Punjab, the representatives of the Akalis, with whom they joined hands to give this particular resolution a voice. It was an insult to the intelligence of the people. It was a downright dissimulation on the part of the political parties.

I would ask them, did they ask any member, did they ask the Akali parties whether or not they repudiated the Anandpur Sahib resolution? That was their job at the conclave before they raised this voice. I would ask them, did they call upon the Akali representatives to make the position clear as to what their aims and objectives are in...

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Better ask the Home Minister whether we have done it or not. You do not know anything about it. Better ask the Home Minister. The Hon. Member may give his reply, but I am asking, I am respectfully submitting that the Government today is being accused of indecisiveness. When before these killings started, one of the prominent leaders of the party to which Mr. Jaswant Singh belongs, was asked a question by the various newspaper representatives: "What is your position about the entry into

Sikh Gurdwaras?". Having first said that the criminals were taking shelter in Sikh Gurdwaras, when he was pointedly asked: "What is your stand today? Will you support the Government if the Government decided to enter the Sikh Gurdwaras?", he remained silent. This is the evasiveness of the political party to which my friend belongs.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: But I am not silent.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: It is not indecisiveness but it is complete evasiveness on the part of the Opposition parties in failing to take particular stand on issues which are confronting the nation today.

So far as Punjab is concerned, I submit, Sir, when there was a conclave at Srinagar, of course the party to which the hon. Member, Mr. Jaswant Singh, belongs did not attend that conclave, not because the Akalis had attended it but because of their own personal, political combinations and permutations when they thought that it would be more beneficial politically not to go there. But that is beside the point. When the killing took place at 12 o'clock in the night the tragic killings which led to the imposition of Presidential rule, a statement was made by Mr. Badal that if the Presidential rule was used to cause any harassment to the Sikh masses they would fight back. That, I respectfully submit, was an extremely provocative statement. I would ask the hon. Members belonging to the various Opposition parties who had constituted that conclave at Srinagar: did they pull him up? Did they tell him that at that juncture that statement was uncalled for? No, they did not. And I would not be surprised, Mr. Home Minister, if they have not come forward to support you completely on the extension of the

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

Presidential rule. It is because of this that they have been speaking with two voices. At the Calcutta conclave, they passed a resolution which says: "Law and order is State subject and the prerogative of the States in this matter must be fully respected." This is the extent to which they went. They said: It is not the responsibility of the Centre to interfere in the matters of law and order so far as States are concerned. But when they come to the floor of this hon. House, when they go to political platforms, they accuse the Government of indecisiveness. This is noting, I respectfully submit, but political hypocrisy and political chicanery. I submit, Sir, that it is the responsibility of the Government, I would say it is the constitutional duty of the Government—I would just quote this particular article—to protect a State within the Union against internal disturbance. It is article 355 which says:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution."

So far as imposition of the Presidential rule is concerned, that is only one of the means provided to the Government of India in order to carry out its mandatory constitutional duty to protect every State against internal disturbance. This particular article is based on article 4, section 2 of the United States Constitution. That article provides that it shall be the duty of the Federal authority to protect every State against domestic violence provided there is a request from the executive or the legislature of that State. So far as the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution are concerned, they followed that article, but not in detail. They removed that restriction which is contained in the US

Constitution, that there has to be a request from the State before the Government can take steps to protect the State against internal disturbances. But the modern political developments led the United States Supreme Court practically to nullify this restriction even so far as the United States is concerned. In their case, the US Supreme Court has gone to the extent of saying that the federal authority may intervene in certain circumstances for protection of its own States against domestic violence, if it is so necessary, without the request of the Executive or the Legislature. It is because of this position, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will remember that when one Negro student, Meredith was disallowed admission into the University in the State of Mississippi, President Kennedy sent thousands of troops to suppress insurrection which was led by the Governor of that State. That power was exercised by the President on his own, without any request. I submit, Sir, it is a constitutional duty and I congratulate this Government for having stood up, risen to the occasion and taken up its particular stand and having decided to face the consequences of this agitation by taking it by the forelocks.

