

ration plant is riddled with leakages because no proper biography of the boilers is taken. There is no deficit in power supply with 20 megawatt gas turbine sanctioned by Centre and SEB Power supply. The Production Chief at a critical juncture was a man without construction experience. Equipments kept in the open got rusted.

In view of the urgent need for urea, fertiliser soda-ash and methanol, I demand a thorough probe into this state of affairs and rapid completion of the Haldia Fertiliser Plant in proper condition.

(vii) **Need to expedite the establishment of nickel extraction plant to Sukinda area in Cuttack (Orissa)**

**SHRIMATI JAYANTI PATNAIK (Cuttack)** : Government of India approved a proposal for establishment of a nickel extraction plant in Sukinda area in the district of Cuttack in Orissa in 1974 involving an investment of Rs. 39.50 crores. The project is yet to be taken up by Government due to certain technical difficulties involving process technology. Sukinda area in the District of Cuttack in Orissa contains the only commercially workable deposits of nickel ore in the country.

As India is a net importer of nickel metal involving sizable foreign exchange, production of nickel from ores available in the country is necessary from all considerations. It is understood that the Ministry of Steel and Mines had approached Government of Canada for assistance in providing an appropriate technology for setting up a Nickel Extraction Unit in Orissa. It is requested that the matter may be expedited as otherwise the cost which has already escalated appreciably, will increase still further. It may be noted that it is already 9 years since Government of India accorded approval to the project. Therefore, I demand that the concerned Ministry should make all possible efforts to expedite the project so that the Project work is started before the end of the Sixth Plan.

15.39 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE : APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB**

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

“That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 6th October, 1983 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab.”

Copies of the Report of the Governor and Proclamation have been laid on the Table of the House.

The House is aware of the situation in Punjab which had been causing concern. The atmosphere of public order in Punjab vitiated on account of illegal activities of the extremist, terrorist and secessionist elements in the State. A number of violent incidents have been perpetrated with a view to creating scare amongst the peaceful people, and to vitiate the communal atmosphere in the State.

The Chief Minister of Punjab in his letter dated 6th October 1983 to the Governor, had stated that he had reviewed the unfortunate developments in the State and had come to the conclusion that they had acquired a dimension which was not confined to the State of Punjab but had serious implications for the country as a whole. The Chief Minister felt that the situation called for an intervention of the Central Government for temporary period to meet the requirements of the national security and integrity. In view of the position stated by him, the Chief Minister tendered the resignation of his Council of Ministers and suggested that the Governor may recommend to the President to exercise his powers under Article 356 of the Constitution and take over the administration of the State for a temporary period.

The Governor of Punjab in his letter

dated 6th October 1983 to the President had *inter alia* stated that inspite of having an absolute majority in the Assembly, in the larger interest of the State and the country, the Chief Minister did not wish his Cabinet to continue in office. Taking into account the prevailing situation in the State, the composition of the Assembly and the stand of the members of the Shiromani Akali Dal, the Governor considered it futile to engage in the formality of sending for the Leader of the Opposition or the leaders of other groups in the Assembly and ascertaining their view about the possibilities of formation of an alternative Government. He had come to the conclusion that the situation had arisen in which the State Government could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and, therefore, recommended to the President for action under Article 356 of the Constitution, and further suggested that the State legislature might be kept under suspended animation for the present.

The Central Government considered the report of the Governor and the situation in Punjab and felt that there was no alternative but to issue the proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution and place the State Assembly under suspended animation. As such the Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution was issued on 6th October, 1983 and the State Assembly was placed under suspended animation, to ensure that the President's rule is not prolonged beyond what is absolutely necessary. I hope that every section of the people in the State would cooperate with the State Government to ensure that normalcy is restored quickly, to enable the elected Government to function.

With these words Sir, I commend the proclamation issued on 6th October 1983 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab, for approval by this august House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Resolution moved :

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 6th October, 1983 under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab,"

Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty.

SHRISATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : Madam, It is really, I should say, strange that a Government having the majority in the legislature has failed to run its course, and the Central Government had to dismiss its own Ministry. It is a sad commentary on the performance....

SHRI P.C. SETHI : They resigned ; they were not dismissed.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : It is the same thing. You just told him to resign, anyway. They had to resign. It is a sad commentary on the performance of Congress (I) Governments in States ; and the Chief Minister had to resign because of the law and order situation. I would ask : Who actually created this law and order situation in Punjab ? The Akali movement was primarily for the territorial demand, and also for the settlement of the river waters question.

In Punjab, it was the Congress (I) elements who encouraged the extremists, to fight the Akalis.

And they were also encouraged from Delhi. We have said it times without number. So, it is because of the Congress (I) that wanted to fight the Opposition even with the extremists. They are now facing a situation where their own Ministry cannot function. Sir, I would ask them, is the Congress Government really sincere about a settlement in the Punjab ? This is a straight question. Because, on many occasions the Opposition Party leaders and the other forces in the Punjab, barring the extremists, came to a settlement. It is the reluctance of the Central Government to negotiate and settle that has created the situation. I have already said in this House before, that I think the Central Government has a vested interest in this unsettled conditions in the Punjab. All the Opposition Parties cooperated, the saner elements amongst the Akalis, they also cooperated, but it was the Central Government which did not respond because the thing that was uppermost in the minds

of the Central Congress (I) leaders was political advantage and not a political solution. And today, what are the demands of the Akalis, barring their religious demands? They are only territorial demands; because you have settled the religious demands. Chandigarh, you are committed to give. Ravi-Beas water problem can be settled easily. Do you think that the issues are such that you cannot settle provided you really want to settle? I would again say that, "No; you do not want to do it."

The second thing is this: the Ministry has resigned. Again, I would like to say that the Chief Minister had to resign not because of the conditions there but because of their own Party differences and squabbles. In Punjab the Congress (I) Party is divided and with such a divided house it cannot run the Government in the Punjab. But I would ask, whether the imposition of the President's Rules has been successful in controlling the situation. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to control the situation. And we warned times without number in this House, Mr. P.C. Sethi, hon. Minister, you should remember, that you should settle the issue; otherwise the situation is going to take a communal turn; and today it has taken a communal turn. The whole thing has been communalised and the imposition of the President's Rule has very little effect on the situation in the Punjab. The extremists' activities are going on and the rule of the President from the Centre, is no solution to the problem.

I would once again mention to the hon. Minister that this is a political problem, which demands a political settlement, which demands negotiations, which demands discussions. Instead of this, you are taking administrative measures conferring draconian and drastic powers on the Armed Forces, on the Police and I am sure, Mr. Sethi, that through your experience you will be sadder and wiser that all these measures are not going to bear any fruit.

Again I would say that the process you started of associating the opposition leaders and negotiating with the moderate elements of the Akalis has got to be continued and there should be a political settlement. It is very sad that in Punjab from a particular bus

some persons were brought down and killed on communal lines. If in a State like Punjab which is a border State, communalisation takes place, that is a danger for our country. That is why we have been demanding a political settlement.

It is true that the extremists are very active in Punjab. There is no political party in India which has not demanded extreme measures against the extremists. But the Congress (I) Party has failed to take any extreme measure. So what are we to read? Are you really interested in curbing the extremist activities? Or your calculation is how to win the next election by capturing the Hindu votes by communalising the politics there? But all opposition parties have unequivocally pointed out the measures that are to be taken against the extremist elements in Punjab. But no such action is being taken. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister are trying to sell the idea that the question cannot be settled because the opposition parties are encouraging some elements in Punjab. Is it true? You are doing that. Again we will say that Bhindranwale is the leader of the extremist elements and you are not in a position to take any action against his followers. Your Armed Forces Special Powers Bill and all that are nothing but propaganda measures. Actually you will not be able to do anything because there are extremist elements in Police, administration and in your own party. That is why I would say that the Akalis should also condemn the violent activities there. It is the duty of the moderate elements of the Akali movement to condemn all violent activities that are being perpetrated in Punjab. We want that the Akali leaders also will condemn the activities of the extremist elements in Punjab.

Once I pointed out on behalf of my Party and I would again point out that Punjab is a border State and there are certain elements who are interested in destabilisation and creating fluid condition inside our own country and particularly in Punjab and Assam. If that is a fact and I think that is a fact, then the Central Government and the Congress (I) leaders should give up thinking in their short-term interest, immediate political advantage only and try to

settle the issue through negotiation and discussion.

In the papers it came out that Mr. Sethi was going to invite the Akali leaders without any condition and there will be friendly talk. I was very much surprised to see that in the Consultative Committee meeting Mr. Sethi said that they were ready to form a coalition government with the Akalis. Later on, most probably something happened and it was denied. You should make your position absolutely clear. Second thing is that the government has failed but you have kept the House in suspended animation, that is, in future you will form a government. Why? What is the necessity of it? Once you feel that a State Government has failed to control the situation, then why have you kept the Assembly in suspended animation? What is the reason behind this? Now, I would once again warn the Government, as I did when I was opposing the introduction of the Bill conferring special powers to the armed personnel of our country, please do not involve the military in such type of a situation. It is fraught with grave and dangerous consequences. The army is not to be involved in such cases. You have enough police personnel there, you are already equipped with enough powers there, so, please do not try to involve the armed forces in such a situation which will be dangerous in future. Even today, I would request the Government through you, Madam, to think over the matter seriously to give up adopting these administrative measures to control the situation and to try to arrive at a political settlement, isolating the extremist elements and trying to settle with the moderate elements there and also not to communalise politics there for getting the votes of the communal elements but to decommunalise the whole situation and arrive at a political settlement. I think the Central Government, the Home Minister, will heed to it and take necessary steps for political settlement. Thank you.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullundur) :  
Hon. Madam, I rise in support of this Resolution before the House. The Punjab problem, Madam, is indeed of a very special type. This border State of India is sensi-

tively positioned geo-politically and also geo-strategically and anything that makes the situation there complex has to be viewed very carefully. Time and again, if I may reiterate, this border State of India has remained involved through outside intervention, pressures and even infliction of border raids and wars it had. And the game is not yet ended, in my view. The situation, as we all assess, happens to be there.

16.00 hrs.

Many kinds of plans are worked out to create difficulties and disturbances. I will come to that later. I only want to mention that in the form of a preamble so that the House may appreciate that it is a sensitive area and that all these little aspects in themselves have big consequences unless tackled well in time.

Of late, violence has been there, specially for the last couple of years. I do not want to recapitulate the various types of actions, wrong actions, that have taken place; we all know it. But the big question is, in relation to the perpetrators of this type of crime, which we all know and what type of action has to be taken?

I may say that I know Punjab very well. I can say that I have been to practically all the villages, 12,983 villages, in various capacities. I know my people to a large extent, critically and otherwise, especially the people who belong to the rural areas. The situation really revolves round a certain number of rural-bred people, who have been conditioned by a particular type of psychology in this particular State. The people of Punjab have lived with violence all the time, century after century, decade after decade.

In so far as fighting for the State or nation is concerned, they fight together, be it Hindus, Sikhs, Christians or Harijans. There is no doubt about it. I have gone through that drill myself. But if that kind of situation is not available, they used to fight in groups. If that opportunity is not available, then they fight within the family. They pick up some quarrel, however irrational it



may look like. This is the psychology of the people we have to deal with, who want to use their muscle power even among themselves.

We have to face it calmly and with caution. Unfortunately, we have to face the situation, as it faces us (Punjabis) and as it faces India. So, we have to function vigilantly but calmly, understand the background of the problem and go through it.

