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| 13. Shri Y.S. Rajasekhar Reddy | 7. Shri Vamanrao Mahadik |
| 14. Shri Mahadeepak Singh Shakya | 8. Smt. Jayawanti Navinchandra Mehta |
| 15. Shri Dharm Pal Sharma | 9. Shri B. M. Mujahid |
| 16. Dr. C. Silvera | 10. Dr. R. Ramadass |
| 17. Shri Taslimuddin | 11. Dr. Shakeelur Rehman |
| 18. Shri K.C. Tyagi | 12. Dr. Bhagwan Das Rathor |
| 19. Shri Ram Krishan Yadav | 13. Shri Y. S. Rajasekhar Reddy |
| 20. Dr. Golam Yazdani." | 14. Shri Mahadeepak Singh Shakya |

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do concur in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha that the House do join in the joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to provide for the prevention and control of the spread of Human Immuno Deficiency Virus (HIV) infection and to provide for specialised medical treatment and social support to, and rehabilitation of, persons suffering from Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and for matters connected therewith and incidental thereto made in the motion adopted by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th January, 1991, and communicated to this House on the 9th January, 1991 and do resolve that the following 20 members of Lok Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee, namely:—

1. Dr. Daultrao Sonuji Aher
2. Shri Nani Bhattacharya
3. Dr. Ram Chandra Dome
4. Shri Inderjit
5. Dr. Venkatesh Kabde
6. Shri S. Krishnakumar

15. Shri Dharm Pal Sharma
16. Dr. C. Silvera
17. Shri Taslimuddin
18. Shri K.C. Tyagi
19. Shri Ram Krishna Yadav
20. Dr. Golam Yazdani."

The motion was adopted.

15.38 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Situation in Punjab

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We will take up Item No. 17: Discussion under Rule 193. Shri L. K. Advani. Two hours are allotted for this discussion.

[Translation]

SHRI L. K. ADVANI (New Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, situation in Punjab is being discussed on the last day of the session and it would have disappointed the people of Punjab, had it not been discussed in this session.

[English]

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): Why don't you speak in English?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: It was decided that we should speak in English as well as in Hindi. Let us not be exclusive about it. I have tried to do my best to implement this.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Translation is beautiful.

[Translation]

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a short duration discussion and that is why it is not possible to discuss it thoroughly as to why the situation has deteriorated so much in Punjab. But broadly speaking every one of us would agree that disappointment and discontent are there in every State of the country though reasons therefor differ. Similarly, such reasons may also be there in Punjab but it has happened in this decade only that this discontent has risen to such heights that it has taken the form of separatism and extremism. Reasons of such discontent have been there earlier also and agitations were started but they had never taken such an ugly turn in the past. I think the year 1990 has been the bloodiest year of this decade. I do not want to give figures because many figures can be given in this regard. Many such figures have been given by the Government which would also confirm the fact

[English]

it has been the bloodiest year.

[Translation]

On the basis of figures, which I have seen, I can say that about 2000 innocent citizens and about 500 security personnel have fallen victims of

the bullets of terrorists in the year 1990. About 1000 so called terrorists have been killed in the drive carried out by the Government and the security forces against terrorism. It means 3,500 people have been killed there in the year 1990.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not know who will give reply to the debate in the House. I think Shri Kamal Morarka will give reply to the discussion because the Prime Minister and Shri Subodh Kant Sahay are not present here.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Shri Bhajan Lal will reply.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Fatidabad): Yes, I will reply. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: I hope who-so-ever replies to the debate would leave no stone unturned to assure the people of Punjab and that should be done too. During the last ten years, particularly after during the last six years of the decade of 1984 I have been visiting Punjab from time to time. Even recently I visited Amritsar and Chandigarh last month and on that basis I can say that the terror, fear and panic which I have seen among the people of Punjab including Chandigarh, have never been seen before. Whenever any spokesman or leader of the Government says that the Government would never accept Khalistan at any cost or no compromise would be made with the unity and integrity of the country or the Government would not bow before the politics of violence and killings, these pronouncements do not create any enthusiasm among the common people in Punjab and they do not feel assured. And many times they even ridicule and say that it is easy to make announcements while sitting in New Delhi but they are witnessing the situation with their own eyes and that is why such declarations cannot

create confidence among them. Some people even go one step higher and say that they do not know what Khalistan would be, but they can say on the basis of what they are experiencing and feeling that Khalistan certainly will not be worse than this. Such people meet me and ask me as to why we don't we pay attention. They further say that if the Government cannot deal with the situation why does it not admit that it is beyond their control. We think, while sitting in Delhi, that President rule is there and feel satisfied that we have extended it. But when we go there we do not get a feel that it is the rule of our Government there. Police patrol is stopped during the night. People from rural areas have migrated. You cannot imagine the situation which is prevailing there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, dictate is issued by the terrorists that singing of National Anthem should be stopped and they have to stop it. They issue dictate to Nationalised Banks not to clear those cheques which are not written in Punjabi and clearance of cheques is stopped for more than fifteen days. They issue dictates that no Hindi bulletins should be broadcast from 'Akashwani' and the broadcast of Hindi bulletins from Jalandhar and Chandigarh Radio Stations are discontinued. After some days Hindi bulletin is again started again from Chandigarh and remains discontinued from Jalandhar. This is the position of the Government. The Government has reconciled to this situation. I cannot read Punjabi so I have a translated version of an advertisement. Police officers in Punjab are giving advertisements in the Newspapers. I have a translated version of the advertisement given by Shri Ashutosh, S.H.O. Lehragaga appeared in 'Punjabi Tribune' which reads as follows:

[*English*]

"I Ashutosh, S.H.O. Lehragaga make it clear that I have neither entered

Bhai Ki Pashore Gurudwara Sahib nor I smoke cigarette and take wine. If it is a crime on the part of a Hindu Policeman to go near the Gurudwara or to stand by its outer wall, I apologise to the entire Sikh World. If at all I told something to the Granthi Singh calling him out from the Gurudwara it was due to his fault for which the Granthi Kulwant Singh and the Sarpanch had tendered written apologies."

Now this is the advertisement published in the '*Punjabi Tribune*'.

[*Translation*]

If this is the position of the Government and Police officers we can imagine, what would be the condition of common citizens. The industrialists and other rich people say that they always move with blank cheque in their pocket and in case anybody kidnaps them they would give blank cheque to them. It appears in the newspapers daily as to how many people have been kidnapped and how many have been killed. But how many have been set free after taking ransom does not appear in the newspapers because they are threatened by the terrorists not to disclose it to the press or the police, otherwise they would be killed. Few days back grandson of an hon. Member from the other House was kidnapped and released later on. It may be a matter of anguish for the family but the rumours going round remind us of the incident that took place in December in Kashmir. I do not have full information and do not want to make direct allegation. The Central Government acted as mediator in this case and got the grandson of the hon. Member released and in exchange they released a terrorist arrested in Uttar Pradesh. The Government should clarify whether it has played any role in it or not. I have said it on the basis of rumours being spread in Punjab. This has become the condition of the Government and Administration

[Sh. L. K. Advani]
and now it has become clear that the real source of power is not the Government offices but it comes from the barrel of AK-47 rifles. When it has become clear, it can be imagined as to what would be the condition of common people there in Punjab. Terrorists issue dictates that women would not wear sarees, put bindi on their forehead and no school going girls would wear jeans. They should wear 'qamiz and salwar'(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Not even sarees!

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Some courageous university girls tried to resist but they had to face humiliation and disgrace. Things have come to such a pass. All I want to emphasize is that mere declarations won't solve the problem, results should be visible and there should be a clear and loud message

[English]

that this Government means business.

