

ernment on the working of the Central Tool Room, Ludhiana, for the year 1982-83.

(Placed in Library. See No. LT-8085/84)

12.06 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Seventy-third Report

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Madras North) : Sir, I beg to present the Seventy-third Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

12.06½ hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

Seventy-ninth Report

SHRI MADHUSUDAN VAIRALE (Akola) : Sir, I beg to present the Seventy-ninth Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Committee on Public Undertakings on Action Taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Seventy-first Report of the Committee on Bharat Aluminium Company Ltd.

12.07 hrs.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul) : The situation in Sri Lanka is more serious, even according to the statement of the hon. Minister. I want to know the reaction of the Government...

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : I have already told you that we shall discuss it. I am not allowing him.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : I have already assured you that we shall have a discussion.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Mayathevar, why are you agitated unnecessarily? I have already committed to you that we shall have a discussion. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : But you cannot force it down my throat. Please sit down now.

Now, discussion *under* rule 193. Prof. Madhu Dandavate.

12.08 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS IN THE HOUSE ON 2 APRIL, 1984 REGARDING AKALIS' DEMANDS CONCERNING ARTICLE 25 OF THE CONSTITUTION AND INCIDENTAL MATTERS

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise once again to initiate discussion on the situation in Punjab and also the Home Minister's statement made in this House on 2nd April regarding Akalis' demands concerning Article 25 of the Constitution and related matters, that means, the violence that is taking place there.

Sir, permit me to say that as the records of the debates of Lok Sabha are piling up, at the same time we find that as far as Punjab is concerned, the dead bodies are also piling up and when I find that in the face of various debates that we raised in the House, there is a degree of apathy, insensitivity and also unresponsiveness on the part of the Government. Sometimes a feeling comes to my mind that to raise such issues on the floor of the House is a futile exercise and a futile exercise, but despite that we do not give up the hope. We are still hoping that with the pressure of public opinion and by the expression of the voice of the Parliament, the Government will be required and forced to give up its present adamant policy and try to see that there is a greater security in Punjab and elsewhere without, of course,

prejudice to the justice that is to be done to the People of Punjab as well as Haryana.

Very often when there is an expression of anguish and anger in this House on this issue, many Members are disturbed. Sometimes the presiding authorities are also disturbed. But let me tell you very clearly that whenever the anguish and anger on this issue is expressed in this House the expression might not be consisting of very sophisticated classical tunes. But you try to go to the root of the problem, to the root of the anguish and to the root of the anger and then you will realise why sometimes the Parliament is rocked, why the people in the State are rocked and why there is stern reaction of the people as far as these developments are concerned.

In that context also we must decide as to what future course of action is to be adopted so that Punjab which is bleeding and burning today is normalised : life in Punjab and elsewhere becomes secure and, at the same time, the people of Punjab, Haryana and elsewhere feel that they have a sense of justice as far as their demands are concerned.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधानमंत्री जी को सदन में होना चाहिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आ रही हैं ।

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul) :
That is the reason why we demanded the suspension of the Question Hour. (Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I had already made an enquiry and I was told that she will be attending the debate. That is the reason why I did not say that in the beginning.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar) : The Home Minister is here. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : Yesterday, we boycotted the proceedings. (Interruptions) It is not a petty matter ; it is a very serious matter.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : The Minister of your Home is the Prime Minister. That is why we want her here.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South) : Hon. Members should start speaking when the Prime Minister is present. It is necessary that she should hear the entire arguments. . .

MR. SPEAKER : He knows it, I know it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, I may remind you that before I started initiating the debate, I had already made enquiries. I was told that the Leader of the House will be present. There is no other House to which she can also go. I am referring to the second Chamber of Parliament.

AN HON. MEMBER : Don't make it a political issue.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Let me submit, if the problem is to be handled in a tactical manner, what is needed today is the blending of the spirit of flexibility and also, at the same time, we must have firmness. The Government must take a firm attitude as far as dealing with the problems of law and order and security of the people in the country are concerned. At the same time, the Government must have a flexible approach to it, to do full justice to the demands of Punjab and Haryana. Akali demands can also be considered in the context of the entire situation so that Haryana too must not feel that in conceding the demands of Punjab, any sense of injustice has been perpetrated on Haryana. It is only in such a broad perspective that the problem of Punjab and Haryana can be approached and, I hope, that will be done.

Sir, today's discussion, though that has been motivated by the statement that has been made by the Home Minister basically for Article 25 in the Constitution to which Akalis have objected, I take it for granted that after what has happened recently in Punjab, the various murders that have taken place, the attack that has been made on Nirankaris' meeting in which three women along with a child have been killed and a Member of Parliament has been murdered

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only the other day, all these things will be taken into account.

Sir, you were not here in the country. But what a pathetic scene ! In the morning, at 6 O'clock, the extremists knock at the door, Prof. Tiwari's wife opens the door, the two extremists say, "We want to meet Prof. Tiwari" ; Prof. Tiwari comes at the door ; he is shot and he dies on the hospital operation table. It is in such a dastardly manner, in such a shameful manner and in such a cowardly manner, that people are being killed.

These are the problems of law and order. So, I take it for granted that today's discussion is not to be centred round only Article 25 of Constitution and the attitude of Akali Dal and the response of the Government to it. It is also concerning the law and order situation that has been created in Punjab. Let me warn you that the law and order situation in Punjab is no more a localised situation in Punjab. It is crossing the borders of Punjab and it is creating a threat to the security of the rest of the parts of the country. Therefore, both these aspects have to be taken into account.

Let us try to analyse the nature of the extremist activity in Punjab today. They have a certain *modus operandi*. You carefully go through all the cases of murder that have taken place in Punjab so far and you will find that the operation is, hit and go operation. They have drawn up a list as to who are to be hit. Men come on the motor bike ; they hit the persons from behind and disappear from the scene and as I will point out to you after some time, you will be surprised and shocked to know what are the total number of murders that have taken place. You will be shocked and surprised to know still further, how many have been arrested and there will be a further shock when you come to know how many cases have been filed. In 19 months up to the end of February, 220 murders have taken place in Punjab and very often people feel that they belong only to one particular religious group. I come from a rural Constituency. In my own Constituency, the

feeling of the citizens is, probably the extremists and the supporters of Bhindranwale are only attacking the Hindus. You will be shocked to know that in 19 months up to February, 8, the number of people killed is 220, and out of them 190 are Sikhs. When 220 murders have taken place, you will be further shocked to know that less than one dozen men have been arrested. 220 murders and less than 12 arrests ! How many cases have been filed and how many prosecuted ? Not even one so far. 220 murders, less than 12 arrested, not a single man prosecuted ! That is the manner in which these people are carrying on the problems of law and order.

When you assume power, you assume certain responsibilities and if you feel that you are incompetent to execute the power that has been given to you by the mandate of the people, have the humility to say that we cannot actually carry out the responsibility and we therefore quit from power and go to the people. You should have the guts to say that.

It is not that I say it from my own behalf. I am not saying it simply because you happen to be in the Congress Party which happens to be the ruling party. This is the feeling of the common man today. Go to the market place or to the local train or to the bazar or to the mill or the factory, the common people say "Leave aside lifting us above the poverty line. Let us be lifted above the insecurity line !" The common people are more worried today about the insecurity line. To the workers, the bonus will come afterwards. To the peasants, the remunerative prices will come afterwards. To women, equality and justice will come afterwards. To Harijans, social justice will come afterwards. All that will matter only if they survive first of all. The common people say "What we demand in the civilised society and in the democratic polity is not any amenities for us but only our right to live, our right to survive !" Even that right to survive has been denied to the common people with all such gangster-like activities that are being perpetrated at the hands of certain extremists in the country.

These extremists are following a particular technique. Even there is a silver lining to

the dark cloud of terrorism, even though Punjab has still not seen the days of the partition yet. In partition, there was violence and today in Punjab there is violence. But there is one aspect that is different and one characteristic feature of the pre-partition and post-partition. There were mass attacks. There was group violence. There was communal violence. Not that I justify it. Open defiance of law and order is not justifiable and everybody knows it. But these are the cowards who come from behind. They come on motorbikes. They shoot down the men in their hit-list and they run away and the tragedy is, as I have told you, 220 such murders have been committed, there is not a single prosecution ! The Government is responsible for this and it has to give the reply. Why is there such a great disparity between the murders committed and the prosecutions made by the Government ?

You are accountable to the Parliament. We talk so much about the accountability of the Parliamentary system. If some of us prefer the parliamentary system to the presidential system, it is because we feel that there is greater accountability of Parliament to people in the parliamentary system. We prefer accountability. If the ruling party does not remain accountable to the people, it is free to quit. But they must explain. This is the aspect that has to be taken note of.

The murder of Shri Atwal and his son outside the Golden Temple, the shooting down of Shri Harbans Manchanda, President of the Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee, the killing of Shri Harbans Lal Khanna and of the three women along with one child, when the Nirankari meeting was attacked and then the gruesome death and murder of Prof. Tewari, all these incidents show that there is a method or madness in killing the people. It is this method in madness that has to be brought to book, and for that, firm action is needed. Today there is no group violence. These are all individual acts of terrorism and also by gangs. Like the post-Partition and pre-Partition days, Punjab fortunately has not as yet seen, group and communal mass violence. But if this Government keeps quiet, in that case the individual terrorism will escalate into mass and group violence

and that will be the greatest tragedy of the country after the martyrdom of the Father of the Nation at the altar of secularism. Therefore, they must take a firm attitude and nip this violence in the bud itself, before that violence escalates into mass and group violence which will be the greatest tragedy of the time.

Now what are the actions and reactions ? I went to Amritsar and saw what was happening ; I went to Jullundur and I saw ; I went to Panipat and I saw what had happened. Even during and after Partition, Gurudwaras were not burnt. My friend, Mr. George Fernandes, was present there ; Mr. Biju Patnaik was there. We all went there and we saw with our own eyes four Gurudwaras being burnt to ashes. I do not want to describe the entire scene as I saw it. Ultimately eight Mazhabi Sikhs were killed. The tragedy of this country is that, when anybody is to be killed, people find only the weaker sections as scapegoats. All those eight Sikhs were not murdered by bullets. We went to their family members. The officers incharge told us that they could not be identified. But we, private citizens, could go round and find out who were the dead, we could meet their family members, we could find out where they were working. We were told that the population was taken out of the Gurudwaras. The CRPF told them, "We will ensure the safety of the Gurudwaras", and when they were removed from the scene, the others started attacking them with mass violence, and not one amongst those Mazhabi Sikhs was killed by bullet ; all of them were stoned to death. That is the type of violence that took place in Panipat. If such mass violence takes place in Punjab as well as in Haryana, it will be the greatest tragedy after the Partition, and that has to be avoided.

There is one danger to which I would like to make a reference and that is, if the individual terroristic act escalates into mass violence and group violence in places like Punjab and Haryana, the inevitable evil will follow, and that inevitable evil will be exodus of the population of different castes and communities. In Punjab and Haryana if a common man finds his life insecure in the midst of a composition in which Sikhs and Hindus are there, in that case, merely

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the instinct to survive will drive him away from his State and he will be moving to some other State. It will be the shame and tragedy of this country of Gandhi if, only because I am not able to survive in one place, I have to run away to another place. That will be the burial of the ideals for which Gandhiji stood and for which Gandhiji died. Even after Partition, I had never accepted the theory of exchange of population. Exchange of population and destruction of the secular State will be only on our dead bodies. We are committed to it. Even after partition, no doubt there was exodus. But to the pride of India, Gandhi's India, lakhs and lakhs of Muslims stayed in this country to consider this country as their homeland, to consider this country as their motherland, and we became the second largest country with the Muslim population. They stayed of their own volition, they stayed of their own choice, when options were open to go to Pakistan. The doors were wide open to go to Pakistan. Still, lakhs of Muslims stayed in this country, and they say, "We were born here and we will die here". They stayed here and they made this country their own. This is the type of country. The country was partitioned. But our nation did not accept the two-nation theory based on religion. That is the saving grace. We hope that the spirit of secularism will survive. Through you, Sir, I warn this Government : if you continue to remain apathetic to the problems of law and order as you have been doing today, ultimately people will be driven to group violence, and group violence and mass violence will lead to exodus of population and ultimately the Sikhs will stay at one place and the Hindus will stay at another place, and the dream of Gandhiji will be destroyed. We believe that India is a secular State though we are multi-religious and multi linguistic. It is a united and integrated nation. That is our dream—a United India, a secular India. We have to retain that. If that is not done, I am afraid, this is likely to take place.

This is a warning both to the agitators and the Government. The Government should take a firm action and the agitators should not play with fire. It is very easy to have

a struggle on economic lines and no disintegration of the country takes place. But when on the question of language and religion people try to fight out their battles, the inevitable conclusion is that divisive forces gain ground. That is what is happening in Punjab and elsewhere.

There is one more aspect to which I have drawn your attention. But I would draw further attention to the same. I would say that out of 220 murders, 190 were Sikhs. That means that Bhindranwale did not discriminate between Hindus and Sikhs. Whoever is not amenable to him, should be shot dead. If a Sikh belongs to a Nirankari sect, massacre him. If he happens to belong to Congress (I) finish him. If he belongs to the Communist Party, then hit at him. If he belongs to the Lok Dal, finish him. He is not worried whether he is a Sikh or a Hindu. He only believes in one cult. One is the cult of the extremist Bhindranwale and another cult is that of non-Bhindranwale and when this is happening, we are allowing the places of worship to become the abode of criminal elements. We are harbouring them and if that happens, we say that we are helpless. When the Emergency was declared in this country on 26th June 1975, all our leaders could be just whisked away within a few seconds. Choudhary Charan Singh could be whisked away in the early morning. Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan could be taken away and he developed all sorts of trouble and he became a victim after coming out of the emergency. Shri Morarji Bhai and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee—all these men were whisked away within a few seconds and the Government did not think for a moment what will happen to these old men. They whisked them away. They did not think. But why this hesitation in respect of those who are responsible for violence and terrorism and why are they shivering in their pants ? Such men cannot rule. If you decide to rule, rule and if you cannot rule, then please quit. That type of courage has to be shown. Unless that is shown, they will not be able to solve the problem.

I will give a very interesting episode how things escalate. There was a grenade explosion at the Shivala temple in Amritsar. The grenade did not explode inside the temple. The frenzied mob decided for themselves

that three Sikhs were culprits and they wanted to lynch them. But fortunately they were saved by the Sikh Police Officers and some Hindus. However, the CRPF refused to hand them over to the Deputy Commissioner who arrived on the scene and a mild gun battle between the CRPF and the Punjab Police ensued. This was a dangerous portent. If a clash takes place between the Punjab Police force and the CRPF, it is a portent to a very dangerous situation. If this type of development takes place, that is the greatest danger and that is what is taking place because they are not taking recourse to law.

I would like to tell the Akali Dal. We can understand their just demands. They can be discussed around the table. I am one of those who believe that we have already narrowed down the differences between the Government and the Akali Dal and the Opposition Parties and when we have come round and narrowed down the differences, unfortunately differences were allowed to escalate. The Government could have clinched the matter. Whatever is agreeable, implement them. If a consensus is evolved, implement it. But I have a suspicion and a feeling that the Government also wanted the problem to linger on.....

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : No, no.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I think the Government has one particular approach to solving all the disputes—allow the problem to linger on...

PROF. N.G. RANGA : No, Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It will swell heavily and people will be driven from that problem. That seems to be the attitude in solving quite a number of problems. I am not taking any partisan attitude. But there are a number of problems. Problems cannot be solved like that. You take firm steps. You take a firm decision and if necessary, a unilateral decision also you should be prepared to take and implement it since you are in the party in power. But neither the consensus you implement nor your own point of view you implement. All that is happening is that murders are implemented. That is what is being imple-

mented. Every time we have suggested that when you meet in a tripartite body and when a consensus is evolved, then don't worry if there are some differences amongst us and between the Akali Dal and when a consensus is evolved, try to implement the consensus and put everyone else on the wrong path. And I think there the nation will be with you. You must have the courage to implement the consensus evolved. What is the use of calling various parties in a round table conference—tripartite conference—and telling them that we have evolved this consensus ; it is fine but in a very superfine manner, it will not be implemented ? And therefore, everything goes to dogs.

Sir, The Akali Dal has become to-day the prisoner of Bhindranwale. Unless they liberate themselves from Bhindranwale, they will not be able to join the mainstream and even get justice from this Government. Not only the Government will be against them but those who are sympathetic with their demands will also get antagonised and, therefore, they must liberate themselves from the clutches of Bhindranwale. If this is done, then, there is some problem. (*Interruptions*) Mr. Patnaik, my colleague always makes a rightly intervention. He pointed out and demanded from me to see the entire history (*Interruptions*) not only the history but the geography of Bhindranwale also. You will find who is this Bhindranwale. Bhindranwale was not the creation of the Akali Dal ; Bhindranwale was not the creation of the Janata Party ; Bhindranwale was not the creation of the Lok Dal ; Bhindranwale was not the creation of the Communist Party of India but he was the creation of the ruling party in order to beat down the Opposition Parties. (*Interruptions*) Now here is this Frankenstein which is trying to swallow the creator. Then the creator is very unhappy with retrospective effect. This Frankenstein which you have created is going to create a danger. They will realise what a monster they have created. That should be noted.

In this context, let us go to Article 25. I have a very balanced approach. My party has a very balanced approach about that Article in our Constitution. We believe that, if anybody wants any change in the

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Constitution—right from the day the Constitution had been adopted in 1950, so many constitutional amendments had taken place, some perverse and some welcome—we always stand by democratic alignment of the Constitution. I shall give you concrete instances. The whole controversy started about the amendment to Article 25 of the Constitution. There the Akali Dal feel that their separate identity as a Sikh religion is eroded and destroyed. I do not agree with them there. But, that is the fear in their mind. On the eve of a big agitation on the 2nd of April, you have come forward with a conclusion outside the House which is repeated in this House. Of course in your absence they committed the impropriety. If you were here, they would not have committed that. Anyway I leave it at that. They expressed their regret later. Mr. Deputy-Speaker pulled them up. I do not want to tell anything. You tell them not to have agitation. We will have a second look at it in consultation with the legal expert. There is nothing wrong in it. But, Sir, this Government has the genius of doing right things at a wrong moment. That is the genius of this Government. They will rightly examine a particular thing but do it at a very wrong moment.

Long before they started this agitation of burning of the Constitution, I think, the Home Minister and his friends could have approached the Akali Dal and told them that Constitution is not going to be disturbed. I have gone through the debate of the Constituent Assembly. Very carefully I have gone through the debate, particularly, about article 25. I find that almost all views were expressed on article 25, at that time, it was article 19. Article 25 made it very clear that in the Constitution, the Sikh is a separate identity as a community and religious group. As far as the Sikhs are concerned, that is not eroded. It gives certain explanations too. In that explanation what is important to be noted is this. What they say is that this debate did not leave any room of suspicion in the Akali mind that article 25 of the Constitution does not recognise the Sikhs as the separate religious community. There was nothing at all in the Constituent Assembly debate. For the purpose of sub-clause

(b) of clause (2) of article 25 (Social Welfare and Services) the reference to Hindus will be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh religion.

So only for certain fields they will be construed on par with Hindus. It will give them certain benefits in the field of reform, in the field of social welfare and it is a very welcome phenomenon. The late Dr. B.R. Ambedkar whom we consider one of the founding fathers of the Constitution has clearly stated about this in his speeches. But the trouble with the Akali Dal was when Bhindranwale started his violent militant programme they wanted a non-violent equivalent of a violent programme and therefore they came to the conclusion that if you are killing a human being we will kill the Constitution. And they started burning Art. 25 of the Constitution. Of course I don't know how far the trial will stand because they have not actually burnt the Constitution; they got Art. 25 cyclostyled on a stencil and that cyclostyled paper was burnt. I don't know whether it will stand in a Court of law; anyway the matter is sub-judice and therefore I will not go into it. But it is so very clear from the Constituent Assembly debates that [even Art. 25 and its explanation does not cause the erosion of the separate identity of the Sikhs. Then what was the right course? Long before they started the agitation the Home Minister could have sat with them. Without reference to the other demands they could have said, this is the commitment that this Article 25 concedes to you the separate identity of the Sikhs but if there are any suspicions the best method is to say, we can ask the Attorney General to examine the proposition; we may ask the legal experts to go through the proposition. And I go to the extent of saying that on 25 February 1984 the Chairman of the Janata Party Mr. Chandra Shekhar sent a special emissary George Fernandes with a letter written to Longowal. (*Interruptions*) I know your allergy. Let us forget the allergy in this moment of agony and crisis.

He sent George Fernandes along with that letter. (*Interruptions*) Rabindranath Tagore said, if you don't like a name drop it, but keep the idea. If you don't like George Fernandes, drop that name. No moment

is a moment of anguish for them ; that is the tragedy.

What did Chandra Shekhar say in that letter ? He said to Longowal ji, we feel that there is nothing wrong in that Article ; it retains the separate identity of the Sikhs. Burning the Constitution is not a welcome phenomenon ; you will get isolated from the main stream before it is decided that it is an anti-democratic action. And for that what I would say is, if you feel aggrieved in that matter of the Constitution we can refer it to legal experts and we can get it even examined by Supreme Court and once the Supreme Court gives its judgment that is the law of the land. Just as the judgment in Keshavanand Bharati's case is law of the land as far as amendment of Constitution is concerned. If Supreme Court gives judgment that as far as this is concerned it is very clear, it retains the identity, it retains Sikhs as a separate religious group, in that case, it is good. But if it is not so, in that case, you will resort to an amendment of the Constitution. The Government, the ruling party and opposition might have agreed but instead of following this procedure they allow Constitution to be burnt. They allow the whole legal process to be instituted ; they allow the atmosphere to become hot and then they found that hot atmosphere is likely to become super hot then they came forward with a suggestion, we are prepared. That is why I say they have the genius of doing the right thing at wrong moment. We are not at all against amendment of Constitution. I will give an analogy. Fortunately or unfortunately I was a Member of the Fifth Lok Sabha, in which number of constitutional amendments were introduced. There was one Constitutional Amendment clause. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee will tell you. There was a controversy about the status of Art. 13(2). Article 13(2) said 'The State shall not enact any law that will take away or restrict or abridge any of the fundamental rights adumbrated in Part III of the Constitution'. In Sajjan Singh case and in Sukhdev Prasad case the Supreme Court upheld the point of view that Article 13(2) is not the controlling clause for article 368. The Acts to which they refer are ordinary laws and not the constituent laws under which Government derives, Parliament derives, the power to amend the Constitution. It was

implicit. Formerly that Article 13(2) does not affect Article 368 under which by 2/3 majority any part of the Constitution can be amended. That was implicit.

Ultimately, even in the Keshavanand Bharati case, they upheld the point of view that there is a right to amend the Constitution and only the basic structure of the Constitution cannot be amended while it challenged Article 13(2) of the Constitution. So, Article 13(2) was not under suspension. The matter went to the court of law. But before that the Government itself decided that while supporting that amendment, under Article 13(2) there will be one more clause which will say that Article 363, amending the Constitution is beyond the purview of the Article 13(2). I think it is a correct procedure. So, what was implicit was made explicit. So, my view is that the Home Minister might be able to tell the Akali Dal that already the founders of the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly debates have accepted that Article 25 retains the separate identity of the Sikhs, but if you have any doubt, in the Explanation-II, one more clause can be mentioned that with reference to this Explanation it should be clear that this does not mean that separate identity of Sikhs as a religious group is completely extinguished. That Explanation can be modified. But instead of doing that, they started burning the Constitution. By burning the Constitution, Constitution has never been destroyed. Even by burning the reformers, reformers have not been destroyed. I may recall that King Martin Luther, the great religious reformer of the era was burnt alive by the orthodoxy in the country. But what had happened ? Only the flesh of Martin Luther was destroyed, it was reduced to ashes. But his message became immortal. That is the lesson of history. Here it will not be different. Therefore, Sir, what I want to tell you is after the destruction of his body, his messages were never destroyed at all. So, rest assured that by destroying, by burning the Constitution, the Constitution will never get destroyed because the labour of the generation that has gone into the framing of the Constitution, the collective wisdom of a number of luminaries that has gone into the making of the Constitution,—I do not give monopoly wisdom but only some luminaries—

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will not go waste. Even the Constitution can be amended from time to time. Explanatory clauses can be amended and in that way this could also be amended. Therefore, I say that the Government has come to the right conclusion at the wrong time. Their method is to put a premium on violence. Akalis said we would burn the Constitution, we would have mass violence, we would have mass agitation and after that they said "we are accepting your point of view". Let us try to review. There is no quarrel as far as this amendment is concerned, not that it is wrong but it could have been done far before time. Unfortunately, as I said, they do wrong thing at the right time and even when they do the thing, they do it without grace. That is the tragedy of this Government. Therefore, these aspects are to be borne in mind and I am sure if this is done, law and order will be dealt with very firmly and with iron hand of law. But at the same time, let me make a point clear. Some persons on our side sometimes demanded that let martial law be promulgated. Fortunately, you have not seen what martial law is. They have not seen what Hitler's regime was. They have not seen the implementation of martial law in our country. What happened in Sholapur and in Jalianwallabagh? Let us not forget that. The martial law appears to be very a stern measure. But once martial law is promulgated, in that case a number of disastrous consequences will follow and ultimately the people will say that remedy is worse than the disease. No martial law is necessary. Whatever powers you have got, the C.R.P. that you have got, para-military force that you have got, the Police Department that you have got, are enough and the only thing is how the stick that you have got is to be wielded. There is no necessity of having a martial law at all. The machinery that you have got is to be properly implemented and utilised and if that is done, I have not the least doubt that the problems can be solved effectively. I would very much like that all places of worship, no matter whether they are places of Sikhs, or Hindus or Muslims, cannot be utilised for harbouring of the anti-social elements, elements that are likely to utilise the places for assaulting the

members belonging to various communities. That also has to be ensured.

While concluding my observations on the subject, I will go back to what Madam Gandhi said at the beginning and at the commencement of Question Hour. She said "our cosmonaut has scaled high heights, great heights in the upper space." Sir, the supreme tragedy of my time is that when the Indian astronaut, the cosmonaut is scaling great heights in the outer skies and in the atmosphere, Punjab is sinking deep into the mire of violence, strife and disharmony. That is too painful to us. I see the great paradox : the cosmonaut rises, and the man in the Punjab sinks deep into the mire of communal fire, communal strife and communal violence. I would urge the Government : "Step into the picture. You are running the Government. See the very mire into which Punjab has sunk, along with the country. Lift Punjab up." We shall not shirk to share our burdens of responsibility. Power may belong to you, but the nation belongs to all of us. That is why it will be our primary responsibility to see that the nation is protected. We hope and trust that the Government will act in a manner so as to see that in our life-time, we will have the vision to see the glorious moment which will be a moment of pride for the preservation of our nationalism, and preservation of our secular ideas for which Gandhiji lived and died. Let us hope and trust that the real Gandhi did not live unnecessarily, and that he did not die in vain.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Sir, the leader of the House has deprived herself of the exposure to this speech.

MR. SPEAKER : Now Mr. Sparrow.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullunder) : Sir, the serious the situation, the dispassionate has to be the approach. I will try to bring out in a down-to-earth manner as many cogent points which affect us all to-day, as possible. Inevitably, there has to be some repetition also. Since the same reasons have been given on the floor of the House, in fact of both the Houses, I feel it is needless to reiterate the various facets of the problems, as I have already said enough on the subject.

The lawless and disharmonious situation which has arisen in Punjab is serious, as it is fraught with a big time disruptive danger. Let there be no doubt about it. Punjab, a sensitively-positioned border State of India, is facing an unprecedented turmoil. It had never happened before in this manner, especially between the two solid brothers. It never happened. We all know it. Never before in our history did brothers from the same brood hold any misgivings between them. Never before. Historically, racially, philologically, physiognomically and culturally, they were bred, and still they brood from the same stock and same stem. People outside may not know this. But I as a Punjabi know this down to each and every family that resides in Punjab. It simply is not possible to rub off their kith and bonds.

Then, what has gone wrong? That is where we have to start. What is wrong? Analytically we have to examine this question; down to earth we have to examine the question, and much less emotionally. No.

The crux that needs digging deep into, is: who kills? That is the question which one has to dig deep into, and understand.

Let us first take one of my observations. You would have noticed yourself, Sir that whenever a spot of calm atmosphere replaces a tense situation in Punjab, as a result of some action or announcement on the part of the Government, or emanating from Akali High Command, as for instance the latest calling off of the Akali agitation for one week, the perpetrators readily commit a thoroughly planned heinous crime as a shock action to disrupt the peace prevailing possibility. You look back over the total record. This has been the *modus operandi*. It has been happened like this. So, we are coming close to examine as to whereabouts the shoe is pinching, whereabouts is the trouble which lands us in this type of quandary.

The latest killings, as an example, which my friend, on the other side, Prof. Dandavate, has also touched on. The killings of such high dignitaries as the President D.G.P.C. Shri Harbans Singh Manchanda and Akali Sikh at that, Shri Harbans Lal Khanna, the Vice-President, Punjab B.J.P., Dr. V.N. Tewari, a Congress(I) M.P. and a

famous Punjabi language scholar, loved by all, are just a few examples to quote in relation to this particular pseudo type of phenomenon which comes to one's notice. Then there had been such cases as the gunning down with automatic weapons a Sikh DIG Police Officer when he was carrying holy *pershad* and flower offerings and paying obeisance at the very entrance of the Golden Temple, Amritsar. And, then there were a number of other cowardly and bloody actions of a similar type as a result of which law abiding citizens of different classes and creeds were killed indiscriminately. This naturally resulted in raising anguished emotions amongst Hindu/Sikh brotherhood to some extent. I know every nook and corner of all the 12,983 villages. I am a villager. I have been brought up in towns and cities, but I understand the nerve of the villages, that is majority in Punjab; and that is there for certain other reasons also. Some wrong heads are, of course, instrumental in coming into this fray rather wrongly.