Thank you.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA
(West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, on the Appropriation Bills, Members on both sides of the House have spoken, and I do not propose to make any comments. But I would like to make a few submissions to the honourable Home Minister with regard to the Resolution he has moved. Perhaps this is a unique case, a case in which the majority party in the Legislature is refusing to assume the functions of government, and the Opposition has resigned. In a situation like this, invocation of article 356 of the Constitution cannot but be justified. But I would request the honourable

Home Minister to answer a question I intend to put to him. If he thinks that it is not in national interest to give the answer, he may choose not to do so. Otherwise, I shall be obliged if he would give a categorical answer. The question is: It is the policy of the Government of India to go on applying article 356 to Punjab until a settlement is reached with the Akali Dal, or until another general election is held in Punjab? If it is a question of general election, it is a different proposition altogether. But if it is a question of settlement with the Akali Dal, it is important. Sir, I have gone through the printed statement of the honourable Home Minister, the statement which he made in Parliament on the 28th February, 1984, and after reading that statement my impression is that it is difficult to envisage a settlement with the Akali Dal in the immediate or near future. According to this statement, the Akalis have never finalised their demands on any issue whatsoever. They have shifted their grounds from time to time on each and every issue—the religious demands, the river-waters dispute, the territorial dispute and the Centre-State relations. On each and every issue they made one demand today, a different kind of demand tomorrow and still more different kind of demand day after tomorrow. That is the impression conveyed to a general reader of the statement of the Home Minister in Parliament. If this is the situation, then an early settlement with the Akalis does not appear to me, personally speaking, to be possible either in the immediate or the near future.

What then is the solution? My friend, Mr. Kushwant Singh, has made certain suggestions, and it is for the hon. Home Minister to consider them. He has said, firstly, that both in Punjab and Haryana some kind of a martial law should be declared. Of course, I do not exactly know what he meant by martial law. It may be that he meant a proclamation of emergency

in a part of the territory of India under article 352 of the Constitution, which would attract immediately, *inter alia*, both articles 353 and 359 giving much more powers to the Central Government to deal with intimidation, terrorism, individual violence or mass violence. Whether or not the Government of India will take that course is for the Government of India to decide. But so far as Haryana is concerned, I am afraid, that cannot be done because, according to the statement made by the Union Home Minister in Parliament on the 28th of February last, the situation in Haryana has improved, and he trusts that it would remain peaceful.

The second suggestion of Mr. Kushwant Singh has been that since a settlement with the Akalis is becoming impossible and in that they are proving to be recalcitrant, unilateral decisions should be taken by the Government of India. He thinks that on the river disputes a Supreme Court Judge should be appointed to go into that question and settle it. But I find from the Home Minister's statement that so far as the dispute between Punjab and Haryana is concerned, the Government of India has already offered to the Akalis a tribunal to be presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court, appointed under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act. If this offer has already been made and has not been accepted by the Akalis because they are now raising other disputes, namely the disputes regarding Jamuna waters, the reopening of allocation of water to Rajasthan, etc., then a unilateral decision may be taken by the Government of India and they may proceed to appoint forthwith a tribunal under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act. Similarly, the 1970 Award may be implemented.

So far as other disputes are concerned, hon. Members of this House more familiar with the Punjab situ-

[Shri Sankar Prasad Mitra]

ation have not given any specific suggestions. If they had given any specific suggestions, I would have been only too happy to deal with them. But I am sorry I cannot agree with my hon. friend, Mr. Khushwant Singh that the Prime Minister should visit the Golden Temple as a pilgrim. The situation in the Golden Temple, as we read in the newspapers, is such that there is no question of her visiting it as a pilgrim because the Prime Minister's personal security is a matter of supreme importance and of national concern. Therefore, that kind of a risk, in my opinion, should not be taken by the Prime Minister and no one should advise her to do so.