Here I may give some salient points which may be considered by the august House. We have to understand who are indulging in this kind of violence, because that is the crux of the problem. You may call them bigoted extremists. Over and above that, there are terrorists, [composed of arsenists, murderers, even bad characters; besides that, there are certain reactionary elements, who want to achieve their own ultimate end, which I need not elaborate. We all understand it.

The unfortunate part of it is that in this mix-up, foreign-controlled, foreign-aided agencies, aid and abet and exploit the money-hungry extremists with fully prepared plans. You will ask me "General Sparrow, can you put down your finger on anything?" I may say that in my service I have gone through that type of situations. I want to assure you that in the whole of the world today this type of agencies function up to the highest level of the other nations, and here in this inflammable strata of this border State with the background I am trying to explain to you, those agencies are functioning. How come, Madam, otherwise that only a few years ago you managed to find out a number of spies sabotaging, giving information about your bases, about your Armed Forces and what not? It came before you and in that context I would like to put before the House only one example. You heard about and knew about the destruction that was caused through sabotage effect on the railway line and that sabotage had a bad effect—about 20 lives were lost. You will agree with me, and I want to make it clear that I would not accept the version that Shiromani Akali Dal workers or somebody are engaged in this type of a thing. No, it is the other types which I had pointed out to you, some simple-

minded extremists, yes, can be; and when fed with money, indoctrination and other things, possibly some of them, yes, can be brought in,—and trained up the type of agents who are callous, who could not care for life and who die—no Sikh or no Punjabi, no Akali Dal persons and no proper type of cadre-based persons would wish to do that. Who knows whose kinsmen and relatives would be travelling in the same train, especially if everything has been planned? Without planning you cannot do such destruction. So, it is very evident to me after assessing the whole situation as it obtained, that most of the effort that is there to disrupt the homogeneity and also the stability of this important side of India has something to do with a big type of mix-up. Otherwise, you will agree with me, they sit on a motorcycle, and for the heck of it they wend their way through the Jullunder bazar or some such thing and start spraying bullets right and left, not caring for persons as to who is going to die. It is only this callous type of people who are not interested in the nation at all, who are not at all concerned with the lives of the people who would do that, not a proper type of a party—and, we keep on fighting our battles so far as our political side is concerned; yes, nothing wrong in doing that, Akalis do and Congress(I) does. And I am very much surprised when one of my eminent friends said that the whole of this amalgam of things has been arranged by Congress(I) at one time or the other. No, that is incorrect. I stand squarely on my two legs and assure you that that it is not done by anybody. I know all of them—all my leaders and all my colleagues in Punjab—and you can take it from me that this has not been the case. Incidentally for your information, you know this fully well that Akalis have their own difficulties between themselves. In fact that has been one of the factors that created this type of difficulty. Not only that. They have not done anything seriously wrong themselves under Sant Harchand Singhji Longowal. But where have they been missing the game, if I may say so is by telling—if not giving—maybe through stealing, maybe through manoeuvring, maybe through any other means, the perpetrators to take refuge in those holy shrines. And I say, yes, it has been happening and it is no good now having to talk about and to quarrel on this and that

particular subject. That has been the weakness. And for what reason such a weakness has been there in that organisation? Yes, one can see that. It is such a situation they have landed themselves in because there are some hot heads also for politicalising the issue to their advantage, to let each other down also. Possibly, they have not been able to play very strongly to put a deterrent to this type of ingress by the criminals. I understand that hundreds of them go inside to pay their obeisance. Not easy, I understand that. Nevertheless, that has been the laxity on their part.

So, in so far as the real difficulty is concerned, I have tried to explain to you in this particular small little chat on the subject. Once again I may point out that these violent acts are primarily planned and executed through the hands of money, hungary spies, callous quirlings and properly trained type of agents. Everywhere in the world, Atalji, it is taking place. Everywhere it is taking place. They have been captured at the highest level of super powers' highest rungs. This, time and again, as I said, is a very very difficult problem and we have to take that on.

I was very sorry to read something in relation to the behaviour of one of our neighbouring States. Even this morning you may have read about it in the *Hindustan Times*. For instance 'Extremists training in J and K'. He has not hidden anything. I knew about it. But here is black and white. On seven different spots they have been holding meetings, training camps—how to use fire arms and what not starting from Reasi, Poonch, Barakh, Poonch again, Shadimarg and then going in procession at one place from Shadimarg to Srinagar and there I am very very sorry to say that the present Chief Minister joins very close to the procession, hails them as though they are some type of very fine people.

Here is the *Hindustan Times* of 15th November, 1983—"Dr. Abdullah joined the volunteers when they raised pro-Sikh slogans before dispersing".

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Gospel truth.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** *Indian Express* is gospel truth.

**SHRI R.S. SPARROW :** Just imagine what were their slogans and what not! These were something like this—Demand for Khalistan; asserted that Sikhs did not recognise Gandhiji as the Father of the Nation; Sikhs are for a separate nation; Not to respect the National Flag; To remove Hindu idols from your houses; to get holy city status for Amritsar; hi-jacking of plane was admired and eulogized.

It is very sorry about Dr. Abdullah, our colleague and friend. I had to work as a young officer with his father to liberate major portions of Jammu and Kashmir at that time and which was under the command and control of the outsiders. So, I knew them very well. We worked together. We fought together. Of course he was elderly. I was a young greenhorn promoted Lt. Col. I was responsible myself to fight various battles for the liberation of Jhangar, Uri, Shalatang, Zojeela, etc. and to save Srinagar. Under these circumstances, when you see that this is being done by a neighbour, what type of attitude would you form about it?

**SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI :** It is not a fact, Shri Sparrow.

**SHRI R.S. SPARROW :** I have told you, you may say whatever you like. I am just saying what I noticed. I am not prepared to discuss this.

**SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI :** There are no training camps in Kashmir.

**SHRI R.S. SPARROW :** I have had this information previously to a certain extent.

Finally, I have a word to say and that word is for all of us to take heed of. My request to the House is that in so far as this problem is concerned, you kindly take it as a national problem. About the action that has been taken, in so far as the President's Rule is concerned, I must say that I have studied the whole thing from the very start and that it is very timely. You cannot let

things go to dogs and, after that, you wake up. It has had a salutary effect. I have just come from Punjab. I have seen things all around. I want to assure the House that things have come down a bit with that one stroke because change always has an effect. That has had an effect.

Now, with your cooperation and with the cooperation of Akali Dal, the problem can be solved. The hon. Home Minister, every time, says that the doors are open for talks and that we could sit together and negotiate. If they wish to work out things, it can be done. All are the same. There is no difference between an Akali, a Sikh and a Hindu in Punjab for that matter, frankly speaking. They are all the same racially, historically and philologically, from every point of view. I have already explained all this to the House previously. The action that has been taken is timely and it is working well remarkably in relation to everything.

The armed forces has had an effect psychologically. As has been assured by the Deputy Home Minister—I am one of the armed forces—they are not of that type. They know that they are the countrymen. If at all they have to use the force, that will be the minimum and they will make certain that there is not so much of carnage taking place. In that way only, you can save the situation and you do not accentuate it.

With these words I conclude and I thank you Madam for allowing me an opportunity to speak on this.

**श्री राम विलास पासवान (हाजीपुर):** सभा-पति महोदया, 6 अक्टूबर 1983 को राष्ट्रपति ने जो सूचना और लिखित उद्घोषणा प्रकाशित की है उसका यह अंश मैं उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ :

“अतः मुझे, भारत के राष्ट्रपति जैल सिंह, को पंजाब के राज्यपाल से एक रिपोर्ट प्राप्त हुई है, और इस रिपोर्ट तथा मुझे प्राप्त अन्य सूचना पर विचार करने के बाद मेरा समाधान हो गया है कि ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है, जिसमें राज्य का शासन भारत के संविधान के उपबंधों के अनुसार नहीं चलाया जा रहा है,

अतः अब मैं, संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 द्वारा प्रदत्त शक्तियों का तथा उस निमित्त मुझे समर्थ बनाने वाली अन्य सभी शक्तियों का प्रयोग करते हुए एतद्द्वारा उद्घोषणा करता हूँ कि मैं :—

(क) उक्त राज्य की सरकार के सभी कृत्य और इस राज्य के राज्यपाल में निहित, तथा उनके द्वारा पयोक्तव्य सभी शक्तियाँ, भारत के राष्ट्रपति के रूप में स्वयं संभालता हूँ,

(ख) घोषित करता हूँ कि उक्त राज्य के विधान मंडल की शक्तियाँ संसद द्वारा या उसके प्राधिकार के अधीन पयोक्तव्य होंगी, और...

यह उनकी उद्घोषणा है।

सरकार की गलत नीतियों के कारण आज आसाम जलकर राख हो गया है। पंजाब जल रहा है और जम्मू और कश्मीर में पलीता लगाया जा रहा है, बिस्फोटक स्थिति लाने के लिए। तो एक जल गया, एक जल रहा है और एक जलने जा रहा है। कर्नाटक में जो कुछ हुआ वह सबको मालूम है। मैं यह कह रहा था कि राष्ट्रपति को राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने की क्यों आवश्यकता पड़ी? वहाँ कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार थी जो सरकार केन्द्र में है जो उसका अजेय बहुमत है, जो मैं बोलती हूँ वही कानून बन जाता है। यह सारी शक्तियाँ रहने के बावजूद भी समस्या का निदान नहीं हुआ और राष्ट्रपति को इस शब्द का प्रयोग करना पड़ा कि संविधान, संविधान के उपबंधों के अनुसार नहीं चलाया जा रहा है। आपकी सरकार फेल हो गई। अभी आपने तीन विधेयक यहाँ पर उपस्थित किए हैं जिनसे यह साबित हो गया कि वहाँ पर मार्शल ला की सारी स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है और आपने मार्शल ला लागू कर दिया है। यह आपका अचीव-मेन्ट है। अभी-अभी हमारे साथी, जिनकी मैं बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ, जम्मू कश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में एक बात कह रहे थे। मैं समझता हूँ आप अपने पोलिटी-कल लाभ के लिए ऐसी कोई भी स्थिति पैदा न करें जिससे देश को दुर्दिन न देखना पड़े और देश की एकता खतरे में पड़े। आज सबसे ज्यादा अफ-

सोस इस बात का है कि एक तरफ लोग कह रहे हैं कि हम खालिस्तान की मांग नहीं करते लेकिन दूसरी तरफ जबर्दस्ती कहा जाता है कि आप खालिस्तान की मांग कर रहे हो। आपके पास कितनी शक्ति है वह तो हमें मालूम है। आप आज तक एक भी आदमी को पकड़ नहीं पाये और निर्दोष लोगों की जान नहीं बचा पाए। जिसको लोग सबसे बड़ा उग्रवादी कहते हैं उसको आपने तीन बार पकड़ कर छोड़ दिया लेकिन हमसे आप बहादुरी की बात करते हैं। मुझे तो इस बात का शक है कि जिस तरह से सरकार इस मामले को बड़का रही है उसके चलते लोग खालिस्तान की मांग ही न करने लगे और यह सरकार चुपचाप ही बैठी रहे।