I have given you a pattern of a type. Now, what does this pattern show, that we have further to examine. The overall pattern that we have now been able to assess is this. The closely observed pattern indicates very clearly, that the main aim and objective of the whole of this foul exercise is to destabilise life in the sensitively positioned prize border province of Punjab. Its geo-strategical significance from military and geo-political point of view is so easy to assess; anyone trained up should be able to assess it; such frightful pattern incidently, is being applied remorselessly also in other parts of the world. I will explain. Should I add to this also the allied factor of the money-hungry spies and agents already caught to being part of this systematically planned out affair. Do you think is it a secluded type of situation? Already my friends have mentioned that every such action, wrong action, wrong type of heinous crimes are systematically planned. One may further add to the destabilizing exercise the work of the anti-national elements coupled with self-seeking smugglers, hired criminals, terrorists and bone-headed fundamentalists--all of them indoctrinated and brain-washed suiting their assimilative emotions and purposes stretching between monetary avarice to suicidal tendency of sacrificing also. This is the type of cross-section;

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this is the type of situation that we in Punjab are facing ; as chance had it, geo-political, strategic, internal, external, backed up and trained up. All that put together is one shovel full. Otherwise, how could a brother kill a brother as also the innocent public at large in the streets just for the heck of it, ride on a motorcycle and go through the bazars, shoot out your stengun, it does not matter who gets killed and then attempt also to sabotage rail, trains and what not. Success has not possibly been that much. But things have been planned out to do a work like this. But you need a lot bit of planning to see its working and not knowing that your own brother may be in the same train. So, that means what ? Callousness, trained up and buying out of some fundamentalists who do not know what is happening and what they are doing. We are facing all this. I can assure you that a real Sikh of Gurus could never do such things. Our Gurus never advocated such actions. Not one of them did this. They sacrificed all that they had to protect the weak and motherly culture of Bharatvarsha.

12.56 hrs.

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

Some of us who may not understand and may not know the history of it, kindly accept this as being correct. It is true. Why do I say so ? I have done also my degree in divinity, Dharmvidya, in order to understand the things in their right perspective as far as religion is concerned. I can assure you, never any of our Gurus thought in that light at all. Our holy Granth Sahib—there is a testimony of what I am saying—carries Gurbani of Mohammedan and Hindu sages, it may be Farid, Kabir, Valmiki and many others, and of course, the ten Gurus. However, enough is enough. For how long our nation can stand ransomed in the hands of a few of the perpetrators ? This is the second observation. As has been said by our friends from the other side of the benches, we cannot have a jungle rule. From that point of view I can assure you that we all mean the same thing. And enough of patience and steadiness has all along been shown by the hon. Prime Minister, hon. Home Minister

and the Ministry of Home Affairs to judge correctly as to how much force should be applied. It was a question and still is a question of touch and go. You have to very very carefully weigh the situation, negotiation side of it as also what it may lead to and then you have to take a decision. There were some hot heads who used to recommend things which later on they themselves felt that it should not be done in this manner. This is a very very sensitive type of game and it has to be handled in the same light.

I want to assure the House on another point. In a way, all broad observations that I have been able to carry in so far as the working of the mind of the Sikhs is concerned, the real Sikhs of our ten Gurus are at the back of our wonderful nation stretching from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas. You may very kindly accept that. Historically it is correct. The Sikhs belong to India and India belongs to Sikhs. May I offer its proof ? I can give the proof historically and otherwise also at the hands of our Gurus.

For instance, take our holy shrines. Where are they ? You can see the shrines of the Sikhs wherever you go, in any direction you wish to go. You can see them in Delhi, Paunta Sahib, Mitha Reetha Sahib, Gobind Ghat, Hem Kund, Gwalior, Manmad, Hazur Sahib, Patna Sahib, Gauhati and Bidar. Of course, the Nander Sahib is there. So, there is no question of saying that any particular place is the home.

I have said before, and I say it again, that the Tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, selected his Panch Pyaras. At that time he wanted the head of each one of them as a test of his sacrifice. Can you have the guts to sacrifice yourself ? I want to tell you historically this is the truth...*(Interruptions)* Yes, one belongs to your State of Orissa. Who was the one who stood up for India's sake, for the sake of maintaining your civilisation and culture in tact, for the sake of dharma, irrespective of creed or caste or class ? One came from Jagannath Puri, Orissa. His name was Jaoti Ram. He was later on given the name Himmet Singh. The second was from the West Coast, from Dwaraka. His name was Mokkam Chand. Later on, he

became Mokkal Singh. Another person was from down south, Andhra Pradesh. His name was Sahib Chand. He later became Sahib Singh. Another one comes from Hastinapur, between Mathura and Delhi. His name was Dharam Das. He became Dharam Singh. Another person was from Lahore, Daya Ram, who became Daya Singh.

So, look at the cross section, coming from all parts of India, irrespective of creed or class. Here in Delhi we have so many Gurudwaras, which are the symbols of the sacrifices of these people.

So far as the Sikh nation is concerned, I want to assure you that a preponderant majority of the Akalis, leave aside all other Sikhs, they are not in favour of extremists' action or separatism. I would tell these people who are preaching for a nation to take stock of the situation. I was very glad the other day to find that their (Akalis) attitude is conducive to the approach made by the hon. Home Minister. They have called off their agitation, which is a good sign.

I would make a timely appeal to the Akalis, because this question concerns the total Sikh community in the whole of India and even abroad. So, for the sake of homogeneity of the country, an appeal has to be made to them with due respect for full dedication.

After all what is the strength of the Sikhs? May I tell you, Sir, what is the strength of the Sikhs in Punjab? In Punjab, the total population is fourteen million i.e. one crore and forty lakhs. Out of that the total number of Sikhs viz-a-viz others—Hindus and others combined—call it fifty-fifty. One or two lakhs may be this way or that way. Statistically let it be, but it does not matter. That is about seventy lakhs of Sikhs are in Punjab in the shrunken, small and little Punjab with ten to eleven districts. That is the sum total of it. And of those seventy lakhs of Sikhs, which incidentally, in so far as population goes, run equivalent to the population of Delhi, with authority I can tell you that preponderant majority of the Sikhs—it may be the Congress Sikhs or other Sikhs, it may be very many other types of Sikhs, including the Akalis also—do not want this

type of a thing. You go to any village in Punjab. Here are so many of our friends from Punjab. Go to their villages. Go to any village and find out. I came only yesterday from Punjab. I addressed various meetings in my Constituency and in the villages also. No, there is no disharmony to the limit that is gloated out. But the situation is there. You cannot get out of that. The bad situation is there and the perpetrators are there. But that is a short type of minority which has created all this din and dust with bundles of money coming and with all types of things happening.

On that I would recommend to their high command and to our Government also. But, before I do that, one or two points I want to push through you to the Akali High Command to take note of. My timely appeal to them is—since they are now conducive to reason perhaps and I wish it because their calling off the agitation has given some semblance of the acceptance of having things to do across the table—that they should condemn all criminals and all perpetrators. They should every time be the first to condemn them. They should not condemn them in a Golmal manner. No. Condemn, and it does not matter who kills whom. Condemn them straight away. It may be Hindu killing a Sikh; it may be a Sikh killing a Hindu or it may be some other killing anybody for that matter, but unequivocally they must condemn. They should specially condemn the extremists. They should also know that there are some people paid from outside to plunder.

Secondly, they should arrange not to harbour any criminal in any Gurudwara. If they cannot handle their own Gurudwaras, what is the good of asking for amending Article 25? What is the good of asking for even to put all other Gurudwaras of India under their aegies, when you cannot control your own Gurudwaras. Is that what you have come down to? It never used to happen before. I have spent all my life in Amritsar. I know every village, every point of the city, from Kaserianwala Bazar right up to Bhaktaawala; from Kaserianwala right up to any area or any suburban area of Amritsar. Daily we used to go for prayers, Eighty or seventy per cent of those who

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went for prayers used to be Hindus. They would not open their shops unless they have taken the offerings of flowers and put them into their shops. And lo and behold, where have you brought us down to? Our brotherhood never used to suffer any kind of difficulty. In the history of our country, in the history of Sikhism from the days of Guru Nanak Dev Maharaj till lately never was there a possibility of Hindu and Sikh friction. Never. The Englishmen tried. I have certain documents to prove that the English tried to bring about rift between the Sikhs and the Hindus as they tried with any other type of community. They did that and they were successful. But they could not succeed to create a rift between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Lo and behold, during our time, my Akali brethren, you cannot control your own side of it! This is very unfair. So, my third appeal to them is to stop bringing in lethal weapons except the Kirpan inside the Golden Temple and other Gurudwaras and shrines of the Sikhs. It used to be the convention that outside the Golden Temple they would ask: 'Have you got any fire arms?' If anybody had, a receipt was given, the fire arms were kept outside. Now, they swagger about in Harmandir Sahib with automatic weapons. Now, when you are inside the Golden Temple—

SHRI G.S. NIHALSINGHWALA (Sangrur): If they don't listen to the appeal, then what will you do?

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: If they do not listen to the appeal, they will have to follow their own path.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MANI RAM BAGRI (Hissar): Who is responsible?

जिम्मेदार कौन है? सरकार की कोई जिम्मेदारी है या नहीं?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When your turn comes, you can speak.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: My dear friend,

have a little patience.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can speak when your turn comes.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When your turn comes, you can speak. That is what I am saying. About all those points if you don't agree, if only the Member yields, you can speak something. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is all right. The discussion is going on very well. Please don't spoil it.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH): Sir, it is very wrong on the part of the hon. Member to shout at the Chair like that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is his usual behaviour, you cannot change him.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I don't intend changing him. No, I can't; I will fail. I don't take it to heart. Please sit down. This is his usual behaviour, I cannot change him also.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW: Sir, don't kindly get angry with me if something else disturbs you.

I was mentioning that point and I answered to my brother here as to what would be done if they don't listen to this appeal, and what I have said is that possibly, they will be leading in the wrong direction. That is all about it. I cannot force any one to listen to my appeal or to act on that.

I would also wish to recommend to them one thing, which has always proved irksome and which they have not been ever, any time, able to handle correctly. That is, when-

ever they have to launch an agitation, they have been promising that it would remain non-violent, but every time it went out of their control. So, have they got the capacity? I would recommend to them to work out their method in such a manner, because agitations are allowed in this country, but they have to be non-violent. And can they do that? That is just an inference passed on to them for whatever it is worth. Then also I have to submit through you, Sir, that now it is time—as I said to start with, 'enough is enough'—to diffuse all the tensions, my dear Akali brothers; to have table talk negotiations with the Centre. They may heed it, they may not heed it, it is their choice. Whether they love posterity or not, whether they love the homogeneity of this beautiful country, our gurus, or not, it is for them to judge as to what is the time when they would like to cooperate in this context.

Finally, my appeal to them is that they should boldly break away from the extremists. They are the scions of those who know how to fight when it is sought to fight for this patriotic, beautiful country of ours. They should boldly break away from the extremists. They should cut away their own shackles and shadows that are clustering around them. They should make an effort on that. My special appeal to the fine gentleman, Shri Harchand Singh Longowal is: You can, under some influence, give statements and counter statements. That is besides the point. But otherwise, you should take the situation in your own hands and make certain that you break away from the shade and shadow which is of wrong type and break away from the influence of extremists.

These are the five points which I have passed on to them for whatever they are worth. On the recommendation side of it to my Government, I have only two or three points to submit. The first point that I would like to submit is that extra measures need to be taken in hand to tighten security measures against spies and secret agents. I am quite certain. Already lot is being done. I have no doubt about it. There are experts in that regard. But I must say they (agents and spies) have been reasonably successful in hood-winking us on different accounts. So, much more effort is to be put

in that regard.

My second recommendation humbly is, it has already been thought so very correctly and the approach has been made so very correctly by our Government to encourage negotiations and to settle the issue of the Punjab tangle as best as one can do and as speedily as is possible to do.

The third point is about the law and order. I humbly would wish to recommend on it although it is a process which is not easy to put a switch on at one time and expect miraculous things to happen. No. But a lot is being done in that regard; so much is happening which people may not be able to comprehend at the moment. But law and order has to be strengthened, much more strengthened and also much more fine training, much better type of equipments have to be given because this seems to be a running sore which we have to cut out.

Prof. Dandavate has pointed out something on which I am sorry I have to comment. He was very harsh on law and order problem which is very correct. Nevertheless he was trying to put the total blame in a way on the Government and in that regard about the police, in particular. He completely forgot when the Janata Party was in power, even then the police people sometimes did not work well. Not only that, even in a number of States they rebelled. In Punjab, they did... (*Interruptions*)

I am just making my point. It was even then a difficult problem. A lot had to be done and buttoned up in that regard. I accept that. (*Interruptions*). I remember, in Punjab 300 police men had to be kept at Bahadurgarh for re-conditioning, for creation of disturbances. They had practically rebelled. So, these things have to be seen in the right context.

Some of them have done beautifully well. In Punjab they have done very well. I know a number of them who have put their heart into that.

Prof. Dandavate has made another point. I would not agree so soon, in a rush perhaps and in the flow of eloquency perhaps, I must say, he said that you must

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quit ; the Government must quit. Not like that. Perhaps for ones sake, supposing the Government quits, are they ready to take over ?

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : पंजाब में ऐसी हालत थी क्या, जैसी अब है ?

SHRI R.S. SPARROW : No good talking on nebulous terms. No Methodically "yes". According to the Constitution, 'yes'. But not at the spur of the moment in a huff or in a rush if you say quit, that is I think a little out.

Some controversial points and some other points which I feel have been just left out, but it does not matter, it was all in the game. But these points I thought I must make, which I did.

May I also point out one other point—about whisking away of Shri Charan Singh and other leaders ? At the same time I may recall how the hon. Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at your turn of it was whisked away in such an unceremonious way without even looking at the book. It had been done in an unceremonious manner without even looking at or consulting the book. Later, after 6 hours, the magistrate said, "You can go back". What is this ? Please don't bring in such references. I do not want. It is my humble suggestion because now the situation is like this. We have to tackle this case jointly and I once again appeal to the Opposition, "Don't bring in any kind of tone or over-tone where some kind of politicalisation of the issue is concerned". There should be no politicalisation of the issue.

Any-way, let us make the contribution by sitting together and working out together. I beg of you in this case, because it is Punjab. Otherwise, I would not have asked. First for the sake of Punjab, for the homogenization of my beautiful country, this is one suggestion, I will humbly make to the Opposition friends.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Don't record any comments made while sitting and also without my permission. That is my general ruling.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Every one hour this thing should also be there to keep it lively.

AN HON. MEMBER : Including your goodself, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Thank you. I myself have said that.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at long last, the Prime Minister has found time to be here. Actually, yesterday, we demanded a discussion and all that because the Punjab situation is extremely grave. Sir, while unequivocally condemning the violence and killings in Punjab, which I feel all patriotic Indians in this country should do, I would like to ask a question addressed to the Home Minister. I would like to ask a question. Are you ruling Punjab ? Is there a Government in Punjab ? Who is ruling Punjab ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Bhindranwale.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : I am really at a loss to understand. How is a Party which has 2/3rd majority in Parliament and boasting about the massive mandate helplessly raising its hands and says that the agitators should stop and then the situation could be controlled ? Can you cite any example, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, where any Government has abdicated its responsibility to rule and appealing to the agitators to stop their agitation so that they can rule the country ? I want them to cite only one example. But here is the example. The Congress Party is abdicating its responsibility.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ATOMIC ENERGY, SPACE, ELECTRONICS AND OCEAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL) : No.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Every day, people are being murdered and people are being killed, brutally killed. Today, you see the newspaper. 10 people have died in Amritsar in Punjab and what the Government is doing ? See, what Mr. Sparrow, a leading ruling Party Member was saying ? I was expecting something about the solution, about the problems and about the steps to be taken.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL : Will you give ?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Yes, you wait for a moment. I shall give you.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, look at the statement made by the hon. Home Minister. It is a pity that we have such a Home Minister who gives the statement in the wake of this violence and killings. How does he conclude ? He concludes, "Those who started the agitation should make a major effort to control the forces of terrorism which have been let loose". *Shabash* ! It should go on record. You are the Home Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Yes, it is on record.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Yes, let it be recorded. The people of this country know how your Government works. Madam Prime Minister, I have with me your election manifesto. "Elect the Government that works". Is the Government working in Punjab ? Are you a working Prime Minister ? Is your Party working when a sitting Member of Parliament is being killed brutally and that too belonging to your Party ?

What is your appeal ? It is that, to control the situation, let the people who started the agitation stop it. They should stop it. But primarily it is your responsibility to control the situation and to deal firmly with the terrorists, the killer squads. What are you doing ? You are only appealing to them—to whom ?—to Akali leaders. You are not saying that there are extremist gangs and you are not isolating the extremist section. That is your duty to do. You

should have done it.

Now, Mr. Buta Singh said, whether we believe in parliamentary democracy or not. For your information, we do believe in parliamentary democracy ; we are fighting for it. My question is : Do you believe in it ?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I take the news from you. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : The test of the pudding lies in eating. We did not declare Emergency. Fortunately, what is happening in Punjab is not happening in West Bengal. It is fortunately for you. Don't mention that. You think about Punjab.

You go through the statement. It says :

"Government will be prepared to consult the SGPC and other representatives of Sikh community as well as legal experts and undertake such legislation by way of amendment as may be necessary to remove doubts on this point."

I would like to ask the Home Minister : Do the Opposition Parties exist at all or not ? Are the Opposition leaders dead ? What do you think about it ? They were in the tripartite meetings about settling the territorial question, about Chandigarh and about settling the water issues. They offered their cooperation and a meaningful dialogue was conducted. They offered all their services. But when you come to the question of amending Article 25 of the Constitution which has very important significance, you do not invite the Opposition leaders and you do not come to the Parliament. . .

THE HOME MINISTER (SHRI P.C. SETHI) : The amendment will have to be brought before the House and your views will be taken on that.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : What about consultation with the Opposition ? In a parliamentary democracy, you first take a decision and then come to the House. Either you say

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that you do not require the services of the Opposition or you say that "Only when it is politically opportune for us or when we can utilise it for our narrow political purposes, we will conduct a dialogue. Otherwise, we do not do it."

I must confess and let the whole nation know that in quelling the violence, in putting down the extremist activities, all the Opposition parties offered our cooperation. Though we have questioned your declaring Punjab as a disturbed area, we have several times asked you to deal firmly with them. We in the Opposition, to control the situation, to stop this violence, will be giving you our cooperation, because the primary duty of the Government as well as the Members of this Parliament is to see to the lives and security of the people. But you have failed to give security. We have asked you to deal firmly with the extremist activities. But you have failed to do it. Then what happens? On secular demands, on democratic demands, you take a long time of two years. But on religious demands, within two minutes you take a decision and you do not consult the Opposition also. Why? Don't you think that it is such an important matter? The Opposition should be taken into confidence on amendment of an Article of the Constitution. This is in the statement. You should have given an offer to the Opposition for consultation. What will be the consequence if there is such an amendment made without consultation with the Opposition? I am not going into the legal points. But I would remind the whole House what happened during the debates in the Constituent Assembly. The founding fathers of our Constitution applied their minds to these communal and religious questions. All these questions were debated and these articles were inserted particularly Articles 25 to 30. Ours is a society where there are many religions and that is why in the Constituent Assembly, all these questions were raised. But today, you must apply your mind to it and think of the consequences. Will it lead to the changing of personal law? The Hindus gave up their demand for scriptural law. You know it. I am not going into it, good or bad. It is up to you since you have given the commit-

ment. Think of all these things because their are certain problems related to it.

Punjab is now directly ruled by the Central Government. Our Prime Minister has been very fond of saying that India must have a very strong Centre. It is true. In its allotted sphere, it has to be very strong. Punjab is now under a very strong Centre. Six months have elapsed after you took over. Is there any improvement in the situation? There is rapid deterioration in the situation. You have given an assurance. But what is happening? Violence and killings are going on. I would ask you: What do you propose to do? Please tell this House what you propose to do. In your statement, you have not stated anything about the steps you are going to take. Either you say yes, it is your responsibility. (*Interruptions*) It is your responsibility; none of ours. If one Police Officer dies in Calcutta, the Government of West Bengal sends you the report and you demand it.

So also, if a Member of Parliament dies in Punjab, what are you going to do? Whose responsibility is this? Today directly it is the responsibility of the Central Government. Please tell this House, what you are going to do. Either say "We are going to do it, we are taking such and such actions" or say "We cannot take any action. We are incapable of controlling the situation." Let the whole nation know your views on the matter. Do not try to avoid the issue. You have already taken two years. People are dying and the whole situation is taking a communal turn.

The whole agitation initially started on certain democratic demands, Chandigarh and then Fazilka and also water. You have already accepted the religious demands. There is no problem there. I would ask you: If you give Chandigarh to Punjab as promised by you, is Chandigarh going anywhere outside India? Are you giving Chandigarh to any foreign country that you require so much of time? Can you not build a new capital for Haryana? Can you not give Chandigarh to Punjab and settle the issue? It seems as if you are going to give Chandigarh to a foreign country and that you require so much of negotiations and so much of time to settle the issue! In fact,

to give Chandigarh to Punjab is the demand of the people of Punjab, both Hindus and Sikhs. And you say nothing about it. You say others are to be consulted.

But when you say something about the religious demand, did you consult the others? You readily agreed to that.

In my opinion there is actually no problem in Punjab which cannot be solved. You take a decision on Chandigarh because this is the demand of the entire Punjab and then you must firmly deal with the extremists in Punjab.

I am sorry to say that the Akali leaders started an agitation on democratic issues initially, but now today I find to my utter astonishment that everything boils down to one thing, and that is the amendment of Article 25 of our Constitution. Why? What are the reasons for it? That has to be looked into. Why is there a shift in their demand? What were the major demands with which they initially started? Initially, amendment of the Constitution was not their main demand. The initial main demand of Punjab was secular, democratic and all the Opposition parties supported their demand. But today I do not know what has happened. The moderate Akali leaders are playing in the hands of the extremists by making it a major issue, by bringing religion in the forefront in a secular State. I would request the Akali leaders not merely to condemn violence; it is also their responsibility, since they started the movement, but also to work against this violence indulged in by the extremists. The Akalis want that the police should not enter into Gurudwaras, it is good. But they should also create conditions in Gurudwaras where there is no necessity for the police to enter into them. It is their responsibility also. They should also work for the unity of the Hindus and the Sikhs and not for their division. After all, what does our Constitution say? It is the fraternity, unity and integrity of the country which the founding fathers of our Constitution wanted to preserve. That is why, religious freedom was given to all minorities. This has to be preserved. We fought for years together. My mind goes back to Jalianwala Bagh where Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Chris-

tians died; they died for the unity and integrity of our country. Nothing should be done to fan the flame of communal violence. The nation should not be divided on the basis of Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians. We have our religious differences, but as a nation we are one. That is why I would urge upon the Akali leaders not to play in the hands of Mr. Bhindranwale. It is gratifying to note that, in an interview, Mr. Longowal has condemned violence; he has said that he is against it. But Mr. Bhindranwale, be it noted, in that interview has said that the Sikh religion depends on revenge. It is absolutely wrong; it is not so. Mr. Bhindranwale is giving a wrong interpretation to Sikh religion and he justifies all violent actions. So, I would like the Akali leaders, the moderates, Mr. Longowal and others, to condemn violence, to oppose violence and also work for Hindu-Sikh unity. (*Interruptions*) They want suggestions. It is very good. Unless and until they are compelled, they do not see any reason.

On behalf of my Party I can say that you should give Chandigarh to Punjab. You stick to your promise. Do not bring in Haryana or any other State. When you gave Bombay to Maharashtra, how could you do it? (*Interruptions*) You are entitled to your own opinion. I want to suggest a solution. Why can't we do it? Have you not given Bombay to Maharashtra? You have given it. There were disputes. There are disputes; and these have to be settled. The Haryana people should be told, 'This was built for Punjab; we will build a new capital for you if you want'. That will be better. The whole India is going to make this financial sacrifice for the unity of the country, so that these two States do not fight. It is simple. Unless you have other considerations, why should it be difficult? I should remind the hon. Prime Minister that statemanship lies in taking decisions, sometimes decisions which are very difficult. But these decisions are to be taken. I would say that actually I have a suspicion. The extremists are indulging in violence. But the attitude of the Central Government is as if they are onlookers. This is part of a very big game because the extremists are creating conditions where democracy cannot function

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and there may be some leaders who are interested in seeing that democracy does not function in India. Bhindranwale is doing exactly what the ruling Party wants him to do. ...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : You are wrong.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SPORTS, IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI MALLIKARJUN) : Sir, there should be some sense of responsibility.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : They are angry. It is all right. But from the Opposition Benches when we pin-point Bhindranwale, why is it that there is none in the Treasury Benches who is pinpointing at Bhindranwale?... (Interruptions) You never do it. ... (Interruptions) I am entitled to my opinion. ... (Interruptions) I am not yielding. You are entitled to your opinion.

The aim of the ruling Party was to crush the Akalis. That is why on more radical and religious slogans Bhindranwale came to politically discredit the Akalis because the ruling Party considers the Akali Party as the strongest Opposition Party in Punjab. They are challenging them there and with this end they have created this Frankenstein Bhindranwale. They are allowing his activities to be continued there. They are actually pleading helplessness, but it is with a purpose. It will continue upto the election. The purpose is to terrorise the Hindus so that the ruling Party gets the Hindu votes and you divide the Sikhs. To-day the ruling Party has taken to the policy of divide and rule. Exactly that is what your Party is doing elsewhere also. In Bengal they supported the Uttar Khand. ... (Interruptions) Only the other day one of your Members demanded.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is better that we avoid political and party issues and all that. This is a general discussion.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : They must know it. Only the other day one of your Members ... (Interruptions) Solution ? A solution will not come unless and until we attack them. They must be attacked politically because they do not want any solution. There should be no commentary. I am entitled to my opinion. I am not here to praise them. It is a democracy. In the opposition I am at liberty to put forward the views of my Party. Some may like it and some may not like it.

Only the other day one of your Members demanded some territories from West Bengal. I protested, but no one from your Party protested. ... (Interruptions) What are you doing ? You are going to divide the country. You are going to divide the country on the lines of religion, language and all that. ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please conclude.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : ...because of your failure on the economic front. Because of your failure you are now trying to divide the country and remain in power. That is why there is a lack of seriousness on your part. ... (Interruptions) I understand it is very difficult for them to digest the truth. ... (Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur) : This is not Question-Hour, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is yielding.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur) : The hon. Member is blaming Congress (I) saying that it is the Congress (I) which is giving importance to Bhindranwale. But is it not a fact that the leaders on the Opposition are going and hobnobbing with Bhindranwale ?

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : भिंडरवाला यहां हथियार लेकर खुला फिरा था दिल्ली में, और उसे अरेस्ट नहीं किया गया।

PROF. SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : We have nothing to do with

Bhindranwale. For his information—our Party people are being tortured by the people of Bhindranwale. For his information—we are fighting for communal peace in the country. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has said that his Party people also are being attacked. Please conclude.

PROF. SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: I will request the ruling Party that since they are ruling the country—it is very unfortunate that they are ruling the country, but I must accept the fact—the Constitution enjoins that they protect the life and property of the people. That is No. 1. (2) they take steps to solve the problem. That is why I requested them that they should not do things which will put the unity and integrity of the country in jeopardy. I even requested them to talk and discuss with the Opposition Leaders and then come to a solution and they see to it to isolate the extremists politically. Sir, this is not merely a law and order problem. (*Interruptions*) You people have not been able to find a solution. But, Sir, I would appeal to them that they should isolate the extremists politically—it is not a law and order question—and try to settle, settle and settle and you put down violence and give an assurance to the people that you will guarantee the lives and properties.

With these words, I conclude.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak about this important issue to-day in Parliament. My heart aches as much for the violence unleashed by these bandigoots—the extremists—as also the attitude displayed by the Opposition Members.

Sir, I had expected that in an issue of this magnitude where the unity of the country is under assault and when our whole national ideology, about which Prof. Dandavate had waxed eloquence, is under assault, these hon. Members who claim to represent the national parties, at least for a moment would deviate into sense and will talk some-

thing which is relevant to the situation and contribute ultimately to the solution of this problem. Sir, this is a serious matter. I am feeling really provoked at these slanderous campaigns, slanderous attacks launched by Mr. Chakraborty on my party and on our leadership. But, still, I have restrained myself and I exercise a restraint because I want the debate to be relevant. I would speak without any motive of one-up-manship. Sir, does it lie in his mouth to talk of freedom and talk of integrity of the country and, allege, in the same breath, that the Congress (I) led by the great leader, Madam Indira Gandhi, is responsible for this present agitation and is also contributing to the threatened dismemberment and balkanisation of this country? Does it lie in his mouth to say that we are creating Bhindranwale in this country and we are threatening the democratic structure in this country?

Sir, how would he feel if I go on exposing one by one what his party has done? This is an issue which I will not take as a law and order issue. I will take it in a broader perspective. The Indian National ideology is under attack to-day more than ever before, after Independence. Sir, is it not a fact that when we were fighting a grim battle for winning the independence for the Indian people and when we were leading a freedom struggle all over the world against the Imperialist, colonialist powers, then, his party to which he claims to belong and, of which, he is proud, was the**

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Sir, is ** Parliamentary?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will go through the records.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Unlike their party we have no**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will go through the record. I have said that. If there is anything unparliamentary we will look into it.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY: They were equal collaborators of British regime in this

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Prof. K.K. Tewary]

country and through you, Sir, and through this Honourable House, I want the people of India to revive the memories of the early forties.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Sir, he is not speaking on Punjab. ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is not yielding.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : You please control him.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You will be called. You may say whatever you want to say then..

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Sir, their history is dubious.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Chakraborty, when you get chance you can speak. Please allow him to continue.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : If they make any slanderous attack against our party to which I have the proud privilege to belong, we will also hit back. I request hon. Members to recall whether Communist Party had not supported the Muslim League during the British regime.

SHRI M.M. LAWRENCE (Idukki) : It was your party. Not our party. You don't know the history.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : I only request Prof. Satyasadhan Chakraborty, who is a Professor, in his own right to keep these things in mind. He is a good friend of mine.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You are also a professor.

— both are professors. I can't find fault with speech of Professor ; that is the problem.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Punjab problem is a serious problem. I expected Prof.

Dandavate to rise above day to day mundane accusations and refrain from hurling accusations against Madam Gandhi. I have great respect for him. Unfortunately he made reference to very glorious things, tradition of Gandhi, desirability of preserving unity of the country etc. But he engaged himself in hurling accusations against Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Congress I. That was the running theme of his whole speech not any desire to contribute to any solution or to bring about any consensus approach, to this conundrum of Punjab which is threatening the very foundation of our Indian nation.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to remind you of an earlier debate. I said in the earlier debate when I participated in the Adjournment Motion debate moved by Prof. Dandavate. A party like the CPM and CPI are falling a prey to the sinister designs of Mr. Vajpayee and his group inside the country and outside.

Sir, Prof. Chakraborty referred to a thing.

SHRI MANI RAM BAGRI : Sir, I have a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There is no question of point of order. He is not yielding.

