

12.47 hrs.

ESTATE DUTY (AMENDMENT)
BILL-CONTD.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, we take up the Estate Duty (Amendment) Bill. I will put the Bill to the vote of the House. The question before the House is .. कल शाम रह गया था, कोरम के अभाव में...।

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल (जयपुर) : आप गवर्न-मेंट को कहिए न कि साढ़े चार घण्टे की बहस के बाद भी कोरम क्यों नहीं करवा सके।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपने तो कह दिया।

MR. SPEAKER : The question is ;

“That the Bill be passed.

The motion was adopted.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Sir, we would request you kindly to look into one thing in this debate. I was told by one hon. Member that some mention was made of the names of some of the big land owners and landlords and it was ordered to be expunged from the proceedings.

MR. SPEAKER : Look here. I will see. But I don't think we can allow anything which can go against anybody personally here.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Please look into it. It is not an allegation. It is simply stating that these are some of the land owners.

MR. SPEAKER : They can write it to the Ministry and they can refer it to the State Ministry.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why should it be expunged ?

12.49 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE : WHITE PAPER ON
PUNJAB AGITATION-CONTD.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, we take up further consideration on the motion moved by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI (Amethi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, for two days we have been discussing the White Paper on the Punjab Agitation. I had hoped that this would lead to a very high level discussion well above party-politics. On this type of issue, we need to look at the real problem that has led to such a situation and crisis. Unfortunately, our colleagues from the Opposition have restricted themselves to a very low level and tried to get political gain out of it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (New Delhi) : Is this very high level ? It is not high level.

श्री राजीव गांधी : जब आप बोल चुकेंगे तो मैं बोलूंगा, वाजपेयी जी।

(व्यवधान)

अगर आप खत्म कर लें तो मैं कन्टीन्यू करूँ।

Thank you very much.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष जी, फिर यह कहा जाएगा कि विरोधी दल वाले अंग्रेजी नहीं जानते।

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The Sikh involvement in India since our Independence has been beyond their numbers. Their contribution to our development has been very substantial. They have raised Punjab from a very Pathetic State in 1947 just after the riots to a prosperous and one of our leading States. This has happened because they are hard-working and they have initiative. But this could not have happened without the correct policies of

the Congress Government at that time. It could not have happened without the infra-structural help and other facilities provided by the Congress during these years.

There has been no dearth of Sikhs in our public life, in our administration, in our foreign service, in our judiciary, in any sphere of our national activity. They have been able to rise because of the Congress policies whereby every group, whether it is religious or caste or linguistic or regional, is given full opportunity to rise to the highest level. There has been no stepmotherly treatment towards the Sikhs.

Similarly, the other party that is involved, the Army, must come in for some praise. The restraint they have shown and the valour they have shown must be put on record.

The decision that had to be taken towards the end of May, whether the army should be sent in or should not be sent in, must have been one of the hardest decisions any Government had to take since our Independence. It is only a strong Government that was able to take such a decision. If there had been a weak Government, then these things would still be carried on.

We have seen what happens under conditions of confusion and chaos as we saw between 1977 and 1980. One of the major reasons that these negotiations with the Akalis Dal had not come to a positive conclusion is the confused attitude of the Opposition towards the Akali Dal demands.

I see some of them smiling but I have got the newspaper cutting which I can quote.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : The Cabinet, the Prime Minister, had started it first.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : There was no confusion there. The Government's stand on the demands has been very clear right from the beginning. There has been no question of accepting any demand that can affect the integrity of our country. There can be no question of modifying our basic standards just because one small political party which represents, may be 20% of the people in one

State, puts up a demand, no matter what support they get from the Opposition.

What you have to analyse is the stand that the Akali Dal was taking. If we look at their final demand on Article 25, one thing is very apparent right from the beginning. They always put their demands forward first and after that they consider what their demands actually were. One example is Article 25. The demand was put forward. I think, on the 26th of January this year. The then Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Sethi agreed to all their demands and said "We are willing to amend the Article. But please let us know what you want to amend."

It was almost one month after they put forward their demand for amendment of Article 25 that they set up a Committee which was then going to decide what was to be done with Article 25. They put up the demand without knowing what they wanted.

All the other demands were the same.