[Translation]

Yesterday, when the Prime Minister said certain things for the first time in his speech I felt that it was good of him that he realised the position. During the course of a discussion on Tamil Nadu, my friend Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra narrated as to how extremism came into existence there, but Shri Malhotra mentioned about Punjab as well and the meeting of Prime Minister with Shri Simranjit Singh Mann also. While replying to the debate, the Prime Minister said—I quote from his speech:

[English]

“My friend Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra told me that because of my dialogue and talk with Mr. Mann, people are getting wrong signals. Mr. Speaker, May be,”

He did not deny it.

“Mr. Speaker, may be, I don't deny this. But through this House I want to caution these elements that if they have taken the signal that we shall tolerate violence, we shall tolerate innocent killings, they are mistaken.” Then he went on to emphasize that

[Translation]

the Government would take all the steps necessary in this regard for the security of the general public. Now, I would appeal to the Prime Minister and his colleagues that nobody believes that the problems before us such as, Punjab problem, Kashmir Problem and Assam problem, or the problem brewing in Tamil Nadu can be solved only through use of force by Government, police or army. We also know that the proper response for such a situation is not armed police, paramilitary force or police force. But all the same, I am aware of this fact also that when the Prime Minister or any other person from the Government makes a statement, the statement has a different effect on different people and it sends different signals. I remember when talks were going on for negotiations with Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann, somebody asked me whether I was in favour of the talks or not. I said that I was not against the talks, Simranjeet Singh Mann has been a Member of Parliament and our colleague for some time though he had not attended any sitting of the House but he has been a Member of Parliament elected by the people. Though he has not taken oath as a Member of Parliament. I won't say that he was not a Member of Parliament. If the Prime Minister has invited him for talks, I don't find anything objectionable in this matter. It is, but, natural. But when Simranjeet Singh Mann comes for talks and during the talks he says that the basis of my opinion is that the Sikhs should have got special consideration in 1947, because they are a community which has been deprived by the constituent Assembly, Government and the people of India of their rights for forty years.

Their rights should be restored to them that is why I demand the right of self-determination for the Sikh Community. If Hon. Prime Minister does not react to such views then it is a bad signal, especially when he is prepared to talk on the issue of self-determination with Simranjeet Singh Mann.

[English]

SHRI PAUL R. MANTOSH
(Nominated Anglo-Indian): Mr. Advani has raised such an important matter and no important Minister is present here. Or is Mr. Bhajan Lal representing the Government?

(Interruptions)

(Translation)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I can speak more strongly than Shri Advani.

(Interruptions)

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: I was expecting that.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA
(South Delhi): Please stand up and say that you are supporting the Government under compulsion.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: We are obeying the orders of the Deputy Speaker.

16.00 hrs.

I was saying whether it is the Prime Minister or Shri Subodh Kant Sahay or Kamal Morarka or someone working in the capacity of a Minister of State in the Prime Minister Secretariat or the people working as his representatives, whatever we discuss about Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and Tamil Nadu its signals are received by different sections of the society. We might have Simranjeet Singh Mann in view at that time and so we did not like to say any such thing for which Simranjeet Singh may say that he had already said it.

I don't believe in the right of self-determination but the Government should think that if it is ready to discuss self-determination with Simranjeet Singh Mann, and if on the similar ground JKL or ULFA says that they are ready for talks would the government refuse or have a dialogue with them. This is worth consideration that after all he is also a citizen of India and how can we refuse to have a dialogue with him? Such an attitude may not be meaningful for the country, moreover there are many levels of holding a dialogue. It is not necessary that talks should be held only at the level of Prime Minister. After all, when such a situation arises, the Government adopts some channels of negotiations. I won't oppose this idea, but at the same time we should keep it in mind that we may not give legal shape to any wrong principle. Today if some extremist is demanding Khalistan I can feel as to why there is a demand for Khalistan. Will the Prime Minister hold discussion on this issue? He said yes, he is ready. He is citizen of India, what is the harm in it? I would like to make it clear that as we agreed to hold discussions on the basis of 1980, if in the same manner we agree to hold discussion on the issue of Khalistan, the harm it may cause would be beyond imagination which may lead to the disintegration of the country.

Mr. Speaker, when this Government was formed, Shri Dandavate was in the V. P. Singh Cabinet, and a psychological framework was evolved and an opportunity was available in which maximum could be achieved. A similar wrong signal at that time made the problem more complex and the result was

[English]

1990 became the bloodiest year of the decade.

[Translation]

Otherwise, prior to that, people used to blame the riots of 1984, the riots

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

which took place in Delhi and Operation blue Star. But when the present Government took over and started functioning, the situation was such that all the people whether Hindus or Sikhs felt that the Punjab problem would be solved but it was not solved at all. The reason is that nobody bothers about the way our statements influence different people. Nobody is serious about it. What happened when this Government took over three months ago. The security personnel who sacrificed their lives, they were battling at the risk of their life, and among them there might be some people who might have committed excesses and killed innocent people. They might have taken advantage of the situation and might have amassed wealth also.

On the other hand there were a number of sincere officers in the C.R.P.F., B.S.F. and Punjab police, who, without caring the least for their individual interests, fought for the unity of the country and against extremism. In the first three months the security forces ignored the directives of the V. P. Singh Government. They thought it was pointless to fight those who were going to come into power. I would like to warn this Government that past mistakes should not be repeated. Before holding talks with any group, the Government should define the parameters within which the talks are to be held. Why can't they be made to condemn the killing of innocent people as a condition for holding talks with them. Today nobody condemns the dictates given by extremists which send down waves of terror among the people of Punjab. These days the centre's directives are not followed in Punjab. There are no takers of appeals made by the Akali Dal, Prakash Singh Badal or Gurcharan Singh Tohra. Even the orders of Simranjit Singh Mann have lost importance. All are becoming irrelevant. And they will remain so till they understand the sentiments of the Indian public and are prepared to usher in change through democra-

tic means. If anyone wants to bring change in the country through violence of killings and fragmentation of the country, it will be met with stiff resistance from the people. In this context, holding or not holding of elections is not important to me. In normal conditions elections must be held. Different situations arise. By holding of elections we may say that we have acted as per the principles of democracy. At the same time would we be protecting the long-term interests of the country? I am well aware of the situation existing in Punjab for the past one year. I would like to tell the House that my opinion about the Lok Sabha elections changed immediately after the elections. I supported the move for holding of elections and elections were held. In these elections, some of my friends were elected and some of them were defeated. One of the friends of our Party, Dr. Baldev Prakash, who strongly opposed terrorism, was popular in Amritsar but he lost the election. Later they came to me and said that a win could have been ensured if talks had been held earlier. Winning the election was no problem, they said, and gradually the matter became clear to me. My marxist friends kept me informed from different places. On the basis of this information my party reached the conclusion that the present situation in Punjab is not conducive to the holding of free and fair elections. Elections will not be held until the state is free of terrorism and violence. Our stand has been that elections be held when the Government is able to give a guarantee to the common man that he can cast his vote without any fear. But when some persons move around with an AK-47 and threaten the public at gunpoint to vote in favour of a particular party, the latter either does not vote or does as the terrorists say. So I was against holding of the elections. No hasty decision should be taken regarding holding of elections there. The decision for holding elections should be taken only after taking stock of the situation there.