(Interruptions)

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Sir, why are these forces active ? Let us analyse them in detail. Let us try to understand these things into this because when we talk of Punjab, which is a symptom of bigger disease, a bigger danger is threatening us. I was telling Prof. Chakraborty and his friends that they had also fallen a victim to a slanderous and sinister campaign against Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Congress-I Party that we are supporting, we are trying to create a cleavage, we are trying to create division between Hindus and Sikhs so that the Hindu votes can come to us. So, at least for a moment be honest and in the interest of the nation, deviate into sense and say if all these years Congress-I depended on Hindu votes. Since 1952, repeatedly we have been defeating BJP, earlier the Jan

Sangh and RSS combined and all their friends were repeatedly defeated on the basis of secular support, support of the progressive masses in this country who have extended the support to the great legacy of Congress, legacy of Gandhi, legacy of Nehru and the leadership of Madam Indira Gandhi, who is the biggest asset of India today. What India needs today is not the slanderous campaign, but the firm and towering leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi that we have should continue and we are fortunate to have Shrimati Indira Gandhi as our Prime Minister today. (*Interruptions*)

Therefore, Punjab is a serious problem and Mr. Agrawal, you will kindly agree with me that on such important issues I shall merely expose and nail the canard, a particular canard purposefully whipped up and it is being kept alive almost in every speech of every body, who matters, on the Opposition side that the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, is trying to back up, is trying to create this bogey so that Hindus feel scared, feel frightened and support her Party. Sir, I say this is a monstrous untruth and I charge that in order to desparage Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who is the only cementing force for India today, these diverse elements, fascist forces supported by international imperialist forces, neo-colonial forces, are trying to destabilise India. In such a situation, their simple strategy is that if Shrimati Indira Gandhi's image is tarnished, then in the whole country the bifurcation, the vivisection of India can be brought out. This, they think, is possible only when Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her party, Congress-I, are weakened. Therefore, such rumours, such canards are being deliberately spread in this country. This House is scarcely a forum for letting out this kind of demand and this kind of venom against our Party.

I said at the very outset that Punjab was a symptom. What is happening in Punjab? Professor Chakraborty and Prof. Dandavate, both of them are my senior colleagues. We all belong to the same profession. I am putting it to them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Tewary, does 'same profession' mean professorship ?

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : I am purposely avoiding going into the charges. Prof. Dandavate was talking of democracy. Prof. Satyasadhan was talking of democracy. Democracy and Satyasadhan, democracy and his party are poles apart. We have nurtured democracy as nowhere else in the Third World.

If democratic institutions survive in India, and if a party like Satyasadhan's also survives and flourishes, and is free to manipulate the levers of power, to stifle the same system which has guaranteed them freedom and freedom of action, it is because of the great Indian National Congress.

I would again remind Shri Satyasadhan about the kind of democracy he was talking. We have a democracy. In this very House, we have Mr. Biju Patnaik. See the limits of freedom provided by this democracy. The whole country should know it.

Mr. Biju Patnaik came here. Not even the hand-picked minions of Majlis-e-Soorah of Zia-ul-Haq would do the same unabashed propaganda,** on behalf of Zia-ul-Haq, utilizing the floor of the Indian Parliament. It seemed, it appeared that a*** representative, duly briefed under the authority of Zia-ul-Haq was speaking from one of the benches of the Opposition. This is the limit of democracy. This is the kind of freedom that we have.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT (Ahmedabad) : What is this, Sir ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has got the freedom. He has expressed his own opinion.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur) : How can he call a Member like this ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : To whatever he says, if you object...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (New Delhi) : On a point of order, Sir. How can a Member of Parliament say this ?

**Not recorded.

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : How can you allow an allegation of this type ?
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will go through the records and see if it is defamatory.

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA (Samastipur) : ***

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All right ; I will go through the records. If it is defamatory or derogatory, we will expunge it also.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : *** Where is the question of going through the records ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have said I will go through the records, if he has said it.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATERJEE (Jadavpur) : What the hon. Member says should be relevant to the subject.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Tewary, you confine yourself to the subject. I am reading it for the information of the hon. Members. The discussion is under rule 193. It says it is "regarding Akalis' demands concerning article 25 of the Constitution..." This is the subject. Please stick to your subject, Mr. Tewary.

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA : What about that remark ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have told Mr. Vajpayee what I am going to do. I have told him. He is satisfied.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : May I know what the subject he teaches ? Is he a professor of irrelevance ?

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Prof. Dandavate referred to the demands... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is better to avoid personal remarks and personal accusations.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : I was merely referring to the speech.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is better to avoid these things ; it is good. I say this in respect of everybody—whether it is Prof. Satyasadhan or Prof. Tewary. I mean personal references also.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : I would like to ask the Opposition leaders as to what are the precise demands of the Akalis to-day. (Interruptions)

On their insistence, talks were arranged where all the three parties participated—the Opposition's representatives, the Akali representatives and Government's representatives, and prior to that, Madam Gandhi, Prime Minister, she was saying that let us first be sure whether Akalis would stick to their demands ; whether they would be free to present a set of demands and respond to the suggestions of the government or offers of the government freely without fear. Then opposition people insisted and it was on this approach they were saying Mrs. Gandhi was not interested in solving the Punjab matter. Therefore, this offer was given by Government. They all participated. Suddenly, from economic demands, everything, the whole scenario is now changed. Nobody in the Akali rank or among the Akali leader talks of water dispute ; nobody talks of boundary dispute. Nobody remembers where Chandigarh will go or where even Chandigarh exists. Everybody now is talking of Article 25. Much abler persons have gone into the importance of Article 25. I charge the opposition that the present imbroglio is the solid contribution of the opposition groups who believe in the philosophy of running with the hare and hunting with the hound. You were closeted with them in your conclaves. Now they have come to this that they are burning the Constitution. For your information I am just merely thinking aloud. I can tell you what they are demanding. There is much bigger part to it than merely meets the naked eye. There-

fore, it is your responsibility. It was the responsibility of the opposition people who put so much faith on Akali Dal. When the government said that let the Akalis finally formulate the demands, irreducible minimum charter of demands, then they said that the government was trying to riggle out. When government agreed, Akalis had negotiations. They went back and came with another set of demand with different emphasis on different demands. Now they say entirely a new thing—Anandpur Sahib Resolution. I tell you, Prof. Dandavate, that Anandpur Sahib Resolution inspired all of you to talk of Centre-State relation, because it was not a simple demand. They were talking in a very muted fashion about Centre-State relation. But Anandpur Sahib Resolution and Article 25 are now the basic demands of the Akalis. I do not know. They were spending days and weeks in the cozy company of Bhindranwale and Sant Longowal in Golden Temple. Prof. Dandavate is the leader of the Janata Party. One of his Deputy Leader is going to Bhindranwale in Golden Temple. At least, he should clarify the stand of his party, if not other parties whether they are with Bhindranwale. Therefore, it was the responsibility of the opposition to go and meet the Akali leaders after they insisted on burning Article 25 and creating this kind of a situation, when this wanton killings went out of hand, and the extremist went on a rampage killing hundreds of innocent people. Was it not the responsibility of the opposition? As you are meeting in the Golden Temple, and as you are participating in the negotiations, is it not your responsibility again to go and persuade them?

Now, coming to Article 25, Mr. Chakraborty wanted me to say something about Article 25.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You are just now coming to his speech.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : I am reading from a write up, from an article by an authoritative scholar on Sikhism, Dr. Gopal Singh. In an article, he says :

“This is the only one Article which recognises the Sikhs as an independent religious entity and by no stretch of

meaning merges its identity with any other religion. In fact, the right to carry Kirpan as part of the Sikh religious code is guaranteed only in this Article”.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You are right.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : The almost unanimous view of all lawyers and legal experts in this country is that Article 25 is the only Article which guarantees an independent identity status to Sikh religion. But the Akalis have chosen a different path. Was it not your duty, Mr. Dandavate? Because when you talk of democratic set up, then at least I do not take only the ruling party as the only component of this set up.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If you permit a second's interruption, I respond to your suggestion and I may share the news with this House that with the kind permission of the Home Minister, I did visit the Tihar Jail and tried to bring home to Parkash Singh Badal this point, that as far as this Article 25 is concerned, it is in their favour, if possible we can even take the advice of legal experts and refer to the Supreme Court and I am sure that their judgment and interpretation will be in favour of the present Article because it gives an independent separate entity to them. I tried my best. And I can tell you, that my persuasion with him had considerable impact.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I take Mr. Dandavate as the representative of the Opposition parties, because they have an outfit, united front, and they participated as leaders of the opposition in the tri-partite meetings, or negotiations. It would have been much better if Prof. Dandavate, along with all his colleagues, those who matter in this outfit, left front, united front, at all should go to Amritsar and meet Sant Longowal and Bhindranwale, and others. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is just an appeal. It is for you to accept it or reject it. He is making an appeal to you. It is for you to accept it or reject it.

AN. HON. MEMBER : We cannot accept it.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Mr. Swami may go there and see. I do not know if he is an anathema to them. But they did not choose to do it. Why ? My charge is that the Opposition parties are not interested in any solution. Because they want this situation to continue and to take advantage of this to blame the present Government, to blame the leadership of Madam Gandhi and I say that certain forces—I do not blame anybody individually—are hand in glove with, or are in league with certain forces outside who utilise such secessionist elements, such separatist and violent elements in the country to bring about the final vivisection, final dismemberment, final breaking up of our motherland. Therefore, I think the situation as it is, is bad enough. Now, my humble request to the Opposition leaders is very simple. The moment they forget that such debates are meant for polemics, for gaining a point or two like school children, the better it would be for all. All of you have been senior leaders. Your responsibility is as great as the responsibility of the ruling party because the country belongs to the whole nation. All of you, you inherit the traditions of the political system in this country. Therefore, my humble request is, that if you have any seriousness now, let us—of course the Akali issue has to be attended to—at the same time when the Constitution is being amended or there is an idea mooted by the Home Minister, or welcomed by the Opposition parties about certain amendments to accommodate the views of the die-hard Akalis ;

Then simultaneously, I think, an attempt should be made and all of you should unite, because the nation expects the collective wisdom of this House to be the guide of the country in this critical juncture. So, you must support this amendment because we believe in this that any party which tries to politicise the religion or tries to put all its eggs into the religious basket or to be more explicit, tries to use religion as a political plank, in Constitution such parties will have no place and it will not extend recognition to parties which use religion not for fair and legitimate protection of the religious interests of the community concerned but to bring about the

division of the country, clashes among different religious groups in the country. Such groups should be outlawed and banned. They should not be permitted to operate taking advantage of the liberal provisions of the Constitution and pose a threat to the very fabric of the nation and the Constitution. This is my considered view. I again request the opposition leaders to go to Longowal and Bhindranwale—and some of you have been going—and persuade them to withdraw from the brink. (*Interruptions*)

Democratic States by nature are soft States. There are inbuilt mechanisms in the democratic systems to resolve differences and all these things are done through negotiations, through the goodwill of the parties and their legitimate participation in the political system. If such situations arise, you see all around what is happening. What is happening in Europe ; what is happening in Northern Ireland ? For how many years terrorism has been raging ? What is happening in Italy ? What is happening in scores of other European countries although they have more stable political systems, much older political systems. But despite everything, terrorism has been raging. Unfortunately, because of the interference of foreign powers, outside forces, our system is being threatened with terrorism and terrorist attacks.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate was talking of emergency. I will not talk of emergency because emergency was a necessary medicine for a disease. If you have to contain the forces which are out and out separatists, disruptive and terroristic, you will have to bring about fundamental change, fundamental re-orientation in the political thinking and in the structure of the Constitution also. Softness of the State militates against its integrity and its unity. Therefore, I also request the whole House to have a broader look. Connect Punjab to the broad perspective of the attempt at destabilisation, attempt at dismembering India and also to think of what to do next, because the democratic process has generated many forces. We must try to transmute them into constructive channels. If you fail there, then the Constitution has to go for a change. And it must be a hard State and not a soft State whatever Prof. Dandavate and Shri Satyasa-

dhan Chakraborty with this lipservice to democracy may think and talk about it.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :
What is your view on Article 25 ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Government will reply to that, not he.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह पहला मौका नहीं है जब पिछले कुछ वर्षों में इस सदन में पंजाब की परिस्थिति के बारे में एक गम्भीर पृष्ठभूमि में चर्चा हो रही है। पंजाब में हिंसा, हत्या, आतंकवाद, धर्म और राजनीति—राजनीति और धर्म को मिलाना—और उस परिस्थिति को काबू में लाने में सरकार की विफलता, अक्षमता कि कर्तव्य-विमूढ़ता पर सदन में लगातार चर्चा होती रही है। लेकिन जैसे-जैसे दिन बीतते जा रहे हैं, परिस्थिति बिगड़ रही है, काबू से बाहर होती जा रही है। प्रश्न राजनीतिक दलों का, राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने का नहीं है। कभी कभी भारत की एकता और अखंडता के बारे में गम्भीर चिन्ता पैदा होती है।

28 फरवरी को हरियाणा और पंजाब की स्थिति के बारे में गृह-मंत्री महोदय ने एक बयान दिया था, मैं उसका एक अंश आपके सामने पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ—“मैं सदन को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार क्रूर हिंसा को समाप्त करने के लिए हर संभव कदम उठायेगी, चाहे उसकी कीमत कुछ भी हो।”

यह 28 फरवरी का बयान है और 28 मार्च को इसी दिल्ली में, भारत की राजधानी में, रात के अंधेरे में नहीं, दिनदहाड़े ; एकान्त में, कोने में नहीं ; भीड़ भरे चौराहे में दिल्ली गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक कमेटी के अध्यक्ष श्री मनचन्दा की हत्या कर दी गई।

श्री मनचन्दा का नाम हिट लिस्ट में था, उन्हें रक्षक दिया गया था। हत्यारों की हिम्मत देखिये। वे मनचन्दा की हत्या कर के चले गए, उन्हें पकड़ा नहीं जा सका। हत्यारे जरूर पहले से उनका पीछा कर रहे होंगे। सरकार क्या कर रही थी ?

पंजाब की आग राजधानी तक पहुंच गई है। मनचन्दा सरकारी पार्टी से जुड़े हुए एक व्यक्ति थे। सरकार उन्हें भी नहीं बचा सकी।

1 अप्रैल को गृह-मंत्री महोदय ने धारा 25 के बारे में अकालियों के सामने घुटने टेक दिए। उन्होंने विरोधी दलों को, विश्वास में लेना तो अलग रहा, सूचना देने तक की जरूरत नहीं समझी। यह पहला मौका नहीं है, जब धार्मिक मांगें स्वीकार की गई थीं तब भी विरोधी दलों को ताक पर रखकर गुरुद्वारे में जाकर एलान कर दिया गया था।

सेठी जी यह कह सकते हैं कि संसद की बैठक नहीं हो रही थी, 2 अप्रैल से अकाली अपना आंदोलन तेज करने वाले थे, मेरे सामने इसके सिवाय कोई चारा नहीं था कि मैं एलान करता। लेकिन विरोधी दल के नेताओं से टेलीफोन पर तो सम्पर्क हो सकता था ?

आजाद पन्थ सप्ताह मनाने का फैसला हुआ था। क्या धारा 25 के बारे में संशोधन करने की स्वीकृति देने से पहले आपने अकाली नेताओं से पूछा कि पन्थ को आजाद करने का क्या मतलब है ? पन्थ किससे आजाद होना चाहता है ? क्या पन्थ हिन्दुस्तान से आजाद होना चाहता है या पन्थ हिन्दुओं से आजाद होना चाहता है ? क्या पन्थ आज आजाद नहीं है ? पन्थ की रचना, पन्थ की स्थापना देश और धर्म की रक्षा के लिए हुई थी।

मैं नहीं जानता कि अकाली दल से क्या बातचीत हुई है। गृह मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बयान में कहा है कि 18 मार्च को अकाली दल का कोई पत्र सरकार को मिला। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उस पत्र में क्या लिखा है। क्या अकाली दल ने यह आश्वासन दिया है कि धारा 25 में संशोधन के बाद वे अलग पर्सनल लाँ की मांग नहीं उठाएंगे ? गृह मंत्री महोदय ने धारा 25 के बारे में सुप्रीम कोर्ट की सलाह लेने की बात अकाली दल के सामने क्यों नहीं रखी ? धारा 25 एक ऐसी धारा है, जैसा कि कई मित्रों ने कहा है और सिख विद्वानों तथा सिख विधि-विशेषज्ञों की भी राय है, जिसके

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

अन्तर्गत सिख धर्म की अलग सत्ता और पहचान स्वीकार की गई है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट का एक फैसला है 1965 का, जिसमें उसने लिखा है :—

“The definition of Hindu is expanded for the special purpose of sub-clause (b) of Clause 2 of Article 25 and for no other.”

धारा 25 के अन्तर्गत सिखों को अधिकार है कि वे कृपाण रख सकते हैं, कृपाण रखकर आ-जा सकते हैं।

13.27 hrs.

(SHRI R.S. SPARROW in the Chair)

उसमें सिख पन्थ को अलग स्वीकार किया गया है। जो दलित या हरिजन सिख धर्म को स्वीकार कर लेते हैं, आज वे सभी विशेष सुविधाओं के भागीदार हैं। क्या अकाली दल से यह भी पूछा गया है कि क्या वे चाहते हैं कि ये सुविधाएं उनसे वापिस ले ली जाएं ?

आखिर धारा 25 के मामले में इतनी जल्दी करने की क्या जरूरत थी ? मगर सरकार घबरा गई कि पता नहीं कि दो अप्रैल को क्या होगा और उसने समर्पण कर दिया।

सिख स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन को अवैध घोषित कर दिया गया है। जरूर सरकार के पास उसे अवैध घोषित करने के कारण रहे होंगे। लेकिन फेडरेशन ने चुनौती दी कि हम मोगा की सारी सड़कें बन्द कर देंगे, किसी बस को आने या जाने नहीं देंगे। सैकड़ों लोग धरने पर बैठ गए। सारा काम-काज ठप्प हो गया। उन्होंने मांग की कि जो लोग गिरफ्तार किए गए हैं, उनको छोड़ दिया जाए। जो गिरफ्तार थे, वे उनको थाने से छोड़ाकर ले गए और जो बचे थे, वे जमानत पर छोड़ दिए गए। दिल्ली में घुटने टेकने से पहले सरकार ने पंजाब में घुटने टेक दिए। अगर किसी संगठन को अवैध घोषित किया जाता है, उसके सदस्य खुले-आम धारा 144 की धज्जियां उड़ाते हैं और सर-

कार उन्हें गिरफ्तार नहीं कर सकती, तो उसे अवैध घोषित करने की क्या जरूरत थी ?

गृह मंत्री महोदय ने अकालियों से यह भी नहीं कहा कि आपने यह मामला पहले क्यों नहीं उठाया, त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता में धारा 25 का सवाल कभी नहीं उठा और अब आप यहां तक चले गए कि उसके लिए आप संविधान को जला रहे हैं, हम इस पर विचार करेंगे। लेकिन ऐसा न करके उन्होंने उस बात को स्वीकार कर लिया। उसका नतीजा क्या हुआ ? हमसे अहमदाबाद में कहा था कि तुष्टीकरण की नीति से लाभ नहीं होगा। दूसरे ही दिन अमृतसर में भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता, श्री हरबंसलाल खन्ना की हत्या कर दी गई। वह पहले से हत्यारों के निशाने थे। उनकी हत्या की पहले कोशिश हो चुकी थी, मगर वह बच गए। उनको एक गनमैन दिया गया था। उन गनमैन के पास स्टैनगन थी। हत्यारे पिस्तौल लेकर आए, पहले गनमैन को मारा, स्टैनगन छीन ली और फिर स्टैनगन का उपयोग करके उन्होंने श्री हरबंसलाल खन्ना की हत्या कर दी। इसका मतलब यह है कि हत्यारे स्टैनगन चलाना जानते थे।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त (बसीरहाट) : बहुत अच्छी ट्रेनिंग है उनकी।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : पंजाब में ऐसे कितने हत्यारे हैं ? उनको ट्रेनिंग कहा मिल रही है ? सरकार के सिक्योरिटी एडवाइजर, मि० काओ, क्या कर रहे हैं ? विरोधी दलों के पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर जब विदेशों में जाते हैं, तो उनके पीछे रा के लोग लगा दिए जाते हैं। हमसे क्या खतरा है इस सरकार को ? मैं अमेरिका गया था। मेरे पीछे एक रा का अफसर लगा दिया। वह मेरे ही जमाने में नियुक्त हुआ था। मैं उसको जानता था। जब मैंने प्रधान मंत्री से शिकायत की कि यह क्या हो रहा है तो प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि नहीं-नहीं, वह आपके पीछे नहीं लगा था, वह तो देख रहा था कि आप की देखभाल ठीक तरह से होती है या नहीं ?

इस सरकार का गुप्तचर विभाग टूट गया है।

सारा तंत्र बिखर रहा है। सेवाओं का मनोबल टूट गया है। क्या हो रहा है पंजाब में? हरबंस लाल खन्ना की वहां हत्या की गई। उनका हिन्दू सिख एकता में पूरा विश्वास था। मगर वह एक दिलेर आदमी थे। उनकी हत्या से उनकी आवाज दबने वाली नहीं है। हमारी आवाज भी नहीं दबेगी। मगर हत्यारों ने एक वार और किया। डा० तिवारी जैसा व्यक्ति मतान्धों द्वारा शिकार बनाया गया। उनकी पत्नी सिख परिवार से आई है। इस हत्या के पीछे पागलपन है। जो देश को जोड़ेगा, जो समाज को मिलाने की कोशिश करेगा, जो हिन्दू और सिखों को एक साथ रखने का प्रयत्न करेगा, उसकी आवाज दबा दी जायगी, उसे मिटा दिया जायेगा। डा० तिवारी के हत्यारे उनके शिष्य बन कर गये थे। इस देश में शिष्य कभी गुरु के लिए जान देते थे। आज जान लेने वाले शिष्य का रूप लेकर जाते हैं।

इस सदन में कल बहस होती रही कि इस सदन की बैठक स्थगित होगी या नहीं। नियमों का हवाला दिया जाता रहा। तिवारी जी दूसरे सदन के सदस्य हैं, इसलिए हम उनकी हत्या पर शोक प्रकट नहीं कर सकते, सदन की बैठक स्थगित नहीं कर सकते? वह तो कांग्रेस पार्टी से जुड़े हुए थे। उन्होंने विश्व पंजाबी सम्मेलन का आयोजन किया था। पंजाबी भाषा के जानकार थे। यह हत्या सारी सरकार को चुनौती है। क्या सरकार में साहस है, सरकार में दृढ़ता है इस चुनौती का सामना करने के लिए? यदि आपने घुटने टेकने का फैसला कर लिया है तो मामला इतना लटकाया क्यों?

अभी भी सरकार ने, पंजाब की समस्याओं का समाधान उसके दिमाग में क्या है, यह नहीं बताया।

सरकार के पास चार विकल्प हैं। मैं उन्हें दोहराना नहीं चाहता। समय कम है; 1970 के एवार्ड को लागू करना, चंडीगढ़ के सहित सभी विवादों को एक नये कमीशन को सौंप देना, पंजाब और हरियाणा के बीच चण्डीगढ़ का विभाजन और शेष विवादों को एक कमीशन को सौंपना, और चौथा

यह कि हरियाणा और पंजाब दोनों जो मान लें उस को लागू करना। यदि दोनों मान गए तो उसमें केन्द्र सरकार कहां तक आती है?

शासन की बागडोर आपके हाथ में है। समस्याओं को हल करना आपकी जिम्मेदारी है? आप इस को हल क्यों नहीं करना चाहते? पंजाब की समस्या के जिस हल को आप उचित समझते हैं उसका एलान करिए, उसको एकतरफा लागू करिए। मगर उसको एकतरफा लागू नहीं करेंगे। धार्मिक मांगें एकतरफा लागू करेंगे। धारा 25 का एलान एकतरफा करेंगे।

मुझे अकाली दल से भी शिकायत है। उन्होंने जो धारा 25 के बारे में विरोधी दल की बातें नहीं सुनीं। भारतीय जनता पार्टी, लोक दल, अकाली दल का पूरा समर्थन नहीं करते रहे हैं। लेकिन जो दल करते रहे हैं उनको भी अकाली दल ने विश्वास में नहीं लिया। सरकार के साथ समझौता कर लिया। आजाद पन्थ सप्ताह वापिस ले लिया गया, इस के लिए मुझे सन्तोष है, खुशी है। मगर क्या बात यहीं रुक जाएगी या इसके बाद दूसरी मांगें नहीं रखी जाएंगी? मैं फिर पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या परसनेल लॉ के बारे में बात हुई है? जो परिगणित और दलित सिख धर्म स्वीकार करते हैं क्या उनकी सुविधाओं के बारे में चर्चा हुई है? हिंसा, हत्या और आतंकवाद का क्या होगा? क्या वर्तमान सिलसिला चलता रहेगा?

आज पंजाब में कत्ल और हिंसा की जो अंधेरी रात है उसमें अभी तक मानवता और आत्मीयता के, हिन्दू-सिख भाई-चारे के छोटे-छोटे दिये टिम-टिमा रहे हैं। गांवों से जो हिन्दू डर से शहरों में चले आए थे उन्हें उन्हीं गांवों के सिख लोग वापिस ले गए। अभी भी गांवों में यह दुर्भाग्य पूरी तरह से फैला नहीं है। लेकिन अगर सरकार हर नागरिक की रक्षा करने के प्राथमिक दायित्व का पालन नहीं कर सकती तो यह हालत बिगड़ती जायेगी।

पंजाब की जनता का पंजाब की पुलिस पर भरोसा नहीं है। जब श्री हरबंस लाल खन्ना की शव यात्रा निकल रही थी तो पंजाब पुलिस के

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

सिपाही को देखते ही लोग गुस्से से भर जाते थे। सी०आर०पी० जहाँ जाती है वहाँ उसका स्वागत होता है। यह एक बड़ी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति बन गई है। यह कोई स्वस्थ स्थिति नहीं है। लेकिन इस स्थिति का सामना करना पड़ेगा। पंजाब पुलिस को संकटपूर्ण क्षेत्रों से हटाना चाहिए और सी०आर०पी० की तादाद बढ़ानी चाहिए, यद्यपि सी०आर०पी० का भी मनोबल जितना होना चाहिए वैसा नहीं है। एक जगह बैंक लूटा जाता रहा और सी०आर०पी० के जवान खड़े रहे कि हम अपनी जान क्यों खतरे में डालें। यह सरकार हमें नहीं बचा सकती, अपने मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट को नहीं बचा सकती, विरोधी दल के नेता को नहीं बचा सकती तो कौन ऐसी सरकार के लिए अपनी जान देगा? आपने देश को कहां से कहां ले जाकर खड़ा कर दिया है।

इसी सदन में गृह मन्त्री जी ने एलान किया था कि पंजाब के शांतिपूर्ण नागरिकों को, जिनके पास हथियार नहीं हैं, हम लाइसेंस देने में उदारता से काम लेंगे। आज हर जिले में लाइसेंस के लिए दरखास्तों के अम्बार लगे हैं लेकिन कौन अफसर लाइसेंस देकर अपनी जान खतरे में डाले? जरा गृह मन्त्री जी पता लगाएं। अब सरकार के लोग कह रहे हैं कि श्री भैरोंदत्त पाण्डे को बड़ा दृढ़ प्रशासक समझा गया था परन्तु वे बड़े कमजोर निकले। (व्यवधान) अब उन्हें बलि का बकरा बनाया जायेगा। आप उन्हें वापिस बुला लीजिए, बंगाल के लोग इन्हें वापिस लेने के लिए तैयार हैं। शर्माजी को बिहार भेज दीजिए लेकिन राज्यपाल के रूप में नहीं। (व्यवधान)

सभापति जी, पंजाब के पुलिस इंस्पेक्टर जनरल पुलिस, श्री भिण्डर को भी वापिस बुलाया जाना चाहिए, उनकी भी बहुत गम्भीर शिकायतें हैं। पंजाब में हमें ऐसे अफसर चाहिए—वे चाहे हिन्दू हों सिख हों—जिनके मन में साम्प्रदायिकता का लेशमात्र भी न हो। आज चुनौती दी जा रही है सेक्युलरवाद को। पंजाब में अगर हम सेवाओं को

साम्प्रदायिक विषय से अलग नहीं रख सकते तो इस देश का सेक्युलर ढांचा नहीं बचेगा।

सभापति महोदय, प्रधान मन्त्री जी इस सदन में नहीं हैं। थोड़ी देर के लिए आई थी, उनका बड़ा अहसान था।

PROF. N.G. RANGA : You were yourself an important Minister. You know how difficult it is to be always in the House. She was here with us. Why do you make a point about her presence ?

