

شری رشید مسعود (سہارن پور) محترم۔ ہندوستانی فوج میں سپاہی کی بھرتی کے لئے راجپوت اہمیر جاٹ اور گوجر برادریوں کی اونچائی، سینیٹی میٹر مقرر تھی اور ان کے علاوہ دوسری قوموں کی اونچائی ۱۶۴ سینیٹی میٹر مانگی جاتی تھی۔ لیکن اب غذائی کمی کی وجہ سے لوگوں کی لمبائی کم ہونے لگی جس کی وجہ سے مندرجہ بالا چاروں قوموں کے لئے ضروری اونچائی قد کی کو گھٹانا تو درست ہے۔ مگر جن قوموں کے لئے پہلے ۱۶۴ سینیٹی میٹر اونچائی فوج میں بھرتی ہونے کے لئے ضروری تھی۔ ان کی بھی فوج میں بھرتی کی ضروری اونچائی گھٹانی چاہیے تھی۔ مگر سرکار نے بجائے ان سب کے ساتھ رعایت کرنے کے باقی سب قوموں کی فوج میں بھرتی کی ضروری اونچائی ۱۶۴ سینیٹی میٹر برٹھادی ہے۔ جو ان قوموں کے ساتھ زیادتی ہے۔ میری سرکار سے درخواست ہے کہ جہاں اس نے گوجر جاٹ راجپوت اہمیر کی فوج میں بھرتی کی اونچائی کم کی ہے وہاں یہ سہولیت دوسروں قوموں کو بھی دی جائے مثلاً ہرنجن اور دوسری پچھڑی برادریاں اور مسلمان تاکہ ان کے ساتھ انصاف ہو۔

12.42 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE : WHITE PAPER ON PUNJAB AGITATION—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We now take up further consideration of the white paper on Punjab Agitation.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : With your prior permission, Sir, before you call the next speaker, I would just take half a minute.

Yesterday, for want of time, I could not make four small suggestions which I wanted to make to the Government and know their response. I will read out the four suggestions.

For giving healing touch to the Punjab State and to bring about normalisation there, I suggest the withdrawal of troops from the Golden Temple complex.

Giving financial assistance to the kith and kin of all those people who were killed by the extremists, of the jawans who died and also of the devotees who were killed in the clash :

Ending of controversy regarding Kar Seva so that the Sikhs are not further divided and ending of press censorship ; and

- Lastly, to settle the Punjab tangle through renewed negotiations.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : May I give my suggestions also ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He has given in writing that yesterday, he wanted to make the suggestions which he could not do for want of time. He wanted to clarify them and I permitted him as a special case.

Shri Y.B. Chavan.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN (Satara) : Mr. Deputy-speaker, Sir, we are discussing the white Paper on Punjab Agitation in this House. I have had the privilege of listening to many important and good speeches. I would like to make my own humble contribution to this debate.

Incidentally, the white Paper that we are discussing in a way is about the Sikh community, a very patriotic and a very brave community, which participated in the freedom struggle. I have had association with them in both the sectors, in the freedom struggle sector and also in the defence sector. When I happened to be the Defence Minister of this country. I had to deal with the Sikh officers and Sikh jawans.

I must say that they have made the best contribution for the independence of India and for the preservation of independence. We shall never forget their contribution. Unfortunately, it has become a little controversial now. We are going through a very difficult and complicated time. We should not do or say anything which will complicate the issue more. This is my approach.

But it is necessary that something has to be said about this issue in this debate. Therefore, I would like to express my views on this question.

The views of both sides of the House have been expressed yesterday on the white paper.

I must say that I am very much impressed by the white paper. It contains a flood of information on the situation in Punjab. It goes to the root of the problem. That is more important because the white paper is supposed to give not only the catalogue of events.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (New Delhi) : The white paper is only giving the catalogue of events. That is what has been done.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : If you read the white paper carefully from its first page, you will find that it gives an analysis of the factors that led to the Punjab problems.

Firstly, it stated that the agitation was there for the last three years and that an unreasonable attitude has been taken by the Akali Dal. Negotiations proved fruitless.

Secondly, it is pointed out that there was a tendency to create a sort of violent atmosphere in the country which has led to the creation of terrorist movement in Punjab.

Thirdly, the cause of the paralisation of the administration in Punjab has been traced to the nature of the situation that was developing in Punjab itself.

I happened to visit Punjab a couple of months earlier to this armed action. I had gone there along with many others. I was not the only person to visit Punjab and Chandigarh. Many others had gone there. In my own State itself, there are some Congressmen who are in touch with the people in Punjab. I had the opportunity to talk to many of those Congressmen, of course, my party men. They know the things that were happening all around Punjab. Prior to the armed action, I happened to meet them and to talk to them. From what they have told me, it gave me the impression that there was complete demoralisation of the civil administration. This was the one point which stood out patently clear.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why was the administration paralysed ?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : The administration was paralysed and demoralised because of the organised violence from the holy place of Akali Takht which has created some sort of demoralisation among the common people. The people do not know why all this violence was taking place. Harm-

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less, innocent people were assassinated in large numbers. Anybody can go anywhere and can kill anybody without any consequences. Good people, scholarly people, independent people, businessmen, common people, all these people were killed and there was a feeling of helplessness among them. You may ask me as to why they felt helpless. I must say that this is how the disintegration starts. When a country disintegrates, this is the manner how the process begins. Fascist movement starts where the terrorist movement begins. All Fascist movements have been preceded by this sort of terrorist activities.

Earlier to this armed action, I had a talk with responsible people in the administration of Punjab and they very frankly told me that there is no way of dealing with the situation in the normal manner. This is the honest statement or facts. I had met the highest man in Punjab administration and he said "This is the situation. But I see no way". I came back, and on my return I gave my impression to the Prime Minister. Naturally I found her going through some sort of a mental agony when I reported this matter, but she was very calm, very quiet, she was not disturbed about it. She only uttered one sentence: "We will have to go through a difficult period before something emerge". This sentence gives an indication of the mental agony through which she was going, and that is very true. What happened was, the administration was demoralised, the people were demoralised, the political parties were completely demoralised. The organization of a few hundred people sitting armed in Akali Takht had created a feeling amongst all the people around that it was they who were ruling the Punjab. Psychologically, this is how things take place. Ultimately, the result was that not only the administration was demoralised, but the political parties outside were demoralised, the Akali Dal itself paralysed, and so important leaders Mr. Longowal, Mr. Badal and others were practically, for all practical purposes,

prisoners of Bhindranwale's group. This was the situation that was created in Punjab. What do we do? How do we deal with these things? Prof. Dandavate mentioned a very beautiful phrase and I liked that phrase-'alienation', "after the army action, alienation has taken place". It is a very fashionable and fine phrase, particularly fashionable with professors. But something more than 'alienation' had taken place before this incident, and that is what is more important to take note of while dealing with this matter. When such a thing had gone on there ..

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
I am not very happy to use that phrase ; I feel deeply disturbed while saying that there is alienation. But there is alienation and that is a fact.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN :
I am telling you that there was something more than 'alienation before the army action'. I said I liked that phrase ; that is fashionable .

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Although you are not a professor.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN :
I am not a professor. I am glad I am not a professor.

This was the situation that a group had created practically in the whole of Punjab, and if these things had been allowed to be continued, the whole nation would have been in chaos. This is the important thing that has to be taken note of. In a big and complex country like India, it is not very soft, poetic way of going all along : it is a big and complex country. it requires taking very hard decisions. Occasions do arise when hard decisions have to be taken. I believe that rulers should have a poetic mind because those who have got a poetic mind can get angry with themselves. I think, it is a good quality for being democratic rules that they must get angry with themselves also. Here I found things were deteriorating so fast. I gave my impression to the Prime

Minister on my return : This is sort of pre-Civil War situation in Punjab ; if things are allowed to go the way they are going, things ultimately will go completely out of hand ; something will have to be done, something has to be done", I knew, that 'something' was a very hard decision, and hard decisions take some what a longer time to take. There may have been. I do not know ; there may have been—some hesitation in the mind of the prime Minister. Naturally those who take a decision about the use of army have to go through mental agonies, and it has to be a very hesitant, a very reluctant, decision. Ultimately it had to be taken ; that decision was taken finally. The decision, according to my own assessment, has made a great contribution to India's post-independence history. Some people may say that this has created a problem. Naturally it has also created some problem. When this action took place, I was away in my home town, a small town in Maharashtra. The morning newspapers flashed the news and I was surprised that people from all sections of the society in that small town came to greet me saying that something good has happened, 'You have saved the country, the Government have saved the country.' I have nothing to do with the decision. But I am telling you the feeling of the people, the feeling of all, not only in Punjab but all over the country. You have to feel about it—what happens in the rest of the country. If we allow one holy place or one place of worship to be used as a sort of an armed fortress in Punjab, the same thing can happen in all other States.

This country is full of problems. As I said it is full of complex problems and when such problems have to be dealt with, they have to be dealt with very clearly. Some members said that negotiations were delayed. I quite agree that ultimately this question can be solved only through negotiations. I do not deny it.....

AN HON. MEMBER : There is no other solution.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : In a democratic society there is no other solution. Dialogue will have to be undertaken. But I must tell you also my experience about dialogue with the Akalis. You have your own dialogue, the Opposition Members have their own dialogue. I have also dealt with some of these problems because the problem of Chandigarh is with us for the last two decades. It is not there now for the first time. The villain of the piece in the matter is the Shah Commission. They first of all recommended handling over Chandigarh to Haryana. The Government could not even look at this decision. I was a member of the Cabinet at that time. Within a couple of minutes a decision was taken that the Shah Commission's recommendations should be rejected. But some solution will have to be found out. I know since 1970 when the Prime Minister gave this award, after many hours of long-discussions, it was decided that Chandigarh should go to Punjab. But Haryana people also must get something in return and, therefore, some of the Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab were supposed to be transferred to Haryana. It fell to my lot as Home Minister that I should convey this report to the two Chief Ministers sitting at my residence. One was the Akali Chief Minister and the other was a Congress Chief Minister. When I went and told them this, they said, 'Yes. We understand your difficulties. We cannot say that it is a very good decision, but we have to accept it because it gives in substance whatever we wanted.'

So, in a way—why in a way, for all practical purposes, the decision of giving Chandigarh to Punjab and handing over Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana was accepted by the Akali Dal. Now it is after 14 years that we find that it is not solved. This happened in 1970. So it is very difficult.

We have said that negotiations is the only way to solve the problem, But negotiations with the Akalies is very difficult because they are a very difficult commodity.....(Interruptions). I think

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the Opposition also will have the same sort of experience.

One very basic thing will have to be made clear. Negotiations have been made difficult by two things. Negotiations certainly will have to be done. But they have been made difficult and in a way, impossible by (1) the existence of terrorists group, and (2) this Anandpur Sahib resolution which ultimately indicates towards secession.

श्री राम बिलास पासवान : आप लोगों का नैगोमियेशन तो भिण्डराले से चल रहा था ।

श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण : इसको छोड़िये । आप को तो यही आता है ।

Unless these two conditions are controlled and controlled very completely and unless it has given up the idea of Anandpur Sahib resolution and the decision is given up and unless these terrorists groups are completely controlled and eliminated from the Punjab public life, negotiations would not succeed. And unless there is a possibility of the negotiations succeeding, the suggestion that Mr Dandavate just now made to withdraw the army from here and withdraw the army from there—it will be very difficult for the Government to accept it. Even to-day people from Punjab who come and talk about it say that some of the people saying 'Let the army go ; we shall deal with you' (*Interruptions*). This is the position that has come now. So, one would have to be very careful about when the army should be withdrawn. Should the army be withdrawn only because some of the Akali people say 'withdraw the army'? The army has not gone for fun's sake ; it has gone to deal with the problems ; and deal with it effectively. We have a democratic rule. And army has only a limited role. Its role is to help the civil authority. That is the basic role. And this has to be done not only in Punjab but this had

to be done in Bhiwandi, Maharashtra also. In Hyderabad, it had to be done. Some one said—I think Prof. Dandavate had said it—that often calling the army's help is a very dangerous thing. I do not think so because army is a patriotic instrument of India. It is also a democratic instrument of India. You cannot compare India with any other military dictatorship anywhere in the world. Army has a democratic tradition and by profession they will be very much loyal to our Constitution. I have no doubt about that in my mind. But when it is necessary to call it, we should do that without any hesitation or without any fear. I heard responsible persons in Maharashtra saying that if we had delayed calling the army by one day, things would have been impossible to control for weeks together. I am here talking about the riots.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Anything wrong with the police.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : I agree with you that there is something wrong with the police organisation. Something is wrong with the police organisation all over the country—not only in Maharashtra. All over the country, there is something wrong with the police organisation. Constantly they are in touch with the local people. The local people include intruders, smugglers anti-social elements and anti-social people. So, they also have to deal with them. I was speaking about these two conditions which are more important. Politically, we should be very careful. At least I am very clear about this in my mind. So, let us not talk vaguely about it. We are totally very clear that there are terrorists getting arms and killing the people at will. This must be controlled completely. I am very sorry to say this that no responsible Akali leader has come forward to condemn the Terrorist. Tell me which Akali leader of the Akali Dal—people talked about the Akali party and the Akali situation—has come forward to condemn this thing? If they are not prepared to condemn this, how will you control them? They themselves became the prisoners of Bhindranwale. I think

they were physically the prisoners of Bhindranwale. And they could not decide anything. They used to have a look at Bhindranwale's people while expressing a view as to whether they will like it or not. How are you going to control this situation? This will take a long time. This is a process and this process has to be followed very carefully. This country has to be united. I am making an appeal to the Opposition not to support wrong position. It is not only the responsibility of the Government party but it is the responsibility of the Opposition also and also the entire responsibility of Indian people. If we are unable to control these two things what also can we do. Ultimately about the decision on Anandpur Sahib Resolution we talk about in different parts of the country. We have to deal with it somehow or other. We have to deal with that democratically. We have dealt with that democratically, has, Deputy Speaker, in your State. And we have succeeded in that.

We are dealing with that in Assam, in Nagaland, in Manipur, in Mizoram etc. We had to do that in your State. I am complimenting your people, Mr. Dhandapani.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi): In 1955 scores of people were killed by the army. The result was that there was no Hindi language and no Congress Rule there.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: I am giving the compliments to your people that they dealt with the situation democratically.

So, the most important part is how to deal with the secessionist tendencies. These secessionist tendencies will have to be fought by the people and not merely by the Army. It has to be fought at all levels. This Anandpur Resolution is a great danger signal and this danger signal India must take note of. I must say howsoever difficult the things were, this action which Army took has broken the back of terrorism in Punjab. That stands as a fact. But we cannot be complacent

about it. It will have its own reactions also. Therefore, we will have to go very carefully in this matter. Only because you are in Opposition and say what Government does not like, that is not the way. This is a national responsibility. Controlling terrorism and controlling secessionist activities is not any party's monopoly here. This is the responsibility of every independent Indian in this country whether they are sitting on this side of the House or on that side of the House.