I have some questions and I would be glad if Shri Morarka answers them. I have read a statement made by Shri Subodh Kant Sahay in Chandigarh on 6th or 7th December in which he said that the Government is preparing a foolproof strategy to solve the Punjab problem and the hon. Prime Minister is going to make an announcement to this effect in 3-4 days. Though, that has not been announced in these 3-4 days it can be made now while we are discussing the matter. Let us know what type of a strategy has been made.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Yesterday the Prime Minister had said that it would be announced within 24 hours.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: It cannot be within 24-hours. It depends on the Government, whether it wants to reveal the entire strategy or part of it. But whatever the strategy is there, it should convince the common man in Punjab that this is not yet another dose of empty talks. I am not fully satisfied with the situation in Kashmir. I have always been criticising the steps taken by the previous Government regarding Kashmir. But if we compare the situation in the two states, i.e. Punjab and Kashmir, we find that conditions in Kashmir have not deteriorated, that much as in Punjab. In fact, conditions are such that two lakh persons have migrated from the state to other places in the country. If there is no perceptible manifest difference in the Punjab situation we may face even bigger crisis than the one in Kashmir from where two lakh persons of a single community have migrated elsewhere. I warn in this regard and would like to say that Government should not involve those persons or groups in the political mainstream who do not accord full recognition to the Constitution of India. The second point is regarding the killing of innocent citizens. Their intention of bringing change through terrorism. They do not want to condemn the violence. They always talk of hav-

ing been discriminated against in the last 40 years and not fulfilling the assurances given by the Britishers. Nobody is concerned with the British rule and so I shall not go into its details. When my friend Prakash Singh Badal once said that Sikhs had been subjected to injustice, I told him that I can understand certain injustices on Sikhs in the past 8-10 years but I fail to understand how they could have mistreated for as long a period as 40 years because I know that ten years back he was in power and was Chief Minister of Punjab. At that time he did not have these grievances which he has today. I can extend my support if a remedy is sought for the atrocities on Sikhs in the past 10 years, including the 1984 riots. To say that Sikhs have got step-motherly treatment ever since the Britishers left the country and to say that it amounts to presenting a rationale for Khalistan is not correct and it will never be acceptable in this country. The Government may make any compromise but it should not concede a demand for Khalistan.

Sir, three years back when the Rajiv Gandhi Government was in power, the Shri Rajiv Gandhi had summoned all Opposition leaders and he and Buta Singhji said that the Parliament has passed several laws and has thus given them the power to face terrorism by those laws. All these laws becomes useless, as the terrorists, after committing heinous crimes, cross over to the other side of the border and seek refuge there. Despite regular seizures of large cache of arms and ammunition and arrest of hardcore terrorists, the supply of arms to militant outfits continue uninterruptedly, as Pakistan is steadfastly sticking to its policy of aiding and abetting such nefarious activities. Not only this, these terrorists are provided with financial assistance as well. Moreover, they are also imparted terrorist training at the various camps based in Pakistan. This is a fact, there is no inaccuracy

[Shri L. K. Advani]

in it, it is true even today. If our Prime Minister receives a telephone call from his Pakistani counterpart, he begins to think that it is a harbinger of a new chapter in Indo-Pak relations. I am well aware of the extent to which we have moved towards normalising our relationship. This can be made out from the Pakistani involvement in Punjab and Kashmir. There cannot be any other yardstick to measure the level of our friendship. Passionate speeches and sweet telephonic conversations can never be a yardstick. It is not proper to evaluate bilateral relationships on the basis of warm handshakes and hearty smiles, like the ones Mao had displayed once. The state of Indo-Pak relations can be measured only on the basis of the level of Pakistani involvement in Punjab. The developments that have taken place in Pakistan in the last one year and especially over the past 3-4 months, including the change of Government there should not lead as to any misunderstanding or illusion as the Pakistani policy towards Punjab and Kashmir or for that matter, the whole of India, has not undergone even the slightest change. If at all, there has been any change, it is that the external rhetorics have subsided to some extent, but the policies which were pursued earlier, continue to be followed. In this context, I was earlier referring to the situation in 1987. As long as Pakistan pursues this policy of interference in India's internal affairs, all the powers conferred by the Parliament on both the Union Government and the Punjab administration will prove ineffective. At that time, we were told that there was only way to check this problem and it was to create a security belt along the Indo-Pak border, with the consent of the Parliament. At the time, when this proposal was put forward, Akali Dal was in power in Punjab and our friend, Shri Surjit Singh Barnala was the Chief Minister. This proposal was put forward before the leaders of the various political parties represented in the Parliament as there was no

other option, because the state Government was in the hands of a political party which had difference of opinion with the Central Government. At first, it was said that it would be necessary to amend the constitution, but our dear friend Prof. Madhu Dandavate informed the Government that there was no need to do so, as the Parliament itself can pass a law, if the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States, which consists of representatives from all the States, passes a motion with two-thirds majority, under Article 249 and as such there was no difficulty in passing such a law. At that time, I was a member of the Rajya Sabha and we passed that resolution under Article 249 of the constitution.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You were elder at that time.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Yes, I have become younger now.

[Translation]

In that resolution, it was mentioned that a security belt would be created along our borders. People had great expectations about the creation of a security belt and its manifold benefits. A legislation passed by the Parliament was a pre-requisite for the creation at a security belt. However, when the required legislation was passed and the State Government was authorised, if failed to deliver goods and a security belt is yet to be created. Moreover, the validity of the legislation is also over. I would like to know the reasons, which prompted the government to change its policy, after the passage of the necessary legislation and also whether it is presently under the consideration of the Government? A few days back, the hon. Prime Minister had stated that efforts would be made to seal the borders by March, 1991. With reference to this statement, I would like to know the progress we have made in this direction so far and also the work being carried out presently. My personal as

well as my party's stand is that despite the serious implications of the creation of a security belt, it is very much essential to take such strong steps, keeping in mind the gravity of the prevailing situation. We firmly believe that we cannot move towards a solution to these vexed problems, unless and until we adopt such stringent measures. However, we do acknowledge that the adoption of such strong steps is not a remedy in itself. At one stage, I came across the suggestion of one of our foremost Defence Analysts, K. Subramaniam, of the Institute at Strategic Studies. In one of his articles on the Punjab situation, he had stated that.

[English]

There seems to be no other solution excepting mining the border.

[Translation]

No doubt, the acceptance of such a suggestion would be an extreme step. Last year itself, he had stressed upon the need to mine the borders. Perhaps, this step has its own implications. As far as I know, international norms and conventions demands that if a country decides to mine its borders, it becomes its primary duty to inform the neighbouring country in this regard and also about the positions where mines have been laid. My friend, Shri Jaswant Singh is an expert in this field, and he may have more knowledge about it. But when it comes to a situation, the like of which we are facing today, wherein the neighbouring country is providing all kinds of assistance to foment trouble in this country, it is for the government to decide about the practicality of passing on such information to that country. I would like to know the government's stand on the question of the creation of a security belt.

So far as the question of fencing the borders is concerned, the serious implications of the creation of a security belt is not applicable there. It is not an unusual thing. The work of

fencing the borders, began in 1987, during the tenure of the Rajiv Gandhi government. Last year, Shri Subodh Kant Sahay had stated that the work of fencing is in progress and that all efforts would be made to expedite the work. At that time also, Shri Sahay was the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and even today, he is holding the same office, despite the change in the government. Therefore, I was a bit astonished, when I heard that (*Interruptions*).

[English]

It so happens that the same Minister is there.