AN HON. MEMBER : It is the duty of the Prime Minister to be present here.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Because Prof. Ranga has raised the issue, let me clarify when debate on such a sensitive issues took place Shri Morarji Desai made it a point to remain present in the House throughout.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : There were certain engagements...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : All engagements should have been cancelled.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : You did not give notice of your time.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : She is not only the Prime Minister but is the leader of the House. (Interruptions)

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Home Minister is here. Why to make a big point out of it ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ पंजाब की स्थिति के साथ ज्यादा खिल-वाड़ मत कीजिए। आज अखबार में मैंने पढ़ा है कि सारे पंजाब को डेंजरसली डिस्टर्ब एरिया डिक्लेयर कर दिया गया है। यह डेंजरसली डिस्टर्ब क्या है? पहले डिस्टर्ब एरिया था, अब डेंजरसली डिस्टर्ब है—कानून में इसका क्या मतलब है? आपने जो विल पेश किया है, वह है—पंजाब डिस्टर्ब एरियाज विल, 1983। क्या समाचार पत्रों ने अपनी तरफ से खतरनाक जोड़ दिया है या

समाचार पत्रों को आपने बताया है।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Is it a composite mistake ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : ये छोटी-छोटी बातें हैं, लेकिन इस सरकार के निकम्मेपन को उजागर करती हैं।

मैं आपको एक घटना सुनाना चाहता हूँ। तिवारी जी को गोली लग गयी। तिवारी जी अस्पताल चले गए। श्री एडवानी, राज्य सभा के सदस्य, ने सेठी साहब को फोन किया कि तिवारी जी की क्या हालत है? यह बात सवेरे 9.30 बजे की है। सेठी जी ने कहा कि तिवारी जी खतरे के बाहर हैं। एडवानी जी अमृतसर जाने के लिए हवाईअड्डे पर पहुंचे, तां वहां पर खबर लगी थी कि तिवारी जी मर गए हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि गृह मन्त्री जी को पूरी खबर मिलती भी है या नहीं? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि गृह मंत्रालय को ताक पर रखकर कहीं और फैसले हो रहे हैं। ये फैसले करने वाले कौन हैं? पंजाब की परिस्थिति सुलझी नहीं है, समस्या हल नहीं हुई है और गृह मंत्रालय के पुगने अफसरों को बदल दिया गया है। अगर उनके परिवर्तन से कोई सुधार हो जाता तो मैं शिकायत नहीं करता। लेकिन ऐसा दीख रहा है कि सरकार की नीति है कि सवाल को लटकाओ। आपको यह नीति असम में थोड़ी बहुत सफल हो गई, लेकिन पंजाब में नहीं होगी।

PROF. N.G. RANGA : No, that is not correct.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति महोदय, पंजाब की समस्या का राष्ट्रीय हल ढूंढने का प्रयत्न होना चाहिए उसके लिए बातचीत जरूरी है, लेकिन उससे पहले पंजाब में शांति और व्यवस्था पूरी तरह से कायम की जानी चाहिए। इसके लिए सरकार को कठोर कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि विरोधी दल से पूछा जाता है कि आपका हल क्या है। शासन आपका है, कानून को लागू करने और बदलने का अधिकार आपका है, प्रशासन आपके इशारे पर चल रहा है,

पुलिस फौज आपकी है, आपके निर्देश पर चलेगी —हल हमसे पूछा जा रहा है। मगर जब कभी हम हल बताते हैं, तो उसका राजनीतिक लाभ उठाया जाता है।

भिडरावाले के नाम से इतना नाराज होने की क्या जरूरत है। कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है कि 1980 के चुनाव में भिडरावाले ने कांग्रेस पार्टी के लिए काम किया था। कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है कि गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी के चुनाव में भिडरावाले के सहयोगी कांग्रेस के साथ मिलकर चुनाव लड़े थे। सरकार में जो भी फैसले होते हैं, उसकी खबर भिडरावाले को कौन देता है? भिडरावाले दिल्ली आए, लेकिन पकड़े नहीं गए। प्रधानमंत्री जी ने बम्बई के एक साप्ताहिक को भेंट दी, लेकिन भिडरावाले के खिलाफ एक शब्द नहीं कहा। दिल्ली के एक साप्ताहिक को भेंट दी, तो कहा कि हम दोनों संतों से मिलने के लिए तैयार हैं। लोंगोवाल से भी और भिडरावाले से भी मिलने के लिए तैयार हैं, अगर आप मिलने से रास्ता निकाल सकें, तो निकाल लीजिए। लेकिन भगवान के लिए पंजाब की समस्या को हल करिए। आने वाली पीढ़ी आपको कभी क्षमा नहीं करेगी। मैं आपको फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इसको पार्टी का मामला मत बनाइए। विरोधी दल का रवैया रचनात्मक रहा है, सहयोग का रहा है। लेकिन जब आपको सहयोग चाहिए, आप सहयोग लेते हैं और जब आपको लाभ नहीं होता आप हमें एक तरफ रखकर फैसला कर लेते हैं। उन फैसलों से भी शांति हो जाए, तो हमें शिकायत नहीं होगी। मगर पंजाब धधक रहा है। किसी भी क्षण कोई ऐसी घटना हो सकती है, जो सारे देश के अस्तित्व को और देश के भविष्य को दांव पर लगा दे। उससे पहले दिल्ली के शासको, थोड़ा चेतो। अपने कर्तव्य को पहचानो। अगर अपनी जिम्मेदारी का पालन नहीं कर सकते तो प्रधानमंत्री कांग्रेस पार्लियामेन्ट्री पार्टी की बैठक बुलायें, उसमें अपना इस्तीफा दे दें और पार्टी का नया नेता चुनने के लिए कहें।

श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला (संगरूर) : चेरमैन साहब, इससे पहले भी कई दफा पंजाब

[श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला]

पर अपने ख्यालात हाउस में लोगों ने रखे हैं। आज फिर पंजाब पर बहस हो रही है और खास तौर पर धारा 25 सामने रखी गई है। हम वह बद-किस्मत लोग हैं जिन्हें पंजाब में भी खतरा है और पंजाब जाते हुए रास्ते में भी खतरा है। इसके लिए दोनों तरफ के लोगों ने अपने-अपने सुझाव दिए ताकि कोई हल निकल सके। बावजूद सब कोशिशों के कोई हल आज तक नहीं निकला और हालात बदतर से बदतर होते जा रहे हैं। जितने खतरनाक हालात पंजाब में आज हैं, शायद ही कभी किसी गवर्नमेंट के होते हुए किसी प्रान्त में हुए हों। पोलिटीकल लोगों का कत्ल, एक्स-एम० एल० ए० का कत्ल, एम० पी० का कत्ल, बहुत से अफसरान का कत्ल, बिला वजह सिटिजन का मारा जाना जारी है और मुझे तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि इसका इलाज जल्दी नहीं होगा। क्यों नहीं होगा? मैं वहां का रहने वाला हूँ और आप भी वहां के रहने वाले हैं—मैं एक-दो मिसालें देना चाहता हूँ। आपका इन्तजाम किसको करना है? ला एण्ड आर्डर को किसने सम्भालना है—यह काम पुलिस का है। पुलिस ओवर-नाइट खराब नहीं हुई है। मैं पहले भी कई दफा हाउस के बाहर दोस्तों को अपनी राय देता रहा हूँ—पंजाब एक बार्डर स्टेट है और हमारी बदकिस्मती रही है कि जब से पंजाब का पार्टीशन हुआ है, हिन्दुस्तान-पाकिस्तान बने है, पाकिस्तान से अफीम आती है और मेरे अन्दाजे के मुताबिक पंजाब में साल में कम से कम 500 क्विंटल अफीम आती है और बिकती है और लोग खाते हैं। मैं इसमें तमाम सरकारों को, जो सन 1947 से अब तक रही हैं, चाहे कोई भी चीफ मिनिस्टर रहा है, कांग्रेस का रहा है या अकालियों का रहा है, सबको जिम्मेदार ठहराता हूँ। कभी किसी चीफ मिनिस्टर ने अपने आई० जी० को बुलाकर नहीं पूछा कि तुम्हारी लिस्ट में कौन-कौन अफीम के स्मगलर हैं, कौन बड़े स्मगलर हैं, कौन छोटे स्मगलर हैं। मैं लिस्ट दे सकता हूँ कि कौन-कौन स्मगलर हैं। सारे पंजाब के अन्दर डिस्ट्रिक्ट में जो भी एस० पी० लगता है उनका हिस्सा होता है। मैं साबित कर सकता हूँ

—पंजाब की पुलिस पिछले 35-40 सालों से स्मगलर्स के साथ ताल्लुक रखती आ रही है और आज हालात ये हैं कि पंजाब के स्मगलर्स हम पर राज करते हैं। न पुलिस अफसरान हमारी परवाह करते हैं और न पुलिस मदद करती है। सारी पुलिस उनके हाथ चली गई है, उनका ईमान खत्म हो गया है और वे लोग आज गवर्नमेंट के फेथफुल नहीं रहे, उनको गवर्नमेंट से कोई हमदर्दी नहीं रह गई है, वरना हरबंस लाल खन्ना जैसे प्रामिनेन्ट आदमी का क्या कत्ल हो सकता था। अमृतसर के हर मोड़ पर पुलिस खड़ी है, 10-20 राइफलें भी उनके पास हैं—क्या वे घटना को रोक नहीं सकते थे, इसलिए क्यों न उनको सजा दी जाय, जिनके वहां मौजूद होते हुए इस तरह की घटनायें हो जाती हैं।

मैं एक और मिसाल देता हूँ—पिछले दिनों, शायद ता० 12 को, मोगा पुलिस स्टेशन के नजदीक एक ए० एस० आई० को कत्ल कर दिया गया। वे कातिल एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट्स थे। तीन अमृतसर के और एक होशियारपुर डिस्ट्रिक्ट का। वे वहां रहे। कहीं गए नहीं। मोगा में ठहरे। मोगा में सिक्ख स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन वालों ने उन्हें हारबर किया। अगले दिन 11 बजे पुलिस स्टेशन से 50 गज दूर एक कार रायफल प्वाइंट पर पकड़ ली तो वह ड्राइवर दौड़कर आया पुलिस स्टेशन में गया। कहने लगा कि मैं एक बात बताता हूँ कि कार में पेट्रोल सिर्फ 20-25 मील का है। आप तमाम पेट्रोल पम्पों पर खबर कर दें ताकि आप उनको पकड़ सकें। इत्तिफाक से वह कार मेरे गांव निहालसिंहवाला में जो वहां से 24-25 मील दूर है, वहां आ गई। अभी वह कार पेट्रोल पम्प पर पहुंची नहीं थी कि पुलिस स्टेशन से वायरलैस आ चुका था। हर पेट्रोल पंप को इत्तिला दे दी कि एंबेसडर 1991 सफेद रंग की आए तो सूचना देना। पेट्रोल मत डालना। वह टेलीफोन सुन रहा था कि इतने में गाड़ी आ गई। तो उसने घबराहट में कई दफा कह दिया कि आ गई है, आ गई है। और उसने पेट्रोल पंप का स्विच काट दिया बिजली का। बाहर आया और कहा कि बिजली नहीं है मैं जैनरेटर चलाता हूँ। कहने लगे कि हाथ

से भर दो। उसने कहा कि हाथ से भरने से हवा ले लेगा। क्योंकि वह टाइम लगाना चाहता था, मदद करना चाहता था बेचारा। उन्होंने कहा कि अच्छा चलाओ जेनरेटर। उसने जेनरेटर चलाने में जान-बूझकर वक्त लगा दिया। तब तक तीन पुलिस कर्मचारी रायफलें लेकर आ गए। तीन एक्स्ट्रीमिट्स एक तरफ अपना असला लेकर दीवार की तरफ चले गए। एक जिसने स्टेनगन ले रखी थी वह पेट्रोल पंप के पीछे चला गया। दीवार के पीछे जाना चाहता था, शराब पी हुई थी, दीवार को जंप करने लगा तो स्टेनगन इस तरफ गिर गई और वह दूसरी तरफ कूद गए। स्टेनगन पकड़ी गई। उसको पकड़ लिया। पकड़कर उसको ले गए। तीन का पीछा नहीं किया। तीनों का पीछा किया लोगों ने। 12 बजे से 5 बजे तक एक रिवाल्वर से मुकाबला किया। तीन सिपाहियों को जखमी किया। पुलिस पीछा नहीं करना चाहती थी, लोगों ने मजबूर किया पुलिस को कि वे जा रहे हैं, चलो। दो तो भागने में कामयाब हो गए। एक ने मुकाबला करते हुए जब आखिरी गोली रह गई तो उसने अपने में मार दी। तो सब पुलिस इंस्पेक्टर कहता है कि लोगो सुनो, हमने नहीं मारा, इसने खुदकशी की है। जो पुलिस बिना वजह क्रेडिट लिया करती थी किसी जमाने में, कोई मरा हुआ मिलता था तो कहती थी कि हमने मारा है। अब मारे जाने के बाद भी कहती है कि हमने नहीं मारा। यह करेज था। जो पकड़ लिया गया था, उसको पुलिस स्टेशन ले गए, क्योंकि मैं वहां का रहने वाला हूं, मुझे सब हकीकत पता है, हर लब्ज पता है। उसने दस गालियां तो पहले थानेदार को निकालीं। कहने लगा कि यह हवालात मेरे लिए है। इसको साफ करो, धुलवाओ। पहले वह धुलवाई गई। फिर कहने लगा कि मैं बाजार का खाना नहीं खाऊंगा। थानेदार ने कहा कि मैं अपने घर से खाना भेजूंगा। किसी ने उसका स्टेटमेंट रिकार्ड नहीं किया जिसके कंधे पर कुछ हो। कोई सब इंस्पेक्टर, हवलदार या सिपाही को पहचान न सके। इससे आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि पुलिस कितनी जुरंत रखती है। पुलिस कितनी ईमानदार है और उससे हम क्या उम्मीद रखते हैं।

आज अगर पंजाब को बचाना है तो सबसे पहले पंजाब पुलिस के मुत्तलिक सोचना पड़ेगा और पंजाब पुलिस से पूछना पड़ेगा कि आपकी पिछली हिस्ट्री क्या है। आप किन-किन स्मगलरों से ताल्लुक रखते हैं। पंजाब में कितने स्मगलर हैं।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : सेठी साहब नहीं हैं। मतलब की बात आ रही थी। उनको जवाब देना होगा। (व्यवधान) अकालियों का फैसला कभी भी टेबल पर नहीं होगा।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : बहुत बढ़िया स्पीच है, सेठी जी को सुननी चाहिए।

श्री जी० एस० निहलसिंहवाला : यह फैसला टेबल पर इसलिए नहीं होगा क्योंकि आफिशियल ग्रुप के अलावा दूसरे ग्रुप से कभी बात ही नहीं हुई। मास्टर तारा सिंह जब हड़ताल पर थे तो संत फतह सिंह ने उनसे अपील की कि कौम को आपकी जरूरत है। अपने हाथ से जूस का गिलास पिलाया और उनको हटाकर खुद प्रेजीडेन्ट बन गए। अकालियों की तीन मांगें हैं। वह है, पानी, चण्डीगढ़ और कुछ पंजाबी बोलने वाले इलाकों की। श्री तलवंडी ने सोचा कि अगर यह मांगें पूरी हो गयीं तो यह ग्रुप अकाली दल पर काबिज रहेगा। उन्होंने सोचा कि अनंतपुर साहब का रेजोल्युशन नहीं माना जाता तो हम फैसला नहीं करेंगे। एक बात भिडरावाले की यह कही है कि जो कत्ल करता है उस पर मुकदमा न चले। यह भी कभी नहीं माना जा सकता। आफिशियल ग्रुप की बात पूरी होने पर उन्होंने उनको गद्दार कहना है, इस बारे में सरकार को सोच लेना चाहिए। यह भी सोचना चाहिए कि टेबल पर या खुद कोई फैसला करना है। बेशक आज अकाली दुखी हैं और बोल नहीं सकते। लेकिन भिडरावाला गुरुद्वारे में अपनी फौज के जरिए अकालियों का राइफल पाइन्ट पर इस्तेमाल करता है। उसको एक आरगेनाइज्ड ग्रुप मिल गया है और वह है स्टूडेंट्स फंडेशन। यह बड़े-बड़े शहरों में था लेकिन बदकिस्मती से गांवों तक पहुंच गया। अब इसको संभालने के लिए सरकार को कई गुना

[श्री बी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला]

मेहनत करनी पड़ेगी, क्योंकि यह हरेक स्कूल और कालेज तक पहुंच चुका है। अब यह छोटी बात नहीं है। भिंडरावाला अन्दर बैठा हुआ कमांड करता है हिंसा का प्रचार करता है और कहता है कि पैसे की जरूरत है, बैंकों को लूटो। यह काम वे लोग करते हैं जो आरगेनाइज्ड हैं और जो उनके पास प्रोटेक्शन लेते हैं तथा अपने आपको टेरोरीस्ट कहते हैं। उनका सरकार से कोई खौफ नहीं है। मैं दरखवास्त करूंगा कि पंजाब के हालात सुधारने के लिए पंजाब के मेम्बरान से अलग-अलग जो हर दल से आते हैं, उनसे पूछा जाए कि वहां क्या तकलीफ है और कौन सा एलिमेंट अन-डिजाय-रेबल है और पुलिस के साथ किसके ताल्लुकात हैं तथा कौन से पुलिस वाले स्मगलर्स के साथ मिले हुए हैं?

अगर नीचे से कोई गलत इत्तिला दी जाए, तो गवर्नमेंट को वही माननी होती है। अगर नीचे के अफसर बेईमान हो जाएं और सरकार को हकीकत न बताएं, तो सरकार बेवस है। पिछले दिनों जब प्रेजिडेंट्स एवार्ड मिले, तो मैं बड़ा हैरान हुआ। एक निहायत करप्ट डी० एस० पी० मोगा में लगा था। मैंने उसको बर्दाश्त नहीं किया और उसको वहां से हटा दिया गया। वह हर स्मगलर से पैसा लेता था और अब भी लेता है। जब मैंने उसकी तस्वीर देखी, तो सोचा कि उसको प्रेजिडेंट्स एवार्ड किसने रीकमेंड कर दिया। (व्यवधान)

मैं पंजाब और हिन्दुस्तान की भलाई के लिए होम मिनिस्टर साहब से दरखवास्त करूंगा कि अगर वह किसी कानून को लागू नहीं कर सकते, तो उन्हें ऐसा कानून बनाना नहीं चाहिए। अगर वह चाहते हैं कि लोग अफीम न खाएं, तो ठेके बन्द कर देने चाहिए और किसी भी कीमत पर अफीम नहीं मिलनी चाहिए। लेकिन आज हालत यह है कि जहां पहले अफीम ठेकों पर मिलती थी, वहां आज पंजाब के हर गांव में दस-दस आदमी अफीम बेच रहे हैं। इसकी सजा किसको मिलनी चाहिए? पंजाब गवर्नमेंट और वहां के पुलिस अफसरान को मिलनी चाहिए। अगर वे इसको

नहीं रोक सकते, तो वे ठेके खोल दें, इसमें मुल्क और लोगों का भला है, इसमें करप्शन नहीं होगा। आज पंजाब के सब बैड एलिमेंट्स के पास कार और मोटर साइकिल है, लेकिन बेचारे किसानों के पास नहीं है। आज स्मगलर लखपति बन गए हैं। मैं सब के नामों की लिस्ट दे सकता हूं।

इस सिलसिले में मैं एक मिसाल दिए बगैर नहीं रह सकता। मैं नाम नहीं लूंगा। जब मैं पंजाब में ज्ञानीजी की मिनिस्ट्री में था, तो ट्यूर के दौरान एक आदमी ने मुझे एक कहानी सुनाई। दो सब-इंस्पेक्टर—मैं उनके नाम नहीं बताऊंगा—लुधियाना में तैनात थे। एक स्मगलर उनका दोस्त था। जब उन्होंने पैसा बनाने की बात कही, तो उस स्मगलर ने कहा कि फलां तारीख को अफीम का ट्रक आने वाला है, मुझे उसमें से कुछ माल लेना है, वह ट्रक सरहिंद कनाल के फलां पुल पर से फलां वक्त गुजरेगा, उसको पकड़ लो और पैसा बना लो। वे दोनों अपनी जूरिसडिक्शन से बाहर जीप लेकर बगैर किसी सिपाही या गार्ड के वहां चले गए। वे पुलिस की वर्दी में थे। उन्होंने ट्रक को पकड़ लिया, जिसमें एक क्विंटल अफीम थी। उन्होंने वह अफीम ले ली और ट्रक को भगा दिया।

उसके बाद सब-इंस्पेक्टरों ने उस स्मगलर से पूछा कि बीस किलो अफीम कम है। उसने बताया कि मैं फलां गांव में एक आदमी को दे आया हूं। वे फौरन जीप लेकर वहां गए, उन्होंने उस आदमी से बीस हजार रुपए और अफीम ले ली। उस आदमी ने इस तरह अपनी जान छुड़ा ली।

चंडीगढ़ में मेरी कोठी के सामने एक आई० जी० रहते हैं। अब शायद वह रिटायर हो गए हैं। एक दिन वह मुझे मिले, तो मैंने कहा कि मैं आपको एक कहानी सुनाना चाहता हूं, चाहे मेरे यहां सुन लें और चाहे अपनी कोठी में। उन्होंने कहा कि इधर ही बैठ जाते हैं। ही इज नोन टु बि ए मोस्ट आनेस्ट मैन। जब मैंने उसको सारी बात सुनाई, तो उसने फौरन वायरलैस करके उन सब-इंस्पेक्टरों के खिलाफ केस रजिस्टर करा दिया। वे एन्सकांड

कर गए। फिर केसिज शुरू हो गए। उन्होंने दो लाख रुपए दे दिए। मैं यह नहीं बताऊंगा कि किसको दिए। लेकिन मुझे पता चल गया। मैं भागा-भागा लुधियाना गया। मैंने एस० एस०पी० को कहा कि फलां आदमी ने रुपया ले लिया, वह केस के विद्वाल के लिए रीकमेंड करेगा, आप उस केस को वापिस न लेना। उसने कहा कि मैं केस को वापिस नहीं लूंगा। मैंने उसको बना दिया कि अगर वह केस को विद्वाल करेगा, तो मैं शोर मचा दूंगा। डी० सी० को भी मैंने कह दिया। मैंने डी० आई० जी०, पटियाला को भी रिक्वेस्ट की। उनसे भी रिक्वेस्ट की कि यह बात होगी, आप केस वापस मत लीजिएगा। खैर, मैंने केस वापस नहीं होने दिया। शहदातें भी खुद मेहनत करके भुगतायीं मगर वह बरी हो गया। किस्मत की बात है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पुलिस इस किस्म की वारदात करे, खुद अफीम लोगों से लेकर बेचे, उस पुलिस पर आप कितनी देर उम्मीद रख सकते हैं और बदकिस्मती से एक आर्गेनाइज्ड ग्रुप मिल गया भिंडरावाले को। इसलिए मैं दरखवास्त करूंगा कि आप जो भी फैसला पंजाब के मुतालिक करना है कर लें, जो कुछ देना है वह दे दें, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आप क्या करें, लेकिन जो भी मुतासिब समझते हैं वह फैसला कर दें ताकि लोग कह सकें कि हमारी सरकार ने यह बिल्कुल ठीक किया है और अब यह बिल्कुल काफी है। उसके बाद आप गवर्नमेंट को भी ठीक करें और गवर्नमेंट के अफसरान को भी। लेकिन मैं यह कह देता हूँ कि पंजाब की पुलिस नहीं ठीक कर सकती। आपको इसका हल निकालना है। यह कहकर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा।

स्वामी इन्द्रवेश (रोहतक) : सभापति महोदय, अभी आदरणीय निहालसिंह वाला ने जो पंजाब के बारे में सदन को सूचना दी उससे हम यह अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि पंजाब क्यों जल रहा है? तीन साल से लगातार एक बड़े व्यापक षड्यंत्र के माध्यम से पंजाब में यह चक्कर चल रहा है और जहाँ से यह कार्य शुरू हुआ, वैसे तो शुरू से हम पंजाब के बारे में यह देख रहे हैं कि जब-जब पंजाब

में कोई आन्दोलन चला; सरकार ने उसके सामने घुटने टेक दिए और उसका परिणाम यह निकला कि आन्दोलन और हिंसा के माध्यम से बात मनवाने की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ गई। अभी तीन साल से हम बात देख रहे हैं कि पंजाब की सरकार जब थी और केन्द्र की सरकार भी सैकड़ों बार यह कह चुकी है कि अपराधी जो हैं वह अपने विशेष स्थानों में जो पूजा के स्थान हैं, गुरुद्वारे हैं उन में जाकर छिप जाते हैं और इस बात का प्रचार सरकार ने इन तीन सालों में किया है। लेकिन साथ-साथ यह भी लगातार आश्वासन देती रही कि हम गुरुद्वारों में बिल्कुल कार्यवाही नहीं करेंगे, पुलिस नहीं भेजेंगे, फौज नहीं भेजेंगे। तो एक तो मैं गृह मंत्री से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर कौन सा वह कारण है, कौन सा वह कानून है जिसके कारण अपराधी लोग उसको किला बनाकर बैठे हुए हैं, सैकड़ों हत्याएं करने के बाद भी वहाँ पर सरकार क्यों नहीं जाना चाहती? क्यों नहीं कोई इंतजाम करना चाहती? इसका परिणाम क्या निकलेगा? मेरे विचार से और मैं देख रहा हूँ कि और भी जो सम्प्रदाय देश में हैं वह भी ऐसे गैंग पैदा करें, वह भी अपने मन्दिरों में और-और चीजों में इसी ढंग से उनको लैस करें और देश में एक नया ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हो। जब भी ऐसी बात कही जाती है तो आपके मन में शायद यह विचार आता होगा कि इसमें तो झगड़े बढ़ जाएंगे। लेकिन मैं आपसे एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब में केवल इसलिए झगड़े बढ़ रहे हैं कि जो अपराध करने वाले लोग हैं उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हो रही है। अभी भिंडरावाले की बात चल रही है। भिंडरावाले के ऊपर दर्जनों केसेज चल रहे हैं और सरकार को मालूम है कि भिंडरावाले कहां बैठे हुए हैं, कहां रहते हैं?

हमारे देश की पुलिस चम्बल के बीहड़ों में डाकुओं को ढूँढती है लेकिन सरकार को मालूम होने के बाद भी कि भिंडरावाले कहां बैठे हुए हैं, सरकार क्यों नहीं सोच रही है कि भिंडरावाले को पकड़ लिया जाय? बार-बार इस सदन में यह आवाज उठाई गई है लेकिन सरकार के दिमाग पर यह बैठ गया है कि एक आदमी को गिरफ्तार

[स्वामी इन्द्रवेश]

करने से पता नहीं कितना रक्तपात हो जायेगा। परन्तु उसका परिणाम क्या निकल रहा है? परिणाम यह है कि सारे देश में मजहब की भावना बढ़ती जा रही है। पिछले दिनों हमने देखा कि हरियाणा में कितना दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण वातावरण पैदा हो गया। हम ऐसा महसूस करते हैं कि अपराधियों को न पकड़ने की सरकारी नीति के कारण सारे देश में कानून और व्यवस्था के प्रति जनता का विश्वास खत्म हो रहा है। यह ठीक ही कहा गया है कि जब पंजाब की पुलिस अफीम की तस्करी का धंधा करती हो तो आप समझ सकते हैं पंजाब के लोगों की क्या स्थिति होगी। आज वहां पर जब लोग दफ्तर या बाजार जाते हैं तो उनके परिवार वाले हाथ जोड़ कर भगवान से प्रार्थना करते हैं क्योंकि उन्हें भरोसा नहीं रहता कि शाम को वे वापिस आएं या नहीं। जब पुलिस की इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हो जाए तो आप बताइए वहां के लोग किसके रहम पर जिंदा रहेंगे? और किस तरह से वहां की स्थिति सुधर सकेगी? आज तो स्थिति यह है कि रोज ही घटनाएं घट रही हैं। अभी-अभी वहां पर सैकड़ों निरंकारी सत्संग कर रहे थे और अमृतसर जिले में आपने खतरनाक वातावरण घोषित कर रखा है लेकिन लोग साइकिल पर आए और वहां बम फेंक कर चले गए। कोई मोटर साइकिल नहीं, कोई गाड़ी नहीं, साइकिल पर सवार लोग बम फेंककर चले गए और उनको कोई भी पकड़ने वाला नहीं है। इसका एक ही कारण है कि सरकार ने तुष्टिकरण की नीति अपना रखी है। उसे तो हाथ ही जोड़ना है चाहे कोई कितना ही गलत काम क्यों न करे। चाहे यह देश बर्बाद हो जाए। आपके दिमाग में यह विचार ही नहीं आ रहा है कि इसका कोई इलाज होना चाहिए। वरना जो घोषित अपराधी हैं, जिनके खिलाफ वारंट हैं और जो हत्याओं के बाद में स्वीकार करते हैं कि हम इनाम देंगे; हमारी शरण में आ जाओ तुम्हारी रक्षा की जाएगी—वे आराम से बैठे हुए हैं। मैं समझता हूँ अपराधी कहीं पर भी हो—मन्दिर में, मस्जिद में, गुरुद्वारे में—वहां उस का पीछा होना चाहिए। पहले आप कहा करते थे

कि ये केवल 10-12 उग्रवादी ही हैं, फिर आपने कहा दो सौ ढाई सौ हो गए हैं और अब चार सौ पांच सौ बताएंगे लेकिन जब आप 10-20 उग्रवादियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर पाए तो चार सौ पांच सौ का मुकाबला किस प्रकार से करेंगे?

