

# LOKSABHA DEBATES

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## LOK SABHA

Wednesday, September 18, 1991/  
Bhadra 27, 1913 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Four Minutes  
Past Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[English]

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS (SALEEM)  
(Katiyar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have no information that the House has been extended. I know only this morning when the parliamentary papers came that the Session has been extended by one day.

Sir, we should get some information. Suppose I was absent yesterday, I was not present yesterday, how shall I know?

MR. SPEAKER: We decided in the House itself.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: We decided on the floor of the House.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM:  
Sir, there must be some communications to the Members. Many Members have left today. They have booked their seats earlier, today they have left for different places. Sir, there must be some way by which we should know it earlier.

MR. SPEAKER: It was decided on the floor of the House.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE  
(Dum Dum): Despite extensions of the House, no Committees have been formed. (Interruptions) Despite the extensions of the Session, no House Committees or Financial Committees have been formed. It is unusual that after two months it has not been possible for the Government to form the Committees.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS  
AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINIS-  
TRY OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY  
AFFAIRS (SHRI RANGARAJAN  
KUMARAMANGALAM): We will finalise.

(Interruptions)

11.08 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE-CON-  
TINUANCE OF PROCLAMATION BY  
PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE  
STATE OF PUNJAB- *CONTD.*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri. Jaswant Singh may speak.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh):  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, We are taking up this discussion on the Statutory Resolution moved by the honourable the Union Home Minister regarding continuance of President's Rule in relation to the State of Punjab. And virtually we are taking up the discussion from where we left it last evening which is, when the House first became aware of the Government's intentions. It is necessary for me,

[Sh. Jaswant Singh]

therefore, to briefly state my objections.

We have had a very extensive discussion on the Demands for Grants and the appropriation Bill for the State of Punjab, we have also had a discussion on the annulment of the elections in Punjab and indeed in the past years, since 1987, we have discussed the State of Punjab so frequently and with such sickening regularity that it is not necessary for me to go into or delve into all the sociological or political aspects of the continuing torment of the State of Punjab. What we are indeed engaged in is an examination by this House of the Resolution moved by the Union Home Minister extending President's Rule for another six months. My difficulties are in agreeing with the Government or with the Resolution or with the intent of the Resolution are principally on four counts. I have difficulties on the principle of the extension of the President's Rule which I will elaborate in a moment, and I have difficulties with the procedure adopted by the Government to come forward with this very unacceptable measure. Then I have difficulty with the Government's stand itself as elucidated in the Honourable Union Home Minister's statement accompanying the Statutory Resolution. That is my third difficulty. My fourth difficulty in agreeing with this is that some of our mirimum irreducible demand connected with the extension of President's Rule which too I will elaborate in a moment, have not even been hinted at by the Government or the Home Minister. I will examine all these and put forward my viewpoint on all these four difficulties. To the best of my simple arithmetic, this is the ninth extension of President's Rule in the State of Punjab that we are seeking since its first imposition, and if the Parliament has to extend — and I could be faulted on the exactness of whether it is the ninth or it is the eighth, but that is not the substance of the difficulty.

The substance of the difficulty is that, if in any State of the Union the Parliament found it necessary to extend the President's

rule for as many times as eight or nine times, then it is not an exercise that ought to be taken up perfunctorily or as a routine. Indeed, it then, becomes mandatory for us to examine as to why is it that with such sickening regularity we are so routinely and so mindlessly extending President's rule in Punjab every six months, as if it were a cyclical movement of seasons — come the six month season and we will extend the President's rule, because in the preceding period nothing would have taken place.

Sir, I put it to you that such repeated extensions of President's rule are, of course, a denial of the democratic right of the people irrespective of the State in which they are effected. But, in the tormented State of Punjab, it is much more than a denial of democratic right of the people to elect their own Government. It is as if the people of Punjab, by and large the totality, the large population of Punjab is in that classification of *atitvadi* or terrorists or lawless elements and it is that collectivity of the people of Punjab that appears to be, not just appears to be that are, in effect, being punished for the repeated failures of the Government.

Sir, I am constrained to point out and it pains me to point out that it is on account of the Congress Party's policies that were pursued in the decade of the 80s, that we have, today, a state prevailing as it does, in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The conditions prevailing in Punjab are directly the consequenc of the policies of the Congress Party. What has come about in the State of Punjab is yet aain attributable to the policies of the Congress Party.

Sir, on Sri Lanka, Heavens forbid, I have had opportunity earlier to mention on so many occasions, that the Congress Party's policies in Sri Lanka resulted in a situation in which the Indian Peninsula became a hinterland for the ethnic struggle of the people of Sri Lanka, and that too has come about. It has come about in the most telling of ways; it has come about in the foul assassination of the late leader of their own Party. If I were to

go on cataloguing the many ills of the Congress Party because of which the nation today is suffering, it would be an endless catalogue. It is not an exercise that gives us any sense of satisfaction. But I do emphasise and I do underline that if Punjab is suffering today amongst the other States that I have just listed, it is directly because the Congress Party repeatedly, over the years, has played politics, whether in the State of Punjab or from the Union Government's stand, it has always and consistently played politics of petty, partisan interests that are totally parochial and looked no further and no beyond than their own party's limited interests. In effect, today, on account of Government's failure, it is the people of Punjab who are being punished. The Government has repeatedly, over these eight or nine times that the President's rule has been extended, reduced the whole question of Punjab to a simple law and order question and every time it turn-on reduces it to the aspect of employment of forces. We have a difficulty here; law and order must be enforced, but it is not enforced merely by more and more accretion of forces in the State of Punjab. Unless the moral authority of the Government is re-impacted to the administration of the State of Punjab, no amount of forces and no multiples of forces will satisfy the needs and demands of the situation. That is why, our first difficulty with this Resolution is on the grounds of principle that are inherent in the extension of President's rule.

Sir, my second difficulty is procedural. I will not repeat everything that I had occasion to say yesterday. The day-before-yesterday, that is, on the 16th, took place a prolonged discussion both on the Budget as also the Demands for Grants of Punjab as also the annulment of elections in Punjab. That being a discussion covering such a wide area of concern associated with the State of Punjab, wide diversity of views covering all aspects of Punjab were expressed. Repeatedly in the discussion, it was asked what about the elections in Punjab? At no stage, did the Government come forward even with a hint as to what their intent was, what they intended doing.

Indeed in response to a direct query by our Party leader and my senior colleague, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee who asked and I would seek your indulgence to quote just three or four lines. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee asked:

"How soon would you like to have the elections?" To which the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Rangarajan Kumaramangalam replied: "The President's notification is valid till 11th of November, 1991. We have not brought anything before you today in the form of a Statutory Resolution asking you to extend the President's rule"

I find it a very mystifying statement. If I understand, he is also the Minister of State for law, Justice and Company Affairs. Therefore, Shri Kumaramangalam has something to do directly with the functioning of the Chief Election Commission. Here is a reply being given in Parliament on behalf of the Government to a query from a very senior Member of this Parliament, namely, when do you want to hold elections in Punjab. All that has been told is "The validity is till 11th of November. We have not brought forward any resolution regarding the extension of the President's rule." This is done on the 16th of this month. On the 17th, deliberately at about 6 O'clock in the evening, we were suddenly confronted in this House with the Government's intent to bring forward a statutory resolution asking for extension of the President's rule. Many questions arise out of that. The Hon. the Union Home Minister remonstrated strongly when some of us charged the Government with incompetence charged the Government with callousness and charged the Government with whimsicality when it came to the State of Punjab. Of course, I did not expect the Union Home Minister to stand up and admit to incompetence, admit to inefficiency or admit to whimsicality. It is not necessary for him to admit to any of these because events themselves are pointing out to the incompetence of the Government if this is the manner of re-imposing or extending the President's rule in Punjab, if this is the manner in which the Government wants to go about it.

[Sh. Jaswant Singh]

At 6 O'clock in the evening on the ultimate day of the Session of Parliament, you bring forward a Resolution, if this is not inefficiency, I do not know what further examples of inefficiency are to be sought.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): It can be 'efficiency' but not honesty.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have deliberately not spoken of the dishonesty of purpose of the Government. But my senior colleague, Shri Indrajit Gupta suggests that even if it is efficiency, it is efficiency combined with dishonesty of purpose so far as the State of Punjab is concerned.

Sir, we have a situation when at 6 o'clock, the Hon. the Minister comes forward explaining to us why it has become necessary to seek an extension of the President's rule.

The date of 10th November was not a secret date. The date of 10th November or when the President's rule expires was known to the Government when the last spell of President's rule was extended. From that day onwards, we knew that 10th November, 10 1991 is something that we will have to cope with. Now, this Parliament has been in session since July. It was known to the Government that something has to be done about the State of Punjab because in November, the question will again get posed. Why could the Government, as the Session was progressing, not have come forward with what it intends to do, when the Session was in its midst. Why could it not have come forward even when the other aspects of Punjab were being taken up? The Government toyed with the idea of Constitutional amendments. The Government then brought forward the Bill about annulment of elections. Why has the Government tied itself up in these confused convoluted knots? I could safely guess that it is because of only one reason. I feel the cancellation of elections in Punjab was a dishonest act motivated purely and solely by the concern of the Congress Party somehow to enter the electoral arena

all over again, having made the original mistake of boycotting the elections. You pervert the entire system because you have originally made a mistake. You boycotted the election and to rectify that mistake of your party, purely for the sake of gaining more seats whether in the Assembly or in the Parliament, and pervert the entire system. If you have begun to prevent the entire system, then there will have to be a price that will have to be paid. My great worry is that it is not a price that is paid by politicians so much, as it is a price that will be paid by the people of Punjab.

Sir, to explain all this, the Hon. Union Home Minister then spoke of the necessity of the annulment of elections and the annulment of elections receiving Presidential assent. It is well-known that the Rajya Sabha cleared the annulment Bill after about 3 O'clock. Then the Bill was rushed post-haste through special messengers to the President to obtain a post-haste signature so that before 6 O'clock that message reached here and the Lok Sabha could take up consideration of this Bill. Is this the way for any Government to function? Is this the way for a Government to treat a sensitive and important issue like the Punjab issue? When such things happen, my good friend Shri Ram Vilas Paswan was well within his rights to make that comment. He said yesterday that obtaining signature on such papers in such a fashion itself is an admission of incompetence by the Government. There is little time. I will leave the other things unsaid. This statement of the Union Home Minister, I will examine in some detail because it is a classic example of bureaucratic obfuscation. The statement is, of course as I said earlier, also another example of the Government's insensitivity in so far as the people of Punjab are concerned. I submit that it is insulting in its implications. It is insulting because it is so full of fiction. This whole statement is not a statement of facts. But it is a narration of fiction. I will say it is insulting because either the Government treats this Parliament and people outside with total contempt or it thinks that we have no knowledge of what is happening in the country or



contempt or it thinks that we have no knowledge of what is happening in the country or understanding of what is happening in Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER : How much time will you need?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will need only 5-7 minutes. That is all. The point is because we do have some understanding of these issues, therefore, the Government thinks it can come forward with anything it likes in the form of a statement. They expect that we will just follow it. Let me point out to you one thing. Here is a statement of fiction by the Union Home Minister. I quote:

"Elections to the Legislative Assembly of Punjab were scheduled to be held on 22nd June, 1991 along with Parliamentary elections. However, the Election Commission of India taking into account all relevant facts was satisfied that it was not possible to conduct free and fair poll on 22nd June, 1991..."

I find it is an astounding statement to be made by the Government through the mouth of the Hon. Union Home Minister and to be communicated to this Parliament. When did the Chief Election Commissioner take this decision? He takes it on the midnight of 21st June when the polling parties have already begun to go to their polling booths. We are now informed that the Chief Election Commissioner taking all the relevant facts into consideration was satisfied that it was not possible to conduct elections. What independent machinery did the Chief Election Commissioner have? What machinery has he got to obtain all these relevant facts? What were the relevant facts that the then Governor of Punjab did not have, but the Chief Election Commissioner did? What were these relevant facts? Unless we are informed of these relevant facts, how can we take, at face value, the Statement that the Hon. Union Home Minister gave to the Parliament? Who gave these facts to the Chief

Election Commissioner? What was the Government then doing? The recommendation of the then Government of India was that elections would be held in the State of Punjab. That is my recollection. Why did you, on the midnight of 21st June, when one Government had not yet transited to another Government, take this step? Let me tell you about this because we commented on this subject earlier also. This was a step of unbelievable cynicism, unbelievable cruelty to the people of Punjab because if this was the decision that you were to take, why did you take it after hundreds of candidates got killed? If this is what you had to do, why did you do it on the midnight of 21st or 22nd when one Government was transiting to another Government? Why could it not be done a day earlier? The facts which were in the possession of the Chief Election Commissioner, did they come into his possession only after 11 O'clock in the night and between 11 o'clock and 12 o'clock? What kind of fiction is the Government serving to Parliament? Are we to take this as the ground on which we are to extend the President's Rule? I cannot believe to it. I put it to you that this decision was taken by the Congress Party only with the interest of the Congress Party in mind and certainly not with the interest of Punjab or with national interests in mind. How can we go along with this statement?

And the Commission then announces that the elections will be held on the 25th of September. On what basis did the Chief Election Commissioner decide about this 25th of September? What difficulty do you have now? You have this difficulty because you cannot participate, the Congress Party cannot participate in it. Therefore, you have for the first time ever crossed this *Lakshman Rekha* of elections. I put it to you that electoral process in India has had a certain sacrosanctity. Once set in motion, it has never been annulled; it has never been stopped. Even in the State of Assam where my senior party leader Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee deputed me in the most horrendous elections of 1983 when nothing took place, when hundreds got killed, when the

[Sh. Jaswant Singh]

total voting percentage was less than two, even then those elections were not stopped. You have crossed a certain kind of *Lakshman Rekha of Maryada*. We, as Republic of India, have annulled the election for the first time in the country. We have annulled this only for a single party's interest. If you do it having crossed this *Lakshman Rakha*, I put it to you, that there is no knowing of who or which Governor or which party when in power, could tomorrow not annul elections in the State of Maharashtra or in the State of Rajasthan on this basis.