Sir, as there is no other alternative now, I am supporting the Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister under article 356. But I do express the hope that sooner or later on, I should say, as soon as possible, he would find out ways and means to see that Punjab is ruled by the elected representatives of the people of Punjab. Thank you.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the whole country is concerned with the events that are taking place in Punjab. We want complete peace in Punjab. We are against all sorts of violence and killing of innocent people either in Punjab or in Haryana.

The proclamation of President's rule is no solution to the problems that we are faced within Punjab. Even after the proclamation of President's rule, we are seeing that innocent people are being killed both in Punjab and in Haryana. The Home Minister has said in his statement that the Akalis are shifting their stand from time to time. I would like to ask the Home Minister and the Government of India whether

the Government of India also is not shifting its stand from time to time in solving the problems of Punjab. An award was given some years back. I want to know from the Home Minister and the Government of India what happened to that award. All these years why did the Government of India and the concerned authorities sleep over the issue? Why have they not taken any trouble to implement that award.

Now, so far as burning of the Constitution is concerned, we are completely against it. It is against the unity and integrity of the country. We are not for the burning of the Constitution. At the same time, the Union Government is equally responsible for the killing of the Constitution. The Union Government is not paying respect to the provisions of the Constitution. They have no respect for the feelings of the people of the States. For example, I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister and the Government of India to the fact that under article 169 of the Constitution, every State has the right to have a Council or to abolish it. And under the Constitution, the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution recommending abolition of the State Legislative Council. But the Union Government has failed to place it before Parliament....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Mr. Reddy, what is the use of mentioning it now?

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: So the Union Government is equally responsible for not respecting the Constitution. So I put it that both the Union Government which has not respected Andhra Pradesh Assembly's resolution and those who are burning a part of the Constitution are equally guilty.

They are both guilty. If Prakash Singh Badal and his followers are put behind

the bars for burning the Constitution, the Union Government, the members of the Union Government, the Home Minister and the Law Minister, are equally responsible for not respecting the provisions of the Constitution. This is my submission. So far as the problems of Punjab are concerned, every State has its own problems. It is the duty of the Union Government to understand the feelings of the people of that area, whether in Punjab or in Haryana or in any other part of the country. You must find out the real solution. Why have you allowed the situation to deteriorate all these days to the present State of affairs? You have not sincerely tried to solve the problem. In other words you are encouraging to continue the situation, to allow the situation deteriorate day by day. So far as the different communities in India are concerned, we are all Indians first. Whether we are Sikh or Muslim or Hindu, we are all Indians first and foremost. We stand for India, for the independence, for the sovereignty and the unity and integrity of India. Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh, Guru Arjun Singh, Guru Ramdas, all these gurus are not confined to the community alone. They are gurus of the whole of India, of all the people. People from the far of south travel thousands of miles and they visit the Hari Mandir or what is known as the Golden Temple; they visit the Taran Taran gurudwara. I have visited and thousands of people of my State have visited so many of these gurudwaras and places. We respect all religions, whether preached by Guru Nanak or the Buddha or any other religious guru. So there is no disrespect shown to any religion. All religions should be respected. All places of worship should be respected and they should not be allowed to be used for any purpose other than worshipping or prayer (*time-bell rings*) I want the Home Minister to tell us clearly what he wants to do to solve this problem of Punjab. You must have direct talks. The Prime Minister must take the House and the people into confidence; you must have direct

contact with the leaders of Punjab. They must meet personally and must discuss and solve the problem so that so many of the innocent lives can be saved, the unity and integrity of the country can be saved. You should no longer allow the situation to drift and deteriorate. I request the Minister to think over the problem and try to solve it as early as possible.