[Translation]

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay is not present in the House, where has he gone? We haven't seen him for the past two-three days.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Whatever fencing work has taken place so far, took place during 1989. I have got this information that not even a single kilometre of fencing work has been done during 1990. If it is true, then it is too important an issue to be ignored. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDERJIT (Darjeeling): 230 kilometres at the border is yet to be fenced.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Yes, I know that, but I want to know about the Government's present stand on the Prime Minister's announcement and also whether the government stands by that even now or whether there is any change in its stand.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, lastly, I would like to conclude with these words that the performance of this Government would be assessed, measured and evaluated on the basis of the steps it takes to solve the various problems confronting the country.

[Sh. L. K. Advani]

However, the steps it takes to solve the Punjab problems would be one of the major yardsticks, to measure the performance of the Government. Therefore, it is necessary to understand that

[English]

people are on the brink there.

[Translation]

It is indeed a terrible situation. Here large number of people, including businessmen and industrialists come to us and ask us whether how it is possible to work there under the present circumstances. Gradually, they are fleeing the rural areas and are moving towards towns and cities. In the past few days, the terrorists have devised a strategy, under which people are killed on a selective basis, in both the rural and urban areas. The terror and fear that has crept into the minds of the people ever since the horrendous and inhuman crime that took place in Ludhiana, two-three days back, is an indicator in this direction. The Ludhiana incident appears to be part of that strategy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as per the information I possess, Pakistan has advised the terrorist leaders to selectively kill only the Hindus and not the Sikhs, as against their earlier strategy, under which they killed people, at random, irrespective of their religious affiliation. This counsel or direction or instruction or whatever you may call it has been given to the terrorist leaders and that is what the ultras have been doing over the past two-three months. Their main objective is to instigate Hindu-Sikh riots. Their strategy is that when Hindus are killed, they would retaliate, then and there itself. I would like to praise and congratulate the people of Punjab, who have not only faced this situation courageously over the last ten years, but have also maintained the cordial and fraternal relationship, that has existed between the Hindus and Sikhs. It is this

cordial relationship between the two communities, which has instilled a confidence in our minds that if the Government pursues the right policies, then there can be no reason, as to why the Punjab problem cannot be solved. It is neither a difficult, nor an impossible task, provided the Government has a clear perspective of the problem. The second point, on which I have been continuously criticizing the Government is that whenever we decide to cure such deep-rooted diseases, then

[English]

you cannot be changing remedies every two months.

[Translation]

It is not prudent to change remedies every two months. Whenever you take decisions, you have two options before you, one is adopting a soft line, other is adopting a hard line, both have their positive and negative aspects and both have their plus and minus points, but if you have decided that, under the present circumstances, your primary duty and your main objective is to instill a sense of security in the minds of the common people of Punjab, as the hon. Prime Minister said yesterday, then.

[English]

There is no soft option rather we have only hard option.

[Translation]

Hard options are not pursued for a temporary period, say one or two months, rather they are pursued with perseverance and consistency. By this, I don't mean that we should commit excesses to achieve an objective, but to put the whole process into reverse gear, the moment a stray incident takes place is indeed not a wise act. With this submission, I expect the Government to present its proposed action plan, today itself. Thank you.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Shri Advaniji has presented all the points relating to Punjab problem in a very unambiguous way. You are aware of the fact that the situation in Punjab is very bad. Shri Advani did not say anything precisely regarding the causes of deterioration of situation in the State. The situation in Punjab has worsened during the eleven month rule of Shri V.P. Singh Government which had the support of Shri Advaniji's Party. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: What about during your regime?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I will come to that also. But first let me talk about the position during these eleven months.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: What about Bhindarwale?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I will talk about him also? I will make reference of all those about whom you want me to make. I can make reference of you also. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is difficult to imagine as to how daring extremists had become during the eleven month rule of Shri V.P. Singh. Whether it is Jammu and Kashmir or Punjab situation has deteriorated so such so that the extremists even dared to kidnap the daughter of the Home Minister and five extremists had to be released to get her released from their hands. I do not differentiate between Home Minister's daughter and my own daughter and for that matter whether it is the daughter of any hon. Member or the daughter of any ordinary citizen all are equal and we have due regards for her. But with the release of five extremists in exchange of one daughter, the extremists have become very daring. Kidnappings and killings have been going on in Punjab for a quite long time and those killed or kidnapped are also the sons or the daughters of somebody. Had the Government ta-

ken stern step in the very beginning all this would not have happened. Actually extremists have now become so daring in Punjab that there is virtually no Government there. I am not at all hesitant to say that the situation has worsened to such an extent that their word is the rule there.

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI (Kanpur): What is the situation in Haryana?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: It is the same in Haryana. (*Interruptions*) You have come from Faridabad yesterday so you must be knowing better. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: After all he is your friend. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: He will continue for a long time like you. He is yet to complete even two months. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Faridabad is your constituency.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Yes, it is my constituency. You yourself have seen everything there. Just now Advaniji has said that the situation in Punjab during the last ten years has worsened. Advaniji, the situation in Punjab has worsened not during the past ten years but during the last fourteen years, you have forgotten 4 years. In other words the situation started deteriorating from 1977. They are now talking of secessionism in Punjab. The Sikhs now talk of self determination. The seeds of secessionism were sown way back in 1977 when the Anandpur Saheb Resolution was included in the Election Manifesto of the Akalis. That Anandpur Saheb Resolution was supported by Advaniji and Vajpayeeji. They went to Punjab and made speeches advocating the formation of Akali Dal Government in Punjab.

[English]

SHRI LAL KRISHNA ADVANI: I am on a point of personal explanation. Shri Bhajan Lal should not better than that.

[Translation]

There had never been any difference of opinion among the leaders of Bharatiya Janata Party or Jansangh over Anandpur Saheb resolution. They categorically opposed this resolution. You can say this thing about other parties, but as far as Jansangh or Bharatiya Janata Party is concerned we always had a clear cut view about Anandpur Saheb resolution and Bhindarwala. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKASAR: They have been creating difference between Hindus and Sikhs. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I would like to ask Advaniji whether he was a partner in the Akali Dal Government or not? Government was formed by Akalis in Punjab. They won majority by including the Anandpur Saheb Resolution in their manifesto. At that time you people had formed coalition Government. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI LAL KRISHNA ADVANI: That was formed under a common programme and Anandpur Saheb resolution was not included in that.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You were partner in the Ministry. How can you deny that? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI LAL KRISHNA ADVANI: The Janata Party and the Akali Dal had separate manifestoes. A common programme was chalked out before forming the coalition Government. Anandpur Resolution was not included in it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Advaniji, you know better than me. I am younger to you in age also. Every-

thing happened before you. In Punjab elections were fought over Anandpur Saheb Resolution. You people had gone their to extend your support. You had formed Government in Punjab in coalition with Akalis. All these things are in record.

SHRI MADAL LAL KHURANA: At that time you were the Chief Minister of Janata Dal Government.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Why do you want to deny the truth which is known to everyone. If it is wrong that you had no alliance with the Government, do speak out. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi): What was your position at that time.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Let me tell you your position first. Ever since 1968 I have been a Member either of Legislative Assembly or Lok Sabha. You kindly listen to me first. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Bhajan Lalji you need not reply to the questions put forth by any Member.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: If they are putting questions to me how can I refrain from answering them. *(Interruptions)* I have seen him for the first time in this house today and he is asking me about my position at that time

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You speak on Punjab and say what you want to say.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: We have not interrupted anyone and we have not said anything wrong but what I mean to say is that they should not interrupt us.

SHRI JAGPAL SINGH (Haridwar): When Advaniji was speaking

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nobody interrupted him. Now when he is speaking, why are you interrupting him. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please take your seat.

