

have talked about some kind of vigilance. I think, there is no better vigilance than the presence of hon. Members, which I talked about a little while ago. If they were to be present there, I think, it will be a very healthy practice and people also feel satisfied with the performance of the hon. Members of that area, that their hon. Members have gone to the extent of even presenting themselves before this committee, so that in their presence they will be able to do some kind of a monitoring and expedite certain matters where they feel some deliberate delay is taking place.

About the cattles which are being bought under IRDP programme were to die, it takes a very long time to settle their claims properly. These are the issues which the hon. Members have made. In fact there should be no reason as to why it should take such a long time. It should be possible for them to settle the claims when the matters are very strict. I am fully aware that there are a large number of middlemen, who in fact will also try to grab this IRDP money. Over and above that, they want to get away with this kind of compensation also from the GIC. This will be a double advantage, which some of these middlemen will be getting. And that is why, we should not allow this kind of a thing. But if the cattle of the honest people, who in fact have been doing their work properly, were to die accidentally then of course they are entitled to the claims being paid by the GIC. I will see that necessary instructions are issued to these officers.

Because of lack of time, I would not be able to cover the other areas. The hon. Chairman was very particular that I have to finish atleast a minute before 4'O Clock. Mr. Chairman, I scrupulously follow your instructions. I request the House to support this Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the General Insurance Business (Nation-

alisation) Act, 1972, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted

MR CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up Clause by Clause consideration of the Bill.

The question is:

"That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted

Clause 2 was added to the Bill

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted

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

SHRIS.B. CHAVAN: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted

16.00 hrs.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION

[English]

Terrorist Activities in Punjab and Delhi

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we take up adjournment motion for which leave has

already been granted.

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the House do now adjourn."

It is with a heavy heart that I move this adjournment motion for censuring this ineffective Government which fails to give protection to the lives of innocent people of our country.

The situation in Punjab, as every one knows, has worsened further. A dastardly massacre of 26 people has taken place at Moga. And also there occurred a bomb blast right under the nose of the Home Minister at the Central Railway Station in New Delhi. It also killed innocent people. This reminds us of the transistor bomb blast which occurred in early 1985 in DTC buses in Delhi. In a way, it shows that the situation has again gone back to that stage.

16.02 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

If a massacre of a much less dimension as compared to Moga massacre took place in any one of the opposition ruled States in the country, you would have dismissed that Government by this date. Now you are directly ruling Punjab. Every day, innocent people are being killed in that State and all the authorities right from the Prime Minister downwards are repeatedly asserting that the situation is under control. Under whose control I do not know—may be under the control of the extremists. Their argument is that only one or two gangs are operating now and anti-socials are operating under the garb of extremists. Events prove that this is totally false. If it is only anti-socials operating, why has the systematic campaign against The Punjab Kesari started again and why are the innocent hawkers and vendors who

are selling these newspapers are being systemically killed? Only yesterday six vendors were killed. And also there is the attack on the liquor shops. So if it is not hard core extremists, hard core Khalistanis are not operating, this would not have happened in Punjab. This attack obviously shows the intention on the part of the extremists. All those who are opposed to Khalistan are being attacked and killed and the Government is helpless. The cadres and leaders of both the Communist parties in Punjab are being killed. Only two months back we lost our dear Comrade Dilip Singh along with his whole family. I use this occasion to pay tribute to all those martyrs who have played with their lives for the integrity of this country.

In the area under twelve police stations in Punjab where terrorist activities are intense, Hindu and Sikh families are migrating from villages to towns. The Minister can deny that, contrary to the claims of the authorities. Now the terrorists are better organised with greater cooperation among different groups and all are well armed. Now the reports show that they are using Uzi machine guns. From AK-47 machine guns, they have switched over to Uzi machine guns and to mortars and all that. They are using much more sophisticated weapons and the sophisticated arms are coming from Pakistan also. All this shows that under the President's rule, the situation has worsened. You dismissed the popularly elected Barnala Government for winning over Haryana. The ultimate result was you lost Haryana and now you are destroying Punjab only for narrow political ends.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): They will destroy Centre also.

SHRI SURESH KURUP: The Barnala Government was in power from October, 1985 to May, 1987. The figures show that at that time 816 innocent people were killed by the extremists. But see the figures of the two

years of the President's rule. From May, 1987—the month in which President's rule was imposed in Punjab—to April, 1989, 2,751 innocent people have been killed. The number of police personnel killed during the time of the Bamala Government was 73, now it is 240. All these facts nail the naked lie spread by the Government that President's rule has been effective in dealing with the situation. Let us admit that with severe police action alone you cannot solve the problem. I think the Home Minister also will agree with this.

If you look back, the Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord was a ray of hope in this political situation. For some time it seemed a deliberate successful step was taken to find a political solution to this intricate problem. The whole country welcomed it. All of us in the Opposition welcomed this right move by the Government and the Prime Minister. But I would like to know who prevented them from implementing the Accord. This has been discussed here threadbare earlier also. The Government should explain to the country why not a single step taken to implement the Accord. Just for their narrow ends, they deferred the implementation of all the clauses of the Accord. This attitude of the Government shows that they are not serious enough in implementing the provisions of the Accord and to find a political solution to this problem.

I would like to show the number of lost opportunities of the Government. Later, the Operation Black Thunder took place. All the countries supported that move. It was well-conducted and led to the exposure and isolation of the extremists. But the advantage was not utilised by the Government because it refused to take political measures and went on relying on administrative measures. Can you deny this? Now, what is the state of administration in Punjab? The administration of Shri Rajiv Gandhi has collapsed in Punjab. It is alleged that a good number of administration and Police officials have

developed interest in continuing the present situation. The Government owe an explanation to this. In many areas the people have repeatedly complained about the Police atrocities. They say that they are attacked by the extremists in the night and looted and harassed by the Police in day time. Have you taken note of this? Have you taken any action against those Police Officials who act in connivance with the extremists? If this sort of a situation continues, how can you ensure active participation of the people in fighting this extremist menace? How can you fight back with them and how can you find a solution to this problem?