यह जो स्थिति चल रही है, हमारे साथी कह रहे थे कि यह सरकार के धैर्य की परीक्षा थी। एक तरफ लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, हत्याएँ हो रही हैं और सरकार धैर्य की परीक्षा में पड़ी है। लेकिन सरकार का अर्थ धैर्य की परीक्षा नहीं होता है, सरकार का अर्थ है कि प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए।

बहुत पहले से यह सिद्धान्त चला आ रहा है कि हाथ जोड़ने से शासन नहीं चला करता है। लेकिन ऐसे लोगों के सामने आपने घुटने टेक दिए। आज आपने 25वें अनुच्छेद को निकालने के लिए फैसला कर लिया और हो सकता है कल आप खालिस्तान के लिए भी तैयार हो जाएं। जिस तरह का हिंसा का वातावरण देश में पैदा किया गया, हो सकता है आगे इसी तरह का मोर्चा लगे तो इसी ढंग से आप फिर कह देंगे कि हम इसको भी मान लेते हैं। जिस रास्ते पर उग्रवादी आपको खींच कर ले जा रहे हैं वह देश के विभाजन का रास्ता है। यह रास्ता देश को तोड़ने वाला है। देश को तोड़ने की यह नींव रखी जा रही है। इन विचारों से देश में अविश्वास पैदा हो रहा है, इसलिए इसके ऊपर आपको गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करना चाहिए। थोड़े से आदमी संविधान को जलाकर जो चाहें करवा लें, आप उसको मानकर बैठ जायें—यह मैं समझता हूँ सारे देश के साथ द्रोह है।

सदन में अभी हमारे साथी ने इधर से कहा कि चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब को दे देना चाहिए। क्यों दे देना चाहिए? इसलिए कि वे आदमियों को मार रहे हैं, संविधान को जला रहे हैं और किसी बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं इसलिए उनको राजी करने के लिए चण्डीगढ़ दे देना चाहिए। आपको मालूम है जिस समय शाह आयोग बना तो चण्डीगढ़ हरियाणा को दे दिया था क्योंकि चण्डीगढ़ में हिंदी बोलने बोलने वाले 65 प्रतिशत लोग रहते हैं।

इसलिए पूरी रोपड़ तहसील और चण्डीगढ़ हरियाणा को दिया गया था। आज से 13 साल पहले प्रधान मन्त्री ने एक एवार्ड दिया था जिसमें चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब को दे दिया और फाजिलका और अबोहर के लिए कहा कि वह इधर आए लेकिन पूरे 13 साल बीत गए, इधर भी झगड़ा और उधर भी झगड़ा, पूरे देश का नुकसान हो रहा है, सारा पानी पाकिस्तान जा रहा है लेकिन हरियाणा और राजस्थान की धरती सूखी पड़ी हुई है। पानी की व्यवस्था करने के लिए नहरें बनकर तैयार हैं लेकिन पंजाब में चूंकि कोई मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं है इसलिए टाइम बीत रहा है। नहरें बन गईं, सब कुछ हो गया लेकिन पंजाब के खेतों से नहरें नहीं बन पा रही हैं। तो यह जो सारी चीजें हैं इनका एक ही कारण है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने फैसले पर खड़ा नहीं होना चाही है। अभी वाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि सरकार को अपना फैसला देना चाहिए और जो फैसले सरकार ने किए हैं उनको लागू करना चाहिए। लेकिन अगर इस तरह से लोग पिस्तौल और बन्दूक लेकर सरकार के फैसले को नहीं चलने देंगे और टाइम बीतता रहेगा तो सारे देश में अव्यवस्था बढ़ती चली जाएगी। इसीलिए मैं समझता हूं इस सारे वातावरण के पीछे सरकार की तुष्टिकरण की नीति ही जिम्मेदार है। सरकार हर चीज को लटकाने की नीति पर चल रही है। इस वातावरण को देखते हुए सरकार को कुछ फैसला करना चाहिए और उसको लागू भी करना चाहिए। अभी अफीम की बात हमारे सामने आई लेकिन अफीम के साथ-साथ अगर पंजाब में शराब के आंकड़े भी लिए जाएं तो वह भी चौंकाने वाले होंगे।

शराब और अफीम, साम्प्रदायिक भावना को मिलाकर फौज बनाई जाएगी, गैंग तैयार होंगे और सरकार कोई मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार नहीं होगी, तो यह स्वाभाविक बात है कि इस तरह के झगड़ें होंगे और लोग मारे जाएंगे। तीन साल से यह सरकार काम कर रही है, लेकिन एक भी घटना ऐसी नहीं है कि सरकार ने किसी को मौके पर पकड़ा हो या किसी को गिरफ्तार किया हो। यह ठीक बात है कि वहां की पुलिस या जो भी

प्रबन्धक हैं, इस समस्या को हल करना उनके बस की बात नहीं है। पंजाब की पुलिस किसी समय में, मैं समझता हूं कि सारे देश में बहादुर पुलिस समझी जाती थी। लेकिन आज पंजाब की हालत यह है कि वहां लोगों को पकड़ने से डर रहे हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि सरकार कोई फैसला नहीं कर रही है। तीन साल के बाद हम यह सोच रहे हैं कि पुलिस ऐसी हो गयी है। इन चीजों के लिए आपको फैसला लेना पड़ेगा। हथियार बाहर से आ रहे हैं। ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है। लोग ट्रेनिंग लेकर लोगों को मार किले में घुस जाते हैं। आपने यह फैसला कर लिया है कि हम किले को बिल्कुल नहीं छेड़ेंगे। मैं यह नहीं समझ पा रहा हूं कि यह कौन सा धर्म है, कौन सा कानून है कि अपराधी लोग गैंग बनाकर और किला बनाकर इकट्ठे हो जायें। निरअपराध लोग मरते जाएं और सरकार आराम से बैठी रहे। मैं समझता हूं कि सरकार फिजूल के धर्म संकट में फंस गई है। यह गलत लाइन आपने शुरू से पकड़ी है। इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि सारा पंजाब तबाह हो रहा है और पूरे देश में तबाही हो रही है। यदि आप इस के ऊपर फैसला नहीं करते हैं और टालने वाली बात करते हैं तो इसका परिणाम यह निकलेगा कि इसका असर पूरे देश पर पड़ेगा। किसी का जीवन सुरक्षित नहीं है।

मैं पंजाब में हर बीस दिन में जाता हूं। मैं वहां जाता हूं, तो लोग चिन्ता करते हैं कि स्वामीजी को कोई गोली मार देगा। यह हालत वहां लोगों की हो रही है। कोई पंजाब में नहीं जा सकता है, काम नहीं हो सकता है। कोई भी व्यवस्था नाम की चीज वहां पर नहीं रह गई है। इसके लिए आपको हिम्मत करनी चाहिए। एक बार गृह मन्त्री जी ने कहा कि हम सात दिन में एकशन लेंगे। उसी दिन बयान आया कि सारे देश भर से लोग इकट्ठे हो जाओ और लड़ाई के लिए मोर्चा बनाओ और तैयार हो जाओ। सेठी साहब ने कहा कि हमने ऐसा नहीं सोचा कि और ऐसा नहीं करेंगे। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि पूरे देश के लिए खतरा बन गया है। इसके लिए आपको अपना मन बनाना पड़ेगा। जो अपराधी व्यक्ति हैं, वे ऐसे

[स्वामी इन्द्रवेश]

कामों में लगे हुए हैं और सी०आर०पी०एफ० व बी०एस०एफ० के लोग कहते हैं कि हमें कोई आदेश नहीं है, हम क्या करें। हमें कोई काम ही नहीं करने दे रहा है। इस प्रकार की स्थिति वहां पर पैदा हो रही है। जनता सोच रही है कि सरकार डरी हुई है। इसके लिए आपको फैसला लेना चाहिए। मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि 25वें अनुच्छेद को आप बदलने की बात सोच रहे हैं, तो यह पूरे देश के लिए बहुत ही गलत चीज होगी। इसका परिणाम यह निकलेगा कि देश को तोड़ने की साजिश करने वाले लोग ज्यादा मजबूत होंगे। उधर पाकिस्तान फिर खालिस्तान इस प्रकार की चीजें हैं। इस प्रकार की नींव आप रखने जा रहे हैं, इसके लिए आपको पुनः विचार करना चाहिए। अपराधी लोगों को जहां भी वे हैं, किसी भी जगह पर हैं, उनको तुरन्त पकड़ना चाहिए। तब जाकर लोगों के अन्दर आत्म-विश्वास पैदा होगा। आपने वारन्ट जारी कर रखे हैं, फिर हम आपसे मांग करते हैं, चाहे भिडरा-वाला हो या चाहे कोई भी हो, जो भी अपराधी है, उसको आपको पकड़ना चाहिए। यह बात किसी की समझ में नहीं आ रही है। हर आदमी दुखी है। लोग कह रहे हैं कि हमको मरवाया जा रहा है। पंजाब के लोग मांग करते हैं कि हमको सुरक्षा मिलनी चाहिये। वहां 24 घण्टे की भूख हड़ताल की गई, जिसमें हजारों कार्यकर्ता शामिल हुए, मैं भी उनके साथ बैठा। उनकी सिर्फ एक मांग थी कि हमको हथियारों के लाइसेंस दे दो, जब सरकार हमारी रक्षा नहीं कर सकती तो हमारे पास हथियार होंगे तो हम खुद अपनी रक्षा कर सकेंगे। लेकिन सरकार न उनको हथियार देना चाहती है और न खुद रक्षा करना चाहती है, कोई फैसला नहीं करना चाहती है।

इसलिए मैं निवेदन करूंगा—पंजाब में दबाव में आकर यदि आप चण्डीगढ़ उसको दे देंगे, पानी का कोई फैसला नहीं होगा, यदि हरियाणा के साथ इस तरह का अन्याय करने की कोशिश की गई तो वह बहुत ज्यादा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण होगा...

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : सभापति जी, आप घन्टी बजा रहे हैं, लोक दल सबसे बड़ी पार्टी है—उसको ज्यादा टाइम मिलना चाहिए।

श्री राजेश कुमार सिंह (फिरोजोबाद): श्रीमन्, यह वाजिब बात नहीं है, आपको माननीय सदस्य को बोलने के लिए पूरा टाइम देना चाहिए।

सभापति महोदय : बहुत सारे साथियों को बोलना है, मुझे टाइम का ख्याल रखना होगा।

श्री राजेश कुमार सिंह : आप मुझे बतलाइए—आपने क्या समय निर्धारित किया है?

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : क्या आप समझते हैं कि लोक दल का टाइम सबसे कम है?

सभापति महोदय : आपने लोक दल की दावत पूछा है—उनका टाइम 15 मिनट है और स्वामी जी 16 मिनट बोल चुके हैं।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : 15 मिनट में काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

सभापति महोदय : मैंने फिर भी उनसे निवेदन किया है कि हो सके तो टाइम का ख्याल रखिए।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय ने वादा किया था कि जितना समय लगेगा आपको दे देंगे और इस पर पूरा डिस्कशन होगा।

सभापति महोदय : आप हाउस में चाहे जो फैसला कर दें, लेकिन मेरे पास जो चीज है मैं उसी के हिसाब से चलूंगा।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : मुझे आप पर कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। लेकिन इनको आधा घंटा दे दो।

स्वामी इन्द्रवेश : मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि पंजाब की आज जो स्थिति है, उसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि पंजाब की व्यवस्था गलत लोगों के हाथों में है। मैं समझता हूँ—पुलिस के बजाय वहां पर बी० एस० एफ० के लोगों या फौज की टुकड़ियों

के हाथों में वहाँ की व्यवस्था सौंपिए। आज बहुत से लोग पंजाब को छोड़कर इधर आ रहे हैं। सैकड़ों व्यक्ति मुझसे मिले हैं—व्यास में, तरन-तारण में, पट्टी में, लुधियाना में। लोग कहते हैं—स्वामी जी, पहले हम पाकिस्तान से लुट-पिटकर आए, अब हमें यहाँ से भागना पड़ेगा। आज जो वातावरण वहाँ बना है इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है? इसकी भी एक लम्बी कहानी है। यह संयोग की बात है, प्रधान मंत्री जी की नीयत के बारे में मैं क्या कहूँ, 1966 में प्रधान मंत्री जी सत्ता में आये और तभी पंजाब का बंटवारा इनके हाथ से हुआ। इन्हीं के टाइम में पंजाब, हरियाणा और हिमाचल अलग-अलग राज्य बने। अलग हो जाने के बाद भी जो फैसले प्रधान मंत्री ने किए, वे कभी भी लागू नहीं हुए। मुझे याद है जिस समय यह 70 का अवार्ड दिया, मुझे जेल में रहना पड़ा था। उस समय कितने ही लोगों को गोलियाँ लगीं, सब कुछ हुआ और कुछ लोगों ने अपनी बात कहनी थी विरोध की वह कही, लेकिन आज 13 साल हो गए, उसको लागू नहीं किया गया। न ही आज लागू का सोचा जा रहा है। यही पानी की स्थिति है। सौ करोड़ रुपए लगाकर हरियाणा में पक्की नहर बनकर तैयार है, 40 करोड़ रुपया पंजाब को दिया जा चुका है, दो साल पहले प्रधानमंत्री जी कपूरी गांव में उद्घाटन करने के लिए गई थीं हरियाणा में पानी आने के लिए; पंजाब क्षेत्र में नहर बनाने का। आज दो साल पूरे हो गए पर एक कस्मी भी नहर बनाने के लिए नहीं चलाई गई। ढाई सौ इन्जीनियर, ओवरसियर, हजारों मजदूर हरियाणा सरकार से तनख्वाह ले रहे हैं। अब क्या नहर निकालने के लिए हरियाणा के लोगों को जाना होगा। वहाँ पर जब भी ये लोग नहर बनाने के लिए जाते हैं तो इनका सामान छीन लिया जाता है। पाकिस्तान में पानी जा रहा है तो जाने दीजिए लेकिन राजस्थान और हरियाणा को पानी नहीं मिलना चाहिए।

अकालियों ने, उग्रवादियों ने शोर पैदा कर दिया, लोगों को मार दिया तो कहा जा रहा है कि चंडीगढ़ तो इनको दे ही देना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये जो सारी चीजें आज हो रही हैं, यह

अन्याय हो रहा है। अगर यह इस तरह से चलता रहेगा तो हरियाणा में भी झगड़े शुरू हो जाएंगे। हरियाणा के लोग भी बेचारे जेलों की तरफ चलेंगे। इस स्थिति को बदलने के लिए आपको कुछ करना चाहिए।

अपोजीशन की तरफ से कोई बात कही जाती है तो उसको दूसरा रूप दे दिया जाता है। आदरणीय चौधरी चरण सिंह जी ने यह कहा था कि पुलिस और फौज को अपराधियों को पकड़ने के लिए हर जगह पर जाना चाहिए। प्रधानमंत्री जी पंजाब गई और वोट इकट्ठे करने के लिए यह कहा कि अपोजीशन वाले कह रहे हैं कि गुरुद्वारों में चले जाओ लेकिन मैं बिल्कुल ऐसा नहीं होने दूंगी। यह नहीं हो सकता। आखिर यह देश कैसे चलेगा। कल को और लोग भी अपना गेंग बनाकर बैठ जाएंगे। आप उनको कैसे रोक सकेंगे। जब आप एक संप्रदाय के सामने घुटने टेक देंगे और हर बात उनकी मान लेंगे तो कैसे काम होगा। आज बिना लायसेंस के हथियार उनके पास हैं। वे अपराध करके चले जाते हैं। इस स्थिति को देख कर आज देश को आशा हो रही है। आपको कोई न्यायोचित फैसला लेना चाहिए। देश को बचाने के लिए कोई फैसला लेना चाहिए।

अभी हरियाणा में भी यही हुआ। विधानसभा के उपाध्यक्ष पर हमला हुआ। दिल्ली में भी घटनाएं हो रही हैं। इन सारी चीजों को रोकने के लिए कोई फैसला आपको लेना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि सबसे पहले आपको उन लोगों को गिरफ्तार करना चाहिए जो गुरुद्वारों में बैठे हुए हैं। जो हिंसा को प्रोत्साहित कर रहे हैं। 25वें आर्टिकल को बदलने की जो बात है, यह राष्ट्र को तोड़ने वाली बात है। इसके ऊपर आपको पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए। हिन्दू-सिक्ख एकता के लिए आपको ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम करना चाहिए। थोड़े से उग्रवादी हैं, उनकी बात को तो रोज आप तूल देते हैं और जो आम आदमी गांव का है, किसान है, मजदूर है, मिक्ख है पंजाब का, जिसके मन में मजहब का जहर नहीं है, उनके प्रति सोचने वाला आज कोई नहीं है। पंजाब की

[स्वामी इन्द्रवेश]

आवाज आज उग्रवादियों की आवाज मानी जा रही है। यह सारा जो गलत प्रचार हो रहा है, इसको रोकने में सरकार फेल हो रही है। इसलिए या तो सरकार को कोई फैसला लेना चाहिए या जैसा कि प्रस्ताव आ रहा है, सरकार को छोड़कर कोई दूसरा रास्ता सोचना चाहिए। धन्यवाद।

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी वाजपेयी (सीतापुर) : अधिष्ठाता महोदय, मैंने बड़े गौर से अपने विरोधी पक्ष के नेताओं के भाषणों को सुना। मैं, ऐसा मानती थी कि जिन कठिन परिस्थितियों से हम गुजर रहे हैं तो कुछ निश्चित सुझाव सरकार के सामने आएंगे। लेकिन, जैसा कि पिछली बहसों में होता रहा है, केवल सरकार के ऊपर तथ्यों के बिना दोषारोपण हुआ।

उसी टोन में आज सब बातें कही गई हैं। आज, हम सबको, चाहे इधर के या उधर के सदस्य हों, इस बात का जिक्र है कि कैसे पंजाब का मसला हल किया जाए? यह पंजाब का ही नहीं बल्कि देश को किस तरह इकट्ठा रखा जा सकता है, इसका सवाल है। मैं यह मानती हूँ कि पंजाब में जो विशेष परिस्थिति है उसका हल ढूँढना पड़ेगा। इसके लिए क्या रास्ता हो सकता है, अलग-अलग तरीके से सोचना पड़ेगा? आज सबेरे जो हमने अखबार में पढ़ा, वह मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूँ :

'Punjab has been declared 'dangerously disturbed' area.'

मैं समझती हूँ, सरकार ने एक सही कदम उठाया है। इसमें जितनी सख्ती हो सकती है। कानून के अन्तर्गत, उसको सरकार को अवश्य करना चाहिए।

"Under the Orders, security forces have been empowered to arrest without warrant, enter and search without warrant premises which are being used to wrongfully confine any person or for storage of stolen property, arms and ammunition. They have been empowered to stop, seize and search any vehicle suspected of being used by proclaimed offenders."

मैं सरकार से बहुत जोरदार शब्दों में कहना चाहती हूँ कि पंजाब में सिक्कोरिटी फोर्स को इतनी पावर्स दी गई हैं तो फिर ऐसे विख्यात अपराधी को, जिसको सारा देश जानता है और एक-एक बच्चे की जुबान पर है और वह अपने आपको इतना बड़ा संत कहे, मैं यह मानती हूँ कि वह कातिल के दर्जे में आते हैं। उन्होंने एक्सट्रीमिस्ट फोर्स को तैयार किया है। मैं ऐसा मानती हूँ कि दूसरे देशों के लोगों के द्वारा भी प्रभावित होकर काम हो रहा है। अब सवाल यह है कि ऐसे व्यक्ति जो किसी ऐसे स्थान पर जाकर बैठे हुए हैं तो क्या करना चाहिए? यह सारे राष्ट्र में वहस की चीज बनी हुई है। मैं समझती हूँ राष्ट्र के जीवन में ऐसे मौके भी आते हैं जिनको हल करने के लिए रूथ-लैस तरीके से कानून लाना पड़ता है। जब डी० आई० जी० अटवाल मारे गए थे तो सारे देश में एक आवाज आई थी कि गुरुद्वारे की तरफ से गोली आई है या अपराधी उधर गया है तो सरकार को हिचकना नहीं चाहिए। लेकिन, उस तरफ कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया। अब दोबारा दो दिनों के अन्दर ही श्री खन्ना और हमारे राज्य सभा के सदस्य श्री तिवारी जी की हत्या हुई। बहुत ही नृशंस तरीके से उनको मारा गया। आज फिर सारा देश यह अपेक्षा करता है कि गृह मंत्री ऐसे कदम उठाएंगे, जिन से जान पड़े, लोगों को लगे कि कानून का पालन हो रहा है। कानून का पालन करने के सम्बन्ध में अब हमें इस वहस में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए कि अपराधी किस स्थान में हैं। लोक सभा की सारे दिन की वहस सरकार को यह ताकत देती है, इस हाउस का कान्सेन्स है, इस हाउस के बाहर भी सारे देश का जनमत है कि सरकार यह कदम उठाए। पूरी पार्लियामेंट और देश की जनता उसके साथ होगी।

सवाल हिंदुओं और सिखों का नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि हम किन सिद्धान्तों पर अपने देश को चलाना चाहते हैं। हमारे देश में केवल एक जाति और धर्म के लोग नहीं रहते हैं। यहां पर अनेक जातियों और धर्मों के लोग रहते हैं। उनके अलग-अलग स्थान हैं। अगर आज कुछ उग्रवादी लोग एक स्थान में रहने लगे, तो इसके मानी ये होंगे कि

हम दूसरों को भी ऐसे तत्वों को पनाह देने की दावत देते हैं, इसका रास्ता दिखाते हैं। इसलिए अगर हमने इस प्रवृत्ति को यहीं पर रोक लिया, तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से दोबारा बहुत जोरदार शब्दों में कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस समय पंजाब में केन्द्रीय शासन है और उसकी सीधी जिम्मेदारी है, इसलिए वह इस बारे में उपयुक्त कदम उठाए।

अब स्टेटमेंट से काम नहीं चलने वाला है। आज भारत की जनता एकशन चाहती है। भारत की जनता सोच रही है कि अब और कितनी जानें जाएंगी। मैंने अखबार में पढ़ा है कि जब श्री तिवारी की हत्या के बाद सी० आर० पी० के साथ मुठभेड़ में 9 लोग मारे गए, तो लोंगोवाल साहब ने उनके साथ सहानुभूति दिखाई। लेकिन एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट जिन निहत्थे लोगों को मार रहे हैं, उनके बारे में न लोंगोवाल, न भिडरावाले और न दूसरे अकाली नेता बोले हैं। व्यक्तिगत रूप से मैं यह भी नहीं मानती कि भिडरावाले, लोंगोवाल या दूसरे अकाली अलग-अलग हैं। मैं समझती हूँ कि ये सब मिलकर काम करते हैं। कोई किसी आवाज में बोलता है, कोई किसी आवाज में बोलता है। उनके साथ हमें अपराधी की तरह बात करनी चाहिए। पहले तो यह देखना होगा कि अपराधियों के साथ टेबल पर बात होनी चाहिए या नहीं। बात पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के साथ होनी चाहिए। पहले हमें अपराधियों को अलग करना पड़ेगा और फिर देखना पड़ेगा कि कौन राजनैतिक दल और लोग यह काम कर सकते हैं।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : क्या आपकी सरकार में ऐसी हिम्मत है, यह दम है ?

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी वाजपेयी : हमारी सरकार को और इधर के लोगों को इस बारे में उतनी ही फिक्र है, जितनी कि माननीय सदस्य को। बल्कि हमें ज्यादा फिक्र है, क्योंकि हमारे ऊपर जिम्मेदारी है, हम शासन को चला रहे हैं। कोई भी सरकार नहीं चाहेगी कि ऐसी स्थिति एक दिन भी रहने पाए।

मैं मानती हूँ कि आर्टिकल 25 को लेकर देश में आज बातें चल पड़ी हैं, लेकिन यह नान-इस्यु है। अकालियों के सामने यह इस्यु था ही नहीं। आप जानते हैं कि पहले 1973 से आनन्दपुर साहब रेजोल्यूशन को लेकर बात चली। शुरू में लोंगोवाल साहब और दूसरे अकाली नेता अपने स्टेटमेंट्स में कहते थे कि खालिस्तान से हमें कोई मतलब नहीं है, कोई कॅनेडा या बर्मिंघम में बैठा कोई स्टेटमेंट देता है, तो हमें उससे मतलब नहीं है। धीरे-धीरे पता चला कि संधू साहब गुरु नानक निवास में हैं। बाद में उन्हें वहाँ से हटाया गया। भिडरावाले पहले गुरुनानक निवास में रहते थे। अब वे अकाल तख्त में पहुंच गए हैं, वह ऐसी जगह पहुंच गए हैं, जहां वह समझते हैं कि आदेश देकर किसी को भी मरवा सकते हैं।

कल 15 पन्द्रह-बीस निहंग सिख मेरे पास आए। वे सब हथियार बंद थे। किसी के पास भाला था, किसी के पास कोई दूसरा हथियार था। हमारे साथ बैठ कर उन्होंने कहा कि हम गांवों के रहने वाले लोग हैं, हमारे यहां हिन्दू और सिख के बीच में कोई लड़ाई नहीं है। हमलोग इसके साथ नहीं जाना चाहते हैं और वह बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ यह कह रहे थे कि हम लोग पंजाब में हिन्दू सिख एकता के लिए वातावरण बनाने के लिए आपके पास पूछने के लिए आए हैं कि हमें क्या करना है। हमने कहा कि यह जो आपने काम किया है हमारी पार्टी हमेशा ही कम्यूनल हारमनी में विश्वास करती आई है, आप इस काम को करना चाहते हैं तो जरूर करिए। उनके लीडर ने कहा कि हमारे गांव में यह चीज नहीं है। जो थोड़े से लोग बदमाश किस्म के हैं, ये उसके लब्ज हैं कि जो थोड़े से बदमाश किस्म के लोग हैं वह इस तरह के काम कर रहे हैं। हम लोगों को उनसे कोई मतलब नहीं है। यह न समझा जाय कि सारे सिख यह कर रहे हैं। जब उनका मुखिया इस बात को कह रहा था तो बाकी सब लोग जो उसके साथ आए थे, सबने सिर हिलाया जिसका मतलब था कि जो उनका मुखिया कह रहा है वह ठीक कह रहा है। इससे आप अन्दाजा लगाएं कि थोड़े से लोग जो एक्स्ट्री-

[डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी वाजपेयी]

मिस्ट्र्स हैं वह इस तरह की चीज कर रहे हैं। लेकिन उस आतंक के वातावरण में जो साधारण व्यक्तित्व है, जो निहत्थे लोग हैं वह तो रोज-रोज उनसे लड़ाई नहीं ले सकते।

अभी भिण्डरावाले ने और संत हरचन्द सिंह लोंगोवाल सबने यह कहा कि यह जो सिख स्टूडेंट्स फंडेशन को बैन कर दिया गया है उस बैन को वापस लेना चाहिए और साथ-साथ एक और धमकी आई है, यह दसमेश रेजिमेंट नाम की कोई एक नयी चीज और आ गई। कहा यह गया कि हम रोज एक न एक पोलिटिकल पार्टी के लोगों को मारा करेंगे। यह भी धमकी दी जा रही है। तो यह स्थिति ऐसी है कि जिसमें सरकार को अब पूरी तरह से ऐक्शन लेना है, वह ऐक्शन चाहे जिरा रूप में भी हो और उसमें मैं समझती हूँ कि इधर और उधर के सभी माननीय सदस्यों का समर्थन होगा। उस समर्थन के लिए हम आज इस बात को कह रहे हैं।

मैं श्री गिरिलाल जैन के एक आर्टिकल का उद्धरण देना चाहती हूँ जो उन्होंने संविधान के आर्टिकल 25 के ऊपर लिखा है। उसका आखिरी पैराग्राफ बहुत ही विचारणीय है और मैं उससे सहमत भी हूँ :

“Finally, the attempt to make a political community out of the Sikhs must involve carving out a territory where the majority and domination are permanently assured. The implications are too grim to be stated, but they are obvious.”

कुछ लोग जो ऐसी बातें कह रहे हैं वह एक बार कुछ कहते हैं दूसरी बार कुछ कहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ वह कुछ ऐसी चीजों को करने की कोशिश भी कर रहे हैं जिससे ऐसा वातावरण वहाँ बन रहा है।

संविधान का जो आर्टिकल 25 है इसके बारे में मैं कहना चाहूँगी कि यह हमारा जो प्रजातंत्र

है, डेमोक्रेसी, सेकुलरिज्म और अब हम सोशलिज्म को भी मानते हैं, इन तीन खम्भों के ऊपर हमारा इंडियन रिपब्लिक टिका है और यह सेकुलरिज्म उसका एक बहुत मजबूत खम्भा है जिसमें राइट टु फ्रीडम आफ रेलीजन फंडामेंटल राइट्स के अन्दर स्पष्ट तरीके से लिखा गया है कि भारत एक धर्म निरपेक्ष राज्य होगा। सब धर्मों को यहाँ आजादी दी गई और उसके बारे में कहा गया है :

right to freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, freedom to profess, practise and propagate religion.

इतना स्पष्ट लिखा हुआ है और इसके ही एक्सप्लेनेशन में यह दिया है जिसको लेकर झगड़ा मच रहा है :

“The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.”

तो किसी भी जाति, धर्म या ऐसी किसी भी चीज के लिए हमारे कांस्टीच्यूशन में बड़े एलेवो-रेट ढंग से, बड़े विस्तृत तरीके से वह सारी चीजें डाल दी गई हैं जिसकी आए दिन जरूरत है। साथ-साथ जिन बातों से समस्या का हल हो सकता है या आगे कोई समस्या खड़ी हो सकती है, संविधान बनाने वाले लोगों ने उसको भी देखा था। सैक्यूलर इंडिया में, भारत में, हर धर्म के लोगों को आजादी दी जा रही है। उसमें जो शब्द है :

“Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law :

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice ;”

सवाल यह उठता है कि जो हमारे देश के बुद्धिजीवी हैं, वे आर्टिकल के बारे में जनता को बतायें कि देश को तोड़ने की स्थिति पैदा की जा रही है। पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दू-सिख परिवार एक साथ जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं, उसको विभा-

जित करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। यह हमारे देश के लिए बहुत बड़ी साजिश है, इसके लिए जरूरी है कि इस आर्टिकल को बहुत अच्छी तरह से समझा जाए। सरकार ने कहा है कि हम बातचीत करेंगे, मैं समझती हूँ कि इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम उनकी बात मान ही लेंगे। बातचीत करना एक चीज है और किसी चीज को मान लेना दूसरी चीज होती है। डेमोक्रेसी में बातचीत के लिए रास्ता खुला होता है। यदि किसी चीज को लेकर कोई बात खड़ी होती है, हमारे संविधान की पुस्तक के खिलाफ कोई काम करता है, उसके आदर, उसके सम्मान के लिए कोई व्यक्ति काम करता है, चाहे जलाकर या फाड़कर या फिर कुचलकर, तो यह संविधान की अवहेलना करना है। जिस हो हमने काफी सोच समझ कर बनाया है। हमने देश में स्टेट रिलीजन को नहीं माना है, भारत में मैजोरिटी हिन्दुओं की है, लेकिन हमने हिन्दू को भी अपने भारत का स्टेट रिलीजन नहीं माना है, इन देश में हिन्दू भी हैं, मुसलमान भी रहते हैं, सिक्ख भी रहते हैं, बौद्ध और जैन भी रहते हैं, तरह-तरह के लोग रहते हैं। हमारा यह पवित्र कान्स्टीट्यूशन है, हम इसको सर्वोपरि मानते हैं। इसके अन्दर जनता के अधिकार निहित हैं। हमने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी और जिसको लेकर त्याग और बलिदान किया। हमने आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लिया और मैं भी फ्रीडमफाइटर हूँ। उस वक्त हमने तिरंगे झंडे की रक्षा की और उसके बाद यह कान्स्टीट्यूशन बना है। इस संविधान से हमें प्यार है, मोहब्बत है, और यह भारत की एकता का प्रतीक है। यदि कोई संविधान के टुकड़े करना चाहता है या उसकी अवहेलना करना चाहता है, तो उसको न तो इस देश की जनता बर्दाश्त करेगी और न जनतन्त्र शक्ति इसको बर्दाश्त करेगी।

अंत में, मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि हम इस प्रकार की स्थिति जनता के अन्दर पैदा करें, जिसमें कि जनमानस में विश्वास पैदा हो सके। जहाँ पर ऐसे कत्ल और अपराध होंगे, वहाँ पर आपको एक्शन लेना चाहिए। जो भी तरीका हो, यह मैं सरकार के ऊपर छोड़ती हूँ, सरकार के पास हर

तरह की शक्ति है। यह जो एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट है, इनसे बात करने का सवाल नहीं उठता है, बात पोलिटिकल पार्टियों से हो सकती है। दूसरे एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट के जो नेता हैं, उनको आपको अलग करना पड़ेगा और अलग करके उनको आजन्म कैद के अन्दर रखें और इस तरह की चीज आपको करनी चाहिए। ऐसे लोग जो राष्ट्रद्रोही हैं, उनसे आपको बातचीत करने की जरूरत नहीं है, बात करने के लिए हमेशा पोलिटिकल पार्टियों का रास्ता खुला है।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirghat) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, as the time is going by and the debate is drawing inevitably towards a close, we are realising now that because as Prof. Ranga and some others keep on repeating, the Prime Minister has got some very serious engagements elsewhere, important engagements, we are realising that we are not going to have the benefit, and the country is not going to have the benefit, of any intervention from her or any lead from her. Well, I do not want to go on pressing this point because that is the way they want to function; they are welcome to do it. It is very unfortunate in my opinion because the whole country knows that this debate is taking place today, they know what happened yesterday and any ordinary citizen would expect that on a life and death question like this, the Prime Minister would have something to say.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Scant respect for that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Anyway, I don't go into all that, scant respect and how her father would have behaved on a similar occasion, I am sure he would not have behaved this way. Anyway, I am not going into all that. I was more anxious that she should say something because I had remarked yesterday that she is due to leave the country day after tomorrow.