CHOWDHARY RAM PRAKASH (Ambala): All these problems have been created by the Akalis and you and you are solely responsible for it.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Ram Prakashji, it does not matter. You please take your seat.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please take your seat. You are also disturbing him. Bhajan Lalji you need not answer to any interruption. What you have to say, you say directly.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the situation in Punjab has deteriorated to such an extent that life has become difficult for the common man. Extremists are prevailing over there. They even go to the extent of dictating the officers to clear such and such file by evening. Even higher officers cannot dare to disobey them. If they order that Hindi or English name plate outside the room of an officer should be replaced within an hour by the one in Punjabi and no other language should be used, the order is complied forthwith. As mentioned by Advaniji the clothes of the girls going to schools, colleges and university are forcibly torn. You would have heard the recent case of Ludhiana Incident of kidnapping are taking place in all parts of Punjab and they demand five to twenty lakh rupees as ransom. Not only that, recently you might have observed their approach. They at the instance of another country are killing the members of a particular community i.e. Hindu. They force them to get down from the buses and shoot them. They are doing so to create the atmosphere of confusion and chaos all over the

country. A few days back they forced the persons belonging to one community to get down from the bus near Gill and Dhillon village of Ludhiana district and gunned down them on the road in order to disturb the peaceful atmosphere of this country and create chaos and confusion. They are killing the Hindus there in order to instigate the people in other States to kill sikhs. In this way the country's situation may deteriorate further. Such is the present situation of Punjab. To control this.

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it would be better if he uses the word 'Non-sikh' instead of Hindu.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: It does not make any difference. The present Government of Shri Chandra Shekhar has offered to have dialogue with the militants. We welcome this offer but that should be held within the frame-work of the constitution. This country will crumble down if any talk is held outside the frame-work of constitution. Whenever we made offer of talk, they construed it as our weakness. Thinking that the Government has surrendered before them. Therefore, I am of the view that this problem can be solved only by taking stern action. We wish that this issue is solved through dialogue. But problem is that no one in Punjab cares for it. No one is there to have a talk with the Government. Neither Shri Badal nor Shri Tohra nor any Akali party has an authority to have a talk with the Government. And even Shri Simranjit Singh Mann has no authority to hold talk with Government. The Statements of two three groups often appear in the press that they do not authorise him for holding talks with Government. He often talks of amending the constitution. We do not support this and our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had made it clear that we shall not support if there is any proposal to amend the Article 51 of the Constitution. If it is changed the country will be

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weakened. To drive out the ghost of Khalistan which is haunting their minds is the only solution to this problem. I had said it five years ago and today I am repeating it in the House that the unification of the three states i.e Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh is the only solution to this issue. However, the proposed state may be named as Maha Punjab.

SHRI CHAND RAM (Hardoi): Bhajan Lalji had supported the creation of Haryana but now we can never support the unification of Punjab and Haryana.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Choudhary Chand Ramji. We both had supported the creation of Haryana. We both wanted to have a separate Haryana. Things have not changed much...*(Interruptions)* I am just making a suggestion. We still want a separate Haryana. But I am giving this suggestion in country's interest and to protect the integrity of the country. If we are able to drive the ghost of Khalistan out of their minds if we are able to take this bold step of unification of these states then they will stop talking of Khalistan. This problem has no other solution. Whenever some officers or the Judges of High Court sit together and discuss this issue they say that Khalistan will be created one day or the other. With the unification of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh their population will come down to 18 per cent. Then no one will talk of Khalistan even for generations to come. So we should be ready to sacrifice for the cause of National unity. This issue can be solved if Maha-Punjab is created by merging Haryana and Himachal Pradesh with Punjab. This proposal should be considered seriously. In my opinion this is the only solution to this problem and another one is to deal with them sternly. I do not understand as how long you would continue to say to the people that Government is taking such and such action, that Government has now made a plan to

deal with them etc. The people have now fed up with such talks. Punjab has been burnt completely and the people have been ruined there. It is our duty as we are the elected public-representatives to save Punjab. This is not a minor issue, but it is a very serious issue will this country survive if Punjab is seceded? What will be the fate of the country and common man?

Today, the Jawans and officers of Army, C.R.P.F. and B.S.F. are attacked there. Earlier the common men were the target but now the Army and C.R.P.F. personnel are killed by laying ambush by militants. The present serious situation compel us to think deeply. When things go out of control a suggestion is given that to handle the situation army should be deployed but then the hon. Members begin to say that the Army is not needed there. Then how the situation would be brought under control? What would you do? What is the remedy after all? The extremists are equipped with better sophisticated weapons there than our police. No one's sister's or daughter's honour is safe there. Terrorists comes to villages in the evening and ask the villagers that they would dine tonight with them, arrange chicken and whiskey for them and after that they forcibly share beds with the villager's sister and daughters whom they like most. All these things appear in the press? Go to Punjab and see this agonising situation. The stern steps are needed to be taken to deal with such situation. But whenever Shri Rajiv Gandhi's Government took certain stern action in this regard many hon. Members who are not present this time in the House began to cry that the Government are taking very stern measures it should rather balm the wounds. By applying balm you cannot treat this disease. We are in favour of applying balm but it is useless in the present situation. The situation cannot be brought under control unless the extremists are dealt with sternly. What type of atmos-

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phere is prevailing in Punjab today? In Chandigarh which is a union territory the Director of the All India Radio was assassinated by the extremists. They also threatened the staff of that station of ill consequences if the transmission in Hindi continued. How will this country run if the transmission in Hindi is forcibly stopped from Chandigarh or Jalandhar? In such circumstances all the aspects should be considered seriously. The extremists ask the pressmen to write them as *Kharkhoo* which means a patriot and martyr. Do pressmen have a courage to disobey them? When the Government under their pressure have stopped Hindi-transmission on Radio from there? How the newspapers can dare to disobey them? After all they too love their children. When no one is safe in the country, what will happen? This is the high time that the Government should act. It should consider all the points and hold talks with them within the frame-work of the constitution. They now talk of 'Self-determination.' Will this country survive if we accept their demand of 'Self-determination' and offer ourselves for talk? Therefore, I want to request the Government especially the Prime Minister that if they put the conditions of 'Self-determination'...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: Is any Minister present here in the House?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Yes, two ministers are present. The Government should consider to have dialogue with them only after going into their demand of Self determination. The Government should make it clear to them that they are prepare for holding talks only within the frame of the constitution. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: I am on a point of order. Sir. The Government must be serious when a discussion on such an important issue is going on in the House. Some members are sitting in this

House, who are least concerned with this issue. Deputy Minister is present here and we know his position in the Government. How can this issue be tackled by Morarkaji who has been inducted into the Government a few days ago? Why are you wasting your time?

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (SHRI KAMAL MORARKA): Sir, on behalf of the Government, I take strong exception. I have been doing this for quite some time now. I take strong exception to this. Mr. Shopat Singh cannot decide who will be the Minister. I have to put it on record: we have been tolerating it, as privileged comments; but when we are discussing an issue like Punjab, he has no right to pass comments on whether the members of the Council of Ministers are serious, or competent or not. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: They want to indulge in hypocrisy here. Nobody is serious about this problem.

[English]

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Even if we are three Ministers, we are much more strong and competent than the Government which he was supporting.

[Translation]

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: The Government should take this matter seriously. We are discussing a very serious matter today...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please sit down. The point of order which you have raised, I rub out. It is not in order.