SHRI MAKHAN PAUL (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would have been happy if the Resolution for continuance in force of President's rule in Punjab had been taken up separately without lumping and hence dumping together everything with the Appropriation Bill. This requires serious consideration because it is Punjab which was in the forefront during the freedom struggle. After the achievement of freedom Punjab was bifurcated and now Punjab has come to such a pass. I have been told that I have been given only a little time. So I will not go into too many details. Let me say who are responsible for what is happening in Punjab. I cannot but accuse the Central Government for bringing Punjab to such a pass. I hope I shall not commit any mistake if I say that it is the creation of the Central Government. This Government had taken a policy of divide and rule absolutely for its own selfish motive. But it did not pay them ultimately. Then they took the policy of drift. That has brought Punjab to such a pass. Finding no other way out now the present ruling class took the policy of autocracy and now they have come forward to extend the President's rule, that is another autocratic rule. These are clear proofs that the ruling class obstructs the democratic functioning of a State which has a heroic past. Mr. Deputy Chairman, 5 P.M. man, I have already told you that you have given me a little time. Without going into details. I want to place some suggestions through you.

(1) The Government should do away with the policy of murdering de-

[Shri Makhan Paul]

mocracy (2) I request the Government to refrain from the policy of divide and rule. (3) I request the Government to pay heed to the suggestions made by the opposition parties conclave that was held in Calcutta and to take initiative in creating conditions for arranging a dialogue, bipartite or tripartite, with the concerned parties.

President's rule has not solved the problem and further extension will not solve it. To my utter dismay I find that while the Punjab is burning, our Government is fiddling. I would warn the ruling class of India that during the freedom struggle Punjab was the grave-digger of British imperialism. Now it will not be surprising that if the toiling people of Punjab who have been groaning under the repressive heels of the President's rule, for no fault of their own, will be the grave-digger of Indian capitalism whom the present Government represent.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Punjab is my second home. I have spent the best part of my life in Punjab, from 1940 to 1947. I used to live there for seven months in a year in connection with my business. So, I know much about Punjab.

I took the opportunity during the Holi holidays to visit Punjab. I went on a Friday and I want to tell the Home Minister what I saw with my own eyes there. I met a few of my business friends. The situation in Punjab is very bad. The market there closes at 6 P M. It looks deserted and there is no business. What is surprising is, whenever I was talking with Hindus, they were frank but when a Sikh gentleman came, they just side tracked the subject and spoke of something else. Similarly, when I was talking to the Sikh gentlemen, the moment a Hindu came, they would change the subject. This was the situation. This reminds me of the prepartition days in 1946 and early 1947. Exactly the same situation prevailed between Hindus

and Muslims then. I was in Amritsar those days. I am not talking of August 1947, but March-April of 1947. Mr. Home Minister, I have come back a sad man. I would urge upon the Home Minister that a solution has to be found. In this connection, several suggestions have been offered. I too offer a small suggestion.

A Parliamentary delegation consisting of fifty Members of Parliament, 25 from this House and the other 25 from the other House, should have a dharna or camp outside the Golden Temple and I offer myself as the first man to offer for fast unto death until the Akalis come to the negotiating table and work out a solution. We will have a relay fast by all these fifty volunteers. I will be the first person to offer for this relay fast unto death until the Akali come to the negotiating table and find a solution, a amicable solution.

The second and the most important suggestion that I want to make is an unorthodox one which nobody else has made.

