

to the textile policy, concession amounting to Rs. 31 crores by way of reduction in the import duty has been given and because of these concessions, there is a little demand for the cotton within the country. The demand has come down. The Birla Textiles and the Century Mills in Bombay have got the maximum profit by purchasing cotton at the lower rate and exporting the same to countries like Russia and America where there is terrific demand for the cotton cloth and cotton garments. They are earning a lot and over and above you are giving them concession in export duty. But the cotton growers and the workers are suffering. The principle is all right, in that the multiplicity of cess is removed. You are including this in the coming Budget which will be brought forward in this House after 4 days. You are making this suggestion and you say it is good for the cotton growers.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : You should take some initiative in this direction.

[English]

DR. DATTA SAMANT : The hon. Minister has not mentioned about the function of this Board and the procurement systems and all that. Those people are all corrupt. The farmers never get anything. In Maharashtra the farmers are suffering a lot. They have been agitating. The growers and the workers are the worst sufferers and such a type of piecemeal and small suggestions given here and there are not acceptable to me. Let the Government come out with some positive measures so that the workers and the farmers may be benefited. But in the present policy, you are giving all these concessions to the textile owners.

15.00 hrs.

For the modernisation scheme Rs. 750 crores are given. What for? The same owners who have ruined literally the economy of the country by making the mill sick are getting this benefit. Rs. 1500 crores spent in the sick mills, that is because of the textile mill owners. That is

the figure given. To seeve these mill owners, again you are giving Rs. 750 crores for the coming 5 years for modernisation and the benefits of modernisation are going to the top people in the cities. Therefore, while expressing my views on this Bill, I strongly protest and object such type of policies of the Government and therefore, instead of having such a piecemeal discussion, I appeal to the Government saying that it is high time you have to re-think and re-model the textile policy. I think it has literally ruined the workers and farmers of this country. Why are you furthering the interests of such textile owners by giving them cheap cotton? They are all manipulating the accounts, which is not going to help. Therefore, I oppose such a type of piecemeal legislation of this House.

15.02 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT
MADE BY THE MINISTER OF
HOME AFFAIRS RE : SITUATION
IN PUNJAB

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Now we take up discussion under Rule 193—To raise a discussion on the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 24th February 1987, regarding situation in Punjab.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE
(Rajapur) : Sir, where is the Home Minister?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC
GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND
MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
(SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : Sorry, I
am not visible.

MR. SPEAKER : He was too white!

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I do not want to raise the issue. The Home

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

Minister who made the Statement should have been here.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : He is replying in the Rajya Sabha. He will be here in 10-15 minutes. The other House is also debating this issue. He is now on his legs.

PROF. MRDHU DANDAVATE : I am happy, Sir, he will come back with elders.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, Sir, on the elderly advice.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I wanted to say something, but now I won't because the Professor is going to say something. You carry on, Mr. Mohanty.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri) : Sir, I pay my glowing tribute to the...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You have revealed the official secret.'

MR. SPEAKER : No, Sir, I have not revealed the secret. Only the contents of the envelope have been said.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY : Sir, I am paying my glowing tribute to the political leaders and social workers who have sacrificed their life in Punjab to uphold the cause of Indian secularism. I also pay my glowing tribute to the policemen who have sacrificed their life in their struggle against religious fundamentalism. Mr. Barnala, the Chief Minister of Punjab, has emerged as a hero in our struggle against religious fundamentalism, and another person is the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, for his effort, if you remember it, is now yielding the result, and you find now there is a different atmosphere. Otherwise Punjab would have been in a civil war...(Interruptions). When the Constituent Assembly was constituted, would you call it a beginning or when the *dharma yudh* slogan was raised, was it the beginning? So, let us not go for the

beginning, but I appreciate and I congratulate the Prime Minister of India for his bold step and initiative to give succor. I know there are some forces in the country. At times they criticise Rajiv Gandhi for his effort.

Sir, another thing...(Interruptions). Do you want a reply?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) : Don't get derailed.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY : The issue that we are fighting is not a regional issue. It is not an issue which is confined to Punjab alone. All over the country we have to fight against the religious fundamentalism. It is not the religious fundamentalism of Sikhs, but it is the religious fundamentalism of Hindus, Muslims and Christians that we have to fight. Perhaps the struggle which took place in Europe 200 or 300 years ago, we are now fighting that. Not only in India, but all over South-East Asia and even in Egypt and other parts of the world various countries are confronting these religious fundamentalist forces. It is a story of saga.

Sir, religious fundamentalism is inter-linked with conservatism. Those forces which are opposed to changes are out to give a twine, a religious twine to the body polity and we must be very careful about it. Another thing is, it requires a national upsurge. It should not be a partisan consideration which should influence the issue. It depends upon the political leadership of this country. I don't think that a military solution is possible. Some political parties are suggesting that there should be Army rule in Punjab. My answer would be, it is not the real answer to the problem. It requires a popular movement mobilisation all over the country against religious fundamentalism and that trend is visible in the action of the Chief Minister of Punjab and that should be kept up. I am happy that the Home Minister is taking the initiative to have a national upsurge all over the country.

I would like to tell you that so far as Sikhism is concerned, it is not a regional phenomenon. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh desired to offer Kohinoor diamond to Lord Jagannath, it was not a regional approach. When Guru Gobind Singh had the five *Piaras*, one of them came from Orissa and others from various parts of the country. Sikhism itself is not a regional phenomenon. It is a national phenomenon and that is why, my submission would be, all over the country, that should be the upsurge among the Sikhs, non-Sikhs and everybody against the Sikh fundamentalism, Hindu fundamentalism and Muslim fundamentalism, wherever it may be and whatever character it may take.

Now, so far as the Akali is concerned, it has helped us in three ways. One thing is that they are nationalist forces, democratic forces and moderates. Why are they called moderates? It is because the extremists characterise them as moderates. They are moderates because they are nationalists and they are opposed to religious fundamentalism. They are called moderates, and they have been consolidated. And a propaganda is going on all over the world by the terrorist elements that the minorities have been suppressed in Punjab. That has been nullified by the elections. It is not only that. But it has established the vitality of our system, when the Central Government is under the rule of Congress Party, Punjab should go to Opposition. There is no problem. That is the vitality of the democratic system of India.

I would place before you another thing. Now, Badal, Tohra, Amarendra Singh group say—I do not know where they say, they say inside the chamber—they are also nationalists and they do not want division of Punjab from India; they believe in unity and integrity of this country. My submission is, who can prevent them from converting themselves into nationalists? I do not want to dig the past. Let them come forward openly, declare and work for the national unity and integrity and work against the forces which are out to disrupt the democracy, the democratic

set up in Punjab. We are going to welcome if they do so and the nation will be happy to be with them. Otherwise, they have no place in body polity.

Now, I am coming to another aspect. So far as Punjab day-to-day events are concerned, so many innocent people have been killed, are being killed every day and because of that, there has been some restlessness all over the country. My submission would be, so far as terrorism is concerned, it always involves a long-drawn fight. It cannot be eliminated overnight. As Ribero said categorically, it will take time and it has taken time. Everywhere, wherever the fight against terrorism or religious fundamentalism has been engaged, it is a time-taking process. But on this my submission would be, the entire nation must stand behind Ribero, stand behind the Chief Minister of Punjab and stand behind the Prime Minister to suppress and eliminate the disease from body polity.

Another thing which I would point out is, so far as this Punjab episode is concerned, it is not a national phenomenon only but it has international implications. I submit that there is too much international interference inside Punjab. I was going through the yesterday's paper. One of the American Senators has charged that so far as our military exercises in the Pakistan Border is concerned, it was done only to suppress the Sikhs. They have made a very interesting analogy. Unfortunately, nobody from the Indian Embassy was present in the hearing. It needs to be contradicted.

There is another aspect. The former Ambassador of America in India Mr. Barnes had observed that so far as the Khalistan movement is concerned, it is a national liberation movement like Puerto Rico. Is it a national liberation movement? You know about the Sarbat Khalsa resolution. It should not be lost sight of. Some of the American Senators are supporting the terrorists in Punjab. If anybody wishes, I will give

[Shri Brajamohan Mohanty]

the names of those who have been praised in the Sarbat Khalsa resolution.

Another part of the story is that the CIA is funding and supplying weaponry to the terrorists in Punjab in various ways—clandestinely directly and indirectly. This matter has to be checked up by the Home Minister.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, the Home Minister's statement does not categorically say anything because we want our relationship to be improved with Pakistan. I would like to ask a question in this regard. Are they really extending their helping hand to suppress terrorism in Punjab? Excuse me. My personal view is that they never do that. Only in this month in the *Dhaka Conference* Lt. Gen. Akhram Khan, representing the Pakistan Government, has declared that they have a special relationship with India. What is that special relationship? That means to see and thwart out Indian hegemony and to compete with India. That is the special relationship which he has made recently—I think it may be before 15 days. Naturally, what does it indicate? Does it indicate that Pakistan will extend its helping hand to us?

There is one more aspect. Pakistan is imparting training to the Sikh extremists. That had been established. Now, General Zia-ul-Haq, the military Head of Pakistan, has visited India. He was kind enough to give us the package deal. But my submission would be that whatever may be the deal, whatever may be inside the deal it will never work out. Pakistan's only purpose is to weaken India, to defeat India and to see that India is divided. They forget that Pakistan is itself suffering more confrontationalist and divisive forces inside their country. Take the instance of Karachi riots. If you take the number of people killed in Punjab during the last two years, it will be almost equal to the number of people who were killed in Karachi in one single incident recently. They should take note of this. I would like to say that Pakistan

should come to terms with India and should cooperate and eliminate terrorism not only in India but also in Pakistan. Terrorism is emerging as an international phenomena. All must cooperate and work together to eliminate terrorism.

I would like to come to another aspect. As far as the statement of the Home Minister is concerned, I would invite his attention to one thing. There has been seizure of documents from the terrorists. What is the motive behind the terrorists? How do they want to manipulate it? Some documents seized from the leading terrorists indicate that there was a detailed plan and strategy of the militant group. The document revealed plans to kill two Sikhs and later own responsibility on behalf of Shiv Sena and Balidani Jatha. The document also revealed plans to kill Nihangs and hold Shiv Sena responsible for that.

Their only purpose is to create a condition in which Punjab is divided between Hindus and Sikhs and some of them are manipulating this situation. They are conspiring to see that Punjab is divided. They want communal division not only in Punjab, but all over the country. That is why, my submission is that the Home Minister should be very careful about this and the nation should be alerted that such propaganda should not be taken seriously and we must stand united to fight against the terrorism.

Some strong steps are necessary. Many things have been debated in this respect. I would urge upon the Home Minister to see whether the people who are openly canvassing for the disintegration of the country are entitled to be the citizens of this country. I would say that their citizenship rights should be withdrawn forthwith. They should not be allowed to work against the unity and integrity of this country and at the same time take all the advantages as citizens of this country.

Communal parties have done a lot of mischief. The country has been partitioned by them. Now fresh attempts

have been made to further disintegrate this country. Should we allow them to flourish in this country? We should consider banning all the communal parties so that our system can grow with health and vigour.

The time has come when the Government should positively act to see that the religious places are not used for political conspiracy and for political purposes. We have the experience of Blue Star. We have seen how the Barnala Government have thrown out territories. Now again, I am told that almost all the Gurudwaras in Punjab are under the control of terrorists, wherefrom all mischiefs have been initiated. We must be very very careful about this. If possible, the matter should be examined in consultation with other political parties and definite steps should be taken to see that religious places are not used as places of political conspiracy and political activities.

Another aspect that I would suggest is that the diplomatic move must be expedited to see that Pakistan or USA or any other foreign country do not indulge in the activity of helping the terrorists either directly or indirectly if they mean friendship and cordial relationship with us.

As the Home Minister has rightly initiated, the process of mobilising the public opinion should be expedited all over the country. The public opinion should be mobilised with the involvement of all the political parties, irrespective of their ideological differences. We must unite on this issue and work together to create public opinion against the religious fundamentalism and communalism.

Please do not look at me Sir, I am concluding. About the weaponry that is being seized, absolutely we have no information as to from which country they have been coming, from which country the terrorists are getting those weaponry. It must be checked up whether it is coming with the connivance of that particular Government or it is coming clandestinely. The nation should be enlightened about

this aspect so that we know who is our friend and who is our foe.

Sir, since you are not prepared to bear with me, the last word of mine would be let there be a spirit of unity and integrity all over the country generated through the efforts of everyone.

MR. SPEAKER : I was just looking at you because I was listening to you intently.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : So you were catching his eye as a Speaker.

MR. SPEAKER : Sometimes it has got to be done like that.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : Sir, this is for the first time that I take part in this debate on Punjab with some positive development at sight. This development consists of two vital elements. One is the growing effort to mobilise the masses and the second is the courageous stand taken by the Chief Minister, Shri Barnala and a large section of his party members.

About the first thing I must say that the question of mobilising the masses actively against the terrorist forces was long over-due and it is not that what we want to achieve in this respect has been achieved to the extent that is required. Yet a beginning has been made and all the political parties have come to an agreement to take up the campaign for the unity and integrity of the country and fight against the divisive forces understanding the gravity of the situation that the whole country is facing today.

In this, I must say, that all who have come to this agreement will have to participate fully and will have to see that each and everyone of their party member should take active part in this campaign. Merely speeches would not suffice in the present situation. The masses would be required to be mobilised to resist the terrorists' attacks and some kind of thrust may be required to be given to them and

[Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary]

we should not be lacking in that respect also. From the side of our party we declare that we will be with everybody who will take up this task and try to isolate and defeat the terrorist forces in Punjab.

Secondly what I must say is that too much dependence on the administrative side of this situation has really not proved effective at all. The problem is a political problem and it requires a political solution. We all agree to that but again some two days ago I saw a headline in the newspapers that Constitution will be amended.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Banskura) : Why ?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : May be it is required to combat terrorism? I do not know whether absence of any Constitution amendment is hindering the fight against terrorism. So I felt like laughing on such a statement... (*Interruptions*) What I am trying to say is that insistence on these aspects of the problem has not helped us and will not help us in the future. I must support Mr. Ribeiro who is fighting there. He said that police would be more active if people are active. He named some political party—I do not want to name—what they should have done that they have not done. But we take the responsibility on our shoulders that we and all the political parties have not lived up to the expectations.