The Union Home Minister has further informed us that in November 1990, in the State of Punjab, the law and order situation had reached its Nadir. In February 91, it reached its lowest point. This is illustrative of the attitude of the Government of India because it is measuring the conditions in Punjab only by the questionable and the heartless arithmetic of the numbers of people killed. The Union Home Minister then further says, because in March, 1991, the talk of elections, the terrorists will intensify their efforts and yet the elections had been announced. Whenever the talk of elections, the terrorists will intensify their efforts, to thwart the democratic process every time. And every time the terrorists intensify their efforts, are you going to keep on cancelling them? where will this process stop?

The Union Home Minister has said that the terrorists are also shifting their areas of operation. (Interruptions) I will conclude in a minute or two. They are shifting their areas of operation to Rajasthan, they have shifted their area of operation in Rajasthan. Are you going to cancel elections in Rajasthan as well?

Some very significant captures have been made Punjab terrorists in the State of Rajasthan. Some very significant arrests have been made; some very significant captures of weaponry has been made. Are you going to treat them as a ground for cancellation or elections in Rajasthan also?

How are we going to countenance this kind of fiction that is being served to the Parliament.

I am here informed by way of the Statement of the Union Home Minister that the Punjab Administration's response to the situation in Punjab has been that as against 1321 terrorists killed and so many arrested in 1990 we have now killed 1433.

How are we to understand this kind of senseless arithmetic that you have given? Is it the only yardstick by which you are going to measure the success of failure of your activities in Punjab? Is it the only responsibility of the administration in Punjab? The administration in Punjab was directly under the Government of India since 1987.

I am sorry to say that we cannot accept this kind of treatment to Punjab. We were informed by the Union Home Minister by his statement that counter propaganda drive was launched. Where is the counter propaganda being launched and with what success? What has it achieved? He says that the activities of terrorist sympathizers etc are being discouraged. What kind of fiction is this? Where has it got discouraged? Where is this counter propaganda drive, when every evening after 6 O'clock the whole Punjab including the rural areas become virtually an area of curfew and hardly anybody turns out? What kind of counter propaganda has been launched and by who?

The next question is a very important one. A new Governor has just taken over in Punjab and he has given his assessment of the situation. The former Governor of Punjab, a distinguished soldier, who had an unblemished career behind him, had staked his entire public career on holding the elections in Punjab. The former Governor was not consulted when the Chief Election Commissioner took those relevant facts into account. That former Governor, just a few months ago, was committed to holding the elections in Punjab. That Governor's advice was not acceptable to you. The new Governor has come; after a great search you found a

Governor for the state of Punjab. How are we to accept this kind of situation where the Union Government selectively accepts the advice of one Governor, rejects the advice and removes the Governor and appoints a new Governor?

I am sorry that we cannot accept this resolution or the statement accompanying it. The Government informs us that a very special and sustained effort is required. Will the Home Minister explain, as to what will be that very special and sustained effort? What are the inputs of that special and sustained effort? What will be the details of that special and sustained effort? He further says that an atmosphere will be necessary which should reasonably be free from coercion. How will you bring about such an atmosphere.

The Union Home Minister further informs us that it will be necessary to build up a tempo of activities which will restore the confidence of the people. What will be the tempo of activities and what kind of activities do you have in mind and who will raise the tempo, so that the confidence of the people is restored? He also informs us that while coordinated action on many fronts will be necessary, the central object - please mark the word central object - is to have sufficient forces so that the terrorist organizations may be effectively checkmated. Where are these sufficient forces going to come from? You had sufficient forces in April 1991, in the State of Punjab, including Armed forces deployed for months in advance and you have created these situation. Are you going to redeploy the armed forces? Where will you get those Armed forces from; after what you have done in Assam? Where will the additional forces come from? How are we to accept all these things? I will conclude by repeating our minimum irreducible demands which if the Government concedes, will enable us to consider this resolution. Otherwise, I am afraid, we cannot lend our support to this piece of fiction. What is your Policy? Please answer all the queries that I have raised in respect of Punjab. Secondly, how are you countering the effort that is being made by Pakistan about which you repeat-

edly speak time and again that they are interfering in Punjab? What are you doing to counter it- both internally and externally and bilaterally?

Thirdly, we have stated that we cannot lend our support to this resolution unless we know what are the firm dates of elections. What are the firm dates? We cannot in blanket keep on supporting such resolutions, such further extension of President's Rule. We would want the Government to announce firm dates. It is our view that February is too far and in any case, even this is too late. The elections ought to have been held in April to which our party was unequivocally committed. Why can't you hold them in December? Why is this myth of 15th of February being circulated in the newspapers? We would want firm dates and the Government should give us the firm dates of elections. The credibility of the Union Government is so low and so many times the President's rule has been extended that unless these firm dates are given, no one will believe that the Government of India intends doing what it announces.

So, unless these are answered, I am afraid, we cannot lend support to this Resolution.

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir. I shall not speak more, as more than enough has already been said on this subject. I want to start with the credibility of the Government. Some days ago a Bill regarding providing special security was being discussed here in the House. I raised the question of providing security to Shri Rajdev Singh, an ex. M.P. from Punjab and who was also a candidate in the last elections, which was postponed by you. The Home Minister immediately gave me an assurance that his security will be restored. Besides, he asked me to send Shri Rajdev Singh to him. I promised that I will send Shri Rajdev Singh to him the next day. Next day Shri Rajdev Singh tried to see the Hon. Home Minister at his residence but could not

[Sh. George Fernandes]

meet him. Next to that day Shri Rajdev Singh was able to meet the hon. Home Minister. The Hon. Home Minister immediately directed his private Secretary to ask the Police Commissioner of Delhi and concerned officials of Punjab to provide security to Shri Rajdev Singh immediately.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I raised the same question in the House again at the time of presentation of Punjab Budget and informed that no security arrangements have been made till now despite the orders of the Home Minister. At that time I was told that security will be provided to Shri Rajdev Singh. But I regret to inform the House that no arrangement have been made to provide security to Shri Rajdev Singh either by Delhi Police or by Punjab Police till now.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not much worried about the security arrangements for Shri Rajdev Singh. I am worried about the credibility of the Government. If the assurance given by the Home Minister in the House is not carried out by Delhi Police Commissioner or Punjab Police officials despite directions given on telephone by his office then what is the credibility of the Government?

**SHRI RABI RAY**(Kendrapada): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Rajdev Singh met me also in the morning today. He told me that before meeting the Home Minister he met the Prime Minister in the month of August and the Prime Minister had assured him to provide security.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN** (Rosera): Mr. Speaker, Sir, he along with me has also met you, and we also requested the same.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES**: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the credibility of the Government is an important issue. If the orders issued by the Government in which the Prime Minister has also taken the interest, are not carried out, I think, nobody will believe on any word of the Government.

The Bill which has been brought forward in the House, is a big joke with the people of Punjab which is going on for a many years. Yesterday, when this motion was moved in the house. I witnessed the proceedings held after moving this motion regarding the motion brought in this house in the month of March this year. Nearly 15-16 members spoke on that subject and most of the members opposed that motion and asked for immediate elections in Punjab. All the members from Punjab who spoke on that motion had urged the Government to hold the elections in Punjab at the earliest possible and not to postpone those. As all of you are aware that the people living in Punjab, and the people who were elected in the elections held there during 1989 feel very insecure. What happened to many of them, all of you know it. Today if they request to hold the elections, you may hold the elections. Democratic process should be restored in Punjab. There is no such situation in Punjab, which may obstruct the election process. A Notification was issued regarding elections in Punjab. The whole process relating to elections was completed and I had read the letter, day before yesterday, written by the Governor, Shri Maihotra while speaking on the Bill. I want to repeat two sentences of the letter so that the Hon. Home Minister could reply to it. He was functioning as representative of the Government to look after the work in Punjab. He is a former Chief of the Army. After his assuming office, there was a lot of improvement in the situation of Punjab as has been said by many people. He has written about the decision of postponing the elections in Punjab that...

[English]

**MR. SPEAKER**: We do not quote from the letters like that. You can give a gist of it.

[Translation]

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES**: He has written that he was very perturbed to learn about the decision taken regarding postponement of elections. He had no alterna-

tive but to resign as the decision taken was not appropriate. He has suggested to hold the elections in Punjab if we want to solve the problem of Punjab. It is one of the best ways. The opinion was before the Government. Instead of holding the elections, the decision of postponing it, was taken. My Hon. colleague Shri Jaswant-jj has said that elections were to be held on 22nd instant and the Chief Election Commissioner had announced on 19th through Radio, Television and media as

[English]

"Under no circumstances will there be any postponement of elections"

[Translation]

It was said during his press conference held on 19th. After the statement issued on 19th, a message to the people was broadcast/telecast on 20th on behalf of the Governor 'to go to caste their vote with courage'. After this deliberation, what special information was received by the Election Commission on the 20th night which compelled it to postpone the elections. It was nothing except formation of the Government by Congress party, the next day. We are saying it without levelling allegation against the Congress Government. It has a base. The decision taken by the Chief Election Commission was also in accordance with that. As the Congress party was forming the Government, it should be given an opportunity to participate in the election. The elections to 12 seats are to be held. If it has the possibility of winning about 4 seats efforts should be made to this effect. Keeping this in view, the elections were postponed there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the history of many years is behind this situation of Punjab. Congress Party has created such a situation there to contain the influence of Akaii Dal. We want to say it categorically. We can't believe on the statement given by the Government at any cost. Shri Jaswant Singh has raised objection on many issues relating to the statement. I want to know that what do

you mean by telling us the increase in the number of people killed in Punjab. What does the Minister draw the conclusion out of it? One thousand People were killed last year and two thousand people have been killed this year. What does it mean? Do you mean that we have become more strong. If it is so, I would say that it is wrong conclusion. Every year more people emerge to face you. Why you are not able to understand it that terrorism can not be checked with the help of the bullets. If rifles have been the remedy, the emergency of Northern Ireland would have abolished many years before. But such movements and struggles can't be stopped with the help of bullets. You have come to the wrong conclusion. Killing more people is not the remedy of this problem. We are taking the steps using the words as 'increasing the tempo' They are merely words. If you want to do something in Punjab, you should withdraw the Bill. Hold the elections before 11th Hand over the power to the elected representatives the people. The problem of Punjab would be solved. The people of Punjab are caught between the terror of insurrectionists and of Police. There should be an elected Government. Elected representatives should run the Government. The contribution of the people of Punjab for attaining freedom of the country, for the development of the country and accelerating the production of foodgrains as also in other fields have been the maximum. Keeping in view all these things I request that the Government should withdraw the Bill.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA(Midnapore):  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party, I rise to categorically oppose this resolution which has been moved here yesterday by the Government - by the Home Minister. It is not a question of announcing some further dates or time schedule for elections. Perhaps the Government will do that judging from what is being mooted around and what has appeared in the Press. Maybe at the end of this debate or towards the end of this debate, the Hon. Home Minister may come out with some kind of an announcement that if this

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

resolution is adopted, then the Government will say that by such-and-such time we are prepared to hold the elections.

I think, this Government has lost all credibility as far as Punjab is concerned. Now because of their losing their credibility, I am not prepared to lose my credibility also. The people of Punjab have suffered endlessly. They are being condemned once again by this resolution to further bloodshed, killings, tortures and sufferings from which this Government at least has no remedy by which it can save them.

I am not going to refer - the other colleagues have done it already - to all these statistics which have been given in the resolution regarding killings, the piling-up of corpses, this mound of corpses which is mounting up and up in Punjab. I do not know how we are supposed to regard this kind of state of affair in one part of our country going on from year to year. Mind you, I am not referring only to the killings perpetrated by the terrorists which are horrible enough, horrendous enough to innocent people who are being butchered by them. They have now taken to firing on running trains, killing passengers in running trains. They are capable of doing all sorts of things. We know it. I am also referring to what the police is doing in Punjab. I do not say all police men or police officers should be held guilty of this. But there is no doubt and the Government should admit this day that police excesses in the way of tortures, in the way of killings and extortions of money are going on without any check. Why should the people of Punjab be condemned to this again for another unspecified period just because the Government suddenly decided that they must now further extend the President's rule? What has happened to this date of 25th September? Where did it come from? What is the calculation, I want to know. When this election was cancelled at the last minute, when the Commission announced that the elections in Punjab should not be held on the 22nd of June, they did declare that it would

be held on the 25th of September. How did that date come? What was the calculation behind it? I do not think the Chief Election Commissioner could go about doing these things without any consultations with the Government or getting any line-clear from the Government? If he did it like that, then you please tell us. We want to know something more about his functioning also. If he has been doing all these things cancelling the elections, again ordering the elections without any consultation with the Government or approval from the Government we should know that also. I would like to know whether these elections in Punjab, which the Government says will be held after some-time, are going to be conducted and presided over by the same Chief Election Commissioner, who has become such a controversial figure. You intend to retain him in his office until the time comes for Punjab elections again. I do not know the calculation behind this. You may ask, Sir, if we are opposing this Resolution, why did we not vote against the Bill which came the other day for cancelling the elections? The obvious reason is that the only date which was pending before us was the 25th September which was announced earlier and if you suddenly bring a Bill in the month of September, anybody can understand that elections cannot be held by the 25th of September. So, that election has to be cancelled. But the question has been raised here is that why in good time, you could not decide to hold elections before the 11th of November, before the expiry of President's Rule. There was plenty of time for that. You cannot, at the last minute, say that the situation is dangerous and nothing can be done and the Governor says that there are all sorts of obstacles and ail that.

So, Sir, my colleague, Mr. Jaswant Singh, has very comprehensively and adequately exposed the kind of duplicity I am afraid I have to call it dupiicity which has been indulged in by the Government even day before yesterday. Even day before yesterday, the proceedings say that on behalf of the Government, it was stated here that they are not bringing the Resolution. They



could said that they are not bringing the Resolution that day, that is, the 16th September but they intend to bring the Resolution on the 17th of September. Did they say anything like that? Did they give any warning to this House or anything to the people of this country? Nothing was given.