[*Translation*]

All Hon. Members in the House know that whoever speaks here on behalf the Government, it is not his individual view, but he expresses the views of the Government. As such, it is not proper to say that he speaks or anybody else speaks...(*Interruptions*).....Seriousness does not depend on a particular Member but it depends on the Government. As such, please abstain from raising such irrelevant questions.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, once Rajiv Gandhi's Government had decided to seal the border. The work was being carried at a rapid pace under his Government. But Shri Advani has accepted the fact that the Government of V.P. Singh did not do anything in this regard later on. The position is back to square one. Though one and a half years have elapsed, no work has been done in this regard. It is not good. I, time and again, made suggestions to the Government that simply fencing the border would not serve the purpose. The situation has further deteriorated thereafter. Shri V.P. Singh's Government has deteriorated the situation to this extent. If this Government wants to seal the border, no purpose will be served by fencing. I would like to make a suggestion to the Government in this regard. Let the Government acquire a stripe of width one or two kilometres from Jammu to Jaisalmer along the border by paying compensation to the farmers at double the rate. If the prevailing rate is Rs. 1 lakh per acre, the farmers should be paid at the rate of Rs. 2 lakh per acre so that they could purchase land at some other place and settle there. This stripe should be so clear that a very small thing lying on it could be seen clearly. If the Government wants to check infiltration on Indo-Pak border, a stripe of two kilometre width must be prepared along the border, otherwise, it will serve no purpose, because weapons are smug-

gled from Pakistan. They can break upon the fence and sneak in.

As such, a two kilometre wide belt should be constructed there. Arrangement of floodlights should also be made so that even if very minute particle lying there could be detected easily. Then you can say that the border has been sealed. If the border is sealed by fencing, it will serve no purpose.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one thing Shri Advani has said that the Government was unable to control 1984 riots. Was the Government unsuccessful? At that time the situation in the country was too grave and had the Government not swang into action, Shri Rajiv Gandhi whose great mother's dead body was lying.....

SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA (Ropar): The Government engineered the riots in 1984... (*Interruptions*).....

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Indira ji was the mother of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. It will not be wrong, if I call her the mother of nation, whose dead body was lying.(*Interruptions*).....

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-KASAR: She was not greater than Mahatma Gandhi. At the time of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, even a very minor incident did not take place.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: That also you know as to why the said incident did take place.....(*Interruptions*)..... Smt. Indira ji was assassinated in 1984 and today Mrs. Khalsa says that the riots were engineered by the Government. If a saviour turns to a murderer, what will happen to this country. He was a security guard of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He was the husband of the hon. Member Smt. Khalsa. Her husband assassinated Shrimati Gandhi. What could be worse than such an action, you should

think before you speak. People warned Indiraji against these persons but she told those persons her brothers, her sons, her saviours. If the saviour assassinates her, what a worse thing could be there in this country than this. After assassinating her, people started 'Bhangra'. This angered the sentiments of the people.

[English]

SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI: Don't justify riots.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): You are not serious about the discussion.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: We will definitely justify it. Why did Indira ji die and why did the riots take place. Did all this happen all of a sudden?.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-KASAR: Why did such an incident not take place at the time of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. Because, the assassin was a Hindu, a Pandit. That is why nothing happened.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: You may speak on your turn. Do not interrupt. You said that the Government engineered the riots.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You do not reply to him.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when these people interfere I have to give a reply. Makkasar Sahab speaks at the peak of his voice. I request him with folded hands that he is my elder brother. He should listen to me.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-KASAR: You are destroying the country.....(Interruptions).....

[English]

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY: Your near and dear ones must realise what is the problem?.....(Interruptions).....You must realise whether it pinches you or not...(Interruptions).....(Interruptions).....What happened in 1989?...(Interruptions).....

[Translation]

SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI (Sonapat): I was in the Golden Temple in Amritsar on that day. What Bhajan Lalji says, is correct.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: In the streets of Delhi.....(Interruptions)...

[English]

SHRI I K GUJRAL (Jalandhar): I think there is one confusion. I hope my hon. friend Shri Bhajan Lal does not mean to confuse the issue. His anxiety about Punjab is shared by all of us. But I think today he is propounding a doctrine which can be very harmful both for Punjab and for the rest of India. I hope he does not mean it, and I hope he does not try to justify the 1984 riots. We know who did it and how it was done. I hope Mr. Bhajan Lal will be very clear on that issue. Otherwise, it will worsen the situation. We all share the agony of Punjab; but the 1984 riots have caused anxiety to all of us and we all have condemned them. I hope Shri Bhajan Lal will pardon me.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Gujral Sahab is our elder, seasoned and competent member. I have never said so. What I meant to say was that first Government failed but later on controlled the situations. Rajiv ji visited all the riots, affected streets...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Where had he gone?

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: In the streets of Delhi...*(Interruptions)*

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Khurana, you will not interrupt him. I have not heard him justifying the riots in 1984. Unnecessarily do not put the words in his mouth.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: He moved about the streets throughout the night. He issued orders to all concerned agencies. At that time, I was also a Chief Minister. He instructed that there should be no clash between the Hindus and the Sikhs in any state. If any atrocity is committed on a person, the Chief Minister would not be allowed to continue in office...*(Interruptions)*...

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What the lady Member is saying will not form part of the record.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I shall conclude my speech after making one more submission. We hold Harmandir Sahib at the highest esteems. The people of the country know the circumstances under which the army was asked to enter Harmandir Sahib. Leaders used to go there, but none of them said that atrocities and injustice committed there. They used to say that there was peace and was no clash of any kind. Did the fortification take place over night? Was the modesty of our sisters and daughters was not outraged there? Did not murderers take shelter there? Did the arsenal came up overnight? How many of our army personnel were killed there and what situation was prevalent there? Did any leader condemn the state of affairs taking place there. Only this much was said that there was peace and the leaders were help-

less to say that sanctity of Harmandir Sahib had to be maintained. Nobody condemned it. If one has the courage to speak the truth, he cannot do a wrong thing. We have to speak the truth. Had the leaders uttered these words at that time, sanctity of Harmandir Sahib would have been maintained. The Government should take stringent action and hand over the state to the army so that the country could be saved from disintegration and peace could be restored.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH (Amritsar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while thanking you for giving me time, I would like to start my submission with recitation of an urdu couplet:

"Auron ka hai pyam aur, mera pyamaur hai Ishq ke derdmand ka tarze kallam aur hai, Tacere jere dere dam ke naale to sun chake ho Hum, Ab yeh suno ki nalaye tacere bam aur hai".

It means that the one who has been hurt speaks in a different tone. You have heard the bewailing of those birds who are entrapped in the net, but the bird who is sitting on the edge of the compound wall has a different story to tell. I shall deal with the questions that have been raised by Shri Bhajan Lal today which frayed tempers in the House. Since that discussion will be marked by interruptions, I would like to take up the Punjab issue first. He has passed so many insulting remarks, yet I remained silent. I shall not speak anything about that but with all sincerity, I must say...

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: I have not insulted anybody.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: What is the origin of Punjab problem? See, what is the economic condition of Punjab today. The States where coal mines and oil wells are located get royalty, but Punjab does not get any

royalty, although it supplies food-grains to the entire country. Its Electricity Board incurs loss to the tune of Rs. 400 crores since it supplies electricity to the farmers at flat rates. When other States can get royalty, why not Punjab? If this issue is raised in the House, nobody extends support. Ever since the country achieved independence, Punjab has not got its due share in proportion to its deposits in the banks. You can go through the report of the Reserve Bank of India and see that Punjab is the only State which did not get even 35 per cent against its own investment. At least five States in the country are such who must have received 100 per cent. I do not want to name those States lest my friends from those States, present in the House should mind it. But it is a fact and you can check it from the R.B.I. Report. So far as the question of discrimination against Punjab is concerned, I would like to point out that after the independence of the country, the first Governor of Punjab, Shri Trivedi had issued a circular in which the migrants from West Pakistan were termed as criminals.