Now, Sir, about the second thing, the stand taken by the Chief Minister and majority of the party members has proved that what we have been demanding that politics has to be separated from religion is the most important and immediate requirement of the day. Everybody is saying so. How are we going to do it? The facts have proved that even a religious man like Barnala had to take a certain position which we are commending. It is proved that if we fail to practice secularism fully, then surely religion will be used by the enemies of our country

and imperialists' agents. So, those who have real religion in their hearts, they should understand that they should not try to meddle in politics and political leaders also should not try to meddle with religion. That is what I am saying. Now one honourable Member has said about our secular fight against fundamentalism.

Now, Sir, may I quote what Mr. Zia, President of Pakistan has said? I read it perhaps in the *Telegraph*. Zia said that we are a little backward. But we are forward. In what context he said, I do not know.

AN HON. MEMBER : Shah Bano...

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : There is some liberal provision in the Bill. May be about the Bill we enacted.

MR. SPEAKER : Has he read about Turkey? (*...Interruptions...*)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : Now, Sir, the real thing is whether we are really going to practise true secularism in our country. I am not taking much time. I want to understand the point to its true gravity. We all are saying that we have to consolidate the secular forces in Punjab. We all stand by their side. In that, I must say, the Central Government can play a positive role by implementing the Punjab accord. You may say that so many provisions of the Punjab accord have been implemented but there is obvious non-implementation. They may claim but nobody believes that. I do not know how you are going to convince people but there are the obvious points if non-implementation and you have to take care of those particular points and see that the accord is implemented fully. That will go a long way to consolidate the forces of secularism and to mobilise the masses in fighting against the terrorist forces and anti-national forces. That will create a genuine perfidy in the minds of the people. So, that is another very important point that I wanted to make.

The other point I wanted to make is that at this particular juncture where you

can see some ray of hope, I think, there should not be any national political party who would demand something that would really jeopardise the particular development that is taking place. Everybody is entitled to hold a rally and all that is very good. But now at this particular juncture, if you demand army rule, or you demand President's rule, that is really going to worsen the situation. That should not be done. In this I must say that when we can see some positive development, and we have seen reports earlier also that the outside elements, the imperialists, would try to disturb this particular development. There may be an attempt to desperately strike at different areas. At that time also, we should not lose our patience and should not just see certain things in a stray manner. We must see things in their proper perspective and see clearly what the terrorist forces or the anti-national forces want, we should not fall into any trap and see that this type of situation does not occur. We must take note of these three or four points and move in the right direction and stand by the masses. They have shown that they are for the country, for the unity of the country; they are against fundamentalism, and they are peace loving. People have shown that during the elections and during Longowal convention. It is a heroic deed that they are doing and we should not lose sight of it. We have been provided with an opportunity and we must make the best-use of it. With these words, I conclude my speech.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome the trend of this debate and I am very glad that my hon. friend, who just now spoke for the Communists (Marxist), has taken a very constructive line in his speech. I would like to remind him, however, that only this morning in the statement made by Sardar Buta Singh, the position of the Government has been made very clear indeed that they wish to extend whole-hearted and complete support to Barnala Government and they appreciate the courageous stand, fortunately successful stand, that he has taken at this juncture.

Therefore, he need not entertain any such fears at all in regard to the atmosphere sought to be created by certain political elements also that there might be President's rule in the offing. But at the same time, we must also be very careful to expect the Punjab Chief Minister to play his role on the other side of this constructive approach, and that is, just as we should not think in terms of President's rule things, he should also, as also his supporters, should not try to out-herod Herod himself and then begin to mouth the demands that are being raised by certain people, the wrong demands, the unpatriotic and impossible demands that are being raised by his opponents, the so-called Akalis, not the Akali Party, and making it more and more difficult for the Central Government to implement this accord and strengthen the atmosphere of mutual friendship, national integration and harmony.

At the same time, let me confess having made a mistake in supporting at that time Master Tara Singh and others in their fight for separation and creation of this dangerous geographical area into a political entity. We made a very great mistake and I hope we would not repeat such mistakes hereafter, and then think of linguistic unity and the rest of it. Years ago I was in favour of it. Even now I have no objection provided the people living in one particular linguistic area and having their own State do not try to create trouble for the neighbouring States, just because they have got some minority speaking their language. It has happened recently on the West Coast where my friends have burnt their fingers very badly. We have also burnt our fingers. Everybody has done that. Let us be forewarned in regard to that.

MR. SPEAKER : The only problem is that we do not learn from history.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Seventy-five or one hundred thousand acres of land to be given to Harayana—what is all that I do not understand? What does it matter if a few thousands of Hindus remain there claiming to speak not *Gurmukhi*, but Hindi only. We have got to get over this

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kind of madness. I have been trying to argue with my friends from Haryana but I could not carry conviction with them. All this trouble in Punjab is a warning to us all over India not to play with this kind of disruptive elements and disruptive forces.

It is not high time for us to come to realise what we failed to realise when we agreed to have that wretched Partition, i.e. we should have had a separate and different political system of ruling ourselves in regard to our border States? We failed then and we paid a bitter price so far as the North Eastern Frontier is concerned. In our enthusiasm, we did not realise that from Kashmir right down to Rajasthan we would have a border trouble. Now we have had the border trouble. Therefore, these areas have got to be given a separate statement. In these places we should not try to enjoy this very costly luxury of having the British pattern of parliamentary system where one party goes on saying 'yes' and another party thinks it proper for itself to say 'no' all the time. This is a disruptive force.

Therefore, we should begin to think in terms of what is known as the "Panchayat System". We did think of it and we called it 'Gandhian'. Later Jayaprakash Narain flitted with it. Now so many of us also have been talking about all party government and coalition government. Now the situation in Punjab brings it to the fore. You handed it over and it is true that the Akali Party got a majority. Is that any reason that the Akali Party should have formed a Cabinet only of its own party members? Is it not open to them and would it not have been statesman like on their part to have invited the other people also to come into partnership on a pro rata basis? Why should we not make an experiment with this kind of a system? Not only here, but it can be done there in Mizoram also and the day after tomorrow in Arunachal and Assam and in various other places too. Cachar people are having a bad time in Assam; and in so many places it is going on.

(Interruptions)

15.37 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

Even if you must enjoy the luxury of one party ruling and all other parties being kept in the opposition all the time, blocking each other's progress, would it not be wise on our part to begin to make an experiment if not in the heartland of India, at least on the border areas so that we can have an all-party government? In Haryana and in Punjab, you can certainly have an experiment in this direction. In this way we may be able to strengthen ourselves to fight those elements and forces moving in the direction of disruption.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI
(Guwahati) : You should influence the Prime Minister to accept this view.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : I do not want to take much time of the House. But at the same time I want that our friends give some thought to these things. How else can we go about it? There is Mr. Badal. He was here as a Minister to start with and Mr. Barnala was his *chela*. When he went over as Chief Minister, Barnala was his very favourite nominee here as a colleague of my friend Prof. Dandavate, as the Agriculture Minister. We all liked them and they too loved each other. Now power came in the way.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
Their love was not blind.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Power separated them. It has poisoned their relationship.

But are we going to keep Mr. Badal all the time in jail? The British thought that they were going to keep us in jail for ever and ever, but they had to release us. Similarly, Mr. Badal would have to be released either the day after tomorrow or the day after that. Then, is he to be kept in political exile? Is he not to be given an opportunity to make his constructive contribution? We must

think on these lines. Bring them all together. Today, they are chemies; tomorrow, they can be friends. Enemies today for the sake of power; tomorrow, they may be friends in their co-operative effort to strengthen India's unity and patriotic feelings. On these lines, I want Mr. Barnala also to begin to move.

Then there is the question of those Jodhpur prisoners. Everybody goes on saying in Punjab, from all sides, release them and release them. We have no objection to release them, I for one have no objection in releasing them. But at the same time, there is the question of discipline. Defence forces have their own *esprit de corps*. They are not like us.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : They are not the defence people.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : They are much better behaved. They have a sense of unity among themselves. They would not like their discipline to be played with. And it seems in the manner in which those misguided young fellows had done at that most unfortunate juncture of our national life. I would like to make an appeal to the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Defence forces behind them to think about it and try to release them as soon as possible and remove these wretched thorns out of our body politic, please Sir, without at the sametime upsetting the defence forces' sense of unity; sense of discipline; sense of *esprit de corps* and with their consent we should be able to do this. The sooner, the better. Then better relation would come to prevail in Punjab.

Then there are these terrorists. Who are they? Are they all Indians? I do not know. Are they all Indian minded? I do not know. Are there no outside forces behind them? One of those great men were here with us. We were hob-nobbing and we have no objection. We have got to learn to embrace each other and at the sametime negotiate, I do not know at what stage; in what manner any kind of negotiations have been carried

on or initiated yesterday or day before? But certainly, efforts have got to be made to improve our relations with Pakistan and yet let us not forget the fundamental forces that have kept India and Pakistan apart and that are likely to keep them apart also. There are fundamental elements—social as well as political—on this side as well as on that side, warring against each other, creating troubles between us. We must be able to overcome all these things. It is not a one day's solution, one day's problem, but nevertheless, it is the problem that is facing our country all the time and we cannot forget that serious problem.

It is only Pakistan? Behind Pakistan, how many other countries, from the West, from the East and from other sides are there? Therefore, it is high time that we all get together. My hon. friend—the communist friend—has said, these efforts should have been made much earlier. I agree with him. But some efforts were made. The freedom fighters' peace march had taken place there in Punjab. Our own Sunil Dutt has also developed that mood. There is another Saint Thapa Apte also from Maharashtra, who marched from Kanyakumari right upto I think Himachal Pradesh trying to bind all together. All these efforts have been made. Let us improve upon all those efforts by assuring them that different political parties in this House are united, and willing to work together in this direction—in the direction of helping our people to remain together in the consolidation of India's unity.

Sir, I wish to congratulate. I reiterate the congratulation. My hon. friend had already offered to the people, to the masses among the sikhs, to the people of Punjab and more specially to the Chief Minister of Punjab. Yet, there is one effort, i.e. a Sardar who has scored over him, and led the way for all of us, indeed in our country. When the high priests in the Golden Temple, Amritsar, passed their act of ex-communication and demanded the Home Minister of India to go and prostrate before them, he gave first place, priority to his loyalty to

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India and his submission to the country before every other duty and I had that Home Minister and he is our Home Minister.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada) : I think the hon. Speaker for allowing the discussion on the Punjab situation, over which the entire population in our country is very much agitated and worried.

The happenings in Punjab are causing a lot of anxiety to the people all over the country. In particular, during the last few months, very important political leaders, judges and very high officials are being killed, creating a feeling among the public that the situation has worsened, and there is no security even to such high dignitaries. Earlier, we were witnessing the dastardly incidents where innocent people going in buses were butchered. Now things have taken a different turn. Unfortunately in the SGPC elections, the group which is opposing Shri Barnala has won the elections. Subsequent developments have been explained in the note given by our Home Minister. I will not go into the details of those things.

In these circumstances, I really congratulate Shri Barnala on behalf of my party for the brave and courageous stand he has taken, i.e. in not submitting to the *hukmnama* of the high priests who, in the name of religion, wanted to negate the people's verdict given through the democratic election process. These elements had earlier tried, by giving a call to boycott the elections. But the Sikh masses as well as the people in Punjab had flatly refused it, and they have elected a democratic Government led by Shri Barnala.

I also congratulate the several MLAs in the Akali Dal (Longowal) who stood stubbornly with Shri Barnala in his endeavours to preserve secular democracy.

As Prof. Ranga has said, large Sikh masses gathered at Longowal village on

20th February, clearly to express their solidarity with the Barnala Government, and also to give a clear indication to the high priests not to mix religion with politics, but to confine themselves to religious matters.

It is really befitting that for the first time in independent India, a reference to a Chief Minister has found a place in the President's Address to both the Houses of Parliament. Only the other day the President of India has congratulated Shri Barnala for his exemplary courage in upholding the values of secular democracy.

The Union Government has many a time said that it is standing firmly by Shri Barnala. But I am very sorry to say that the Union Government is not giving that much help which it has to give to Shri Barnala, to win over future the large number of Sikh masses who are under a different impression, and to take more effective steps.

Prof. Ranga has spoken about the release of detenus in Jodhpur.

Has not Shri Barnala asked many a time to release at least those innocent detenus, some young people or women who were taken into custody because at that time they were in the Golden Temple, because they were the employees of the Golden Temple, whatever government has taken over, at least, they should release a few of them. Otherwise, why was that point mentioned in the Punjab Accord when they were not serious about implementing it? Mr. Barnala has not asked for release of those persons whom the government feel guilty; he has asked to release only innocent people. Has the government examined the matter and made a critical study of those persons who were detained there? Have they not found at least 5 per cent or 10 per cent people who are innocent people out of them? If the government had released at least a few people, it would have given an advantage to Shri Barnala in withdrawing propaganda of those extremist people who are continuing it

with malicious intention. But he said, you are friends of Shri Barnala. I ask the government to think over it seriously and take necessary steps immediately to release innocent people who are detained in Jodhpur.

Secondly, Mr. Barnala has been pleading for implementation of the other provisions of the Punjab Accord, leaving other things. As far as the transfer of Chandigarh is concerned, it is an expected thing and the Union Government had announced some date earlier very clearly by which time Chandigarh will be transferred to them. Now it is the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party who has stated in unequivocal terms that Chandigarh has to be transferred to Punjab, but the only question is how much area is to be transferred from Punjab to Haryana, which issue can be decided. But here this is not an issue of any Party or government. But I would like to make it clear that unfortunately the party interests are time higher priority than the national interest because if some steps are then, then the ruling party's chances may become dim in Haryana. It means only after Haryana elections are over, they want to do something. I am sorry, this is not proper, Mr. Chairman. The national interests are more important rather than the party interests.

I am happy that the Prime Minister has entered into Accords in respect of Punjab and Assam. There the people, as per their democratic rights, have elected their representatives—Akali Dal in Punjab and Guna Parishad in Assam. The other day in Mizoram People have elected their representatives.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : wherever they have signed an accord, they have lost their State.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO : But that is a different matter. Now the unity and integrity of the country is more important than winning elections in Haryana. So, in all earnestness, I appeal to the Union Government to

deviate from this narrow policy of preserving the party interests rather than the national interests.

I am happy that all political parties have come to an understanding that they have to put their efforts to mobilize Sikh masses as well as people in Punjab to eliminate, to isolate extremists. In these efforts, certainly a sense of security among the Hindus should be created. Otherwise, a large number of people are migrating; it should be checked because we have to live as brothers not only now but in future also, as Prof. Ranga had said.

I am happy that a positive development has taken place very recently in respect of government accepting the Mishra Commission's Report. I need not repeat the unfortunate incidents that have taken place in those days which may hurt the feelings of a large number of Sikh women and youths in particular. Not only the government has accepted this report.