Sir, I have seen with my own eyes that President's Rule is no solution to the Punjab problem. What is happening is that the bureaucracy, however efficient it may be, is not able to tackle the situation there. So, I have a solution and that solution is this: Please restore your own Government in Punjab. This is my humble suggestion to you. If the Opposition is not in a position to form the government there and if you have the majority in that State, you form the government there. But there is a proviso. The Ministers in the Cabinet should be brave people and they would have to sit not in Chandigarh, but in the districts. They should go to the districts and stay there and do their business from those districts. This will inculcate a sense of confidence among the communities there. These are my two humble suggestions. So many other suggestions have been made by the other honourable

Members and I do not want to discuss now. I would only request the Honourable Minister to react to these two suggestions of mine. As I said, I have come from Amritsar with a sad heart and I have found that the situation that is obtaining there now is exactly the same as was prevailing in early 1947. This is what is happening in Punjab now and this is what I have seen in Amritsar. If this is not checked, then the situation will go out of your hand. Then who will die first? The first casualty will be Jammu and Kashmir because the lifeline of Jammu and Kashmir is through Punjab. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, the Home Minister now.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, thirteen Honourable Members have participated in the debate and I am thankful to them.

I am surprised, Sir, that everytime a debate takes place on Punjab, we are accused of adopting a policy of drift. Where is the policy of drift? Sir, the demands can be placed in four categories.

As far as the religious demands are concerned, it has been announced time and again that we have accepted those religious demands. Only on the Gurdwara Act we have said that unless we consult the concerned State Governments and the Gurdwara authorities, the gurdwaras which they are wanting to have, it is not possible to do that. We have asked them to submit to us a list of the gurdwaras which they want to have under the Gurdwara Act. But the list is yet to come.

Then, the kirpan question has been solved. Originally, it was a four and half inch kirpan; then it became a six inch kirpan; and even that has been accepted. As far as the internal flights are concerned, now that is allowed.

As far as Amritsar is concerned, we have said that around the Golden Temple and Durgiana Temple, which will be demarcated, the sale of meat, tobacco and wine will be banned. This is a municipal function and the local municipality can do it.

As far as the kirtan is concerned, we have said that it is difficult to install a set at the Temple itself, but the Guruvani will be broadcast from the Jalandhar station, which is given out from the Golden Temple, for 1½ hours in the morning and for half-an-hour in the evening, and this is besides the one hour which is already there. Now, they had agreed to this first; but now they are not agreeable to the time.

As far as the water issue is concerned, Sir, in the tripartite talks they had agreed that we would leave aside the question of Rajasthan. Whatever has been allocated to Rajasthan would be there. The dispute is really between Haryana and Punjab and, therefore, the Punjab and Haryana dispute should be referred to a tribunal which should be presided over by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court. We have accepted it and there is no difficulty.

As far as the Centre-State relationship is concerned, we have said, Sir, that the Sarkaria Commission has been appointed and they are free to put forth their point of view before the Sarkaria Commission and the Sarkaria Commission has also been given the suggestion that if they want to suggest some changes in the Constitution, they are free to do so and the Akali party, if it wants to put forth anything there, it could do so.

The most difficult question is the territorial demand. Now, as far as the territorial demands are concerned, Sir, we should take into consideration the interests of all the States concerned. Either they should accept the 1970 Award of the Prime Minister and hand over Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana and take Chandigarh and for

[Shri P. C. Sethi]

the rest of the area we are prepared to appoint a Commission. The second alternative that we have given is that we can have a Commission for the entire matters. It appeared at one time during the tripartite talks and bipartite talks that we are nearing a solution. But, as some of the hon. Members have pointed out again they slipped out. This time, Sir, when they came here for talks, we did not break the talks. Rather they broke the talks. Since there was some disturbance in Punjab, they went away. And you will be surprised to know that from Punjab they issued a statement that they would not come now. Now, Sir, this is the position, and they are not prepared to come. Still we are eager to hold talks.

As far as the suggestion of Shri Khushwant Singh is concerned that the Prime Minister should visit the Golden Temple, it is not the security angle. The Prime Minister has faced many dangers, and she is not afraid of her security. That is not the point. But, Sir, will it be desirable for the Head of the State to go and negotiate in the Golden Temple instead of their coming here and discussing it with her if they want to discuss with her? this is the point.