They put the demand that they want a transmitter in the Golden Temple. When they were told that "This is not possible. But we will allow you transmission", then, they did not know how long they wanted the transmission for.

On the Gurudwara Act, the Government kept on asking them "Please give us a list of your historical Gurudwaras. Please give us a draft of what you consider the Gurudwara Act." But that has not come forward.

When demands are put forward, there must be specific concrete demands. Then they can be discussed positively. But, all their demands have been so nebulous and vacillating that it has been very difficult to pin them down to a specific issue.

Even on a very crucial issue like water, it is not a question of whether Haryana is getting water or Rajasthan is getting water but the question they should have put forward was that Punjab is so many MAF short of water. They could have said "4.2 is not enough. We want 5.2. We want 6.5. We want so much." But, they did not know that. In fact, they had forgotten the fact

that in many areas of Punjab, there is water-logging taking place because of excess water.

Their demands were of this sort. You can analyse each of them.

Their major demand which, many of our Members from the Opposition have said was dropped, was the Anandpur Sahib resolution. I do not know what discussions took place between the Opposition and the Akali Dal. But I do not think that demand was ever dropped.

In fact, this is something which the hon. Minister of Home Affairs can clarify.

Has not Sant Longowalji asked very specifically in his letters about the Anandpur Sahib resolution? Has he not said that the Anandpur Sahib resolution demand is there and has been there right from the beginning to the end?

Has he not demanded that the terms of reference of Sarkaria Commission be modified so that the Anandpur Sahib resolution in its full form be put in front of the Sarkaria Commission?

Is this what the Opposition want? I think this position should be made absolutely clear by the Opposition. Do they want the Anandpur Sahib resolution, as drafted, as printed, in this White Paper accepted by the Government? What is their stand?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : There are three versions.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You can tell me which version you are for. I would like to know which version of Anandpur Sahib resolution you support.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : My party has rejected all the three versions.

(Interruptions)

So what? Akali Dal wanted that resolution to be referred to the Sarkaria Commission. The Government has not accepted. They did not ask for the acceptance of the resolution. Only a reference to the Sarkaria Commission.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Do you want Government to accept the division of the country?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : There were three versions, one put forward by Talwandi, one put forward by Longowal and one put forward by Bhindranwale. I would like to know from Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee which one he supports.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : That you have to find out from the Akali Dal, I am not here to speak on behalf of the Akali Dal.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : The BJP must know it.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I might be mistaken, but I do believe that Shri Vajpayee two days ago, on this very floor said that there was nothing left to discuss with the Akali Dal; while sitting with the Opposition, all the issues had been sorted out and it was only for the Government to accept...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I did not say that.

AN HON. MEMBER : You have said so many times.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : My only submission is that this point, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, was never dropped by the Akali Dal. In the two-day debate here, many Members from the Opposition have said that they had come to an agreement with the Akalis to an acceptable position. The question I am asking is very specific: if the Akali Dal had not dropped that demand, had the Opposition accepted that demand? That question is not being answered...

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : What about the 30th June proposal? That was what every one was referring to.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): I am clarifying the position. The Opposition parties...

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I think, they can answer in their subsequent speeches; their subsequent speakers can answer the questions that I am raising.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: The Opposition Parties...

MR. SPEAKER: He is not yielding.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: He has directed a question. I am clarifying. The Opposition have made it clear...

MR. SPEAKER: Your Member who will be speaking after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi can clarify.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Our Member has already spoken. We have accepted only the question of autonomy of Punjab, not a separate Statehood for the Sikhs. We have made that absolutely clear. We supported the question of autonomy of Punjab, for Punjabis... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: As a matter of fact, these four or five points on which the Opposition had said that they had agreed...

SHRI ANAND GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY (Asansol): It would be proper for them to reply after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had completed his speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am speaking just one sentence. The four or five points on which the Opposition had said that they had worked out a basis of agreement were the same which the Prime Minister repeated in her broadcast one year later. In her 2nd June broadcast, three days before the Army entered the temple, the Prime Minister repeated those same points which the Opposition had worked out on the 30th June, 1983, about one year earlier. That has nothing to do with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: My question still remains unanswered. The Opposition said that there was no difference between

what the Government said and what the Akalis wanted. My submission is that there was a difference. The Government was not going to accept the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. When the Opposition says that everything has been resolved and only the Government is dragging its feet, the Government does not want to come to a settlement, I am asking them what they mean by that because Sant Longowal has very clearly said in his correspondence with the Home Minister...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Which the Prime Minister has not published in the White Paper. Why don't you publish that?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I did not publish the White Paper. You ask the Government.