I suggest and I request the Government to take the necessary, immediate steps to take to task those culprits who were responsible for those dastardly incidents which will certainly have a bearing on the large number of Sikh youth who are now being misguided by the terrorists and such elements which are anti-national and which want a division of our country, which are working against the integrity and unity of the country. This will go a long way. I request the Government to take the steps as early as possible.

With these words, I thank you very much.

SHRI R. L. BHATIA (Amritsar) : Sir, Punjab is passing through a very serious crisis. The crisis is so grave that never before had we such a problem, of such an acute nature in Punjab. In the beginning, unfortunately, many of us, especially members on the other side did not understand the nature of the problem which Punjab was passing through, what was the crisis

[Shri R. L. Bhatia]

and what could be the possible solution for the problem. Many friends went to Amritsar, I remember before the Blue Star, and everybody who came to Delhi had a different version to say. So, there was some kind of a confusion as to what was the real situation. But I will not refer to them because today the atmosphere here I find in the House is entirely different, and it is a situation where there is more understanding, and therefore, I will only refer to the current situation.

Sir, in order to understand the Punjab situation it is very important to understand the role of Akali party in the Punjab politics. Unfortunately, they stand divided. And their division has accentuated the problem of Punjab politics at this stage.

Secondly, the role of religion in the Punjab politics, that is another very important factor which is playing a part.

And, thirdly, the role of all the political parties in looking at the problem and finding a common solution.

But lastly there is a very important factor which has been ignored in the past and I am sure it is not being ignored now, and that is the role of the foreign forces in destabilising this country, in fragmenting this country, taking advantage of our difficulties in Punjab accentuating the problem.

So, these are the four factors which I have explained and which need to be understood before a solution to the Punjab problem could be found. We have to deal with this problem accordingly.

Sir, I belong to Amritsar and I have been too close to the scene. And I have my own experience and observations. And my observations are that in Punjab in the Sikh politics anybody who controls the Gurdwaras controls the Sikh politics. This is a very important factor which many of us do not try to understand, which most of us do not try to go into in depth in

this matter. Because, anybody who controls the Gurdwaras in Punjab controls the Sikh politics. And you have seen that at different times different people have been in control of the Gurdwaras. There were people like Darshan Singh Pherwan and Jathedar Jalla'-Usman was also there and he was also very much connected with the Gurdwaras. Then, our Sardar Gurdayal Singh Dhillon, is there who is sitting here. Then from the Gurdwaras here was a flow of secularism, there was a flow of love, of amity, goodwill. But at different times different people have been coming into power. But unfortunately now at this stage, the Gurdwaras have gone to certain people whom we call hawks. They are utilising that power in the Sikh politics. Not only that I after controlling the Gurdwaras they want to control the political wing of the Akalis of the State, and that is the Akal Takht.

16.00 hrs.

They were asked by giving a directive that all the units of the Akali Dal should be dissolved. And they were warned that anybody who would not accept that directive would be ex-communicated. Mr. Barnala has been ex-communicated for that purpose, because he has not listened to their directive.

Apart from that, a declaration has been made that they will not believe in any judicial commissions or decisions of the commissions; they will not subject themselves to any judicial commission or any authority appointed by the Centre to go into the matter to solve the problem or the dispute. They will not be subjected to their decisions. And lastly they have said in another declaration that in the law and order situation no interference of the Centre will be tolerated, meaning thereby that the role of the BSF and CRPF in maintaining law and order shall not be accepted. So this is a new dimension. It is in this situation you have to solve the problem. It is in this context that you see Punjab. Therefore, I would say that if you piece together all these points which I have raised, you will find a very different picture, a very

serious situation. Now, we are dealing with a serious situation. How to solve it? For that it is very necessary that we must learn from history. We must see what has been done in the past. We must see how we can bring about normalcy in Punjab. We must see the factors that are coming in its way. And we must remove those factors so that there can be a better understanding among the people. I can offer two solutions.

The Sikh psyche which has been hurt either by Blue Star Operation or by riots in Delhi shall have to be taken into consideration. Unless we remove that misunderstanding, unless we remove that scar, the silent majority which is not with those forces which are trying to destabilise this country, is sitting silent. You have to take into consideration all of them if you want to alienate those forces which want to weaken and de-stabilise this country. It is very vital, very important that we take the Sikh community as a whole with us. And for that we must see how their psyche which is hurt, injured, can be healed. For that we can sit together and find out a solution.

One thing I would like to emphasise is this. It is not Mr. Barnala alone, it is not the act of a single individual, it is not the act of a single political party, to solve the problem of Punjab. It has a very broad dimension. With the delay and with certain happenings, unfortunately, it has come to a stage where it has become very broad-based. It is very important that all of us must be involved into it, because, as I said, no single individual, not Mr. Barnala alone or Akali Party and for that matter not even the Congress Party will be able to solve the problem. It has to be done cumulatively by the cooperation of all the political parties involved there and by fighting the political forces which are trying to destabilise this country. Therefore, in this connection, I appreciate the role of our Prime Minister in initiating the dialogue with the opposition parties and coming to a certain conclusion. It is a good augury. But much remains to be

done. We have to implement that and very sincerely. All the parties must sit together and go to Punjab. It will have two effects. It will have two results. Firstly, it will help the minorities and secondly, it will strengthen those forces in Punjab who want to fight out the destabilising forces. Therefore, it is a very important step. I will only appeal to my friends that the atmosphere as I find today—because there have been so many debates over Punjab in this House generally I would have found accusations on each other saying that he is responsible, that is responsible—is that now a new stage has come and, therefore let us take advantage of this. We should together play our role in Punjab so that the solution then becomes easy.

One thing I want to make clear before I sit down. Mr. Dandavate said that they knew that yesterday in the party meeting some kind of a discussion was taking place for a new Act on terrorism. It is wrong. We were only discussing there about anti-communalism—how this anti-communalism is becoming a force in this country and how we have to deal with it. So, it was only the anti-communal forces that we were talking about and not about any Act on terrorism. Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, the news has appeared that there is likely to be an anti-terrorism Constitutional amendment. That is what the Press has reported. Of course, he is a member of that Party. So, he is a better authority than myself.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : That is why I have told you that it was about anti-communal forces that we have discussed.

SHKIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, in Punjab the situation now is actually in one way more dangerous than the situation obtaining before Blue Star Operation. But, at the same time, there is a silver lining that it has also offered new opportunity to make a breakthrough. We must be able to use the new opportunity to defeat the dangerous situation. The Sarbat Khalsa

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

that was held on January 26 by these Khalistani extremists at Golden Temple reiterated the declaration of Khalistan and hoisted the Khalistani flag. The National Flag was burnt.

Not a word of condemnation of the cold-blooded murders of innocent people, including women and children, both Hindus and Sikhs, was uttered there. Incidentally, the fact remains that out of the 520 people who were killed by the terrorists in 1986, as many as 196 were Sikhs. In this Saibhat Khalsa, the extremists showered all praise for the murderers.

The recent events which we are witnessing now are really further unfolding of an extremists separatists plan for capturing the Golden Temple and using it to bring into existence a so-called unified Akali Dal and its Government which would aid and abet in every possible way the Khalistani terrorists, backed by imperialism and the rulers of Pakistan. The plan must have been conceived as soon as the new leadership came under Mr. Tehra of SGPC.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
Conceived as well as delivered.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE :
Yes, as well as delivered now. Using their religious authority and acting under duress—I presume that it is under duress—the five Head Priests are seeking to dictate terms on how the government elected by the people of Punjab—Sikhs and Hindus and others—should be run. This is atrocious. Religious leaders have no business to give their *fatwas* or *hukmnamas* on political issues of the country and force ministers, political leaders and officials to act according to them. It must be remembered that India has chosen the path of secular democracy. If such political interference by religious leaders is attempted, then it will be the end of secular democratic set up which can never be permitted.

The so-called unified Akali Dal Constitution framed by Head Priests, is actually a fig leaf to cover Khalistani designs. The use of the words 'Khalsa Panth' as an independent and separate nation whose political goal is pre-eminence of Khalsa is a proof of that. Why independent? That word has a significance. That should be remembered. Now, in this situation it goes without saying that the new silver lining that has appeared has also to be taken with both hands i.e. Shri Surjeet Singh Barnalaji's stand in courageously fighting and not surrendering to these so-called religious leaders meddling with politics, actually acting as a screen of the terrorists. So, we must give all possible support to Shri Barnalaji and I believe if followed up properly Barnalaji also probably will have to go a long way. I believe he will go and we hope he will go. If it is followed up properly then there can be a new opening for a crucial battle for separating religion from politics which to-day is one of the most essential component in the fight for national integration.

We are very happy that all parties met recently and have agreed to come to an Action Plan. I do not want to rake up all the past though much can be said on many counts. But only I would like to point out here that the heroic role of our party in Panjab should be commended that at the cost of precious lives of our comrades they worked for Hindu Sikh Unity, if I may claim a pride. It is not our sectarian pride. We have tried to take other parties along with us.

I am sorry, the role of the Hindu communalism should not be brushed aside. It should be remembered. I may not name any party at the moment. Everybody knows who are those who wanted resignation of Barnalaji till the other day. The point now is how to help Shri Surjeet Singh Barnala. Then there is the question of Panjab Accord. Now the question has arisen that we have set up Commissions, etc. To our mind the Central Government must take a meaningful initiative and find a political solution

to the territorial and river disputes in the spirit of Punjab accord. This is not the business of Commission. This has been clear that the Commissions are not solving the problem. This has to be solved politically, on political basis. Shri Buta Singh in his statement has said that the Central Government will do every thing for it. We would like to know what steps are being taken. I hope those steps will really be taken.

But for that I must say that the major parties will have to rise above the narrow electoral interests ; otherwise, there cannot be any political solution.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : The hon. Minister concerned is not in the House.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Punjab is a serious matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has taken my permission and he is just coming.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : This is one of the most crucial part of the debate—how the Panjab Accord has to be implemented.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Then let us stop and start when he comes back to the House.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (DR. G.S. DHILLON) : He is not absent. He is coming back in two minutes.

SARIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : I hope the Minister present at the moment in the House has taken charge of the situation.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : There might have been re-shuffling of the portfolio.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : I hope not.

Anyway, as I said the major parties will have to rise above electoral interests. If I may say so Congress (I) will have to

speaking in one language both in Panjab and Haryana. That is absolutely essential. I hope that will be done.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : They believe in bi-lingual State.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : Now, the religious places must not be allowed for political purposes. For that, proper educational campaign and administrative measures have to be taken. Sir, in the case Jodhpur detenus, I believe that everybody would agree with me—I agree with Bhatiaji who just before me spoke about this—that this detenu will have to be screened and those found innocent will have to be set free without any further delay. Then, the culprits of Delhi riots and riots in other places like Kanpur and Bokaro have to be punished. Without that any amount of confidence cannot be built up. On the Punjab Government side, strong and stringent measures should be taken against the extremists. I hope that will be taken by the State Government.

Now, about the campaign, as I said, the working class of Punjab have been campaigning and among the peasantry also some campaign is attempted, some initial efforts, however small they may be, are made and a break-through has to be made by all parties. Now, what would be the aim of that campaign ? The aim of the campaign is to mobilise people first to support Mr. Barnala's correct positions and to help him to be more firm in his action. Secondly, it is important to call for a separation of religion from politics as well as the State—both at the level of States and at the Centre. Thirdly, we must expose the real face of terrorists and separatists as not only anti-Indian but also anti-Sikh. Fourthly, we must expose Hindu communalists who preach the theory of "revenge" and "retaliation" in any form and who want India to be a "Hindu nation". Fifthly, we must call for deterrent punishment for those who organise killings of innocent persons, including those who organised the anti-Sikh riots in November 1984. Sixthly, we must demand screening of the Jodhpur

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

detenus and release of those who are found innocent.

Sir, now is our final moment. I think we really have to make a very sincere and concerted effort for winning this battle. Otherwise the history will not stop at that situation. The whole nation should unite and forge together and go forward and once for all see that the integrity and unity of the nation are fully safeguarded through proclamation by deeds, not by words alone.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, on more than three occasions I initiated the debate on Punjab in this House and I assure you that I do not wish to repeat some of the arguments and the points which were covered in the course of the discussion on earlier occasions.

Sir, I would like to concentrate mainly on the statement that the Home Minister has made this morning in the House and I will try to draw the attention of the House and through you also of the Home Minister who is absent so that more effective actions can be taken and the situation can be saved.

Sir, in his statement, the Home Minister said :

“On 30th November, 1986, Shri Gurcharan Singh Tohra was elected President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Immediately thereafter, the SPGC disbanded the Special Task Force earlier raised by them for keeping the terrorists out of the Golden Temple Complex. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the SPGC held at Amritsar on 24th December 1986 the high priests were appointed...”

Sir, you know that they issued the ‘Hukumnama’. Sir, I would like the Government to go in depth of this issue. They had definitely indicated here that certain developments have taken place

Shri G.S. Tohra was elected as the President of the SPGC Executive Committee.

But, Sir, I would request, through you, the Home Minister to make a thorough inquiry whether there are Members sitting in the Ruling Party or whether there are Members sitting in the Opposition parties who helped particularly the representatives of the Gurdwaras outside Amritsar to support Mr. Tohra, and for petty factional politics and personal rivalries they saw to it that Mr. Tohra was elected and many things that followed. I would like this particular point to be investigated thoroughly. The newly elected officials disbanded the task force, new high priests were elected. Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi was elected the Acting Jathedar, and then he issued, as I said earlier, the Hukumnama.

Sir, I would like to raise the very fundamental point, and I am sure that the entire House will agree, and particularly Prof. Ranga who happened to be the Member of the Constituent Assembly, will recall the debates of the Constituent Assembly and I am sure he will agree with me, there is a question of secular politics that is involved in the entire episode. I raise the fundamental issue that was discussed in the Constituent Assembly whether religion and politics should be separated or not, whether the religious institutions should be allowed to interfere with the politics of the country or not. Sir, that problem was discussed in depth at the Constitutional Assembly, but unfortunately no Bill was enacted, no administrative steps were taken which would have given effect to the sentiment of the overwhelming Members of the Constituent Assembly and that is the malady of the situation. Let us come to grips with the problem.