As far as the question of President's rule is concerned, it was alleged that during President's rule things have not improved. Now, there I do not agree. It is true that in the initial stages it took some time. Then the situation improved, and between 7-10-83 and 10-3-84 a total of 91 accused who have committed various crimes have been arrested. After the 14th February incident, certainly the situation has again changed and violence is there and it is continuing.

Sir, then after this I would like to point out that it has been said that the Sikhs are being discriminated against. Now, Sir, the Sikhs are a respected community. They are a

community which is working in every part of India. Some of them are even 'crorepatis' and 'arabpatis'. They are having various businesses. Almost, as far as the transport business is concerned, it has become the monopoly of their community. And, therefore, it is not correct to say that they are being discriminated against.

As far as the Army is concerned, I would like to point out that even this allegation is wrong. I would like to point out that it was decided in 1974 that every State will get quota in recruitment according to its population. As against the quota of 2.58 per cent recruitment from Punjab, it has been 9.6 per cent. The total recruitment has increased. In 1981-82 it was 8.99 and in 1982-83, 8.24 per cent. Sir, out of these percentages the Sikhs constitute 72.3 per cent in 1980-81, 79.8 per cent in 1981-82 and 79.6 per cent in 1982-83. So, Sir, this allegation is not correct.

Apart from that, they are holding positions. One of the Sikhs was a Member of the Planning Commission here. Now he is the Chairman of the Reserve Bank. Our own Rashtrapati happens to be a Sikh. The Chief Air-Marshal is also a Sikh. Even now they are there. They are holding responsible positions not only at the Centre—Mr. Buta Singh is here—but even in Hindu States there are at least one or two Sikh Ministers. Even in Madhya Pradesh, Sir, there is one Sikh Minister. That is what I like to point out, Sir.

Sir, criticism has been made why we have banned the AISSF—the All-India Sikh Students' Federation.

Sir this organisation came into being in the early 40s... While the accent in its original objectives was on mobilisation of the Sikh Youth and inculcating in them the love for the teachings of their Gurus and maintenance of their traditions, for the last few years, it has veered away from this to emphasise and rouse a sense of

separateness and communal hatred. It has been converted into the strong arm of certain extremist leaders and has been used to preach and propagate violence. Significantly, the motorcycle riders with fire arms was the banner displayed at its annual convention at Chandigarh held on January 31, 1984, urging Sikhs to buy motorcycles and pistols. Some of its leaders have raised pro-khalistan slogans. They have attempted to disturb the National Independence Day celebrations and dishonour the national flag. Now, they have been advocating collection of and training in arms, creation of armed cells in villages, raising of armed brigades and training in Guerilla Warfare. It was, therefore, necessary in the circumstances for the Government to declare the Federation as unlawful. And I would like to appeal to many innocent persons who may have been drawn to it to realise its true character and disassociate themselves from it.

As far as the question of differences between the Punjab Police and the C.R.P.F. is concerned I would like to say that there has been a tendency in the Members and some statements have been made about differences between Punjab Police and C.R.P.F. It is being alleged that they are favourably disposed towards one or the other community. We must guard against any such loose talk. Punjab Police is known for high standard of its performance and the C.R.P.F. is assisting the local administration. Both the forces are working in a difficult situation. If there are any individuals who have been remiss, it would call for action. It is totally wrong to dub them as having bias one way or the other.

As far as the question of entry of Police in the Golden Temple is concerned, it has been stated a number of times that there is no legal bar against the entry of police into any place of religious worship in performance of its duties. Government is against the use of places of worship

for accumulation of arms or for protecting fugitives from law. Entry of Police in the Golden Temple, however, is a complex matter. It has its own ramifications. There is also the question of repercussions and the sentiments of the Sikhs. One has to view the question in all its aspects in taking any decision. The State authorities have asked and I would reiterate that the S.G.P.C. should see that those wanted by law are made to surrender to the authorities concerned. I am glad to note that already statements have been made by some prominent Sikh leaders against persons hiding in Akal Takhat and they have described it as being against the tenets of Sikhism.