जम्मू और कश्मीर में जो घटना घटी, मुख्यमंत्री उस घटना की निन्दा करते हैं, दूसरे दिन से ही कंडेन्सेशन कर रहे हैं लेकिन फिर भी आप टेली-विजन पर दिखला रहे हैं कि कैसे पाकिस्तानी झंडा फहराया गया। इस तरह की बात आपको नहीं करनी चाहिए थी। जम्मू कश्मीर तथा पंजाब दोनों ही हमारी सेंसिटिव बार्डर स्टेट्स हैं और दोनों पर हमें नाज है। कश्मीर हमारा नग है तो पंजाब शूर वीरता के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। इसलिए कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं कही जानी चाहिए जिससे कि यह साबित हो कि हम इस देश को एकता के सूत्र में बांधने के बजाए एकता को खतरे में डाल रहे हैं।

मंत्री महोदय से मेरे दो-तीन सवाल हैं। जो त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता चली थी उसमें मैं भी था और मैं पंजाब भी गया था। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि उस वार्ता में मामला सुलझने वाला ही था लेकिन सरकार के द्वारा मामले को उलझा दिया गया। जब यहां पर जनता पार्टी की हुकूमत थी और पंजाब में बादल सरकार थी उस समय पंजाब और हरियाणा के दोनों ही मुख्य मंत्रियों ने यह फैसला किया था कि पानी का बंटवारा और जमीन के लिए भाई-भाई में झगड़ा होता है इसलिए इन मामलों को कोर्ट में भेज दिया जाए और उस फैसले को मानने के लिए हम अपने लोगों को राजी कर लेंगे। लेकिन उस बात को दरबारा सिंह

और भजनलाल ने क्यों खत्म कर दिया? एलेक्शन जीतने के लिए आपने उसका पोलिटिकल लाभ उठाया और आज यहां पर आप हमको दूसरी बात समझा रहे हैं। जब अकालियों के साथ बात-चीत हो रही थी उस समय चूकि आपको दिल्ली का चुनाव जीतना था इसलिए बजाए पंजाब के दिल्ली के गृहद्वारों में आप उनकी मांग को मान रहे थे। दूसरी बात यह है कि जो कोई भी पगड़ी बांधे हुए है उसी को आप एंटी-नेशनल समझ रहे हैं। आपने जबर्दस्त गल्ती यह की कि आपने सेक्युलर फोर्सेज और कम्युनल फोर्सेज में डिवीजन नहीं किया। सिख का नाम आया और आपने समझ लिया कि यह राष्ट्र का दुश्मन है, यह खालिस्तान की मांग करने वाला है। (व्यवधान) मैं नहीं कहता, गृह मंत्री ने कबूल किया है। आप जाकर भजनलाल से पूछिए उन्होंने हरियाणा में क्या किया है? मैं सरकार के ऊपर चार्ज लगाता हूँ, आपको ए०आई०-सी०सी० के ऊपर बड़ा नाज है। बम्बई में ए०आई०सी०सी० की कान्फ्रेंस होती है, प्रधान मंत्री जी वहां से कहती हैं कि विरोधी दल के लोग कन्फ्रंटेशन की स्थिति पैदा करना चाहते हैं, मैं सहयोग करना चाहती हूँ। विरोधी दल के लोगों ने कहा कि यह हमारा मुद्दा है, मैं इस मुद्दे पर सहयोग करने के लिए तैयार हूँ। यह राष्ट्रीय मुद्दा है, चाहे वह असम का मामला हो, चाहे पंजाब का मामला हो और चाहे जम्मू-काश्मीर का मामला हो और चाहे बेरोजगारी का मामला हो—इन सारी चीजों पर बात-चीत करने के लिए तैयार हैं, प्रधान मंत्री जी समय और तिथि निश्चित करें। कांग्रेस के एक जनरल सैक्रेटरी हैं, श्री सी०एम० स्टीफन हैं उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे विरोधी दल की सहमति की आवश्यकता नहीं है, मैं सीधे जनता से सहमति चाहता हूँ। एक तरफ कन्फ्रंटेशन कर विरोधी दल पर आरोप लगाया जाता है और दूसरी तरफ आप बात करने से मुक-रते हैं। मैं सरकार के ऊपर चार्ज लगाता हूँ कि आपका समय 24 घण्टे में 20 घण्टे समय केवल इसी बात में जाता है कि कैसे गैर सरकारी सरकार को बदनाम किया जाए (व्यवधान) मुझे अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि कर्नाटक की सरकार को गिराने की किस प्रकार कोशिश की जा रही है।

कैसे आपके नेता दो लाख रुपये एक एम०एल०ए० को देकर... (व्यवधान)...

**सभापति महोदय :** आप पंजाब पर बोलिए।  
... (व्यवधान)...

**श्री रामविलास पासवान :** सभापति महोदया, मैं पहले ही बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि कहीं दूसरा कोई स्टेट पंजाब न बन जाए।... (व्यवधान) ... मैं इसीलिए सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बम्बई में आपने क्यों नहीं एक प्रस्ताव पास किया कि कौन एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट है। बम्बई में इस बारे में एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा गया... (व्यवधान) ... एक शब्द भी एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट के खिलाफ नहीं कहा गया। उग्रपंथी के खिलाफ नहीं कहा गया। पिछले सत्र में मंत्री महोदय से जब पूछा गया कि दो बार भिडरावाला को पकड़ा गया, तो उनको क्यों छोड़ा गया। उन्होंने कहा कि दुःखद घटना हो गई, खेदजनक घटना हो गई। उन्होंने इस शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया था। अब भी आप होम मिनिस्टर हैं, आपके हाथ में पूरी पावर है, अब आप कदम उठाने में क्यों देरी कर रहे हैं। कहा जाता है कि विदेशी शक्ति का हाथ है, पाकिस्तान का हाथ है। पाकिस्तान आप का दोस्त है? जब पाकिस्तान के साथ आपके सम्बन्ध बिगड़े हुए हैं, तो आपकी प्रत्येक कमजोरी का फायदा उठाने की पाकिस्तान कोशिश करेगा। आपको यह देखना है कि आपका क्या फर्ज होता है। आप अपनी रक्षा करें। यदि कोई पूछता कि जनसंख्या में क्यों वृद्धि हो रही है? तो आप जबाब देंगे कि इसमें भी विदेशी शक्ति का हाथ है! मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों नहीं अब तक उसको पकड़ा गया? पंजाब सूबा हमारा है, वे पंजाब की भलाई के लिए मांग कर रहे हैं, पंजाब सूबे को बढ़ाने की बात कर रहे हैं। आप कह रहे हैं कि तुम काम्यूनल हो, एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट हो।

मैं पंजाब गया था, मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसको आप साम्प्रदायिक दलों का रंग दे रहे हैं, लेकिन लोग मर कहां रहे हैं? लोग मर रहे हैं चण्डीगढ़ में, लोग मर रहे हैं

अमृतसर, में लोग मर रहे हैं पटियाला में, लोग मर रहे हैं जालन्धर में—ये सब के सब शहरी क्षेत्र हैं। जहां गांवों में हिन्दुओं की पोपुलेशन 15 प्रतिशत है या 20 प्रतिशत है, वहां इस तरह की एक भी घटना नहीं हुई है। एक आदमी भी वहां पर नहीं मरा है। लोग मर रहे हैं जहां सरकार की मशीनरी है, जहां सरकार का खुफिया विभाग है, जहां पर बहुत सारी पुलिस है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार का खुफिया विभाग फेल कर गया है? आपकी सरकार का सारा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन इसमें लिपटा हुआ है। आप कहते हैं कि हत्यारा मारता है और जाकर गुरुद्वारे में घुस जाता है। क्या आपके पास वायरलैस सैट नहीं है, जब वह मारता है और गुरुद्वारे में घुसता है, इस बीच पुलिस क्या करती है? गुरुद्वारे के चारों तरफ पुलिस के कैंप लगे हुए हैं। जब वह वहां से निकलता है, तब आप उसको क्यों नहीं पकड़ते? इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरह की बात मत कहिए, जिससे यह मालूम पड़े कि आप जानबूझकर कन्फ्रंटेशन की स्थिति पैदा करने पर तुले हुए हैं।

हमारे साथी ने कहा, हिन्दू-सिख भाई-भाई हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि हिन्दू-सिख भाई-भाई हैं, लेकिन जब भाई-भाई में नफरत की दीवार पैदा हो जाती है तो एक भाई दूसरे भाई का गला उतारने की तैयार हो जाता है। हिन्दू-मुस्लिम सवाल को लेकर हिन्दुस्तान का बंटवारा हुआ था, वह क्या था? वे भी हमारे भाई थे। आप कोई भी इस तरह की बात मत कीजिये—शुरू में मैंने इस सम्बन्ध में कहा तो आपने कहा था कि यह आन्दोलन तो बहुत छोटा है, चींटी के समान इसको मशल देंगे। मैंने उस वक्त भी कहा था कि कोई आन्दोलन छोटा नहीं होता है। जो जजवाती सवाल है, उस को जजवाती तरीके से ही हल करना पड़ेगा। जो साथी जाने या अनजाने में किस तरह से जम्मू-काश्मीर के सवाल को दूसरे देश से जौड़ देते हैं, वे राष्ट्र के साथ बहुत बड़ा अन्याय करते हैं। कम से कम आप इस तरह का काम न करें और यदि कोई समस्या हो भी, तो सारे काम की तरीके से सुलझायें।

यह सरकार विफल हो गई है। केन्द्र की यह

सरकार जितने दिनों तक इस देश में राज्य करेगी इस देश के लिए उससे ज्यादा काला-दिन नहीं होगा। यह सरकार स्वयं सारी समस्याओं को उत्पन्न कर रही है। जहाँ-जहाँ कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकारें सत्ता में नहीं हैं, वहाँ इनका दल जान-बूझ कर इस तरह की तिकड़मवाजी चला रहा है, जिस से वे लोग बाध्य होकर जनता के वेलफेअर का काम न कर सकें और इनके तिकड़म का मुकाबला करते रहें। पंजाब में आपकी सरकार फेल हो गई है, वहाँ पर प्रेसिडेंट रूल है, कानून के अनुसार वहाँ की असेम्बली को डिजाय्व करना चाहिये और वहाँ पर तुरन्त चुनाव होना चाहिए। वहाँ की असेम्बली को आप कितने दिनों तक निलम्बित रखेंगे? मैं चाहता हूँ—गृह मंत्री जी इस बात से क्लेरिफाई करें—आप पर यह चार्ज है, आपने कहा है कि हम और अकाली दल दोनों मिलकर कोलीशन गवर्नमेन्ट बनायेंगे।

यदि यह बात सही है तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि आप कहां खड़े हैं। आप ने स्वयं वहाँ इस स्थिति को पैदा किया है, एक तरफ से वहाँ पर मार्शल-ला की स्थिति चल रही है, आप बतलाये कि वहाँ पर इस तरह की स्थिति आपने क्यों पैदा की है? मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ—क्षणिक राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के लिए जिस तरह से आसाम की माइनारिटीज को आपने बली का बकरा बनाया, इसी तरह से कम से कम पंजाब में हिन्दुओं को बली का बकरा बनाने का काम न करें। देश की जनता आप के नापाक इरादों को समझती है—आप जम्मू में क्या बोलते हैं, काश्मीर में क्या बोलते हैं, आसाम में क्या बोलते हैं और पंजाब में क्या बोल रहे हैं, दुनिया बहुत छोटी है, देश बहुत छोटा हो गया है, वह आपकी एक-एक चीज पर नजर रखे हुए है, आपके प्रत्येक वाक्य को जनता बहुत गौर से सुन रही है, इसलिए ज्यादा दिनों तक जनता को मूर्ख बनाकर, डिवाइड-एण्ड-रूल की पालिसी नहीं चल सकती है। इसलिए इस सवाल में राजनीति को मत घुसाइये। कृपा कर आगामी चुनाव की दृष्टि से काम न करें, बल्कि देश की एकता के लिए, देश की अखंडता के लिए, राष्ट्र-प्रेम की दिशा में कदम बढ़ायें।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा (पाली) : आप इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं या सपोर्ट कर रहे हैं—यह तो बतलाइये।

श्री रामविलास पासवान : आप पर छोड़ दिया है।

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL (Ernakulam) : The hon. Home Minister has very clearly stated the reasons for the promulgation of the Presidential rule exercising the constitutional prerogative and the responsibility vested in the Central Government. If you may recall the debate on 26th July 1983 where this House was seized of this matter, the problems of Punjab and debated it for more than 10 hours. There was a consensus that a strong step should be taken to meet the problems, difficulties and the terrorist activities of Punjab. Subsequent to that many atrocious things have happened in Punjab.