How are we going to do that? If there are any suggestions, I hope there would be suggestions for this sort of purpose when we are discussing the White Paper. The White Paper brings out these things. There is terrorism not only in words but in action also and in a very extensive manner in all parts of Punjab.

Ultimately why were negotiations failing? Opposition has said it many a time—I do not see why they said—that nothing has happened. But have they not realised this background of Anandpur Resolution was the real obstruction in the successful negotiations? They said one thing at one time, another thing at another time and a third thing at a third time. I am of the view that unless there is a complete statement what they are no longer sticking to the Anandpur Resolution, the negotiations are not likely to bear fruit.

So, these two things are the real challenge and these two things will have to be fought very heroically at peoples' level, at government's level and at every level. This will have to be done. Unless we do it nothing could be achieved about it. This is all that I have to say.

13.08 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till
ten minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

(The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at
ten minutes past Fourteen of the Clock)

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सब से पहले सेना के उन अफसरों और जवानों को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने अपने अनमोल प्राणों की बलि चढ़ाकर और अपनी बहुमूल्य जानें जोखिम में डाल कर सिखों के पवित्रतम तीर्थ और सभी भारतीयों के लिए श्रद्धा के स्थान श्री हरमन्दिर साहिब को आतंकवादियों से मुक्त किया और उसकी पवित्रता को पुनः कायम किया।

सेना को एक बड़ा कठिन और नाजुक दायित्व सौंपा गया था। उस दायित्व को कुशलता और बहादुरी से निभाने के लिए सेना का अभिनन्दन किया जाना चाहिये। किन्तु हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि सेना मुख्य रूप से विदेशी शत्रुओं का मुकाबला करने के लिये संगठित और सज्जित की गई है। अपने ही देशवासियों के विरुद्ध सेना का उपयोग एक अप्रिय कदम है जिसे यथासंभव टाला जाना चाहिए।

हरमन्दिर साहिब में सैनिक कार्यवाही के विषय में मुझे दो बातें कहनी हैं। पहली बात यह है कि किसी भी धार्मिक स्थान में सेना भेजने का यह पहला और आखिरी मौका होना चाहिए। फिर कभी ऐसी परिस्थिति नहीं आनी चाहिये। नहीं आने देनी चाहिये कि हमें फिर अपनी सेना को अपने ही देशवासियों के खिलाफ किसी घमं स्थान में कार्यवाही के लिये भेजना पड़े। आखिर आंतरिक व्यवस्था की देखभाल करना पुलिस की जिम्मेदारी है। पुलिस की सहायता के लिए सेंट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस जा सकती है।

बांडर सिक्यूरिटी फोर्स की सहायता ली जा सकती है। पंजाब में ये तीनों दल विफल हो गए। इसका कारण क्या है? सेना बुलाने की नौबत क्यों आई? पंजाब में ऐसी सरकार थी जिसे भंग करना पड़ा। विधान सभा भंग नहीं है मगर मूर्च्छित है। प्रशासन पंगु हो गया। पुलिस पक्षपात से पूर्ण हो गई। समाज बंट गया। दिलों में दरार पड़ गई। रोटी और बेटी के रिश्ते भी उन दरारों को बढ़ने से नहीं रोक पा रहे हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राज्यपाल पाण्डे और भिण्डर ने स्तीफा दे दिया है। इससे नए सवाल खड़े हो रहे हैं। पंजाब में कितने अफसरों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की गई। कितने अफसरों पर यह आरोप है कि वे आतंकवादियों के साथ मिले हुये थे? श्वेत पत्र इसके बारे में मौन है।

श्वेत पत्र प्रकाशित करने की मांग विरोधी दलों ने सबसे पहले की थी। हम चाहते थे कि श्वेत पत्र ऐसा हो जिससे पंजाब में आतंकवाद के उदय की सच्ची कहानी और कच्चा चिट्ठा देश के सामने आए। वह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है कि अकाली आंदोलन बाद में प्रारंभ हुआ, आतंकवाद ने पहले सिर उठाया। श्वेत पत्र में भी यह बात मानी गई है।

श्वेत पत्र समूचे सत्य का उद्घाटन नहीं करता। यह अर्ध सत्य का उद्घाटन करता है। पंजाब में आतंकवाद का उदय क्यों हुआ? उसे रोका क्यों नहीं गया? यह नौबत क्यों आने दी गई?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अफसरों को दोष देने

से काम नहीं चलेगा। गुनहगार हैं राज-
नीतिक नेता। गुनहगार हैं सत्ताधीश।

1980 से पहले भिण्डरवाले का कोई नाम नहीं जानता था। भिण्डर गांव का एक छोटा सा ग्रंथी जो गुरुबाणी का पाठ करने की शिक्षा दिया करता था, राजनीतिक मंच पर कैसे आया? आतंकवाद का वो सूत्र-धार कैसे बना? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सेना भेजने का फैसला किया गया है 1984 में 5-6 जून को। मैं 1980 की बात करना चाहता हूँ। निरंकारी बाबा की हत्या की गई। हत्या एक षडयंत्र का परिणाम थी। हत्या दिल्ली में हुई थी। दिल्ली के उप राज्यपाल जगमोहन ने सितंबर 5, 1980 को पंजाब के मुख्य मंत्री दरबारा सिंह को एक "सीक्रेट मोस्ट इमीजिएट" डी० ओ० लिखा। डी० ओ० नंबर था 287/एल० जी०/80 उसमें लिखा कि सी० बी० आई० निरंकारी बाबा की हत्या की जांच कर रही है। 20 व्यक्तियों के खिलाफ नोटिस जारी किए गए हैं। कुछ लोगों के खिलाफ गैर जमानती वारंट भी जारी किये गये हैं। लेकिन पत्र में शिकायत की गई कि पंजाब की पुलिस हमें सहयोग नहीं दे रही। मैं पत्र का एक अंश पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ :—

"Evidence has been collected to the effect that all the twenty persons against whom notices have been issued and the three persons against whom warrants have been issued, either belong to Sant Bhindranwale Jatha or are his close associates/relatives and are hiding under his protection. That was the reason for requesting local police of District Amritsar to have the notices served and the warrants executed. Two more fresh non-bailable warrants are being obtained against the persons mentioned in the annexure.

CBI are also in the process of issuing notices u/s 160 Cr. P. C. to Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale."

फिर पत्र में शिकायत की गई है कि यहाँ से सी० बी० आई० द्वारा जारी किये गये नोटिसों पर कार्रवाई करना तो अलग रहा, वह नोटिस हमें वापिस भी नहीं किये जा रहे हैं और उन नोटिसों को लेने के लिए हम अपना एक आदमी भेज रहे हैं।

श्वेत पत्र में इस बात का उल्लेख है कि भिण्डरवाले को गिरफ्तार किया गया। इस बात का उल्लेख नहीं है कि भिण्डरवाले को रिहा कर दिया गया। आगे जाकर है, लेकिन उस स्थान पर नहीं है, जहाँ होना चाहिये था। पुराने मुख्य मंत्री दरबारा सिंह ने कल राज्य सभा में बड़ा जोरदार भाषण दिया। उन्हें पता है कि पाकिस्तान में आतंकवादियों को प्रशिक्षण देने के लिए कैम्प चलाये जा रहे हैं। पुराने मुख्य मंत्री को पता है, मगर पुराने विदेश मंत्री को पता नहीं है। मुख्य मंत्री दरबारा सिंह कहते हैं कि मैं सबूत देने के लिये तैयार हूँ। तो इसमें उसका समावेश क्यों नहीं है। अगर भारत सरकार के गृह सचिव पाकिस्तान का नाम ले सकते हैं तो भारत के गृह मंत्री नाम लेने में क्यों संकोच कर रहे हैं? उस सवाल की चर्चा अभी नहीं कर रहा हूँ, उस पर बाद में आऊंगा।

पांच और छह जून की कहानी कोई गौरव की कहानी नहीं है। सेना को हमने बघाई दी है क्योंकि सेनावाले अपनी जान पर खेलें हैं। सेना को राजनीतिक आदेश का पालन करना है। मगर, आज कठघरे में वे खड़े हैं जिन्होंने राजनीतिक आदेश दिया। यह परिस्थिति क्यों आने दी गई? भिण्ड-

[श्री प्रटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

राबाले को पांच सितम्बर 1980 को क्यों गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया ? जगमोहन के पत्र में वर्णित कारणों के आधार पर बाद में जब भिण्डरावाले को पकड़ा भी तो छोड़ दिया गया। भिण्डरावाले ने कहा मैं इस तारीख को, इस जगह और इस वक़्त पकड़ा जाऊंगा। पकड़े जाने से पहले मैं स्वर्ण मन्दिर में स्नान करूंगा। पुलिस के अफसर भिण्डरावाले को स्वर्ण मन्दिर में स्नान के लिए ले गए। उन्हें पकड़ लिया और छोड़ दिया। निरंकारी बाबा की हत्या के बाद सरकार ने भिण्डरावाले के रिश्तेदार और साथी तक नहीं पकड़े। भिण्डरावाले को हीरो किसने बनाया ? अकाली निर्दोष नहीं हैं। किन्तु जो काम सरकार को करना चाहिये था, उसकी आशा अकालियों से कर रहे थे। प्रधान मंत्री ने विरोधी दल के नेताओं से कहा कि अकालियों ने हमें नहीं बताया कि स्वर्ण मन्दिर में हथियार इकट्ठे हो रहे हैं। प्रो० मधु दण्डवते ने पूछा था, क्या सरकार को मालूम था ? अकाली जब बतायेंगे कि स्वर्ण मन्दिर में हथियार इकट्ठे हो रहे हैं तब सरकार को पता लगेगा वरना नहीं।

अकालियों को स्वर्ण मन्दिर के दुरुपयोग की निन्दा करनी चाहिये थी। अकालियों को आतंकवादियों के खिलाफ खुलकर आना चाहिये था। मुझे अकाली मित्रों से शिकायत है। लेकिन क्या इससे सरकार अपनी जिम्मेदारी से बच सकती है ? भिण्डरावाले दिल्ली आये। केन्द्र के वे दो मंत्री कौन हैं, जिन्होंने दिल्ली में भिण्डरावाले के पैर छुए थे।..... (व्यवधान)

प्रो० के० के० सिधारी : यह गलत है।

श्री प्रटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह सही है। (व्यवधान)

भिण्डरावाले बम्बई तक गये और वहां से वापिस आ गए।

... (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down Mr. Anbarasu, please sit down. You can reply when you get a chance. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is an important discussion. Let us have a calm discussion.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The opposition has a right to expose facts.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We should have a calm discussion

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The Opposition has a right to expose facts and we will do it ruthlessly.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please. Let us have a calm discussion.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU : Let him the name the Minister who has done it.

AN HON. MEMBER : He should withdraw those words.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Anbarasu, he has not mentioned the name of any Minister. Why are you insisting ? If you do not agree with him you can reply to him later.

श्री कृष्ण बस सुल्तानपुरी : इनको उन दो मंत्रियों के नाम बताने चाहिए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर मैं नाम बता दूंगा तो ये और भी शोर करेंगे। अब नाम नहीं बता रहा हूँ तो इतना शोर है। यदि मैं उनमें से एक नाम ऐसा ले दूंगा जिसके बारे में कहा जाएगा कि उनका यहां उल्लेख नहीं हो सकता। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Vajpayeeji, what you said is all right. Go ahead. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please. This is an important issue.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की मदद के लिये सेना बुलाई जा सकती है। लेकिन सेना सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की मदद के लिये होनी चाहिये, सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलाने के लिये नहीं होना चाहिये। पंजाब में क्या हो रहा है। पंजाब में समूचा शासन सेना द्वारा चलाया जा रहा है। क्या यह आवश्यक है? क्या यह वांछनीय है? क्या आप यह सही परम्परा डाल रहे हैं?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक पत्रकार थे जो अमृतसर में 60 घंटे तक कर्फ्यू में बंद रहे। फिर उनसे कहा गया कि दिल्ली चले जाओ और पास लेने के लिये डिप्टी कमिश्नर के यहां पहुंचो। जब वे डिप्टी कमिश्नर के यहां पास लेने के लिए पहुंचे तो डिप्टी कमिश्नर ने उन्हें पास तो दे दिया और जाते-जाते कहा कि उधर सेना के आफिसर बैठे हैं, उनके भी दस्तखत करा लेना। क्यों?

राष्ट्रपति राज बहुत जगह लागू हो चुका है। सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की मदद के लिये सेना भी बहुत जगह बुलाई जा चुकी है मगर ऐसा कहीं नहीं हुआ कि राज्यपाल

के सलाहकारों में सेना के आफिसर को शामिल कर लिया जाये और उसे ला एण्ड आर्डर और जस्टिस जैसे महत्वपूर्ण विभाग सौंप दिये जाएं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पंजाब के पहले और भी कई जगह ऐसा हो चुका है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : प्लीज आर्डर।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अभी स्वर्ण मंदिर में कार सेवा का मामला आया। हम समझते थे कि कार सेवा इस तरह से चलाई जाएगी कि प्रधान मंत्री का वह एलान कि हम हीलिंग टच लगाना चाहते हैं, पूरा किया जायगा। लेकिन कार सेवा किस तरह से चल रही। यह सब देख रहे हैं। यह घाव पर मरहम रखने का तरीका नहीं है। यह घाव को कुरेदने का तरीका है। लेकिन मैं दूसरी बात कह रहा हूँ।

जब कार सेवा के बारे में गुरुद्वारे के नेताओं से, शिरोमणी गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक कमेटी के नेताओं से बातचीत हुई तो सरकार की ओर से राज्यपाल सतारावाला नहीं थे, एक्टिंग आर्मी चीफ को बुलाया गया और जनरल ओबेराय को तस्वीर में लाया गया? क्या यह काम राज्यपाल सतारावाला नहीं कर सकते थे?

मगर यह बात यहीं तक सीमित नहीं है। बीमारी जम्मू कश्मीर तक फैल गई है। जम्मू कश्मीर के राज्यपाल, श्री जगमोहन ने जब उस दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण दिन श्री फारूख अब्दुल्ला को ...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ENERGY (SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN) : Are we discussing Jammu & Kashmir now?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं उल्लेख कर सकता हूँ। मैं इसका उल्लेख करूँगा। यह कश्मीर का उल्लेख करते रहे.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He will reserve his arguments for that discussion.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It is a passing reference.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Under what rule you can say this ? (Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : How can you debar any mention on J & K ?