“Hum bawafa the ishiye mazon se gir gaye, Shayad unchen talaash kisi bewafa ki thi.”

This is what they did. Praises are showered on Sikhs saying that they are very brave and patriots and they have given numerous sacrifices. But at the same time, there are some people who put forward suggestion that their majority should be neutralised by creating Maha Punjab and their population percentage should be reduced to 18 per cent by merging Himachal and Haryana into Punjab. They say that since they are strong and they have started calling themselves as “Khadku” which means militant the said suggestion should be implemented. None of my friends know the meaning of ‘Khadku’. No religious meaning is attached to it. The word ‘Khadku’ stands for fearless but some people use it for militant

since they do not know the exact meaning. So far as economic condition of Punjab is concerned, I have already summed up how aid has been given to different departments by the Government. I do not want to go through all the pages as it will take quite some time. This problem originated from distrust. The youth of Punjab had three avenues before them joining armed forces, going abroad for employment and agriculture. Agriculture in Punjab has become a small unit. There is no land in Punjab which is not fertile now. The credit for this goes to the hard work put in by the farmers of the State. Representation of Sikhs in the army was over 25 per cent at the time of partition of the country, but now it has slumped to 6 per cent and it is likely to go down further to 2 per cent. No jobs were given to those who were rendered jobless. Gun is the source of their livelihood. But how did they took up guns? It is all a part of history now. I had been to cellular jail in Andaman where I read the names of those who served jail terms there. When I read their names, I am reminded of the following couplet.

“Hamne hi barason sa jaya mey-kada,

Hamari hi kistmat mein paimane nahin”.

7.00 hrs.

But what is happening today? Those who brought laurels to this country, those who made the country's presence felt not only in the neighbourhood but in Europe and Middle East also and those who won highest number of gallantry awards like Paramvir Chakra and Victoria Cross, the same community is being crushed today. As regards the question of economic condition of the State, I would like to say that the wealth of the State is being drained out and is being invested in other States. Punjab produces a surplus of 450 crore tonnes of eucalyptus with the result that it sells at a low price.

[Sh. Kirpal Singh]

On the demand of the people of Punjab, foundation stone of a paper mill was laid by Shri Rajiv Gandhi at Goindwal, but the same has not come up as yet. If eucalyptus grown in Punjab is used there, economic condition of the State could improve. Besides, it will provide employment to the unemployed people from rural areas in the State itself thereby improving their economic lot.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is not a history that when the same Akalis fought the war of independence and the war to liberate Gurudwaras and won at two fronts 'Guru ka Bagh' and 'Chabi ka Morcha', Mahatma Gandhi had sent a telegram saying that we had won the first war of independence? Mahamana Malviya ji had said at that time that every Hindu should give one of his sons to the Panth to become a Sikh. It is from there that this story of sacrifices began. They used to carry kripans with 3 feet long blade. British Deputy Superintendents of Police used to torture them, but they never took the kripans out of the sheath. The world was moved by the limit of their tolerance. Mahatma Gandhi and before him Mahatma Buddha and Mahavir Jain taught us non-violence. If there has been any community who practised tolerance despite being brave and strong, it were the Sikhs of Punjab. They have been praised by one and all. Shri Advani has said that bloodbath has been going on in the State for the last ten years. The relations between Hindus and Sikhs continue to be cordial as ever both in cities and villages. They shall one another's grief and happiness. If Punjabi language is implemented by the orders of some people whom you call 'khadku'—though they should not be called by this name—what is wrong with those orders? If at all somebody is to be blamed for this, it is the B.J.P. men who gave slogan and observed 'satyagraha' against Punjabi being taught as a compulsory subject. There lies the origin of the problem. Today if they enforce the use of Punjabi language, they are termed as Sikh

Panthi. Why the use of Punjabi language was not enforced earlier. 40 per cent of people in Haryana are Punjabi speaking and so far as my knowledge goes, Shri Bhajan Lal himself is Punjabi by origin. Why then was Punjabi not given the status of second language in Haryana during the Chief Ministership of Shri Bhajan Lal, Shri Devi Lal or any other Chief Minister belonging to the Congress Party? Why did not they think in this direction? Simply because it did not serve their interests, otherwise what is special about Telugu and Tamil. They want their animosity towards Punjabi to continue. Let us take the quantum of aid that is given to Punjab for different works. If you want I can give the figures for record sake. This is nothing new which needs emphasis and, I think, he has unnecessarily created heat over this issue. The demands which the people of Punjab have raised are not new. It is not me who demand a separate State. It was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi who had promised before independence that Sikhs would be given a land so that they could feel that they have a home of their own. But he says that their majority should be neutralised by reorganising Punjab so that the majority community of this country could dominate them. That is why I say that this is the genesis of the problem. If you could see the assassination of Indira Gandhi in the back drop of Operation Bluestar, you will find that it has been overplayed and over-stretched. It was at her instance that mortars fired shells on Akal Takht and Durbar Sahib where we pay obeisance daily. We deem our lives from there and its holy water is the guarantee of our soul.

Golden Temple is a sacred place. What happened when the person who ordered attack on this sacred place is assassinated. Lot of hue and cry was raised and thereafter the son said when a big tree falls the ground beneath it shakes. He went round places and played with the sentiments of the

people. Thousands of people were massacred. Many eminent people who were not Sikhs—was Shri Tarkunde a sikh? was Justice Sikri who was Chief justice, a sikh; was Mishra ji, a sikh—commented on that. Nobody dared to say anything, not even VP Singh's Government. There was only one person who had the guts to say it openly in our favour and we will always remain obliged to him. He was Shri Chandrashekhar who raised his voice. I was in Delhi at that time. It was Shri Chandrashekhar who saved me and took me safely to the airport. I am obliged to him. He is a dedicated person and has waited patiently. We have high regard for him but unfortunately in this country when a person is too much dedicated and does penance (Tapasya) the throne of Lord Indra Shakes. Similarly when Jayaprakash Narayan took up cudgels with authority Indiraji's throne shook. What happened thereafter. He was jailed and because of neglect his health deteriorated and he passed away. After completing his education Chandrashekhar ji was influenced by Acharyaji and when we attained freedom he joined the group of those politicians about whom Sahir Ludhianvi wrote "Naya Libas mein Nikla hai Rahzani ka Jaloos". But he was there for a very little time. He came back to Acharyaji. He was with us in 1975 and now he is in the treasury benches. When the throne of Indira shook he sent a fairy—Menaka—to allure Vishwamitra.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please come to the point. There are many other Members who want to speak.

[Translation]

We do not have time for Vishwamitra or Menaka.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I honour your orders. If we do not have time for that I would not go into further

details. Now when he came to power, I am reminded of an Urdu Couplet

"Ki Buland hokar Bhi Admi
Abhi khwahishon ka Gulam".