16.34 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

What hurt an Indian most was that the feeling which is created and perpetuated for certain vested narrow anti-national interests was growing in an alarming manner in Punjab and other parts of the country. Probably, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we coming from the South, are alarmed at the growth of the atrocious, inhuman, barbaric and terrorist activities of certain sections of one particular community in that area. Under those circumstances, this Proclamation was compelled to be promulgated and put into effect. The net result of that Proclamation is that the whole nation has welcomed that move. All the parties welcomed the Proclamation of the Presidential Rule in Punjab and congratulated the Government for taking such a strong measure.

Now, I fail to understand on what score certain Opposition Members disagree on this move. We are bound to hear some of the baseless arguments advanced here as on earlier occasions. Sir, as a student of Intermediate, in my colleges days, I used to



participate in a debate regarding the States' Reorganisation Bill, which was subsequently enacted into an Act of 1956 and disagree on the proposition. Probably, in a vast and diverse nation like ours, where various cultures, religions, languages and the communities exist, that move may not have conducive to the harmonious unity of the nation. However, Sir, this is an occasion for the House to debate on how to curb this sort of divisive and destructive forces in our country. Punjab is an issue where such forces have taken an ugly form. Therefore, the responsibility of this nation is vested on all of us to see that these divisive forces should be stopped at any cost. In that context, we have to welcome the steps taken by the Government.

Sir, Punjab has a glorious tradition. It never had the communal hatred or communal division. It had a harmonious blend of various religions and communities who fought for the freedom of this nation. Punjab is not to be divided by the religions or the castes or the race but to be one in a diversified nation like ours.

Sir, if that was the aim and object of the Punjab community, what is the opposition saying now? Sir on 26th of July, this House had a very good debate on various issues which boiled down to four main ones viz, the water, territorial, religious and inter-State, Centre-State issues. Almost the whole House was unanimous that these should be considered as one main issue namely the unity and integrity of the nation. If you look prior to the promulgation of this Ordinance, you will find that Government had taken a very liberal attitude towards these issues. The hon. Home Minister was kind enough to say and expressed the policy of the Government by saying that it was prepared to refer the matters to the Tribunal so that the interests of those affected are well safeguarded.

Our beloved Prime Minister also made a statement saying that the religious demands are conceded but, as far as the Centre State relations are concerned, there again, the Government has constituted a Commission. As for the remaining two issues, namely, Territorial and Water issues, these should

be referred to a Tribunal. May I ask—what is the harm in referring these to the Tribunal? May I ask: why the Opposition is saying that Government has not taken positive steps about these? May I also ask the Opposition that when the Central Government can go to solve the problems of Punjab with the positive proposals, why they have none to offer with them? I am sorry to say so. Sir, we are used to fruitless 'Delhi Conclave' of Opposition Parties. What happened to the main idea of some Opposition Members and what has happened subsequent to the Conclave? Our Prime Minister has visited Punjab and has created an atmosphere and boosted the morale of the patriotic forces of that State. From 1977 to 1980, this matter was debated in this House, they were ruling at that time. But, what happened when the Akalis were in power then? Why this matter came up in such a manner since 1980? Some hon. Members were saying about the role of Pakistan. I think Shri Paswan also referred to that.

In this context I happened to read a little bit on this issue of the part being played in Pakistan in the sensitive area and the contributory factors leading to the present extremist forces. Sir, this is from *The Week*, May, 1983 edition. They have given a very cogent and analytical presentation of the role of Pakistan in the present context in Punjab. (*Interruptions*) There is a revival of fundamentalism coupled with the separation theory of the nation within the nation. This is given in a communal manner. Pakistan is using this opportunity in such a manner as to create such a situation in this area. Referring to that point, may I quote:

“Not only that. Sikh scholars think there is greater affinity between Islam and Sikhism than between Hinduism and Sikhism. Says wellknown journalist and Rajya Sabha member, Khushwant Singh:

“Sikhs believe in one God and in the casteless brotherhood of man. They condemn worship of idols and images and instead pay reverence to a holy book.”



Then, he goes on like these :

Now, Sir, after stating about this affinity between the Sikhs and Muslims, Khushwant Singh has this to say :

“Now that religious factionalism has lost its purpose in secular India, the Sikhs have a unique opportunity for fulfilling the mission of the founder of their faith and bringing the parent communities together.”

Sir, this is a dangerous posture to the integrity and harmony of this nation and it is time that we stand up and condemn this tendency of appealing to communal forces. I am sure this House will do it. In this context I would like to state to certain things propagated and advocated by the Akalis. You may remember that on August 17 the movement of *rail roko* was advocated. On May 12, suicide squal, that is, Appavu Jatha was advocated. These para-military forces were organised. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what action has been taken in this matter, to stop these kinds of activities. They have prepared a hit list. Already they have murdered some people. Can any responsible Government sit idle or close its eyes and watch the situation happening in Punjab ? Are not the citizens of that part of our country having their fundamental right to protect their lives and properties ? This is what is important. And if this proclamation was done, it has been done with *bonafide* intentions, to protect the life and property of the people in Punjab and above all, it is intended to uphold the integrity and the unity of our great nation.

I think this is a matter in which the entire opposition as well as the ruling party should come forward unanimously to support this proclamation.

Also, there is a dangerous development which has taken place in Punjab. Other communities are also being organised like the Hindu Raksha Samiti and Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Now May I ask : Where would all these divisions lead us ? Probably Mr. Vajpayee may enlighten us on this point ; I don't know what he is going to say about

it. If this sort of propensities or tendencies are allowed to grow, that will be the greatest danger to the stability of the country and the unity of the nation. So, in this context, this proclamation is effected. It has been welcomed by all sections of the people in this country and, I think, it will be done in this House also by the hon. Members of Parliament.

With these words, I support the Proclamation effected by the Central Government.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Proclamation of President's Rule in the Punjab has been made, I should say, in a rather curious, if not an unprecedented manner. As to whether we support it or oppose it, that question I will come to later, because, that has to be viewed from the point of view of whether it is a substitute or not for a solution of the Punjab problem. But about the way in which the proclamation has been made, I would like to draw your attention to that.

Normally, Sir, the Governor sends a Report ; he sends a Report to the Centre and on the basis of that report, if he says that law and order situation has broken down and it is not possible to carry on the Government according to the Constitution and so on, he may advise the Centre, the President to assume the powers of the Government. But in this particular case, it is a very curious way which it is being done. First of all, the Chief Minister, the former Chief Minister—he is no longer the Chief Minister—has addressed a letter to the Governor dated the 6th October in which he has said, if I may quote—

“I have reviewed the recent unfortunate developments in the State and have come to the conclusion that they have acquired a dimension which is not confined to the State of Panjab but has serious implications for the country as a whole.”

He has not said anything specifically about the law and order and the activities of the terrorists or the extremists killing of people and all that. If it was only a question of

terrorism, extremism, murders, violence, use of bombs, grenades and so on, perhaps he would not have said that these have serious implications in the country as a whole because such incidents of violence are in various parts of the country taking place in different context frequently. Obviously, when he is referring to serious implications for the country as a whole, I probably thought that he was referring to the divisive or disruptive or communal tendencies which have accentuated, aggravated the situation and the demand for Khalistan and all these kinds of things. He has written a letter to the Governor saying—

“I have reviewed the recent unfortunate developments in the State and have come to the conclusion that they have acquired a dimension which is not confined to the State of Punjab but has serious implications for the country as a whole. I have arrived at the view that the present situation calls for direct intervention of the Central Government for a temporary period to meet the requirements of national security and integrity”.

This is the letter of the Chief Minister and on the basis of that letter—I am referring to that letter only—the then Governor, Shri A.P. Sharma, had forwarded the letter to the President saying that this was the letter which the Chief Minister had written and it was a letter of resignation and therefore—

“In spite of having an absolute majority in the Assembly, the Chief Minister does not wish his Cabinet to continue in office and taking into account the prevailing situation in the State, the composition of the Assembly and the stand of the Members of the Shiromani Akali Dal, I consider it futile to engage in the formality of sending in the leader of the Opposition or the leaders of other Groups in the Assembly and ascertaining their views about the possibilities of formation of an alternative Government. It is thus clear that a situation has arisen in which the Government of

the State cannot be carried in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.”

Sir, as you know very well, the Chief Minister who enjoys a majority, whose Government enjoys a majority in the State Assembly, can, of course, use the privilege and he has the prerogative to ask for the dissolution of the House and fresh elections can be held. But here something else has happened. It is not on the basis of the report of the Governor that the Centre decided to take this action and come out with this promulgation. It is on the basis of the Chief Minister's letter to the Governor. The Chief Minister may very well feel that he is not capable of handling the situation, but that does not mean that there has been a Constitutional break down. What is Constitutional break-down? I would like to know. Here the Congress (I) Party is enjoying a very comfortable majority in the Assembly. If a particular Chief Minister feels, for whatever reason, right or wrong, that he cannot tackle the situation, well there are other ways open. The Congress (I) Party in the Punjab Assembly can be asked to meet and elect a new leader. Where is the Constitutional break-down? Have they lost their majority? No, they have not lost their majority. Has the Governor said that there is a break-down of law and order? He has not said anything at that time. The Chief Minister does not refer specifically to any law and order incidents of situation. He talks about certain unfortunate developments which may have impact not only on the territories of the Punjab State but which may affect the whole country.

That means the question of national unity and national integration and so on, to which he has referred. I think, this is a very extraordinary thing. The first thing that the Home Minister has to explain to the House is, whether there is any precedent, where a Government enjoying a majority in the Assembly was replaced by President's rule on the basis of not the Governor's Report, but a Chief Minister writing a letter to the Governor that he is resigning because he thinks that the Centre should directly intervene now. This is what he has written. Very

curious state of affairs ! I do not know if such a situation justifies or warrants the Centre taking over in the name of Constitutional breakdown. Article 356 of the Constitution is not to be used so lightly. This is a serious matter. Article 356 comes into operation only when there is a constitutional breakdown. If a Chief Minister, who is heading a majority party in the Assembly, and majority Government feels that he has to quit, because he cannot tackle the situation, how does it amount to a constitutional breakdown ? Why did you not ask the Congress Assembly party in the House to hold a meeting and elect a new leader, the Chief Minister, and carry on ? There was no constitutional breakdown. Things are not as simple as they seem to be. There is some game behind the whole thing. That is what we are trying to point out. There is a very definite political strategy behind this whole thing, apart from the fact that some people have been very keen to see that Darbara Singh was got out not now, but from the beginning. There are people here who do not like him for various reasons ; there are group rivalries and factional rivalries ; everybody knows that.