(Interruptions)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अभी नहीं हुआ साहब।

(व्यवधान)

14.31 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कह रहा था कि सेना का गलत ढंग से उपयोग किया जा रहा है। जम्मू-कश्मीर में जब मुख्य मंत्री को राज्यपाल ने बुलाया यह कहने के लिये कि आप का बहुमत खत्म हो गया, आप इस्तीफा दे दीजिये, तो राज्यपाल के पास सेना के एरिया कमांडर बैठे हुए थे। —

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN : This is an absolute lie.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : What are you talking ? I am speaking with a sense of responsibility.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : On a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : I am on my legs. Let me say and then you have your say.

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप जब बोलेंगे तो जो आप गलत समझते हैं उसको रिम्यूट करने का आपको पूरा चांस मिलेगा।

(व्यवधान)

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खा : माननीय वाजपेयी जी मेरे कहने को गलत समझें। जो यत्र कह रहे हैं, मैं उसके लिये कुछ नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैं एक मिनट की इजाजत चाहता हूँ।.....

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप मेरी बात सुन लीजिये उत्तेजना से क्या फायदा होगा ? मेरे कहने का अर्थ और भाव यह है...

प्राचार्य भगवान देव (अजमेर) : अध्यक्ष जी, इनको आप पंजाब पर बोलने के लिये कहिये, कश्मीर पर नहीं।

MR. SPEAKER : You are not going to teach me anything. Sit down.

(व्यवधान)

प्राचार्य जी, आप बैठ जाइये। आपको रीयलाइज करना चाहिये कि डेकोरम भी कोई चीज है।

कश्मीर कोई बाहर का हिस्सा नहीं है। अगर कोई अनुचित बात होगी तो मैं रोकूँगा। कोई अनपार्लियामेंटरी बात होगी तो उसको भी रोकूँगा, ऐलोगेशन को रोकूँगा। लेकिन अगर कोई अपने मन की बात या कोई

आपूर्ति देता है तो उसका आप खंडन कर सकते हैं। यह बात है। अब आप बैठिये।

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : You please go through the records. He has used the word 'lie'.

MR. SPEAKER : I will go through the records.

(Interruptions)

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां : श्रीमन्, मैं ऐक्सप्लेन करने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। माननीय वाजपेयी जी वरिष्ठ सदस्य हैं। वह जो कुछ कह रहे हैं उसके लिये मैं कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता कि मैं यह कहूँ कि यह झूठ है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं यही कहता हूँ कि सारा हिन्दुस्तान आता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय,

अध्यक्ष महोदय : एक ही बात है, कोई बात नहीं। कभी राम, कभी लक्ष्मण।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, स्वर्ण मंदिर में सेना भेजे हुए करीब डेढ़ महीना होने आया, लेकिन पंजाब में आतंकवादी गतिविधियाँ जारी हैं, हत्याओं का सिलसिला चल रहा है।

एक केन्द्रीय मंत्री ने मुझे कहा, आप आप फिर कहेंगे कि नाम बताओ। उन्होंने कहा कि 500 आतंकवादी इस समय घूम रहे हैं, शिकारों की तलाश में।

एक माननीय सदस्य : दिल्ली में ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कहीं भी घूमते होंगे, चलिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इसमें दिल्ली भी शामिल हैं।

(व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मगर आप के यहां तो सिर्फ गोसेवक जा रहे हैं, आप त्रिपाठी जी चिन्ता मत करिये।

स्वर्ण मंदिर में सेना भेजने से पहले परिस्थिति यह थी कि आतंकवादी अन्दर थे और पुलिस बाहर थी। आज स्थिति यह है कि फौज अन्दर है और आतंकवादी बाहर हैं।

आतंकवाद ने एक नया आयाम ले लिया है। भाखड़ा नहर का दो बार काटा जाना, सैनिक कार्यवाही के बाद भी हवाई जहाज का अपहरण,

एक माननीय सदस्य : कहां से किया गया ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह भी देश के ही एक भाग से किया गया। (व्यवधान)

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर : वह भी तो आप ही लोगों ने करवाया।

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां (जारी) : मैंने जो यह कहा,

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : फिर वही बात।

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं देख रहा हूँ।

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां : श्रीमान्, brevity is the soul of wit.

लेनिन मैं इतना ग्रीफ नहीं हो सकता कि एक वाक्य में अपने पूरे तात्पर्य को आप को समझा दूं।

(व्यवधान)

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां : I am on my legs. He is a senior Member. Let me explain my position. श्री बाजपेई जी न केवल जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति हैं बल्कि इस सदन के एक वरिष्ठ सदस्य हैं।

यह बात अगर माननीय बाजपेयी जी अपनी जाती जानकारी के आधार पर कहते, मैं कभी यह हिम्मत नहीं करता कि आप गलत कह रहे हैं। मुझे रिफ्यूट करना होता तो मैं बाद को करता। लेकिन यह बात अखबार में छपी है। मेरा कहना था कि यह अखबार में बिल्कुल गलत छपी है, भूठ छपी है।

दूसरी बात, हम यहां कश्मीर की चर्चा नहीं कर रहे हैं, पंजाब की चर्चा कर रहे हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : छोड़िये कोई बात नहीं है। रैफरेंस आ जाता है। कभी कर्नाटक आ जाता है, कभी पंजाब का आ जाता है, कभी कश्मीर का आ जाता है, यह कोई बात है, नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम यहां पर एक राष्ट्रीय संकट पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। राष्ट्रीय संकट के अन्तर्गत पंजाब भी आता है और जम्मू-काश्मीर भी आता है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आतंकवादियों की संख्या

घटी है या बढ़ी है, मैं इसका जवाब नहीं दे सकता। आतंकवादी मारे गये, पकड़े गये, मगर स्वर्ण मंदिर में सेना भेजने से आतंकवाद की नैदान्तिक भूमिका, सैद्धांतिक घरातलता को बल मिला है। अब इसे मानें या न मानें यह अलग बात है।

आज समाज दो खेमों में बंटा हुआ है, जैसे धुंवीकरण हो गया है। बहुतांश हिन्दुओं को समझ में नहीं आता।

(व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : बहुतांश हिन्दु यह समझने में असमर्थ हैं कि आखिर सिख भाई इतने नाराज क्यों हैं? इन्होंने स्वयं स्वर्ण मंदिर का दुरुपयोग नहीं रोका, स्वर्ण मंदिर में हथियार इकट्ठे होने दिये, अपराधी इकट्ठे होने दिये, कार्यवाही की गई तो वह नाराज क्यों हैं?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मिश्री ने कहां कर दिया?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : दूसरी ओर स्थिति यह है कि सिख समुदाय की समझ में यह नहीं आ रहा कि गलती तो मुट्ठीभर आतंकवादियों ने की थी, सारे सिख समाज को क्यों सजा दी जा रही है, क्यों अपमानित किया जा रहा रहा है?

(व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : बिल्कुल गलत है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उनकी भावनाओं की बात कह रहा हूं। (व्यवधान)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It is their assessment.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या उन्होंने देशभक्ति का ठेका ले लिया है ? हमें भी इस देश से प्यार है । (व्यवधान)

आचार्य भगवान देव (ग्रजमेर) : आप उनको प्रोत्साहन देते हैं । आपने उनको प्रोत्साहित किया है । मैं सबूत देने के लिए तैयार हूँ । (व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह ठीक नहीं है । (व्यवधान)

SHRI G. S. NIHALSINGHWALA (Sangrur) : The word 'Sikh' should not be used ; 'Akali' should be used.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : Why should he be allowed to speak ? He is not a Sikh. Do you mean to say that he is a Sikh ? (Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : They do feel that the military action in the Golden Temple has humiliated them,

(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : No... (Interruptions)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैंने यह तो नहीं कहा कि सारे सिख ऐसा अनुभव कर रहे हैं । (व्यवधान)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Who is Shri Khuswant Singh ? He is a member of the Congress (I).

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am on my legs. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Do not shout at each other. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : When I am on my legs, you must sit down. I must say certain things. This is the highest forum. We have to be very responsible.

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : सोचने के ढंग अलाहिदा अलाहिदा हो सकते हैं । विचार अलग-अलग हो सकते हैं, लेकिन विचारों को इस तरह व्यक्त न करें, जिससे देश के लिए खतरा पैदा हो ।

(व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER : You can refute the allegations

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am very ashamed of this behaviour.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You have to differentiate between certain things.

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ये कुछ व्यक्ति विशेष थे, जिनके खिलाफ एक्शन लेना था । यह एक्शन किसी समाज या समुदाय के खिलाफ नहीं है । हमें किसी को इसका फायदा नहीं उठाने देना है वरना आने वाली नस्लें क्या कहेंगी ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE ; Sir, please do not express your political views when you are in the Chair.

MR. SPEAKER : If this is a political opinion, if I have said anything political. I withdraw my words. I do not want to say anything political. I want to say only what concerns the future of this country. This is the only thing that I am concerned with. I don't want to say anything. If I am misunderstood, I am sorry for it.

[अध्यक्ष महोदय]

मैं आज एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि भगवान के लिए ऐसा मन करिए कि इसमें ऐसे बीज बोये जायें। बस, इतनी बात मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने स्पीकर की चेयर से कहा था सरकार को पहले बहुत ऐक्शन लेने के लिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप बैठ जाइये।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : दो साल पहले आपने गवर्नमेंट से ऐक्शन लेने के लिए कहा था लेकिन कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया।

...(व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब भगवान के लिए आप बैठ जाइये।

PROF K K TEWARY : Sir, what Prof. Dandavate has said is deplorable and is a very serious reflection on the Chair.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I don't want to claim certificates. I stand for certain principles.

MR. SPEAKER : I don't want to impose myself on this House. I only want to say that I don't want to impose my political will or political thinking on this House. This House is too competent to take care of itself. It was only my personal thinking. I wanted to say only for the posterity of the country and its future. If any of my friends wants to take objection, I don't want to intervene. Please carry on.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, it is a very important debate. Members should listen and they should not disturb in this manner. Why can't they listen with a sense of responsibility ?

(Interruptions)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मिस्टर जगपाल सिंह, भगवान के लिए आप अब चुप कर जाइये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय अगर मेरे मित्र मेरी पूरी बात सुन लेते तो शायद वह इतने उत्तेजित नहीं होते। मैं यह कहने जा रहा था कि सैनिक कार्य-वाही से बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने राहत अनुभव की है, उन सब को सिख विरोधी या पंथ विरोधी नहीं समझा जाना चाहिए।

.. (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : फिर वही बात।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं यह भी कहने जा रहा था कि जिन्होंने सेना भेजने का विरोध किया है उन सबको हम खालिस्तानी समझने की गलती न करें। भावनाएं भड़की हुई हैं। इसीलिए प्रधान मंत्री को हीलिंग टच की बात करनी पड़ी। मगर मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ हीलिंग टच कहां है ? हीलिंग टच के दो अवसर थे। एक यह श्वेत पत्र का प्रकाशन था। अगर इस के प्रकाशन में ईमानदारी बरती जाती, अगर अप्रिय तथ्यों को भी सामने लाया जाता, उन तथ्यों से सरकार कटघरे में खड़ी होती तो बात कुछ समझ में आ सकती थी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, चीन के सवाल पर मैंने श्वेत पत्र प्रकाशित करने की मांग की थी। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू थे। चीन और भारत के सम्बन्धों पर जो श्वेत पत्र प्रकाशित हुआ उसमें एक ऐसी चिट्ठी थी जिससे यह साबित होता था कि चीन ने हमारी सीमा पर अतिक्रमण कर दिया है, मगर उस बात को संसद को नहीं बताया गया क्योंकि पंडित जी ने कहा कि

इससे भावनाएं भड़क जाएंगी, हम पहले आपस की बातचीत से यह मामला तय कर लें। इसी चिट्ठी के आधार पर मैंने पंडित जी से कहा था कि आपने देश को अंधेरे में रखा है, आपने गलती की है और नेहरू जी ने कहा कि हां, मेरी गलती हुई है, मैं अपनी गलती मानता हूं। गलती मानने के लिए भी बड़प्पन चाहिए।

यह श्वेत पत्र अधूरा है। मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूं कि आतंकवाद के पंजाब में उदय के लिए जिम्मेदार शक्तियों को, भिण्डरावाले को, 1980, 1981, 1982 और 1983 में राह पर लाने के लिए प्रशासन की, जिसमें राज्य सरकार शामिल है और केन्द्र सरकार शामिल है, विफलता इसका इसमें उल्लेख नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

क्या यह बात भी मैं देश के खिलाफ कर रहा हूं? (व्यवधान) ..

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप लोग बीच में क्यों बोल रहे हैं, मेरा समझ में नहीं आता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : गुप्त बैठकों का उल्लेख किया गया। कल कहा गया कि गुप्त बैठकें प्रकट नहीं करनी थीं तो उन्हें गुप्त ही रहने दिया जाता। अगर बैठकें प्रकट कर दीं तो यह भी बता दीजिए कि उन बैठकों में क्या हुआ था? सारी गुप्त बैठकों का भी इसमें उल्लेख नहीं है। इसमें सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह द्वारा किए गए प्रयत्नों का उल्लेख नहीं है। क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी ने सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह को भी डिसओन कर दिया? उन्होंने कोई प्रयत्न किए थे या नहीं किये थे? एक बैठक ऐसी हुई थी जिसमें अकाली दल के प्रतिनिधि शामिल थे और

हमारे वित्त मंत्री शामिल थे। अलग-अलग मंत्रियों ने अलग-अलग ढंग से बातें की हैं। उस बैठक में यह समझौता हो गया था कि चंडीगढ़ को बांट दिया जायगा। प्रधान मंत्री न्यूयार्क गई हुई थीं। प्रधान मंत्री के लौटने के बाद उस की पुष्टि करने का फैसला हुआ था। बाद में वह बात आगे नहीं चली। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं—26 मई को क्या हुआ? यह आखिरी बैठक थी, उसके बाद सैनिक कार्यवाही हुई, उस बैठक में क्या हुआ? कल भी हमने कहा था, आप अंधेरे में क्यों रख रहे हैं? अब कुछ बात कही जा रही है, यह कहा जा रहा है कि अकाली किसी समझौते के लिए तैयार नहीं थे। उस दिन कौन सी बात हुई थी? क्या सरकार की ओर से यह कहा गया कि चंडीगढ़ हम पंजाब को दे देते हैं, चण्डीगढ़ के आसपास के लगे हुए कुछ गांव हरियाणा को मिलने चाहिये? क्या अकालियों ने इस प्रस्ताव को भी अस्वीकार कर दिया? अकाली कहते हैं—नहीं, हमें प्रस्ताव स्वीकार था। इस सत्य का उद्घाटन कैसे हो? प्रधान मंत्री ने विरोधी दलों के नेताओं से कहा—अकाली यमुना नदी का मामला उठा रहे थे, यमुना नदी के पानी के बटवारे का मामला उठा रहे थे। अकाली कहते हैं—हम ऐसे मूर्ख नहीं थे, हम रायपेरियन राइट्स की बात करते रहे थे। यमुना हरियाणा से निकलती है, हम यमुना की बात कैसे कर सकते थे। प्रधान मंत्री ने यह भी कहा कि अकाली दल इस बात पर जोर दे रहा था कि आनन्दपुर साहब के प्रस्ताव को सरकारिया कमीशन के पास संस्कार भेजें, जब कि सरकार कहती थी कि कमीशन बन गया है, आप भेज दीजिये। अकाली इससे भी इंकार करते हैं। आप कह सकते हैं कि अकालियों पर विश्वास न करिये, प्रधान मंत्री पर विश्वास

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

करिये। कांग्रेस के सदस्यों के लिये ऐसा कहना आसान है, लेकिन हम इसको नहीं मानते। इसी लिये मैं कह रहा हूँ कि गुप्त बैठक में जो हुआ, उसको प्रकट कीजिये।

एक बात और—श्री दरबारा सिंह ने कल राज्य सभा में क्या कहा मैं उस का उल्लेख कर चुका हूँ। श्वेत-पत्र चुप है—विदेशी संबंधों के बारे में। कौन थे—खालिस्तान के समर्थक? एक बात फैलाई जा रही है—मैं स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूँ—विदेश मंत्री से, लेकिन यहां विदेश मंत्री तो क्या प्रधान मंत्री नहीं हैं...