I would like to pose a question to all the Members of the Akali Dal — why only to Mr. Badal? I will pose that question to Mr. Barnala also. Sir, I have great respect for him, he happened to be my colleague in the Cabinet of the Janata Government. I had seen him working in the Cabinet, I have no malice towards

him. But at the same time I would like to pose that question to all concerned and in that I would not spare Mr. Barnala also. And my question is : Are you prepared to take a secular stand that 'we will not allow the religious dictates to interfere with the politics of the country ? And here I would like to quote the Constitution. Sir, why talk about only one particular faction of the Akali Dal, why talk about Prof. Darshan Singh ? I would like to put a question to my colleague and friend, Mr. Barnala that will once again have a second look at the constitution of the Akali Dal. Sir, do you know that the primary membership of the Akali Dal is open only to one who belongs to Sikh community ? Do you know that in our democratic party there is a rule that any adult who subscribes to the philosophy and principles of the party can become a primary member ? But only an active member can become an office bearer of the Party. That is what our Janta Party's Constitution says. But in Akali Dal, Sir, there is one more clause and let Mr. Barnala express his opinion. It is not a fact that according to the constitution of the Akali Dal only one who is an *amritdhari* Sikh can be an office bearer of the Akali Dal ?

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN
 (Barmer) : Who is *Amritdhari* ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : About *amritdhari* please go and consult the experts. But I want to ask Mr. Barnala that even as far as the party that he leads is concerned, is it not a fact that only one who happens to be an *amritdhari* Sikh can be an office bearer of the Akali Party ? Is it not a fact that when all these disturbances took place and when the newly appointed high priests gave a new fiat and tried to interfere with the internal politics of Akali Dal and told all of them, 'you give your resignations tomorrow by 5 o'clock', the Chief Minister of Punjab had also come out with a statement, we are not against the Akal Takht as such ; we are not against their authority. But they ought to have taken into account our point of view ; they ought to have been guided by certain

principles and certain policies and then, they ought to have taken a decision. Sir, there is only a small difference between "tweedlelum" and "tweedledee". If my friend, Mr. Barnala wants to come to grip with the problem, he should not be running with hare and hunting with hoand. It is not going to solve the problems.

And, therefore, will he show the courage to say—will he be prepared to tell—Mr. Darshan Singh and others that we are prepared to redraft the constitution of the Akali Dal and this Party will not be open only to the members of the Sikh community but to all. Why leave it to Mr. Darshan Singh only ? Mr. Barnala will have to take a lead in this matter and he will have to tell the secularists in this country that just as you are secular in this country, we are prepared to take that stand. Unless it is done, these troubles will continue to happen. Can we imagine today Sankaracharya giving a mandate to Mr. Hegde, resign from the membership of your Party ? Tomorrow can you imagine, Imam telling Sheikh Abdulah in Kashmir, you step down from your position or resign from the membership of the Party ?

AN HON. MEMBER : In Kashmir, there is Farooq Abdullah now.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am sorry. It was the slip of the tongue. I am glad to say that they take cognizance of only the slip of the tongue. Therefore, I retrace my slip of tongue and I would say, if some Imam says, Farooq Saheb, you must also resign from the membership of the Party and tomorrow by 4 O'Clock, can you tolerate it ? These things go on happening in this country whether they concern Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. The politics of this country will continue to remain polluted and nobody is prepared to take a firm stand on this particular issue. Everybody wants to see the sensibility and sensitivity. So long as Barnala or any other section of the Sikh community of the Akali Dal is not prepared to take the secular stand, today you can have hotch potch agreement and solve the crisis and solve the problem. But the problem will rise over and over

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

again. I may give an illustration. The chairman of my Janata Party in Punjab also is a member of the Sikh community, Mr. Kripal Singh. But tomorrow if the Akal Takht gives him the mandate, that you resign from the membership of the party, my chairman who happens to be a Sikh in Punjab will have the courage and confidence to tell them. To Hell with your directive, I am not going to resign from the membership of my party. That is the stand that the Sikhs belonging to the secular party are prepared to take, whether they belong to the Janata Party or the Communist Party or the Congress Party. That stand, they are prepared to take. Are the Akalis prepared to change the constitution and have a new stance? That is the question that it to be asked.

In this context, I would like to make a constructive proposal to the ruling Party and also to my colleagues in the Opposition. With a common agreement and a consensus, let us introduce a Bill in this Parliament to give effect to the real spirit of secularism that we will not allow any section in politics to be socially boycotted. I am not referring to any particular community. Sir, it happened in different communities. In the olden days, social reformers were 'boyocotted' for years together, in the Hindu fold. They were boycotted in other communities. In the Sikh community, a number of persons were excommunicated. The former chairman of my Party in Punjab, Mr. Harbhajans Singh was boycotted. He said, hell with your boycott. I shall go ahead with my socialist politics in Punjab. He did not bow down. The time has come when we must try to evolve consensus in this House and let us introduce a Bill by which social boycott of any section will be made an illegal act. I will tell you how that will harm. In my own State of Maharashtra, tragically enough, some of the landlords who belong to the caste Hindu community took a decision at the rural level, that those agricultural labourers who are belonging to the Scheduled Caste community, will be socially boycotted, they will

not be allowed to take drinking-water from the wells and no landlord will keep them as agricultural labourers on their fields. Such acts have been taking place in different communities. This does not should confine only to sikh community. Therefore, a time has come when we must evolve a consensus in this House that social boycott will be made an illegal act just as dubbing anyone as a scheduled caste person and subjecting him to untold hardships has been made a crime in this country. Social boycott in this country has to be made a crime and it must be actually made on the basis of a law to be enacted in this House. I would make a concrete proposal that this should be done.

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN :
Social boycott comes under social prohibition.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
Already, social boycott has taken place.

16.31 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I was making two concrete proposals. I would like to use your good offices.

MR. SPEAKER : Sure, Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
Firstly, let all the parties including the Akali Dal make it explicitly clear that we will change our constitution to see that membership party will not be restricted only to one community. Secondly, social boycott in this country will be made illegal by an enactment in this House—whether the Harijans are boycotted; whether social reformers of Hindu community are boycotted; whether social reformers among the Muslim communities are boycotted; whether social reformers in the Sikh communities are boycotted or dissidents among them are boycotted, such social boycott will be treated as illegal. That is what this House must enact. I plead for this. I anticipate your consent.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I would like to refer to one more aspect in

the context of the law and order situation. Recently, a big bank robbery took place in Jalandhar. You must have read the report. The extremist and terrorists remained on the premises of the bank for one hour and forty-five minutes. Here again, I do not want to bring in the technical issue whether law and order is the responsibility of the State or whether someone-else is involved. I want to tell this House that as early as in 1983, from the Centre, recommendations had gone to all the Bank authorities in different parts of the country that they must make certain security arrangements in the bank; they must have an automatic alarm system and they must ensure that safety and security of the bank is actually ensured and for that whatever assistance is necessary from the Centre, that will be made available. These recommendations were made as early as 1983. Here, the extremists entered the Jalandhar Bank. They remained for one hour and forty-five minutes. Probably, the police were parading in the streets to find out whether the culprits can be found out in the other direction. While, they were running away in some other direction. This is what is happening there. What is the Centre doing as far as the responsibility of the banks is concerned? This is not the first time. Rs. 5.7 crores have been looted from the Panjab National Bank's Branch in Jalandhar.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : It is Ludhiana.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am sorry, it is Ludhiana. Probably, because I have mentioned Jalandhar somebody may try at Jalandhar also. Rs. 5.7 crores were looted by gangsters and extremists who remained there for one hour and forty-five minutes. What were the local police doing? And the Centre, which is also supposed to be in charge of banks, the nationalised banks, what were they also doing? That aspect also has to be taken into consideration.

The Barnala Ministry condemned the call for Sarbat Khalsa of April 29, 1986. That is what is stated in the statement

and described it as a conspiracy of the foreign forces to destabilise the Indian society. This is the statement that the Ministry has made from Punjab. The Barnala Ministry has made the authentic statement. On the basis of this, I would demand that the Centre in cooperation with the State Government should produce a white-paper to tell this House in what form there had been a collaboration between the foreign forces and some elements in this country. It is a very dangerous thing, if it is happening. We cannot just go by the statement of Barnala Government that they are trying to destabilise the Government and we have an evidence. If you have an evidence, take the entire country into confidence. Let the Centre take the Parliament into confidence and we can mobilise public opinion because whatever be the differences amongst the political parties, as far as the stability of the country is concerned, the entire country will stand like one man if it is proved that a foreign power is involved. Therefore, merely making a statement on behalf of the Ministry is not sufficient, let the White Paper be produced.

We talk so much about the implementation of the Accord. We had talks with the Chief Minister, Mr. Barnala. His agonies are that he is facing troubles. Extremists' hands are strengthened because no political support is coming in the form of implementation of the Accord. As far as this Accord is concerned, I have a copy with me, if you ask me a plain question—please do not feel that I am rubbing you the wrong way—as to what has happened about this Punjab Accord, how much has been implemented, all that I will say is only the signature on this Accord has been implemented and nothing else. That is all that has happened in substance.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is wrong.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You might say that it is wrong; but I am telling you the fact. You will find that most of the issues have not at all been tackled. Concretely I will say one thing. Look at these three commissions,

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

Mathew Commission comes. They say that they cannot do the job because the entire terms of reference has been drafted in such a rigid manner that even when they identify the Hindi speaking villages that are to be transferred to Haryana, if one small village comes in the way, then the contiguity is technically broken. So, they think in terms of geography and not in terms of reality. Therefore, those villages are not transferred and as a result of that, Chandigarh does not come to Punjab.

Another Commission comes. Strangely enough, Venkataramiah Commission says 70,000 acres must be transferred. Out of that how much did they identify? 45,000 acres have been identified and because the rest have not been identified, Punjab has been told that Chandigarh will remain where it is, you will remain where you are and the Commission will remain where it is. Mr. Barnala has suggested that if 45,000 acres have been identified, let then be transferred to Haryana and in the meantime let Chandigarh be transferred to Punjab. Let it be accepted as its capital. But they are not doing it because they understand the Accord; but they don't understand the psychology.

I am glad that Mr. Bhatia in your absence talked about Sikh psyche which is need. It is not merely the demand that is important; but it is the psyche that is important. Therefore, these things also have to be implemented effectively.

There is a reference to November riots. I am glad that in the terms of reference that have been accepted, they said that the jurisdiction of Justice Mr. Ranganatha Mishra Commission inquiring into the November riots at Delhi would be extended to cover the disturbances in Bokaro and Kanpur also. This is also an important point. Let us not drive the issue below the carpet.

We have met a number of Sikh families who suffered in those days. Sir, I am not saying it for the sake of saying it in the

House. When you read that report, in the Commission's report on Page-20 my affidavit has been published. The type of atrocities against the Sikh that I saw on the Rajdhani Express by which I was travelling is that they were pulled out and killed in the presence of police. They were burnt to ashes and one porter in blue uniform was also burnt to ashes. Police were standing and I went to them and asked what were they doing. I scolded them and brought them into the train. Hindus were saying that on Ashram Marg Sikhs had assembled and they will kill them, so the train must not go ahead. I assured them that as the Ex-Railway Minister I take charge of the train. I told them to lock the doors. We brought the police and in every alternate compartment police were kept and we safely took it to Delhi Station. The rest of the Sikhs were saved.

This has been published on page-20 in the Commission's report in which it has been said that many people who tried to cross-examine Mr. Dandavate could not contradict him and since he is a responsible Member of Parliament and the former Railway Minister there is no reason why we should dis-believe him and we completely accept his version. That is what the Mishra Commission has said. Such things are happening, Sir. Things will to be settled. Therefore, I have demanded from you discussion on Mishra Commission's reports. I do not know what you have decided in the Business Advisory Committee. I have already given a notice that let there be discussion on the Mishra Commission's report because I have found out that those of us who have given affidavits some others were persuaded by the police to give counter-affidavits to falsify our affidavits. Cyclostyled forms of counter-affidavits were circulated. I have got those in my possession. Mishra Commission has got in its possession. Hundreds and hundreds of such cyclostyled counter-affidavit forms were circulated. I would very much like that this should be discussed because the emotions that they rouse have to be subsided and they are to be told that

some things have happened. They have already said that police are found guilty.

MR. SPEAKER : I think the whole nation should be sorry for the dirty things which have happened.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : But that "sorrow" should be expressed through an official motion, Sir. Therefore, I insist that a debate should be allowed on that.

Now a word about Jodhpur detainees. Many members both from the ruling party and the Opposition have referred to that. Prof. Ranga took a constructive attitude. He said we must take a tolerant attitude. I want to tell Prof. Ranga that none of them belongs to Defence Services. You know who were arrested and who have been detained in Jodhpur camp ! It is all those who were found inside the temple. Sir, you will be surprised to know that one of our members Mr. Ramoowalia was there. He had gone to the temple and he was also arrested. The total number that was arrested and kept detained is 369 and you will be shocked to know out of 369 no allegation has been established against a single man. They do not belong to Defence services. They are not deserters from the Army. They are supposed to be guilty of sedition and conspiracy against the State and when Government could not establish any allegation against anyone of them do you know what they were told. The onus of proving that you are innocent is on you. Supposing you arrest and detain me for murdering 'X' or 'Y' and when you are not able to prove that I have committed the act of murder and if the judge tells that the onus is on you to prove that you are innocent this is a strange jurisprudence. In this country this is what is happening. Therefore, do not give an additional handle to the extremists to provoke the Sikh community and, therefore, that problem also must be solved.

Sir, in defending secularism and in fighting communalism I can assure you on behalf of my party that we do not get

on the band wagon of anyone. Whomever we praise we do not praise him 100%. We never give blank cheques to anyone—either to the Prime Minister or to the Chief Minister of Punjab—but whatever efforts are there which will help the nation we will always cooperate. Therefore, I have made certain concrete suggestions, namely, some about the legislative action to be taken and some regarding completely separating the institution of religion from the institution of politics. I feel that the spirit of Constituent Assembly should continue to haunt this House and one day we should be able to give legislative effect to the spirit of the Constituent Assembly about separating religious institutions from politics and if that happens then only we will be able to solve the problem otherwise today it is Punjab, tomorrow it might be some other State and the problem will continue. I hope and trust that Government will take this constructive approach and on that basis try to solve the problem.

MR. SPEAKER : I agree with Prof. Dandavate that communalism must be eradicated if this nation has to survive its health. This is the worst cancer that man has seen or any society has ever experienced.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Unfortunately we recite it like a Gita but do nothing about it.