This point was brought out by the Prime Minister when she spoke on the floor of the House, when she said that Mr. Longowal has very clearly stated in his letter that his demand right from the beginning has been the full Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Now, when you said I think you have not understood my question, that is why I am reiterating it—that everything has been solved and it is only the Government that has been dragging its feet, did you solve the Anandpur Sahib resolution? If you had solved that, why is Mr. Longowal saying that it is still pending? That means that you have agreed to accept it... (*Interruptions*)... I am very sorry. I understood this from many speakers.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): This is not a college debating society.

* **SHRI RAJIV GANDHI:** I have understood very clearly from quite a number of speakers, from a cross-section of all the Parties that are sitting here, that they have resolved everything and that if only the Government had agreed, everything could be solved. The question is simple. Have they resolved the Anandpur Sahib resolution? That is all. They are saying 'Yes'. They are acknowledging that they have resolved it. Longowalji says in his letter to the Government that it stands. He wants that it be accepted...

AN HON. MEMBER : Where is the letter ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : That you don't ask me... (*Interruptions*)... Ask the Home Minister.

I think one of our Members just a few minutes ago from the Opposition said that they have come to all these agreements with the Akalis but they were never for changing the character of Punjab and they were never for allowing a Sikh State. I would like to read the Anandpur Sahib resolution Part I, Political Goal. It is on page 82 of the White Paper :

"The political goal of the Panth, without doubt, is enshrined in the commandments of the Tenth Lord, in the passages of the Sikh history and in the very heart of the Khalsa Panth, the ultimate objective of which is the pre-eminence of the Khalsa."

Is this what you are standing for ?...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I am sorry there is one more paragraph.

"The fundamental policy of the Shiromani Akali Dal..."

(the Shiromani Akali Dal)...

"...is to seek the realization of this birthright of the Khalsa through creation of congenial environment and a political set up."

Now, what does this mean ? I want to ask you... (*Interruptions*)... You are the ones who have said that you have sorted it out with him. You are the one's who have said it on the floor of the House....

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : No, we have never said.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : May be you are not the one who said it on the floor of the House but...

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : We did not accept it. We had said that we had rejected it; we did not accept the Anandpur Sahib resolution.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If you had rejected it, then on what basis were you bringing the Akalis to the Government ? Because the Akali Dal has not rejected it, then on what basis you are saying that the Akalis have agreed ?...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : We are bringing them for the same reason as the Government went on having so many secret meetings with them. For the same reason. Why were you having all these secret meetings with them ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I have not yielded. May I request the Opposition not to feel guilty...

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur) : We are not feeling guilty.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I would like to clarify just one point. I do believe that the Question Hour is over. This is not a question and answer session we are having. I am putting the questions which the Opposition can answer in their speeches when they get up and speak. The CPI can do it. But I have noticed and I think most of the people have noted that, except for one or two senior leaders of the Opposition, the others have decided not to speak. They had their No. 25 and No. 35 speak on an important issue like this. What is the matter ? Is the Opposition not clear ? The Akali position on the demands has been vacillating.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Sir, what is his number ? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : He is also Number 2.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The Akali demands have been vacillating right from the first day. Their main demand has been right from the beginning the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. At no stage has this

demand been dropped and there is no way that the Congress party and the Government could accept this demand, no matter what the Opposition has been trying to say here on the Floor of the House. The SGPC which is totally run by the Akali Dal shares the major responsibility of what has taken place in the Golden temple. How is it that arms and ammunition were stored in the temple? How is it that criminals were there in the temple? How is it that dead bodies were found outside the temple every few days? What was happening inside the Golden temple?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South): Ask the Home Minister.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: The Home Minister is only answerable to that after 6th and I can guarantee that that has not happen after 6th. Before 6th...

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: There was no Home Minister.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: Before 6th the temple was under the control of SGPC whom you were talking to, whom the members of the Opposition went to meet. (*Interruptions*) Who was talking to them? Who went to the Golden temple? Who came back and told us that there is nothing there. There are no arms. There is no ammunition there.