Now, I do not know how my other friends will react if the Home Minister eventually, towards the end of this debate, comes out what he may call another firm date. I do not value any firm dates coming from an infirm Government. There is not much value and this endless and indefinite prolongation of President's Rule cannot be supported by anybody who has any concern at all for the democratic rights and democratic process of the people of Punjab. Now, at least, the old arguments are not being trotted out that if elections will be held, terrorists will win and they will get the majority and a government will come to power which will declare Khalistan the next day. I am glad that you are not saying that. You are saying, "Yes, elections must be held. The only question is the timing " we are with you if such a situation will come about, which I personally believe will not come about. But my opinion may be wrong. If such a situation comes about and if some Government is to power by the people of Punjab which will declare independence the next day, well, we are with you and we know how to deal with such a situation. This is a big country. This is not a small country. We know how to face such a situation. It will be faced. But that may not happen also. People of Punjab are not, in my opinion, like that. We have some people in Punjab. There are still some people left there even after all those comrades who have been killed. Still, there are some people left. I have consulted them. CPI(M) friends have been consulting their people. Do you think, Sir, that a majority of the people in Punjab today are supporting the terrorists? I tell you that an overwhelming majority of them are against the terrorists now. They may not have the courage to speak out always because these fellows are going about with weapons and killing people indiscriminately. People are fed up, especially the majority of people who are farmers

in Punjab's countryside. They are thoroughly fed up. And you should not say that if such an inferiority complex is there, to think that even if elections will be held, then the terrorists will get the majority immediately, you do not believe in it. Last time, we had this experience that when the date was announced for elections, the terrorists started fighting among themselves and they started killing each other. I wish them success in that venture. But when you do not hold elections and you cancel the elections, again they come together. And they are able to agitate and provoke people against the whole concept of unitary State or the Government of India or the Centre here which is dealing with Punjab in this way. I am not going to quote from any letter or anything. But if you would permit me, I would mention just two instances. Only in the last eight or ten days, two instances have been brought personally to my notice. I am only giving you the gist of the kind of thing which is going on. One has appeared in the back page of *Statesmen*. You can see it for yourself. The report says that Avatar Singh of Shatrana Village, District Patiala was tortured to death by the police on the 26th of July. He was an independent candidate in the last Assembly Elections. There is a Human Rights Organization, of which you may not think much. Well, I do not know. The Punjab Human Rights Organisation sent a team to that village, consisting of Maj. Genl. (Retd.) Narender Singh, Dr. Sukhjeet Kaur Gill and Malvinder Singh Mali. This team has reported that this is a clear case of planned killing. They talked with all sorts of people there, the villagers and others and they all have said that the guilty officers should be found out. They have gone to the Governor. Those who are responsible should be punished.

There is the other case. One old man by name Preetam Singh came to see me. He is from Village Bhodiwala under Police Station Malaut in District Faridkot. His two sons have been shot dead by the Police. At dead of the night, the police raided their village, woke them up from their sleep, took those two boys to some a distance away and shot them in cold blood. This is the allegation which he

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

has made. And it was all basically a case of a land dispute. Some landlords wanted to evict these people from the land on which they are the tenants. I can understand that because land disputes are frequent occurrences in Punjab also. They have got a stay order from the Additional Judicial Magistrate of Muktsar on 26th August, about this land that the status quo should not be disturbed. But the police force came in the middle of the night and killed those boys. According to them, the DIG of Ferozpur Range whom I do not want to name here, came with a huge police force and also with the DSP of Fazilka. I may say here that this Faridkot comes under Ferozpur Range, but the Police with their higher officers came from their neighbouring district. These forces came and surrounded the village and fired shots in the air and woke up people from their sleep. These two boys were taken to a corner and shot dead. It was alleged that they had got some connection with the terrorists. Well, this is the usual excuse given. The Local people and also the local police of the Maulat police Station, Faridkot say that they have no record of any connection with terrorists. So, this is the kind of thing which is going on you do not mention these things at all.

Why should the people be tortured both by the terrorists and by the police? How are they expected to survive and lead a human life? this is the meaning of President's Rule. President's Rule means Police Raj. There is no authority, no channel, no person to whom people can go and get their grievances redressed. A Governor who tied to do so was confronted with a situation where he had no option but to resign. He had to resign because he stood for elections. I do not know anything about the new Governor. I do not wish to comment about him. But you have said in your note here, while moving the Resolution that the Governor I mean the new Governor has said that there are some insuperable difficulties in organising elections shortly. This is what the Governor is supposed to have said. I would like to know what those insuperable difficulties are. If these

are insuperable, how do you propose to overcome them in the next two or three months? What are those insuperable difficulties? If it is the question of concentrating forces there, which seems to be your only remedy, then you have mentioned here in paragraph 10 that the Central object is to have sufficient forces.

12.00 hrs

The central part of your strategy is to have sufficient forces. Of course, you need forces but if that is the only utterly nonpolitical strategy with which you wish to tackle the Punjab situation then I am afraid that you are going to fail because what else you have been doing all these years except shedding blood and making people to shed each others blood. Nothing has been said, as my colleague has just now said, about the other efforts that you are going to take to win the confidence of the people. There is no political move at all; no initiative at all and not a word is being said today about Rajiv Gandhi — Longowal Accord. Please tell us, have you decided to bury it for ever; bury it fathoms deep. You do not want to make any effort to see that any element of that accord may be implemented so that people have some feeling of assurance and confidence.

What prevents you from handing over Chandigarh to Punjab? You provide different alternative for the Capital of Haryana. Nobody objects to that. That was the part of the understanding. But Chandigarh must be given to Punjab as its capital. What is preventing you from at least referring to the case of river water dispute to some High Court, Supreme Court or some tribunal. Let the case be referred to them and let them go into it. But nothing has been done.

Now, you say that sustained efforts must be made. But, I would like to say, to do what. I do not wish to take more time. This Government has got no credibility; not a shade of credibility is left as far as Punjab affair is concerned. We are not prepared to countenance further extension of President's Rule in Punjab. Even if some time schedule is

indicated by the Government, I am not prepared to believe it because it is not the first time that it is being done. Assurances given are not worth to believe because on paper only they are written off. And, for that matter who knows in today's India whether by February next this Government is there or not. Nobody can say.

It is an infirm Government wanting to give firm assurances which I am not prepared to believe and I am not prepared to go and sell this package to the people of Punjab. My party is not prepared to go and tell them that we have agreed with the Government that again the President's Rule should be extended. On the basis of the assurance given that elections will be held in February, I am not prepared to go and say this to the people of Punjab. Therefore, regretably, regretfully or whatever you would like to say, we are not prepared to support this Statutory Resolution and we are going to oppose it.

We hope that Government even now have the sense to think of some other way. I do not understand why elections could not have been held before 11th of November. There was no difficulty if they had started this process a month or two earlier. The point is that there is not the absence of law or absence of military force which is preventing them to hold elections. It is the absence of will. They have no will to hold elections in Punjab. They made the things worse by their own party deciding to boycott the elections. Now, they have perhaps changed the decision. Therefore, the notification had to be cancelled; a notification has to be issued and Congress people have to be given the opportunity to file their nominations. For the sake of all this we have to go through the same tortuous process all over again. We cannot support it on any ground and, therefore, I oppose this Resolution.

[Translation]

SHRI AYUB KHAN (Jhunjhunu): Sir, I rise to support the resolution brought by our Home Minister to extend the period of President rule in Punjab. But I am sorry from the

core of my heart on this extension. How long will we extend this period in Punjab?

I have just heard the earlier speakers. I am very much surprised to hear the speech of Shri Jaswant Singh of Rajasthan. I have never disturbed him. Similarly, I hope that nobody would disturb me as well. He has spoken against Congress policies in his speech. It means he has consumed most of his time in explaining that the situation in Kashmir, Punjab, Sri Lanka and Assam is the result of the Congress policies. I am surprised to hear his speech when I was in 8th Lok Sabha, he was in the other House at that time. It is my first chance to hear him. We belong to the same place in Rajasthan. I am surprised to hear such a language from an aged and able person like him for a party, with a view to conceal its goodness and reveal its shortcomings.

I would like to state that ours is a country where all the religions are respected, all the religions are worshipped, all the religions are free. When a peace march was organised by a Bhartiya Janata Party under the leadership of great leader and it started from Somnath to a particular place why did he leave Punjab? If you have included Punjab also, in the Peace March, it would have been much better and the people would have participated in that march. Punjab is a heart of this county and to maintain peace and law and order in Punjab is the foremost duty of all the people irrespective of the party affiliations. A Joint Peace Mission including all the political parties should have gone to Punjab. Our youths, children, teachers and intelligentsia should have gone there and organised rallies etc. there. It is not proper only to criticise a party for not doing this or that. There should have been a suggestion for it. If you extend this period, we will feel sorry because people from Punjab want their right and they must get it. When the then existing Government at the time of Punjab election, could not protect people in Punjab, even the candidates, how could the election take place in Punjab? Now it is the responsibility of our Government to hold election in Punjab and to check bloodshed. And you should take such steps as can

[Sh. Ayub Khan]

control the bloodshed anymore. Despite the efforts made by the vested interest to destroy our culture, civilization, unity and integrity of the country, we could be able to protect ourselves and they could not create any misunderstanding among the people of various communities.

I appeal to you that there is still time to understand the problem of the people of Punjab seriously and to know what do they want? So that we can find its solution and the elections can be held in peace and an elected Government may come into power. When I was in army, I had an opportunity to have a contact with the masses. I have witnessed two wars in Punjab and have witnessed the courage and ability of the farmers and the people of Punjab. I have seen that the names from Punjab were in the largest number on the stones of Central Jail in Andaman and Nicobar Islands which is known as the Jail of Kala Pani (Kala Pani Jail). Though there were names of the people from other states also yet the number of people of Punjab was more.

So, I would like to appeal the Government through you that it should adopt a clearcut policy to hold elections in Punjab positively. Keeping in view the situation in Punjab. If we come to know the date, the morale of the people of Punjab will be boosted and they will think that they are getting their right. I would like to request you once again to withdraw the extra forces sent to Punjab. Please send such forces there as may not involve in such cases. Every individual cannot be an extremist, every individual cannot be a traitor. So the people except the extremists should be treated with love and affection. Don't doubt everyone. If we doubt everyone, it will harm us. I have some suggestions. I hope the Government would pay attention to them.

My first suggestion is that the extra forces should be withdrawn from there and send such forces as can help the people in assisting them to get their rights so that the

people can get justice. Try to understand the sentiments of the people. What do they really want? There are some religious demands. Please accept those which you can accept. We must try to win their hearts and should not take any such step as may hurt their feelings. It is our duty to regard their sentiments. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the same Punjab from where slogan "Ek Onkar Satnam" was raised. This is the place where all were equal and on oath was taken to protect the truth and all the civilizations. So we would have to improve the present situation in Punjab and will have to announce a definite date of election. We will have to adopt a clear cut policy in regard to Punjab. I think if we can hold the elections in Punjab, it would be better action in dealing with the Punjab problem.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think Punjab problem is a national problem. We will make a mistake if we take it as only a problem of Punjab. Punjab problem is a problem of our national unity and sovereignty of our country. We have just heard the statement by our honourable Home Minister. Government's actions have aggravated the problems in Punjab within two months. The manner in which the Punjab elections were cancelled just before a few hours was not proper. In these elections those people of Punjab, were also participating who are not with extremists today and are facing the danger of extremism at the cost of their lives. Unfortunately the Congress, which is still a national party today decided not to take part in this election and at last they thought it necessary to postpone this election from political angle. When they got a chance to form the Government in Lok Sabha after this election, they postponed it. Thus, the whole faith has been lost.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the manner in which the Government has cancelled the whole process, is improper. The motion which the honourable Home Minister has moved today would have been moved in the beginning, then the position would have been different. In that case, if the elections had to be post-

poned, it would have been done with the consensus of all the parties. Now you are seeing that the whole house is divided. The Congress Party is on one side and all the opposition parties are on the other side. Will it leave a good impression in the country? Who is responsible for it? The Congress is responsible for it. The Congress does not know as to how this problem should be solved. The Congress always thinks in political terms. This problem is not of today, it is 10 years old. But we are levelling charges against each other.

If we go on blaming a particular Government for this situation, it will be a no solution. Now I am expressing my personal view on this problem not my party's view as this matter is yet to be considered by my party. It is a national problem and not a problem relating to any party. Will the Government like to reconsider the issue of holding a tripartite meeting before the announcement of this election, as it had called in the beginning? I also want that the representatives of the Government, the opposition parties and those of the parties in Punjab such as Akali and other parties, and the representatives of and factions of Akali Dal and other break-away groups person who want to participate in it should be invited to attend the meeting. Hon. Mr. Home Minister I would like to inform that one former Chief Minister and popular leader of Punjab I would not like to refer to him by name told an eminent person at Delhi four days ago that they were prepared to take part in election last time and they were participating the election process for the unity and integrity of the country at the risk of their own life but now they would not take part in election if these are held because on the one hand they take part in election at the risk of their life, their candidates are killed while on the other hand. Government plays with their lives and it postpones elections when it wishes so. Therefore, the Central Government is creating a ridiculous situation which I think is dangerous for the nation.

Sir, it appears to me and the country is well aware of the fact that -

[English]

The Congress Government is developing a cold feet to face the elections in Punjab. And this is not only danger to Punjab but it is also a danger to the entire process of democracy.

[Translation]

First of all the people of Punjab must have faith, after all they understand each and every thing. I would like to congratulate the people of Punjab that despite such a tough situations in Punjab they did not form anti-India opinion. The people of Punjab have time and again assessed it. The people of Punjab are producing foodgrains, wheat, they are working in industries, they are in the main-stream of the country along with other people of the country. The people of Punjab have never helped terrorists or Khalistani forces.