श्री धर्मबीर सिन्हा (बाढ़) : विदेश मंत्री नहीं, गृह मंत्री से।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हां, गृह मंत्री से। चलिए, काम-चलाऊ मंत्री हैं, देश को जहन्नुम में जाने दीजिये, काम चलेगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, पंजाब के पुराने मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा है कि उनके पास सुबूत है कि पाकिस्तान में आतंकवादियों को हथियार चलाने का प्रशिक्षण दिया गया। क्या वह सुबूत केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास भी है? अगर वह सुबूत है, तो इस श्वेत-पत्र में उसका समावेश क्यों नहीं है? क्या कूटनीतिक स्तर पर यह मामला कभी पाकिस्तान से उठाया गया? कब उठाया गया, किस रूप में उठाया गया? अगर पाकिस्तान भारत के नागरिकों को भारत से बगावत करने के लिए हथियार चलाने की शिक्षा पता है, तो पाकिस्तान भारत के खिलाफ शत्रुतापूर्ण कार्यवाही करता है। पाकिस्तान के साथ इस स्थिति में कोई बात नहीं हो सकती। फिर नौ-बार-पैकट कैसा? फिर व्यापार

और सांस्कृतिक संबंध बढ़ाने की चर्चा कैसे हो सकती है? जब हम ने चीन के साथ सम्बन्ध सामान्य बनाने का फैसला किया, तो चीन से साफ कहा कि आप नागाओं को हथियार देते रहे हैं, चलाने की शिक्षा देते रहे हैं, आप इसे बंद करने वाले हैं या नहीं? चीन ने कहा वह बात पुरानी हो गई है, आप उसको छोड़िये।

हम पाकिस्तान से प्रेमालाप कर रहे हैं। अभी अभी भगत जी वहां हो कर आये हैं। शाही कोफता, बिरियानी खाकर अषा कर आये हैं। पाकिस्तान के प्रतिधि-सत्कार की वाहवाही करते आए हैं। हमारे पुराने विदेश मंत्री पाकिस्तान के विदेश मंत्री को हवाई जहाज में लेकर माल-द्वीप गए थे। यह हाइजैकिंग के बाद की घटना है। यह दोहरी नीति नहीं चल सकती है, यह दोगली नीति नहीं चल सकती है। अगर पाकिस्तान भारत को तोड़ने का षडयंत्र कर रहा है तो प्रधान मंत्री सारी बात हमें बतलायें। चलिए आप विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को ही बुला कर विश्वास में लें। उस दिन जब सैनिक कार्यवाही के बाद हम प्रधान मंत्री जी से मिले, तो उन्होंने इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। गृह सचिव ने कह दिया कि पाकिस्तान का हाथ है। श्वेत पत्र इस बारे में मौन है।

मैं एक बात और पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सैनिक कार्यवाही के लिए 5 जून को क्यों चुना गया। 4 जून को गुरू अंगद-देव जी का उद्योति-जोत समारोह था। बड़ी संख्या में गांव से लोग गुरुद्वारे में आए थे दर्शन के लिए, स्नान के लिए और गुरुवाणी, शब्द कीर्तन सुनने के लिए। बहुत से निरापराधी लोग मारे गए। हमारी सहानुभूति उनके साथ है। हमने कल उन्हें श्रद्धांजलि दी है

लेकिन उनकी मौत को टाला नहीं जा सकता था ? कहा यह जा रहा है कि 5 जून इस लिए जरूरी थी कि सरकार को ऊंचे सूत्रों से, विदेशी सूत्रों से खबर मिली थी कि अगर 5 जून को सेना अन्दर नहीं भेजी गई, तो हरमिन्दर से स्वतंत्र खालिस्तान का ऐलान कर दिया जाएगा और उस स्वतंत्र खालिस्तान को कुछ अरब देश मानेंगे और कुछ पश्चिमी देश मानेंगे ।

श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला : 1 और 2 तारीख को 20 आदमी मारे गए अन्दर से गोली चलाकर और 3 तारीख को वे आन्दोलन करने वाले थे ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप बैठिए, मैं आप को बोलने की इजाजत दूंगा ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ समाचारपत्र नाम ले रहे हैं के० जी० बी० का । क्या उन्हें रूस से खबर मिली है ? मैं नहीं जानता कि इस में कहाँ तक सच्चाई है लेकिन अगर इसमें सच्चाई है, तो साफ कहिये और सदन को विश्वास में लीजिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कार सेवा के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ । बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि यह विवाद का विषय बन गया है । हम तो सोचते थे कि जो हो गया सो हो गया । सेना ने आतंकवादियों से हरमिन्दर को मुक्त करने के लिये कार्यवाही की और उस में अकाल तख्त को क्षति पहुँची अब सिख पंथ की परम्परा के अनुसार उस अकाल तख्त का किर से पुनर्निर्माण किया जाए और जो कार सेवा की जाए, उसमें सब लोग शामिल हों लेकिन यह मामला भी विवाद का मामला बन गया । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि

बाबा खड़ग सिंह से जो बात हुई, वह क्यों टूटी ? क्या यह सच है कि सरकार स्वर्ण मंदिर से सेना हटाने को तैयार हो गई थी और उसका जोर केवल इस बात पर था कि तोशाखाने पर सेना रहेगी और दर्शनी ड्योढ़ी पर सेना रहेगी । तोशाखाने में क्या है । वहाँ सेना रखना क्या जरूरी है ? दर्शनी ड्योढ़ी में सेना रखना क्या आवश्यक है ? आप मंदिर की रक्षा कीजिये और अवैध आदिमियों को जाने से रोकिये । वहाँ हथियार क्यों जाएं ? गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी का कहना है कि हमने मान लिया था कि यहाँ केवल पारम्परिक हथियार मतलब यह कि तलवार और कृपाण ही आएंगी और कोई हथियार नहीं आएगा । उन्होंने यह भी मान लिया था कि यहाँ अपराधियों को पनाह नहीं दी जायेगी । यह बाबा संता सिंह कहाँ से आ गये । मैं उनके खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ । अगर बाबा संता सिंह कार सेवा करने के लिए सर्वाधिक उपयुक्त हैं, तो पहले बाबा खड़क सिंह से क्यों बात चली । क्या बाबा संता सिंह के साथ कोई समझौता हुआ है ? गुरुद्वारों का प्रबन्ध भविष्य में कैसे चलाया जाएगा, क्या इसके बारे में बाबा संता सिंह को कोई आश्वासन दिये गये ? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि बाबा संता सिंह के खिलाफ भी पुलिस में मामले दर्ज हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, सैनिक कार्यवाही हो गई और उसके बाद हमने टेलीविजन पर देखा कि एक संत लाए गए । उन्होंने संत भिडरावाला की बड़ी आलोचना की । हमने कहा कि बड़ी हिम्मत वाले हैं । थोड़े दिन बाद अखबार में पढ़ा कि उन्हें गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया है । उनके यहाँ से बहुत से हथियार मिले हैं । मैं दोषारोपण करने के लिए

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

भाषण नहीं कर रहा हूँ।... (ध्वजध्वान)...
ये मेरी भावना नहीं समझेंगे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपना भाषण उप-
संहार की ओर ले जाता हूँ। आजादी के
36 साल बाद, देश के बटवारे के 36 साल
बाद भी आज देश की एकता के ऊपर फिर
से प्रश्नचिह्न लग जाए, यह शासन चलाने
वालों के लिए कोई बहुत अच्छी बात नहीं
है। हम अभी तक एक राष्ट्र नहीं बने यह
कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। मजहब के आधार
पर पाकिस्तान बना, वह बट गया। हमने
मजहब को अपना आधार नहीं बनाया।
हमने कहा कि हमारा देश धर्म-निरपेक्ष,
सेक्यूलर होगा। यह सभी धर्मों के मानने
वालों के लिए होगा। फिर भी भारत बंटने
के कगार पर आ गया है। क्या इसके लिये
अकाली ही जिम्मेदार है और प्रधान मंत्री
दूध की घुली हुई है।

प्रधान मंत्री जी कहती हैं कि वे जहर
पीने के लिए तैयार हैं। उनके हिस्से में तो
अमृत आया है, जहर तो बाकी लोग पियेंगे।
लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि परमात्मा के
लिए देश की एकता को राजनीति का मुद्दा
मत बनाइये, चुनाव का मुद्दा मत बनाइये।
देश की एकता के साथ खिलवाड़ मत करिये
जो कुछ हो गया। उसको अब भूल जाएं
और एक नये अध्याय का श्रीगणेश करें।
आखिर स्वर्ण मंदिर में सेना कब तक रहेगी,
पंजाब में सेंसर कब तक चलेगा? आप
किसी भी हिस्से के चप्पे चप्पे पर फौज नहीं
खड़ी कर सकते हैं। देश एक रहेगा तो
किसी एक पार्टी की वजह से एक नहीं
रहेगा, किसी एक व्यक्ति की वजह से एक
नहीं रहेगा, किसी एक परिवार की वजह

से एक नहीं रहेगा। देश एक रहेगा तो देश
की 70 करोड़ जनता की देशभक्ति की
वजह से रहेगा।

श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला
(संगरूर) : स्पीकर साहब, सबसे पहले मैं
अपनी तसकरी शुरू करता हूँ, प्रधान मंत्री
जी का प्रति धन्यवादी हूँ कि उन्होंने 5-6
तारीख को फैसला करके हिन्दुस्तान को
टुकड़े-टुकड़े होने से बचाया और पंजाब के
गुरुद्वारों को उन लोगों से आजादी दिलवाई।
मैं तो यह भी कहूँगा कि पंजाब के बाहर के
मिस्त्रों को प्रधान मंत्री जी का शुक्रगुजार
होना चाहिये। इसके आगे मैं उस सेना के
जवानों का भी शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ और
हर सिख को भी यह कहूँगा कि वह भी करे
जिन्होंने 6 तारीख को गुरुद्वारों से उन
लोगों को निकाला जो हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े-
टुकड़े करना चाहते थे। आखिर मैं बाबा
सन्ता सिंह जी का भी शुक्रिया अदा करना
चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने जिम्मे यह नेक
काम हाथ में लिया। एस० जी० पी० सी०
की वजह से, अकालियों की वजह से गोल्डन
टेम्पल का जो नुकसान हुआ उसको ठीक
कराने और मुकम्मिल करने की जिम्मेदारी
बाबा संता सिंह जी ने अपने हाथ में ली है।

स्पीकर साहब, यह बड़े अफसोस का
इमकान है। इस सारे लम्बे अर्से में जो कुछ
पंजाब में हुआ उस पर हर सिख का सिर
शर्म से झुक जाता है। सिख चाहे अकाली
हो या गैर अकाली हो, हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में
जो सब से बुरी बात हुई है वह यह कि
हमारी नीयत पर शक हो रहा है या हुआ
है। इसकी वजह से हर सिख शर्मिन्दा है
और हर सिख का सिर झुक जाता है।

स्पीकर साहब, पिछले ढाई-तीन साल के
अर्से में कौन-सी बात है जो गुरुद्वारे में नहीं

हुई। वाजपेयी जी हमारे सीनियर लीडर हैं और वे सब कुछ जानते हैं। वो वक्त भी था जब ये बोलते थे। जब बे-गुनाह लोगों को, हिन्दुओं और सिक्खों को कत्ल किया जा रहा था। तब वाजपेयी जी और अन्य सभी दुःख का इजहार करते थे। मगर आज बिल्कुल कुछ अपनी सोच इन्होंने बदल ली है। सिर्फ एक तरफा चल रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे किसी को नहीं करना चाहिये। यह बहुत बद-किस्मती का मुकाम था जो दो तीन साल पंजाब में हुआ और जो लोगों के साथ बर्ताव हुआ।

स्पीकर साहब, कौन नहीं जानता कि गुरुद्वारों में किसका इंतजाम होता है। एस० जी० पी० सी० सिक्खों की एक वाहिद जमात है जिसके जिम्मे यह काम लगाया हुआ है कि वह सिक्खों के धार्मिक स्थानों का इंतजाम करे। इस हिन्दुस्तान में छोटा सा फिरका हम हैं। कुछ वजूहात की वजह से उस वक्त की सरकार ने हमारे लिए खास एक कानून बनाया और गुरुद्वारों का इंतजाम सरकार के दखल से करना पड़ा। सरकार उसमें इलेक्शन कराती है। प्रिंसाइडिंग आफिसर सरकार का होता है। प्रेसीडेंट के इलेक्शन में डिप्टी कमिशनर प्रिंसाइडिंग आफिसर होता है। यह सब कुछ और किसी धर्म में वहीं होता। हिन्दुओं, ईसाइयों, पारसियों, मुसलमानों में नहीं होता। उनके भी मंदिर हैं, मस्जिदें हैं, गिरजाघर हैं, मगर वहां पर ऐसा नहीं होता। अगर हमारे लिए एक रियायत मिली हुई है और और सरकार ने 1947 के बाद भी हमको यह रियायत दी हुई है तो हमको इसका नाजायज फायदा नहीं उठाना चाहिए। इस का नाजायज फायदा दुनिया के सामने उठाया गया। कौन कह सकता है कि गुरु-