AN HON. MEMBER : You are also leaving today.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : But unfortunately you have not made me Prime Minister here. Then I would not have left.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Sir, it is for the people of the country. They know who is the best.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Now, Sardar Buta Singh, who is known to all of us in this House, informed me the other day—I hope I am not giving away any secrets, other people were present also, but then he was trying to educate me and really I was educated. He told me that ‘you people do not know that this Akali Dal Party in its Conference held in 1973, which was 11 years ago, has basically changed, amended its constitution, the constitution of the Akali Dal.’ If I have misunderstood him, he could tell me correctly because I was very much interested to hear this, I did not know, I am an ignorant fellow in these matters. So, I was learning from him. He said, it has basically changed its constitution in 1973 and has incorporated certain ideas and principles into the constitution which later were reflected in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. So, he said that today’s Akali Dal is not the same Akali Dal of a few years ago, it has changed its character. And therefore, I agree with what Shrimati Bajpai has said just now that we should not try to go on making artificial distinctions between who is a moderate, who is an extremist, who represents some reasonable point of view, who represents some extremist point of view. These are all different aspects and different tactics within the Akali Dal for tackling this problem. Now it is becoming clearer every day where they are going. I find Mr. Longowal did not even condemn, at least I did not see any statement, he did not condemn the murder of Sardar Manchanda.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : He will do it tomorrow.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Yes. And now we have to come to Article 25. Sir, last week-end, Saturday and Sunday, I happened to be touring some places in the Punjab. I was in Jullunder, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Khanna, Govindgarh and Chandigarh, and everywhere when we were holding meetings, I was asking the audience composed of Sikhs and Hindus both : How is it that never in all these years the Akali leadership has breathed a word about this

Article 25, even when they were in the Ministry twice and Prakash Singh Badalji was the Chief Minister ? From the vantage position of a Ministry they could have agitated this point if they were serious about it, if they have understood everything about it. They never raised this point. Now, all of a sudden, when they need some other issue on which to agitate, on which to rouse the passions of the people, they have come to this Article 25.

Now, our Home Minister has given them some sort of a loophole, I should say, by the statement he has made. He must tell us now something more about what they are thinking and what the Government proposed to do. He should have made a statement, I think, today also before this debate began, a more concrete and specific statement.

As Mr. Vajpayee has pointed out earlier, the statement that Shri Sethi made on the 2nd April says—

“Regarding Article 25 Government had not received any formal communication from them in this regard before the 18th of March, 1984”

It means on 18th March they have received some communication. But the Home Minister has not taken the House into confidence. What is this formal communication ? What is their demand ? How do they define it ? What do they want ? What have they written here ? I hope he will tell us. While I was in Punjab, I heard from some sources that behind the scene some kind of exchange of proposals passed between the Government and the Akali Dal leadership—that if the Government agrees in principle to sit down and discuss an amendment of Article 25, then Shri Longowal will be agreeable to say that he is calling off the movement which was to begin on 2nd April. It is good thing that he called off the movement. But what is the worth of it ? The same day, in the afternoon, the bombs were thrown at Rayya. Of course, one did not have an inkling of what was about to happen. Everyday was feeling some sort of a sense of relief that the movement has been called off. Then the Government has to answer this

question. This gethering of Nirankaries at that particular place is a regular weekly feature every Sunday. It takes places every Sunday. It is known to the Government. The particular thing of the function is that a very large number of children and women are always present. They came and threw bombs and killed three women and a child. There is no security arrangement. Nobody could be caught. Nothing could be done. This President Rule in Punjab is becoming a big mockery. You can add to it all these notifications which you are making now—instead of disturbed area it has become dangerously disturbed area and troops, soldiers and security forces have been given special powers and all that. They are incapable of doing anything, it seems.

16.02 hrs.

(DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI
in the Chair)

Now about Article 25, as I understand it, if this Article is read as a whole and the sub-heading of it is—freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion, not a particular religion but all religions. If one studies this Article, I think it is quite clear—what it is emphasising is not religious separatism. What it is stressing is certain commonality of religious rights and freedoms here in this Article. I should warn Shri Sethi that if the Government is intending to go in for some kind of amendment to this Article, which will encourage the forces of religious separatism, then he will be doing a big dis-service to the Constitution and to the unity of this country. He must tell us what they have objected to because now they are in correspondence with each other.

As far as throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of public character to all sections of Hindus and saying that this will also apply to Jains and Buddhists is concerned, some Sikhs told me, as far as Sikh religion is concerned, it is irrelevant. As far as Gurudwaras are concerned, there is no restriction of any kind on any member of community entering the gurudwaras unlike Hindu temples. Many people cannot enter Hindu temples, we know that. But in the case of

gurudwaras, I am sure, all including Mahazabi Sikhs and everybody are free to go and they can do it. Those who are Scheduled Castes among the Sikhs, there is no restriction on them on entering gurudwaras.

If the Sikh says that this particular part of the clause—throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of public character to all classes and sections of Hindus has no meaning in being applied to Sikhs—that is a point which can be taken up. Are we sure that this is the kind of technical change which the Akalis want? Is it only the question of wording? In his Statement Shri Sethi says :

“There seem to be misgivings among members of the Shiromani Akali Dal that wording of Explanation 2 of article 25(2)(b) of the Constitution does not reflect the distinct identity of the Sikh community.”

Is it only the wording they are worried about? In that case some words here and there can possibly be changed and it has to be looked into without changing the substance or the meaning. If they do not like everybody being lumped together in one sentence, that sentence can be divided into three or four sub-sentences or sub-clauses. That is not the point. Do you seriously believe that this Akali Dal leadership, the way it is moving now, is concerned only with the wordings of this article? You have already said here :

“Government will be prepared to consult the S.G.P.C. and other representatives of the Sikh community as well as legal experts and undertake such legislation by way of amendment as may be necessary to remove the doubts on this point.”

So, we are in the dark. We do not know how the Government is thinking. How far it is proposing to go? Because, it is quite obvious that if Mr. Sethi thinks that simply by changing a word here or there they will be satisfied, I don't think so at all. If it is a question of changing the substance as far as providing for social welfare and reform is concerned, there is a clause in article 25 (2) (b). Personal law is also there. So, we have to

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be very careful. It is common talk in Punjab. Everybody is talking about that. What the Akalis actually want is that a distinction from Hindu community be made in such a way that the doors are open for claiming separate personal laws. A separate personal law, which in essence, means—this is what they want, to disinherit women from the right of property. That is the main thing. We know which section of the Sikh community is the spear head of the agitation which is going on now. So, I would like to say that Mr. Sethi, it is better you be pretty careful because your first loyalty is not to the Akalis. First loyalty should be to the Constitution and to Parliament. And Parliament means, the majority and the consensus of views which are being expressed here in this House. His first loyalty has to be to that. And if there is any section in the ruling Party which is thinking—I know they are very angry on this—in terms of paving the way for future Congress-I Akali *rapprochement* and compromise, may be a coalition government in future, before the elections are held in Punjab, then that is not the way to proceed on the matter like this at all. That is opportunism and nothing else. As it happens now, Sir, neither the Congress Party alone nor the Akali Party alone can give a stable government to Punjab. That is the political situation and you know it very well. The Congress Party with the majority in the Assembly could not maintain its government and then the President's rule has to be imposed by themselves. The Akali Party by itself cannot obviously run the government in Punjab today. So, I am told that there are quarters which are advising that they should pave the way for a coalition between Akalis and the Congress-I to bring about a joint government in future. If that is your strategy, please tell us. If that is what you are thinking, please tell us.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): They do not tell you. They will do it only.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Then, I want them to deny it. Let him say that he does not propose to do anything like that.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: I am sorry. The

situation in Punjab is so serious and dangerous, we cannot afford to think of such cheap tactics.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I want to know what expensive tactics are you thinking? Please tell us.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Only Vajpayee Ji and you know who have been entering into powers with the Akalis.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We know with whom you have entered into powers in many States.

All that I am saying now is that you have given an open public assurance to the Akali Party that now you are prepared to sit down with their leaders, legal experts and the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee people and all those people to consider an amendment.

So, you must tell the House because, after all, an amendment will have to come here. Ultimately, it will have come to this House for approval. You must tell us along what lines you are thinking and you must give an assurance that no amendment will be brought before the House which will in any way strengthen the forces of religious separatism because that is not the meaning of article 25 at all.

The withdrawal of "Azad Panth Week" movement by Sardar Longowal has had no effect at all. As you have seen, the killings began the next day. As I said on a previous occasion, it may be that there is a kind of division of labour between the so-called moderates and extremists. The moment one section wants some kind of a discussion or negotiation or wants to come and have talks or something like that, the other section starts the killing campaign in order to wreck those talks. You know what happened last time when tripartite talks took place. It was done by other communal forces, mainly Hindus, unfortunately. We were going to meet in the tripartite conference. After a lot of difficulties, the tripartite conference had again been called. The day the talks were to begin, this thing took place in Panipat, in Haryana. The whole thing was wrecked

and this gave an opportunity to the Akalis to walk out of the meeting. It was planned by Hindu communal forces. Of course, you do not want me to spell out who they were, and all that. That has been said in this House many times.

I agree with Prof. Madhu Dandavate that if you are making this offer and sit down for talks with them, why did you not do it earlier? Why did you do it at the eleventh hour, a few hours before the movement was to begin which gave Sardar Longowal an opportunity to say in a public statement that it is a great victory for them and that the movement has forced the Government to yield. What kind of tactics was this, Mr. Buta Singh, cheap or expensive? What was it? It has proved to be very expensive because whatever ultimately happens is that innocent people are losing their lives every day.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : These are sophisticated tactics !

16.12 hrs.

(MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, another aspect of it is that the people in Punjab are beginning to realise what serious consequences for Punjab are implied in this whole development that is taking place. The entire agricultural operations which have over the years become dependent on imported agricultural labour from Bihar mainly and to some extent U.P. and some other States are going to be affected. Obviously, if these conditions persist, those people are not going to come to Punjab. Why should they risk their lives to come and work in Punjab? The new wheat crop is going to be harvested in a few days time and, I am sure, this year there will be a big fall in the number of non-Punjabi agricultural labourers who used to come in large numbers. If this situation continues and if it worsens, in future, they will not come at all. Is it not going to affect seriously the agricultural conditions of Punjab?

Secondly, I found, in Amritsar, that a number of factory owners—of course, they

are Hindus—of textile mills and others are already making preparation to shift their factories out of Punjab, to go to Haryana or Delhi or some place like that. They do not want to remain there. The banks do not want to give loans any more because the whole situation is so insecure and uncertain. The trading community, shop-keepers and all that are suffering. There is a lot of dislocation there all the time. The transport is dislocated most of the time.

So, everything that was built up in Punjab by the toil and sweat of Punjabis of which the whole country is proud of, the big progress and prosperity which they have achieved, is in danger now. The Akali leadership is to be thanked for what they are doing. They should be made to realise what they are doing in their own State. The people understand it. I am sure, one day the people of Punjab will bring the Akali leaders to book for what they are doing.

The game is quite obvious. If Hindus are driven out of Punjab or forced to leave Punjab—somebody said just now that those refugees who had come as refugees from West Pakistan will be made refugees again—the backlash of that will be there. They are saying it openly that it does not matter if the Hindus go away. A situation would be created where lakhs of Sikhs who are spread out throughout the country in other States would be forced to come back to Punjab. That means people should run away from Punjab! The people who thus run away from Punjab would go and propagate what happened to them in Punjab, among the other States and throughout the country. It is the thinking of the extremists in Punjab that the result would be there would be pressure on the Sikhs in other States, attacks on the Sikhs, insecurity for the Sikhs in other States and that they would be forced to go back to Punjab and Punjab thus would become a purely Sikh State and that is the meaning of Khalistan! Therefore, the Hindus are to be made refugees a second time leaving Punjab, and the Sikhs are also to be made refugees a second time. Once they came from Sialkot, Gujrawala and Lahore and other places and they have settled down in various parts of the country. Now, as a consequence of this development, they will all be forced to leave all those

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places and run for their lives and come for shelter back to Punjab! Is this not madness? What kind of game is going on? This needs to be exposed to the people. That is why I said on a previous occasion that you are not going to solve this problem simply by security forces. Security forces, in any case, have miserably failed. That is a different matter. But you cannot solve this problem of Punjab only by security forces. We have to go to the people and explain to them all the consequences and implications of all that is now happening in Punjab, that it would all have very disastrous consequences for the people of Punjab and for the people of the country.

I do not repeat again about the Pakistani threat across the border. It is strange the Government goes on telling us every day about it, about the arming of Pakistan and supply of sophisticated arms and that we must be ready. It is all right. What is happening there on the border, 30 miles away where Mr. Zia is sitting and where he is acquiring all these weapons? If a border State is allowed to be dragged into a crisis and chaos like this, what could be a bigger help to the Americans and to the Pakistani military regime? I do not understand. So, the Government should show more sense of urgency and wisdom and there should be some determined efforts to solve this problem.

There is, in my opinion, a serious danger of communal disturbances spreading to other parts of the country because of this. Delhi is one sensitive area now, I suppose, because of the composition of the population here. And these killings have spread to Delhi itself. We are talking here of how to maintain law and order in Punjab! You cannot maintain law and order in Delhi, the capital of the country! And if this state of affairs is allowed to continue, you will never be able to prevent people from being provoked to take the law into their own hands and the consequences of that will be the communal disturbances which will really destroy the entire national fabric of this country.

Therefore, please be up and doing. Please

tell us what you propose to do in the matter of the Punjab crisis. You have not told us till now what measures you are proposing to take to bring about normalcy in Punjab. There is nothing in the statement about any concrete measures that you propose to take, apart from sitting down and discussing amendment of the Constitution of Article 25.

Enough has been said about Punjab Police. Shri Nihal Singh has said enough. There is nothing more to be said.

The Punjab Police force is not only inefficient, it is corrupt, cowardly, in league with criminals and is totally incompetent to deal with the situation of this magnitude. I do not know what you can do about it. You cannot remove the entire Punjab force from Punjab. I agree. But in the higher posts of all your Police as well as security forces, there must be people brought in, whose bona fides should be above suspicion and who would be really non-communal and secular and committed to their job. If necessary, they should be brought from other States. They must be professional people who would be able to discharge their responsibilities attached to such high positions. Nowadays you know what is happening. People of your own party are demanding removal of certain very high police officials. Why? The reason is those officials prove to be utterly unworthy and incompetent.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY
(Bombay North East): This aspect has not been properly looked after.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I do not know what for the constables stand there. They do not do anything when somebody is committing murder and dacoity.

You tell me: is your police force constituted like that? Have they any sense of commitment? They are poorly paid people and they think, "Why should I risk my life? I have my own wife and children at home; why should I risk my life". Unless that man has some feeling of commitment, he will never do anything. You cannot now re-educate your police force in the middle of this turmoil which is going on. Let the

high posts at least be occupied by worthy people who are really committed to the unity of the country and who are prepared to fight communal and divisive and terrorist forces, no matter what risk they have to face. This must be done. You must clean up the higher posts at least and take the people to task if they do not discharge their responsibilities properly.

I do not want to take up more time. As for as the students are concerned, the Sikh Students' Federation, one of the Ministers was telling us the other day, "It is not possible for us to arrest all Sikh students just because they are Sikh students ; we cannot just go and arrest all Sikh students". Obviously you cannot. But, I think, your intelligence service has failed completely. To fight terrorist activity of this type which strikes here today, there tomorrow and somewhere else the next day, you require a very highly professionalised and competent intelligence authority. I cannot forget for a moment the way Government dealt with the Naxalite boys in West Bengal. They were misguided youth. They were not communal ; they were fighting with some ideas of their own ; they were misguided. Most of them today have realised that they had followed wrong methods at that time. Among them were some brilliant students, brilliant boys and girls. But how did you finish them off ? You finished them off ? I know those police officers who worked out certain tactics and certain forms by which they finished off all those boys. So, do not tell me that you do not know how to do it. In their case you were prepared to do, but in this case you are not prepared to do. You have no intelligence service. You cannot infiltrate into the Sikh students organization and find out. (*Interruptions*) I do not mean you, Prof. Ranga. It is difficult for you. But there are other people who can do it. You must not think in the old, traditional, routine ways. You may not be able to cope with them. These people are highly trained. Each operation they are carrying out shows that they are highly trained. They never miss ; their bullets never miss the mark and they act so quickly ; they do not hesitate for a single moment. Do you think that this can be done by any student ? If you give the gun to a student and ask him to go and kill somebody, can he do it ? They are

people who are highly trained, and if you want to combat them effectively, you must have highly trained and professionalised security arrangements. I still maintain, and I repeat, that these security measures by themselves will not solve this problem at all. The people will have to be roused against what this Akali leadership is doing, which means, the destruction of the Punjab, which means ultimately disaster for the Sikhs themselves, which means the whole country being ruined. They must be made to understand that. At least now when we are again approaching the anniversary of Jalianwala Bagh after a few days, let us rouse the people of this country, let us rouse the conscience of the people. The blood of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims flowed together at Jalianwala Bagh, but now an attempt is being made to see that from people's mind these traditions of old history are completely wiped out and a brother is made to fight and kill a brother.

I would appeal to the Government to rise above narrow political considerations and party considerations. This is not a party matter and this is not a matter affecting one State or one community only. It is going too far now. Therefore, I would expect the Government, I would expect the Prime Minister also, to give the country some assurance that they are going to take such type of effective measures and steps, both political and administrative, which will really help to bring about a normal state of affairs in the Punjab, that the Akali Dal extremism will not be encouraged in any way, that the Government will not surrender to it and that the Government will not allow religious separatism to get the upper hand. This conviction, this confidence, we must get from the Government.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : The problem of Punjab was discussed in this House in the past and to-day's discussion arises in view of the situation that has taken place only yesterday and I am sure the House irrespective of Parties is very much unhappy about the incident that has taken place in Punjab.

My friend, Mr. Satyasadhan Chakraborty in his speech asked a question whether the

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Opposition is dead. He put the question before the House. I do not think the Opposition is dead, but only their physical position is remaining, the reason being that the speeches we have heard from the Opposition Members to-day have not contributed in any way to solving the Punjab problem.

Prof. Dandavate has raised certain questions. With a lot of emotion he has spoken and he has through you warned the Government 20 times. 20 times he warned the Government about the consequences that might happen in Punjab because of the present situation. I do not dispute with him. But, unfortunately, not a single time he has contributed by giving a suggestion regarding the solution.

Mr. Indrajit Gupta, while participating right now, has pointed out certain things and he has accused the Government that we are trying to hobnob with the Akalis. May I ask one question to the Opposition Leaders? Which are those political parties who had conclaves with the Akali Dal in Calcutta, Kashmir, Vijayawada and Hyderabad? Which are those political parties which had discussion with the Akali leaders? They not only had discussion with them but they have encouraged them and also lent support to their movement and to continue the movement. ...

PROF. N.G. RANGA : They are going to meet again.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : They are going to meet in Madras also. Now they are coming forward with the accusation that we are trying to hobnob with the Akalis and we are trying to have a coalition Ministry there. That is basically a wrong accusation which they are indulging in.

In the discussion Prof. Dandavate has mentioned that Chandra Sekharji has sent a letter through Mr. Fernandes to Mr. Longowal to explain certain things. I appreciate that. This is a good thing. But when the Government has declared about certain moves about Art 25 and invited the Akali leaders to have a discussion, they are very much agitated. But the

point is that after that declaration we have seen that the Akalis have withdrawn the agitation and this was appreciated by all. Now, the question comes whether this Art 25 should be amended or not. It will be debated in the House. So there is no need to be agitated about. The motive behind the Government move was to take a step at the right time to see that the situation does not aggravate further. I appreciate the step taken by the Government and I am sure the Opposition should not feel hurt that they have been completely ignored, because the amendment, if at all it is to be accepted, will be discussed in this House and naturally the Opposition will take part in the discussion and they will have their say.

A lot of things have been said here about the Punjab Police. From my experience in Assam I would like to request the Home Minister and the Home Ministry that in Assam such allegations were also brought in the height of the agitation and such a situation did prevail and at that time the Assam Government gradually during the President's rule took certain steps whereby the Assam Police were involved more on desk work and work in offices than in the field. C.R.P. and B.S.F. were employed to counter the terrorist activities and also those activities of the agitationists which are not good for the cause of the country. I think that the time has now come when in view of these things that have been brought out by some members of our party as also from the Opposition, irrespective of the party to which they belong, when certain serious allegations have been brought against the Punjab Police, the Government should not take it as a prestige. The police there had been motivated by the emotions of the people there. It happened so in Assam also. We are now glad to see that the Assam Police are acting according to the rules and they have been able to get the confidence of the people there. In Punjab also, Government should think on that line whereby the Punjab Police should be deployed in certain areas. Certain national papers have been making certain propaganda and, I think that most of them are baseless, that the CRP's action is against a particular community. The Punjab police goes there for action against a particular community.

That is not good. I cannot disbelieve the national press that all its news are wrong because there must be some truth somewhere. In view of this, certain positive steps should be taken by the Government regarding the Punjab police.

Sir, Prof. Chakraborty has urged upon the Government to do one thing. He asked as to why don't they give Chandigarh to Punjab? Better let them do that. He said it. But, he has forgotten to mention about one thing. He mentioned about the Prime Minister's award. It was not only for Chandigarh but it was also about Abhor and Fazilka which fact he has forgotten. A member sitting here asked: 'Why don't you give Calcutta to Bihar? What will be your reaction to this?'

Certain people in Assam are demanding a certain portion of North Bengal. We do not support it. But, what about the reaction of his Government? It is easy to say in Parliament why don't you think of the demands of the people who are extremists in the real sense of the term? If you say that Chandigarh is part of India—whether it goes to Punjab or Haryana, it will be in India—it is not that easy. You have to judge the whole situation in its totality. If you have to judge it in its totality, you have to see that there is a permanent solution. This *ad hoc* way of solving a problem will not help at all. It needs a permanent solution. I want to draw your attention to one thing. When there was a non-aligned conference in Delhi, an incident in Nellie happened. Naturally, there are certain political parties and, even the AASU and AGSP which wanted to make it an international issue now when our Prime Minister is due to go on a tour as the Chairman of the NAM to certain countries—Algeria and Libya. At that time, certain forces were creating a situation in Punjab whereby they wanted to create a situation outside the country namely that the whole of Punjab and the country are in a very bad position. Which is that force? I would like to urge upon the Government to consider what Mr. Vajpayee in his speech has said, namely the young boys who are involved in this terrorist movement are the persons who actually came with the revolvers—they snatched the stenguns from

the security personnel. That means they have got training from somewhere. In this House when many Members from our side were accusing Government of Kashmir for giving a chance to these Sikh boys for training, there was a hue and cry coming from the Opposition. It was told by the Home Minister that there were some foreign people who might be giving training. At that time there was a hue and cry coming from Dr. Swamy and others and they asked from the Government whether it had any definite information about Pakistan. Wherefrom, the training is given? Is it from the Heaven? These Sikh youths wanted to utilise the arms. Have they been born with this training? They must have got some training from somewhere. It was said that they had been trained in Kashmir. It was said that it was given by some foreign power. It was in order to step that, that the Government tried to take action. The Opposition is making a hue and cry and are now telling that Government is inactive; it is not taking any action.

When Government is trying to debate this issue and come to a solution what happened? Yesterday, Sir, you were absent; the whole House was in a doldrum upto 3 O'clock. What was the purpose?—to discuss the Punjab issue. Sir, when Mr. Madhu Dandavate spoke I have counted. There were 53 members in the opposition and 156 on this side of the House. Now with the progress of the debate you can see the attendance. They were shouting yesterday upto 3 O'clock. What they are going today?

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar): How many are you now?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: You count it yourself. You were wasting the valuable time of the House. Where are those people who were sitting on the desks and shouting and mocking at the Deputy Speaker? After all, this is a national issue. And when this is debated, they must have been present here.

SHRI R.N. RAKESH: Where is the Prime Minister?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Not a single Cabinet Minister is present here. When the gentleman is speaking here, not a single Cabinet Minister is here.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : It is serious. Not a single Cabinet Minister is there.

MR. SPEAKER : The whole House is responsible. We are all responsible people. Nobody should be singled out. We are all responsible.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : I am sorry that I had to mention it. I take your suggestion, Sir, and I will not mention it any more.

About the Punjab situation, discussions have been held by all parties. Certain suggestions have been given by the opposition parties. I might tell the House and the Home Minister especially that discussion in this House in my humble opinion does not help the situation. I come from Assam. The discussion which has taken place today and the whole tone of the opposition will only inspire the terrorists in the eastern region. It has been said in the House that the terrorists are all students. It is wrong. It is wrong to say that terrorists are Sikh students. Small number of boys may be there. But they should be dealt with by the Government firmly. I am sure Government will take some positive steps in this direction to stop this terrorist activity. Keeping this in view I hope that the Government, in the stand which it has taken, will be firm and they will act in a manner that terrorists will not get further encouragement and will not go on with their activities which are detrimental to the cause of the whole country.

श्री आर० एन० राकेश (चेल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ कहने से पहले पंजाब में जो हत्या का दौर चला है, उसकी मैं कटु निन्दा करता हूँ। लोकतन्त्र में इसके लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है। इन हत्याओं के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है और ये क्यों हो रही हैं, इस ओर से विशेष रूप से सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक सुझाव देने का सवाल है, इससे पहले भी सदन

में कई बार बहस हो चुकी है और सुझाव दिए गए हैं। यह कैसे समझा जाए कि सरकार इन सुझावों के प्रति गम्भीर है? अगर गम्भीर होती तो पिछले जितने सुझाव दिए गए थे, उन पर सरकार ने क्या किया? इसका जबाब आज सरकार के पास नहीं है क्योंकि उनको छुआ ही नहीं। त्रिजयवाड़ा से लेकर दिल्ली होते हुए काश्मीर तक और समुद्र से पहाड़ तक चले गए, लेकिन सरकार को विपक्षी दलों के सुझाव दिखाई नहीं दिए। सरकार के लिए यह कहना आसान हो जाता है कि विपक्षी दल पंजाब की समस्या के लिए सुझाव नहीं दे रहे हैं। लेकिन, जो दिए गए, वे कब क्रियान्वित हुए? प्रधान मंत्री जी और उनकी सरकार विरोधी दलों पर बराबर आरोप लगाती रही हैं। इसके बावजूद भी विपक्ष ने देश की महत्ता और पंजाब की कीमत को ज्यादा समझा है और सुझाव दिए हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार का दामन साफ है? त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता का क्या हुआ? एक तरफ तो दिल्ली में यह वार्ता चल रही है और दूसरी तरफ हरियाणा में हिंसा की जाती है। मुख्य मंत्री से यह क्यों नहीं पूछा गया कि किसके इशारे पर हिंसा की गई? त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता करने के लिए सरकार की नीति तो थी लेकिन उसके द्वारा समस्या का हल निकालने की नीयत नहीं थी। समस्या सिर्फ पानी और क्षेत्र की है सारे देश में यह शोर मचाया गया अखबारों, रेडियो टी०वी० के द्वारा कि सिख खालिस्तान चाहते हैं। किसने क्या कहा, यह किसी ने नहीं सुना? लेकिन सरकार ने असली मुद्दे को पीछे धकेल दिया और नकली मुद्दे की ओर आगे बढ़ गई। प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती गांधी ने 1970 में यह फैसला किया था कि चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब को और फाजिलका और अबोहर हरियाणा को दे दिया जाए। यह भी कहा था कि पांच साल के अन्दर ही यह फैसला लागू हो जायेगा। आज 14 साल हो गए, क्यों नहीं इसको लागू किया गया? क्या प्रधान मंत्री के पास इसका जबाब है? तीन साल के लिए जब जनता सरकार आई तो उस समय कोई समस्या नहीं उठी। लेकिन, 1980 में इस सरकार के आने के बाद यह समस्या फिर उठने लगती है तो प्रधान मंत्री और सरकार की नजर कहाँ है? पंजाब की आग से सरकार क्यों खिलवाड़

कर रही है ?

आपकी सरकार की नीयत क्या है, आपके कारनामे ग्रह साफ बताते हैं। पंजाब के बारे में बदकिस्मती यह है कि पंजाब की समस्या के हल के लिए लोंगोवाल और प्रधान मंत्री को सीधे वार्ता करनी चाहिए थी, लेकिन भारत की प्रधान मंत्री सीधे वार्ता न करके अपने कारिन्दों से वार्ता कराती हैं और इस तरह पंजाब की समस्या को हल करना चाहती हैं। श्री दरबारा सिंह के बारे में कहा गया कि समस्या को हल नहीं कर पाए और इस लिए कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार होते हुए भी उसे समाप्त कर दिया गया। उसके बाद पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन, केन्द्रीय शासन, लागू किया गया। वह भी इसमें नाकामयाब रहा है। पंजाब में 220 लोगों की हत्या हो गयी है। इस स्थिति में केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी बर्खास्त क्यों नहीं किया जाता ?