I did not intend to say what you are stating. The figures given in the para 7 of the statement of the Home Minister tell the number of terrorists killed in 1990 and that of those killed during these eight months. It shows that 1321 terrorists were killed during the whole year in 1990 but 1433 were killed during these eight months only. Therefore, it is a great achievement. Sir what is happening to the people? During the period of 23 days from 12 March to 3 April, 1991, 278 people lost their lives, 17 incidents of bomb-blast took place and 26 persons were kidnapped in Punjab.

[English]

on an average, 300 people are being killed every month in Punjab.

[Translation]

What will be its result? If you are killing 1300 terrorists 4000 people are being killed every year, people are fleeing from there, the people are losing their faith. What will be the consequence of such uncertainty? The result now will be that the process of fleeing

[Sh. Chandrajeet Yadav]

from Punjab will speed up. The industrialists of Punjab are migrating to Delhi and other parts of the country and purchasing land there. They are making alternative arrangement for setting up factories, constructing houses because the entire policy of the Government has crated such an uncertainty. The situation is compelling them to run away from there. It is essential to win the confidence of the people of Punjab. If we want to continue with our democratic set-up, it is essential to win the confidence of the people of Punjab. How can you win that? This is the problem being faced. You extended the President rule in Punjab for eight to nine times, and changed four Governors in a short span of 18 months. First you appointed Shri N.K. Mukerjee thereafter Shri Virendra Verma then O.P. Malhotra and now fourth is occupying the post. The government should have confidence in one particular person and should give him the powers and authorities to work there. But the Government has completely failed in this regard. The present debate in the House will atleast communicate the message that the entire House all the political parties of the country do not support the Government if it does not have any confidence in the people and it dare not to hold elections there and if it dare at all to do so , the elections are cancelled after announcing their dates. So this debate will suggest that the entire House does not support this wrong policy of the Government. The common people of the country the democratic system. I think it will give a good message and good result.

The Government should not commit the mistake, as I have the information and as the Government has expressed its intention that it is contemplating to formulate a law which will keep the terrorists away from the process of elections. I think that it will be a great Himalayan blunder. It will be a great blunder if some persons are kept away from the electoral process. I would like to inform you that whosoever participates in the election, expresses his faith in the Constitution. He goes for election only when he has faith in

the constitution of India. The Prime Minister has made a great blunder. He should not have stated that had the elections been held in Punjab.

[English]

That would have been taken as a referendum in support of Khalistan.

[Translation]

It was a great blunder on the part of Prime Minister. The Prime Minister should never fake any election of the country or a state as a referendum in support of breaking away from the country. Such blunder have taken place once. When C.P.M. for the first time formed its Government in Kerala after winning the elections, those persons who did not have any faith then Parliamentary system had made a great hue and cry that time. Our communist party has come into the power through the elections... (*Interruptions*)

When it come to power, some persons did not want it to function. They held that it is dangerous for the country that the parties which do not have any faith in the Parliamentary system and so called values and ideal polities have come into the power. Later on Government was dismised . What proved later is a remarkable thing. During the last 40 years seen that different parties have come into the power which proved that people had faith in the Parliamentary Process and system. It is the real strength of the democracy and a good sign for the future of the Democracy . Therefore, I urge upon the Government not to take any such step in Punjab and have faith in the people there.

Here I conclude with my last submission. It would have been better if the Home Minister had announced the dates for elections in Punjab in suo-moto statement made by him yesterday which it would have created. Had he announced the state simultaneously with his speech, the people would have sustained their faith to some extent. But his message spread all over the country and especially in Punjab that the Govern-



ment will not allow them to form their own Government through democratic process. It is the most dangerous thing. Therefore, I request the Home Minister earnestly to make an announcement regarding starting election process in Punjab. While replying to it. If he does not do that then he must try to evolve a national consensus within one or two weeks over the Punjab issue after consulting the people.

With these words I oppose this proposal and I think that Government will take steps taking account into my suggestions.

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): Sir, I agree with many Hon. Speakers who spoke before me that the way the Government has handled this very important and critical question of holding elections in Punjab is not only disgraceful but also harmful to the cause of the unity and integrity of the country. I also agree with all the references that are made about the inconsistencies, incongruities that are there in the statement, and the contradictions that are there in the steps that are taken so far by the Government.

Today, we are faced with a situation of bringing a Resolution in the House and asking this House to approve it. This situation could be avoided if just after taking over, this Government would have initiated measures to hold elections in Punjab on the new date that was announced by the Election Commission while postponing the earlier date. But they remained inactive all these three months in between. No serious effort was made to conduct dialogue with the Opposition parties and others who are concerned about holding elections in Punjab. Nor did they try to take us into confidence to certain measures that are long overdue and which are very necessary in order to peacefully holding elections in Punjab and mobilising the patriotic people of Punjab to have a desired outcome through the process of election. These are the blunders that this Government has committed and I vehemently

criticise this Government for all this that they have done.

The other day when we were discussing about that cancellation Bill, I had said that it was very wrong on the part of the then Government Mr. Chandra Shekhar to call for elections in Punjab in that manner, without having attempted to arrive at a consensus among the political parties. I said that Punjab is not the issue of this party or that party. Punjab is national issue. I want to know what kind of moral authority the then Government of Shri Chandra Shekhar - which had the backing of the Congress party and later on when the Congress party withdrew support - had to tackle these very sensitive questions on which the unity of the country is dependent. How is it that Government did not bother to take into confidence the views of CPI (M), other Left parties and even the Congress party? How is it? The fact is that not on the ground that the people of our party and people of other parties also are facing the wrath of the terrorists? It was highly unethical and immoral for that Government to take that decision without taking into view the opinion of those who are fighting the terrorists in Punjab. Now this is the thing that is happening there. We are failing to arrive at a consensus to deal with the critical situation which warrants unanimity of approach and a consensus approach. Shri Chandra Shekhar's Government failed to arrive at that kind of attitude and you are also failing to arrive at that. After forming the Government, you should have started a dialogue. You should have had a negotiation. We can not support this casual dealing. It is not an abstract election. You cannot hold election unmindful of what is happening there in Punjab. The question in Punjab is not that elections did not take place and are all ignored. There are other problems which are basic and which are at the root of the issue. What are the steps that you are taking about that?

We have always been asking the Government to take certain measures. You hold elections. But before that you must take as decision about Chandigarh. Why can you

[Sh. Saifuddin Choudhury]

not take a decision about Chandigarh? Why should it not be given to Punjab? Why can Haryana not be taken into confidence? Why can Haryana not be given money for construction of a few capital? More than five years have passed since the problem began. Chandigarh has to go to Punjab. Haryana has to have a separate capital. Why did the construction of a capital for Haryana not? Can anybody tell us about that begin I can say that this is the height of irresponsibility. Chandigarh should be given to Punjab. New capital for Haryana should be constructed. That would have a psychological impact on the people of Punjab that though Chandigarh is not coming to them today, it will come to them, tomorrow as a new capital is being built for Haryana. I must say that we are irresponsible politicians.

Let us consider the case of Haryana. I know that equivalent portion of land has to go in lieu of Chandigarh. Then there is another clause which is, that the boundary dispute has to be settled on the principle of language as the basis and on the basis of contiguity. Now on that point, you have to set up a commission. That will remove all the misgivings that will be there even in the minds of the people of Haryana Government. On the basis of language and contiguity each area in the border area that has to come to Haryana, has to be given to them and similarly the Punjabi speaking area which has to come to Punjab - which is now in Haryana - has to be given to Punjab. Why do you not set up such a commission? Can anybody tell us the reason for not doing so?

Why can you not refer the question of water dispute to the Supreme Court? I do not know the reason for this. We are drifting away, allowing things to go out of hand and go haywire. What kind of politics are we playing, I do not know.

Then there is another point. They have raised certain important issues in connection with the Centre-State relations. Nobody will support them if they raise their voice for

segregation from India, division of India or secession from India. I have seen in today's papers that Mr. Mann has said that he has to have a separate country and he will seek independence and recognition from the United Nations and all that. But then there are certain other issues on which we can create confidence in the minds of people and isolate these imperialist-backed terrorists. Why don't we take that step? Why don't we set up a Committee of inter-State Council to look into the questions of the Centre-State relations to give more powers to the State? Why can't you do that? Why can't you take up the language issue to give proper honour to all the languages including the Punjabi language?

AN HON MEMBER: What happened to Sarkaria Commission?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: The same thing is with regard to Sarkaria Commission. More can be discussed in the Committee of the Inter-State Council. Now, in the bordering State if the Punjabi-speaking people demand certain status which should be democratically given to them, why don't you give that? Why don't you take action against the culprits of Delhi riots? I do not know how many times we have to say the same thing. For years we have been saying the same thing. For the action of two persons do you condemn the whole community? Three thousand people were killed, somebody had initiated it. Have you brought them to book? Have you punished them? It is not a simple question of thing election or not. Either you hold election or let the country go to hell. It is not enough, people want election, that is the demand. Election has to be the focus of a process that will be in favour of the unity and integrity of the country. Now you have wasted a lot of time two months or three months. You could begin the process of election when you took over. And now before 11th of November we could have election. We had supported the cancellation of the notification of the earlier date Yes it is not a party question, I take it that way. I think that Shri Chandra Shekhar should not have announced election without first guaranteeing all the parties

participating in the election. I may take a wrong decision, but I should be also fair enough to make it appear to the people that I did it in the right earnest. Now, Sir, if a national party is to remain out of election process, it is not good for the country and also not good for holding peaceful elections in Punjab. Every one should be involved in the election. It is not just another election like in Bengal or other States. Many things are at stake in Punjab. That is why we support it and logically it goes without saying that while we supported the cancellation of the earlier notification, we just can't oppose this policy, but it should not be understood in this manner people outside also should not understand that this is the game going on, in instalments this Parliament goes on extending the President's Rule. No. We require a firm date to be given, by which time you are going to hold election. I know that some time is required in between. You have to take action on all these 1,2,3,4 and 5 things which I have said. Without that, we will be irresponsible in really taking election as separate from all these issues. We have to understand Punjab in its entirety and we should try to take everybody into confidence.

12.37 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

The mistake we committed is not having consensus in holding election earlier. Today also we should not divide ourselves. For the sake of Punjab let us sit together and fix a firm date. You announce it today and we sit with other leaders to decide on how to really, successfully hold elections on that day. That is what is required. We should not divide ourselves, it is a very serious issue, the unity and integrity of the country is at stake. Shri Indrajit Gupta has said that piles of corpses are there, every day people are being killed, they are torturing people there, women are molested. And in the Administration also there are blacksheep in the police, who have earned a bad name. You have to weed them out, you have to revamp the administration. But if this kind of difficult situation continues, when piles of corpses are there then who will take part in election will the corpses take part

in the elections in Punjab? Is it not necessary that we give fool-proof security to the candidates? Seventeen candidates were killed after the last process began. We could not provide security to them. So, security has to be given, security environment has to be created and psychologically we have to win over and create confidence in the minds of the people. All these are linked in separately with the holding of election, just not in isolation I can see the election. That is why, call a meeting, give a firm date, take action on 1,2,3,4, and 5 things which I have said. I am sure the people of Punjab are secular and patriotic. They are fed up with the terrorists, but they are fed up with the Government and the political parties also, because we do not take transparent stand. I may appear to be differing with my other friends of the Opposition. But the Government should be consistent. As I said earlier, I do not oppose this Resolution. I want time to be taken and elections held peacefully.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Resolution is a step forward to mishandle the vexed Punjab problem and make the situation worse. Just now our leader Shri Jaswant Singh said that this Government is an incompetent Government because it brought forward this Resolution on the last day of the session. I accuse the Government of deliberately and cleverly bringing forward the Resolution on the last day of the session. I could not understand the intentions of the Government when it said at 8 p.m. on the 16th instant.

[*English*]

"The President's Notification is valid till 11th of November, 1991. We have not brought anything before you today in the form of a Statutory Resolution asking you to extend the Bill."

[*Translation*]

Time is written in it. The Government

[Sh. Madan Lai Khurana]

which makes a statement at 8. p.m on 16th that it would not bring forward such a Resolution backs out from its words after a few hours. What was the intention behind it? I charge it to be a minority Government. The Government knew fully well that had this Resolution been brought forward 4-5 days earlier, it could have been that the Resolution would have been defeated on the floor of the House. Because, all the hon. Members would have been present. Therefore, the Government thought it better to announce the adjournment of the House sine-die when most of the hon. Members had left the house, that it was the last day, I levelling these charges because when the Government made the announcement at 8.p.m. on the 16th instant. (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER): Are you levelling these charges deliberately? It is a habit with you. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMADAN LAL KHURANA: The way the Government said this thing at 8. p.m. on the 16th and charged its stand the next day, it shows that either its intentions are not good or it is an incompetent Government. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I said it is your old habit of levelling charges, So you level charges. Otherwise, you cannot sleep. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say only this much that it is an inefficient Government. They accept my views . . . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: This is the one of the matter you want to say and nothing else.

SHRIMADAN LAL KHURANA: At least, you have accepted a little. I only say this

much that the intentions of the Government are not good. Therefore, it brought forward this Resolution on the last day of the session. Day before yesterday when we asked again and again whether they were postponing the elections or was there any proposal of extending President's Rule for a further period of six months, the Government did not say anything then. It clearly shows that the Government is inefficient and it has no will-power to work.

Alongwith this, I want to say that the Government is adopting the policy of adhocism in respect of Punjab problems and other issues. It looks Punjab problem in parts, therefore, it also take decision in parts. Due to this, the Punjab problem is becoming more and more complicated. As such the Government should not treat it only as the problem of Punjab, but it should treat it as a national problem. Had the Government taken an overall view of the problem, it would certainly have arrived at a solution. Because of its policy of adhocism it is incapable of gauging the situation. Had they taken it seriously from the very outset by taking the opposition into confidence, some ways and means would have been found in those three months. Decisions are being taken on adhoc basis. Therefore all these problems cropped up. Please do not leave Punjab issue on adhocism. Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, their purpose has been fulfilled. They did this thing meticulously. Their leader had committed the mistakes by boycotting the elections. When they emerged as the single largest party, they started thinking in terms of participating in the elections. After that they took these steps. They had two options for the mistake they had committed by boycotting the elections. The first is , they should have gone to people and tell them that they had committed a mistake and now want to mend the same by participating in the elections. That would have been more acceptable for the country. They are keeping the people in darkness by their acts of cleverness and dishonesty. It is not good. The country has to bear the fallouts of these mistakes. Till now their leader used to say that for them the country is first and then

comes the party and individual occupies last position. But in action they have proved that their first objective is that their candidate should come victorious. The second is that the party should have its hold in the people and the country is at third position. They take decisions or the above basis. They gave more importance to the party politics than the country. This is the outcome of all such acts.