I am glad that the Governor has paid this much tribute to the Chief Minister that he was consistently secular from the beginning, and he had taken a secular stand always. You can say that he was inefficient or was not able to handle the administration, or whatever you like if you want to criticise him, but nobody has ever criticised his secular *bonafides*. Some people wanted to get him out. All right. So, a situation came there in which he resigned, or was made to resign, or was asked to resign. Does that mean constitutional breakdown ? I do not understand it at all.

You have got a big majority in the House there. What prevented you from asking your Assembly Party to elect a new leader and carry on ? It is not enough just to come like this with a statutory Resolution and ask us to approve this proclamation. You have to explain the various factors and various aspects operating in respect of the whole matter.

I am not a constitutional lawyer, and I do not know whether this thing was tested in a

court, and whether it would stand the test of Article 356 of the Constitution at all, I have grave doubts.

Now, the tragedy of the whole situation is that the Government and its supporters are trying to pose the whole question as if it is a pure law and order question, and must be dealt with as such, and therefore, the President's rule, and, therefore, the declaration of these areas as disturbed areas, and, therefore, all these sweeping powers to the police and blanket powers to the military, because it is a law and order situation.

I was listening very attentively to my friend, General Sparrow, for whose ability as a soldier, I have got the highest respect, but Lok Sabha is not a battlefield of that type. Actually, I was very much interested in what he was saying—after all he has a lot of knowledge about Punjab and all that—until at a certain point in his speech he could no longer resist the temptation of having a political dig at those people whom the Central Government considers to be its opponents and enemies. Unnecessarily, if I may say so the General Sahib brought in the question of Jammu and Kashmir Government.

17.00 hrs.

He said some training centres of these extremists have been located there. They may be located. Some training centres may be there, I don't know. Training Centres can be anywhere. But the implication was that it was done with the knowledge and approval of the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. I think this is not the type of serious allegations to make on the floor of the Parliament.

It is no use waving that Hindustan Times at me. Suddenly these people have become great votaries of the Hindusthan Times. Anything which is published in Mr. Birla's newspaper need not be taken as gospel truth.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : As if what you are quoting should be taken as gospel truth !

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am not

quoting anything as gospel truth here. Certainly not the big press of the country.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** The newspaper has given the dates on which Mr. Farooq Abdullah has attended the meeting. Everything is there. Let him challenge it that he has not attended these meetings.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Please sit down.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** And he has not denied it. Farooq Abdullah has not denied this. They have to answer this.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** If you have to say, say it please. There will be a full-fledged discussion on that and you have to face it.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** You people of the Opposition support Mr. Farooq Abdullah.

**SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) :** Let there be a full-fledged discussion. Let the Home Minister come out with the facts about who are organising those camps. Let the Home Minister come out with the statement where those camps are. This is not the way to run the democracy in the country.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** And you want to run the democracy by this method of supporting them.

**SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV :** What I am saying is that you should not adopt the way of levelling baseless charges.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** When Dr. Jagannath goes out of power, he is very good ; otherwise he is corrupt. Now Mr. Darbara Singh goes out, he is a good and efficient Chief Minister.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** We are not talking about Assam. Let the Home Minister come out with the Statement. There must be some facts.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** I am includ-

ing this time. It is your time. Now you can continue.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** They have to support because Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has made a statement.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** You see, the Government and the ruling Party Members must make up their minds. They cannot hunt with the hound and run with the hare.

**SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA :** But you also went to Srinagar.

**SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV :** Srinagar is part of our country. What is wrong in going to Srinagar ? We will go there hundreds of times. It is very much part of our country. Why should we not go to Srinagar ? Hundred times we will go to Srinagar. It is very much part of our country. What is your objection ?

**SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA :** Yes, it is part of our country. But there are people who think it is not part of our country.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Mr. Panika, Srinagar is part of India. Anybody can go there. Why do you stop them ? Let them go. You can also go to Srinagar. What is there ?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** It was with this Mr. Farooq Abdullah that this Party wanted to have an election agreement before the talks broke down. If they had managed to get an election agreement, then there would have been no question of all that.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Mr. Indrajit Gupta, you now come back to Punjab.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, you look after Assam. Don't bother about Punjab and Kashmir.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** It is not your monopoly. I can look after any part of India. I am an Indian. I can look after any part of India,

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** You cannot look after anything.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** You have sufficiently stayed in Kashmir. Now come to Punjab.

**श्री रामप्यारे पनिका :** कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आफ इण्डिया के लिए दिक्कत यह हो गई है कि उन्हें सूझ नहीं रहा है कि आगे बढ़ने के लिए कौन सा रास्ता अपनाएं—इधर जाएं या उधर जाएं। वह कोई रास्ता ढूँढ़ रहे हैं।

**श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त :** ठीक है, आप रास्ता दिखाइए न देश को।

**श्री रामप्यारे पनिका :** ये लोग कभी इधर जाते हैं, कभी उधर जाते हैं।

**श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त :** इधर-उधर करने वाले हमारी पार्टी में नहीं हैं। जहाँ रूपों की थैली है, इधर-उधर करने वाले वहाँ हैं।

**श्री रामप्यारे पनिका :** रूपों की थैली के मामले में आप भी पीछे नहीं हैं।

**श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त :** आप देकर देखिए न कि क्या होता है।

And I want to ask you whether you consider it proper that in the Parliament of India, on the floor of this House, people should make allegations and imputations about the Chief Minister of an elected Government, which amounts to saying that he is acting as an enemy agent. You may have differences with him on 150 things. I may have differences with him on many questions. But they must make up their minds and say in this House whether they consider Jammu and Kashmir as being governed at the moment by a National Conference Government which has recently won the elections there, to be a part of, integral part of this country ; or they consider it to be some sort of an enemy country which has to be fought. It has to be made clear. They cannot go on like

this.

It was quite true, it was a deplorable thing that we saw on the television also, that some people witnessing the cricket match were showing Pakistani flags. It was condemnable. But all the time, a suggestion is made that the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir supported it or organized it. This kind of irresponsible statements cannot be made.

Every day, threats are publicly given by Central Ministers, by leading lights of the ruling party in their speeches and statements that they will not allow this Government to continue in J and K. I want to know, and all of us in the House want to know ; should it be our strategy, even if something is wrong, to keep that state, its people and its Government away from us ? Should it be our policy to push them into the arms of some enemy ?

It is a complicated situation there. We don't want to go into the complete history of Jammu and Kashmir. Everybody knows it. Should it not be a common-sense aim in this House to act, speak and behave in a way so that we will try to bring them closer to us ? There are many hostile forces operating in J and K. Everybody knows them. There are people who are openly pro-Pakistan, e.g. Jamiat-e-Islami, Tuleba etc. Who does not know it ? They are creating all sorts of difficulties and problems there. Should it not be our aim to fight those elements and keep the people there with India ; or should we provoke them and push them to the other side ? I do not know what is the aim of our ruling party at the Centre.

I am straying away from the main topic. (*Interruptions*) I was saying that about this problem of Punjab, Mr. Sethi should tell us whether he looks at it primarily as a "law and order" problem, or a political problem ; because that will condition our whole approach. The way Gen. Sparrow spoke in the beginning referring to the extremists the terrorists, it is almost seemed that it was only marginal, micro problem, and not the main problem. If so, why are we having this legislation, and trying to kill an ant or a fly with a sledge-hammer ? It is a very big problem ? I don't think it is. But when there

is delay in coming to a settlement, these people are becoming more and more powerful, daring and desperate. It is also true.

I do not know. Mr. Sethi may be provoked, because I would say that after all, they have been trying for a settlement in their own way, by taking political advantage to the extent possible, out of the situation in Punjab.

They may have felt that since the Akalis have been saying that "we will never come to the negotiating table, until Darbara Singh is removed," so, why not remove him? And see if that splits the Akalis and the moderate section are willing to come and to talk. But I am afraid even if that were so, even if Prakash Singh Badal and some of his friends are in a mood to talk, it is very difficult for them because of what has happened during the last few months. The appetite of the Akalis for a share of power may be whetted by the news that the Home Minister of the Union of India has stated in his consultative committee meeting that "we are always prepared to have a compromise with the Akalis even to the extent of forming a coalition Government with them." This may whet the appetite of some Akalis. But then Mr. Bhindranwale is there and most unfortunately the veto powers he exercises and his extremists exercise—they are armed people—that is something which is coming in the way and will come in the way. But you have kept the Assembly suspended. You have not dissolved it. I can understand your keeping the Assembly suspended if you have replaced the Chief Minister by another Chief Minister from your majority party. You could have done that. Yet, you have not done it, but kept the Assembly suspended. For what reason? What are your calculations, we would like to know about that.

17.12 hrs.

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI in the Chair]

So, the main point is, this is worrying everybody, that by every day of delay communalism is getting the upper hand in the Punjab. The thing of which we were always proudest in the Punjab was the unity of

Hindus and Sikhs. And now for the first time after a long long period, it is this Hindu-Sikh unity in the Punjab which is in danger. You can see what is going on and the reaction has already taken place in Haryana. Some ugly incidents have taken place, though not on a very large scale. But if this thing continues in the Punjab the reaction will spread and there are some communal elements in the Punjab which are openly propagating against the Biharis who are in large numbers now working as labourers in the Punjab.

Mr. Tora and some other people are on record; they say that those people should not be allowed to settle in the Punjab, that they should not be given voting rights. They are all impoverished people from Bihar who have gone to the Punjab and are working there as labourers. Even as against them, this kind of sentiment is being aroused, and is sought to be aroused. Always we are told by the Akali leadership that the Punjab is neglected that no industries are allowed to grow there as in other States. But does anybody now think what is the result of this *Morcha* and the result of these disturbances? Whatever industries were there in the Punjab, small scale and medium scale industries are being shifted. I have got lots of facts and figures with me. I cannot take the time of the House. What is happening is, so many industries are being closed down. Workers are being retrenched. Many employers are taking their units outside the Punjab to other places. The banks are refusing to give loans and the industries are going to be paralysed. Who will suffer? Who is going to suffer as a result of this?

I would just take two or three points and finish. One is the extremely shabby way—I wish to place it on record—in which the switch over of the Governors was done. You did not have the courtesy to consult and inform the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Overnight you said that the Governor of West Bengal was shunted off as the Governor of Punjab. Of course, you have got the power to do it. But, normal propriety and courtesy, do they not require that the Chief Minister of West Bengal should have been taken into confidence and should have been consulted? Or, is he simply to be informed that his Governor was being shunted off on the next day, and say "Tomorrow you

will not find your Governor because we have shunted him off to Chandigarh? It is a rather shabby way of doing things what was the great hurry like that ?

Secondly, I fully agree with the General about what he said about Punjab's strategic position. After all, Pakistan's border is only 30 miles or so from Amritsar. We know what is going on that side. I do not want to go into all that now.

But certainly on this vitally strategic border State which is so close to Pakistan where certainly Americans are developing their own base, there this kind of distressing situation in the Punjab cannot just be treated lightly. There must be some sense of urgency of settling the question soon. And you are going to use the Army there according to the new Bill which you have introduced today. There are lot of complications. I do not think you can use the Sikh troops to fire on the people, to break into the people's houses and arrest people and so on. If you use non-Sikh troops against Sikhs, that will also cause lot of complications. Why are you going into all these difficulties creating more problems for ourselves which we will never be able to solve ?