प्रधान मंत्री का कहना है कि यह पंजाब और देश के प्रति बहुत लायल हैं। अगर वह देश के प्रति लायल हैं, तो क्यों नहीं वह अपनी कुर्सी को छोड़ देतीं और अपनी सरकार को बर्खास्त कर देतीं ? वह इस लायक नहीं हैं कि देश की समस्याओं को हल कर सकें।

सेठी साहब से मुझे कोई गिला नहीं है, क्योंकि वह तो गृह मंत्रालय की मुहर हैं। फैसले तो होते हैं भारत के प्रधान मंत्री के सचिवालय में। आप तो केवल वहां पर तैयार किए गए बयान को पढ़ देते हैं आप रीयल गृह मंत्री नहीं हैं। मुझे इस पर कोई आपत्ति नहीं है कि भारत के प्रधान मंत्री के सचिवालय में जो उनका चहेता हो, जिस पर उन को बहुत विश्वास हो, उसको वह गृह मंत्री बना दें। लेकिन वह पंजाब की बर्बादी न होने दें, पंजाब को जलने न दें। देश की हालत बदतर हो रही है। वह देश पर रहम करें और स्थिति को और बिगड़ने न दें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य समाप्त करें।

श्री आर०एन० राकेश : हकीकत कड़वी लगती है, लेकिन मुझे दो मिनट और दे दीजिए। दूसरे सदस्यों को बहुत टाइम दिया गया है।

1980 से भारत की प्रधान मंत्री कुर्सी पर आई हैं। जब से वह कुर्सी पर आई हैं, तब से समस्याओं का निराकरण होने के बजाए समस्याओं की आंधी आ गई है और चारों तरफ समस्याएं ही समस्याएं हैं। आप कहती हैं कि आपके परिवार ने देश की आजादी के लिए बड़ी कुर्बानी दी है। मैं उनसे कहूंगा कि यदि यह सरकार उनसे चल नहीं पा रही है, तो, जैसा श्री वाजपेयी ने कहा है, आप अपनी सरकार का नेतृत्व अपने ही दल के किसी और व्यक्ति के सुपुर्द कर दें, लेकिन देश को बर्बाद न होने दीजिए। वह प्रधान मंत्री पद से तत्काल इस्तीफा दे दें, यह मेरी उनको नक सलाह है। अगर इसके बावजूद उन्हें कुर्सी का लालच है, वह प्रधान मंत्री का पद छोड़ नहीं सकतीं और उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री के पद पर बने ही रहना है, तो मेरा सुझाव है कि वह कारिन्दों से बात कराने के बजाए स्वयं लोंगोवाल से बात करके समस्या का समाधान करें और पानी के इश्यु को सुप्रीम कोर्ट के सुपुर्द कर दें।

सरकार अपनी हठवादिता को छोड़े। देश आप की हटवादिता से ज्यादा कीमती है। पंजाब की समस्या का राजनैतिक हल निकाला जाना चाहिए। मैं समयाभाव के कारण अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं श्री सेठी से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि आप आज कुर्सी पर हैं, कल नहीं रहेंगे, लेकिन आज जो पंजाब जल रहा है, उसका सब आरोप और कलंक आप पर लग रहा है। आप रीयल होम मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं, आप रबर स्टाम्प हैं, लेकिन फिर भी बदनाम आप हो रहे हैं। इसलिए आप से अनुरोध है कि आप इस्तीफा दे दीजिए या रीयल होम मिनिस्टर बनकर रहिए और पंजाब की समस्या का हल निकालिए।

प्रो० सत्यदेव सिंह (छपरा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने कारिन्दा शब्द इस्तेमाल किया है, जो अनु-

[प्रो० सत्य देव सिंह]

चित और असंसदीय है। आप इसको रिकार्ड से हटा दीजिए। (व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER : Sit down ; there is nothing wrong in it.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi) : The demands of Akalis have taken a new dimension. One of the demand is now being welcomed by the government. I do not know the reasons for it. They may be trying to evolve some formula politically or in some other way. When the government has carried out the decision of the majority, the interest of the minority also should be taken into consideration. As far as Akalis are concerned, they are not only religious minority but also linguistic minority in India. Therefore, the minority interest should be protected.

With regard to killings and other atrocities, we had already condemned them ; the whole House, particularly the opposition had condemned the killings of the extremists. But what are the reasons for these activities which have been followed by the extremists ? Why have they emerged ? Have they emerged all of a sudden or is there any background ? That has to be examined by the government. Government is always thinking that if an issue is delayed, that issue may die down gradually. These are the tactics of the government. The government had succeeded in the issue of Assam, but in the case of Punjab, I doubt whether they will succeed ; they will not succeed in this matter because our friends have stated here that some—we donot know—people are ready to face even the armed forces of our State Government or the Central Government. Therefore, the Central Government should not think it an easy task and that it could be handled in the way in which they are doing.

For many issues like State autonomy, we had tripartite meetings where all the leaders of the opposition parties, government, representative and Akalis were represented and discussed this issue, particularly with regard to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Instead of examining the issue immediately, Sarkaria

Commission was appointed thinking that the issue will be settled or they will not raise this issue once again. This is the patch up work by the government. In the same way, they wanted the water dispute to be referred to a tribunal, which has not been done so far. In the same way, the Chandigarh issue and other issues, the government thinks that this can be a live issue for ever for political purposes. They may think that if all these issues are settled, then some other issues also may be raised. For a political purpose, they may do it, but the common man will judge it from a different angle. Certainly, they will not cooperate with the Akalis, they will not support the Akalis, if the government comes forward with a sincere attempt to solve them. Certainly, the people will not cooperate with the Akalis ; they will support the government. But, on the contrary, the government is taking a different view in this matter.

As far as Article 25 is concerned, they say that they want to have their identity. The Hindu Code which is now applicable to the Sikhs, under explanation 2 of Article...

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Under the law itself, under the Act itself, not because of it.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : Yes ; The Hindu Code is applicable to Sikhs. And a majority of the Sikhs may like to have a separate entity. It is up to them to decide. Therefore, the Government should think it over as friends have stated here to amend the Constitution and to accept their demand in this case.

As far as the other issues are concerned ; our friends here have already stated them, and I do not want to go into the details, but one important thing I would like to say here. Many accusations and counter accusations have been hurled as to who is responsible for all these killings, whether it is Bhindranwale or the Akali Dal or whoever it may be. I have come across a report of what Mr. Longowal has stated, dated November 11, 1983. He wanted a Commission to be constituted under the Chairmanship of a Supreme Court Judge to find

out who is responsible for all these killings, right from the murder of Lala Jagat Narain up to now, which have taken place. And that was rejected by the State Government. So, I would appeal to the Government to appoint a Commission under the Chairmanship of a Supreme Court Judge so that they can go into the details and it could be found out, who is responsible for all these killings and murders. Then only we can know the real culprits. In this regard, I want that the Government should submit a report after getting the findings, and I think the Government will take the House into confidence and do the needful.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Sunder Singh.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह (फिल्लौर) : स्पीकर साहब, मैं क्या बोलूँ ? उधर से दण्डवते साहब और दूसरे लोग बड़ा सुन्दर बोलते हैं और सचेष्टचन्स भी दिए हैं। लेकिन अपोजीशन को रगड़ने के चक्कर में जो असली बात है उसको हम भूल ही जाते हैं। (व्यवधान) अपोजीशन के लोग जो कह रहे हैं वह ठीक ही कह रहे हैं। अपोजीशन का भट्टा जो बंठा वह तो इसलिए बैठा है कि वे स्ट्रांग नहीं है और उनके पास कोई लीडर नहीं है वरना आपका ही भट्टा बैठ जाता।

“Be of good cheer and believe that we are selected by the Lord to do great things and we will do them. Hold yourself to do the great things that is be pure and holy and love for love's sake. Love the poor, the miserable, the downtrodden, God will bless you.”—*Swami Vivekananda*.

यह कोई बात है ? उनके हाथ में तो कुछ भी नहीं है और आपके हाथ में सब कुछ है लेकिन फिर भी आप अपना कुसूर नहीं मानते हैं। इससे तो बुराई और भी बढ़ती जाती है।

“Follow the truth, wherever it may lead you. Carry your ideas to the utmost logical conclusion. Be good and do good things. Be not cowardly and hypocritic. You shall surely succeed.” - *Swami Vivekananda*.

महात्मा गांधी ने कहा है कि अपनी गलती मान

लेनी चाहिए। जो मानता है वही आगे बढ़ता है। जो नहीं मानता है वह निकम्मा है इसीलिए वह अपनी गलती से निकलने की कोशिश नहीं करता है। बात यह है कि आपने कहा है कि काम करो, तो काम करना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो भाई मिसलीड हुए हैं, वे अपने भाई हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो मारने के लिए जाता है, वह बहादुर है। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि उधर भी यूथ हैं और प्रेजिडेंट बन जाते हैं। आप कहते हैं कि यूथ पैदा किए और यूथ प्रेजिडेंट हैं, तो वे भी यूथ करने लगे हैं। यूथ वे हैं, तो मारने लगता है, जो मार खा रहा है वह यूथ है। यूथ वे हैं जो मारते हैं। स्पीकर साहब, लगता है आपने कभी नहीं सुना है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : चौधरी साहब, 14 साल हो गए, सुनते-सुनते।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह : एक भी कतल होता है, तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान का कसूर है, सिर्फ सरकार का कसूर नहीं है। चाहे अपोजीशन हो या कोई भी हो। अपोजीशन स्ट्रांग होगी तो सरकार स्ट्रांग होगी। जब अपोजीशन स्ट्रांग नहीं है तो सरकार जो मरजी आता है, वह करती जाती है। फिर भी हमारे साथ लोग रहते हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि तुम्हारे में कोई नुक्स है। उन्हें पानी की फिक्र है, अबोहर और फाजिलका की फिक्र है, हमें हरिजनों की फिक्र है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि खालिस्तान लेना है, तो लें, हमारी भी बीस करोड़ की आबादी है, तो हमें भी चार जिले पंजाब में और चार सूबे पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में दे दें, तो हम भी अपना डवेलप-मेंट करें। हमारा धर्म यह है कि हम महात्मा गांधी को मानते हैं, हमारे साथ बेइन्साफी हो रही है। डा० अम्बेडकर को एक तरफ कर दिया। इन्होंने कहा कि हमारे साथ मिलकर लड़ाई करो। हमने कहा महात्मा गांधी का दिल साफ है, हम उसके साथ हैं और इसको नहीं माना। महात्मा गांधी हरिजनों के बगैर नहीं रह सकते थे, इसलिए हरिजन उनको मिल गए। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ जो लड़ाई कर सकता है, उसको लड़ाई करनी चाहिए। मैंने देखा है कि रोहतक में चार हजार आदमी मार दिए। उसको ठीक कर दिया।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वट कड दित्ते-सी ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह : चार-चार आदमी जाते हैं, प्रधान मंत्री को सलाह देने वाले अच्छे समझदार सलाहकार होने चाहिए ।

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ—आज कितनी अच्छी तकरीरें हुई हैं, उनको सुनकर नशा हो जाता है। इसलिए मैं ज्यादा तजावीज नहीं देना चाहता हूँ। इसमें सरकार का कसूर नहीं है, जो जुल्म सहता है उसका ही कसूर है। यही बात महात्मा गांधी जी ने कही है। मुझे कांग्रेस वालों ने जम्मू-काश्मीर भेजा था, वहाँ पर हरिजन बिगड़े हुए थे। वे कहते थे कि हमें कांग्रेस को वोट नहीं डालना है, क्योंकि हमारे साथ जुल्म हुआ है। लेकिन मैं वहाँ गया, मुझे अपने पर कान्फिडेंस था—

“Who has faith has all, who lacks faith lacks all. It is faith in the name of the Lord that works wonders for the faith is life and doubt is death”—
Swami Vivekananda.

मैंने उनको बुलाया और बातचीत की और कांग्रेस को वोट देन के लिए राजी कर लिया। वहाँ पर हमने दो सीटें जीतीं।

कांग्रेस वालों में भी सिख हैं। उनको खुद लोगों में जाकर लोगों को बतलाना चाहिए। अपनी बिरादरी को खुद ठीक करना चाहिए, अपने भाइयों को खुद सम्भालना चाहिए। हिन्दू गलती करें तो हिन्दू सभालें, हरिजन गलती करते हैं तो हम सम्भालते हैं। इसी तरह से सिख गलती कर रहे हैं तो सिख सम्भालें। इस मामले पर चाहे जितनी तकरीर कर लो, लेकिन उससे काम नहीं चलेगा, इसका हल सोचना चाहिए। मैं एक बात कहता हूँ—आप अपोजीशन वाले सारे मिलकर तय कर लो कि इसका यह हल हो सकता है, मैं इनकी मिन्नत करूँगा और कहूँगा कि उस हल को मान लो। हिन्दुस्तान सबका है, इन बातों का दुख आपको भी है और हमको भी है। इससे तुम्हारा नाम हो जाएगा, तुमको वोट मिल जाएगी।

लेकिन एक बात बतला दूँ, वोट फिर भी हमको ही मिलती है। मैं हमेशा जीतता रहा हूँ, मैंने कभी झूठ नहीं बोला। जब इलैक्शन के लिए जाता था तो पहली बात यह कहता था कि मैंने कभी आपका काम नहीं किया, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, क्या आप इतने निकम्मे हो कि फिर भी मुझे ही वोट डालते हो। इसलिए कहने की बात यह है कि सच्चाई बड़ी चीज है। गांधी जी ने कहा है कि सच बहुत ऊंची चीज है, यही परमात्मा है।

MAHATMA GANDHI says :

“God and truth are convertible terms. If anybody told me that God was the God of untruth, or God was the God of torture, I would decline to worship Him. Therefore, in position also we should have to establish the kingdom of Heaven.”

इस तरह से आप भी संत बन जाएंगे। इसलिए मैं फिर यही कहना चाहता हूँ—आपके पास कोई प्रपोजल हो तो ले जाओ, हम गवर्नमेंट को उसे मानने के लिए कहेंगे और यह भी कहेंगे कि वह सारा काम अपोजीशन ने किया है। लेकिन वोटर फिर भी वोट हमें ही डालेगा। अब इसके लिए मैं क्या करूँ।

आपको अपनी गलती को ठीक करना चाहिए। जो अपने आपको ठीक करता है वही आगे बढ़ता है। मैंने महात्मा गांधी से यही सीखा है और उसी पर चल रहा हूँ।

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : Mr. Speaker, I always listen attentively to my friend, Shri Sunder Singh and, I must say, I accept what he said at the end. If anyone has done something wrong, he can correct himself. I am sure they have now an opportunity to correct their own thinking any policy on this strategic problem.

A month ago we had an opportunity to discuss this question. But, during the last few weeks, and more particularly for the last ten days or so, there has been a qualitative change in the situation. During this week the crisis has further escalated, and

the situation has further undergone a major change. We discuss this question today under the shadow of the loss of an esteemed colleague, not to mention the various other people who have lost their lives. According to the reports I have here, yesterday alone 16 to 18 people were killed, while the official figures stand at 10 or so.

The nation, not just a party or this House, finds itself at the cross-roads today, because this issue and its implications are not confined to the territory of Punjab, or its neighbouring States or this region. The entire nation and its future is at stake. Therefore, it is very important that, when we consider this issue, the differing dimensions of this problem, as well as certain fundamental issues at stake, should be considered, and it is only in the background of this can we consider this question.

One of the most important things that comes to my mind is the very secular foundation of our policy. We cannot allow this to be compromised in any way, because we would cease to be a nation if we cease to be secular. Our future as a nation is inexorably linked with our being a democratic polity and a secular nation.

The religious temperament and outlook of the people of India attracted the attention of many commentators abroad for a long time. Historians and philosophers and other people have said that in this sub-continent there has been more addition towards religion or religious temperament. The famous historian, Arnold Toynbee, said that its civilisation itself is fundamentally religious. It is true that throughout history, there has been a religious trend or direction in our outlook.

It was the freedom movement of Mahatma Gandhi which basically changed this. In our freedom struggle against the British imperialism, our attitude underwent a basic change and we opted to have a secular state under Jawaharlal Nehru. Even though Mahatmaji was a deeply religious man, he used to call himself a sanathana. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Young India* in 1924 that the Sikh religion was not a religion but was basically and essentially a part of Hinduism. Many Sikh leaders protested

against it. When he went to Punjab he said "I was wrong". He said "I shall fight for your rights ; I shall fight for your place in this sub-continent". That is what Mahatmaji had said.

The meaning of what he said was that the Sikh has an identity and we have to respect that identity. He has also an identity as a Punjabi, which has also to be respected. But we cannot forget the identity of his being an Indian as such. This was the secular outlook and perspective of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom movement, and we have to accept the dimension of this identity and accept this fact. We should not forget that one merges into another. Therefore, if any of these are weakened, we are only weakening ourselves.

A section of the Sikhs rightly or wrongly feel that their religious identity is at stake. This is an era of fundamentalism, be it Islam, Sikhism or any other sect. We find that there is a religious revival even among the Hindus of this country.

Sir, I have not been to a temple for a long time, except on social occasions. I find that these days the temples are used for marriages. This is also a custom in the South to perform marriages in the temples. Still I find that the crowds in the temples are growing more and more. Therefore, basically there is a revival. The question is whether we respect it. Of course, it is no business of the State under secular era or a State with secular foundations to promote any particular religion, but it is equally important that their grievances will have to be attended to even if they are imaginary.

Sir, the Indian Constitution has accepted as a Directive Principle the need to have a uniform Civil Code. Some of us are committed to this idea. Even if you accept that as a Directive Principle of State Policy, still in a secular State, it cannot be imposed by majority on any minority or any sect. There are some of us who are committed to this idea of having a uniform civil code. We think that is a qualitative distinction of the Indian citizenship if we can evolve a uniform civil code, but we cannot impose it. Recently in Kerala, there was an uproar because there were some remarks made by Shri

[Shri K.P. Unnikrishnan]

E.M.S. Namboodiripad on Sheriat, certain practices in Islam. There is no question of disturbing these even though we may be committed to a uniform Civil Code. But we have every business to persuade our people, if we have a commitment. Therefore, if a large section of Sikhs feel strongly, it is time that we took notice of their demands. We can and we ought to. But at the same time this Parliament and the Government cannot forget that there are so many religious categories in this country even within Hinduism. It is the broad umbrella, because Hinduism embraces a vast variety of sects, a vast variety of beliefs. There can be many who might demand that their demands must be accepted, but basically there can be no recourse to violence to get these demands accepted.

Sir, Article 25 of the Constitution is so adequate that it actually leaves much scope for meeting many of the needs of the Sections of the Sikh population themselves, but it has been misunderstood and wrongly interpreted. That is why some of us earlier suggested a Presidential reference on this question. But the mindless Government that we have, refused to do this and overnight compromised on this behind the back of Parliament. That is my charge today that behind the back of the Parliament you made the announcement that you are prepared to consider certain amendments. That is why I ask, is this the Government that has a mind? Is this the Government that works? Is this the Government which has any concern for any majority or minority opinion? This Government has absolutely gone berserk and it is not capable—leave alone other problems—of solving this problem. That is where it has come to.

Another major question is the escalation of communal tensions in the Punjab region. The fact is that a few armed hoodlums and criminals are called extremists. I don't know what kind of extremists they are. What do you mean by calling them extremists? Let us understand ourselves. Are you saying that this is a section of the Akali Movement? If that is so, that has been denied by a section of the Akali leadership. But I would like them to clarify themselves. Don't

take protection under various arguments that they will be weakened in their very movement.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Sir, the expression berserk is unparliamentary. This should be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER : I don't think it is.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Yes, it is. It is a very wrong choice.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : That is all right. Order please.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : But I must say with deep regret that the Akali leadership has not responded to our call and request to pull up these extremists or to make it very clear that they have nothing to do with it either.

Now, I would like to know what are the steps that this Government has taken to curb these violent tendencies and the growing communal tensions in the State. When the Government discussed the Punjab situation earlier, I had made a request then also that the Government and the House ought to know the details of the activities of the so-called extremists and the violence in Punjab. Why is it that the Government has not come out—as it has done on many occasions—with a White Paper on the activities of the extremists in Punjab?

People are entitled to know. It is not that they need know only through the newspaper reports which are inadequate, which do not give any impression of the activities of certain, not extremists, but I would call 'secessionist organisations' in Punjab, those who are promoting deliberately a cult of violence in Punjab. That would have clarified many issues. But nobody knows. People of Punjab, as you will agree with me, are sitting on a volcano. Their nerves have been tested by a gang of determined criminals who, according to the Government or their spokesman, are few in number. I would not like to charge today and say that they are fiddling, but I would certainly like to say

that this Government is wobbling. Sir, it is not just a question of the Golden Temple or those who are in Guru Nanak Niwas, it is a wider question of ensuring peace and security to every citizen in that State and also removing fear which has spread even to this Capital. Therefore, I would like to know what are the specific measures that this Government propose to adopt.

I do not want to go into the question of replacement of Darbara Singh Government because his only crime was, he has a national disregard. That is why he was removed summarily and President's Rule was imposed because they thought that the Administration with their own imprimatur will work wonders in that State. Is it? What am I to say about the Governor? I do not want to show any disrespect to him, a man who went to Punjab which is burning talked about improving the industrial climate of the State, not once but twice, when a small but determined minority of violent criminals are on the rampage killing people. There, assassins have been let loose. Now, where are the officials who have gone there from here to improve the situation and those who have come back and have been amply rewarded? What do they have to say about the present situation? In other words, one question is: Who is in charge of this State? They have to answer this because today President's Rule has been imposed in Punjab.

Sir, this Government has no moral authority left, now it has no authority at all of any kind in that State of Punjab because its presence is just not felt by anybody in that State. There criminals' gangs are moving about in towns and obviously they are not just confined, as I said, to those who are in Golden Temple. What is true? It is for you to say about the intelligence outfit that they have, called Intelligence Bureau, or the one that you have in Punjab. Are they worth anything? It is not enough to tap our telephones, I know most of our telephones are tapped, and they put surveillance around a dozen of us. What is it that they are doing in Punjab? What is it that they are doing in Haryana? What is it that they are doing in Delhi? This is the question I would like to pose. Sir, this is not the first time anywhere in the world that there

has been violence of this kind. There was IRA in U.K., there had been a similar situation in Malaysia and there were a number of situations in democratic countries where they had faced them on a wider scale, violence of this kind, but there were methods to deal with, and I am sure there are people in the Government who know this, but why is this silence? Why is it that above all, Punjab today remains a volcano? Sir, I would say that it is the consistent and persistent refusal of the Prime Minister—I do not want to say anything about her—and her advisers just to see the writing on the wall, rather than to carry on a political dialogue. When there were opportunities, they refused to accept the fact that there are opportunities because, after all, it was a manoeuvre, everything is a manoeuvre, a manoeuvre to get votes, how you manoeuvre in that particular situation. If this is the only concern, then there is no other solution I would say, basic solution other than a political solution for this problem. If that is so, it is an extraordinary performance by any Government, this monumental failure. Sir, people today look upon them with total disbelief. They do not think that the Government exists. It is now time that we tell Mr. Sethi—I do not want to tell him, but tell the Prime Minister: 'For God's sake, do something or quit.'

What is at stake is not just certain offices just to share amongst us. What is at stake is our very future, our future as a secular State, our future—entire credibility of this country. So the future is at stake.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): We have debated the Punjab situation on previous occasions also. But I want to confine myself to the statement which has been made by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs.

The burden of the statement which he has made is that the Government is prepared to consider the proposal of amending Article 25 of the Constitution. (*Interruptions*) In the course of statement he says—there seems to be mis-giving among the Shromani Dal. My first question is what are the misgivings which have been expressed by him? Unless those mis-givings are made abundantly clear, how does the Government pro-

[Shri Chitta Basu]

pose to amend and in what way ?

So far as Article 25 is concerned, I have got no objection to have consideration of it, to discuss the matter. About the misgivings no issues have been settled (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What is the amendment, nobody knows.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : What is the basis ?

So far as the present provision in the Constitution is concerned, many Sikh jurists and legal luminaries have expressed their views and argued that there is nothing which does not give proper identity of the Sikh religion in the Constitution. As a matter of fact there is distinctiveness of the Sikh religion as is in the present Article.

Even during the debate, as has been mentioned earlier of this Article which was then Article 19, which is now Article 25, it has been said—no representative of the Sikh may offer any objection or raise the demand of having some other form in the matter of expressing the proper identity of the Sikh religion other than the present one. They did not also move any amendment to that effect. As a matter of fact it was made abundantly clear during the debate that the Constituent Assembly did accept a distinct identity of the Sikh religion. There was no doubt about it. As a matter of fact the Sikh religion has distinctiveness, as has been accepted by the Constitution by providing that the Sikhs can bear kirpan. This is the distinctiveness which has been guaranteed or provided for in the Constitution. So far as the sub-Clause (b) is concerned, it is a fact that it imposes liability on the management of the Hindu religious institution of the public character, not to refuse entry to such places but this inclusion of Sikhs in the expression of Hindus is restricted only to that particular sub-clause(b). Even after that when these things have been made clear, if some mis-givings are lurking in the minds of Sikh community, there is ground for consideration. My charge against the Government is have you been communicated about the mis-givings in so many words ?

It is because, after all, we have to consider the amendment. He is not the person to just draft the amendment and get it through. Therefore, I want to know what has been the misgiving expressed by him because the Minister says that there was a communication between him and the Shiromani Akali Dal sometimes on the 18th of March. Therefore, this House is entitled to know whether there has been any such communication between the Government and the Shiromani Akali Dal. If the question is to remove some misgivings, I have got no objection. But if there are other implications, as have been pointed out by many hon. Members and if these things are allowed on the question of secular belief, then other religious communities may also raise about distinctiveness in the Constitution. Therefore, what is at stake is the question of secular idea. You should agree what is obtaining in Punjab today is nothing but sharp and fast polarisation on the basis of communal lines. What is worrying and causing anxiety is that the secular values are under assault. What is the reason which is causing worries to us is growing linkage of those separatist forces within the forces with the forces working from outside. Recently, you might have known at Washington, on 7th March, there has been a reception organised by Mr. Ganga Sharan Dhillon where about 200 Sikh representatives drawn from different countries abroad assembled. 6 members of the U.S. Congress were also there. I am told that Mr. Dhillon has talked about Punjab going to rebel. What about this *Azad Panth* ? In what way is it different from Khalistan ? Therefore, even at this stage, we are to make it clear that the official leadership of Akali Dal has not made abundantly clear that they are opposed to the growing escalation of extremist activities. The line of difference between the so-called moderates and extremists is becoming thinner and thinner and is likely to be obliterated soon. Therefore, I would appeal to the Akali Dal leadership that in the interest of the Sikh community as a whole, in the interest of the unity and integration of the country as a whole and in the interest of the general masses of our country, they should join the mainstream of the democratic movement. It is only through the democratic movement, these minority sections of our country can fulfil their hopes and

aspirations.

I hope that the Akali leadership will respond to it and see that the problem is solved through negotiated settlement. We should all fight together against the growing activities of extremists.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Chandrajit Yadav. He is the last speaker. He will be followed by the Home Minister.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : At what stage the Prime Minister will intervene ?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : The Prime Minister will not intervene. She came to listen to the speeches.