Sir, now with much fan-fare the Prime Minister organised the Cabinet Sub-Committee. He was saying about the package deal and all that, as if he was going to find a solution to this problem. With much fan-fare he organised the Cabinet Sub-Committee for Punjab affairs. I would like to know what this Sub-Committee is doing. What is its role in finding a positive solution to this problem? What is its track record till now? In what way are they functioning? Now, there is a serious situation. There are reports appearing in the newspapers that the Government is in consultation with some of the extremists. I am saying this and I am raising this point just to get a clear clarification from you. I would like to know what the Government's position is. If these reports are correct, you are betraying those valiant martyrs who have laid down their lives for the integrity of this country.

Sir, this Government has no interest in finding an amicable political solution to this problem. All these facts which I have mentioned show that they are not at all interested in finding an amicable solution but they are only interested in playing their communal card. This time also they want to play this communal card, particularly in view of the coming elections. What happened to all those criminals who massacred the innocent Sikhs during the November riots? What happened

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to the report of the Commission? Those criminals are still clinging on to high power positions of this country. Under these circumstances, how can they find an amicable solution to this problem? Not even a single man is charge-sheeted. Those culprits are still there in the Cabinet, in Parliament. They are roaming around the country and the leaders of the ruling party. This Government, as long as they are in power, cannot find a solution to this problem, because only very few are charge-sheeted. All the big fish have escaped.

Sir, they played these communal cards quite effectively during the last general election. In this general election also they again want to play these cards and this time the people of this country are going to give a rebuff to your communal politics. *(Interruptions)*

Also we should take into consideration that the situation is worsening now and tension is spreading to other States also. In Jammu and Kashmir also these terrorists successfully organised bandhs and killings. So, this is a serious situation. Even though a popularly elected Government is in power in Pakistan, now the military has a very strong hold on this Government, you know that. And also the Punjab Provincial Government is controlled by the Zia loyalists. They are giving all sorts of help to the extremists. Arms and ammunition are still coming from the other side of Punjab and they are being used in Punjab. So, the whole country now feels that this Government is allowing to continue this grave situation with an eye on the coming general election. So, this Government which has lost the faith of not only the people of Punjab but also the people of this country, cannot find a solution. For that a new political situation should come in this country, a new Government should come in this country and I am sure that in this general

election a new Government will come to power and only that Government can find an amicable political solution of this problem.

[Translation]

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD (Washim): Mr. Chairman, Sir, when discussion was raised by the opposition in this august House about Punjab, I thought that they would come with some new points in this regard. But what I feel is that as and when the elections come closer, whether it is the General elections or a bye-election, the Punjab issue strikes the minds of our friends from opposition.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): It is absolutely wrong.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I may deal with CPI and CPI (M) separately.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would not allow any interruptions please.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: When our hon. Friend from C.P.M. Shri Kurup was speaking here, I was expecting that he would raise some new points would help the Parliament and the Congress Government to solve the Punjab problem. But it is very unfortunate that for last 5 to 6 years as and when the Punjab issue is taken up in the House or discussed out-side, our friends from opposition, instead of tendering their wise counsel to the Government and utilising their valuable wisdom, have been adopting a negative attitude and today also they did the same

and they have been doing so earlier also.

Sir, I expected from my friends, not only today but much earlier also that they would treat the Punjab problem as an extra-ordinary issue. The Punjab problem is not an ordinary issue. It has direct bearing with the unity and integrity of the country. None of the parties, particularly the Congress party did ever try to contest elections by exploiting the Punjab issue because Punjab is a part of our border. It should be a matter of pride for every Indian to strengthen Punjab. If any political party wants or plays the game of politics by utilising the Punjab card, I feel that there can be no greater matter of shame than this for the person or the political party who indulges in it.

Sir, our friends say that no efforts were made by the Congress party to solve the Punjab tangle. But I would like to tell those friends that the Congress party and the leader of the Congress party, Shri Rajiv Gandhi accorded top priority to the unity and integrity of the country by ignoring the party interests. Today our friends from opposition stand testimony to the fact that our Government held elections not only in Punjab but also in Assam, Kashmir and Mizoram. It was our Government in Punjab and so in Mizoram where our party was in power. But in all these states our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi thought that unity and integrity of the country was for more important than the interests of the Congress Party. Nobody can deny this fact. I feel that, had our friends from the opposition been there, they would have hesitated to surrender in any of the above states. Can any other party make a bigger sacrifice than this for the country?

[English]

At the cost of our Congress party we preferred the unity and integrity.

[Translation]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa): It should be done at the Centre also. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: It would have been a matter of great pleasure for us had the Government of Shri Basu resigned in the wake of an agitation launched in West Bengal in support of Gorkhaland demand. (*Interruptions*)

[English]

You could have done it; but you did not do it. You preferred even Darjeeling to go out of West Bengal, but you could not compromise. Again it was Congress and the Congress Government which came to the rescue of West Bengal and CPM.

[Translation]

I totally disagree with my friends that we did not take any administrative and political steps in Punjab. Perhaps my friends have forgotten the assistance given by the Centre and work done by the administration during President's Rule in the State. What I feel is that every body should praise the good work done by us in the State. People from opposition also have praise for us in the inner core of their heart but they are unable to restrain themselves from criticising us as the elections are coming closer. So far as the political steps are concerned, Congress is the first party which organised hundreds of meetings in Punjab during the last 3 to 4 years. The opposition can never deny this fact. If there is Hindu-Sikh unity in Punjab today, much of its credit goes to Congress party. The Congress party organised rallies and public meetings at village and Taluka level and propagated Hindu-Sikh unity. On the other side, terrorists tried their level best to create a rift between Hindus and Sikhs,

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not only in Punjab but in the entire country.