He must tell us clearly whether they are prepared or not prepared to call a tripartite meeting and make a serious attempt again to settle these issues. There are only one or two issues left outstanding. Mr. Sethi is also on record at one time having said that the opposition parties have helped to narrow down the differences. They may not have come with a perfect solution but they did narrow down the differences and then achieve the consensus on the basis of which further initiative and steps could be taken and should be taken by the Centre which they have not done.

I appeal also to the Akali leadership that they should call off their *morcha*. This *morcha* is having nothing but a negative effect now. I also urge upon the Central Government that they should convene a tripartite conference and make a serious and sober attempt to settle the remaining outstanding issues so that this Punjab problem can be settled once for all and we get out of this

crisis which is really a crisis not for the Punjab but for the whole country.

श्री चिरंजीलाल शर्मा (करनाल) : चेयरमैन साहब, 7 अक्टूबर को राष्ट्रपति जी ने प्रोक्लेमेशन किया और उसके बारे में आज बिल गृह मंत्री जी द्वारा इंट्रोड्यूस किया है, इस पर चर्चा चल रही है और मैं भी उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

मुझे विरोधी दल के माननीय सदस्यों की बात को सुनकर आश्चर्य हुआ। आश्चर्य यह हुआ कि 7 अक्टूबर को आल इण्डिया से हिन्दुस्तान के तकरीबन सभी अपोजीशन लीडर्स ने स्टेटमेंट दिया था, वे सारी बातें आठ अक्टूबर को अखबारों में भी आयीं, उन्होंने इस एक्शन को बैलकम किया है, स्वागत किया है। इसलिए मेरा ख्याल था कि चूँकि कानूनी जास्ता पूरा करना पड़ता है, बिल को कानून की शकल देनी होती है, तो हमारे विरोधी दल के माननीय सदस्य इस पर ज्यादा टाइम नहीं लेंगे। मुझे ताजुब इस बात पर हुआ कि मुख्य मुद्दे को छोड़कर काश्मीर के मुख्य मंत्री, डा० फारुख अब्दुल्ला, की हमदर्दी में काफी देर लगा दी। किसने यहाँ पर डा० फारुख अब्दुल्ला को क्रिटिसाइज किया। हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में आज के अखबार में कुछ आंकड़े थे, गलत थे या सही थे, उसको कोट किया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फारुख साहब ने दो दिन अपोजीशन के मेम्बरान की श्रीनगर की फीजां में मेहमानवाजी की, नमक खाकर आए और यहाँ आकर नमक हलाली कर दी।

26 जुलाई को इस सदन में पंजाब के इशू पर काफी डिटेल्स में चर्चा हुई और विचार-विमर्श किया जाता रहा है और हमारे विरोधी दल के माननीय सदस्यों की यह खास मांग थी कि इस पर गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया को इमिडिएटली स्ट्रॉंग स्टैप्स उठाने चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया ने काफी समय दिया है। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पंजाब के मसले को हल करने के लिए पंजाब के अकाली भाइयों को आमंत्रित किया



है। एक दफा नहीं, कई बार अपोजीशन को इस सिलसिले में उन्होंने कान्फ्रेंस में लिया, त्रिपा-टाईट मीटिंग हुई, अपने एमिसरी सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह को भेजा, इस मसले को हल करने के लिये कैबिनेट के सीनियर मिनिस्टर्स की एक सब-कमेटी भी बनाई, वे दो-तीन बार यहां आए, लोंगोवाल साहब ने अपने तीन-चार प्रतिनिधियों को यहां भेजा, गर्जक पंजाब के इस मसले को हल करने के लिये उन्होंने कोई असर नहीं छोड़ी। लेकिन अगर उनका इरादा नापाक है तो उसका क्या इलाज है? मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ—गुज्रिस्ता दो साल से ही यह बीमारी क्यों शुरू हुई? हिन्दुस्तान की तकसीम के बाद 1947 से लेकर 1966 तक पंजाब और हरियाणा एक रहे। 1 नवम्बर, 1966 को पंजाब अलग हुआ और हरियाणा का सूबा बना। उसके बाद 1980 तक कोई झगड़ा नहीं हुआ। 1977 में सेन्टर के अन्दर जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनी और पंजाब के दुर्भाग्य की वजह से ही मैं समझता हूँ—पौने तीन साल के करीब पंजाब की जनता को अकाली राज देखना पड़ा। 1970 में चण्डीगढ़ के बारे में फैसला हो चुका था, मैं उसके बारे में गहराई में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि संत फतह सिंह की घमकी की वजह से चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब को दिया गया, उस दिन वहाँ चिराग जलाये गये थे, जबकि हरियाणा में 9-10 आदमी पुलिस की गोली से मारे गये। 1976 में पानी का एवार्ड आ चुका था। 1977 से 1979 तक पंजाब में अकाली पार्टी का राज था, बादल साहब मुख्यमंत्री थे और सरदार बरनाला साहब और सरदार धन्ना सिंह गुलशन जनता पार्टी के राज्य में यहां मंत्री थे, उस वक्त उन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया। न कोई सवाल उस वक्त चण्डीगढ़ का उठा और न पानी का या टैरिटोरियल डिस्प्यूट का उठा। लेकिन जब 1980 में अकाली पार्टी के हाथ से पंजाब की सत्ता चली गई, यहां भी 13 मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट में से 12 कांग्रेस (आई) के आये और एक अकाली पार्टी से आया, उसके पांच-छः महीने के बाद असेम्बली के चुनाव हुए, उस वक्त तक कोई गड़बड़ नहीं थी, लेकिन असेम्बली के चुनाव में बद-किस्मती से पंजाब में कांग्रेस वरसरेइक्तदार आई और उसने वहाँ अपनी सरकार बनाई, उसके बाद

भी कुछ दिनों तक खामोशी रही, लेकिन उसके बाद वहाँ गड़बड़ शुरू हो गई। आनन्दपुर साहब का रेजोल्यूशन आया, जिसमें अकाली दल ने 45 मांगें रखीं। बाद में वे 45 में से 15 मांगों पर आये और लोंगोवाल साहब ने जो लैटर पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों को लिखा था वह तो सिर्फ 15 मांगों पर ही मवनी था। आप इस बात से अन्दाजा लगाइये कि कहां से कहां आये। इस मसले को हल करने की कोशिश की गई, बैठकर विचार-विमर्श करने की कोशिश की गई, उनको बातचीत के लिये आमन्त्रित करते हैं, इतना ही नहीं हमारे गृह मंत्री जी चण्डीगढ़ में जाकर उनसे बात करते हैं, लेकिन मर्ज बढ़ता गया, ज्यों-ज्यों दवा की। उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की प्रधानमंत्री की इस फराखदिली को शायद कमजोरी समझा, वे गलत-फहमी का शिकार थे, उन्होंने समझा कि इस तरह से काम नहीं चलेगा, लिहाजा उन्होंने इसको एक अजीब सी शकल दे दी। दुनिया में हर बीमारी का इलाज है, तपेदिक का इलाज है, वायरल फीवर का इलाज है, हार्ट का भी आपरेशन हो जाता है, लेकिन कुर्सी के काटे का जो जखम हो जाता है, उसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। पौने तीन साल तक हमारे अकाली भाई पंजाब में वरसरेइक्तदार रहे...

**श्री सूरजभान (अम्बाला) :** कर्नाटक में क्या हो रहा है ?

**श्री चिरंजीलाल शर्मा :** अगर कर्नाटक की सरकार फेल करेगी तो अपने कर्मों से फेल करेगी। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने साफ तौर पर कहा है कि कांग्रेस सरकार किसी को गिराना नहीं चाहती है, लेकिन अगर आपके दिल में कोई वहम है, तो दूसरी बात है।

**डा० सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी (बम्बई उत्तर पूर्व) :** सदर बाजार स्टेट बैंक से पैसा निकलवाकर भेजते हैं।

**श्री चिरंजी लाल शर्मा :** इस किस्म की तोता-मैना की कहानियां तो सुनते ही रहते हैं। वह तो

2 लाख रुपये की अखबारों की कहानी है लेकिन जिस वक्त यहां पर हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स से कोट किया गया, तो उस पर यह हस्त बरपा हो गया कि अखबार में जो चीज छपी है यह मनगढ़ंत है। जब कांग्रेस के खिलाफ कोई चीज अखबार में छपती है यह गौस्पल टूथ हो जाती है और जो चीज इनके हक में नहीं छपती है, उसके लिए ये कहते हैं कि यह बिल्कुल गलत है। **इट कैन नाट बी रिलाइड अपोन।**

तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि जब कुर्सी चली गई और उसका कोई इलाज नहीं निकला, तो फिर उन्होंने इस किस्म की बातें कहनी शुरू कर दीं और इस किस्म के एलीमेंट्स को उभारना शुरू कर दिया और वहां के नवयुवकों को गुमराह करना शुरू कर दिया और पंजाब के अन्दर आज ऐसे हालात पैदा हो गये कि एक आम आदमी यह महसूस करता था कि वह घर से बाहर जाकर राजी-खुशी वापस लौटकर आ जाएगा या नहीं। वहां पर खून की होली खिलने लगी। यह कहना कि हिन्दू-सिख अलग-अलग हैं, ऐसी बात नहीं है। वहां पर हिन्दू सिखों से अलग नहीं हैं। वे दोनों एक दरख्त की दो टहनियां हैं। वहां पर एक परिवार की एक हिन्दू की लड़की सिक्खों में ब्याही जाती है और इसी तरह से एक सिख हिन्दुओं में ब्याही जाती है। इसलिए वहां पर कोई हिन्दू-सिख प्रॉब्लम नहीं है। वहां पर तो भिडरावाला और उनके चले-चपाटों का एक एलीमेंट पैदा हो गया, जिनके दिमाग में एक छाप यह बैठ गई कि अगर वे यहां गड़बड़ करेंगे तो उनका मतलब हल हो जाएगा और हरियाणा को पानी नहीं मिलेगा और पंजाब को चंडीगढ़ मिल जाएगा। इसके अलावा अबोहर और फाजिल्का भी हरियाणा को नहीं मिलेगा। यह निशाना लेकर उन्होंने गड़बड़ करनी शुरू की। अब कब तक इस सब से काम लिया जा सकता था और कब तक इस गड़बड़ को बर्दाश्त किया जा सकता था। गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने वहां पर प्रेसीडेंट रूल कायम कर दिया। अब श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता जी ने एक यह दलील दे दी कि सरदार दरबारासिंह जी की वजह से ऐसा हुआ है और इस किस्म के लोगों की वजह

से ही ऐसे हालात पैदा हुए हैं। हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोगों ने ऐसी दलील दी है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हालांकि वहां पर कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट बरसरेइक्त्-दार थी, वहां पर कांग्रेस पार्टी की मेजोरिटी है, सरदार दरबारा सिंह जोकि वहां के मुख्यमंत्री हैं अगर वे यह महसूस करते हैं कि प्रेसीडेंट रूल होने से हालात अच्छे हो सकते हैं, तो उनकी फराखदिली की दाद इन लोगों को देनी चाहिए। पहले विरोधी दल के लोग यह मांग वहां के लिए करते थे और कहते थे कि प्रेसीडेंट रूल होना चाहिए और यह सरकार तोड़ देनी चाहिए। अकाली दल भी यहीं कहता था लेकिन जब एक्शन ले लिया गया और सरदार दरबारा सिंह ने फराखदिली इस्तीफा दे कर दिखाई, तो उनको मुबारकबाद देनी चाहिए। उनकी वहां पर पापुलर गवर्नमेंट थी लेकिन पापुलर गवर्नमेंट के रहते हुए उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि वे शायद इतनी सख्ती नहीं कर सकते और प्रेसीडेंट रूल में कड़े कदम उठाए जा सकते हैं, तो वहां से वे हट गये और राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने यह प्रोक्लेशन कर दिया और जबकि आज उस को कानून की शक्ल देने की बात है, तो बड़े अजीब आर्गुमेंट्स दिये जा रहे हैं विरोधी दलों की तरफ से।... (व्यवधान)...