द्वारों में अगर फौज चली गई तो गुरुद्वारों की मर्यादा भंग हो गई। मुतवरकता खत्म हो गई। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके पहले क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ। क्या आप भूल गये? क्या वहां पर कत्ल नहीं हुए। लोगोवाल ने जो अकाली दल के प्रेसीडेंट हैं, उसने पैसा देकर भिडरावाले के आदमी का कत्ल नहीं कराया? क्या उसने बलजीत कौर को पिस्तौल देकर सोढी का कत्ल नहीं कराया और भिडरावाले ने क्या किया जो आपको रेलीजियस लीडर कहता था। मैंने तो कभी उसको माना नहीं। (व्यवधान)

कभी नहीं कहा। मैं समझता हूँ कि दुनिया में हिस्ट्री में किसी भी मुतवरक जगह में ऐसे वाक्यात नहीं मिलेंगे कि जिस औरत ने जुर्म किया एक पार्टी के कहने पर उसको इस तरह की सजा दी गई हो। दरबार साहब में भिडरावाले ने वह काम किया, जिस भिडरावाले के आप साहेबान वकील हैं। उस औरत को गर्म तवे पर बिठा कर उसके सात टुकड़े किए गये और जिन्दा जलाया गया। (व्यवधान) दिस इज आन दी रिकार्ड और फिर जिस शिन्दे ने पिस्तौल दी थी, जिसको दो लाख में लोगोवाल ने खरीदा था सोढी को खत्म करने के लिए, उसके सात टुकड़े करवाकर अमृतसर वाली सड़क पर, जी० टी० रोड पर फिकवाया गया और सिर गुरुद्वारे में ले जाया गया। तब उसकी मर्यादा भंग नहीं हुई। अगर डिप्लिंड आर्मी उसको मदमाशों से बचाने के लिए, बदमाशों को निकालने के लिए मजबूरन दाखिल करनी पड़ी तो मर्यादा भंग हो गई। वहां पर क्या कुछ नहीं हुआ। मैंने काफी जानकारी हासिल करने की कोशिश की कि हाऊस में सही-सही बात कही जाए। इतिफाक की बात है कि सारा ड्रामा रचने

[श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला]

वाले सब एक ही जगह के हैं और मैं उनको पर्सनली जानता हूँ। भिंडरवाले गांव-रोड्डा और जत्थेदार कृपाल सिंह गांव-बैरोकी के हैं जो कि मोगा में हैं। भिण्डरवाला भी बरार था और जिसने सफाई दी है, वह भी बरार है। पत्तो हीरा सिंह मोगे का बरार है। जनरल बरार कहते हैं कि इसका किसने आपरेशन किया, किसी ने नहीं किया, बरार ने किया। तीसरी दफा अकाल तख्त की मरम्मत हो रही है। पहले की थी बुड्डा दल के लीडर अकाली बाबा फूला सिंह जो महाराजा रणजीत सिंह के जनरल थे। दूसरी नवाब कपूर सिंह, जो अकाली दल के चीफ थे और अब बाबा सन्ता सिंह जो बुड्डा दल के चीफ है। तीनों दफा बुड्डा दल के चीफ ने इसकी मरम्मत करवायी है और आप कहते हैं कि बाबा संता सिंह कौन है? सन्ता सिंह अकाली बाबा फूला सिंह की फौज का जो महाराजा का सबसे बड़ा जनरल था, उससे चला आ रहा है। उसके पंजाब में सबसे ज्यादा मिस्त्रों में फालोअर्स हैं। अब जो डी० जी० पुलिस मिला है, वह भी पुट्टर गांव, मोगे का है, और इतिफाक की बात है कि मुझे यह हिस्टरी बतानी पड़ी क्योंकि मैं भी मोगे का हूँ। (ध्वजध्वनि) वाजपेयी जी को याद होगा कि जब यह आंदोलन चल रहा था तो जत्थेदार कृपाल सिंह ने एक ब्यान दिया जो सारे अखबारों में छपा कि कोई आदमी हथियार लेकर दरबार साहब में मत्था टेकने नहीं आ सकता। भिंडरवाले ने इस किस्म की वार-दातों की थीं इसलिए उसकी जमीर इजाजत नहीं देती थी। वह डरता था कि हथियार के बगैर दरबार साहब में कैसे चला जाऊँ? दरबार साहब के बारे में मैं गलत बात नहीं

कहना चाहता। जहाँ तक वह हथियार ला सकता था, वहीं से मत्था टेककर वापिस आ गया। अगले दिन जत्थेदार जो सबसे ऊँची हस्ती है, अपने संशोधित ब्यान में डिनाइ किया कि मैंने यह नहीं कहा। उसके बाद क्या हुआ? जिस जगह जत्थेदार के ब्यान के मुताबिक छोटे से छोटा हथियार भी नहीं ले जा सकते, वहाँ पाकिस्तान के हथियार आ गये। वहाँ पर तोपें, मशीनगन, एस० एल० आर० एल० एम० जी० आ गई और सात घंटे तक हिन्दुस्तान की आर्मी के साथ मुकाबला किया गया। कितना हिन्दुस्तान की फौज का नुकसान हुआ? मैं समझता हूँ यह अकाली दल, एस० जी० पी० सी० और सिखों के लिए शर्म की बात है क्योंकि हमारी फौज के लोगों को गुरुद्वारे की हिफा-के लिए मरना पड़ा। कार-सेवा को आप समझने की कोशिश कीजिए। जो आदमी गुरुद्वारे में जाता है और खुदा में यकीन रखता है, उसको पूरा हक हासिल है कि वह गुरुद्वारे में जाकर सेवा करे। अगर कोई टूट-फूट न हुई होती तो मैंने हजारों सिक्खों और हिन्दुओं को वहाँ देखा है जो अपने कपड़े धोकर परिष्कार साफ करते रहते हैं। वह भी कार सेवा है। अन्य लोग भी वहाँ कार सेवा करने आये हैं और आ रहे हैं। चाहे बाबा खडग सिंह आये, या बाबा संता सिंह आये, हर सिक्ख को पूरा हक हासिल है कि वहाँ जाए। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात कौन सी अकाली पार्टी के आइडन में लिखी है कि गुरुद्वारे में कार सेवा फलों सिक्ख ही कर सकता है, दूसरा कोई नहीं। उसकी क्या क्वालिटीज होगी, क्या क्वालिफिकेशन होगी? क्या आप कोई ऐसा उदाहरण मुझे बता सकते हैं। हर सिक्ख जो अपने को सहजधारी कहलवाता है, गुरुद्वारे में जाकर कार सेवा कर सकता है।

दुनिया की कोई ताकत उसको नहीं रोक सकती।

मैं हैरान हुआ कि कैसे बाबा मंता सिंह के खिलाफ हुक्मनामा जारी कर दिया गया। इन्होंने भिड़रावाले के खिलाफ क्या कभी कोई हुक्मनामा जारी किया या ये उससे डरते थे कि उसके पास अपनी फौज है। जब इस किस्म की वहां वारदातें हो रही थीं, लड़कियों को जलाया जा रहा था, आदमियों को कत्ल किया जा रहा था, लाशों को बाहर निकाल कर फेंक दिया जाता था डी० आई० जी० को मारा जा रहा था और दूसरे सैकड़ों लोगों को मारा जा रहा था, तब ऐसा क्यों नहीं हुआ।

प्रो० अजित कुमार मेहता : उस वक्त सरकार सब कुछ देखती रही।

श्री जी० एस० निहलसिंहवाला : यदि आपको कोई वाकफियत नहीं तो आप छोड़ क्यों नहीं देते, क्यों भगड़े में पड़े हो। स्पीकर साहब, दुनिया में कोई असूल की बात भी होती है, कोई इकलाख की भी बात होती है। अकाली पार्टी के प्रधान टोहरा साहब, एस० जी० पी० सी० के प्रधान थे, सरदार सुरजीत सिंह वरनाला, इस हाउस में मिनिस्टर रहे, बादल साहब भी इस हाउस में मिनिस्टर रहे और बाद में पंजाब में चीफ मिनिस्टर भी रहे। उन्होंने जिस आइन की कसम खाई, जिसका हलफ उठाया, यदि वे उसको जलाते हैं और फिर कहें कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के वफादार हैं, उनको ऐसा कहने का कोई हक नहीं है। कोई भी आदमी यदि हिन्दुस्तान का आइन जलाता है, हिन्दुस्तान का झंडा जलाता है। और उनके साथ हमारे कुछ साधियों के ताल्लुकात गहरे हों तो आप बताइये क्या वह

अपने आपको हिन्दुस्तान का वफादार कहलवा सकता है। ये अभी भी अकाली भिन्न कहते हैं।

बाजपेयी जी ने यहां पर सिक्खों का नाम लिया, अकालियों की जगह, मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसा करके उन्होंने सबको एक ही भाव दिया। आर्डन को जलाने वाले भी, उसके लगा खिलाफ आवाज उठाने वाले भी, उन सबको सिक्स कह कर एक साथ शामिल कर दिया। मैं समझता हूं कि यह सिक्खों के साथ ज्यादाती है। उन्होंने जो कुछ किया है, उस से ज्यादा हिन्दुस्तान के आइन की, हिन्दुस्तान के झंडे की तोहीन हों नहीं सकती थी, जितनी उन्होंने की है। मैं उसको मुल्क के साथ सबसे बड़ी गद्दारी समझता हूं।

स्पीकर साहब यहां यह बात बड़ी देर तक चलती रही कि ये मीडरेट सिक्ख हैं, ये एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स हैं, भिड़रावाला वह है, टोहरा दोनों के पास जाता है। यह सारी बातें गलत हैं। इन सब का एक एक ही प्रोग्राम था। मैं अब भी कहता हूं कि जब भिड़रावाला ज़िन्दा था तो यहां तीन तफा तकरीर हुई और मैंने तब भी कहा कि वे सब एक हैं, उनमें कोई मीडरेट नहीं है या कोई एक्सट्रीमिस्ट नहीं है। बल्कि मैं तो यह भी कहता हूं कि उनके फौलोवर आज भी क्रुशियों पर बैठे हुए हैं। उनका कहना है कि कौन रोक सकता है खालिस्तान बनने से, आज का तहसीलदार कहता है कि मैं कमिश्नर बनूंगा। यह बीमारी पंजाब में क्यों आई। यह बीमारी जाटों और किसानों में लाई गई। वे तो सीधे-साधे थे, उनको तो समझाया जा सकता था। सोये को तो जगाया जा सकता है लेकिन जो जागता हुआ आख बंद कर ले तो उसको नहीं

[श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला]
जगाया जा सकता। इस समय जो आफिसर वहां हैं, उन्होंने यह बीमारी फैलाई है, जितने आई० सी० एस०, आई० ए० एस० और पी० सी० एम० है, उनकी वजह से यह बीमारी फैली है। एक दफा इनको मौका मिला था, जिस समय 1947 में हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ था तो उस समय ज्यादातर आफिसर अंग्रेज और मुसलमान थे। उनके चने जाने के बाद इनको ऐसा जम्प मिला कि जो हैड कांस्टेबल था, वह डी० आई० जी० रिटायर हुआ और जो नायब तहसीलदार था, वह कमिशनर रिटायर हुआ। क्योंकि अंग्रेज तो चले गये, इस कारण उनको जम्प मिला, जगह खाली हो गई थी। अब भी ये समझते हैं कि जितने हमारे लड़के हैं, कहीं हाई कमिशनर, कहीं अम्बेसडर हों। कहीं हाई कमिशनर और कहीं एम्बेसडर। इन सबकी नीयत बद है, यह खालिस्तान चाहते थे और कोई डिमांड नहीं थी। क्यों निगोशियेन्स पूरे नहीं हुए? तीन पार्टियां थीं। एक ने अपनी डिमांड्स रखी, दूसरी ने कहा नहीं आनंदपुर साहब रजि-ल्युशन जरूर पूरा करना है। अगर सरकार ने नहीं माना, या इन्हें समझाया तो तीसरा दल बैठा है राइफल लिए हुए कि मना कर आओ, फिर मैं देखता हूँ। यह सब बाहर जा कर एक जवान ही बोलते थे। तो इनकी नीयत बिल्कुल बद थी। यह सिख कोम को तबाह करना चाहते थे भट्टे में भोंक देना चाहते थे और हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े करना चाहते थे।

आपको पता है कि एस० जी० पी० सी० की बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है, वहां की मुन्तजिम है। जब इतना कुछ हो रहा है था तो एस० जी० पी० सी० नहीं बता सकी पुलिस

अफसरों को, केन्द्र सरकार को और अपोजीशन के लोगों को कि इस किस्म के आदेशों अन्दर दाखिल हो गये हैं और ऐसी वरिदातें कर रहे हैं जिससे गुरुद्वारे की सैनिटरी खत्म हो गई है, हमारा मुंह काला कर दिया है दुनिया में। इसका भाई कोई रास्ता निकालो। लेकिन किसी ने नहीं कहा। जब मोर्चे लग रहे थे, सैंड बैग्स आ रहे थे ट्रकों में भरे हुए तो क्या उनको नजर नहीं आते थे? कैसे कह सकते हैं कि उनको इल्म नहीं था? मैं समझता हूँ कि वह सब जानते थे। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की फराकदिली है कि किसी-के जज्बात को न भड़काया जाय यह सोच कर चुप रही। वरना एस० जी० पी० सी० के खिलाफ और उन लोगों के खिलाफ लाजिमी तौर पर केस रजिस्टर होने चाहिये जिन्होंने यह जुमं मुल्क, गुरुद्वारे और सिख कम्युनिटी के खिलाफ करवाये।

मैं मानता हूँ कि अपोजीशन पार्टी के ताल्लुकात होते हैं लेकिन जिससे भी ताल्लुकात हों वह किसी पार्टी का लीडर तो हो। अकाली पार्टी के लीडर्स के साथ इनकी बातें हों, एस० जी० पी० सी० के साथ बात कर सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि भिडरावाले से किस हैसियत से अपोजीशन बात कर रहा था?