As far as the case against Sant Longowal is concerned, according to reports available with Government, a booklet entitled "An appeal to the Conscience of the Commonwealth Countries" was issued in the name of Sant H. S. Longowal at the time of the Conference of the Commonwealth Heads of Governments held in November, 1983. After examining the contents of the booklet, an FIR under section 124A, IPC, has been registered on 19-3-84 at Police Station Kotwali in Amritsar as is the procedure in such cases. It is only a technical matter. The reports that Sant Longowal has been charged and warrants have been issued is totally baseless. It is not correct. Only a technical report has been lodged and nothing is being done.

It may be worthwhile highlighting the fact that in the rural Punjab communal harmony prevails. There have been laudable instances where members of the Panchayat and the Numbersdars have taken full responsibility for the security of the minority communities in their villages.

The tragedy of Punjab is due to the actions of some misguided extremists. Under this umbrella, there are smugglers and bootleggers, criminals, the so-called former Naxalites and some

[Shri P. C. Sethi]

extreme communal elements who are taking advantage of the agitation and the turmoil. The conditions in Punjab are disturbed. And we are at a sensitive stage. This may not be the appropriate time for the visit of a delegation of the hon. Members. But, if some hon. Members or individual Members of our Parliament want to go to the State, we would make the arrangements for their visit and security. Therefore, Sir, we do want ourselves to restore the public rule there. And during the course of this extension of period of the President's Rule, we shall try our best to bring normalcy to Punjab so that the popular Government may be established there.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: What about dissolution of the Assembly and holding fresh elections?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I have stated that we are seeking extension for six months. It is our own intention to have a popular Government as early as possible. Therefore, Sir, I would urge....

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: The Assembly is under suspension. It has not yet been dissolved.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has said already. He is trying for it...

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Therefore, Sir, I would request, through you, the hon. House to pass the Resolution which I have moved.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman. I think, the Minister made a slight slip. He should correct the record. He referred to Madhya Pradesh as a Hindu state. I think, he meant a State where the Sikhs are in a minority and which has a Sikh Minister. He might correct the record.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: The hon. Member is right, Sir. By Hindu State, I meant where the Hindus are in a majority.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA: Sir, in a situation like what we have had in Punjab, the major victim invariably

happens to be economic and industrial development. Some of the hon. Members have drawn the attention of the House to the slowing down of the tempo of developmental work in Punjab. Sir, the Appropriation Bills which I have commended for the acceptance of this House and also the Budget do take us through to the significant gains that Punjab as a State has made on very many fronts. Sir, the House would be happy to know that in terms of allocation in the Sixth Five Year Plan. The lion's share has one for power and irrigation. Out of a total of Rs. 1,905 crores. Rs. 1,153.59 crores is being spent on irrigation and power. So, Sir, this figure would be a correct indication to assure the House that power generation and then extending irrigational facilities has become a major pre-occupation with the Government of Punjab.

Sir, hon. Member, Shrimati Amarjit Kaur, did mention about the number of irrigation and hydel projects which have to be taken up in Punjab. Sir, on the power front, the Ropar thermal power plant, Unit I, which is 210 MW, is being commissioned in the next few months. And then the second Unit will be ready for commissioning by the end of the year. And to the Thien multi-purpose project on many Members did make a reference the Ravi. Now, it is a fact that there have been cost escalations. Today it costs Rs. 667 crores. And a proposal has come, a suggestion has come from the State of Punjab that Government of India should pose this for certain World Bank assistance. But I am sure that the House would appreciate that before we present this for external assistance, the inter-State differences between the three States involved have got to be sorted out. So, I am sure that as soon as these inter-State differences and problems are solved, then we should not have any difficulty in trying to attract foreign assistance to take up this very useful project otherwise.