मैं अभी जल्दी खतम करूंगा। एक सवाल यह उठाया गया कि व्हाई दि एसेम्बली हैज बीन केप्ट अन्डर एनीमेंटेड ससपेंस। जब प्रेसीडेंट रूल हो गया है और इसेम्बली को एनीमेंटेड ससपेंस में क्यों रखा गया है। श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता जी ने खुद कहा है कि वहां पर कांग्रेस की मेजोरिटी है। यह डेमो-क्रेसी है। लोगों के चुने हुए नुमायन्दे हैं और अगर एक अर्से के बाद सिचुएशन पर कंट्रोल किया जा सकता है और फिर पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बन सकती है, तो इसमें कौन सा गुनाह कर दिया।

मुझे आपकी घंटी से डर लगता है बरना यह एक ऐसा सब्जेक्ट है, जिस पर मुझे बहुत कुछ कहना था। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह जो बिल आया है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Sir, at the outset, I want to share the view of

Shri Indrajit Gupta, regarding the manner in which President's Rule has been imposed on Punjab. As the House is well aware, in the Constitution itself certain procedure and processes have been laid down for the imposition of President's Rule. It can be imposed when the Governor of the State makes a report to the President, particularly making it out that the Government cannot be carried on in that State in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The President examines the report and if he is satisfied that the Governor's report is to be accepted, then he decides to apply Article 356 of the Constitution to impose President's Rule in the State. I have got no time to discuss in great details but I would mention that here in this case the whole fulcrum of the sequence of the developments in favour of the decision of imposing President's Rule is the letter of the then Chief Minister of Punjab and the Governor forwards that copy of the letter he received from the Chief Minister and says that since the Chief Minister suggests...' And the Chief Minister suggested in the letter that the Centre should make direct intervention. The Chief Minister has got no right to make this kind of suggestion. The Chief Minister under the Constitution has got the prerogative to advise for the dissolution of the House if the Chief Minister enjoys a majority in the House. Here, Mr. Darbara Singh went beyond his Constitutional prerogative and created a new prerogative of advising the Governor to impose President's Rule or apply Article 356. This is a new precedent. Never in the history of the imposition of President's Rule has this kind of advice been there. In this case, allow me to say, the decision of imposing President's Rule was taken at No. 1, Safdarjung Road, and after the decision being taken there irrespective of the objective situation which was obtaining in Punjab itself, for political reasons, the Chief Minister, Mr. Darbara Singh, was made to send a letter of that nature intimating his desire to resign, and Mr. A.P. Sharma was forced to prepare a report in the way in which No. 1 Safdarjung Road wanted to have a report—nothing beyond this. The whole report of the Governor is a doctored report. He simply forwards the letter of resignation of the Chief Minister and says that the Government cannot be

run in accordance with the Constitution. Why? There are other constitutional methods also, as Shri Indrajit Gupta has mentioned. There could have been another Chief Minister. And he says, 'Having another Government would be a futile exercise'. It may be futile for their own Party, but for constitutional procedure it might not have been futile. Therefore, I say you are neglecting the problem of Punjab. That is another thing; I am coming to that. But you are out to destroy the process laid down by the Constitution itself. This is what is called 'subversion of the Constitution'.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: The Constitution-makers could not foresee such a situation.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: As I have seen on an earlier occasion also, President's Rule has been imposed only to meet the internal of the Congress (I) Ruling Party. Here is another example. I do not know how you can explain it out if that charge is there. My charge is that some of your men did not want Mr. Darbara Singh and from the beginning they were hostile to Mr. Darbara Singh and they were very much present in the Rashtrapati Bhavan and they said that it was because of his desire these things have happened.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Why bring in Rashtrapati Bhavan? I do not think it is quite right and decent.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I have not said anything. I said, 'somebody in the Rashtrapati Bhavan'.

PROF. N.G. RANGA: 'A.D.C. people or jawans' I do not think it should be allowed to remain on record.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: What will you check?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Your objection is well taken.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: In this particular case the Constitutional process has been subverted and the report of the gover-

nor has been a doctored report. This has been a great danger to the spirit and letter of the Constitution.

Coming to the Punjab problem itself whatever might be the situation, it is our firm belief that President rule is not a substitute for the solution of the Punjab problem. If you feel that simply by imposing President rule the Punjab problem can be solved, these few weeks have proved that the situation has not improved. Even after the imposition of the President rule the activities of extremists are on the increase, law and order situation has further deteriorated and there is no scope of return of normalcy and tranquility to Punjab in the near future. Therefore, if you have that approach—that merely by imposition of President rule, you will be able to bring back normalcy to Punjab and restore normal democratic process, it would be a futile exercise. Something more is needed to be done. House would be very much interested to know what are those particular, specific, steps that the Government proposes to take in the matter of bringing back normalcy to that State.

So far as our views are concerned, it has been persistently pressed by us that the problem of this nature cannot be solved by merely having an approach to law and order. Unfortunately, the Government seems to have chosen the approach of law and order instead of political approach to bring about the solution of a very serious and complex political problem. A host of legislative measures which you have proposed, the special powers you propose to give to the Army, are all negative. You want to meet violence by violence. Violence from the public is condemnable and equally it is condemnable from the organised State. Now you are preferring organised State violence. Never in the history, organised State violence has triumphed. Temporarily violence can be cowed down. But organised State violence never triumphs. Therefore, with the entire approach of State violence I disagree. I condemn the violent activities encouraged or indulged in by a section of Akali leadership. And in order to meet that violence, political approach, political campaign, political mobilisation, is necessary which you do not like and which you have not the capacity to do. As a

matter of fact it would be more appropriate.

It is on record that the Home Minister in this House and in other House did agree that the solution lies in negotiations, in dialogue. From this side of the House we have all along been pressing for a negotiable settlement. He is also on record to say that during the course of the tripartite discussion the differences narrowed down. Now whatever might be the position or stance taken by the Akali leadership at a particular given point of time, what prevents Government to resume negotiations at the tripartite level?

In the Consultative Committee meeting in which I was also present, he made it clear that the Government did not consider it as a question of prestige, that they were all out for negotiation, that the negotiation was without any pre-condition also and, he further said, whether the negotiation would be bipartite or tripartite will depend upon the response of the Akali leadership. Mr. Vajpayee was also there and he will also testify to it. The hon. Minister went a step further and said, "We are for cooperation with the Akalis even to the extent of having a coalition Government." He did not use the word "coalition". But he said that they would welcome the cooperation of Akalis in the formation of the Government. He said that in reply to a question put to him. He was asked, "Why have you not dissolved the House? What is the intention behind it? When he was pressed for an answer, he replied that the House was not dissolved because they also wanted that Akalis should cooperate with them in the formation of the Government. That is very good. But they did not know what will be the fall-out of that. Ultimately, you know that the Home Minister made a different statement that there is a condition precedent to negotiation.

**SHRI SUNIL MAITRA :** After being pulled up?

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** I do not know what happened. Thereby, the entire climate which was created by the joint deliberations of the Consultative Committee has been spoiled.

Now, if this is not the policy of drift, what else is the policy of drift? They take a certain step and they do not pursue it further. At a point of time, they drift; they waver. Is it not a policy of drift? It is a policy of drift. Because of a policy of drift, the situation in Punjab has become all the more complicated and complex. The situation in Punjab is not the problem of a particular State or a certain section of the population. Rightly, the former Chief Minister made a mention about it saying that the Punjab problem is not the problem of Punjab alone; it is the problem of the nation as a whole. I would also share that view. Having regard to the fact that the Punjab problem is the problem of the nation as a whole, having regard to the fact that the Punjab problem can be solved keeping in view the interest of the national unity and integrity, having regard to the fact that the forces across the borders are also interested to sow the seed of de-stabilisation within the country, the Government should pursue a policy towards bringing about a political solution of the Punjab problem. For that, I would urge upon the Government that they should immediately take an initiative to resume the tripartite discussion and they should make an announcement immediately, if it is possible.

**श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला (संगरूर):**  
 चैयरमैन साहब, जो आज होम मिनिस्टर साहब बिल लाये हैं पंजाब के मुताल्लिक मैं उसके हक में खड़ा हूँ। और मैं इस फैसले से इत्फाक भी करता हूँ क्योंकि पंजाब में जो कुछ हो रहा था उसको मैंने बहुत नजदीक से देखा था। भारत सरकार ने, प्रधान मंत्री ने तकरीबन एक साल पूरी कोशिश की कि कोई हल निकले और पंजाब में हालात ठीक हो जायें। उसमें अपोजीशन भी शामिल था, सबने मिलकर कोशिश की। मगर कोई कामयाबी हासिल न हुई। हालात बदलते गये और तशद्दुद की तरफ चले गये।

आप जरा देखिये गौर से, फैसला हो कैसे जाता? अगर कोई फैसला कोई पार्टी करती है, उस पार्टी के जिम्मेवार लोग होते हैं। अब अकाली पार्टी है, आला उनके जो आदमी हैं, एक प्रैजिडेंट

अकाली पार्टी है और एक प्रैजिडेंट, शिरोमणि गुरुद्वार प्रबन्धक कमेटी हैं। अकाली पार्टी के प्रैजिडेंट सन्त हरचन्द सिंह लोंगोवाल हैं और एस० जी० पी० सी० के प्रैजिडेंट सरदार गुरुचरण-सिंह तीर हैं। लेकिन बात करने के लिये वह किसी और को तैनात करते हैं और उनको पूरा अच्छयार नहीं होता कि वह किसी बात पर फैसला कर सकें या उन्हें हक है। वह जाकर मैसेज दे देते हैं।

मगर एक बात मैं इस हाउस से और इधर अपने अपोजीशन के भाइयों से कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं बहुत गौर से और नजदीक से इनको देखता हूँ और ईमानदारी से कहता हूँ कि ये जबान तरह-तरह की रखते हैं, लेकिन मकसद कुछ और है, वरना जिसको कभी यह बर्दाश्त नहीं करते, कहते हैं कि तशद्दुद, तशद्दुद का प्रचार करते हैं भिडरावाला, आप कभी नहीं कहते, यह देखते हैं। एक घंटा सन्त हरचन्दसिंह लोंगोवाल और भिडरावाले की मुलाकात बन्द कमरे में हुई और बहुत अहम फैसले किये। दूसरी तरफ तलवंडी हैं, वह अगर सरकार के खिलाफ लड़ना है तो ग्रुप इकट्ठे हैं, मगर फैसला करना है तो मेरी डिमांड्ज अलग हैं।

उनकी क्या डिमांड्ज हैं? पहले तो आनन्दपुर साहब का मत्ता (रज्यूलूशन)। मेरा ख्याल है कि हिन्दुस्तान के, सिवाय कुछ सिखों के, किसी हिन्दु-स्तानी को वह मंजूर नहीं होगा, लेकिन फिर भी मेरे भाई उनके साथ हैं। यह भी बन्द करा सकते हैं लोंगोवाल साहब से कहकर कि लोंगोवाल साहब आप प्रैजिडेंट हैं, टीहरा साहब आप भी प्रैजिडेंट हैं आप इनको कहें, अगर आपके साथ शामिल हैं तो यह आनन्दपुर साहब का मत्ता छोड़ें।