Yesterday when he gave a speech at the Gurudwara I realized that the embers are still within him and the scene of 1984 riots was in front of his eyes. We had seen bodies with burnt tyres around their necks. God knows whether Rajiv ji went round taking off those burnt tyres or lighting them.
.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Sir, I have a point of order. To say that Rajiv Gandhi was instrumental in getting the people massacred, is not true. It should be expunged from the proceedings. Gujaral Sahib is sitting there please make your neighbours understand. ... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You have rebutted it. You have said that it is not correct.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: You were the first person to have floated that idea of massacre. Rajiv ji helped in that. Many sikhs were murdered and disgraced. Some of them were military officers and some were civilian officers. This was done at your behest. You have played the game and are now sitting back. Advaniji has also mentioned that thing now. I can say who created sant Jarnail Singh to liquidate the Akalis? When arms were being piled up in the golden temple the then Inspector General of Police who is the husband of an hon. lady Member of this House—I think she is not present at the moment—said that they were not authorised by the centre to conduct search in the golden temple. Who was to authorize? Was it Indiraji who had the final say in the matter? So it all happened with their consent. In fact Jarnail Singh

[Sh. Kirpal Singh] was proud of himself. He had gone to fight the Akalis and break them but he started fighting the Government when he saw Government excesses. Then artillery were sent to destroy the temple complex. It is said that Beant Singh and Satwant Singh who were protectors of Indiraji, they assassinated her and no crime is as heinous as this. Were you not the protector of this country when thousands of people were massacred. Was Indira ji's blood was blood and the others was just water. Today Beant Singh and Satwant Singh are treated as heroes in Punjab. They knew how Umranangal was killed because he had desecrated the Durbar Sahib. The sentiments of the people have been hurt. I fully agree with that, whether you agree or not fact is fact.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, he has again uttered a similar words. He has said that those who assassinated Indira Gandhi are heroes of Punjab. Can there be a worse thing than this. You are also listening. This is on record. He has said it. You can go through the record. He is saying that both of them have become heroes. Didn't he say that. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Whatever I have said is a fact. The people of Punjab treat them as heroes. That is a fact.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): How long will he take to give vent to his feeling...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Bhogendra Jha, please resume your seat.

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: He said they have become hero. That is on record.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kirpal Singhji may I remind you that today you are discussing the present situation in Punjab and how it can

be improved, if we try to let us not open the old chapter as it may be deteriorate the situation. That would not be good. I am not restricting you from speaking you may speak whatever you want but bear it mind that if you dig the past, the situation in Punjab may worsen instead of improving. You should not raise questions which may lead to controversies.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Sir, I agree with you cent per cent but who is responsible for digging the past here in the House. What should I tell them?

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please speak on the present situation in Punjab, not on historical facts.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I would like to say that no religious minded person would ever approve of the bloodshed of innocent people in Punjab rather he will condemn it. Yesterday something was said about Shri Mann. He has condemned the incident which occurred in Ludhiana yesterday and earlier also. This has been reported in the newspapers also. Everybody condemns it. Simply attributing things to somebody is not good. I had gone into the history of the case.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please. It is the time to speak on the present situation. It is not time for history.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Sir, I am carrying out your orders and trying to give an explanation otherwise I did not want.

SHRI KAMAL CHAUDHRY (Hoshiarpur): Just now you were praising Shri Mann. Do you also support Khalistan movement...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt. I will give you an opportunity.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Yesterday only he said that he condemns the incidents at Ludhiana. Advaniji says that we should not hold dialogue with these elements but I would like to point out that Lal Danga, leader of the Mizo National Army was allowed to stay in Delhi at Government expense for full one year. Was that justified? Do you have different yardsticks? There is discrimination. I agree with Shri Chandra Shekhar. If somebody demands Khalistan and Chandra Shekarji does not listen to him, it is alright whether there can be a compromise or not, is a different matter. When Riberio was given the responsibility we asked him that he used to say that there were only a handful of terrorists—not over 50—to be liquidated but he has, already liquidated over 200. How is that the number has swelled. When the other bureaucrats were asked to solve the problem through negotiation they replied that the recruitment of terrorists is being done on a large-scale. The Chandra Shekar Government has also said that they should be liquidated. Alright if they wish to do it let them do it. What is the result of those policies which have been adopted so far. The security belt which is going to be created will displace many people. Will they remain peaceful? They will not because they have been uprooted and displaced by the Government. If they want that a dialogue should be held, even that move is opposed. The Government wants that unless they agree, accept the constitution, surrender arms join the mainstream, or ask for forgiveness no dialogue should be opened with them. I also want them to ask for forgiveness surrender arms, and join the mainstream but if they do not what can we do. The other methods that the Government has suggested, are they new. They are not. These methods have already been tried and tested. To say that elections should not be held in Punjab

or there is peace in the State is not good. Advaniji said that some people had contacted him and they wanted that they could make Baldev Prakash win the elections. I have won from there but neither anybody came to me nor I went to anybody. I categorically spoke about my stand—I will never support the move of separating from India nor will I allow the disgrace of Patna Sahib and Hazoor Sahib. But in 1985 elections you appealed to the entire Sikh community. Posters were issued poisoning the minds of the people. I said I am ready to die for the cause.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kirpal Singhji you have taken 25-30 minutes.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: No Sir. Please delete the time of interruptions. I have never interrupted anybody.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Sir those who have disgraced Sikh religion, they proudly say that we have done it.

“Sun to Sahi Jahan Mein Tera hai Fasana kya kahte hain Tujko khulke khuda Gahana Kya”

You have not gone through the history. Chandra Shekarji is aware of it. He has read the Sikh history from page to page during the 18 months when he was in Jail. The entire Sikh community is highly obliged to him for this.

At least there was a courageous person at that time who raised his voice and said that it was bad. At the outset I said that it was because of Chandra Shekarji that I was saved. Otherwise I would also have been burnt to death with a tyre around my neck. This goes to his credit. Why are you pulling his legs. Yesterday he spoke at the Gurdwara and appealed to the people of Punjab in the same way as he did earlier. I pray to God that his

[Sh. Kirpal Singh]

appeal may work lest he yields under Congress pressure.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No please conclude.

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, while concluding I would like to say that democratic rights should be restored immediately in Punjab. I mean to say that elections should be held there. A dialogue should be opened with those elements at any cost whether they ask for forgiveness, abide by the Constitution, surrender their arms or not. They should be assured protection and called for a dialogue. If the dialogue fails, things will remain as they are, but at least we would be satisfied that efforts have been made. Are you not making efforts in this direction in so far as other areas are concerned. If so, why not in Punjab? At least efforts should be made there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, one of my friends says that some Sikhs have reached in foothill areas also. In this regard I would say that these Sikhs have made the land cultivable with their hard labour and made other sacrifices to get themselves settled there, and now these people have started opposing them. Some people say that Sikhs have reached in Bihar and West Bengal so I would like to ask them whether they would send them out of these States? Is it your patriotism? Can you solve this problem on the basis of such patriotism? Only some broad minded and large hearted persons can solve that problem. I think a person like Shri Chandra Shekhar can do that and you people are pulling chains in his feet. I have yet to say many things but it is my duty to obey Mr. Deputy Speaker. I hope that the God may keep the spark alive which has been lightened in the heart of Shri Chandra Shekhar and that may not bury under the heap of ashes. I am saying what I have learnt from him. I do not know as to what he will say later on in this

regard, I would say that Shri V.P. Singh could also avail such opportunity but he did not and later on he regretted for not holding elections in Punjab. Therefore, I would say that they may also not repent later on. I think he has also got opportunity to bring the misguided youth to the national mainstream and talk to them unconditionally. I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me opportunity to speak.

17.21 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. GULF CRISIS
[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have a request to make. We are going to discuss the Gulf crisis. But if the House so agrees the Resolution on Gulf Crisis which has been accepted by all Parties should be moved from you so that it is released to the Press earlier.

I shall request the Chair to move the Resolution and get it passed by the House. We can discuss the Gulf crisis afterwards.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): The Draft is accepted by all the leaders of various Parties. The Chair may move it.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Salem): The Chair may move it. We will accept it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think, we will adjourn this discussion on Punjab.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): I join the hon. Prime Minister that it will be befitting so far as the importance of the occasion is concerned that the Chair moves it. But it will be better, if the Chair moves it after some discussion so that we can express our views.