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : कभी नहीं कर रहे थे।

मैं किसी का गलत नाम नहीं लूंगा, बल्कि जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह रहा हूँ जो मुझे मालूम है वहीं बात मैं करूंगा। फारूक अब्दुल्ला जब चीफ मिनिस्टर थे जम्मू-कश्मीर के तो 6 दफा खुफिया तौर पर भिडरावाला को मिलकर आये। फोटो मौजूद है। क्या हैसियत थी उसकी? क्यों

फारूक साहब मिलने गये ? क्या वजह थी ?
क्या इससे नीयत का पता नहीं लग सकता ?
मैं यहां तक बता सकता हूं कि फारूक साहब
के डाइंग रूम में दो फोटो थीं, एक भिडरां-
वाले की अकेले और दूसरी भिडरांवाले और
फारूक साहब की साथ साथ । ...

श्री राम बिलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) :
भिडरांवाले का संबंध मालूम है अपनों के
साथ इसलिये मत बोलिये । यह भी आप
सबको इत्तम है कि स्वामी जी वहां गये,
एम० पी० साहब, पता नहीं किस लिये इन
की पार्टी ने इनको सजा दी, शायद इसी
लिये दी कि वहां गये और मुलाकात की ।
अगर पार्लियामेंट में आते हुए इनको कोई
थोड़ी सी अड़चन पड़ जाये तो यह यहां शोर
मचा देगे, लेकिन जब भिडरांवाले को ये
स्वामी जी मिलने गये तो वहां 6 दफा इन
की तलाशी ली गई जिससे कि यह कोई
बैपन अपने साथ न ले जाये, लेकिन इनको
वहां कोई गुस्सा नहीं आया और यह उनके
साथ मिलकर आये । यहां आकर ये क्या
बयान देते हैं—“कि वहां तो न कोई एक्स-
ट्रीमिस्ट है, ना कोई बैपन है, वहां तो हाथ
में पकड़ने के लिए लकड़ी की सोटी भी
नहीं है ।” क्या बात है ?

श्री मल्लिक एम० एम० ए० खा (एटा) :
यह हाल है आप लोगों का ।

(Interruptions)

श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंहवाला : हम
उस कम्युनिटी में से हैं जिस कम्युनिटी के
गुरुओं ने दुनिया में हर इंसान का भला
मांगा, सरबत का भला ।

यह जो भाखड़ा कनाल में पानी है, जिनके
पास पानी नहीं है, उनके लिए अमृत है । इस

पानी में से बेशतर हिस्सा सिखों की जमीन
में लगता है । गंगानगर, करनाल डिवीजन,
सरसा और फतेहाबाद का बेशतर हिस्सा
सिखों के पास है । उन लोगों ने दो बार
नहर काटी, 2, 3 करोड़ का खर्चा हुआ और
अरबों रुपये की फसल तबाह हो गई और ये
सरबत के भले की बातें करते हैं और क्लेम
करते हैं कि हम उन गुरुओं के चेले हैं ।

कल मेरी स्पीच पढ़ने के बाद, दरबार
साहब के बाबाजी अकाल तख्त वाले कृपाल
सिंह जी अगर गुरुद्वारे की मरम्मत करने
वालों के खिलाफ हुक्मनामा कर सकते हैं तो
उन्हें नहर काटने वालों के खिलाफ हुक्म-
नामा निकालना चाहिए था, जिन्होंने हिन्दु-
स्तान के साथ जुल्म किया, लोगों के साथ
जुल्म किया ।

आखिर में मैं यही कहूंगा कि इतनी बड़ी
जद्दोजहद और इतना बड़ा नुकसान उठाने
के बाद हमारी फौज की बजह से जो हमारी
बचत हुई, फायदा हुआ, उसके लिए पंजाब
के सिख भाइयों को उनका शुक्रिया अदा
करना चाहिए, प्रधान मंत्री का हर सिख
को शुक्रिया अदा करना चाहिए और बाबा
संता सिंह का हर सिख को शुक्रिया अदा
करना चाहिए । यह कहकर मैं बैठता हूं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात भूल गया
जो कि बाजपेयी जी को कहना चाहता हूं ।

“यह कार सेवा सिख मर्यादा के मुताबिक
नहीं है ।

—डा० बलदेव प्रकाश ।”

डा० बलदेव प्रकाश भारतीय जनता
पार्टी के लीडर हैं, वह सिक्ख मर्यादा हमको
सिखायेंगे ?

श्री राम बिलास पासवान : इनके मन की बात हो तो खबर सही है, मन के लायक खबर न हो तो गलत है।

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Poliachi) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the White Paper which has been submitted by the government is nothing but a collection and a compilation of some of the reports from the newspapers.

Sir, when we discussed the Punjab issue on the previous occasion, we also demanded that the White Paper should be submitted by the Government so that the future course of action or the incidents which took place in those days would be known to the public as well. But somehow the Government took a decision not to submit the report at that time. But after the army operation, it has been submitted.

Sir, in regard to the Akali issue, there are some pages in this White Paper which state about how they have dealt with the Akalis' activities as well as the terrorists. Sir, it has also been stated in that report about the agitations launched by the Akalis then and there and how their demands were put forth before the public as well as the Government. It has also been mentioned how they were armed with weapons, how the arms and ammunitions were collected by the people who indulging in terrorist activities and how those people were supported by the Akalis. All these things have been mentioned in the White Paper. But I want to know whether the Government has come to know of all those things only now or after the army operations or the Government knew about it when all those incidents were already taking place. In some other case also, the Government tried to shirk the responsibility saying that the intelligence of the Government was not upto the mark or it had failed. But according to my information, I would like to quote some extracts of the newspaper items.

'According to Mr. P. S. Bhinder, former Inspector General of Police

(Law and Order), whom we interviewed just before he "resigned" from his post : "Intelligence Information reached the places it should have reached. It was a political failure."

Further he says :

"For Bhindranwale was not been over-night, he said. "He was the one man everyone tried to use and he went out of everyone's control."

"This was confirmed by Mr. A. S. Pooni, former Home Secretary of Punjab, who went on leave the day troops moved into the Golden Temple on grounds of "ill health".

Again, it has been reported like this.

"Senior police officers in Punjab categorically stated that the CID gave the Government detailed information about the LMGs, rifles, stenguns, double barrellled guns, pistols, telescopic rifles and high explosives which were in the possession of the extremists. In fact, according to these sources, the CID had in their possession detailed maps of terrorist positions within the Golden Temple complex. "But the Army never asked for them", they stated.

It has further been stated and I quote—

"A senior police officer from Amritsar stated that many VIPs from Delhi and Chandigarh visited Amritsar frequently. "We showed them the fortifications inside the Golden Temple", he stated.

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR (Gurdaspur) : Sir, this newspaper report is not correct. It is absolutely incorrect. The Inspector General (Law and Order) Shri P. S. Bhinder did not say this at all and he has contradicted this newspaper report, Sir, it should not be allowed to go on record, (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : It has been stated in Sunday Statesman dated 8th July 1984. He may contradict it. Another gentleman Mr. A. S. Pooni, former Home Secretary of Punjab has also confirmed this. He has not contradicted this. So, I think this can go on record.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no, when it has been contradicted by the person concerned.....

THE MINISTER OF CHEMICALS AND FERTILIZERS (SHRI VASANT SATHE) : When it has been contradicted by Bhinder himself, what is there to be confirmed by Puni ? The whole basic story goes away. In all fairness to Bhinder, it should be withdrawn... . (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER : Mr, Dhandapani, leave this argument when it is not correct. Come to the other facts.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : According to him, the Government was very well aware of the fact, how the arms were smuggled into the Golden Temple and how many arms were there. Why did the Government not act on the report of the CID in Punjab ? Why did the Government delay and what were the reasons ? I would like to know this from the Government. It may be due to some other reasons.

Shri Chakraborty has put a very pertinent question about Bhindranwale. Who was the mentor of Bhindranwale ? Whose creation was he ?

AN HON. MEMBER : God's creation.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : If you claim that you are God, it is all right.

This question has not been answered. On many occasions when the Government should have acted and ought to have arrested Bhindranwale, it failed in its duty and he was let off from the jail without any bail or any undertaking or

bond etc. Therefore, I must say that he is the creation of Congress Party. He was working for the Congress Party..... (*Interruptions*).

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : It is not at all correct. That has been made very clear by everybody concerned.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : It has been stated in one of the papers ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Which paper ?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : The Week.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Is that the Gospel or the Bible or the Gita or the Koran ? I should like to know.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : It depends on whose paper it is ...and belief (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER : Please come to the facts.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : Sir, they were not able to take action against Bhindranwale.

There is another important matter. The opposition parties have made certain concrete suggestions to the Government. I also took part in two meetings. We gave some concrete suggestions, but we could not find them in the White Paper.

Then, there is a catalogue of incidents in the White Paper. According to this, right from 1981 to June 2, 1984, there were 561 incidents. From 20th March, 1981 to 21st December, 1981, there was only 28 incidents. From 21st January 1983 to 24th December, 1982, there were 32 incidents. Then from 10th January, 1983 to 24th December, 1983, there were 130 incidents. And thereafter within five months time from January 5, 1984 to June 2, 1984 the number of incidents was

[Shri C.T. Dhandapani]

363. What does it show ? It was because there was lethargy, there was no move from the Government to have an amicable settlement. These incidents were increasing year after year.

There is another important matter and I am surprised to read that in the White Paper. It is not only not relevant here, but it is not at all required by anybody. It has been stated on page 70 :

"The people of India do not accept the proposition that India is a multi-national society."

I humbly differ from the statement.

SHRI A. K. SEN (Calcutta North West) : You have taken the oath.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : That is a different matter. I differ from this. There are many nationalities now.

MR. SPEAKER : There is only one nationality; Indian nationality. There is no other nationality.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : There are many nationalities, but we live as one nation.

MR. SPEAKER : Do not say all this. It is a question of Constitution. There is only one nation.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : There is only one nation. Multinational means many nations. Do you say that there are many nations in this country ?...

(Interruptions)

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN : It is English language. If you do not know proper usage, you should speak in a language where you can express yourself properly... (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : These comments are not proper.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : I am very much aware of my facts. I am telling that even the dictionary also, for the word 'nationality' it says, 'a group of people having common distinguished, racial and linguistic, cultural nature and forming a constituent element of a group as a nation.' It is given so in the Webster New International Dictionary, on page 1505.

There are fifty nationalities in China. They constitute one nation. The same is the case with USSR. Therefore, this is a debatable point. I would like to say this, more particularly when we talk about Centre-State relations, that this sort of idea should not be imported.

Secondly, about Centre-State relations, Sarkaria Commission has been constituted. We welcomed it. But we also remember that when D.M.K. was in power, we constituted a committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Rajamannar. Mr. Chandra Reddy, a retired Chief Justice and Mr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University were Members. They gave a report to the Central Government. We requested the Central Government to examine the recommendations, and if the Government thinks it proper they may invite the State Government for discussions or the Government may appoint another Commission so that the question of Centre-State relationship can be discussed at length. We made this suggestion to the Central Government, in 1972. But that was not accepted.

AN HON. MEMBER : Is it all in the White Paper ?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : Our suggestion was not accepted. Now, the Government has come out with a Commission, the Sarkaria Commission. We also welcomed that. We hope that it would function properly and give its recommendations so that Centre-State

relations can be settled in an amicable way.

Before I conclude I would like to say, on behalf of my party, that the Army in the Golden Temple should be withdrawn immediately. The Army can be outside the Temple so that the pilgrims can go without any difficulty.

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : Just one point more. The government itself says there are many moderate Akali leaders ; they are in jails ; they should be released so that government can have dialogues with them for the future programme.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur) : Honourable Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have previously spoken on different occasions on Punjab problems, both on the Floor of this August House as also elsewhere.

The White Paper exposes quite lucidly all facts of the whole case and the situation is under review and now with the House itself to ponder over.

The connected inferences and ramifications can be easily drawn from the facts laid bare in the White Paper. So, it is not only the facts, there are inferences, ramifications which could be followed quite easily as to what is the setting around, what is the situation around and how it all came to be. When we dove-tail all that we surmise it explains very clearly as to who is to blame in regard to the sad and sordid story whilst trying to hold the Indian nation to ransom. Once we dove-tail the whole thing, one can understand and one can easily pin-point as to where the trouble is ; and that is being done, aided and abetted by the modern day machiavellian disruptive and ruthless forces both internal as also external to achieve their own small and big time ends and interests. That is really the brief that concerns the situation and the discussion that we hold today.

Now, I would like to bring out before you in a very simple manner the facts which I have been saying before also ; and I take the liberty to reiterate that this question was and is national question. I was rather sad even today. I know how things had been handled previously by various parties in that respect. I only wish that the whole of this question should all along been considered as a national question ; then the complexities and the tragedies which are come to be certain would not have taken place as they did occur.

This land of ours, India, the best out of all the land the world over, in my view, from any point of view, civilization, culture, evolution, knowledge, cumulative knowledge and whatever you like to call it, qualitative manpower and so on, the best in the world from any point of view ; and it is a pity that some of us perhaps got misled and misdirected and could not understand the significance of it particularly now when after centuries we came to be the largest chunk of this sub-continent, that is, from Kanyakumari right upto the Himalayas.

AN HON. MEMBER : From Lakshadweep.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW : I know it I cannot miss it. Geographically I am ; quite well off. This is the land ; this is the native land. As one of the good poets said :

"Breathes there a man
with soul so dead
who never to himself
has said
This is my own my native land"

With this perspective in view, we have to go through our deliberations and then build up on that to the advantage of millions of our people we have to tend and look after. And this land gives you inspiration addedly because we have had the heritage in this very land of tremen-

[Shri R.S. Sparrow]

dous sages which others cannot hope to produce — our rishis, munis, bhagats, avtars, pirs, paigambars, mahatmas, gurus, freedom fighters, war heroes and so on.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : He has started from Indus civilisation. It will take quite long. He should go to Punjab.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW : In the modern-day sense of the word, India has achieved the stature of a strong power. We are amongst the first four powerful nations in the comity of world nations. No doubt about it. If that be the case, my worry is that we thus incur the envy of some of the nations for their own reasons. This is where I bring you on to in this particular context. And it is a very important aspect in the present discussion. The foreign powers, their clandestine and other manoeuvres that are there have been consistently worked out by those who look into this problem in that light. From all indications and of their politico-strategic moves, it appears that some foreign powers would want to de-stabilise and vivisection us. I have no doubt about it. I have been a student not only of history but also of geo-political, geo-strategical angle which obtains importance today in the world. I have no doubt whatsoever on that account. There are certain proofs I will put up to you for your kind notice and consideration. I offer some examples.

With a sabre-shaking collusion Karakorum Road has been hung over our heads militarily as a sword of Damocles. And that again on our own territory occupied by them. Look at the manoeuvres. There is also the case of still holding on to the one-third of our own J & K territory and over 30,000 square KM area by the same collusive powers working hand in glove. Special effort is being made in collusion to build up one of our close neighbours as a nuclear power. I quote a report of the PTI dated 23 July, 1984 and the headline is : "Chinese working at Pak nuclear Plants". In that the PTI says :

"Chinese atomic scientists are working at a Pakistani nuclear plant, according to a report in the British daily, Financial Times.