Besides applauding the Congress party for the measures they have taken in Punjab, I also congratulate the CPI and CPM for visiting rural areas and organising public meetings for Hindu-Sikh unity in that state. But I regret to say that Akali Dal which considers itself to be the strongest political party in Punjab has not done anything in this respect. They have organised neither any public meetings nor any other public function for the unity of Hindu and Sikh communities. The Akali Dal has never condemned the terrorist activities. Whenever the question of holding the reins of power arises, Akali Dal is the first claim out, but as regards the condemnation of terrorists, propagation of Hindu-Sikh unity or the development of Punjab, Akali Dal keeps mum and demands a lion's share for their representatives in the Government. During the last 3-4 years, Akali Dal did not condemn the terrorists in Punjab even once. Rather I regret to say that some of the top Akali leaders and even former Chief Minister of that State attended the Bhog ceremonies of some of the terrorists who were killed in the encounters. I am not giving a false account of it. I have myself observed the situation in Punjab during the last three years as I have been staying there and have myself visited more places than you. (*Interruptions*) I am sure that if Akali Dal had co-operated with other political parties, the problem of terrorism would not have been there today in Punjab. Because there has been only one sided publicity and the largest party in that State is Akali Dal which has been sleeping over it. They aspire only for power. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get the opportunity to speak.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: My friend has pointed out that no efforts have been

made to make the Punjab accord a success. In fact Akali Dal is the only parts responsible for the failure of Punjab accord which was signed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Longowal. Otherwise the accord would have been a complete success. Akali Dal paid no attention to it. Had they paid a little attention or had they taken a little initiative, Punjab accord would have been a success and terrorism in Punjab would have come to an end.

Special initiative taken by the Central Government and personal interest taken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi to reach a political solution, have improved the situation in Punjab to a great extent.

AN HON. MEMBER: In what sense the situation has improved?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: The District and Development Grievances Committees constituted by the Government have infused a sense of satisfaction among the people at district level. There was a large number of under-trials in the Jodhpur jail about whom many political leaders in Punjab wanted that they should be released. These under-trials have now been released under a Package Programme. Besides, certain amendments have been effected in the Anti-terrorist Act and amendment has been made in the law for allowing the foreigners' entry in Punjab. (*Interruptions*) Efforts have also been made to streamline the functioning of the police station and the Central Government have directed the police department not to harass anybody without any reason. The validity period for the amendment effected in NSA, which was due to expire, has not been further extended. It was so desired only by the Congress party. We tried to solve the Punjab problem through political solution. Today, administration is condemned for its various shortcomings but it is easy to pass comments than to achieve a thing while

sitting here in Delhi or in any other part of the country.

The leaders of Janata Dal, who dream of becoming Prime Minister of the country, have never taken pains to visit Punjab. They have not even visited the State for the last 4-5 years. They simply issue statements about the terrorist activities in Punjab, from other States like Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala. Had they been moved by these atrocities, they would have gone there at least once. If they did not want to attend the Bhog ceremonies of the Congress leaders who have fallen victims to these activities, they should have attended the funeral ceremonies of at least their own friends. They have never been able to muster up enough courage to go to Punjab. They only exploit the sentiments of the people in other States in the name of Punjab. I would like to ask the opposition parties whether they are exploiting Punjab or the Congress party. In fact, Opposition parties want to exploit the situation in Punjab. They accuse the Ministry of Home-Affairs of adopting an attitude of negligence. Was there no demand for Khalistan, two years ago? Some steps were taken with the co-operation of the State administration, Government of India and the Ministry of Home Affairs. As a result, the secessionist and separatist elements have been brought under control. Today, nobody raises slogan of Khalistan in Punjab. Were the religious places like Gurudwaras not under the control of the terrorists two years ago? But today terrorists do not exercise any influence over Gurudwaras, whether it is a small one or a big one. It is all due to an effective and efficient administration. Had the administration been ineffective, they could not have been brought under control.

Examinations were recently conducted there. Thousands and lakhs of youths studying in schools and colleges who were not allowed to appear in the examinations, have now appeared in them. There was not even

a single case of disturbance. How was it possible? It was only because of the administration which was strict and terrorists were liquidated. Our friends see only the negative and not the positive side of things. I do agree that though the number of killings has not been significantly reduced, it has been brought down, of course, not upto the desired extent.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Rather it has gone up.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: It has not at all increased. I do not agree with this view. While about 1288 people had been killed during the period, January to June 1988, only 564 people have been killed during the corresponding period of the current year. The present number of killings is less than half of the previous year. To counter it the Government took certain steps and I agree that the terrorists murdered a greater number of innocent common man than the terrorists themselves were killed in the encounters 1 or 2 years ago. But today, we are proud that our forces have quite forcefully retaliated and the terrorists are now on the lookout for shelter. Today two terrorists are shot dead for a person killed by them. About 373 terrorists have been shot dead from January to June during the current year. The number of those killed during the first six months of the current year is equal to those killed during the 12 months of the last year. Hence, it would not be appropriate to say that the terrorist killings have not abated or the number of killings has not declined. To say otherwise, it will be just a political maneuvering. I think no Government in the world would have stood a match to the Congress Government in accomplishing such an uphill task. There are terrorist activities in many other countries in the world but in the event of such activities the Government of such countries shelve on their own all development activities in these countries. In my opinion, it is only under the Congress Government in the

[Sh. Ghulam Nabi Azad]

whole world that the pace of development has not slowed down on account of terrorist activities in the state. The Central Government has been paying constant attention to the people of their state. Besides the State Government's involvement in the development activities in Punjab, the Central Government has been paying more attention to the work of development in that state and has been making efforts to boost the economy of Punjab. Members of this House very well know about the proposal of a coach factory to be set up at Kapurthala. A new plant at the cost of Rs. 300 crores is going to be established near Tarantaran and a Railway Diesel Component Plant is proposed to be set up in Patiala. The entire House is seized of all these developments. The most important thing is that when Punjab was struck by floods, the Central Government extended a relief of more than Rs. 100 crores to the farmers of that state and it is all due to that, that there has been a record procurement of about 60 lakh tonnes of food-grains which is unprecedented in the history of that state.