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव (आजमगढ़) : अध्यक्ष जी, पंजाब की स्थिति दिनोदिन बिगड़ रही है। बजाए इसके कि स्थिति कुछ सुधरे, खतरा और भी ज्यादा गम्भीर हो गया है। इसलिए आज केवल इस सदन में ही नहीं बल्कि सारे देश में इस बात की चिन्ता है कि पंजाब की स्थिति आज एक गम्भीर राष्ट्रीय समस्या बन गई है। सरकार को इस बात पर सोचना चाहिए कि क्या वजह है कि आज तक इस स्थिति का हल नहीं निकल सका है। दरबारा सिंह की सरकार को हटाना पंजाब की समस्या का कोई हल नहीं था, और न उससे कोई हल निकल ही सका है। पंजाब के कई जिलों को डिस्टर्ब्ड एरिया घोषित करने से पंजाब की समस्या का हल नहीं निकल सकेगा।

ए०आई०एस०एस०एफ० के ऊपर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने से पंजाब की समस्या का हल नहीं निकल सकता है। इसलिए यह गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए कि कारण क्या है और पंजाब की समस्या दिन-प्रतिदिन इतनी बिगड़ती हुई चली जा रही है और इतनी गम्भीर। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने अपनी बुनियादी जिम्मेदारी को पूरा नहीं किया है। इसलिए जिस समस्या को लेकर पहले आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ, चण्डीगढ़ की समस्या, जमीन की समस्या, पानी की समस्या, उस-समस्या का गम्भीरता से हल निकालने के लिए

सरकार ने कभी परवाह नहीं की। सरकार ने बुनियादी रूप से यह समझा कि यह समस्या सिक्खों की स्वर्ण मन्दिर से चलाई गई उनकी धार्मिक मांग है। इसलिए उनकी धार्मिक समस्या को मानो और उसका हल निकालने की कोशिश करो। इसलिए पहले उनकी धार्मिक मांगों को स्वीकार किया गया ... (व्यवधान) ... मैं ट्रिपार्टी-इट के उस वक्त भी खिलाफ था। मेरी उस वक्त भी राय थी कि यदि गोल्डन टैम्पल में ट्रांसमीटर लगाने की बात आप मानेंगे या वहां से रिले करने की बात आप मानेंगे तो उससे हिन्दुस्तान के धर्म-निरपेक्षता के लिए खतरा पैदा करेंगे। फिर यह मांग उठेगी कि मन्दिर में ट्रांसमीटर लगाओ, मस्जिद में ट्रांसमीटर लगाओ, चर्च में भी लगाओ। हमने उसको गलत समझा था। सरकार ने उस मांग को माना। लेकिन जो मुख्य समस्या थी, जमीन की, चण्डीगढ़ की, पानी की, सरकार ने नहीं माना। अब फिर सरकार संविधान की धारा-25 के अमेंडमेंट की दूसरी गलती करने जा रही है। सरकार यह समझती है कि इस अमेंडमेंट के बाद हम सिक्खों को खुश कर लेंगे, उनकी समस्या हल हो जाएगी। लेकिन धारा-25 में अमेंडमेंट करके सरकार दूसरी गलती करने जा रही है। चण्डीगढ़ की समस्या से आंख बन्द कर लीजिए, पानी की समस्या से आंख बन्द कर लीजिए, जमीन की समस्या से आंख बन्द कर लीजिए, लेकिन संविधान में परिवर्तन करके सरकार यह दूसरी गलती करने जा रही है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गोल्डन टैम्पल में रिवाइवलेंजिम और सिख फंडा-मैन्टलिज्म के आन्दोलन की शुरुआत हुई है, अगर सरकार उसके सामने झुकी, तो मुल्क में एक प्रतिक्रियावादी और रिलीजियस फीनेटिक ताकतों के सामने घुटने टेकने की बात होगी। आज सारे देश के अन्दर अशान्ति की भावना है। आप कल यहां पर नहीं थे। यहां विरोधी दल के लोगों में दुख था। इस तरह से सदन में कभी ऐसा सीन देखने को नहीं मिला। वे जानते थे संसद सदस्य जिसकी कि कल हत्या हुई है, ऐसा आदमी जिसकी देश से प्यार था, देश भक्त था, उसकी घर में घुस कर हत्या कर दी गई उसके पहले बी०जे०पी० के नेता की हत्या कर दी गई। लोगों के ऊपर ठेस लगती

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

है, विरोधी दल के लोग अपनी भावना को उत्तेजित होकर स्पष्ट कर रहे थे। लेकिन शासक दल के लोगों में भी वही दुःख था, वही चिन्ता थी। इस प्रकार की स्थिति से देश के लोगों में अशांति है और भय की भावना पैदा हो रही है।

मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समस्या के हल के लिए सरकार को राजनीतिक हल के लिए कदम बढ़ाना चाहिए। चण्डीगढ़ का कब निराकरण होगा। पंजाब की जमीन, पानी की समस्या का हल कब निकाला जाएगा। त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता के अन्दर जो ठोस सुझाव दिए गए थे, मैं समझता हूँ कि आज भी देश के अन्दर सबसे ज्यादा वही सुझाव बेहतर हैं। सरकार उसके ऊपर फिर से बातचीत करे। अकाली दल के नेता नहीं आना चाहते हैं तो आप विरोधी दल के नेताओं से बातचीत करिए। यह कोई पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है, देश का सवाल है। आज ऐसी ताकतें जो देश की राष्ट्रीय एकता को खतरा पैदा कर रही हैं, आज दुनिया के दूसरे देश चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो, हमारी सीमाओं के ऊपर पैदा हो। जब दुनिया में ऐसी खतरनाक स्थिति हो रही है, तब यह चिन्ता का विषय है। मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि इस समस्या को राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझकर विरोधी दल के नेताओं के साथ बैठकर बातचीत करे। जिसको और आप बुलाना चाहते हैं, बुलाइए। हरियाणा को बुलाइए और पंजाब को बुलाना चाहते हैं, तो बुलाइए और इसके ऊपर निर्णय करिए कि चण्डीगढ़ पंजाब के साथ रहेगा या हरियाणा के साथ रहेगा या केन्द्र शासित प्रदेश बना रहेगा।

अयोधर और फाजिल्का का क्या होगा, उनके बारे में निर्णय कीजिये। पानी की समस्या का निर्णय कीजिये। इन समस्याओं के प्रति आंखें बन्द करके, इनके ऊपर पर्दा डाल कर, यदि आप समस्याओं का समाधान करना चाहते हैं तो ये समस्याएं और ज्यादा गम्भीर बन जाएंगी। आम जनता इन बातों से और ज्यादा चिन्तित है। उन को मालूम नहीं था कि संविधान की धारा 25

क्या है। इस देश में 25 सालों तक यह सवाल नहीं उठा, त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता में नहीं उठा, एकदम से यह सवाल कहां से आ गया? लेकिन इसके सामने सरकार ने घुटने टेकने शुरू कर दिये—यह बड़ी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात है। यदि सरकार की मंशा थी कि हम संविधान में संशोधन कर सकते हैं, इस के लिए बातचीत कर सकते हैं और इसके लिए आप ने सिरोमणी अकाली दल के लोगों को बुलाना स्वीकार कर लिया, जिन्होंने दो महीने पहले संविधान को जलाया, तो आपको इसे केवल अपनी पार्टी की समस्या नहीं बनाना चाहिए था। पार्टी के हित को देखकर आपने बहुत नुकसान कर लिया है, देश का बहुत नुकसान कर लिया है, किस तरह से आपको वोट मिले, कौन हमारे साथ रहे, कैसे किसको खुश रखना है—इस तरह से राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के समाधान नहीं हो सकते हैं।

आज लोग पूछना चाहते हैं—स्वर्ण मन्दिर में सैकड़ों की तादाद में स्टेन-गन वाले लोग कैसे घुस गये? स्वर्ण मन्दिर पर स्टेन गन्ज लगा दी गई है, अगर हवाई जहाज से हमला होगा तो हम हवाई जहाज को भी शूट करेंगे—यह तैयारी कहां से हो गई, आप के वहां होते हुए ये चीजें वहां कैसे पहुंच गईं? कितने लोग मारे गये हैं, कितने लोगों पर मुकदमा चला है, कितनों को पकड़ा गया है और कितनों को सजा हुई है—लोग इन बातों के जवाब चाहते हैं। यह समस्या अब केवल पंजाब की समस्या नहीं रह गई है, पंजाब से बाहर जा रही है। एक बात आज साफ हो जानी चाहिये—अकाली दल के नेतृत्व को और एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स को यह मालूम हो जाना चाहिए कि सरकार खालिस्तान नहीं बनने देगी। सरकार को एक बार फिर घोषित करना चाहिए कि देश को चाहे जो कीमत चुकानी पड़े लेकिन खालिस्तान को नहीं बनने दिया जायगा।

आज देश को इस बात से बहुत ज्यादा चिन्ता है कि देश में कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो इस तरह की बातें करते हैं। मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि अकाली दल के नेतृत्व ने, संत लोंगोवाल और प्रकाश सिंह बादल ने यह गलती की है कि जब कभी भी हिंसा

हुई; लोगों की हत्याएं हुई, ऐसे सवाल पर वे बराबर मौन धारण करते रहे। मैं खुद जब अमृतसर में उनसे मिलने गया, उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि हम सरकार और एक्ट्रीमिस्ट्स दोनों से साथ-साथ नहीं लड़ सकते। अगर सरकार उनसे नहीं लड़ सकती है तो एक्ट्रीमिस्ट्स के खिलाफ आवाज उठाने को तैयार नहीं है। उनकी यह बात गलत है, उनको एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स से अलग होने का साहस दिखलाना चाहिए था और यही कारण है, आपने इस सदन में देखा कि हम लोग जो अकाली दल का चण्डीगढ़ और दूसरे मामलों में समर्थन करते थे, आज वे आइसोलेटेड हो गए हैं। आज वे एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स के हाथ में खेल रहे हैं। इस देश में ऐसी ताकतें पैदा हो रही हैं जो देश की आजादी के लिए खतरा पैदा कर रही हैं। मैं आज भी कहूंगा—बहुत गम्भीरता के साथ एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स को इस मुल्क में आइसोलेट करना चाहिए।

अगर आप ने यह स्वीकार किया है कि 25वीं धारा पर उन से बात करने को तैयार हैं तो आप थोड़ी राजनीतिक हिम्मत दिखाइये। आप अकाली दल के नेताओं को जेलों से रिहा कीजिए और उन से कहिए कि हम आपसे बात करना चाहते हैं। आप क्या चाहते हैं, आपका क्या मकसद है, एक बार हमें लिखकर दीजिये और उसके बाद एकास-दि-टेविल उनके साथ बात कीजिये। मेरी अपनी राय यह भी है—प्रधान मंत्री जी को एक बार संत लोंगोवाल को बातचीत के लिए निमन्त्रित करना चाहिए। देश बड़ा है, देश की सरहद के चारों तरफ ऐसी शक्तियाँ सक्रिय हैं जो देश में अशांति की भावना पैदा करना चाहती हैं। जब मैं अमृतसर गया था और वहां से आने के बाद प्रधान मंत्री जी से मिला था तो मैंने उनसे कहा था कि संत लोंगोवाल ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी मुझे बुलाएंगी तो मैं दिल्ली आकर उनसे मिलूंगा।

उन्होंने कहा था कि प्रधानमंत्री जी मुझे लिख कर के निमन्त्रित करें तो मैं आऊंगा। प्रधानमंत्री जी ने भी मुझ से कहा था कि मैं एक सवाल को प्रेस्टिज नहीं बनाती। मैं लिखकर उनको बुला

सकती हूँ, लेकिन मुझे इस बात का अहसास हो कि इसका कोई हल निकल सकता है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि प्रधानमंत्री को आज एक राष्ट्रीय नेता, प्रधानमंत्री होने के नाते संत लोंगोवाल को लिखकर बुलाना चाहिए, किसी भी तरह से उनको निमन्त्रित करना चाहिए ताकि देश यह जान सके कि नहीं, प्रधान मंत्री ने अपील की, लेकिन संत लोंगोवाल ने आने से इन्कार किया। उनकी पार्टी के साथियों का इरादा कुछ और मालूम होता है। आज एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स को आइसोलेशन में डालना पड़ेगा, एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स से लड़ने के लिए।

आज पंजाब की आम जनता इस बात के खिलाफ है। सिख और हिन्दू दोनों इस बात के खिलाफ हैं। यहां भी हमारे बहुत से भाई सिख हैं। वे भी कहते हैं कि यह गलत हो रहा है, हिन्दू आज डरा हुआ है, भयभीत है, उसकी स्थिति खराब हो रही है। कोई नहीं चाहता, जहां आधे हिन्दू और आधे सिख पंजाब में रहते हैं, देश का खुशहाल इलाका हो, सबसे अच्छे खाते-पीते लोग वहां रहते हों, वहां ऐसी बात हो। इस अशांति से लोगों के दिल में डर पैदा हो रहा है।

आखिर में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह के जो एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स हैं, उनको आइसोलेट करने का एक ही तरीका है कि अभी भी अकाली दल के नेतृत्व से, जो एक राजनीतिक पार्टी है, उससे आगे बातचीत करनी चाहिए, हल निकालने के लिए। अगर वे नहीं मानते हैं तो एक पक्षीय घोषणा करिए। सरकार ने रिलीजियस मांगों के बारे में भी यूनीलेटरली घोषणा की है, स्टेट सेंटर रिलेशन के बारे में भी यूनीलेटरली घोषित किया है, आर्टिकल 25 के बारे में भी एकतरफा घोषणा की है, तो इस देश के हित के लिए, पंजाब के हित के लिए एकतरफा घोषणा करनी चाहिए। ताकि पंजाब की आम जनता इससे बाहर आ सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि सरकार स्थिति की गम्भीरता को देखते हुए इस तरह के राजनीतिक कदम उठाएगी।

श्री अब्दुल रशीद काबुली (श्रीनगर) : जनाब स्पीकर साहब, पंजाब की समस्या को सामने रख कर आज सुबह से इस हाउस में चर्चा हो रही है। इस हाउस में इस पर परेशानी और गम्भीरता का इजहार किया गया है, उसमें मैं भी सम्मिलित हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज वहाँ की हालत बहुत बिगड़ रही है। पिछले दिनों हरवंश लाल खन्ना और हरवंश मनचन्दा और वी०एन० तिवारी मेंबर आफ पार्लियामेंट जिन हालात का शिकार हुए, वायलेंस का शिकार हुए, उससे एक बहुत बड़ी चिंता पैदा हुई है पूरे मुल्क में।

आज सरकार को दो बातों का खयाल रखना चाहिए। एक बात तो यह कि अपनी ताकत का इजहार करे। आज पंजाब के लोग जिस परेशानी का शिकार हैं उसको आप सब जानते हैं। आज वहाँ लोगों की जान और माल सुरक्षित नहीं है। वहाँ सरकार का फर्ज बनता है कि उनकी जिंदगी की पूरी हिफाजत का इंतजाम करे। इस काम में आज सरकार कामयाब नहीं हो रही है। हालात बहुत ज्यादा बिगड़ रहे हैं। सरकार को अपनी ताकत और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का पूरे तरीके से इस्तेमाल करना होगा। पंजाब में जो विरोध पक्ष के लोग हैं उनके साथ हमें वाकायदा डायलाग का रास्ता खुला रखना होगा। धारा 25 में सिखों के हुक्क को तलफ नहीं किया गया है, इसके बावजूद सरकार ने जो फैसला लिया है, मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ। कुछ लोग जो सोचते हैं, जिनके मन में इसके बारे में कुछ चिन्ता है, परेशानी है, शंका है, उनको दूर करने के लिए सरकार ने मुनासिब कदम उठाया है। हालांकि सरकार ने इस मामले में पार्लियामेंट को एतमात में नहीं लिया, बल्कि कुछ ऐसे हालात पैदा कर दिए कि हमारे अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की जमात बी०जे०पी० को भी इन हालात का शिकार बना दिया। ये भी खुले मैदान में आ गए।

जब यह देखा कि पूरे मुल्क में धारा-25 की इज्जत नहीं हो रही है, तो अपोजीशन तथा मेंबरान पार्लियामेंट ने आपका साथ दिया। लेकिन आपने, उनको अपने साथ नहीं लिया। आपने पंजाब को

डिस्टर्ब्ड एरिया माना है, लेकिन इसको सुधारना आपका फर्ज है। जिन राज्यों में कांग्रेस की सरकार नहीं है, चाहे वह जम्मू-काश्मीर, बंगाल या कोई भी स्टेट हो, उनको बिगाड़ने की तरफ ध्यान मत दीजिए। उनकी सरकार को गिराने की कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिए।... (व्यवधान) अपोजीशन आपके साथ है और चाहती है कि मसले का कुछ-न-कुछ हल किया जाए। जम्मू-काश्मीर के लोगों की लाइफ-लाईन पंजाब के साथ जुड़ी हुई है। इसकी वजह से ट्रेफिक, कम्युनिकेशन और टूरिस्ट वर्ग रह बरबाद हो रहा है मेरी गुजारिश होगी कि पंजाब की समस्या को हल करने के लिए जल्दी से जल्दी सोल्यूशन ढूँढे क्योंकि डेमोक्रेसी में अब यही रास्ता रह गया है।

شری عبدالرشید کابلی (شری نگر) جناب اسپیکر صاحب
پنجاب کی سمیا کو سامنے رکھ کر آج صبح سے اس ہاؤس میں
جیر چاہو رہی ہے۔ اس ہاؤس میں اس پر پریشانی اور گھبر
کا اظہار کیا گیا ہے۔ اس میں میں بھی سہمیت ہوں۔ میں کہتا
ہوں کہ آج وہاں کی حالت بہت بگڑ رہی ہے۔ پچھلے دنوں
ہرٹس لال کھٹا اور ہرٹس من چند اور این دی نیواری کی مہ
آف پارلیامنٹ جن حالات کا شکار ہوئے وائٹس کا شکار
ہوئے۔ اس سے ایک بہت بڑی چٹنا پیدا ہوئی ہے پورے
ملک میں۔

آج سرکار کو دو باتوں کا خیال رکھنا چاہئے۔ ایک بات
تو یہ کہ اپنی طاقت کا اظہار کرے۔ آج پنجاب کے لوگ جس
پریشانی کا شکار ہیں اس کو آپ سب جانتے ہیں۔ آج
وہاں لوگوں کی جان اور مال سرکشت نہیں ہے۔ وہاں سرکار
کا فرض بنتا ہے کہ ان کی زندگی کی پوری حفاظت کا انتظام کرے
اس کام میں آج سرکار کامیاب نہیں ہو رہی ہے۔ حالات
بہت زیادہ بگڑ رہے ہیں۔ سرکار کو اپنی طاقت اور ایڈمنسٹریشن
کا پورے طریقے سے استعمال کرنا ہوگا۔ پنجاب میں جو درود
پیش کے لوگ ہیں ان کے ساتھ ہمیں باقاعدہ ڈالاک
کا راستہ کھلا رکھنا ہوگا۔ دھارا ۲۵ میں سکھوں کے حقوق
کو تلف نہیں کیا گیا ہے۔ اُس کے باوجود سرکار نے جو فیصلہ
کیا ہے میں اُس کا سو اگت کرتا ہوں کچھ لوگ جو سوچتے
ہیں جن کے من میں اس کے بارے میں کچھ چٹنا ہے پریشانی

ہے شک ہے اس کو دور کرنے کے لیے سرکار نے مناسب قدم اٹھایا ہے حالانکہ سرکار نے اس معاملے میں پارلیامنٹ کو اعتماد میں نہیں لیا بلکہ کچھ ایسے حالات پیدا کر دیے کہ ہمارے اہل بہاری راجپانی کی جماعت بی بی کے بھی ان حالات کا شکار بنا دیا۔ یہ بھی کھلے میدان میں آگئے۔

(ادھیش مہودے پیٹھ میں ہوئے)

جب یہ دیکھا کہ پورے ملک میں دھارم (۲۰۸) کی عزت نہیں ہو رہی ہے تو اپوزیشن تنہا ممبران پارلیامنٹ نے آپ کا ساتھ دیا۔ لیکن آپ نے ان کو اپنے ساتھ نہیں لیا آپ نے پنجاب کو ڈسٹرب ایریا مانا ہے لیکن اس کو سہارا آپ کا فرض ہے جن راجیوں میں کانگریس کی سرکار نہیں ہے چاہے وہ جموں کشمیر بنگال کا کوئی بھی اسٹیٹ ہو ان کو بگڑنے کی طرف دھیان مت دیجئے۔ ان کی سرکار کو گرانے کی کوشش نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔ (انسٹریشن)۔۔۔۔۔

اپوزیشن آپ کے ساتھ ہے اور چاہتی ہے کہ مسئلے کا کچھ نہ سمجھ حل کیا جائے جموں کشمیر کے لوگوں کی لائف لائن پنجاب کے ساتھ جوڑی ہے۔ اس کی وجہ سے ٹریفک کیوں کمیشن اور ٹورسٹ وغیرہ برباد ہو رہا ہے۔ میری گزارش ہوگی کہ پنجاب کی سمیٹا کھل کر نہ کہے یہ جلدی سے جلدی سے سالیوں ڈھونڈیں کیونکہ ڈیمو کریسی میں اب یہی راستہ رہ گیا ہے۔

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.C. SETHI) : When this discussion under Rule 193 was raised yesterday, so much agitation was displayed here. We are under the impression that the Opposition wants to give a concrete solution for the solution of Punjab.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Why should Opposition give ?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : You abdicate your responsibility ; we will give suggestion.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK (Kendrapara) : Why should the Opposition give ? You are the Government. You should reply.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : I will give the reply. But I am observing that the entire effort of the Opposition...

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-TARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : That is the tenet of Parliamentary democracy and we expect it.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Now you talk of parliamentary democracy.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : We are thankful about being reminded about the basic tenet of parliamentary democracy. Thank you.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : We were under the impression that they would create some positive situation. But, instead of that, what we have been noticing is that the Opposition is trying to use every forum available to them to malign Congress and to denigrate the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. ...

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : We are talking of the government and not Congress.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : Government consists of Congress Party. And they throw the entire blame on the Congress Party.

I would like to recapitulate that we have not failed in our efforts to find a solution to the demands put forth by the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal Group) had supplied a list of 45 demands in September 1981 which were narrowed down to 15 demands by the Dal, shortly thereafter. When the Government received this list, Prime Minister expressed her concern about the feelings of an important minority community and suggested to the Akali leadership to open dialogue instead of resorting to confrontation on such issues. Talks were held with them at Prime Minister's level and then at Ministers' level but they did not make much headway.

Then, the Prime Minister, later, met the Akali leaders on two occasions at New Delhi. In order to solve the issue amicably, a Committee of Union Ministers also had discussions with the Akali Dal Delegation twice in the month of January, 1983 and, when they refused to come here, a sub-Committee went to Chandigarh. The Prime Minister convened a meeting thereafter of

[Shri P.C. Sethi]

the leaders of the Opposition in Parliament on 21-1-1983 and, as decided there, the tripartite talks were arranged in New Delhi. I must admit that during the tripartite talks, the Opposition tried to help in narrowing down the differences.

But, as far as those meetings are concerned—24th January to 20th February 1983—in order to understand the implication of various demands and in paving the way to find a solution, the Union Ministers and leaders of Opposition also had meetings with the Chief Ministers and Leaders of Opposition of Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan. The Akali dal leadership, however, did not continue the talks after 20th February 1984. In the hope of solving some of the issues, the Prime Minister announced Government's decision regarding the religious demands of the Shiromani Akali Dal on 27th February 1983.

Sarkaria Commission was also appointed by Government to examine the question of Centre-State relations. In May 1983 Government again took initiative to find a peaceful solution and I addressed the President of Shiromani Akali Dal to resume discussions. The President of the Akali Dal however did not respond to the Government's invitation for restarting the negotiations. In an effort to find a peaceful solution, however, a statement was made by me on 22-6-83 reiterating that the doors for negotiations were still open specifically mentioning that Government are willing to refer Ravi-Beas Water dispute to a tribunal to be appointed under the Inter State Water Disputes Act, 1956 and the whole issue of the territorial claims could be referred to the tribunal for decision. It was also clarified that Government's position regarding these two disputes was that any arrangement acceptable to Punjab and Haryana leading to a final settlement of the disputes would be also acceptable to the Government of India.

Government have always expressed their readiness to find a solution through negotiations. It was in that spirit that the Prime Minister held a meeting of the leaders of the Opposition Parties on 7th February 1984

and invited leaders of Opposition Parties to participate in phased talks with the Akali Dal. Some useful suggestions emerged at the meeting on 14th February 1984. But, as communal violence broke out in various parts of Punjab at the meeting it was decided, following the suggestions made by the Opposition Leaders and the Akali representatives, to adjourn for a shortwhile to enable the Akali leaders to return to Punjab and help in restoring peace and normalcy. General expectation was that the meeting would be resumed after three or four days and it was learnt with regret that the Akali Dal would not participate further in the tripartite talks. In a statement given before this House on 28-2-1984, I had reiterated the Government's readiness to find a solution through negotiations. And, even now, the Government's position is that we are ready to find a solution through negotiations and if it is necessary, to take the advice and help of the Opposition, we are prepared to do that provided the Akalis are agreeable to any useful negotiation.

Sir, mention has been made about the statement which I made. In my statement, I have not made any commitment. What the statement has said is that considering anything which is causing some misunderstanding in the minds of the Akalis, the Government would like to consider the case in consultation with the S.G.P.C., Akali leaders and the legal experts and will have a discussion of this and thereafter, this will be brought to Parliament. It will definitely have to come to Parliament where the leaders of the opposition will have an opportunity to express their opinion and participate in it. Therefore it is not true that we have...

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : You said you will undertake legislation.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : We are very sorry for the various incidents which have taken place in the last few days. As far as Article 25 is concerned Shri Vajpayee wanted to know about the communication dated 18 March from Sant Longowal. In this letter they referred to the demand for suitable amendment to Article 25 of the Constitution of India. Sir, I had mentioned to the House that this was the first communication from

the Akali Dal to the Government on this subject. We are not clear what the problem is and what the object is. We had no discussion with them on Personal Law. On this, Sir, we have not made any commitment to them.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What was in their letter ? What was the content of Akali Dal's letter ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Undertake legislation,—means what ?

SHRI P. C. SETHI : We have written to them in reply to their letter...

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : What is their letter ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Will you please lay it on the Table of the House ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Mr. Home Minister, you have categorically stated that you will undertake the responsibility of bringing the proper legislation before Parliament. So let us know what exactly is the commitment.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : The commitment is to have a discussion. After the discussion, if an agreement takes place, then, we will certainly come to the Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER : What I have understood is this. . .

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे खेद है, गृह मंत्री महोदय जो रवैया अपना रहे हैं उससे उन पर आरोप लग सकता है कि वह अपनी बात से मुकर गए। जो पुराना बयान है उसको मैं कोट कर दूँ :

“Government will be prepared to consult the SGPC and other representatives of the Sikh community as well as legal experts and undertake such legislation by way of amendment as may be necessary to remove doubts on this point.”

—Is this not a commitment ?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please don't talk all of you. Now, what I have understood is, if it is agreed in those discussions, if there is any agreement, he will come before Parliament. What you have stated, Mr. Home Minister, is that you will have the dialogue and discussion with these people and if there is any necessity arising out of that, you will do this. Is it right ? Arising out of discussion, you will bring it. Is that right ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Should we not know what is the content of the communication sent by Akalis on the 18th March ? He has not told us anything about it.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : As far as the steps taken by the Government are concerned. . .

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No, no. They are asking about the letter. Mr. Mayathevar, please sit down. They say, what is the content of the communication of the 18th March, if you can communicate.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : As far as the letter of the 18th March concerned, we have had no discussion so far. They have mentioned about Personal Law.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : There is a communication on the 18th March. Please read it out. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. C. SETHI : They have mentioned about personal law. But we have not communicated to them anything. We have only said about Article 25 that we shall discuss with them.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Please let the country know about it. Sir, he said that the first communication he got was on 18th March on this issue. Now we want to know what was that communication of Akali Dal—the contents of that letter.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : I am saying, whatever may be the communication, as far as our responsibility is concerned. . .

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : We want to know the contents. . .

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I rise on a point of order.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Parliament should not be kept in the dark.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He has referred to the communication. (Cd by O4). I demand that the communication should be laid on the Table of the House. (Interruptions)

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : The communication should be laid on the Table of the House.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : When the hon. Minister makes a reference to any communication, I think I have my right to ask him to place it on the Table of the House. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There is a distinct rule about it and I will go according to the rule. The rule is so simple. I will read out Rule 370—

“370. If, in answer to a question or during debate, a Minister discloses the advice or opinion given to him by any officer of the Government or by any other person or authority, he shall ordinarily lay the relevant document or parts of document containing that opinion or advice, or a summary thereof on the Table.”

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, I am perfectly within my rights. On the basis of the rule that you have quoted, I demand that the hon. Minister should lay the communication on the Table of the House. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Sir, he has mentioned about the commitment. We must know what the commitment is of the Akali Dal.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR) : My submission is

that this Rule 370 would not apply because here where is the opinion or advice ? Is there any opinion or advice ? It is neither an opinion nor an advice. How would you say that ? Is it an answer to a question ? Here during the debate when the hon. Minister discloses the advice or opinion, it is neither the advice nor an opinion. How can you apply this rule ? (Interruptions) I have also a rule here to quote. I want that Rule 368 should be read with this. Please refer to Rule 368. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : He is not correct, Sir.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR : Is it an advice or an opinion ? You have been a lawyer. Tell me whether the contents of the letter would form advice or opinion. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I do not know why you should talk to each other. You have to address me. I have to give permission.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR : Sir, he has not quoted anything from the letter.

MR. SPEAKER : Rule 368 says like this :

“368. If a Minister quotes in the House a despatch or other State paper which has not been presented to the House, he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table :

Provided that this rule shall not apply to any documents which are stated by the Minister to be of such a nature that their production would be inconsistent with public interest :”

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR : Sir, here, has he quoted anything from the communication ?

MR. SPEAKER : It further says—

“Provided further that where a Minister gives in his own words a summary or gist of such despatch or State paper it shall not be necessary to lay the relevant papers on the Table.”

So, if you don't want to quote and if you have not quoted, then you are right.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह नियम का मामला नहीं है। हम एक गम्भीर मसले पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं, सदन को पूरी तरह से विश्वास में लिया जाना चाहिए।

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : It is clear here. I am bound down by the rules. I will not transgress the rules. I will not do it. It is upto him now.

(Interruptions)

Let him say so.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : I am raising a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : What is your point of order ?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you shouting ? Why don't you sit down ? There can be a point of order.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : How can there be a point of order, when he is replying to the debate ? Under what rule, Sir ? I must know from you.

MR. SPEAKER : Why not ? Out of his reply.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : If it is your discretion, 'yes'. It is your pleasure. But under the rules, there is no point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : I will ask him. Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, what is your point of order ? After hearing you, I will give the ruling.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : My point of order is that the Home Minister made a statement on the 2nd of this month that about Article 25 of the Constitution, he wanted to consult ; and if necessary, the amendment would be brought. That was the purpose.

Now, in regard to that, he said to-day on

the floor of the House that for the first time, the Akali Dal sent the first communication about their demand regarding Article 25. The whole discussion here is about Article 25. The demand of the Akali Dal has become the basis of the entire agitation. He has written to them, made a statement ; they withdrew their agitation. Now, once they have written something, this country and this House has the right to know what is their demand. The Government is now in possession of it. Therefore, I am seeking your permission, Sir, to say that the...

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Why should you interrupt me in my role ?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : I say that the Home Minister should take the House into confidence, and that that communication should be placed on the Table of the House, or at least...

MR. SPEAKER : He is not bound to. I over-rule you, Sir. According to the rules, he is not bound to lay it on the Table of the House. Over-ruled.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Does it mean that the House should be in the dark ?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It is not laid down, either if it is not in public interest, or he has given an extract of it. Otherwise, he is obliged to lay it.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : On what ground can he withhold it from the House ?

MR. SPEAKER : According to the rules, he is not bound to do it.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : The rule says :

"... he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table :

Provided that this rule shall not apply to any documents which are stated by the Minister to be of such a nature that their production would be inconsistent with public interest ;"

MR. SPEAKER : No ; no question. According to the Manual of Business, the Minister cannot be required to lay a document on the Table from which he has not quoted, but he was only giving his own version of it.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : He has quoted.

MR. SPEAKER : He has only given his own version. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : This debate will be meaningless, until and unless we know what was written in the letter, because it concerns Article 25.

MR. SPEAKER : Morally you may be justified. But I cannot force him.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : That is all right. How can there be a meaningful debate otherwise ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : One clarification about your ruling : it is true that in rule 368, the latter part says that in public interest if the Minister does not want to reveal it, he need not do so. Do you know that in public interest he is not revealing it ?

MR. SPEAKER : No ; overruled. I will not digress from the rules.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : Even in my statement on 2.4.1984. . . *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You cannot compel him to lay on the Table. But he has made a reference.

MR. SPEAKER : I have overruled. He can quote his precise summary, or his own version.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why should he not inform the House of the contents of that communication ?

MR. SPEAKER : He is not bound to do it. It is in his discretion. He can give his own version. But he cannot be compelled.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I want to know. Let him say that he is not going to tell the House.

MR. SPEAKER : I cannot help it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : I accept what you say that he will not read it ; he will give his own version. Let him give the version of the letter. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I cannot force him.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Akali Dal is not a foreign government. It is a letter from a political party. Therefore, what is the public interest ? *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I am not satisfied.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : I did not quote from the letter. I only referred to the letter and therefore any quotation from the letter does not arise.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अभी आपने कहा है कि उस कम्यूनिकेशन में सैप्रेट पर्सनल लॉ का उल्लेख है। पार्लियामेंट को अन्धेरे में नहीं रखा जाना चाहिए।

MR. SPEAKER : He can give his version.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He has made a concrete reference to Personal Law. That means he has quoted something from the letter. Why does he want to keep us in the dark ? *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It is all right. I have overruled it.

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : What is the public interest ?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I do not know.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.C. SETHI : The administrative measures taken by government are : (1) Para military forces have been deployed in the State. (2) Mobile patrolling has been intensified and mobile squads have been provided with wireles sets for quicker communication ; (3) Checkposts have been established at a number of points to intercept extremists ; (4) Nakabandi and searches have been organised ; (5) Restrictions on carrying of arms have been imposed in certain areas ; (6) District Magistrates all over Punjab have been directed to regulate plying of motor-cycles and scooters ; (7) Armed guards have been provided in buses and trains ; (8) Patrolling of railway tracks has been arranged ; (9) Village Defence Societies have been re-activated ; (10) Arms licences have been issued to people in villages and to members of village defence societies.

As far as the recent promulgation of the law is concerned, I would like to say that it is only a disturbed area law and not dangerously disturbed area. I think, as far as the notification is concerned, this does not mention it. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : For information, please do not adjourn it. I had asked a specific question. In the last 19 months. . . . (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11 A.M.

18.16 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, April 5, 1984|Chaitra 16, 1906 (Saka)