In the front-page report, the paper says quoting US Administration officials in Washington, that the United States is concerned about the presence of Chinese scientists at a secret Pakistani nuclear facility.. "

And so it goes on.

Special effort is being made in collusion to build up the nuclear power. Besides that, how extremists are and were helped by certain foreign powers collusively can be seen from a press release of the Tribune dated 27 June, 1984. I quote a bit of it.

"The U. S. Central Intelligence Agency (C. I. A.) and Pakistan Intelligence were actively involved in the training of anti-India terrorists in specialised camps in Pakistan, according to information received from across the border."

And then it goes on to say :

"Muslims in the guise of sikhs were trained in Kasur by a Brigadier of the Pakistan Artillery Regiment. Each batch consisted of 300 to 400 Muslims and they were trained for three to four months."

And then certain other spots are also given where such type of training had been conducted — Aminabad, Rahim Yar Khan, Attock Fort, Daud Fort and so on.

Then I move on to the espionage and spy cells which had been including the serving and Ex-General rank officers of India itself, which I do not have to explain to you. You all know about it.

So, this is the contribution from across our borders and far away from our borders. Even trained up circumcised foreign countries "Nihangs" had to be involved there during the Golden Temple's episode. You have read about it.

Highly specialised work-technique was put into play to convert the indoctrinate even the simple and malleable minded Sikh youth by loading them with money, muskets and motor cycles. I keep on hearing different types of stories. Young Sikh boys being brought in, money thrown about in universities and campuses in colleges and so on and so forth. I have been a student myself, I have been in the university, I have also been the President of certain associations of the college. One understands how young we are and how we sometimes get swayed into something. One gives lecture and you say 'all right'. These poor little children have been misdirected, mis-trained and then used in such a terrible job. So, this is the contribution coming across on our head. Are we to be taken on by them in their own way? Don't we, therefore, see the big aim which implies such exercise in clandestine manoeuvres? This is a big point and I am very glad to know that the hon. Prime Minister has already indicated this type of effort from across the borders and far away from the borders, to let us down, to try, to vivisection, to bring us into smithereens, to break up homogeneity of this beautiful country and not allow any kind of a rival to anybody. So, this is one aspect of it which has really had a direct effect in so far as all the trouble that has started in Punjab is concerned. It is not only Bhindranwale. Now, someone brought up the question who groomed him up? May I suggest one thing. Would you recall 13th of April 1978? Would you remember the incident of Nirankari shooting and some other shooting that started? That was 1978. And then the Kirtani Jatha and others around Bhindranwale took the cudgels in their own hands and started shooting people around here and there. And who was then in command? At the Centre it was the Janata Party, and in Punjab it was the Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal. So,

this is where the Bhindranwale grooming started. You (opposition) were beating around the bush. Perhaps you don't know the back story of it. So, this is something which we have to historically also keep in view. The rest of the story is now before you. Many of my friends have given you that also.

I have one word to bring in because that has not been brought about by some of my friends. That is about the military action. Militarily, ethically, nationalistically and from religious point of view, the choosing and establishing of a military base at the Golden Temple by the perpetrators was grossly wrong. This is where the trouble started. This could not be anything else but a direct military challenge to the Indian authority. How could the planners and perpetrators create a military fortress, over-saturated with arms and arsenal, with gun positions add MMG emplacement, with slits and sand-bag position and then expect us to believe that is not a violent stance? It is a fully-prepared stance militarily and against whom? No one was attacking them. What for were they creating this base? They wanted to take the whole of Punjab, possibly with the connivance and collusion of foreign people and so on and so forth.

They wanted to create another Lebanon. If the terrorism was allowed to continue, it would have converted into a civil war. Definitely, it is a border area, a very sensitive area. You have started killing each other. And once you start killing each other, no one knows where it will end. Then criminals come into the fray, all sorts of undesirable people come into the fray and killing would continue without any consideration as to who is killing whom. This is exactly what is happening in Lebanon. The PLO organisation started fighting against the Jews. Then what happened? The Christians and Muslims began to fight and, lastly, fighting started between Muslims and Muslims. What is the result? There are 12,000 children in Beirut alone, who do not know who their parents are. They are being transferred from place to

[Shri R S. Sparrow]

place under various organisations and those poor children do not know their parents. You have the same position in Kampuchea. In those places also this is exactly how it started.

After Punjab, it may have been Kashmir, it may have been some other place and the colluding powers would have encouraged them. What is happening in Punjab would have its repercussions all over the country. Then possibly they would have done something in the north-east in the south and somewhere else. This is the type of picture that we would have found, if we had allowed the situation to continue.

We are very thankful to the hon. Prime Minister for putting the nail at the right place to control the situation. I belong to that place. People who live far afield try to tell us and advise us. It is understandable. But the man who is living there knows much more intimately what the situation there is. People living far away have not seen who is being killed. One day you kill a very fine type of individual, a full fledged fine type of Sikh of a very high virtue, a worthy erstwhile Akal Takht Tap Singh Saheb, the highest degree holder of Akal Takht, Gyani Pratap Singh, 84 years of age, who was shot down. Why? Because he said that such and such things should not take place inside the precincts of the holy shrine. That was his only fault for which he was killed. The second person was one of the finest type of Punjabi scholar, an hon. Member of Parliament, Shri Tiwary, who was shot down for no rhyme or reason. These are innocent people who have nothing to do with anything; yet, they are being killed to create sensation and chaos so that they can spread fighting elsewhere.

I thank the Madam Prime Minister and the hon. Speaker, at least as the Chairman of the Kisan Kheth Mazdoor Dal, Punjab. Lakhs of people have been listening to me in that capacity. I know all the villages and I have been going round everywhere and I have seen them. I know

how they feel about it and how they think about it. (*Interruptions*) Anyway, you (opposition Member) are living far away from that place. Allow me to say what I want to say. So, in that capacity, I particularly want to thank you (Hon. Prime Minister) for saving them from all the trouble, because they now feel that they are safe. The back of the perpetrators and the terrorists has been broken now. There is no doubt about it. But you have to winkle out the (remaining) terrorists now.

Some of my friends were saying to withdraw the armed forces, withdraw such and such hand over such and such. I don't mind that. But anyone has to judge it quietly as to when they should withdraw, this and withdraw that. But first the things should be made quiet and calm to your advantage and to everybody's advantage. Certainly you have to bring about normal life before you do that. But, Sir, I am very sorry about one thing. Some of the speeches that I have heard, I did not expect them so. Not all, some were very good. But some portions of the speeches from the opposite side hurt me a lot. I tell you why? They were tainted and politicised. This is not the occasion to do like that here. You can lay down your ideology in the best manner possible, but don't put your finger into my burning State—the Punjab. I feel hurt on that. You may search your mind and find out where you tried to politicise. Some of your versions were excellent; even some of your recommendations were excellent, but some of your other things were dangerous.

With these words I thank you for giving me time to express my views.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, in spite of some heat which has been generated in this Debate from time to time, I think, if one reviews the debate dispassionately, there are a few points on which, I think, unanimity has been expressed. There is no difference on those points at all either from this side or from that side. And one of the major points is that the Army action,

Operation Bluestar, when it came on the 5th of June could not have been avoided further. If it had been avoided further, it would have led to a much bigger and dangerous tragedy.

The question that has arisen is could it have been avoided Sir, a question was asked the other day at some Press Conference of an eminent and well-known retired Sikh General, who is neither a Congressman, nor an Akali. He is General Jagjit Singh Aurora, the hero of the Bangladesh War. And he calls himself as a non-political sikh. You can call him whatever you like. But when he was asked and it came out in the Press because he had expressed unhappiness at what he had seen about the destruction inside the Golden Temple : I know my sikh friends are not happy about the state of affairs. Nobody can be. He was asked : In your opinion, General, could this thing be avoided ? I very much like the reply the General gave, because I think it sums up the essence of what we have been trying to say. He said : If you get a boil on the big toe of your foot and you neglect that boil and the poison from that boil spreads up your leg till it comes and develops into gangrene on your knee, then if you ask what you have to do, the only answer is that you have to cut off your leg, otherwise you will die. I think that is a very apt way of putting what we are trying to say and which I think one should try to understand. Had a boil developed before it turned into gangrene ? Yes, everybody here is admitting it that the boil had developed long ago.

The White Paper, on which our main criticism is there, has said many useful things. After all, White Paper's main purpose should be to educate the public of the country to understand what actually happened, what the danger was, from where the danger was coming. On many of these questions this Paper is of course inadequate. And I do not expect the Government, after all, to be self-critical to the extent that they will admit that so many opportunities did come at various times when, if you had the political will,

you could have clinched something and forced these people to accept, it because not to accept it would mean to be exposed before their own Sikh masses. I proceed from the assumption, and it is a basic assumption which neither this side nor that side should forget that the Sikh masses in general are not to be identified with terrorists and are not to be considered as followers of Bhindranwale. *(Interruptions)* I have said in my earlier speech in April that it is the Government which is turning the Akalis into the sole representatives of the Sikh community. I have spoken it here in this House. You forget your own Sikhs, even the Congress Sikhs. You forget the Communist Sikhs, you forget other non-Party Sikhs. To you the only representatives of the Sikh community were of the Akali Dal. I had made this charge on April 18 here in this House before the action took place. So, the question is that you should keep these Sikh masses in mind, the farmers, lakhs of Sikhs in the villages. If you had kept them in mind, then the political leadership in my opinion should have followed a different strategy and that strategy should have been to try to isolate these terrorists from this broad mass of Sikh people who are not their supports, to drive a wedge between the terrorists and the ordinary Sikh citizens and farmers, and that is why we say that if on these 4 or 5 points which the Akalis had put forward among other demands, but which were not only Akali demands, but every Sikh feels for them—after so many years, even today, on the 25th of July 1984, he does not know whether Chandigarh is going to come to Punjab or not, even today there is no decision announced by the Government on that. The question of sharing of the river waters, the question of the other territorial areas over which there were some disputes—the entire Opposition and the Government had agreed on these points. In some meetings the Akali leaders had even agreed. Later on we told Madam Prime Minister, when the Akali leaders went away after those incidents in Haryana and they never came back again and we had suggested that even if they did not come back, let the Government and the Opposition Parties together at least on these 3-4 points,

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come out together saying that these are the decisions which we consider to be the just decisions on these questions and the Government is announcing them. This is what should be done. This is the only way by which the Sixth masses can be rallied to your side and not pushed into the arms of Bhindranwale and the terrorists. You did not follow that line. You see only the Akali leaders and you don't see anything else. You don't see lakhs of ordinary Sikh people. And therefore, we went on like this, drifting and drifting, and now in the Punjab the other day somebody said to me that Bhindranwale alive was less of a danger than Bhindranwale dead now. All those masses of people who were never with him may have been frightened, they may have been panicky, terrified, because of all these gun tating terrorists who were going around, killing innocent people right and left. But they were not supporting all these things at all. In respect of all those Sikh masses today, I regret to say that there is no use saying here 'No, no. Only a handful of people had been affected.' It is not the truth, let us be objective. We are living in India, we are not living in some other country in a vacuum. We are living in a country, in a society where religion and religious sentiments and religious feelings and prejudices are a most powerful and potent factor. Now I am speaking as an atheist, I am speaking to you all good men of religion as an atheist. I am saying and I well understand. I should not be able to understand, you should be able to understand better that to-day a vast mass of the Sikh Community, after what happened in Amritsar, in Golden Temple, has become so bitter, angry and hostile. It is not a great pity? It will take a long-long time to assuage these feelings. I say all glory to the Sikh mass who refused to carry out Bhindranwale's order to kill Hindus. If you have heard the cassettes of his speech which he was going every day inside the Golden Temple, I have heard that cassette in Chandigarh. In that he was saying clearly that if security forces ever attack the

temple, the first thing you must do is to kill every Hindu in your own village. If you do not feel like doing it, then go to the adjacent village and kill Hindus there and then march to Amritsar to protect Harmandir Sahib. This order of his misfired completely. No ordinary Sikh anywhere has raised his hand against Hindu brother. It is not a thing which for the future gives us great confidence and hope? Of course Hindus and Sikhs are very close to each other socially, in religious matters and in family matters. You know that. But he was inciting them to kill Hindus which would have set off the whole chain of communal frenzy and murder and would have led to large scale exodus of Hindus from Punjab. That is what the plan was, let them run away from Panjab and spread stories and let the Sikhs run from there and come back to Panjab for shelter. But the Sikh masses did not respond. Their heart was sound on this matter. I say all glory to them. But the same man to day in feeling so angry, hostile bitter and humiliated, because it is a country of religion.

To-morrow, if the Army goes into a mosque or mandir, the same kind of reaction would go on among Hindus and Muslims. You cannot avoid it. Therefore, we have to be calm about the whole thing and be very sober in objective.

As far as the Army is concerned, I think the job that was given to them was done efficiently by them and with great discipline and courage. But I cannot forget for a moment that the ordinary Indian Jawan whatever his religion may be, he is a god fearing man. The Jawan of the Indian Army doing his puja, his namaz is a villager in the uniform of the Indian Army. He is really a god fearing man. He was sent into the mandir. He carried out the order, suffering terrific casualties in the process. I doubt whether the Army of any other country could have carried out the same operation under similar conditions, the orders which were given. Any other Army would have just destroyed and finished the whole complex and razed it to the ground.

He was being fired at even from the

roof of Harmandir Sahib whereas they were in the open without any cover. So, anyway they did what they were ordered to do. We have paid tribute already to the sacrifice that has been made. But, I was upset, let me say, to find—thanks to the courtesy of the Defence Minister. Some of us were taken there less than a fortnight after this operation took place. General Sahib was also there with us. When we were taken to see the captured weapons, they were kept in Jalandhar and not in Amritsar. We were taken there. At least two big rooms full of these captured weapons were there. I also had an impression as I think public has got, that the vast bulk of these weapons are foreign weapons which would have been smuggled from outside. Of course, there are a large number of such weapons also, no doubt. But, as have pointed out in one of the points of my Amendment, the origins of a large Part of these weapons, the lethal and sophisticated weapons—I am not talking about handmade grenades, swords and that kind of weapons—have not been given and the majority of weapons like light machine guns, sten guns and at least 50 percent, may be more or less, of the rifles are our own, the equipment with which our jawans fight. Who is going to answer this? It is bad enough to have smuggled the stuff from across the border.