MR. SPEAKER : I have exhorted and requested the whole House so many times that we should all come together on this aspect at least because we have suffered already. Can't we remember the holocaust which we faced in 1947 ? Millions were uprooted and hundreds and thousands maimed. If we cannot learn from history, what sort of people we will be looked after in the historical future ? So, we must rise up to the occasion as one and then do something and take a positive stand. Both Houses should come, make a committee, understand it, make some law, legislate it, do something positive. That is what the

[Mr. Speaker]

time is ; otherwise there is no fun in talking and talking. The gap between talking and doing should be eliminated. We should do something positive and I am for it. I exhort you and request all to rise to the occasion because this is the cancer. Communalism and democracy cannot coexist. We have to do away with this non-sense.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
Opposition and ruling party can co-exist.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, they can always co-exist. Without that there will no democracy.

I think you had some discussions with the Prime Minister also and they were talking about some legal sort of action. Why don't you all come together ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
I am afraid they are going to bring some constitutional amendment. If they don't bring it, I will be very happy.

MR. SPEAKER : I think the Prime Minister meant about the communalism, not about terrorism.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullundur) :
Punjab, Sir, is in a jumble and this august House in a specific manner should consider based on priority by which first and phasewise—how to do it to smoothen out the situation that obtains. It has been an unprecedented nightmare of arson, loot, murder and the fear of the unknown which Punjab people of all shades and officials, high and low, have been suffering through over a period of some years. It is something unprecedented and it is at the hands of foes, at the hands of terrorists—cum extremists—cum common-day type or all types of criminals and this is happening mostly in the districts of this sensitively-positioned border State of India. Certain ramifications—geo-strategical, geo-political—can well be understood by us all. That is where Punjab stands and incidentally, Sir, it is the people who suffer *in situ*. They

understand to what type of ordeal they are going through.

Jis tan jane jis tan lage
Sai jane na jane peer paraee

16.47 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

It is not a question of 'ILAMUL yakeen'. It is not a question of 'haq ul yakeen'. It is a question of 'AINUL yakeen'. You see the fire burning somewhere in your knowledge. You also see with your naked eye that there is the fire. But, Sir, if you are inside the fire sizzling, then you know what the fire means. This is what has happened to my beloved Punjab where everybody lives—Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Bodhis, Muslims etc., and traditionally they are one of the finest type of stock, historically well known. It is not a question of being a Hindu or a Sikh but the stock as a whole. And, in today's discussion, whom would you, Sir blame ? Whom shall we start blaming ? Shall we start blaming the Punjab Government, the Central Government, the opposition parties, or this very House which has been discussing the Punjab situation so many times ? It would not help. It is no good if I start blaming one or the other in some kind of a rotation. There should be no political slant, in so far as the Punjab situation is concerned ; that is my request. It is a national question. Apropos to that, we have to put our heads together. I am very glad to hear the suggestion that even if it comes to bringing certain constitutional amendments, that should be done. But who has to do that ? This House is supreme. You discuss it and work out a workable solution, a solution which is cogent and correct for the benefit of secular India, for everybody, for all men women and children from Kanyakumari to Himalayas, Our sovereignty and unity is very dear to us. We were able to gain that after so much struggle and nobody was left behind in that struggle. Akalis, Sikhs, Hindus and everybody went in a way in that. Everybody was there in that fight right upto Bengal, Madras,

Kanyakumari and so on. India is our common property and we have to look after it. That is the most important question.

The first question that I want to bring in is how we are going to settle it as a national consensus. Much has been said and spoken on that, but now we have to come to the brass tacks. When we have to come to the brass tacks, we have to bring round even those who do not agree. Akali leadership represents the same type of kith and kin that I do.

In their mind, I know, they want to remain secular, they want to serve Mother India, but with the flow of events, with pressures, counter pressures, urge for chair to sit on, and all types of indoctrination that has gone round, wrong type of propaganda, certain people have lost their way and lost their balance. Our duty is to correct their balance. I am very glad that Prof. Ranga and some other hon. Members have suggested that we have to work out a consensus. In so far as the law and order is concerned, other realities are concerned, some agreed type of a solution has to be worked out. I must say that I admire the manner in which the hon. Prime Minister and the Central Government has been working in regard to the Punjab situation. You could not have rushed it; take it from me. You may have spoiled the whole issue and the confrontation on the border would have taken some other shape. That would have been the situation, if any hasty action had been taken.

Our Chief Minister in Punjab is putting up a Herculean type of fight. He has stood his ground. In so far as the backing of all and sundry is concerned, even the other Akali groups; I can assure you that they want to work together and sort out the issue. My request to them is to come in the open, put their heads together and work together. Let them fix certain priorities and declare that they want to remain secular, they have nothing to do with Khalistan. I would urge and recommend to the not headed youngsters who want Khalistan, and who are our kith and

kin, to see the writing on the wall, throw away that idea and work for the unity and integrity of the country. Their idea is not viable. But I know that we are. According to my Gurus, we are the owners of India. How could we live in a shell of seclusion? Our religion is one of the finest religions. *Sarbat da bhala*. We wish everyone the best. What did our Gurus do for us? They never gave this type of *hukum-namas* to anybody. I am giving you one example. Guru Gobind Singh Maharaj—'Sabu Kalan Sampuran'. He was in a fix. At Anandapur Saheb, the enemy was fighting against him. At that time he was ghereoed by his followers who differed with him on some political, geo-military or military-political issues. Some of the Sikhs belonging to my own district Amritsar disagreed with him and told him that his policies were wrong. He tried to prevail upon them with his one point of view but they differed. Ultimately what had happened? They said that they were not going to be with him and a 'bidawa' was written out and signed. They told him that they were not going to be with him any more as Sikhs and they went away. Would you believe it? Guru Gobind Singh Maharaj did not make even one of them a *Tankhaiya*. Ultimately, they came back to the fold as friends with goodwill and they were again Sikhs and they were all working together again.

So, political motives should not sway anybody to dub any person as a man who has to be excommunicated and so on and so forth. This is my humble submission and they can think over it with this historical perspective. Sir, I can speak about it for a long time but I know that I should not take much time and I honour your policy. At some other time I will suggest certain things to you.

Today, I wish to say that the House is supreme and that it belongs to all of us. This particular problem which is facing us in Punjab should be solved and we should all work together for it without any political slant. Then only we can find out correct solutions and it will help not only the Punjab but it will hav

[Shri R. S. Sprrow]

its desired effect on other parts of India too. With these words, I thank you.

SHRI BHOLANATH SEN (Calcutta South) : Sir, wherever there is trouble in the Punjab, we in Bengal become very emotional. When we were children we read a poem written by Gurudev Tagore about the suffering of the Sikhs at the hands of the rulers who professed a different faith. When we were very young and when we were in school, we heard about the Jalianwala Bagh massacre and Gurudev Tagore's giving up his knighthood in protest.

The other day when I went to Port Blair I saw the Cellular Jail where I found that the largest number of people incarcerated were from Bengal and Punjab. When we think of our Independence, we cannot but think of those train loads of dead bodies which came from Lahore to Delhi and we cannot but think of those men and their sufferings. And all that suffering was because of religion. We have had the same fate in Bengal. Bengal was partitioned and Punjab was partitioned. Because of religion and because of communalism millions were killed in these two States and India emerged as a truncated free India. Our relatives were in both the States and so also theirs. They must have suffered a lot and there is no doubt about it. It is all because of religion. But still, how can religion again come into the body politic of India ? It really beats me. I have seen the first statue of Netaji Subhash Bose in Amritsar before a statue was built in Calcutta. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was not a believer in communalism. He was a secular man. People who gave life with him, people who fought with him for Independence of India, they were all under the leader, who was a secular man and that is Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Today, suddenly, the whole thing has changed. How is it that religion has become a point around which the politics must go like a satellite ? I am tremendously intrigued by hearing this Panthic

Committee who said, they will decide who will be the Chief Minister : who will be the Minister, who will rule under the Constitution of India. It is a very-very peculiar thing. It is contrary to the constitution in every aspect. It is a Democratic Republic. It is a Secular Democratic Republic. How can a religious body say that in the matter of politics, I will rule, that is to say, have a dyarchy in Punjab ? There is no place for Dyarchy under the Indian Constitution. We gave the Constitution to ourselves, not merely we, but our forefathers, who believed in Secularism ; who believed in Hinduism ; who believed in Islam. We had incorporated during our former Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's time, Article 51 (a). It was said, amongst other things that :

"It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities to renounce practices, derogatory to dignity."

This was there in the constitution. Immediately, after the constitution, when the Representation of the people ; Act came, wherein if a person is elected, his election could have been set aside by the Court, if during the Election, he had taken recourse to communal ideas. The elections have been set aside from the time of Mr. Chagla's elections and others.

In spite of that, today, how could it come up, that is, somebody with extra constitutional source of power will decide how the constitution should be worked out ? The voters who voted Mr. Barnala and his Party, were they all only Sikhs ? They were not. There were other also. The people who have voted and who have been voting to the opposition, they were also Sikhs. The voters included Sikhs as well as non-sikhs, say for example Muslims and all types of people who live in India. Everyone has one vote. Every adult person has one vote, who have completed 21 years of age, irrespective of his religion in a Republic like

ours a man has a right to vote, if he has reached the minimum age of 21 years. How can he be dictated? How can it be a Republic, if an extra constitutional religious source of power go and decide who will rule and who will be the Chief Minister? How is it a Republic? How is it democratic? If those who are not amenable to elections sit in the source of power, then how can you call it as democratic and secular? If they decide that a person must be *Amritdhari* in order to be an executive member or office bearer and they will decide which one of the *Amritdhars* or members will rule the State, how is it democratic? The whole concept of communalism, irrespective of whether it is Sikh or Hindu or Muslim and all that, is contrary to the constitution. We do not need a law for that. We do not need to amend the Constitution. But we need to make a law and a time has come when unanimously a law should be passed whereby these religious bodies should not be allowed to interfere in the constitutional affairs, which is a Republic, consisting of people of different religions, different classes and different languages. In a country like ours, it is necessary, necessary in the interest of all people, necessary in the interest of people living in peace, whereby these religious bodies should not be allowed to interfere in the constitutional affairs. Otherwise, what will happen? Even the other day there were riots. The riots did crop up. Why? It will crop up and eat up the body politic of India, peace of India. Why should these enemies of the Republic be allowed to function legally? Well; the law can be made. If it cannot be made, the Constitution may be amended. To my mind, it is not necessary to amend the Constitution. A law is good enough; an ordinary legislation is enough.

The Minister has talked about a code of conduct. Why not have a code of conduct cutting across all religions, all languages? Here, we sit at the headquarters of India: we should make a law whereby it will not hurt anybody's religious feelings, but it will make it possible for everyone to have faith in the other irrespective of religious differences.

We are thinking of national integration, but these sources of religion, these organizations of religion, these organizations where religion is important, they are trying to have disintegration as their objective. They are trying to achieve disintegration; we are trying for national integration. That is why secessionist movements have started. These are all faken together. Secessionism and communalism go hand in hand. They do not go hand in hand with democratic, republican thoughts and secularism.

17.06 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

My other point is about the 70,000 acres. I think the time has come when one should say that even if administratively it goes to the State of Haryana, people remain Indians; and they have a right to live anywhere they like.

Are not hundreds and thousands of Sikhs living in West Bengal? Mr. Ramoovalia is here. He knows more than anybody else. We are fighting for Sikh unity. Are Sikhs not living in the city of Calcutta? One of the largest groups of persons coming from outside to Calcutta are the Sikhs. They talk Bengali. They are almost Bengalis in every respect. The food habit is more or less the same, except that they take a more rich food. Apart from that, where is the difference? They have a turban which we too have during winter, to save our heads. Otherwise what is the difference? If they can live there, why can't Sikhs live with the Punjabis or with other people, in their own State? I do not understand this. They do not need to become *Amritdharis* in order to live there. They only have to have their voice heard.

We had with us, when we were in power in West Bengal, one Mr. Gyan Singh Sohanpal. We did not feel any difficulty. We were brothers. We felt it that way. He is still an MLA there. Gyan Singh Sohanpal was a Minister at one point of time. We do not find any difficulty. They did not find any difficulty. How is it that Sikhs find difficulty in Punjab?

[Shri Bholanath Sen]

Lastly, it has become necessary today that the Sikhs be told that there are Congressmen, and there are Akalis, and there are three different Akali groups there. I agree with Prof. Dandavate : why then should such a clause be made compulsory in the Akali Dal's constitution, that they must be *Amritdharis*? Why?

In the olden days, only Britishers could become members of the law clubs. There was a fight. Everybody was compelled, i.e. the organizations were compelled to take Indians also as members. There were Indian members, although they were started only for the Britishers initially. Why can't you do that? Why can't you say that anything which smacks of communalism should be banned?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please take your seat, Mr. Sen. Now Mr. Kolandaivelu.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichettipalayam) : First of all, I have to appreciate the feelings of the people who gathered at Longowal village on 20th February in response to a call given by Mr. Barnala. Lakhs and lakhs of people gathered there, in order to pledge their support to the Barnala Government. This is a clear indication showing that Sikhs are not extremists or terrorists.

There is a wrong impression even among the southern people that Sikhs are terrorists or extremists. Because of the gathering in lakhs on 20th February, that wrong impression has been cleared once and for all.

Next, I have had to congratulate our Home Minister Shri Buta Singh on an earlier occasion.

And he drew the attention of Mr. Barnala himself to the urgency of ensuring that the democratic institution and the government established by law should not be permitted to be undermined by religious interference; and the Centre also

wants that terrorism should be eliminated from the country. The Centre made known the firm resolve that it will not tolerate the machination of communal, separatist and secessionist elements, no matter under what guise they may be operating. So, these are the clear indications. The Central Government should come forward in order to eliminate religion from politics, in order to eliminate terrorism and extremism from the country.

Here it is a shocking news that the religious institutions that is the Golden Temple in Amritsar, being the highest seat of the Sikhs' religion, passed under the control of the extremists. On a rare occasion, when the Head Priest asked Mr. Barnala, to obey the Hukam Nama issued to him, certainly Mr. Barnala appeared before the Akal Takht and accepted the punishment awarded by the Head Priest : even he had gone to the extent of dusting the shoes for about a week; and no Chief Minister has done such a thing so far in the history of the country, but he came forward and obliged and obeyed the orders of Hukam Nama of the Head Priest. It is not that they made Hukam Nama under religious sanctity. But, actually, now, in Amritsar Temple itself religion and politics mingled; and the Amritsar Temple become not as a religious institution but a political party office. That is why this time we have to rise to the occasion in order to eliminate religion from politics and in order to eliminate terrorism from this country.