अब उन्होंने एक नया नारा लगा दिया कि हम 'पैरेलल गवर्नमेंट' बनायेंगे। भिडरावाला का प्रचार यह है कि अगर मेरा काम नहीं किया, एक सब-इन्स्पेक्टर कत्ल किया गया मुक्तसर में। स्पीच हो रही थी, एक गाड़ी गई। कुछ पुलिस को शुबाह

था, उनको हक था कि जिस पर शुबाह हो उसकी इन्क्वायरी की जाये, उसको पकड़ लिया इन्क्वायरी के लिये। उसने फौरन हुक्म भेजा कि अगर यह गाड़ी नहीं छोड़ी तो मैं 5 हजार हिन्दू मरवा दूंगा। भला पूछो, 3 सिख नौजवानों ने एक थानेदार को कत्ल किया, कत्ल होने वाला भी सिख इन्स्पेक्टर और उस कत्ल की इन्क्वायरी हो रही थी, उस पर यह कहना कि मैं 5 हजार हिन्दुओं को मरवा दूंगा? कभी लोंगोवाल ने या और किसी ने इसको कंडेम किया? कहा कि गैर-मुनासिब बात करता है? कभी नहीं कहा। क्या कभी टोहरा ने कहा? टोहरा उसका खास दोस्त है, टोहरा उसको उठाकर नानकनिवास में लेकर आया। टोहरा की सारी पालिसी चलती है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि ये तीनों अलग-अलग जवान रखते हैं और बहुत मोडरेट लोग हैं। लोंगोवाल अगर मोडरेट हैं तो क्या एक आदमी ने कत्ल किया, कत्ल करके भाग गया, प्रोबलेम्ड औफेन्डर है, उसका वारन्ट है, गवर्नमेंट गिरफ्तार करना चाहती है, वह जर्मनी में पकड़ा गया। ये वैस्ट जर्मनी को चिट्ठी लिखते हैं हरचन्द सिंह लोंगोवाल की हिन्दुस्तान की गवर्नमेंट को मत दो, कनाडा गवर्नमेंट को दो। भला यह कौन सी इखलाक की बात है कि एक धार्मिक स्थान का प्रैजिडेंट, एक प्रैजिडेंट टोहरा दूसरी सरकार को चिट्ठी लिखे हिन्दुस्तान के नेशनलिज्म के खिलाफ कि मैं हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार से इखलाफ रखता हूँ, इत्तिफाक नहीं करता? अपने मुल्क के खिलाफ चिट्ठी लिखता है और कहता है कि इसको मुलजिम मत दो? फिर भी ये कहते हैं कि ये लोग माडरेट हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि इनकी जुबानें अलाहिदा-अलाहिदा हैं। ये लोग लोंगोवाल और प्रकाश सिंह बादल को सिर्फ एक काम के लिए रखे हुए हैं कि हिन्दुओं के साथ तात्लुकात न टूट जाएं, क्योंकि जब कभी गवर्नमेंट बनाने का मौका मिलेगा, तो वह उनके वगैर नहीं बन सकती है, उनको लाजिमी तौर पर शामिल करना पड़ेगा।

मैं सरकार को वार्न करना चाहता हूँ कि भिडरांवाले ने एक ऐसा खतरनाक काम शुरू कर

दिया है, जो शायद काबू में न आए। वह स्टुडेंट्स को अपने पास बुलवाता है, उनका ब्रेन-वाश करता है, उनके दिमागों पर बहुत जहरीला असर छोड़ता है, उनको डकैती डालने के लिए कहता है, उनको असलहा देता है। मेरे इलाके में एक डकैती हुई। खुशकिस्मती से डकैत दो तीन घंटों में पकड़े गए। पहले उन्होंने नाजायज तौर पर किसी की कार ले ली और ड्राइवर को डिकी में बन्द कर दिया। फिर पेट्रोल पम्प को लूटा। इत्तिफाक से पेट्रोल न मिला। पेट्रोल खत्म हो गया, इसलिए उन्हें वह कार छोड़नी पड़ी। एक पैडी की ट्राली जा रही थी, वे उस पर सवार हो गए। पुलिस चारों तरफ चक्कर लगा रही थी और वे पकड़े गए। उनमें से भिडरांवाले के गांव का, चमकोर सिंह, एक सैकेंडरीयर का स्टुडेंट था। उसने बयान दिया कि मुझे यह पिस्तौल भिडरांवाले ने दिया है। उसके मुताबिक भिडरावाले ने उसको कहा कि मैं पहले तुम्हें देसी साख्त का पिस्तौल देता हूँ, अगर पहली बारदात में कामयाब हो गए, तो दूसरी बार इम्पोटिड दूंगा। वहां पर चाइना, पाकिस्तान और ताइवान का बना हुआ असलहा पकड़ा गया है। यह सब असलहा कहां से आता है?

यह ठीक है कि वहां पर बैंड एलिमेंट्स भी हैं। इस मुल्क की बदकिस्मती है कि तीन साल पहले अकालियों का राज आया था। अकालियों ने पुलिस में ऐसे एलिमेंट्स भर दिए, जो आज पंजाब को खत्म करने पर तुले हुए हैं, जो पंजाब के अफसरों का हुक्म नहीं मानते, जो हर बात को लीक कर देते हैं और भिडरांवाले के पास पहुंच जाती है।

जब वहां पर कोई भी आदमी अपने आपको महफूज न समझे, तो प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल लागू करना पड़ा। ये लोग तरह-तरह की बोली बोल कर अपना प्रोग्राम जारी रखे हुए हैं। अगर तीनों की एक जुवान है, अगर ये तीनों एक हैं, तो कल उसने अलग मीटिंग क्यों बुलाई? भिडरांवाले कहता है कि मैं किसी फैसले पर नहीं पहुंचने दूंगा, जो मैं कहूंगा, वही होगा।

मैं खासकर अपोजीशन से दरखास्त करूंगा कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिवा पंजाब को बचाने में तब तक कामयाब नहीं हो सकेंगी, जब तक वे सही मानों में उनकी मदद नहीं करेंगे। पंजाब एक वाइंडर स्टेट है, वह मोस्ट प्रॉस्पेरस स्टेट थी। अगर भिंडरवाले को अलग कर दिया जाए, तलवंडी की डिमांड को छोड़ दिया जाए, तो हो सकता है कि गवर्नमेंट के साथ कोई न कोई फैसला हो जाए। लेकिन उनका यह इरादा नहीं है। उनका इरादा है कि गड़बड़ जारी रखो, हमारे पास बहुत से बेकार लोग हैं, उनको लड़ाई-झगड़े में लगाए रखो, कालेज के स्टूडेंट्स की जिन्दगी खराब करो, एक दिन सिख स्टेट लेनी ही है। दिस इज देयर टार-शेट। लोगों को गुमराह नहीं होना चाहिए, उनकी डिमांड एक ही है—सिख स्टेट। इट इज ए स्टैप टुवर्ड्स सिख स्टेट।

गवर्नमेंट को अपोजीशन को साथ लेकर, ज्यादा से ज्यादा ताकत से, जिस तरह भी हो सके, इसको रोकना चाहिए। यह मुल्क के लिए और खासकर हमारे लिए, निहायत खतरनाक चीज है।

मैं किसी के खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। मैं जम्मू-काश्मीर के चीफ मिनिस्टर के बिल्कुल खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। न ही मुझे उन पर कोई एतराज है। लेकिन पंजाबी में एक कहावत है: "मां नालों फूफूनी कुटनी हेजली," यानी बच्चे को मां से ज्यादा प्यार वह करती है, जिसका वह कुछ नहीं लगता। भला पूछिए, फारूख साहब आए, तकलीफ उठाकर दो तीन दफा अमृतसर आए, क्या इनको बहुत फिक्र है? क्या अकालियों ने बहुत अच्छा बर्ताव किया था सन् 47 में मुसलमानों के साथ? हिन्दुस्तान का और कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं गया... (ब्यवधान)... क्या बोर्डर मिलता है? वाइंडर हमेशा के लिए मिलाना चाहें तो नहीं मिलेगा।

तो मैं समझता हूँ कि नापाक इरादे हैं, इरादे दुस्त नहीं हैं। उनको चाहिए था कि प्राइम

मिनिस्टर साहिवा के पास आते, उनको अपनी राय देते, मशविरा देते। उनसे पूछते आप किस चीज पर आमादा हैं, क्या देना चाहते हैं? लेकिन, वह नहीं, अकाली फारूख साहब के गुण गाते हैं और फारूख साहब अकालियों के गुण गाते हैं। मुझे तो इस रिश्ते की बात समझ में नहीं आई जो फौरन पैदा हो गया।... (ब्यवधान)...

मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिवा के सामने ही कह रहा हूँ। क्या आप समझते हैं कि मैं उनके सामने नहीं कह रहा हूँ।

मैं यही कहता हूँ कि पंजाब के हालात बहुत खराब हैं। यहाँ दोस्तों ने कहा कि जलन्धर में लोग मरे हैं, पटियाले में मरे हैं। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि हर देहात में बैंक लूटे गए हैं, कई देहातों के अन्दर असलहे की दूकानें लूटी गई हैं और फीरोजपुर की आमरी जो लूटी गई, वह तमाम का तमाम सामान वहाँ से उठाकर नानक-निवास लाया गया है। अगर फिर भी ये लोग उसको कंडेम न करें, उसके लिए कोई इंतजाम न करें और सरकार का साथ न दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि अपने आप को धोखा देने वाली बात है। मैं दरखास्त करूंगा कि अपोजीशन को भी यही रोल अदा करना चाहिए कि जो नामुनासिब बातें हैं उनको छुड़वा कर गवर्नमेंट के साथ मिलकर बात करनी चाहिए वरना पंजाब बर्बाद हो जायगा और हिन्दुस्तान को बहुत बड़ी चोट पहुंचेगी।

यही कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : Sir, as the hon. Member has brought into discussion the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, I should have a minute to clarify the position...

MR. CHAIRMAN : The discussion is continuing tomorrow. When your turn comes, you can clarify it,



\*SHRI S.T.K. JAKKAYAN (Periakulam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, under Article 356 of the Constitution, the President's rule has been proclaimed in the Punjab. The Resolution under discussion seeks the approval of this House for this proclamation. On behalf of my party, the All India Anna D.M.K., I wish to say a few words on this Resolution.

Sir, at the very outset, I would like to say that I am unable to support the frequent use of Article 356 of the Constitution for dislodging the popularly elected State Governments. The people of the State extend their massive support to a political party in the State in an election and that political party forms the State Government. Such a State Government can be removed from power only by the people of the State and not by the Centre with the tip of a pen. I would stress that the Centre cannot appropriate this authority to itself. This authority should vest with the people who are the rulers in the country. Even the authority of the Constitution is derived from the people who are source of power in a democracy. In this background I have to oppose the frequent use by the Central Government of Article 356 of the Constitution for removing the popularly elected State Government on one ground or the other.

In the Punjab, the atrocities of extremists,

the activities of the separatists and the awesome racial riots have to be controlled without any loss of time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Jakkayan, you may continue tomorrow. Now, the Minister, Shri Buta Singh.

18.00 hrs.

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

##### Fifty-first Report

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : Sir, I beg to present the Fifty-first Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, the House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

18.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 16th November, 1983/Kartika 25, 1905 (Saka).*