I would like to tell all my friends that if the Central Government had adopted an attitude of negligence towards Punjab and if they had not sanctioned adequate funds for the purpose of development, for seeds, for flood affected areas, the state would not have been able to achieve a record performance in the form of procurement of 60 lakh tonnes of foodgrains. It could not have been possible in the water logged fields or on the forest land but they produced that much of foodgrains in their fields in Punjab only because of the assistance they received from the Central Government.

Finally, I would only submit that it has always been the endeavour of the Congress party, of the Congress Government and also of the Hon. Prime Minister to maintain the

unity and integrity of the country at all costs and to ensure that its border areas remain intact irrespective of the cost which the Congress party may have to pay for it. That has been the policy in the past, it is being followed at present and will be followed even in future and for that we shall make our all out efforts. I am fully convinced that our hon. friends in the Opposition, whether they belong to the B.J.P. or the Janata Dal or any other party, will definitely try to make political capital out of this issue during the coming elections. They raise a hue and cry over the Punjab problem but make little efforts to improve the situation in that State. I am sure that all the secular forces which are committed to the unity and integrity of the country will not treat this issue as a political issue but as national imperative and help the Government in tackling it accordingly. They will not make attempts to spoil the situation there in order to make political capital out of it. If we try to take political advantage of this issue during the coming elections, I think that the future will not forgive any of the political parties for it.

With these words, I thank you and strongly oppose the Adjournment Motion moved by the hon. Member.

[*English*]

SHRI CHANDRA PRATAP NARAIN SINGH: Sir, may I, on behalf of this House, add to what Mr. Azad said?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No please.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have not allowed him. Don't record. Nothing of what the Hon. Member says gave on record.

(*Interruptions*)*

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY (Kurnool):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Suresh Kurup began his speech saying that he was speaking with a sad heart on this topic of Punjab. I confess that I don't have any heart to speak on this subject. How many times have we discussed Punjab in this House? I have lost count of it.

The 8th Lok Sabha began with a note that the Prime Minister will find a solution to the Punjab problem. Mr. Kurup was saying that we have gone back to the position of 1985. I don't think it is a correct statement of fact. In 1985 there was a political leadership in Punjab with whom negotiations were possible and a solution could have been found. In fact negotiations were conducted and an Accord was arrived at. But subsequently history finds that the golden opportunity of implementing the Accord was lost. Why was it lost? Who lost it? For what political purpose was it lost? It has been stated a number of times and I don't want to repeat it.

The most depressing feature today is, how do we find a solution to Punjab problem? There is a Cabinet Sub-Committee. Certain steps were announced. Just now my friend narrated the steps which have been taken for finding a solution; he said that these are the steps that have been taken for implementing the points which were given out by the Prime Minister. He talked about the Jodhpur detenus and some other matters.

But these are very small steps. When you are taking two steps forward, our friends are forgetting that you are going four steps backward. We have not moved any further towards a solution. That we are very e a solution or that we have got a formula for arriving at a solution is too difficult for anybody to say, much less for the present Government.

We have gone back again to a situation

where it is not at all possible for the Union Government to talk to the representatives of the people of Punjab—either the representatives of the Sikh, the Akalis or of some other party. My learned friend spoke about the release of Jodhpur detenus. But he forgets the fact that there is a larger conspiracy case which has very badly affected the Sikh psyche again. I do not want to go into the merits or demerits of the larger conspiracy case. But, who has advised the Government to launch this larger conspiracy case, we do not know. What is the purpose that is going to be achieved by the larger conspiracy case? They must be in a position to say. They have been blowing hot and cold at the same time. They have been talking to the extremists and terrorists. They have been trying to arrive at a solution in consultation with the terrorists and the extremists. On the other hand, again, a case is launched on a larger conspiracy case. So long as this case is there the Punjab problem is bound to be kept simmering. It is not necessary for me to repeat the number of instances. Nor is it necessary for me to say as to how during this Eighth Lok Sabha, we want out of the way to amend the Constitution to meet the Punjab situation; how the Rajya Sabha went out of the way to pass a resolution under article 249 to enable the Union Government to meet the situation in Punjab; how the democratically elected Government of Barnala was dismissed under the pretext of finding a solution for the Punjab terrorism and how even after the dismissal, there was an additional performance on the part of the Government and the establishment, to contain terrorism. At the time when Barnala Government was dismissed, it was held out that there were a few terrorists—that number also was identified to be below hundred,—and when all these people would be liquidated, the problem of terrorism would come to an end.