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, through you, I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that by 21st June, the candidates who were supposed to die had been killed by the extremists. What was the wrong in postponing the elections 4-5 or 10 days earlier. The candidates spent their money in the elections. The government spent Rs. 200 crores as the administrative expenses and expenses on security forces. It clearly shows that the Congress party wanted to capture power through the back door. Other parties had also expressed their apprehensions. Shri Yadav has also said that he had also talked to people who were apprehensive that the Akali parties might boycott the elections under the pressure of the terrorists. The Akalis were participating in the elections which was scheduled to be held in last June. The Punjab elections will become meaningless if the Akalis boycott. With this the Government would get another chance to postpone the elections. Did they consult the Akalis before bringing this Resolution. Had they consulted Akalis, let the hon. Minister of Home Affairs say in his reply and assure that the majority of the Akalis will participate in this elections. This election is meaningless without participation of the Akalis, that is what I want to say.

I am of the opinion that Government should have taken all the main political parties into confidence including Akalis, if its intentions were clear. If they have not been taken in confidence so far, then this process should be started now. We know that it is dangerous to hold polls in Punjab now. But it is all the same other way too. It is to be on the horns of a dilemma. Yet priority should be accorded to holding polls so as to restore

democracy there and considering its positive side.

I would like to submit one thing regarding Pakistan. Some Minister has mentioned the name of Pakistan and some other countries also in his statement. Government has been reiterating its stand that Shimla Agreement should be followed while we assert that Pakistan should not interfere into the problem of Punjab and Kashmir. What policy is government going to follow in this regard? Will the Government just make statements or will it follow a policy of Tit for Tat? On one hand meeting between the foreign-Ministers of India and Pakistan is going on and on the other hand the Prime Minister of Pakistan is threatening India in Pak occupied Kashmir. Government should clear its stand on this issue.

You should issue a white paper on Punjab highlighting the names of persons responsible for creating this problem and what is the Government going to do in this regard. Even if you fix a date for holding polls in Punjab, people are not going to trust you, because you have lost your credibility. Home Minister has stated in his speech that the question of holding elections in Punjab was discussed in April, 1991. Your own party participated in meeting held on 21 April. We want to meet the President and the Election Commissioner, your party accompanied us. He suggested that an election should be held after 20 June. It should be declined from main polls. It was agreed to. When all your demands were fulfilled why did you boycotted the elections? You held that situation in Punjab was bad. You should clarify the point that is it not true that Shri Chandrasekhar had inducted Army in Punjab? The situation improved a bit after General Malhotra took over as a Governor of Punjab. But you withdraw Army and even para-military force to a large extent as soon as you came into power. As per your statement the situation is not good so you are going to postpone elections there. But your statement was different outside the House. If the situation is not conducive to hold polls, then why was the military

[Sh. Madan Lal Khurana]

inducted by the Chandrashekhar Government withdrawn.

President has emphasized on the need to create an atmosphere conducive to hold polls in Punjab. Had not he granted his consent even to the date of 22 June for holding polls? Yes, he had. You should not only announce the polls but also give a firm date for it. Until and Unless, the polls are held, the people would not trust.

I would conclude after making a suggestion in connection with your proposal. Why did you withdraw the security provided to the candidates who were contesting earlier polls and are likely to be the candidates in this polls also? Shri George Fernandes, just now quoted an example. I am quoting the same name. Hon. Prime Minister and you had assured full security and protection to Shri Rajveer Singh who was a member of Ninth Lok Sabha, but you did not keep your promise. I would like to urge you to provide protection to those candidates of other political parties also who have been threatened by the terrorists that if they do not follow their instructions they would be done to death.

While concluding I would like to oppose the motion moved by Home Minister.

**SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera):**  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Government since it once again shows that government's intentions is not good.

When our colleagues alleged that Congress was responsible for creating this situation in Punjab, our friends on the other side felt a little bad. But this motion would prove this point that the intention of the government is not really clear.

When National Front was in power and a proposal to extend the President's rule was under consideration, the then Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh had stated this in the House on 5-10-90:-

"I would like to admit and I consider it to be my biggest mistake is life that I failed to hold polls in Punjab on first six months of our rule. I admit my mistakes."

Then he added"

"I do not only admit my mistake verbally, but also realized it and I am really to accept any punishment by the House. Due to this, people who were very close to us are slowly moving apart. Today the situation is this that even the Akali Party prefers to stand up[art from National."

I am submitting this to illustrate that V.P. Singh Government realizes that elections could not be held earlier. They expected that situations will improve but the conditions deteriorated further. After that Shri Chandra Sekhar Government came into power and it fixed 22 June as poll date.

You have given all details regarding the situation. President's rule was imposed on 11 May, 1987. Legislative Assembly was dissolved on 6 March, 1988. President's rule was to be over on 10 Nov. '91. and polls were to be held on 22 June. Suddenly, election Commission cancelled the programme on the night of 21 June. Then it was stated that the step was initiated by Chandrashekhar Government. When Shri Chandra Shekhar in the capacity of Prime Minister denied that he had any hand in it and even you said the same thing but Shri Kumaramangalam has justified the decision taken by Election Commission in his statement issued a few days back. It creates a doubt about your intentions that the step to postpone the election was taken at your instance. Then you said that polls shall be held on september and even the election commission announced the date for holding election. Thereafter, a new governer took the charge and declared that the situation is not conducive to hold polls as situation has deteriorated further. Then you postponed the polls.

Then nothing of this sort was known till yesterday evening, when you introduced a



new idea of extending President's rule for six more months.

Shri Vijay Bhaskara Reddy, who is sitting here, has replied on 16th. i.e. the day before yesterday. He has stated.

[English]

"This is an important matter and this is a national issue. As the Prime Minister made it very clear on this national issue a consensus will be evolved by consulting all the parties. We will call you and discuss about the situation in Punjab very soon and decide about the date of elections. We will do this at the earliest."

[Translation]

When he was asked again, he stated

[English]

"Let me repeat that we will take all the parties into confidence and we will call and discuss with all the parties about Punjab issue and also about holding elections in Punjab. It will be done as early possible".

[Translation]

Through you I want to know from the hon. Minister whether it is a house or a shop or we are sitting in a club, where you say something on one day and something else on the other day? Have you taken the opposition in confidence? You said that Prime Minister very concerned about it and you are also concerned. When Vijay Bhaskara Reddy or Chavan Saheb speaks, you do not speak as an individual, you speak as Home minister or Law Minister of Government of India. One day before you said that you would decide the election date after consultation with the leaders of all political parties and the Prime Minister will consult them. You said that you will not bring any motion to extend Presidential rule in Punjab. So I said that V.P. Singh Government admitted that it committed a historical mistake. The Chandrashekhar Government decided the elec-

tion date and you have cancelled it. It shows that you have repeated your own history. People like us do not take it from legal point of view. We take it straight that your intention is not clear.

You need 15 seats to have majority in Parliament. You know that you will not get even a single seat in Punjab election and this gap will widen upto 25 (*Interruptions*) I am saying it seriously. You have a political line in your mind. You calculate to arrange 15 seats by hook and crook. But how will you arrange 25 seats? You are much worried for this widening gap. You are running the Government here. Did you not know already that period of presidential rule would end on 10th November. Why did you not ask before? What had you been doing for three months? Why were you sitting quiet for three months. Suddenly you have remembered that election problem has arisen.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have visited Punjab and its interior parts. Recently I had gone to Sangrura on martyrdom day of Sant Longowal. It is known as the most terrorists affected district. It has become a terrorists dominated area. Shri Rajdev Singhji about whom Khuranaji and George Saheb had said, hails from this district. It is true that at least one independent candidate from 8 out of 10 has been murdered. It is also true that elections are being countermanded. But it is not true that extremists are only those who act on Pakistani Signal, they have other face also. The administration there is also playing role of extremism there. It has also tested the blood. Due to this habit of administration, it does not want election to be held there. Whenever election activities increases the administration always desire to postpone elections there. When we had gone there on death anniversary of Sant Longowal, what people told there is very nourishing. Have you ever thought as to why Sant Longowal killed? He was killed because he had signed an accord with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Our colleague Saifuddin Chaudhury and other were stating that what happened with Sant Longowal-Rajiv agreement? You are talking about Punjab problem not as our colleague

[Sh. Ram Vilas Paswan]

all problems have been gifted by you. Whether it is Punjab problem, Kashmir problem, or Srilankan problem. We were discussing this matter and were on the same side and Rahiji was also with us. "We remember that day when Shri Narasimha Rao had gone to Srilanka as a Minister of Foreign affairs. We had asked them why he had gone to burn Lanka and played the role of Hanuman. He had replied that those Tamils were his brothers. They were of the same blood and it was his duty to provide all kind of help to them. He would help them. You gave them money. You gave them weapons. You provided all help and results are known to all. Who does not know about Bhindrawale ? We used to ask repeatedly who did inspire him. We had gone to Golden temple. Sant Longowal was present there. Sant Longowal had said that he is sitting here and confrontation is doing on between him and Government of India and Government of India is helping them openly. First you aggravate the disease and when it becomes cancerous you start treatment. Then blames others for it. These two things cannot go together.

I want to say that there was a feeling of fraternity between Hindus and Sikhs. Whenever our army marched for duty, our sisters used to tie Rakhi on their hands. But today why is the army being hated by the whole community. The innocent Hindus and Sikhs are being killed. Who is responsible for it? There were riots in 1984. There are some fanatics in each caste and religion. But is it wise to massacre the whole community under this pretext? I was staying then of 12, Rajendra Prasad road as an M.P. We tried to save a young taxi driver who was living near our residence. Shri Karpuri Thakur, who is no more now, and several other M.L.A.s were with me.

But we cannot save that taxi driver. His house was set on fire and was burnt. We managed to protect ourselves with great difficulty. But the youngman was thrown into fire. So Punjab problem is not related to

boundries only. Capital is important factor of this problem. But Punjab problem has its another aspect also. People of Punjab have lived with respect and glory. Now such a situation has arisen that a member of Sikh Community had to walk his head bowed before the country, the World . He was very agitated. He had on anger in his mind. Until and unless we will not work for healing their wounds, pacify their feelings and understand their sentiments, Punjab problem cannot be solved only by shedding tears.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, through you I want to ask as to who allowed Barnala to form the Government and who dismissed it? It was in minority when it came in power and was in majority when it was dismissed. You allowed a minority Government to assume power and when it did not act according to your wishes . You dismissed the majority Government. So as our friend said, you practise only politics of votes. So long as you will continue the politics of votes I think Punjab problem can not be solved It is a matter of elections. Just now our friend has rightly stated that people demand Khalistan. I say what the Government of India is doing? What is the use of article 356? When elections are held this type of incidents always take place. People will join the main stream. When the people will come in the main stream, the extremists will be separated. You will have to go to the public. So I demand this from you. History will never forgive us. History judges from its own point of view. You may say anything, but you have no intention to hold elections. Election will not take place there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will conclude after this. It is a matter of security. You know that security has been provided before the elections. I met a candidate in Sangroor. I asked where he lived. He answered that he lived in police station. I asked him why he is living in the police station. He replied that he had been provided the security but he had not place to keep security guards.

Security has been provided to us, but how should we maintain that? Therefore, we

stay at the Police Station. The Election was to be held on the 22th, but abruptly it was postponed on the night of 21st. Can anybody in India or in any democratic nation think so? It was stated that one day before the election the persons who were destined to be killed, were killed. Then the action is taken through the Election Commission to postpone the election there. Therefore, it proves that the Government wants to look for excuses to postpone the election and it is neither in a mood to hold elections nor in favour of it. Mr. Jaswant Singh has stated that the Government should announce the date for the election and he would think over it. But I may tell you that nothing is going to take place in 4 to 5 months. Even if the Government makes any such announcement, you should not believe it. This Government is not credible at all. Even if Shri Chavan, gives you in writing on a 'Tamrapatra' the election is not going to take place. The rough calculations that I have pointed out to you is hovering over his mind. They bother neither for the country nor for Punjab. They are least concerned for establishing peace in Punjab and in the country. The calculations of Mr. Chavan are providing disastrous for Punjab and the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that is why strongly oppose it. I would like to point out to the Government that they should have held elections before November 10 but they have not done so. They have committed a wrong act and hence they have no right to continue in power.

**SHRI NARAIN SINGH CHAUDHRI** (Hissar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, two issues raised by the hon. Member of the House. Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Saifuddin Chaudhury are directly related to Haryana. One of the issues is regarding Chandigarh and the other is about the sharing of Ravi-Beas water. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Chandigarh is directly related to Haryana, I want to make it clear that the people of Haryana and the Government of Haryana, have no objection to the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, but this will not solve the problem.

[English]

'No amount of appeasement can solve that problem.'

[Translation]

But our stand is that the Hindu speaking areas of Abohar and Fazilka should certainly be given to Haryana simultaneously. And the next issue which was accepted in the Rajiv Longowal accord it that the Central Government should bear the overall expenditure to be incurred in making new capital of Haryana. Unless these two conditions are accepted, Haryana would not accept any decision on Chandigarh. Moreover, in connection with the issue of sharing of water the Eradi Commission was appointed with the approval and concurrence of the concerned States. It has given its decision which is binding on these States. Haryana has got less than its share of water. It got only 3.8 million acre feet of water. Even then we are eager to solve the Punjab problem. Now if this issue of water is referred to any Judicial Court or to the Supreme Court, the construction of S.Y.L. canal, which is yet to be completed and through which water will be supplied to Haryana, will be kept in abeyance which has already been delayed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, decision has already been taken on the issue of water and it need not be referred to the Supreme court or to the judicial authority. Thus, I have made clear the stand of the people of Haryana, the Government of Haryana and my own stand on these two issues.