[Translation]

CH. SUNDER SINGH (Phillaur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the people of Punjab are fed up with what is happening in that State. The militants have taken over the control of 'Akal Takhat'. The people of Punjab now want peace. Mahatma Gandhi had said about temples and gurdwaras that they harboured thieves. The temples, mosques and gurdwaras in the country cannot give peace to the people in the country. I am of the view that it is not a wrong thing if one follows religion in a proper way. What is religion? Religion enjoins upon us to help the poor.

A true religion does not go against any religion. I think the majority of the people in India banker after money. They want to acquire money by any means whether it is by theft or otherwise. The extremists, who are engaged in these activities, also want to earn a few lakhs in the process. I would give you an example. When Shri Pratap Singh Kairon was the Chief Minister, Master Tara Singh resorted to fast into death. The people became apprehensive as to what would happen in the event of his death. Shri Kairon said that it did not make any differences to him and in the event of his death, his men would remove his dead body. That is why every one was fearful of him. They should be dealt with an iron head. The Government should not adopt lenient policy towards them. I would like to quote a Hindi couplet :

*Seek taanko deejaye jako seekh suhal,
Seekh na deejaye bandra jo baya ka ghar jaye.*

It is very difficult to bring them round. Now, what the Central Government should do ? I subscribe to the view that the country can be governed only by the stick and not by meekness. Today, all the people are tired of the situation that is prevailing there. I happened to meet a rich man. He said that if someone killed him then where the matter would be reported. There is no Government in Punjab. God does not live in a gurudwara, temple or mosque. He lives in the heart of those who help the poor. Mahatma Gandhi had done good for the people, and the people the world over became his followers. The persons involved in these activities have no inner strength. What is religion ? A true religion does not preach hatred against any other religion.

[English]

When you know that very mentioning the names of God brings tears to your eyes and make your hair stand on end you must know that you have freed yourself from the attachment of lust and gold and obtained God.

'M.K. Gandhi'

[Translation]

The thing is that man wants to perpetuate his supremacy.

[English]

Any work you do is done for your own benefit, for your own salvation. God has not fallen into ditch for you and me to make him out by building a hospital or something of the sort. He has ordered you to work not in order to help him but help yourself. You think that even an ant will die without your help. Most arrant blasphemy you cannot help. Your worship when you give a morsel of food to dog, you worship the dog as God, because he is all and is in all.

'S. Vivekanand'

[Translation]

Religion teaches that one should not hate anyone but the people exploit in the name of religion. When all the people will become educated, no one will be able to exploit them in the name of religion. At present, the people are being misled in the name of religion.

[English]

All expansion is life, all contraction is death. All love is expansion, all selfishness is contraction. He who loves lives, he who is selfish is dying. Therefore, love for loves sake, because it is the only law of life.

'S. Vivekanand'

[Translation]

The priests in gurudwaras and mosques do nothing except eating. They get food without making any effort but God rests in those persons who toil to earn their livelihood. God does not live in those persons who do nothing but give sermons in the morning and evening. Actually they have no religion.

[Ch. Sunder Singh]

Therefore, in my opinion, religion is very important and one should adhere to it, but what is going on in the world is not religion. The uneducated persons lower the importance of religion by their acts though religion is a good thing in itself.

One day I met the followers of Radha-swami sect. They say that one should always recite the name of God. It made me laugh at them. I asked whether God was so greedy that he wanted every one not to do anything but to recite his name. I told them that God wants much more than this form from his devotees.

[English]

"When you know that very mentioning of the name of God brings tears to your eyes and makes your hair stand on end, you must know that you have free yourself from the attachment of lust and gold and obtained God."

[Translation]

This is precisely where God can be found. One can find God in doing work and not in a temple. We should know our true religion, but instead of paying attention towards it, we indulge in other activities.

With these words, I convey my thanks to you.

[English]

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati): Punjab bleeds today and with Punjab nation bleeds. Punjab has thrown a challenge not only to the foundation of democracy in this country, not only to our secular character, not only to the unity and integrity of this country, but, I believe, above all, to the individuality of the nation, India has an individuality and individuality is that in India we abhor violence. But what has happened in Punjab has shown as if a gradual dehumanisation has started in this country.

Not only people are being killed in Punjab, but when people read the newspapers in the morning and see that four, five or six people are killed in Punjab not a ripple is caused in the conscience of persons. I have heard persons saying that only five people have been killed in Punjab as if nothing has happened. This is an extremely dangerous trend which we must all arrest.

There have been some positive features about which my previous speakers have already mentioned. One has been the very strong and determined stand that Mr. Barnala has taken. I myself along with some leaders of the opposition had a meeting with Mr. Barnala only a few days back and he told us categorically that the Akali Party had taken the position that religion and politics could not go together; there must be a dividing line between the religion and politics. I have gone through the resolution passed at the Convention of Sikhs held at the Village Longowal on February 20, 1987. But I find that there has been no reference to this aspect of the matter which Mr. Barnala has very categorically stated before us. May be Mr. Barnala has his own compulsions and we must appreciate it. He cannot take the stand diverse from the stand which he has taken so long. We cannot expect him to cross the ocean by one jump. Secondly, his compulsion also is to take the Sikh masses along with him. If he does something by which he is isolated from the Sikh masses even though his stand may be a glorious stand, I do not think he will achieve the political objective. That is why, in spite of the fact that Mr. Barnala has taken a very strong stand against the Akal Takht, he has shown his respect to the Akal Takht, because, we know of the respect of Akal Takht has been generated in the minds of the Sikh people over centuries and you cannot expect that respect to be challenged just in a moment even though the situation might demand it. I believe, hope and expect that Mr. Ramoowalia and his party will take this stand to the logical conclusion and will be able to state at some point of time that religion should not have any part in politics neither politicians

should try to influence religion because that has happened in both the ways. The religious persons have tried to influence politicians and politics and for the sake of political interests, we have also tried to influence religion. Let us all keep apart from it. The fact remains that let us not blame only Akali party for mixing religion with politics. If we look into the forty years of our existence, probably all the political parties of this country at one point of time or the other, have compromised on the question of religion and politics because of the compulsions of votes. We have passed Bills here which we should not have passed. There are alliances of different political parties which we know are communal parties, which in one State we call communal but in another State we do not call communal, and we call them secular. Therefore, when we talk in terms of separating politics from religion, we must all stand together and have a concerted and conscious stand and must say; come what may, in the democratic polity even if we lose, let us take this stand for the sake of this country.

I also take a point which Mr. Kolandaivelu has stated that let us at no point of time try to interpret the happenings in Punjab as conflict between the Sikhs and the Hindus. It is not a conflict between the Sikhs and the Hindus, it is a conflict between the nationalist forces and those forces which do not believe in the integrity of the nation, it is a conflict between those forces which believe in democratic polity and those forces which do not believe in democratic polity. I believe that the only solution lies in a political solution. A military solution or a solution of law and order will not be a proper answer. I am not saying for a moment that law and order machinery should not be geared up to fight the extremists but merely by law and order machinery we cannot fight the extremists, nor by legal measures we can. You can go on amending the constitution and all laws but that will not give any answer to the happenings in Punjab. That answer is not so simple. The Government, in spite

of total opposition by the Opposition parties, did pass a Resolution under Article 249 saying that they will have a security belt and thereby they will fight extremism. But no action has been taken thereby. Only the power has been taken away from the States. The Government passed the law taking all the powers but the rules were not framed for eighteen months. Even till today, rules have not been framed regarding some of the very salient features of this Act. Law or law and order solutions go only to some extent.

I believe that on the political front, two things must be done. One is that the terrorists must be isolated. The extremists must be isolated. When I read in the newspapers that the terrorist, after killing persons, escaped by going in a tractor, the obvious conclusion is that somebody in the nearby village has given them shelter, otherwise how can they escape? That means the villagers, for one reason or the other, have some support for them. I am not one who will be prepared to believe that the people of Punjab are anti-national or that they do not have peace in their heart. The people of Punjab by the facts of history, have proved their commitment to the nation and, therefore, we must be able to educate the villagers that the cause for which the extremists are fighting, the methods that they have undertaken are not such which will either help the Punjab or will help the country.

I also believe, and I entirely agree with Prof. Ranga, that there must be a spirit of conciliation for different groups. I am not prepared to accept, to example, that Mr. Badal is an anti-national or Mr. Amrendra Singh is an anti-national. Mr. Amrendra Singh has been a member of the ruling party. They have fallen apart. I am not prepared to accept that Mr. Shaminder Singh is an anti-national. I believe that Mr. Shaminder Singh is as national as Mr. Ramoowalia, and if they remain separate, Punjab will suffer, India will suffer. Therefore, all efforts must be made by them and also by us and all others to bring them together because

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

when we will be able to bring everybody together, only then we will be able to isolate the extremists.

A very good offer was made by the Prime Minister. Mr. Shaminder Singh, while the Opposition leaders met the Prime Minister, told us that the interpretation of the *hukamnama* that has come in the Press and the public, is not the correct interpretation, that the *hukamnama* never asked either Mr. Surjeet Singh Barnala or his MLAs to resign. They were asked only to resign from the Party posts. The Prime Minister offered in his grace that if the *Hukamnama* has not been properly interpreted in the Press or in public, he was prepared to give the T.V. to both the Akali factions to explain their own position, provided, of course, both the factions are prepared to express their loyalty to the unity and integrity of this country. Therefore, the ball is in the court of Shri Suminder Singh. I hope he will accept it and will go to the media and tell us actually what is the real interpretation of the *Hukamnama*. If it is not properly interpreted, let us know the real interpretation. There are mis-givings in our mind also. Let us remove it.

I am not going to speak about the Accord. I have quarrelled with Shri Buta Singh about Assam Accord and also Punjab Accord. Both the accords have not been implemented. I have got a point to make about the Jodhpur detenus.

I come to Jodhpur detenus. I am against violence. But as I am opposed to individual violence, I am opposed to State violence. The state violence is the worst kind of violence. You in the case of Jodhpur Jail amended the statute to the extent that the detenus shall have to prove their innocence. The law in our country is that the prosecution has to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the person is guilty. The law was amended to the extent that the detenu was asked to prove his innocence. Even after the law has been amended, you have not been able to find out a case. Even after the

law is amended, if a case cannot be made against these persons, what right have you got to detain them for the last 2½ years. I believe that the detention of the detenus is a blot on the democratic structure of our country. If happening and killings in Punjab is a challenge to democracy, the detention for years together without trial is equally a challenge to the democratic foundation of our country. We have been told by Shri Barnala that most of the detenus were workers of Shri Longowal. They were security persons of Shri Longowal. At this moment of history if we cannot trust Barnalaji, I do not know whom we can trust so far as Punjab is concerned.

We all applauded yesterday when the President made a reference to Barnalaji. What does this applaud mean? It means that we have confidence in him. Is it in these matters which suit the Central Government but not in those matters which do not suit the Central Government? We have got confidence in him. Shri Barnala has stated very clearly "I want political strength by implementation of the Punjab accord and by release of these detenus". This will give him strength to fight terrorists and the extremists. Kindly give this political strength to Shri Barnala.

Our Party Assam Ganaparishad is not involved in Punjab Politics. We cannot do much in Punjab. Even then we are prepared to go to Punjab to make our presence felt—that in the case of fight against unity and integrity of this country all the political parties of this country whether national or regional, all stand together to meet the challenge and we have accepted that challenge. Therefore, I would submit that let us strengthen the hand of Shri Barnala, more politically also if he requires any help in the law and order situation. But if we do not do that, I do not think we are doing justice to his case.

I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity.

[Translation]

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN (Barmer) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the law and order situation in Punjab. In fact, Punjab is a challenge to the country's unity and integrity. The extremists and the terrorists have killed a large number of innocent persons in Punjab but even then the communal harmony among the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Christians did not get vitiated. Such a thinking among the people shows that the people are not prepared to yield before terrorism. We all, including our Prime Minister, praise Shri Barnala for the bold step he has taken in the face of 'Hukumnama' issued by the Head Priest to topple his Government. Shri Barnala had mentioned about the detenus in Jodhpur jail during his talks with the Prime Minister. A number of Opposition Members have also spoken about this issue. Their cases should be screened and the innocent persons should be released while the culprits should be prosecuted. The law stands on this principle and action should be taken in accordance with this principle.

Another issue is that the Punjab Accord is not being implemented. Our Prime Minister has also categorically stated earlier that it is not being implemented. Who is responsible for this? It is the Barnala Government which is not implementing it. When the issue pertaining to 70 thousand acres of land has been settled then what is the hitch before the Barnala Government in settling the question of Chandigarh? But they are silent on this matter. They are not willing to settle this issue. The report of the Eradi Commission will be out very soon. Haryana, Punjab as well as the Centre have agreed to abide by it. Now the point is that all the political parties and the leaders should abide by the report of the Eradi Commission in toto. This should not happen that they implement one condition of the report and flout the other. This way the Accord cannot be implemented fully. The step taken in regard to the action plan is very praise worthy. There is need to implement the action

plan. The leaders of all the parties, their supporters and other volunteer organisations should launch a campaign to create an atmosphere which may be conducive to socialism and also against the communal forces, so that Punjab could be saved from the dreadful violence prevailing there.

Our Hon. Prime Minister has said clearly that this problem cannot be solved by using military force. In a democracy, such problems cannot be solved through military; they can only be solved through mutual talks. As proposed by our Hon. Prime Minister, the United Akali Dal and the Badal Group should clarify their actual stand by going on the television.

SHRI SHAMINDER SINGH (Faridkot) : Send TV to jail.

SHRI VIRDHI CHANDER JAIN :
If other leaders agree to it, they can be released from jail also. What I mean to say is that they should make their stand clear. If they are against violence, if they do not want to disintegrate the country and are not in favour of Khalistan, they should come forward to solve this problem through mutual talks. Our Hon. Prime Minister has solved the Mizoram problem and peace has been restored in Assam also. These accords have even caused loss to our party but we have not allowed any damage to be done to the country. Same thing has happened in Punjab also where our party lost its rule. Our Prime Minister is a large-hearted person and he wants to preserve the unity and integrity of the country even at the cost of his party's interests. I hope the Hon. Prime Minister and the Home Minister will take concrete steps to control the situation in Punjab and will solve this problem. That is all I want to say.

*SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Punjab problem has been discussed in this House a number of times and hon. members have expressed their views on it. But still it is begging solution because this problem in fact is the creation of the Central Govt. or Delhi Govt. Had it not been their

*The speech was originally delivered in Punjabi.