In fact, I am very much amused to hear in the Doordarshan, everyday, that five

[Sh. E. Ayyapu Reddy]

hardcore terrorists were killed; two hardcore terrorists were killed; three hardcore terrorists were killed. I have been hearing this adjective 'hardcore' for the past 4 1/2 years. May I ask respectfully whether there are any 'softcore' terrorists in Punjab? (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: They are not traceable. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: What I am able to understand from this is that the Union Government or the State Government which is run by the Governor, does not have a complete grasp of the situation. It does not have even sufficient intelligence with regard to the resources, the strength, the mobility, the capacity, the weaponry of the terrorists. Otherwise, it is ununderstandable as to how they could sweep and kill so many people in Moga, just about a month ago. So, the position is this. Today, no civilised Government has ever failed to contain brutality for such a long time. Is there any civilised Government in the world, which has tolerated such an inhumanity and brutality, for such a long time—for so many years? People were panicky at the beginning. When news of a few people being killed by the terrorists came, they used to become panicky. Then, that panicky gave way to pain. Today, we become insensitive. A sort of amnesia has taken over the national consciousness and national sensitivity, with regard to the killings in Punjab. Now, we are nowhere near a solution. But the fact stands out. My learned friend was saying about the achievements of the people of Punjab. The people of Punjab, I am putting it. He was claiming it for a political party. The hard fact stands out that terrorism in all its forms, in all its brutality, was not able to penetrate and create a rift between the Sikhs and the Hindus. That solid rock of unity between Sikhs and Hindus has proved itself to be impregnable. That is a hard fact which

goes to the credit of the people of India. It is the hard-working people of Punjab who in spite of these difficulties and obstructions have stood by peacefully and are continuing their trade and business activities and also the kisans have been working hard in the fields. The credit must go to them. If any political party tries to take credit for this I think they may not be justified. Of course, there are any number of patriots coming from various parties who have stood by the people and who are giving them the much needed moral courage so that there is no panic and there is no migration from the rural areas.

I say, Sir, that it has been found that the heart of Punjab is very sound. It has been suggested that instead of my stressing merely on the negative aspect I should give some positive suggestions for finding a solution to Punjab problem. My answer to that is let us trust the people of Punjab. Please hold elections both for the Assembly and Parliament. The people of Punjab are capable of finding a solution and they will find an effective solution. All our attempts to find a solution without reference to the people of Punjab are going to end in nullity. Therefore, my suggestion is on no pretext withhold holding of elections to the Assembly as well as Parliament and a democratically elected Government in Punjab will find the solution to this problem. If you do not allow democracy to come into play in Punjab then you will be perpetuating the solution of Punjab problem, for ever. With these words I conclude.

[*Translation*]

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, whenever there is a discussion on the Punjab issue in this House, I feel sad. Our friends in the opposition, while making their submissions on this subject tend to express their ignorance on one hand and speak on the basis of fictitious knowledge on the other.

The two hon. Members who made their submissions on Punjab before me, did so without ever visiting Punjab. Let Shri Reddy or Shri Kurup tell us whether they have ever visited Punjab? They have never seen this State and speak in this House on the basis of fictitious knowledge. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: I may say that no Member of Parliament during his lifetime can visit every part of India. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: What I am saying is if you had visited Punjab you could have a closer look at the problem.

[*Translation*]

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: Even you speak about Bengal without ever having visited that state.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: I have visited Bengal and you know that I was in charge there. This is quite regrettable that though the present issue is a very serious problem of national importance, on every occasion when we discuss the issue, only 2 or 3 points are discussed in the Parliament to point out the drawbacks of the Government and the political purpose of the Government. With all that, all such discussions are concluded.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA: Please tell us something new.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: I am coming to that.

Shri Kurup has pointed out that the Government is interested in prolonging the Punjab problem. But it is absolutely wrong because the Government has taken a number of steps for the solution of the Punjab problem from time to time but in that respect we never had the co-operation of our col-

leagues, in the Opposition, especially the Members of the Akali Dal. Akali Dal is a major Party in Punjab and because of their non-cooperative attitude the Government could not succeed in solving the problem despite their best efforts. I would like to discuss it in detail later on. (*Interruptions*)

The aim of all that was submitted by him, was ultimately to level allegations against the present Government for the Moga incident and suggest that had there been such cases under the regime of some other party's Government, it would have resigned. This was the real purpose behind their bringing this adjournment motion. This is extremely regrettable and as a Punjabi, I complain that neither of the two speakers has said a word against terrorism. They did not speak a word of sympathy for the people who have died and they have merely condemned the Government. This alone is their political purpose in bringing the adjournment motion. Had you a genuine feeling of sympathy for the people of Punjab, you would have stood up here in the House to say:

[*English*]

We condemn terrorism, we condemn extremists and the whole House has full sympathy for those who have been killed.

[*Translation*]

But none of the two speakers used a word of sympathy for them in their speech. (*Interruptions*)

It is my humble submission that our Opposition colleagues confuse the two things i.e. terrorism in Punjab and the Punjab problem. These are two different things. But our Opposition Members confuse the two because they do not understand the Punjab problem which they link with the problem of terrorism in that State.

[Sh. R.L. Bhatia]

So far as terrorism is concerned, the entire House knows it and it has been even discussed repeatedly in this House and reported by the newspapers that there is a foreign hand in it and that the arms are being smuggled into the country. There is no denying the fact that the situation in Pakistan has improved due to the change of Government there but the flow of arms is still continuing. Today's Indian Express has published a detailed news item mentioning that some highly trained terrorists have entered India with some highly sophisticated arms. Hence one aspect of terrorism is that terrorists are receiving supplies of arms from abroad. A few youth, who are our own children and our brethren, are being misled and are indulging in such activities as the puppets in the hands of foreign powers. So far as the people of Punjab are concerned, nothing like Khalistan exists there. Neither the Hindus nor the Sikhs are in favour of Khalistan. It is only the newspapers which are indulging in exaggeration and raising such a logey. The people in Punjab understand the reality and all of them are nationalists and patriots and are not in favour of Khalistan. This is the second aspect of the Punjab problem. Some of my friends have levelled the criticism that the Central Government is not taking any steps in this matter but the fact is that the Government has taken a number of steps in this regard. The Rajiv-Longowal Agreement was the first step in that direction. It was our initiative but due to some reasons the Akalis did not accept it. However efforts on the part of the Government continued. We tried our level best to get the Punjab problem solved. It was also demanded that unless the Jodhpur detainees are released, proper climate will not be built up. Hence the Government released them to build up a proper climate...
(Interruptions)