कुछ भी नहीं हो रहा है। This was very recently in April or May, I forget. (*Interruptions*) I believe three members of the Janata party did visit that shrine and I believe they came back and said... (*Interruptions*) I read the newspaper and I can only say what has appeared in the newspapers. I have got a few cuttings from the newspapers. I will read out what has appeared in the newspapers.

They came back and said that there is nothing happening in the temple. Is this not the same party which sent two people to Pakistan? Did they also not come back and tell us that everything is fine? They have got these F-16s. So that they can be put in children's playgrounds and the children can go and slide down their wings!

Is this not the same Janata party which between 1977-1979 demolished every intelligence service in this country? Is this not the same Janata party whose leader featured in one of Hersh's books? Is this not the same Janata party that is supporting secessionist elements in one of our other northern States?

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR: Do you know about Monahan's book also?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI: I ask you what exactly is the stand of the Janata party on this issue? I can give a quotation here. This is from the Economic Times the 30th June, 1984.

"Some top party leaders including former Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, Karnataka Chief Minister, Mr. Hegde and Shri Ravindra Varma had welcomed the use of troops in Amritsar while party Chief, Shri Chandrashekhar and Mr. Fernandes and others had either openly attacked government's action or had reservation about it."

Answering question in the another newspaper of the same day Mr. Fernandes and Mr. Dandavate said: (*Statesman* of 30th June, 1984).

"That the Janata party.....

and then in quotes "did not have a clue to the happenings in Punjab."

I am quoting this, which is in inverted commas. So, if this is what the Janata Party knows about Punjab, then what are you telling us on the floor of the House? Is this not the confusion that you raised with the Akali Dal? Is it not your support that made the Akalis think that they will make the Government buckle down and get something like the Anandpur Sahib Resolution from the Government? Why was the Akali Dal standing so firm if they did not have your support behind them?

(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Why are you hitting back? (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE (Bombay North Central) : No action was taken.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : So, I submit that by saying that the Opposition had convinced the Akali Dal to come to a conclusion on their negotiations and by the Akali Dal saying that they were standing on the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the Opposition was willing to sell the nation for short-term political gains. In this country, we stand on communal harmony. If anyone builds his leadership on communalism, it goes to breaking the very roots of our country.

AN HON. MEMBER : That is right.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : How many of our friends from this part of the House took a communal stand in Punjab? How many of them fell prey to the actions of the extremists and terrorists? (*Interruptions*) Sir, I have not yielded the floor. Otherwise it will take the whole afternoon if you go on like this (*Interruptions*). Sir, two more things have taken place. There have been some demonstrations in London. Who was involved in these demonstrations? A certain Sikh leader was there, yes. But who was walking with him? I would like the Home Minister to confirm whether Amin-Ullah Khan of the J&K Liberation Front was not there right with him in front of the procession.

(*Interruptions*)

Sir, here, on the back of the White Paper, there is a photograph. If you look carefully-it is at the last page-at the bottom, there is one banner. The front banner is a Sikh banner extolling a particular gentleman and at the bottom, on the left side, the photograph is not very clear, but you can read it. It says "Pakistan Youth Convention". Now, who is involved in these demonstrations? When the demonstrations took place recently in Jammu and Kashmir, who was there with the handful of the Sikhs who were in the demonstration? Was it not the Jaminat-e-Islami or Jamiat-e-Tuleba? Were they not there with the Sikhs? Who is instigating this?

We had a hijacking. What happened during hijacking? There were rumours that

certain two Ministers from the previous Government were present at the airport, very senior Ministers from that Government. They were at the Airport from 20'clock to 4 30 Neither did they receive anybody nor did they see anybody off. They were not going anywhere and they did not arrive from anywhere. But they were there. One wonders why they spent 2-1/2 hours at the Airport. Is it not true that a certain journalist was going to catch the flight and he cancelled it at the last minute? The reason that came on the PTI trickers was that somebody had told him that something was going to go wrong with the plane. Is it not true that another journalist who was to travel with this person and who is known to be very close to the ex-Chief Minister did not even arrive at the airport to catch the flight.