[Shri Charanjit Singh Walia]

creation perhaps its solution would have been found by now. Punjab is being subjected to discrimination ever since the country became independent. When States were carved out on linguistic basis, Punjab got the Punjabi Subha on the basis of language after a grim struggle. In India, Punjab State is the first example when the capital city was not given to the State. On the other hand a condition was imposed that if the capital was given to Punjab, then some area will have to be given to Haryana in return. This by itself is a glaring discrimination. Similarly even in the case of water, all the national and international laws were totally ignored. All the laws were put on the shelf. On the contrary in Punjab the Sikhs are held in suspicion. If the Sikhs had wanted to be separated from India, then before independence, the British had given lot of instigation and also made an offer for a separate Sikh home land. But the Sikhs have always thought that India is their country and I can say with a sense of pride that they have made the greatest sacrifices for the freedom of the country, they have made these sacrifices not only for attaining independence but also for preserving it. They have made sacrifices for keeping in tact the unity and integrity of the country whether it was the war of 1962, 1965 or 1970. During emergency, Akali Dal struggled the maximum to safeguard the democracy. I have mentioned all these facts because it is said that the sikhs or Akalis or those who are known as dissidents should explain to the people of India whether they believe in the unity or integrity of the country or not. Many a time it has been clarified abundantly by the responsible leaders of Akali Dal, our President and Prof. Darshan Singh, new Jathedar, Akal Takhat that we will not do anything that is against the unity and integrity of India. We respect the unity of India. When our leaders and our President accept this position, I do not know whether you want us to write it down on Stamp paper. On the country the Govt. is trying to discredit the sikhs by painting them as extremists and terrorists. The entire

Govt. media whether it is TV Radio or Press, is paying an ugly role in giving a bad name to the sikhs in India.

Secondly I come to the question of Khalistan. I want to ask the Home Minister, who is present here and also that august House whether Mr. Badal of Akali Dal now or Simranjit Singh Mann, who is the President of our Akali Dal have ever asked for Khalistan or whether any other leader of Akali Dal has demanded it, or whether the Akali Dal has even passed any resolution to this effect. If nobody has been made any such demand, then I do not know why you ask this question again and again and in what way you want us to clarify it. Shri Simranjit Singh Mann, had recently contested the election to Rajya Sabha. All of us who are the members of the House have come through election. We have contested these elections because we have faith in the constitution. The Home Minister, the Prime Minister, Simranjit Singh Mann and all of us have taken the same oath. We have contested the elections because we have confidence in the unity and integrity of India and faith in the country's Constitution. It is therefore great injustice to the sikhs as well as the Akali Dal when it is said that they should prove their credentials and bonafides. On the contrary, we have always had complete faith in the unity and the Constitution of the country. I want to say that we are being cornered, we are being pushed to the wall. Such things are being attributed to us which have never been desired by sikh Qaum, or Akali Dal. The Government must check this dangerous trend.

For the last 5 or 6 years Akali Dal has been carrying on a very peaceful struggle on Anandpur Sahib resolution. A big controversy has been raised on our Anandpur Sahib resolution. It has been propagated amongst the people that it is a secessionist document where as this resolution only seeks to give a practical shape to the federal structure in india. The States should be given more powers. CPM, CPI, Telugu Desam, AIJMAK, DMK also ask for these powers, when, they ask for these powers, they are not

called separatists. Why are only we dubbed as separatists. Is it only because we are a minority and you are trying to corner us. In fact you should try to win the confidence of the minorities.

When it comes to the question of terrorism, I would like to say that we also oppose violence in Punjab. Our opinion is and the people in Punjab also think and observe that it is the State which is indulging in violence. State terrorism has given birth to extremism and it all started with Operation Blue Star. As Mr. Bhatia stated you should try to understand the sikh psyche. We are opposed to terrorism and extremism. The Government should stop State terrorism as suggested by Shri Goswami because such terrorism gives rise to extremism. There should be no fake encounters. It is the duty of the Government to ensure that the laws are implemented and respected by the citizens. If persons are arrested and killed without prosecution or court cases, it will lead to a sense of revolt and resentment in the people. The Government should stop this policy and persuade the people affectionately and win their confidence. By putting the people in jails no problems can be solved and peace cannot be restored in Punjab. All the leaders, whether he is Badal or Simranjit Singh Mann or the youth should be given general amnesty. They should be released. Instead of using force or violence a national debate and dialogue should start so that this problem can be solved.

As regards illegal detentions, Jodhpur detenus have been in jail for more than 2½ years without any legal action. Simranjit Singh Mann is in jail. Democracy has been strangled. As Home Minister stated on 30th November events took a turn; democratic elections were held for SGPC in which Badal faction came out victorious. Instead of taking them into confidence and talking to them to find a solution to Punjab problem they were arrested just after half a day and put in the jail. The Central Government has started confrontation and interference in the religious affairs of Punjab and sikh

community. This should be stopped. Shri Barnala himself admits that Akal Takhat is supreme and he is prepared to obey it. So far as the traditions and conventions of the sikhs are concerned over since Akali Dal came into being in 1920, I would like to inform the House that the congregation which was convened in 1920 was convened by the Akal Takhat jathedar. All the religious morchas which were organised before independence, whether it was the Jaito Morcha or Guru Ka morcha, they were all supported by the Indian National Congress, even though they were religious morchas. It has been the tradition of the Akali Dal and sikhs that religion and politics go hand in hand. Ever since the inception of Khalsa, ever since the origin of Miri Piri (in Harmander Sahib we have Nishan Sahibs of Miri Piri of Shri Guru Har Gobind Sahib) ever since the origin of sikh religion and Akali Dal, religion and politics have existed side by side. All the morchas before independence were organised on this very basis and the leaders of the Indian National Congress took part in them and supported them. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested during the Jaito morcha and was lodged in Nabha jail.

Now if it is expected that those traditions should be flouted, and authority of the Akal Takhat is challenged and Shri Barnala is made to challenge it, this would not be a healthy trend. I will appeal that the Central Government should not stand on prestige or look to it with narrow political interest. It should instead arrange a round table conference and invite the youth, the detenus, political leaders of all political shades for discussions. We do not say who should be included or who should be excluded. Every body should be invited for talks. We should try to know what the problem is. Only then it can be solved. I think this problem has been created by the Central Government. I appeal to the Central Government, the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to solve this problem so that it does not reach a dangerous stage and cause serious harm to the nation. With this appeal I assure that

[Shri Charanjit Singh Walia]

my party will give full support and cooperation to find a any solution to the problem.

17.54 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *In the Chair*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Sangrur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank all the hon. Members of the House for extending their full support to the Shiromani Akali Dal which under the leadership of Sardar Surjeet Singh Barnala, is whole-heartedly working for mutual goodwill among the people in spite of diversity of religious and thoughts.

In the beginning of his statement, the hon. Home Minister has said :

[*English*]

"No praise is too high for the people of Punjab belonging to all the faiths who have continued to express their solidarity and their belief in secular ideals."

[*Translation*]

I think it a great tribute to the people of Punjab. This big problem and big challenge is being tackled with the help of the entire country. Now we have reached the point where we have to think about our next step.

I shall not take much time. But I would definitely say that we have to take certain things very seriously and with firm determination in order to forge ahead. Terrorism has been condemned and it is being fought back strongly. There are only a few people among Sikhs who are involved in terrorist activities. Perhaps, the House will be surprised to know that the Hindu Shiv Sena Activists are also not lagging behind in the matter. They take out many processions and deliver inflammatory speeches. A number of activists of Hindu Shiv Sena have been caught bearing artificial beards. When their artificial beard was pulled, it

came off. Today, they are also looting the Banks and are indulging in other illegal activities. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would say that I all should oppose it.

I would like to clarify three or four points to which we have to pay more attention. The Sikh brothers who have been living outside Punjab for the last 50 to 100 years have become a respected section of that society. They have contributed a lot to the nation, to the society and to the State concerned. Now at some places, such feelings are being fanned as are causing trouble to the sikhs living there. I agree that all are not in trouble, but some people are facing difficulties. I regret that some Hindu brothers, who came from Punjab, told such stories as excited the people. Similarly, some Sikh brothers who have since gone to Punjab from here are the victims of injustice done by some collector or some other low ranked official or they did not get justice in a quarrel between two neighbours. The hon. Home Minister should pay attention towards it and if such a thing happens anywhere, it should be dealt with firmly.

As has been said by Shri Dinesh Goswami, we should trust Shri Barnala and trust every word uttered by him in regard to the sacred Akal Takht. As a Member of the House, I would request my fellow Members that we should not utter a single word of disrespect about the supremacy and highness of the sacred Akal Takht. So far as the misuse of the Akal Takht is concerned, we are ahead of others in opposing it, but the supremacy of the Akal Takht has to be maintained.

Another thing that I would like to say is that the Punjab problem has become a national problem, because foreign forces are also at work there. You combine both the things together. I am not a poet but Sardar Buta Singh is a very good poet because he was a teacher and professor of Punjabi. There are two things in it—religion and atmosphere. You reverse both these things. You will say how ?

Today, an atmosphere of faith among the people of Punjab has been created. Some sikh employees of the Central Secretariat met me and Shri Madhu Dandavate and told that...

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE : Do not reveal their names lest they should lose their jobs.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : You have said a good thing. They told me that the stand taken by Shri Barnala on the unity and integrity of the country had completely changed the atmosphere and their fellow employees who used to make fun of them, had stopped doing so. They have realised now that except a handful of people, crores of people think about the nation and national unity. Such an atmosphere of trust has been created.
18.00 hrs.

So, we have to further strengthen it and the wrong notion among the Sikhs have to be dispelled. Some propoganda, some incidents and some realities have created this notion among the Sikhs that they do not get full justice and if they get it, it is only after a great deal of sacrifices. For example, four commissions were constituted, i.e., Mathew Commission, Venkatramaiah Commission, Desai Panel and Ranganath Misra Commission. The people of the country might be satisfied with these technicalities but the 'Sikh-Psyche', as has been said by Shri R. L. Bhalia, or the people of Punjab are not satisfied. As has been said by Shri Madhu Dandavate, the Commissions' reports have presented the facts in such a manner that they have been disheartened because the reality is totally different. They feel that justice has not been done to them. Therefore, you should not strengthen this notion that the points contained in the written Punjab Accord are being referred to the Commission after changing their terms of references. Nothing should be done at the cost of the nation and at the cost of national unity. You should not go even a single word beyond the terms of references mentioned in the Accord. If you do it and take any

decision, it will not only be illegal but will also have dire consequences.

In this regard, one more important point that I would like to mention is that you should take up this matter at diplomatic level with Pakistan, Canada, U.S.A. and Britain from where terrorists are getting support. We have to stop such foreign aid to them. It is the duty of the Government of India to check it. If the matter comes up again and again, it is only the responsibility of the Central Government to curb it has been said by Shri Madhu Dandavate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : At present talks are going on at the cricket level.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : I would also like to say that a propoganda campaign has been started against Shri Barnala. So, you can ask Shri Barnala as to what he needs. Yesterday, there was a meeting at the residence of Shri I.K. Gujral, a well known figure of the country, which was attended by some 20 to 25 big personalities, like retired Generals, Air Marshals, Cabinet-Secretary, etc., who all had a concern for the country. They suggested that the sequence should be changed. At present political support is the first requirement in Punjab and thereafter conferences, conventions, rallies and mass-mobilisation could follow. I feel you can ask Shri Barnala as to what he requires at this juncture.

As regards Jodhpur detenus, the hon. Home Minister can not find even a single person who opposes their release. The Congress party agrees to it and so does the entire nation. So, what is the difficulty in releasing them? There are 266 Army deserters. They have suffered three year's of imprisonment. After taking into account remission of one year, only six months imprisonment is left. They should also be released. It will create a favourable atmosphere in the country.

In order to strengthen the hand of Shri

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

Barnala, you should extend your full support to him in letter and spirit on Chandigarh and other issues. I would like to assure the nation once again that Shiromani Akali Dal under the leadership of Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala will continue to march forward on the path shown by late Sant Longowal to work for strengthening the age-old traditions, mutual goodwill and fraternity, Atmosphere of love, secularism, unity and integrity of the country and we shall continue to dedicate ourselves to the path shown by Guru Nanak Dev and the Sikh tenets to make India a strong nation.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I am thankful to the hon. Members who have given serious thought to the situation prevailing in Punjab on the very first day of the sessions in the Houses. I would say first day because formally the business of the House has started only to day; yesterday we had only a ceremony.

All the hon. Members who participated in this debate have expressed their views seriously and full responsibility. I too have tried sincerely to present the actual situation prevailing in Punjab, through my statement, before the House. So that in the interest of Punjab as well as the country, the House can discuss this issue with much needed attention. Most of the speeches of the hon. Members in the House today were directed at restoration of peace, unity and love in Punjab. Some points were also raised. Before I reply to the points raised by the hon. Members, I would like to express my gratitude to you for your guidance to the House as well as to the nation that communal thinking and religious fundamentalism pose a great danger and a challenge to the democracy, unity and sovereignty of the country. This challenge may come from any of the religions, but to has posed a danger to our unity and to the very existence of our country. Some hon. leaders from the Opposition have also expressed their views in this regard. I would like to mention in this

august House that some days ago, the Hon. Prime Minister held talks with the Opposition leaders, during which a comprehensive programme was chalked out to improve the situation in Punjab. He himself mentioned this point, on which we received your guidance today. He also wants that an open seminar at the national level should be organised to evaluate the situation so that we could collectively say that in the name of religion and community, our communal thinking is causing damage to unity of our country. Many opposition leaders agreed to the proposal of the Hon. Prime Minister as to how religion could be separated from politics and today you have also guided us in that direction. I hope the dialogue with the Opposition leaders would continue in future under the leadership of the Prime Minister. This is a very sensitive matter as it relates to the religious sentiments of the people. After considering it judiciously, the Government is prepared to implement the guidelines which you have given in the interest of the nation. I have every hope that the nation, as a whole, will rally round the Prime Minister and whatever decision is taken on the proposal and the guidelines given by the Prime Minister, will be acceptable to all. Nobody wants that the followers of any religion or a sect in our country should feel that their religion is being attacked. Actually speaking, this feeling itself is against the religion. If someone says that he belongs to the minority community and the others say that they are in the majority, then it simply amounts to violence. When we consider ourselves as a minority, then automatically a feeling of inferiority develops and we feel that we are not bonafide citizens of this country whereas, on the other hand, when we talk of majority, a feeling of vanity comes right through us; we develop a superiority complex and our thinking gets biased. So, we do not want that this type of feeling should develop in the nation, among the brothers and the citizens of this country. On this issue, we from the Government side are ready to give our consent and extend full support and co-operation to you, whenever and in

whatever way you suggest it to be.