Sir, a mention was made about the farmers' agitation by the hon. Mem-

berg, and we are happy to convey that the farmers agitation has been called off because a number of representations were received by the Advisers to the Governor and they have been able to convince and they have also been able to give certain concessions, and as a result of that the farmers who were agitating, and all those who had made representations on behalf of the farmers of Punjab, they have been convinced that the Governor and the Advisers are fully aware of the problems of the farmers of Punjab and they would be taking necessary steps to take care of their problems.

Sir, in tackling the problem of the drinking water in villages and also in implementing the revised 20-point programme I think Punjab has made spectacular progress and in terms of the Scheduled Caste families to be economically assisted though the national average is only 74 per cent, Punjab has registered the rate of 79 per cent. So, that also shows that Punjab has done exceedingly well.

Sir, with reference to availing of the institutional finance during the years from 1980-81 to 1983-84, the institutional finance which is flowing into Punjab for various developmental works, it was Rs. 128 crores in 1980-81, and in 1983-84 the anticipated flow would be of the order of Rs. 579 crores. So, the House should be satisfied that in spite of all that is happening in Punjab, the economic activity even though it has slowed down a bit, the tempo is still there and when normalcy is restored, I am sure Punjab would be again ready to march on towards progress.

Sir, with these few words...

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: What about the deficit?

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR: What about the industries?

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA: Well, Sir, I am sure that we would not like to take any major measures concerning taxation. We only hope that when the popular rule is restored then nat-

urally that would be the legitimate instrument which should look into the deficit. But right now we are leaving it uncovered.

About the industries, Sir, entrepreneurs or industrialists from Punjab go to other States to set up industries. There are a number of them in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat. The people of Punjab are known for their resourcefulness, for their sense of adventure. So, I do not think that they have anything to complain. But the fact of the matter is that the Government can only create the right kind of atmosphere for industries to develop, for industries to come up, and beyond that there is nothing which we can do. But if industrialists come forward we can provide them with financial assistance. We can provide them with licences and infrastructure that is necessary. On that the individual entrepreneurs or industrialists must stand on their own legs.

The discussion on the Budget concluded.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Resolution moved by Shri P. C. Sethi 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, 1984."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion on the Punjab Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1984 to vote. 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 1984-85, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The Motion was adopted.

MR. 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 S. M. KRISHNA: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion regarding Punjab Appropriation Bill 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 1983-84, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now taken 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 S. M. KRISHNA: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF ANSWER TO STARRED QUESTION NO. 143, GIVEN ON 7TH MARCH, 1984, REGARDING THE TAKE-OVER OF TIBBIA COLLEGE

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up Half-An-Hour Discussion.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am extremely grateful to you for having permitted me to raise this half-an-hour discussion. The discussion arises from a question in this House last week, that day itself there was a discussion which lasted for half an hour. I do not want to repeat what was said the other day because what was said from my side or on behalf of my colleagues, and the answers that were given by the Minister of Health who was present that day, Mr. Shankaranand, who is not present today, reveal their own story...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are two Ministers.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Yes, I am conscious of it. Mr. Shankaranand's answers told their own story. In the meanwhile, the sum and substance of that day's discussion was that though the Government is willing to hand over the Tibbia College to the University, the University is not willing to take it. This was briefly the reply on the basis of which the Chairman later observed that you should have said this earlier.

Subsequently, I am sure, the hon. Members of the House would have seen reports in the press in which the Vice-Chancellor was reported to have said: "I do not know what the Minister said." Without saying that what the Minister said was not correct, he said: "I do not know what the Minister said; I am not concerned with it; my position is, what it is." And that position is that the Delhi University does not have any basic objection to taking over the Tibbia College provided it is given to them without the kind of encumbrances that arise from unauthorised occupation. They do not want to take this burden of undertaking evictions upon themselves.

Sir, this institution, Tibbia College, came up during the freedom struggle when there was an ethos of swadeshi all around. This swadeshi ethos