Then, when this aircraft came over Lahore, Parminder Singh, who was the main hijacker asked Lahore control tower for permission to land. Lahore said: "No, you cannot land, go away." He asked again; again he was told to go away. Then, he said, I am Parminder Singh HARFANMOULA, give me permission to land." Lahore still said, "No". He then repeated four times HARFANMOULA. Then ultimately he said: "Tell them....." who is "them"? He said: "Tell them, it is HARFANMOULA". And Lahore said: "Stand by". Then, he came back a few minutes later and gave him the permission to land. I wonder, where these 'SIKH' people had learnt their Urdu, because they were speaking 'Urdu' whether it was on this side of the border or the other side of the border.

Then, there is another question 'I would like to pose to the Home Minister, I heard that while the Pakistan intelligence was interrogating the hijackers, one of the questions that was put to them was, "Why did you not train the other six people better". There were nine people; three were a little professional, the others were very very DHEELA. They were being asked, "Why did you not train these people better?" This was overheard by one of our Indian Airlines people. So, I have been told. This should be confirmed.

What was the hijackers' demand? The minute they landed, they had very big

demands. They wanted Harminder Singh Sandhu released, they wanted 22 other terrorists who had surrendered from Harminder Sahib released, they wanted twenty-five crores of rupees, but a few hours later all these demands had been forgotten. Their only demand a few hours later was: "We want our suit-cases from the hold". Then, after they were told, "No", after eighteen hours or so of sitting on the ground; without any negotiations on progress, without any talks going in, they suddenly announced in the plan that the Government of India were terrible, they were very bad, but the hijackers were very good and they were going to release them and they released all the passengers. Is this not something extremely fishy?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : The US consul was also there.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : These are the questions that need to be answered.

Much has been made during these last few days of Congress involvement with certain extremists and Akali leaders. It has been clarified on the floor of this House by one of our Members that the accusation was totally false. It is false. I myself clarified when my statement was dragged in. My statements are there; I have collected them for a little over a year now. Almost every statement says that strong action is required in the Temple to get these extremists out. At one point, I have gone beyond that and I have said; I will quote here: (Patriot of 25th Feb. 1984).

"...Also when he talked about the Punjab situation saying that his views differed very much from those of the Central Government, he called for much tougher action in the State."

My Position on this has been very clear right from day one. I would like to ask you, how many of you have made your position clear? Except for one person in the Opposition, the leader of one Party, who has had a consistent and strong stand, not one person here, has taken a stand that has been either consistent or strong.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : We demanded

the arrest of Bhindranwale. We had asked for stern action. You had asked Government to take stern action against Bhindranwale.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Dadaji is so heavily loaded with the overdraft by West Bengal. So, we should not take his statement seriously. He has problem thinking along proper lines.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : It has got nothing to do with this.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Sir, there are a few more statements from the Opposition, which I would like to point out, just to show the way their minds are functioning. Hindustan Times, 24.6.84. "In a letter to Shri Chandrasekhar, the three party leaders, former CM, Shri Banarasi Das, Shri Ravindra Verma and Shri Raj Narain stated that their statement—"army action in Punjab is unfortunate"—did not take into consideration the gravity of the situation. This is one political party. The Janata President, Shri Chandra Sekhar has described the calling of the army into Punjab unfortunate and demanded its immediate withdrawal. On the one hand they say that they do not have a clue as to what is going on. I just read that. On the other hand they are saying "withdraw it, it is unfortunate, etc."

SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE (Bombay North Central) : It is indeed unfortunate.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : "In Mr. Chandrasekhar's view, the Akalis had no hand in the present communal and other acts of violence. If the Akalis were not condemning such acts of violence, it was because their demands have not been conceded." (Hindustan Times, 29th June, 1984).

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur) : It is all out of context.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You can put it into context. You have plenty of time.

On providing shelter to criminals inside the Gurudwaras, Mr. Chandrasekhar

said—"It does not sound to be correct."
(Hindustan Times, 29th June, 1984).

SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE : It is not proper. It is out of context.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is the context ?

MR. SPEAKER : Please let him continue.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Mr. Chandrasekhar said, "the extremists slogan of Khalistan was being raised by the two groups"—not one—"of the Akali Dal in order to outdo each other and thus win over the sympathies of the Sikh masses." (Indian Express, 27th April, 1981). Is this not what the Government is saying ?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : What is wrong ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : You are saying that by raising that slogan, you bring them both into some agreement or so. This is what is wrong. You are forgetting what you are saying.

SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE : They are encouraged by the Government.

MR. SPEAKER : Mrs. Dandavate, it is very wrong just to sit there and say things.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : One of your leaders has made a very strong statement regarding army going in. Mr. Desai said that the army must go in, "Temple no longer remain temples, once criminals are inside army action must be taken." (Indian Express of 7th June, 1984).

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Shri Morarjibhai has consistently supported the army action.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : It is totally vacillating. This is what I am saying. Because of your confusion, you have confused even the poor Akali Dal. This is my point. You have not only confused them but you have led them down the garden path. It is a very, very serious accusation

that I am making, that you, by your politicking, in your trying for short term gains, have contributed to this situation.

(Interruptions)

What we must realize to-day is : what were the weaknesses that led to this situation ? One of the weaknesses has been the Administration ; and I am glad that the Government has taken a stand on having 50% from outside ; or whatever the number is, and this is bound to help.

How did this come about ? Who were the Chief Ministers that propagated this ? What is still very pertinent is : which are the other States where this is going on today, where could we get into similar trouble ? Is it not going on in Bengal ?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : No. (Interruptions) This is an allegation. These are general changes. He should elucidate.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : This has happened because party cadres were inducted into the Administration in Punjab by the Akali Dal ; and in Bengal, similar things are happening. (Interruptions).

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : He will have to prove it. He has to prove it. (Interruptions) These are wild, baseless charges. He must withdraw them. It is a charge against the State Governments. He is out of context. According to rules.....

MR. SPEAKER : This is his opinion. It is an expression of opinion. You can also express your opinion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : On a point of order, Sir. It is an allegation.....

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I can take care of it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : On a point of order. This is a

discussion on Punjab. We are discussing the Punjab problem.

This is an allegation...

MR. SPEAKER : What is your point of order ?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : My point is that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi cannot bring in allegations against a State Government. - He cannot do it.

MR. SPEAKER : It is his thinking. There is no question... ..

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : It is a serious charge. It is an allegation.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : He has made an allegation.

MR. SPEAKER : It is his way of thinking.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : A definite allegation is being made against the State Government.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : How do you say, Sir, that it is not an allegation ?

MR. SPEAKER : What I have seen on the floor of this House is that so many things are said against a certain Government; and the Opposition members might remember that they have levelled so many things against this Government here.

You can have your say when you have the floor.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : For your information, and for the information of the hon. Member and the House should know it : the West Bengal Government is not doing it.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Tewary, you are unnecessarily becoming emotional. I have

seen it here so many times. ' You can contradict it in your own speech.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Will you kindly allow me to submit ?.....

MR. SPEAKER : You have already done it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : For his information, West Bengal has not been recruiting anyone to the administration. 40,000 posts are lying vacant. There is no recruitment in the administration of West Bengal. So, why is he making this allegation ? This is the only State where recruitment has not been done... *(Interruptions)* So, why is he speaking about West Bengal ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I only brought West Bengal into the picture because it is a Border State because I wanted to tell you about the border areas which are sensitive areas. That is why I mentioned West Bengal. West Bengal is a border area and it is a sensitive area with the refugees coming in from there. So, anything that happens in Bengal is in a way connected with Punjab, is connected with Kashmir.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : it is a dangerous statement.

MR. SPEAKER : This is very unfair. I am going to name you, Professor.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Why is he bringing in West Bengal ?

MR. SPEAKER : Because West Bengal is not out of India ; It is part and parcel of India. How can you dissect it ? No, no. You can contradict what he says, later. Why should you be so jittery about it ? I do not agree with this type of thing.

(Interruptions)

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI) : I am sorry, I am not

on this point at all. I came here only because my name was mentioned by the hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta. He has made this statement two or three times in the house in spite of the fact that I have clarified it. He had said that I accepted what the opposition said one year later. If you look at the Press you will find that I have been saying those things day-in-and-day-out, in every public meeting, at every Press meeting, that this is as far as I am able to go. I have not said it officially to the Akali Dal and I am not now saying it officially to them, because I want something in exchange for it; what I wanted in exchange, I have already mentioned in my speech. So, I am not going into the situation within the Golden Temple.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : But there was some advance in your broadcast, to the nation.