Thereafter it was also submitted that the Punjab problem is an economic problem. It

was said that the Centre has ignored Punjab and has meted out step-motherly treatment to them. After this it was the turn of Prime Minister's package deal. Announcements were made to set up big factories there to which my hon'ble friend Shri Azad has referred. I would like to tell these people that Amritsar is the worst affected area but the private entrepreneurs made an investment of Rs. 16 crores in one year in Amritsar. This is indicative of the people's confidence in the Government. Earlier there used to be no migration. It first started under the tenure of Barnala Government. But today, the people are not migrating from Punjab. Rather people from outside are going there and making investments. In Amritsar, the prices of land have increased by 50 per cent. What does it indicate? This shows that the people have confidence in the present Government. The development work undertaken by the present Government has made its impact even at the lower level. Besides, district development committees have also been constituted so that they may have funds to undertake an allround development of the district. This has boosted the morale of the people. Very good work is being done in this sphere. There has been a wave of happiness among the people of Punjab due to the introduction of the Panchayati Raj by the Hon. Prime Minister. Ajnala tehsil lies on the border. Last week cheques were distributed there under the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna. I too had an opportunity to attend that meeting. There were about 500 sarpanches there. The Government officials were distributing the cheques. But all the sarpanches stood up and said that they would accept the cheques only if the same were given by Shri Bhatia. I had no concern with that since I had gone there only to attend the meeting.

[English]

That is the confidence of the people of remote villages in the Congress Party.

[*Translation*]

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH ATHWAL: If your programme succeeds, there will be no need to distribute cheques.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: You too will get an opportunity to speak. I have not said anything wrong. So far as our Party is concerned, it has built up a consensus in Punjab. We have created an awareness among the people of Punjab against terrorism and have made them understand the importance of mutual harmony, amity and the country's unity by holding meetings in the villages.

[*English*]

Punjabis have a tremendous robust common sense.

[*Translation*]

They accepted our appeal. Shri Azad has rightly submitted that our colleagues from the C.P.M. and the C.P.I. had toured the villages and no other party went there. This too had an impact.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in Punjab, more than four hundred colleagues of mine have been killed while arousing political consciousness among the people and raising voice against terrorism. Three cabinet ministers i.e. Shri Pandey, Jagat Ram and Lala Bhagwan Das of the former Congress Government sacrificed their lives in creating this consciousness. I would like to ask whether any other party, be it B.J.P. or for that matter Akali Dal, ever did make any efforts to arouse this consciousness? They did not even condemn terrorism. They are afraid of being killed. We were killed because we criticised it. I was myself made a target and three shots were fired at me because I toured village after village to create consciousness among the people against terrorism. Akalis are afraid of them. That is why they don't want to talk

about consciousness. Today Punjab is engaged in a fight for secularism and against anti-national forces who are trying to gain ground. I would like to ask the Akalis as to whether they are with the people who want secularism or with the anti-national forces. They should clear their stand on it so that we could know what they want.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY: Which party did Shri Longowal belong to?

SHRI GHULAM NABIAZAD: We regret for that.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: The opposition only criticises the Government. They do not come with any constructive suggestions to solve the problem. We will be grateful to know if they are also equally concerned as we are. The solution to this problem can be found only when we are on the same wavelength. But the problem is that they view it from a political angle to gain. Some mileage. This Motion has been brought with the sole intention of criticising the Government. Instead of condemning terrorism, you want to criticise the Government. We are ready to have talks with you if you come with some positive suggestions. Particularly, the leaders of Janata Party never condemned terrorism.

17.08 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

After the Moga killings, when media men went to Shri V.P. Singh to know his views on the incident, he didn't show any sympathy for the victims, nor did he condemn the terrorists, rather he got rid of his responsibility by saying that whatever was happening in Punjab was happening due to the wrong policies of the Government. You may please tell me on whose side Shri V.P. Singh stands.

[Sh. R.L. Bhatia]

[*English*]

Is he standing with the nationalist forces and patriotic forces or is he against them? Where is he? He has to have a clear-cut line. I wish he had been here to reply to me.

[*Translation*]

But he didn't adopt any clear cut guideline. Members of B.J.P. are our brothers. They always have grudge against the Government that it is not doing this thing or that thing. But when our sub-committee went to Punjab to talk with the leaders of opposition parties, Akali Dal did not turn up. They might be afraid of being killed by the terrorists because whenever some one of them ever tried to start dialogue with the Centre, they were branded as protege of the Central Government. That is why. Akalis do not come. But the B.J.P. men also displayed no better puissance as they also fled from the meeting after submitting a memorandum. If they are really serious about the problem of Punjab and consider it as a national problem, they should pin point as to where we are at fault. We are ready for it. We have made our intention clear, that we are ever ready to hold talks with one and all but the framework of our talks will be the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. We will talk within the perimetre of the Constitution of India. On the face of it, the question doesn't arise that we are encouraging the terrorists or extremists in Punjab. Our policy is quite clear. Even today, we are saying that if anyone wants to talk with us within the perimetres of the Constitution of India and the Rajiv-Longowal Accord or after some new suggestions to make improvements in the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, we are ready for it. But it appears that they are not interested in solving the Punjab problem or improving the situation in Punjab. Nor have

they any sympathy for the persons killed there, they don't even condemn the terrorists or extremists as they are afraid of them. As has been stated by the hon. Member preceding me, they have only one solution to Punjab problem that the Rajiv Government should go and the Punjab problem would be automatically solved. Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, does it not show their mental bankruptcy. Will the problem of Punjab be solved after removal of Rajiv Government? Sir, you have also been in this House for the last five years. If you could give some concrete suggestion to solve this problem, it is always welcome. Whenever we find it necessary to take your help, we invite you. But does this argument make any sense that the ouster of Rajiv Gandhi. Government will solve the problem automatically.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in this august House, I would like to give the credit to the people of Punjab for maintaining balance of mind even in such a difficult situation and despite so much provocation, they showed unity and development took place in Punjab. Punjab contributed more foodgrains to the central pool this year as compared to previous years. The contribution of rice is 70 per cent and that of wheat 60 per cent. Apart from this, if you glance through the all India figures of mandays lost Punjab has lost the least number of mandays and there is normal functioning in Punjab. Through you, Sir, I would request Shri Reddy and Shri Kurupat least to pay a visit to Amritsar with me. Then I will show them how normal situation is prevailing there. Only after meeting the people there, you will come to know how bravely they are fighting the terrorists. If you are unable to give any concrete suggestions, you should at least follow the path shown by the people of Punjab. It will unite the nation and will help in removing terrorism. With these words, I oppose the motion moved in the House.