[English]

**SHRI A. ASOKARAJ** (Perambalur): Sir, on behalf of All-India Anna DMK, I would like to say a few words supporting the statutory resolution. From the newspapers, we are able to see how people are butchered. During the current year up to August, 1991 due to violence, 1,799 people were killed. Among them, 333 police people were also killed. So, the ratio is 11:2. For every 11 people killed, there were also two police men. So, I am

[Sh. A. Asokaraj]

afraid, if the situation continues like this, then the people will definitely lose hope in the Government of this country. They would try to follow the path of the terrorists. The election was announced to be held on 22nd June, 1991. It was postponed for another three months. Now it has altogether been cancelled. We should also know what the Home Minister has stated in his speech I quote:

"Terrorists are also shifting their area of operation as a result of the steps taken to secure the border against infiltration and intensified anti-terrorist operations in border districts."

When the terrorists are shifting their stand, what steps are we taking to tackle their activities? I would like to know about it. The Government should take immediate steps to curb all these things. The Government has listed some steps showing how these terrorists are tackled. Last year 1,321 terrorists were killed by the security forces. But during the last five to six months, 1,433 terrorists were killed. It shows the increasing number of terrorists are being killed by the security forces. Because of the conditions in Punjab, the people are afraid to come out and speak against the terrorists. The people are frustrated. I would request the Home Minister to look into it personally and do whatever is possible.

It can also be seen that confidence has to be created among the people. It is also a duty of the Government to take coordinated action on many fronts. Whatever steps the Government proposes to take, these should be implemented. I would like to say that holding election in Punjab is appropriate but it should be from any coercion. What steps are we going to take to make the people free from coercion and terrorism? As some Members have rightly pointed out, after every six months, we are trying to adopt resolutions again and again to continue the President's rule.

People are doubting as to whether this Government will be able to control all these things or not. They are losing faith. So, I request the hon. Home Minister to hold elections so that the people can themselves make their way of life. Once again, I request the hon. Home Minister to announce elections as early as possible so that people can have confidence in the Government also.

**SHRI KODIKKUNIL SURESH (Adoor):**  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I support this Resolution. In the present situation, there is no other alternative but to extend the President's Rule in Punjab.

Sir, the Punjab problem has been going on for too long even now, we are however near a solution. The entire Akali leadership has surrendered before the militants. Thus, they cannot be depended upon to restore democratic process in that state. The responsibility for restoring democratic political process rests on the secular parties like the Congress, the left Parties, etc. But it is a long and painful process. Some beginnings were made. But due to some reason or the other, this process could not be carried forward. Now the secular political parties should assume it as an order to create the necessary confidence in the minds of the people of Punjab. We may not achieve quick results. But efforts must continue. When the democratic forces are winning the world over, there is no reason to believe that they will not succeed in Punjab.

Sir, the Punjab problem is not caused by unemployment or poverty; as is made out by some people. It is the product of sectarianism which got encouragement from across the border. This encouragement continues even now. There is a disturbing report in today's paper. It says that some Army jawans and officers helped some militants to cross the border and go to Pakistan and then come back with arms. It is, indeed, an alarming situation. The Government should take a very serious note of it and take immediate corrective measures. This incident and scores of other incidents of violence, kidnappings, murder, etc. only emphasise the point

that elections cannot be held in Punjab now. Therefore, postponement is the only course left. But I would request the Government to resume the political process in all seriousness. I feel that that step alone will ultimately bring normalcy in Punjab.

Thank you, Sir.

[*Translation*]

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduars): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution. We have seen that when the Government endeavour to display its power, by using police force and military force, the situation goes on deteriorating everywhere. We have stated what Punjab wants. What was the hurry for the Operation Blue Star in the Golden Temple Complex? The holy place was desecrated by resorting to firing. Was there no alternative for the Government? Was it not possible to be seige the temple for one or two months to nab the terrorists? But the Government did not do so, because this powerful Government intended to carry its policy by terrifying the people of the country by showing military power. Unless this policy is changed, the situation will deteriorate further. The same situation is prevailing in Assam, Kashmir and Tamilnadu. The Government must think that in a democratic country, the utility of the police is to safeguard the interest of democracy, to provide protection to the helpless and not to oppress them, The President's Rule implies the insult of the people of the State. Therefore, in a democracy, there should be a democratic Government. It is September 18, today, therefore, the date for election must be fixed. Election must be held before November 11, so that the people of Punjab may have an opportunity to form their own Government. I agree with Shri Indrajit Gupta. It is your Government who has accomplished the Rajiv-Longowal accord. Everything has been mentioned in this accord. Accord is not meant for keeping as a document only. But it is essential to do all what it required to do. My colleagues were stating that the Congress Party may or may not come in power and the country may meet her any fate.

Everybody had understood that the Congress party would not come back in power. You must know that there should be a Government regardless of the fact whether the Congress Party returns to power or not. The Congress has ruled over the States too long but other National parties are also, there. Do not think that the Congress Party alone will continue to rule? At present, the Congress is divided into two faction over this issue. Some are of the opinion that it is not certain that they will win the election. Others say that there is corruption. So do not hide the fact that if Government is formed, it may not be stable. It must be admitted that the deployment of military in the Golden Temple was a blunder. In 1984, the Government alleged a particular community instead of alleging a particular person. You must admit this fact. The nationalists in Punjab are in no way inferior to us and they would work for the cause of the country. Still time is left for November 11, so this should be withdrawn and notification should be issued today that the election will be held there.

[*English*]

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA (Balasore): Sir, I support the Resolution moved by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs for continuance of President's Rule in Punjab for a further period of six months with effort from 11 November.

Sir, I heard the debate on Punjab yesterday and I heard the speeches of hon. Members today as well. Some Members have criticised the Election Commissioner for certifying the cancellation of elections in Punjab. He has to clarify the cancellation because the Election Commission is unable to conduct elections in Punjab. Some Members have also criticised that there are atrocities simultaneously from the side of the police and also from terrorists.

Sir. Members have criticised that Government is not willing to hold elections in Punjab. Some Members have also said that the President's Rule in Punjab will not hold good and rather it will aggravate the situ-

[Dr. Kartikeswar Patra]

ation. Many Members have suggested that if there is economic development in Punjab than the situation will come to normal.

In my opinion, as far as the cancellation of elections is concerned, Congress Party is nowhere in the picture. Yesterday, the hon. Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs categorically stated that the Congress Party has no role in the cancellation of elections. But still Members sitting on the other side of the House are throwing mud on the Congress Party. It is obvious that the Opposition parties are throwing mud on the ruling party. They should appreciate the sacrifices made by Shrimati Indira Gandhi and steps taken by Shri Rajiv Gandhi. They should also appreciate that our Government took over the charge on 25th June but Election Commissioner declared the cancellation of elections on 20th June. It is like the story of an old fox killing the little lamb because his mother was making the water muddy.

That is why I request the Members to come out with some concrete suggestions. We all appreciate the role played by Punjab in the defence of our country both before Independence and after Independence. Punjab paved the way for the green revolution. But today the situation in Punjab is very shocking. I would submit that at this point of time one should not sit tightly and look at the matter from a distance. This is a national issue and we should have a national approach to deal with this issue. I request all the hon. Members to be associated with this situation very keenly. If we cannot solve issues like Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam, we cannot protect our country and democracy cannot survive in India.

I would like to say that the Opposition parties who are trying to create some sort of turmoil, it will not help to fulfil their interest and nor it will be of any benefit to the people of Punjab. I earnestly request all the leaders of different parties to sit together and find out a solution to solve the Punjab problem.

That is my submission.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We have two more hon. Members who want to speak. One is Shri P.C. Thomas and the other is Shri Bhogendra Jha. Kindly take two and a half minutes each so that the debate can be concluded by 2 o'clock. I seek your co-operation. Shri. P.C. Thomas.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, Punjab has become a problem as far as our nation is concerned. But the nation is duty bound to see that maximum is done to solve the problem of Punjab and also to safeguard the integrity of India. So many steps have been taken. I remember when Shri V.P. Singh's Government came last time, before the First Session of Lok Sabha commenced on 18.12.89, there was a Conference of all-party. So many submission were made. So many ideas were put forward. But the Government was unable to do anything in this respect. I also remember that hon. Shri V.P. Singh had made a declaration that he will conduct a *padayatra* throughout Punjab. That declaration was not fulfilled. I wanted just to cite an example that many declarations are made by the Leaders who were in power on different occasions, but they could not execute the declarations and not much could be done in this respect by any of the Governments which were in power. Now, it is for us to sit together and see what could be done again.

The problems which have been elaborately dealt with here were mainly of Chandigarh, the river water problem, the 1984 riots and more powers for the States.

I am speaking on these points but these are the points which are basis with regard to the State of Punjab. Out of these Points, many are basic to many of the other States. For example more powers to States. This is the point on which not only the States but all of us are speaking on various occasions and are trying the best to secure the same. But unfortunately, even today, we have not been able to solve this problem of giving more powers to the States.

I would submit that this is high time when we have to think of such basic aspects



which relate to all the States and not only to Punjab.

Regarding Punjab, I would only appeal that it is time when all of us have to come together and see that the problem is solved. The previous Government had taken steps but they were not able to do anything in this regard because they were having terrorism from their supporting Parties themselves. I am not stating that they were actually indulging in terrorist activities. But the Government did not have any opportunity to think of such basic problems.

So, we must find time to think of Punjab. We must also find time to act on the problems of Punjab. So, I do not think that the present Resolution is of any harm. It is because, in all earnestness, the Government of India has now come forward to take some earnest steps and I would expect that at the time of reply, the hon. Minister will come out with certain immediate steps which they will be taking with regard to Punjab.

[Translation]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Article 356 of the Constitution has been incorporated as an exception. It is not main article of our Constitution. That article is to be used in extraordinary situation and in special circumstances. Now we have been asked to give approval for further extending the period of the President's Rule, proclaimed on 11th May 1987. We are being asked to approve the extension of the period from 11th November onward. How can we think and this Parliament decide two months before that the situation in Punjab will not be normal after two months. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, how any exception can be defined as a rule - we are being asked ninth time to approve the President's rule. It is a serious violation of our constitution. The approval is being asked at time where there are all possibilities for holding elections there. Whether the Government is willing to start the election process in Punjab and if the election commission is desirous. It can issue the notifica-

tion upto 5th October and can complete the election process before 11th November. We would like that the Parliament should be free from the blame of continuous violation the constitution. Unfortunately this blame is about the Punjab, which was first to oppose the Rowlett Act by sacrificing blood at Jalianwala Bagh. Today we have been asked for the ninth time, to approve the violation of democratic rights. Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, this blame should not come on the Parliament and I request this august house too in this regard that not to pass this Bill. I would also request to the Government to take firm steps in future as I have said it earlier also.

First thing is that the date of Election should be announced. The Election Commission will announce it but the Government should announce its intention and decision. The second is that the Government has failed to take basic steps of the President's rule in the situation prevailing in Punjab. When land reforms can take place in Bengal and Kerala, Why it can't be in Punjab. You will not do it in the President's rule. There are also poor people who are being rendered landless. Punjab is the only state in India where the rich people plough the land of the poor people. In the rest of country the situation is just opposite. They became owner of thousands of acres of land by taking on contract from the poor farmers. This is the biggest producer of potato in Asia and other is the producer of another things. It is because you should provide relief, grant and tractor to the poor so that they can produce more foodgrains. They are the backbone of our democracy. Still I would like that the Minister of Home Affairs assure the House that the Government will try to implement the land reforms where they are not being implemented. Already I said again and again that all the terrorists are not Khalistanis., a big section of those is of smugglers and criminals. You are not able to differentiate between them. You haven't efficient intelligence-service. It is not war. The army cannot bring peace in Assam, Punjab and Kashmir. It is the duty of intelligence service and politicaly it is the duty of politicians. About politics our friend Inderjeet Gupta and

[Sh. Bhogendra Jha]

other friends have said that on the issue of Chandigarh the objection of Haryana is natural. You can build another Chandigarh for Haryana. In another agreement you can set up a plant for the proper supply of water. Similarly the issue of Fazilka and Abohar is also complicated. But there is no problem about Chandigarh. Are you in the position of taking decision about that ? Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, the most important thing you have to do is to constitute all party Advisory Committee at district and regional levels for organising and arming those people who are struggling for the natural unity and political solution of Punjab issue so that the participation of people of Punjab and their representatives become certain.

The speech, which our Minister of Home Affairs delivered here, does not mention any thing about how the Government will succeed in bringing normalcy in coming months. We feel ashamed because we have been continuously violating the rights provided by the constitution and become ready to vote on it. So my submission is that the Government should announce the future steps and we have no alternative except to oppose this bill in the present situation. To maintain the spirit of our constitution and to protect our democratic rights we have to oppose it. With them words I conclude my speech.

[English]

SHRI IMCHALEMBA(Nagaland): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say one point about the extension of the President's Rule in Punjab and also about holding of elections in Punjab.

The elections in Punjab were to be held alongwith the parliamentary elections. But that was very unceremoniously deferred. I think, that was one of the greatest blunders that we have committed in relation to Punjab.

Sir, it is indeed very sad that when we discuss about Punjab or about Kashmir, we do not find their representatives here. It is

actually the people who come from Punjab would be the better representatives to speak on behalf of the state and on behalf of their people. But today, somehow or the other, due to certain changes in the situation, we have not been able to bring that position in respect of these two States. Also, today we find that their representatives are not here. We have not been able to install a popular Government there.

As we are delaying the matter, the situation in the respective states is gradually changing. For instance, Akalis were willing to participate in the last election. But now, somehow or the other, we find that they are not willing to participate in the elections. We know that if they do not participate in the elections, holding of elections there would be practically meaningless.

On the other hand, we are pressing the Government to have early elections in Punjab. My point is this. If we have decided to postpone the elections and if we feel that we should give time to the Government to create a congenial atmosphere, we should give a reasonable time to do that. Let us not conclude that merely holding of elections will solve the problem.