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI : There was no advance. Those were exactly the things that I had been saying all along. This is what I was prepared to do. Now, I have told it to them very clearly and I have also told, it to the public. And again and again this is mentioned that I waited for one year. That is why I thought I would come here. I did not want to get involved in the debate otherwise, I have a lot of people waiting. So, I am leaving now.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER : West Bengal Government is not under Central Rule. So, how can he criticise and discuss about the West Bengal Government.

MR. SPEAKER : It is part and parcel of India. This a democracy.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER : Nobody should attack West Bengal Government from this forum.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There is one thing more I want to say. Please sit down I have heard about you. You talk irrelevant all the time.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER : No, I do not talk irrelevant.

MR. SPEAKER : A man must have the courage to say certain things, but much more courage is needed to listen to certain things.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There is no question of allegation. It is just a simple thing.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : बंगाल का नाम लिया जाए, मुझे एतराज नहीं है। आप को याद होगा मैंने अपने भाषण में जम्मू-काश्मीर का नाम लिया था तो हंगामा मच गया था।...*(व्यवधान)*

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं अगर महसूस करूँ तब ठीक है। लेकिन मैंने महसूस नहीं किया।

...*(व्यवधान)*...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वेस्ट बंगाल, हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है। सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को क्रिटिसाइज करते हैं तो कोई तूफान नहीं उठता है।

I do not mind. That is what democracy is for. Let us describe it let us criticise each other. Does not matter?

मैंने कभी आपको रोका नहीं कि आप सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को क्रिटिसाइज न करें। I will never do it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : My humble request is, that when we are discussing the serious question of Punjab, these incursions into Bengal should be avoided by my young friend.

It is not the State Government of West Bengal which is being discussed here.

(Interruption)

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I would like to clarify. While the Opposition is consi-

dering Punjab in its isolated state, the issue is much wider than just Punjab. It is an issue of India.

(*व्यवधान*)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपको भी अपनी बात कहने का अधिकार है।

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : In that case do you allow us to discuss the recruitment of lumpen elements in U.P. and the other States where Congress (I) is in power ?

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : आप अगर कोई रिजोल्यूशन लायेंगे तो मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं होगा।

I can only say one thing : that communalism is the greatest virus in this country. Anyone who thinks in terms of a communalism, he is not perfectly sane, I may tell you. किसी को गाली देना सबसे बड़ी बात है।

We can all get together to discuss this problem and do something positively and collectively. That is what the nation demands.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : The only exception is in Maharashtra Legislative Council. Please tell them that.

MR. SPEAKER : I can tell them, anywhere, from the top of Qutub Minar that communalism is the worst enemy of this country.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Let us now talk of Maharashtra instead of Bengal.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The point is that the forces that have raised circle heads had their seeds sown between 1977 and 1980. That is the major problem and that is what has hurt them most. The seeds that were sown then in Assam, the seeds that were sown then in Punjab, had to

be controlled now. That is the problem. And it is this communal, regional, linguistic caste politics carried on by the Opposition which is going to ruin this country. It is only...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI KATANSINH RAJDA : I do not intervene generally. But I cannot allow this allegation to go unchallenged. He says that the seeds were sown during the Janata regime. These are all baseless statements.

(*Interruptions*)

We tackled that problem very efficiently. They could not open their mouths because Mr. Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : It is this type of politics that is raising these ugly heads in our country. It is these that we must finish.

AN HON. MEMBER : How are you having coalition in Kerala ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If there are mistakes on our side, we must correct them also.

SHRI A. K. BALAN (Ottapalam) : You will dismiss the Kerala Government now ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Now he is talking about Kerala Government.

SHRI A. K. BALAN : ...

(*Interruptions*)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not record whatever he says. Do not record anything without permission. That is a standing order.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : The factors must be removed from our politics, on all sides.

MR. SPEAKER : Let us make it now.