I have mentioned in my statement that irrespective of the killings of the innocents people and continued disturbances in Punjab for the last four to five years, the people of Punjab are maintaining the feeling of brotherhood and affection among themselves. Some people get disturbed with the news published in the newspapers but even then, today the people in Punjab have unshakable faith in one another and are living unitedly. It is also a symbol of the unity and integrity of the country and I hope that the people of Punjab would continue to demonstrate their patriotism through all these dangers and mounting challenges.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, some hon. Members have raised some points in their speeches. First of all, I want to mention some of the points raised by Shri Walia. I am grateful to him that today he has tried to clear some points courageously, but it is a matter of sorrow that there are certain feelings which continue to persist and which cause a feeling of distrust among the citizens. One should not take it otherwise if I ask a few questions from the Akali leaders to remove those feelings. The most recent happening which still needs to be clarified is the congregation held in the Harmandir Sahib on 26th January, termed, as Sarbat Khalsa, which was attended by all the hon. *Grant this* and leaders of the erstwhile Akali Dal of which Shri Walia was a Member. I call it erstwhile because there is a split in it and they have formed a new Akali Dal.

AN HON. MEMBER : United.

S. BUTA SINGH : One should call it erstwhile Dal because they caused a split and left it.

AN HON. MEMBER : Unified.

S. BUTA SINGH : Previously, it was united and now it is unified. Only God knows what it is. I want to come to my point. What transpired at the 'Sarbat Khalsa', which I mentioned earlier, has

not been clarified so far. Were not the killers of General Vaidya, Shrimati Gandhi and that Great man, in whose name Shri Walia and his colleagues begged for votes and managed to be here, felicitated publically? The killers of Shri Longowal were felicitated there. So far, Shri Walia's party has not come out with any clarification in this regard. Besides, I want to go a step further to make a small mention of the resolution of the same 'Sarbat Khalsa.'

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the resolution adopted in that 'Sarbat Khalsa' reads like this :—

[English]

"The Sikh Samagam endorses the declaration of Khalistan made by the Panthic Committee on April 29, 1986 in the context of conditions created by Government of India and it praises the sacrifices of Sikh men, women and children for the fulfilment of this objective."

[Translation]

I want to tell Shri Walia that he did not say even a single word about this resolution. Besides, one more thing is there about which also he did not utter a word. A new organisation has come into existence. Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee is a body constituted under the law which looks after the management of Sikh Gurudwaras and governs them. The appointment of the office bearers, appointed by the Committee whom we consider as supreme and so do the leaders of the Akali Dal, was nullified by the Panthic Committee and they were not allowed to function saying that it required their permission. That is why this 'Sarbat Khalsa' was organised so that the Panthic Committee could regularise the appointment of Granthi Sahibs and then only they could start their work. The ones who were appointed, regularised and recognised by the S.G.P.C., were made temporary by them. These functionaries could start performing their duties only after getting regular appointment from

[S. Buta Singh]

them. If a committee, duly constituted under the Act, appoints any office-bearer then there is an extra constitutional force also which overrules it and declares them as officiating. And these five high priests have accepted the Hukamnama issued by them.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL (Ropar) : The executive of the Shiromani Committee did not offer them permanent appointment.

[English]

S. BUTA SINGH : I wish my learned colleague knows the back-ground. I am quoting only from the S.G.P.C. records. They never appointed him as officiating. Then, may I ask as to who is the real one ?

[Translation]

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL : I have said that the committee had appointed them on temporary basis not on permanent basis.

S. BUTA SINGH : But I ask who made it as officiating ; who was there before that ? After all, it is only they who have appointed him as officiating. They have appointed Jathedar who is in jail. Did S.G.P.C. appointed this man ? The Panthic Committee says in this regard that so long as that fellow is in jail, Darshan Singh Ragi will continue to function as Jathedar of the Akal Takht. Has this extra constitutional authority not been given to the Panthic Committee ? The matter does not end here. That Panthic Committee has assumed the powers of S.G.P.C. and also has not mentioned about those five high priests.

[English]

And this is a very Serious thing Waliaji. Everybody must think over it. I quote :—

“In case all the five high priests deviate from the Sikh tenets, the

Panthic Committee in consultation with the Sikh Organisations will be competent to call a ‘Sarbat Khalsa’”

[Translation]

Now this power has also been delegated. Today, their Hukmnama is enforced because Hukumnamas are being issued at their instance. If Darshan Singh Ragi endorses whatever clarification you have given and issues a directive to the Panthic Committee, then only your clarification will stand.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA : In regard to the point raised by the hon. Home Minister, I would like to submit to the Government of India and the hon. Home Minister that Shri Simranjit Singh Mann is the President of Shiromani Akali Dal. Only he is authorised to make policy declaration. The hon. Home Minister is aware that Shri Jethmalani had brought the hand-written reply of Shri Simranjit Singh Mann. (Interruptions)

[English]

S. BUTA SINGH : I am sorry, my learned colleagues has missed the point. I never questioned what you say.

[Translation]

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA : Shri Simranjit Singh Mann has sent hand-written replies in regard to the unity and integrity of India, Constitution of the country and Hindu-Sikh brotherhood. If you want, I can give that hand-written reply to you so that you may place it on the Table of the House.

The second point which you have raised is in regard to the appointment duly made by S.G.P.C. The S.G.P.C. has duly appointed Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi as Jathedar of Akal Takht in accordance with the Act. The Akali Dal accepts this appointment. They also agree that Shri Surjit Singh Barnala is the Chief Minister and they have full faith in Sardar Balwant Singh and the Council of Minis-

ters. In this regard there is a unanimous resolution which has been accepted and appreciated by them.

S. BUTA SINGH : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have a simple question to ask. May I know whether the writ of the present S.G.P.G., which has got power under the Act, still runs? (*Interruptions*) You kindly leave it to me. The new body has come into existence and it has got control over what is happening inside the Temple. However, the clarification given by Shri Walia seems to be correct. Mr. Speaker, Sir, a number of happenings have taken place in the country during the last five years. I would give you a small example. Prof. Sahib, listen to me. I am saying about Article 25 of the Constitution. I do not know much about law. It is Justice Narula, retired Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court, the most eminent jurist Punjab has ever produced, who has said that when this Article, which distinctly gives recognition to you is torn off from the Constitution, your existence will automatically cease as per the Constitution. But, unfortunately, the Akali Dal failed to dispell this misconception from the minds of the people in spite of the fact that this article of his was published in the newspapers saying that he was sad to know that such a thing had happened.

Thus, the Akali Dal remained unconcerned about all these incidents, I do not know why. There have always been some forces at work with some motive. The time is short at my disposal. If you give me an opportunity, I shall give you some examples which are true, such as withdrawal of *Hukamnama* signed by the Jathedar of Akal Takht. He was asked to announce that he did not sign the *Hukamnama* whereas this fact was recorded on the life of S.G.P.C. and was published in the newspapers also. There are some of the facts about which the Akali Dal always adopted a meek approach. As a result thereof, the interests of the Sikhs were affected throughout the country. It would have been good had the Akali Dal given clarification in regard to this. The people of the country have not forgotten the sacrifices made by the Sikhs. The

history of the country is replete with instances of what the people of Punjab have done for the freedom of the country. This kind of vacillation on the part of the Akali Dal is not good. I shall call it vacillation because they could not place this fact in its proper perspective. So far as 'Sarbat Khalsa' is concerned, the Akali Dal did not say anything whether they own it or not. Nobody objected to it and they took over the control. What to talk of the S.G.P.C., if the five Head Priests deviate from their view point, they will not abide by their decision and will do whatever they like. The Akali Dal did not utter a word in this regard. Therefore, they are themselves in a fix.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA : There has been a split in the Akali Dal. You have referred to the Akali Dal. Please make it clear..... (*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH : This kind of vaccination should be removed. Today is not the opportune time to discuss such matter in detail. I would like to say to the people of the country and to the House that the Holy Akal Takht is a supreme seat and it is an affront to this Holy Seat if one talks of politics from there. They do not know what the politics is :

SHRI SHAMINDER SINGH (Faridkot) : It is *miri-piri*.

[*English*]

S. BUTA SINGH : I had the privilege of knowing what is meant by *miri-piri* ; *miri-piri* is not the one being demonstrated.

[*Translation*]

They just pull out a passenger from the bus and irrespective of his being a Sikh or not, shoot him dead. This is not *miri-piri*. A child of a Sikh is killed because he has no beard and long hair. The Holy Akal Takht is a sacred place. Guru Har Gobind Sahib had ordained that after his death, nobody would sit on the seat of the Akal Takht. He further

[S. Buta Singh]

said that only arms would be worshipped there and no *hukumnama* would be issued from this seat. We only regard the ten Guru Sahebans as Guru. If any hon. Member could tell me any instance when *hukumnama* was issued from the Akal Takht during the time of ten Guru Sahebans, I shall change my stand. It is a hypocrisy to serve one's interest by misusing the sacred place like the Akal Takht which is the highest seat like Harmandir Sahib. I do not want to dwell on how it has been misused and who are the persons behind this misuse. I have a great regard for the Holy Akal Takht and we all should have regard for this sacred place. We should not drag the Holy Akal Takht into this dirty politics. The S.G.P.C. has itself delineated on which counts *hukumnama* can be issued and on which it cannot; Which person can be declared *Tankhaiya* and which cannot. The S.G.P.C. has itself issued it. All these things pertain to the post-Guru Saheban period. Such circumstances were not prevalent during the time of Guru Saheban. *Hukumnama* used to be a personal order of Guru Saheb. It was meant for the welfare of the *sangat* and to strengthen it. At the end of every *hukumnama* it used to be written that Gur Maharaj would help God would help, God bless your family. But what is written in the present day *hukumnama*? Now when the *hukumnama* is issued, it is ordained to the people to sever all kind of relations with the person against whom *hukumnama* has been issued; otherwise, they will invite the wrath of God. In the *hukumnamas* issued by Guru maharaj, it used to be written "Ram Ram, Ishwar" and "Wahe Guru ji ki." And on the present day *hukumnamas*, it is written that any Sikh who maintains relation with such a person will be excommunicated. Such a vast difference between the two *hukumnamas*. It is a matter of great shame for us. That *hukumnama* was used to be issued for one's well being and to attain God and the present *hukumnama* is aimed at taking one away from God. I would ask the hon. Members to maintain the sanctity of these sacred places just as a lotus remains in water without

being affected by it. If drops of water are put on it, the water will drip down like a pearl. In the same way, our places of worship are meant for worshipping God and achieving Him or not for excommunicating virtuous Sikhs. I am pleased to say that all the political parties in the country have joined hands with the Prime Minister and have made an effort in this direction so as to ease the situation in Punjab. I agree that it is very difficult to deal with those handful of mischievous persons in Punjab who are destroying the peaceful atmosphere in that State. Particularly, when such people are harboured in sacred places, when rich people give them money, ration and training; it becomes very difficult to solve such a gigantic problem. Such persons have become heads of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and other bodies and are misguiding the youth. Such a situation has been created in Punjab that a policeman in uniform makes an attempt on the life of the Director General of Police even though he belongs to the same service and gets his salary by virtue of being under him. Therefore, the conditions prevailing there are very serious. The enemies of the country are giving them assistance in the form of arms and ammunition and money. They are helping them to create such disturbances. The people who are behind this Khalistan movement are conspiring to weaken the country with the help of foreign powers and agents. Punjab alone cannot deal with it; the whole country has to deal with it. The Government of Punjab has done good job during the last few days with the full support of the Central Government. Now, with the initiatives taken by the Hon. Prime Minister, the leaders of all political parties and groups have decided upon three issues and a general awareness about these will be created in Punjab as well as in other parts of the country. These are :

[English]

- (a) effectively meet terrorism, religious fundamentalism and communal fanaticism in Punjab ;

- (b) to combat the on-going propaganda in Punjab on communal and religious lines ;
- (c) to put an end to the misuse of places of worship for political purpose.

[*Translation*]

A comprehensive programme has been formulated upon these issues in which all the parties will take part and I have every hope that all sections of the people in Punjab which includes Kisan sabha—

[*English*]

—Industrial labour, ex-servicemen and their organisations, freedom fighters, youth and students, women, intellectuals, poets, writers and artists, will also participate in mobilizing and involving people for creating a sense of mutual confidence and strengthening the unity of the country.

[*Translation*]

This comprehensive programme has been chalked out. Shri Ramoowalia has mentioned many points about the Accord. We are not discussing here the non-implementation of the Accord. Shri Madhu Dandavate has mentioned about the Commission. What we can do when a mention of the Commission has been made in every line of the Accord. This Accord was reached with the hope that it would be acceptable to all sides and would be implemented properly. This problem relates to both the parties ; had it been one-sided, then we would have implemented it long back. Out of 11 clauses contained in it, 9 needed one-sided action, which has already been done ; 2 clauses are there which need to be dealt with by both the parties but, unfortunately. And the result is :

[*English*]

We are stuck with these two things ; and I am sure with the co-operation of

all concerned nothing is impossible and we can achieve through co-operation, through mutual consultation ; and I am sure the decisions which have been given by various Commissions will be implemented by the concerned parties in all earnestness.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to touch one more point before I conclude. Prof. Madhu Dandavate mentioned about the report of Rangnath Misra Commission. Although, you had stated in the morning that the report would be studied and I fully remember that a number of hon. leaders from the Opposition had made a request to the Prime Minister in this regard. While doing so, they had only one feeling that why did communal feeling flare up suddenly in our country and people were killed for petty things. We want that every issue in this regard should be discussed judiciously. The Action Taken Reports are also appended to the recommendations of the Commission.

[*English*]

Most of the recommendations of the Commissions have been implemented or are being implemented. Therefore, on the part of the Government there is no hesitation, whatsoever, and we want that whatever the Commission has said, we must see that it is implemented so that in future such a tragedy does not happen. It is with this spirit that we have come to the House and I am sure the hon. Members will keep this thing in mind at the time when you kindly allow the discussion.

With these words I express my thanks to all the hon. Members who have given their deep thoughts and their considerations we will take note of and I will definitely see that the whole House stands today at this hour—the whole House stands—united, in supporting Shri Surjeet Singh Barnala who has come clearly for the unity and integrity of the country.

AN HON. MEMBER : Can we get a copy of the report ?

MR. SPEAKER : Some copies are kept
in the Library. You can get from there.

AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA
DIKSHIT) : I beg to present the Thirty-
third Report of the Business Advisory
Committee.

18.36 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

(English)

Thirty-third Report

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY

16.37 hrs

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Wednesday, February 25,
1987/Phalgun 6, 1:08 (Saka).*