DR. G.S. DHILLON (Ferozepur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, just now Shri Bhatia was speaking in the House. We both belong to the same district and we are neighbours. There might be some difference of opinion between us on other matters, but our views are totally identical as far as extremists are concerned. We both remain very alert there. My constituency falls in the district adjacent to his district, but we live at the same place. As of now terrorists are operating actively in Ferozepur. In every session, discussion is held in the House on Punjab problems and terrorists. This time also, this issue has been raised in the House on the very first day. Two months have passed between the last session and this session. In order to high the changes that have taken place during this period, I have collected information for the period from 1981 to 1989. The total which started with the figure of 13 reached a high of 1949 last year. It is not 1200 as stated earlier. It is 1949. Later 373 terrorists were killed and 3800 were arrested. This year, upto July, out of total killings of 584 persons, 352 terrorists were killed. As many as 1629 terrorists were arrested. Now there are less number of killings. But whenever I go to my constituency and tell the people that now only half of the terrorists are left, they don't they don't accept it. They say that is can not be so. They do not believe it. I had been in Amritsar last week, when I told the people there that half of the terrorists have been liquidated they, said that I was provided wrong information by the administration of Punjab. These figures have been provided by the Government, so there is no scope of mis-information. It is just possible that the number of persons killed in a particular area may be more and they might have been given the overall figure and they were not aware of the present position. Has it brought any change? Smuggling in arms and ammunitions is going on as usual. Now more sophisticated weapons are coming. They use three to four types of weapons-small arms, medium arms, machineguns and A.K-47 rifles A K-47 rifle, which previously used to fire 72 rounds in one second now fires 600 rounds. From where are these weapons coming?

Sir, we were very happy, when new Government came in power in Pakistan. The statements made by the new Government were also very encouraging. Just two days ago, a meeting took place between our Hon. Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan and they discussed terrorism. It is a matter of joy that Shrimati Margaret Thatcher has assured our Hon. Prime Minister twice that they would work against terrorism.

The Hon. Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mulroney also assured us twice that he would take action to contain terrorists. In spite of this as also our efforts at all kinds of accords, arms are being supplied to the terrorists. This matter is beyond my comprehension. How is this going on?

Sir, some terrorists have come from abroad recently. There are Press reports in this regard. The Government has not made any statement in the matter. We have no information as to where from they have come. How could they have entered our country despite so many accords? I cannot understand this thing. A Cabinet committee also visited Chandigarh in April to hold a meeting with different political parties. I was also present on the occasion. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs was also present and I sat by his side. A memorandum was submitted to the Cabinet Committee by the Punjab wing of the Congress party as well. A lot of points were made in the memorandum but no concrete solution to the Punjab issue was spelled out. I have also stated in my speeches that it is necessary to find a solution within the secular and constitutional bounds. But how far will it be within the secular and constitutional bounds can be know only when the point of view of the concerned political parties is made clear. It is unfortunate that the main parties were not present. The Akali Dal boycotted the meeting. Out presence there was useless because the Congress party as such keeps on giving suggestions even otherwise. The main purpose was to take the views of the Opposition, but they chose to boycott it. Shri Ramoowalia usually

[Dr. G.S. Dhillon]

attends such meetings but he also remained absent on that day. None of the Members of the United Akali Dal and the Akali Dal were present on the occasion. As regards the Talwandi faction, I do not know whether it is a part of the United Akali Dal or it is a separate group. You people keep on making allegations every day that the Government is not willing to hold talks but when the entire Cabinet Committee goes there to listen to your point of view, you do not cooperate. You ought to have placed your views before the Cabinet Committee.

As regards the Anandpur Saheb Resolution, I undertook some research work on this subject during the last two months. There are 2 or 3 versions of this Resolution but I would like to tell you the findings of the last stage of my research work. There were about 11 or 12 separate proposals which were passed on different occasions. In order to unify them, Shri Barnala constituted a committee in 1973 within the Akali Dal under his chairmanship. The first meeting was held in Ludhiana and thereafter it was held in Chandigarh. On the first day, the rest of the 5 proposals were unified and thereafter a consolidated resolution was framed. It was not passed on a single occasion but it was passed in stages with modifications being undertaken from time to time. Shri Barnala headed this committee and at that time, that is in 1973, there was no dispute whatsoever. Eventually, as Shri Azad has just submitted, a consolidated resolution was formulated after a meeting was held in 1978 in this regard. However, one particular portion of the resolution was not there in the proposals initially and was included on this occasion. It was the part 12 and nothing concrete was mentioned in it except the things which incite emotions. And you upheld that, these issues have not been raised for the first time and *morchas* have not been organised for the first time in this regard. I have spent 50 years as a Congress member. I started my law practice as early as in 1937 and since then I have seen people active in Akali politics and involved in all kinds of activities. When there