*Not recorded

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : There can be regional demands, there can be group demands. They must be raised, they must be voiced. And in a democracy they can sometimes go beyond what we actually started of asking. But that is where leadership comes. That is where you must control your people. You must see that your demands do not transgress on the liberty of others; on the freedom of others. That is where you have not been able to control the Akali Dal. This is where it has gone out of your hands. This is where it has gone out on the Akali Dal's hands, (*Interruptions*) And because of your allowing this to happen and in fact you being a party to it because you kept talking to them and saying यह भी हो जायगा, वह भी हो जायगा। that the Akali Dal's demands became so. (*Interruptions*) For the first time in our country since independence we have seen a movement which is based on religion, terrorism and secessionism. And it has come about because of your support to the Akali Dal. (*Interruptions*) We have to understand what we have to do. It is no use exchanging charges across the floor of this House remember that this sort of thing is going to disintegrate the country...

AN HON-MEMBER : What have you done in Jammu & Kashmir ?

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : Jammu & Kashmir we will discuss tomorrow or the day after. You will know exactly what we have done and what you have done, and that is what will embarrass you.

This is the first time in 37 years that organised violence has escalated and become terrorism. And it is time we put our heads together and try to finish this. It is no use the opposition trying to get political mileage out of it just because we are a few months from elections. We have to sit together, think together and come to some positive conclusions as to how to finish these things and how to hold the country together. The Congress today is the only party which cuts across all these barriers. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Which combines all these forces,

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : I knew my CPM friends would get up on this because they also feel that they do stand for such issues. But there is a major difference. The difference is whereas the Congress blends every region, every religion, every language into one body, the Communists try to brainwash them all into one alignment.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : I agree. We want to unite all the oppressed people irrespective of caste and religion to fight against exploitation.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : If I can digress from the subject for one second, how do you say that you have people of all religions in the Communist Party and then are still Communists ? (*Interruptions*) How can you have people of different religions within your Party then? This is the whole point. The point is that the Congress is the only party which cuts across all these barriers and holds everybody together. Fifty per cent or more of the people who are sitting in opposition are those who could not swallow these policies and left the Congress. What the opposition must realise is that they are here to oppose the Congress and to oppose the Government if they so wish. they are not here to oppose India which is what they are doing here today.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : We are opposing Indira not India, and Indira is not India.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Harikesh Bahadur.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Are we not adjourning for lunch, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : After his explanation, We will adjourn for lunch. We are not going to conclude the debate, we will start it after six.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : I have to catch the train at 3.30, Sir.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : So, Sir, he can start at 3, O'clock and finish by 3.30.

MR. SPEAKER : We shall assemble at 2.45.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या गृह मंत्री अभी भी जवाब देना चाहेंगे ?

गृह मंत्री (श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव) : मैंने कह दिया है कि जब मुझे बुलाया जायेगा, मैं जवाब देने को तैयार हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपका टाइम रल्लेंगे, बाद में चलायेंगे।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : दूसरा जो सवाल है, उसका जवाब मेरे पास नहीं है।

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल : लंच अवर कीजिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : लंच अवर अभी करते हैं।

13.53 hrs.

**PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY
MEMBER**

MR. SPEAKER : Now personal explanation by Shri Harikesh Bahadur.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : (Gorakhpur) Sir, I rise on a point of personal explanation. When the Prime Minister was intervening during the debate on the White Paper on Punjab, she said, "I am concerned with the demand that was not discussed, which is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The Opposition Parties were not able to convince me that the Akali Dal had given up the Resolution entirely". I immediately remarked, "Why should they do it?" because I feel that Opposition is not the spokesman of Akalis or the Government. Therefore, it is not the responsibility of Opposition to convince the Prime Minister about the plan's and designs of Akali Dal. But, Sir, the Prime Minister said about my remark, "Now he is saying 'Why should they give it up. Please see the significance of that...'" Sir it appears that Prime Minister said something which I did not speak. I have never supported the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, nor do I intend to support it.

MR. SPEAKER : Now lunch break till 2.45 p. m.

13.54 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till forty five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at fifty minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair)

**DISCUSSION RE : WHITE PAPER
ON PUNJAB AGITATION -Contd.**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now we go upto 3.30. Then we have the Private Members business today. This debate will be carried over to Monday.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA (Barh) : What about Kashmir ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If you are prepared to sit after 6 O'clock after Private Members' business is over, I am prepared to sit and continue the Debate.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : I am Prepared to sit after six, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Minister is prepared to sit after six, I think you are going to reply also.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : Yes, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : O. K. then, the debate will continue after six.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA : After six somebody may raise the question of quorum and there may not be any quorum.