I understand from many of the speeches of the hon. Members, by holding elections a new change will come about.

But I think that is not the case. There are many related matters and some of the speakers have already spoken on these points. Those related matters, I think, will have to be taken into account first. A reasonable time has also to be given to the Government so that they can start a dialogue not only with the National Party, but I think the more important is the people and those representatives of political parties of the state who are closely related to the situation there. If we approach them in the right manner and motivate them on the need to start democratic process in the State, they will naturally participate in the elections. But, to do this, it requires a little time, which does not mean undue delay in restoring the democratic

*re. continuance of Proclamation**In Relation to Punjab*

process. It also does not mean that unlimited time should be taken by the Government. But, I strongly feel that a reasonable time has to be given to the Government.

I wanted to say some more points. But due to paucity of time I am concluding with the only hope that all points are to be considered and elections should be held within a reasonable time.

**RAO RAM SINGH(Mohindergarh):**

Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. I rise to support the motion moved by the hon. Home Minister. The hon., Members of the Opposition have been harping only at one point that in order to start the democratic process in the Punjab, the elections should be held. But, democracy for whose benefit? I presume, the democratic process is for the benefit of the people and if the people are going to be killed like flies, then, I submit that it is not the right time to start the process just now. I think the wearer of the shoe know where the shoe pinches and the innocent people living in Punjab, know what sort of a situation will arise in case of an election. Normally, in a peaceful state even when elections are ordered those days, the atmosphere is already heated up, if the elections are held now, it would create a fuss.

Then, the Opposition Members have said that they have started a dialogue. Now, the point is which Government is going to start a dialogue. Nobody knows who is the true representative there. That may be one point in favour of what the Opposition have been saying that you hold election as so that you know who are the persons with whom to start a dialogue.

One more point I would like to bring out to set the records straight. Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Bhogendra Jha both have stated that Chandigarh should be handed over to the Punjab. Now in order to have an election there and in order to modify anybody's feelings, if Haryana is going to be damaged by handing over Chandigarh, then I suggest, this is not the right thing to do. It

has been agreed by a number of Commissions and Indira Gandhi Award that Chandigarh will be handed over to the Punjab, but in lieu of this Abhor will come to Haryana. This has been decided time and again. But, only one-sided agreement cannot be allowed to go against Haryana.

Secondly, Shri Indrajit Gupta said that the Sutlej Beas Water Dispute should be referred to the High Court or to the Supreme Court. Again, a number of decisions exist on the subject. The canal has to be dug up. It has been stopped forcibly. If we here in this House take it up and refer the Sutlej Beas Water Dispute back again to the Supreme Court and High Court, it will take another two years.

Haryana has paid hundreds of crores of rupees for completing the infrastructure for the canal for distribution of that water. We are losing lakhs of tons of foodgrains production by that small ten-kilometre link canal not being dug up. So, I request that the records should be put straight.

There is no question of the Sutlej-Beas Water Dispute being referred to the Supreme Court at this stage when every decision has already been taken.

**SHRI SHRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I really thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak something on this Resolution.

I support this Statutory Resolution sought to extend the President's Rule in the troubled State of Punjab. Admittedly, Punjab is a national problem, rather it is a national crisis. Together with Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir also is a national problem. But I am glad that this being a national problem this Government, after assumption of office, is trying to bring about a formula as to how it could be solved, involving all other political parties. Earlier to this also, when Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, he made some sincere efforts. He brought about an accord, known as Rajiv-Longowal Accord, But that also could not solve the problem whole-

[Sh. Shriballav Panigrahi]

somely. On the other hand, when Mr. V.P. Singh because the Prime Minister, in a good gesture, he visited Golden Temple. There was some enthusiasm initially but afterwards the situation deteriorated there. The V.P. Singh Government was supported by Left Front and also by BJP. What I mean to say is that it should not be viewed politically. It is no use accusing this Government for the deteriorating situation. What I mean to say is that they have failed and now this Government is also trying to solve this problem. It is a national problem and there should be a national consensus. It is no use finding fault with this Government, with the Congress Party, and accusing it.

Sir, it is not pleasure to support such a Resolution. We do not want extension of the President's Rule indefinitely in the State of Punjab. The situation now demands that the elections should be held as quickly as possible. But at the same time more important than this also is that the purpose of holding elections should be served. The elections should be free and fair. Can anybody say that if elections would have been held in the month of June or in September now, it would have been free and fair? Only killing go on there unabated, But a date should be fixed. As time seems, the Government is determined, the Government has made up its mind for fixing up a date to hold the elections very soon. But, at the same time the necessary climate has to be built up. That is very important. How can the climate be built up to isolated the trouble-mongers, the criminals, the terrorists from the nationalist forces and the common people? I know common people are not supporting the secessionist movement. They are not with them. But, at the same time, there is a reign of terror going on there. All these political parties move together. they hold conferences, hold public meetings that will go a long way to see that the people also become bold, they come on the streets and fight out these forces.

This Rajiv-Longowal Accaord should

be implemented in letter and spirit. At the same time, the behaviour, the activities, the conduct of all the political parties should be that this situation is not aggravated in Punjab.

In the name of asking for more power and on the plea of asking for more autonomy, for the State, will he be allowed to go on saying and discussing in the Assembly that only Defence and Money should be with the Centre and the rest with states? will it not send a signal? Will it not encourage indirectly.\*\*

I would like to make an appeal to all leaders, particularly the Opposition leaders that it is their responsibility to prevail upon that leader, the Chief Minister, to refrain from taking such a statement at this crucial time, more so when he styles himself as the principal crisis manager of the Janata Dal? Why is he going on saying in this way? All that is happening in Russia- is it not sending a signal and is it not encouraging secessionist movement in India and elsewhere else. ?  
(interruptions)

Therefore let us be united and with all sincerity discuss together and unitedly let us find out a formula and also implement it. Otherwise it is no use holding the elections  
(Interruptions)

SHRISHRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) : Sir, I am on a point of order. (Interruptions)

Sir, I am on a point of order. Shri Stiballav Panigrahi: We have to find out a solution to this problem. (Interruptions) .

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Panigrahi, the normal procedure to be employed in this House is that whenever an hon. Member wants to raise a point of order, it is the duty of the speaker to yield. And it is the duty of the House to hear what the hon. Member says about the point of order.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SHRIKANTA JENA: Sir, can any

*re. continuance of Proclamation**in Relation to Punjab*

hon. Member make a reference that the chief Minister of a state is encouraging.

\* will it go on record ?

\* MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That portion we will remove. We are expunging that portion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: I have not said anything unparliamentary. So many things are spoken here. I am not saying anything unparliamentary or objectionable. It is a fact. It is not a fact ? It is not a fact? Do you not know what is happening ? (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kindly excuse me. Shri Panigrahi, the understanding was that I never wanted to disappoint you. The last speaker would have been Shri Bhogendra, Jha, just because you are an hon. Member and you raised your hand. I never wanted to deny you. And the understanding was that you will speak for two-and-a-half minutes only. You have gone beyond five-and-a-half minutes. It is not fair. Do not sidetrack. Kindly conclude.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: I am concluding. Sir, this is a problem with lot of gravity and, therefore, it could not be viewed politically and accusing the Congress party and the Government. Let there be united efforts by all of us and let us try to find out a formula, to solve this problem. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have made a valuable contribution. Thank you. Now the reply by the Home Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): Sir, I must express my thanks to all the hon. Members and specially some of our esteemed friends. They have shown great keenness in the restoration of democratic set up in Punjab. I take and kind of criticism that they have made in the light that they are greatly inter-

ested in seeing that normalcy is restored in Punjab and thereafter the Government should not come forth with any kind of excuse for again asking for extension of the President's rule. That point is well taken. In fact the Government is equally keen that we should be able to restore democratic set up so that we are able to have some kind of a dialogue with the representatives of the people.

The policy that we would like to follow is this. There is a feeling of alienation that we find in the Punjab or in particular sections in the Punjab area who feel that 'we are still not being considered as part and parcel of the country, we have been treated slightly in a different manner, Government seems to have some kind of reservations about some sections of the people'. I would like to assure all of them that we have no doubt in our mind about their patriotism, about their keenness to support the integrity of the country barring a few people who have been led astray because of the propaganda of other elements and interested sections. Barring those people, I don't think that people in Punjab at large have any kind of separatist feeling, and that is why in spite of the fact that I have clearly stated what the Governor has reported to me, it is a statement of fact, we would rather take the risk of facing the election with the kind of terrorism which, in fact I believe is going to be escalated. At least I have no doubt in my mind that some of the extremists are going to mount pressure in order to see that we again postpone elections, but I can assure this House that whatever they might do, we are going to stand by what we commit here and let there be no doubt in the mind of any hon. Member that we are going to succumb to this kind of pressure. We are also equally interested in seeing that this kind of distrust which has been in the mind of some of the people in Punjab is being removed and at that stage certainly I would accept the suggestion of the hon. Member, Shri Chandrajeet Yadav, that we should have a kind of dialogue with people who are interested in creating proper atmosphere for free and fair elections. Without Akalis coming into the fray, I don't think

[Sh. S.B. Chavan]

that we can think in terms of having elections in Punjab. But ultimately, I don't know. My feed back is that most of the political parties in Punjab are interested in participating in the elections including the Akalis, and so hereafter it will be our responsibility to see that we prepare a congenial atmosphere and see that every one of them is allowed full opportunity to express his views and create an atmosphere of holding the elections in proper atmosphere.

Sir, a point was made and almost all the speakers, specially from the Opposition Benches, have emphasised one point and one of the hon. Members went to the extent of questioning the *bona fide* of the Government stating the at 6 O' Clock this Resolution was brought forth yesterday because this Government was not quite sure being a minority Government, whether they are going to get the support. I think this is the most uncharitable charge that he can possibly level against the Government. That is the least that I can say. I don't think that we had anything of this nature in our mind. Otherwise we would not have discussed this issue at about Three O' Clock or 2.30 p.m. with all the Leaders of the Opposition. If that was our idea, we would not have discussed this issue with the leaders of the Opposition at all. We have difficulty, the Cancellation Bill which was passed by both the Houses had to receive the assent of the President, it took some time and that is why, in fact, I was waiting till 5.15 p.m. here in this House, but actually the message was given some time late and that is why it was delayed. The Government did not have this kind of idea in mind that if some Members were to leave, thereafter we can get this passed. This is the least of the kind of intentions of the Government.

Sir, one point was consistently made by most of the hon. Members and that was about the decision taken by the Chief Election Commissioner. I do not think that I should hold any brief for the Chief Election Commissioner. Ultimately, I will have to clar-

ify the point, but one or two Members referred to Congress Party having brought some pressure on the Chief Election Commissioner. I must bring this on record that we have nothing to do in the matter; it was purely the decision of the Chief Election Commissioner and the then Government will have to accept the responsibility.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera):  
How can you say this?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: What is the basis on which you say this?

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: You were to come next day so it was done at that night.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Next day the Government was to be formed so we had taken this decision on the previous day.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI ARJUN SINGH): Sir, with the permission of the hon. Home Minister, I may point out, it is a very common fallacy that the people commit, which is called, '*propter hoc ergo hoc*'. That means, after that, therefore, because of it. Do not commit this fallacy often.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I would like to say with all the emphasis at my command that there is not lot of truth in this statement. Please do not try to make the same kind of allegation over and over again. When things were clarified on the floor of the House, again most of the Members of the Opposition have emphasised this aspect of the question that in the policy on Punjab the interests of the Congress Party seems to be uppermost in the mind of the Government. I believe you are also political parties and I do not think you are motivated by any other consideration than the political consideration. So, please do not try to teach us that ours' is only a political motivation while you are motivated by only national interests and nothing else. I



do concede the point that national interest would have to be given importance and the first priority. There can be no question about it. If you were to say that you are the only people who are thinking in terms of national interest whereas the Congress Party is only thinking of its own interests, I think, you will be totally mistaken about it because the history of this nation will clearly establish that we have the national interest uppermost in our mind and we have never thought in terms of parochial interests or party interests. At this stage also, I must say, whichever party comes to power in Punjab, in fact, we are not bothered about it. What we are concerned is that we should have a democratically elected Government in Punjab who should be able to have contact with the people. In the President's rule, it is an indirect contact that we have with the people and that is why, it is a remote control. I cannot rule out the misuse of power. I have taken note of some instances which have been mentioned here. I will definitely enquire into all those aspects, but I do not rule out the possibility of some people misutilising the powers that they got under the President's rule. So, I am one with you that we have to create conditions in which the grievances of the people will have to be properly attended to. We have the committees, but unfortunately these committees have not been activated. At the district level and at the State level, we have such grievances redressal committees. We will see, at least before the elections are held, these committees are activated and they should be able to look to the grievances which people might be having in their minds.

Sir, a point was made about the security of the candidates who have filed their nomination papers. Certainly, we will provide security and necessary orders will be issued.

[Translation]

SHRI BHUWAN CHANDRA KHAN-DURI: Who obey your order?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: If you desire we will not issue order, if you think that it is not

followed. After issuing order we will think that it should be implemented or not. If you don't want so we are ready for it.

There are two other points which I would like to clarify. One is about the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Apprehensions were expressed here by some of the hon. Members. We are committed to Rajiv-Longowal Accord and we will pursue this and this can be done, not by just enouncing it here but we will have to have a dialogue with the representative Government of Punjab and the Government of Haryana. Let us see that we are able to find out amicable solution to which both the parties should be satisfied. There are a number of issues which have become contentious.

SHRI BUTA SINGH(Jalore): Rajasthan is also there.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I forgot that you did not represent Punjab any more now. Rajasthan share of water is also one of the issues which has to be considered. But these are matters which are very contentious. We will have to bring all these parties concerned to the negotiating table, discuss the matters with them and try to find out solutions. If we do not succeed there, if necessary, you refer it to the Supreme Court or some other court if it becomes absolutely necessary. I cannot at this stage say anything unless the representative Government comes there and we have a discussion with it and thereafter we feel that a stage has come where finding the solution to the problem has become almost an impossibility, in that case, we will certainly have to consider as to what requires to be done thereafter.