were disturbances in Punjab, some people were themselves interested in creating disturbances there and they also formed a front. They started raising demand like renaming the Amritsar bound train as the Golden Temple Express and that they should be permitted to carry 6 inches long *kripans* instead of the 4 inches long ones. Does the length of the *kripans* make any difference? By achieving success on such minor issues, they think that they will be able to get any sort of demand accepted by the Government. Even Shri Barnala indulged in gimmicks such as the 'Rail roko' and 'Sarak roko' agitations. But the new generation inducted in your party has gone even a step further. They have pushed the senior leaders in the background. At that time, even if we talked sense, they would be unduly suspicious. Whatever settlements we reached during the tenure of Shri Pratap Singh Karon were not unilateral but the Akali Dal was taken into full confidence and leaders like Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh were at the negotiating table. When the leadership went out of your hands, you started inciting violence. Not a single leader of the Akali Dal condemned the violence taking place in the State. It resulted in the Bhinderwale camp hatching a conspiracy to kill Sant Longowal. Do you people remember all these things? The innocent pilgrims visiting the Golden Temple were being killed and the DIG on duty was also not spared. You should search your own soul to find out where you stand.

We are happy that recently Shri Barnala has categorically come out against Khalistan but if the Akalis do not want Khalistan, what else do they want?? They are afraid of the people who are taking shelter inside the temple. The Akali leaders are afraid of the Bhinderanwale Tiger Force, the Khalistan Commando Force, the Babbar Khalsa Group etc. whom they have given shelter. It has become difficult for the people to reside in that State. The pro-Khalistan elements are making demands for Khalistan openly. They must tell us as to who are these people who are indulging in looting of banks and committing highway robberies. They steal cars and scooters and they also kidnap

people and demand ransom for their release. which party do these elements belong to? Why are they committing such loot? We feel very unhappy when we hear about such incidents. The Akalis should join us in tackling this issue. We have the habit of condemning terrorist activities wherever they may take place and I cannot understand as to how you people can remain silent. I believe it sincerely that you should join us in condemning such things. Incidents of terrorism occurred at Moga and at the New Delhi Railway station Day before Yesterday, I was returning to Sangrur from Abohar via Bhatinda and when I reached Mandi of the town, I came to know that the terrorists had gunned down a newspaper hawker selling the 'Hind Samachar'. The news has appeared in today's newspapers. First they killed the founder editor of this newspaper, Lala Jagat Narain; thereafter they killed his son, Shri Ramesh Chander and now they have killed this hawker as well. They have been on a killings spree in Amritsar, Hoshiarpur and in other districts and day before yesterday they killed that hawker. How long can they continue like this, gag the Press and create an atmosphere of terror? I am not making allegations against you, I am making allegations against those who are indulging in these activities. How long can they loot and kill people and amass ill-gotten wealth? I also have some experience and on that basis I can assure that this can go on only for a little while and a very heavy price will have to be paid for it. I can guarantee that the outcome will be very unfortunate. Shri Kurup was suggesting that the problem could be solved with the change in the political situation in Punjab. If that is so, we are prepared to make all out efforts. But you should get their word that they are prepared to say good by to their life-style and revert to a normal life. If we are the cause of their activities, I can assure you that we are prepared to make every sacrifice for normalisation of the Punjab situation. We are prepared to stay out of Punjab politics for the next five years, but they should also stop creating problems in Punjab. Whether you form the Government or not, it is necessary to ensure that their foreign links are severed. It is impossible to wipe them out. If 10 of

them are killed, 10 more join their ranks. The formation and fall of the Government is a continuous process. The persons who are behind bars today were once Union Ministers during the Janata regime. They held Ministerial positions even before I joined the Union Cabinet. They are sitting on the other side. They will agree to our suggestions and you can talk with them. If you are able to convince those people and report to us that a settlement has been reached and our intervention is unnecessary, I can assure you that we will not interfere provided the issue is settled. But the issue will not be settled. It is easy to talk but very difficult to solve a problem. All this is in the air in Punjab, Let us see what happens.

Now I am going to conclude. An adjournment Motion cannot be moved for this purpose. As such we are discussing this matter time and again. This is the last session before the elections and I cannot say that this issue will come up again during the next session. It is not known as to which party will win the elections but so far as the present position goes, there is a statement. None of the issues of this state are being solved. The hon. friends in the opposition should join the Government efforts in finding a solution to the problem. If they do not want to come out openly against them, let them join us in our efforts in finding a solution to the problem.

Thank you very much

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri A.K. Panja

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar): Sir, I am on a point of order (Interruptions)

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): This Motion has been brought by the Opposition but one after another Congress men are speaking: (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I am on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: (Mahbubnagar): Sir, the reports of CAG were to be placed on the Table of the House at 12'0 Clock. How is it... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar): Secondly, I wish to draw your attention to a very interesting and revealing printer's devil... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No. In the morning also you raised this and the Speaker has given his ruling.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Already the Speaker has given his ruling. I cannot re-open it.

(*Interruptions*)

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri A.K. Panja

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: They have come to receive payment. (*Interruptions*)

17.36 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—
Contd

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI A.K. PANJA): On behalf of Shri Eduardo Faleiro, I beg to lay on the Table: -

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: It is a very interesting and revealing printer's devil. Mr. Chidambaram will enjoy it. He will share the payment too... (*Interruptions*)

- (1) A copy of the following Report (Hindi and English versions) under article 151 (1) of the Constitution:-

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : (Rajapur) : It is mentioned:

Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year 1987-88 (No. 2 of 1989) Union Government Defence Services (Army and Ordnance Factories) [Placed in Library See No. LT — 8008/89]

" To be paid at 5.30 P.M. " (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY -SPEAKER: It is by mistake.

(*Interruptions*)

- (2) A copy of the Appropriation Accounts of the Defence Services for the year 1987-88 (Hindi and English versions)[Placed in Library See No. LT — 8009/89]

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: (Mahbubnagar) : It is a classic example of Freudian slip on the part of the machine. (*Interruptions*)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Please allow a discussion. We want a discussion... (*Interruptions*)