A point was made by hon. Shri Saifuddin Chaudhary about the demand made by some of the parties in Punjab about the Sarkaria Commission and immediate action to be taken by the Government. I am in agreement with him. The Sarkaria Commission's report has come for some time now and the Inter-State Council sub-committee was appointed to go into the matter. The first meeting of this inter-state council sub-com-

[Sh. S.B. Chavan]

mittee is going to be held on the 26th of this month and six or seven Chief Ministers are going to attend the meeting. We will be able to complete our work, may be in three or four meetings and the Sarkaria Commission recommendations would be submitted to the Government for final action.

What is the kind of atmosphere that we would like to generate for Punjab was also one of the issues which was asked by some hon. Members. I may clarify that point. I would like again to emphasise that in spite of all the efforts which the terrorists and the extremists are bound to take, we feel ourselves committed to having holding the elections and I can assure the House that we propose to hold the elections before the 15th of February, 1992. That is the last date before which the elections have to be held. I am pained that Shri Indrajit Gupta has expressed some kind of doubt about the ability of this Government to stick to the date. I can assure you that we are very firm in this and there will be no departure. If possible, if the situation in the Punjab permits us, we would rather go in for earlier elections than the 15th of February, 1992 I can assure you, we can definitely stick to this proposal.

I request the House to kindly pass this Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987, in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1991."

Those in favour will please say 'Aye'.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: 'Aye'

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Those against will please say 'No'.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: 'No'.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think the 'Ayes' have it. The 'Ayes' have it.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: The 'Noes' have it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do you want division?

Let the Lobbies be cleared

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the Lobbies have been cleared. The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987, in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1991."

*The Lok Sabha divided*

Division No.5

14.28 hrs.

**AYES**

A

Acharia, Shri Basu Deb (Bankura)

Ahmed, Shri E. (Manjeri)

Anbarasu Era, Shri (Madras Central)

Anthony, Shri Frank (Nominated Anglo-Indian)

Antuiay, Shri A.R. (Kulaba)

Arunachalam, Shri M. (Tenkasi)

Asokaraj, Shri A. (Perambalur)

Athithan, Shri R. Dhanuskodi (Tiruchendur)

## B

Bala, Dr. Asim (Nabadwip)

Bansal, Shri Pawan Kumar (Chandigarh)

Basu, Shri Chitta (Barasat)

Berwa, Shri Ram Narain (Tonk)

Bhagat, Shri Vishweshwar (Baiaghat)

Bhagey Gobardhan, Shri (Mayurbhanj)

Bhakta, Shri Manoranjan (Andaman &amp; Nicobar Islands)

Bhuria, Shri Dileep Singh (Jhabua)

Buta Singh, Shri (Jalore)

## C

Chaiha, Shri Kirip (Guwahati)

Chandrakar, Shri Chanduial (Durg)

Chandrasekhar, Shrimati Maragatham (Sriperumbudur)

Charles, Shri A. (Trivandrum)

Chatterjee, Shri Nirmal Kanti (Dumdum)

Chaudhary, Shri Ram Prakash (Ambala)

Chavan, Shri Prithviraj D. (Karad)

Chidambaram, Shri P. (Sivaganga)

Chinta Mohan, Dr. (Tirupathi)

Choudhury, Shri Saifuddin (Katwa)

## D

Deka, Shri Probin (Mangaldoi)

Dennis, Shri N. (Nagercoil)

Dev, Shri Sontosh Mohan (Tripura West)

Dighe, Shri Sharad (Bombay North Central)

Digvijaya singh, Shri (Rajgarh)

Dutt, Shri Sunil (Bombay North West)

## F

Faleiro, Shri Eduardo (Mormugao)

Farook, Shri M.O.H. (Pondicherry)

Fernandes, Shri Oscar (Udupi)

## G

Gaikwad, Shri Udaysingrao (Kolhapur)

Gajapathi, Shri Gopi Nath (Berhampur)

Gehlot, Shri Ashok (Jodhpur)

Ghatowar, Shri Paban Singh (Dibrugarh)

Giri, Shri Sudhir (Contai)

Gogoi, Shri Tarun (Kaliabor)

Gomango, Shri Giridhar (Koraput)

## H

Handique, Shri Bijoy Krishna (Jorhat)

Hooda, Shri Bhupinder Singh (Rohtak)

Hossain, Shri Syed Masudal (Murshidabad)

## I

Imchalemba, Shri (Nagaland)

Inder Jit, Shri (Darjeeling)

Islam, Shri Nurul (Dhubri)

## J

Jaffer Sharief, Shri C.K. (Bangalore North)

Jakhar, Shri Balram (Sikar)

Kull, Shri Balin (Lakhimpur)

Jangda, Shri Khalan Ram (Vilaspur)

Kumarmangalam, Shri Rangrajan (Salem)

Jhikram, Shri Mohanlal (Mandla)

Kuppuswamy, Shri C.K. (Coimbatore)

Joshi, Shri Anna (Pune)

Kurien, Prof. P.J. (Mavelikara)

Joshi, Shri, Dau Dayal (Kota)

## L

## K

Kahandola, Shri Z.M. (Malegam)

Lakshmanan, Prof. Savithri (Mukundapuram)

Kale, Shri Shankarrao D. (Kopergaon)

## M

Kambala, Shri Arvind Tulshiram (Osmanabad)

Malik, Shri Dharampal Singh (Sonpat)

Kamson, Prof. M. (Outar Manipur)

Mallikarjun, Shri (Mahbubnagar)

Khan, Shri Aslam Shar (Betul)

Mallu, Dr. R. (Nagar Kurnool)

Khan, Shri Ayub (Jhunjhunu)

Marbaniang, Shri Peter G. (Shillong)

Khan, Shri Sukhendu (Vishnupur)

Mathur, Shri Shiv Charan (Bhilwara)

Khandelwal, Shri Tara Chand (Chandni Chowk)

Maurya, Shri Anand Ratna (Chandauli)

Khanduri, Shri Bhuwan Chandra (Garhwal)

Meena, Shri Bheru Lal (Salumbar)

Khanoria, Shri D.D. (Kangra)

Misra, Shri Janardan (Sitapur)

Khurana, Shri Madan Lal (South Delhi)

Misra, Shri Satyagopal (Tamluk)

Khursheed, Shri Salman (Farrukhabad)

Misra, Shri Shyam Bihari (Bilihar)

Koli, Shri Ganga Ram (Bayana)

Mollah, Shri Hannan (Uluberia)

Konathala, Shri Rama Krishna (Anakapalle)

Mukherjee, Shrimati Geeta (Panskura)

Kori, Shri Gaya Prasad (Jalaun)

Mukherjee, Shri Subrata (Raiganj)

Krishan Kumar, Shri S. (Quilon)

Mukhopadhyay, Shri Ajoy (Krishnagar)

Kshirsagar, Shrimati Kesharbai Sonaji (Beed)

Munda, Shri Govinda Chandra (Keonjhar)

Kudumula, Shri Padmasree (Nellore)

Munda, Shri Kariya (Khunti)

Muniyappa, Shri K.H. (Kolar)

Muralee Dharan, Shri K. (Culicut)

Murthy, Shri M.V. Chandrashekara  
(Kanakapura)

Muttemwar, Shri Vilas (Chimur)

N

Naidu, Shri P.V. Rangayya

Nayak, Shri Mrutyunjaya (Phulbani)

Nayak, Shri Subash Chandra  
(Kalahandi)

Natam, Shri Arvind (Kanker)

P

Pal, Shri Rupchand (Hooghly)

Panigrahi Shri Sribaliv (Deogarh)

Patel, Shri Praful (Bhandara)

Patal, Shri Shravan Kumar (Jabalpur)

Patel, Shri Uttambhai Harjibhai (Bulsar)

Patil, Shri Anwari Basavaraj (Koppal)

Patil, Shrimati Pratibha Devisingh  
(Amravati)

Pilot, Shri Rajesh (Dausa)

Potdukhe, Shri Shantaram (Chandra-  
pur)

Prabhu, Shri R. (Nilgiris)

Prabhu Zantye, Shri Harish Narayan  
(Panaji)

Pradhani, Shri K. (Nowrangpur)

Prasad, Shri V. Sreenivasa (Chamara-  
janagar)

R

Rahi, Shri Ram Lal (Misrikh)

Rai, Shri Kalp Nath (Ghosi)

Rajeshwaran, Dr. V. (Ramnathapuram)

Raju, Shri S. Vijaya Rama (Parvathipu-  
ram)

Ramchandran, Shri Mullappally (Can-  
nanore)

Ramamurthy, Shri K. (Krishnagiri)

Rao, Shri J. Chokka (Karimnagar)

Rao, Shri V. Krishna (Chikballapur)

Rawat, Shri Prabhu Lai (Banwara)

Raychaudhuri, Shri Sudarsan (Seram-  
pore)

Reddy, Shri Anantha Venkata (Ananta-  
pur)

Reddy, Shri G. Ganga (Nizamabad)

Reddy, Shri M. Baga (Medak)

Reddy, Shri Mahasamudram Gnanen-  
dra (Chittoor)

Reddy, Shri Vijaya Bhaskara (Karnool)

S

Sadul, Shri Dharmanna Mondayya  
(Solapur)

Sai, Shri A. Pratap (Rajampet)

Sahi, Shrimati Krishna (Begusarai)

Saikia, Shri Muhi Ram (Nowgong)

Sangma, Shri Purno A. (Tura)

Saniipalli, Shri Gangadhara (Hindupur)

Sayeed, Shri P.M. (Lakshadweep)

Scindia, Shri Madhavrao (Gwalior)

Selja, Kumari (Sirsa)

Sethi, Shri Arjun Charan (Bhadrak)

Shankaranand, Shri B. (Chikkodi)

Sharma, Shri Chiranji Lai (Karnal)

Shukla, Shri Vidhyacharan (Raipur)

Silvera, Dr. C. (Mizoram)

Singh, Shri Arjun (Satna)

Singh, Shri Dalbir (Shahdol)

Singh, Shri Kheisai (Sarguja)

Singh, Shri Manphool (Bikaner)

Singh, Shri Motilal (Sidhi)

Singh, Kumari Pushpa Devi (Raigarh)

Singh, Shri Ram (Haridwar)

Singh, Shri S.B. (Rajnandgaon)

Sodi, Shri Manku Ram (Bastar)

Solanki, Shri Surajbhanu (Dhar)

Sultanpuri, Shri Krishan Dutt (Shimla)

Suresh, Shri Kodikkunil (Adoor)

Swamy, Shri G.Venkat (Pedapalli)

**T**

Tara Singh, Shri (Kurukshetra)

Tej Narayan singh Shri (Buxar)

Thakur, Shri Mahendra Kumar Singh  
(Khandwa)

Thangkabalu, Shri K.V. (Dharmapuri)

Thomas, Prof. K.V. (Ernakulam)

Thomas, Shri P.C. (Muvattupuzha)

Thorat, Shri Sandipan Bhagwan (Pand-  
harpur)

Thungon Shri P.K. (Arunachal west)

Tytler, Shri Jagdish (Delhi Sadar)

**U**

Umbrey, Shri Laeta (Arunachal East)

Upadhyay, Shri Swarup (Tejpur)

**V**

Verma, Shri Bhawani Lai (Janjgir)

Verma, Kumari Vimla (Seoni)

Vijayaraghavan, Shri V.S. (Palghat)

Virendra Singh, Shri (Mirzapur)

Vyas, Dr. Girija (Udaipur)

**W**Wasnik, Shri Mukul Balkrishna  
(Buldana)

Division No: 5

14.28 hrs.

**NOES****B**

Bhargava, Shri Girdhari Lal (Jaipur)

**D**

Das, Shri Anadi Charan (Jajpur)

Dhumal, Prof. Prem (Hamirpur)

**F**

Fernandes, Shri George (Muzaffarpur)

**G**

Gangwar, Shri Santosh Kumar (Bareilly)



Gautam, Shrimati Sheela (Aligarh)

V

Gupta, Shri Indrajit (Midnapore)

Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari (Lucknow)

J

Y

Jaswant Singh, Shri (Chittorgarh)

Yadav, Shri Chandra Jeet (Azamgarh)

Jatiya, Shri Satynarayan (Ujjain)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Subject to Correction,\* the result of the division is as follows:

Jha, Shri Bhogendra (Madhubani)

K

Ayes

148

Khanoria, Shri, D.D. (Kangra)

Noes

023

Khurana, Shri Madan Lai (South Delhi)

*The Motion was Adopted*

P

Pandeya, Dr. Laxminarayan (Mandsaur)

14.29 hrs

Paswan, Shri Ram Vilas (Rosera)

MOTION RE. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

Prabhu, Shri R. (Nilgiris)

[English]

Prasad, Shri Hari Kewal (Salempur)

R

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now the House shall take up the next item. Shri Eduardo Feleiro to move it.

Raju, Shri Bh. Vijayakumar (Narsapur)

S

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO): Sir, I beg to move:

Singh, Shri Ram (Haridwar)

"That this House do consider the present international Situation"

Swami, Sureshanand (Jalesar)

T

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, if, every single Member in this House is aware that at this point of time and in the recent past, global changes which are historic in nature and

Tirkey, Shri Pius (Alipurduars)

\*The following Members also recorded their Votes.

**Ayes** Shri Mohanbhai S. Delkar, Shri T.R.L. Bhosale, Shri P. Valial Peruman, Shri P.C. Chacko, Shri Avtar Singh Bhadana, Shri Kartikeswar Patra, Shri Sarat Chandra Pattnaik, Shri P.P. Kaliaperumal, Shri K.H. Muniyappa, Shri R.G. Williams.

**Noes** Shri M.V.V.S. Murthy, Shri Rabi Ray, Shri Srikanta Jena, Shri Syed Shahabuddin, Shri Chetan P.S. Chauhan, Shri J.V. Singh Drona, Shri T.C. Khandelwal, Shri Bhuvan Chandra Khandurfi, Shri Shyam Bihari Misra.