Is this not a danger to our country? The security of the country is in danger by the more fact that a large quantity of our own weapons were found in the Golden Temple and were in the hands of terrorists. Who is to inquire into this? I hold the Government and the Defence Ministry responsible for it. If it happens in Punjab, it can happen in any part of the country. It means that serious leakages are taking place from our own installations, from our own ordnance depots and factories perhaps, from our own units in the Army. How could it happen otherwise? These weapons were used ultimately against our own troops when they had to go inside the Golden Temple. I demand an inquiry into this, not just covering it up like this.

I should say that one of the reasons

why rumours were apread, not first spread, but why the rumours were believed and many of them are still believed, I regret to say, on a large scale in Punjab, is in my opinion, the pre-censorship of the press which is continuing till today. This has made the credibility of the Government media, official media, absolutely zero in the eyes of the ordinary people and they are driven to listen to BBC and all these things. This is the whole trouble.

‘यह सरकारी खबर सुनकर क्या होगा?
बी० बी० सी० लगाओ’

We were told that two or three days before the military operation, all foreign Correspondents were turned out from Punjab. A good thing. But you see the *London Times*. I suppose you have been following these things of the 14th June. I have got it with me here. On the front page, the *London Times* has published a report by a Correspondent of the A. P. claiming to be the only foreign newsman who was in Amritsar during the military operation. How was he still there if all the foreign Correspondents were turned out from Punjab.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO :
How do you know he was there ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA ; I do not know. But you are not contradicting anything. He has come out with horror stories which I do not want to repeat here. It is given on the front page of the *London Times*.

As the Prime Minister has said somewhere else correctly, the foreign media of all kinds—don't say, foreign media, it is western media—the Western media have been putting out all kinds of stories, horror stories and all these things. So, there should be more active contradiction of these things.

Another point which I wish to make is start what has been said by my colleagues here and resented very much by that side

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and that is about the origin of Bhindranwale phenomenon, how it arose, how it grew, how it was encouraged, how it developed, how it came to acquire a dominant position ultimately and what was the hand of the ruling party or some circles of the ruling party, let us say, behind it. I do not want to repeat all that. It is well known because he was being used

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I should not be penalised for not making any noise throughout these two-three days.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : You have got an advantage because others have not made any noise.

MR. SPEAKER : You are making an uninterrupted speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir. I could give some more facts, but I will not have the time to do so, as to how he supported their candidates and they supported his candidates in the SGPC elections. Only one of the prominent Akali leaders who had ever opened his mouth and had the courage to say things against Bhindranwale and what was going on inside the Golden Temple was Mr. Umrangal, whom you got defeated in the SGPC election by helping Amrik Singh who was the candidate of Bhindranwale.

AN HON. MEMBER : He won the election.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : In 1980 elections, he has supported certain of your candidates. At least, two of them are sitting in this house. I would not name them. Everybody knows it in Punjab. He had very good intention at that time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Show them the newspaper clippings.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Those are here. I have got them always. My young friend the General Secretary of the Congress I Party yesterday also referred to a contradiction or clarification that he made in the House about what he is supposed to have said about Bhindranwale. Unfortunately, despite my best labours this morning, I could not find out exactly what he has said on the floor of the House because I have forgotten the date and I do not know which day's proceedings to look into.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI (Amethi) : You could have asked me.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Yes. I could not find you that way. That was the trouble. If I ring up your telephone, your telephone will be engaged. There is no use. But what I did find in one newspaper is what he also said yesterday that in a press conference that he had contradicted or clarified the press reports. The news of that press conference I found in one newspaper. There he is supposed to have said about Shri Bhindranwale :

"He is a force of influence among the Sikh." Quite true.

"He is a religious person with no overt political ambitions so far."

AN HON. MEMBER : But he has denied it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : No. That is something else. That is what he was supposed to have said that he is not an extremist and something and something.

"He is a religious person with no overt political ambitions so far."

This is how it is reported. If it is wrong, you are welcome to say so. This was on 29th April. Quite recently. The white paper has got here on pp. 163-64, two pages of quotations from Bhindranwale.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : This was what I have said in the first press conference.

rence which was not fully quoted. What I clarified was that I had said this—I do not remember the exact words now because it is a long time ago—but it is something like this that he does not have overt political ambitions but his method of functioning is not religious. The way he is killing the people, is not in line with any religious sentiments that we have in country.

(Interruptions)

This was said to a press conference in Bombay. What you are quoting from a press conference in Chandigarh is not properly reported.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They never seem to have reported properly.

SHRI RAJIV GANDHI : That is why I have clarified in the House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : These two pages, 163-164, are quotations from Shri Bhindranwale's speeches and statements. If anybody reads those and if they were known—because he was making speeches inside the temple then, let me say that it is not correct to say that he has no overt political ambitions. Please go through what the white paper has stated about his speeches and statements and on what he is saying. My point is that he had acquired a certain status in the eyes of the Sikhs that he has become such a big leader that Government is afraid to touch him and that he has been arrested and released.

(Interruptions)

SHRI R. S. SPARROW : Not all the Sikhs, not majority.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : All right. Anyway, now he has become a martyr.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, No.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I also wander about in Punjab. I have been

three times to Punjab after the action. My party was not so demoralised and immobilised and so on or terrified, as somebody was saying yesterday that all political parties in Punjab have become terrified. We also stood up to them in many places and fought time. Yes know that.

Now what I am saying is that one should not have said and done things which only encourage him further and add to his image among the people. This is all I want to say. One or two more points and I have finished.

First, I must say this, otherwise, I will forget. In this long list of killings, names of many people, innocent people, who were murdered have been given, but I do not know why on page 134—this is a slip, I suppose; but it should be corrected—referring to the incident of February 22, 1984, where four persons were killed in a bazar in Lopoke, District Amritsar, there is no mention made of that young man, Sumit Singh, Editor of Preet Lari after whose death both the President and the Prime Minister sent condolence messages to his family; his name is not mentioned there. The bureaucrats to whom you entrusted this job of drafting the White Paper should be reminded of this.

Secondly, I refer to page 35. The bureaucrats who did the drafting could not suppress altogether a little bit of anti-Communist prejudice. That has to be injected into this, that has to be injected somewhere. What does it say? it says :

“Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan.....come to public life.....”

What public life he came to, I do not know.

“..... came to public life through the student wing of the Communist Party.”

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : I have clarified that it is only a statement

[Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao]

of fact and that it means no reflection on the Communist Party.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I want to know how it is relevant. Does it have any significance ? In that case, do you want me to name the various people sitting on the Opposite benches who at one time were supposed to be either fellow-travellers or card-holders of the Communist Party ? Should I name them ? How is it Relevant ? (*Interruptions*) How is it relevant to inject this here ?

About the foreign connections, well, the point of view of the Government is this : "Though we know very well who these forces are, who these powers are, we do not want to name them." The point is that you want to leave the public in the dark, they should not know from which quarter the danger is coming, whom they should be vigilant about, Who is it ? Is it the Soviet Union ? Dr. Subramaniam Swamy says that the Soviet Union has destabilised this region by entering into Afghanistan. Is that whom you are meaning ? Are you meaning Mr. Jayewardene ? Is he trying to destabilise India ? Why don't you say who they are ? Is it not a fact that those hijackers in the plane forced the passengers to shout this slogan : 'Long live West Germany' ? Don't you know it ? And this Talwinder Singh who took refuge in West Germany after committing some crime here, you could not manage to get the West German Government to hand him back here, although you handed back the two West German nationals who were here, Nobody is so hesitant to name Pakistan. But we know who is the real power behind Pakistan, who is arming Pakistan, who is converting Pakistan into a military base. Many of these weapons I saw there in Govind Sing Fort in Jalandhar have got Pakistani markings on them. Of course, people generally in this country know that the Americans are playing a role. But you want to lull them into some kind of a thing. You selected just this time to allow our Chief of Staff to go on a visit to the USA. Gen. Vaidya could have gone at any other time.....

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE
(SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN) : I want to tell you that this visit was arranged several months back.....

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I knew you would say that; I knew you would say that it was arranged long ago. But here a traumatic crisis had overcome the country sending shockwaves throughout the people... .

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Mr. Jyoti Basu also went to the United States.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I think Mr. Jyoti Basu is not trying to attack your country from outside.

I ask you what will people think ? When you are giving an expression to your friendly relations at this time by sending your Chief of Staff there, then, obviously these forces you refer to cannot be in that country. It is commonsense. How will an ordinary man take it.

About secret meetings, I only want to ask one thing. In 3 or 4 of the meetings I find one of the participants was Mr. Amarinder Singh. Of course, they won't tell us anything about the secret things. What was his special qualification for being there ? Had he some special rapport with the Akalis ? He was your MP. Once the Army entered the temple he resigned. So, why was he there ? Was it because he was one of the aspirants of Chief Ministership ? That is all we know about it. They won't tell us anything about all these things.

Finally, I will end by saying that we debate about the White Paper but we must say something at the end as to what we think should be done now. I will just summarise those things. The Government has given no hint of it.

I proceed from the assumption that the dominant thing is to assuage the feelings

of the vast majority of the Sikhs who reasonably or unreasonably are feeling bitter, hostile and religiously hurt and all that. Therefore, the first thing I say and our Party considered it, that as far as the temple is concerned—I do not say the temple complex, but as far as the temple, the temple proper and the *parkram* surrounding the temple is concerned the Army need not stay there any more. They can come and stand outside, guard the entrance and all that. So long as they remain there—I am told that they are now at least in the Darshan Deori. They are there. I think the functions they are performing now can easily be performed by some other agencies ..

MR. SPEAKER : Your time is over. Kindly co-operate with me.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I will request the Government not to indefinitely prolong the stay of the Army inside the temple because it may be counter-productive in the long run. I do not say that there is no risk involved at all. Some 1 per cent or 2 per cent risk may be there. But can't you check that? As against that, it will be counter-productive to keep the Army there indefinitely and make people feel angry and bitter about it. That should be done.

Secondly, let her call a meeting again of all the political parties. Let us at least put our heads together and consult what to do now. Let some compensation be given to the people who were killed by the terrorists.

Let the pre-censorship be withdrawn ..

MR. SPEAKER : You have taken too much time ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What is too much time ?

I am saying : let action be taken against all papers who write inflammatory or communal things, but let the pre-censorship be withdrawn ...

MR. SPEAKER : Everybody tries to ask the Government to take appropriate action at the appropriate time. Now I am trying to do something on my own.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am requesting you also. It is your State. Are you not worried about it. Some steps must be taken—all in good time. I will say people are listening to the debate outside and throughout the country. The Sikhs are also listening. They would like to know what steps the Government is thinking of. And after all it is over now and we have to see that things are brought back to normalcy though certainly it will take very long.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : I thought that in this debate in view of the seriousness of the subject and the gravity of the situation, our hon. friends opposite would refrain from slander and false accusations. I thought that prejudice would not colour their remarks. Obviously I am not painting everyone with the same brush. But it is a fact that some people have made accusations and these accusations are not new ones. They have been answered—some on the floor of the House and some on other occasions. But the whole purpose of this debate—with apologies to some speakers—seems now to be and this we see outside the House also, for an effort to shift the focus from the essentials to purely subsidiary issues with a view to create confusion in the thinking of the people.

Much has been said by some speakers about the elections. Sir, we are not obsessed with the elections. Unfortunately, the Opposition Parties and Groups and, even the two Members—I do not know whether it is called a group or something other than a Group—are obsessed. To accuse me and the Government of allowing the crisis to build up merely for electoral advantage is a contemptible argument which needs no response.

Some hon'ble Members of the deafening

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

silence. The deafening silence is not in the White Paper ; deafening silence was maintained by those who to-day assume the role of custodians of the interests of the Sikh community. Certain remarks which I heard—I was not in the House but I was listening to every speech from my room—were far from responsible. Shri Indrajit Gupta just now said that we regarded the Akalis as the only representatives of the Sikhs. Sir, you yourself can think whether there is any basis in this. In the 1980 elections, when the Akali Dal was in power in the Punjab, who won the elections ? The Congress Party won the elections. Our Hindu and Sikh members won the elections. The Sikhs and Hindus voted for the Congress. How can we say that only the Akali Dal represents the Sikhs ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Because you only speak to them and you deal only with them.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We dealt with them, and we met all the other Sikhs ; I personally met different sections of Sikhs. Several Sikh and several Hindus organisations from Haryana and from Punjab came to see me. The larger number belonged to my party. But some came from other parties. I do not know whether any Communist Sikhs came or not. But, I did have talks with the Marxist Sikhs leader who was very close to the Akalis and who maintained that they were the voice of the Sikhs.

So, let us not get side tracked by these matters. The Congress has always fought communalism of every kind. I am on record in this House if you will look back to the papers from 1966 onwards you will read how I have spoken against communalists ; how I still am against any type of communalism, any type of extremism. To-day, communalism has a new dimension and this is called fundamentalism. Even those countries where fundamentalism is supposed to have started are now worried about it and are trying to see how they can contain it because they are discovering the illeffects it could have

there but, in our country, we have to fight it all the harder because our society is far more vulnerable. This fundamentalism, let me make clear, is not in any one community. I am not referring only to Sikh fundamentalism but also to Hindu fundamentalism, to Muslim fundamentalism and even to Christian fundamentalism. Every religion feels that it has to take an extreme view. Sikhs are not considered real Sikhs because they don't belong to the Akali Dal. What do the Muslims say ? That those Muslims who are in the Congress or Communist are not real Muslims, because they do not belong to the Muslim League or to some other such organisation. This is what our party is suffering from because we have kept to our ideal of secularism. because we have kept to certain wider national goals and have not confined ourselves to any type of narrow thinking. We shall continue to fight any type of narrowness of thought, narrowness in the sphere of religion or in any other area. That is the basic Indian tradition. The Congress fought imperialism and to-day it fights neo-colonialism. It is no use making snide remarks because we do not name the countries or people, I do not name groups and I do not name any of you. I do not usually name anybody whether they are abusing me or whether they are praising me. Because the horrible member spoke just now, I took his name. I do not think, anybody can challenge our record on this. The Defence Chief has gone to America or a minister went to Pakistan because we try to find an area of cooperation, we try to increase that area—this has been the basis of our foreign policy from the beginning. This does not mean we don't know what those people are doing. It does not mean that we don't tell them that we know what they are doing.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Should.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We not only 'should' but we have. I have been told that people outside have noticed and remarked that there is one person who has said the same thing in different world capitals. I do not tailor my statement to suit the views of the particular country in which I happened to be.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur): You are Praising yourself ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :

What do you mean by 'myself' ? I have said what has been internationally acknowledged as India's policy. Today we continue this fight. In fact, some of our problems have arisen because we are pursuing this fight. The hon. Member opposite and others should be aware of this fact. And with all our faults—being human we have many faults—and we do not hide our faults. Naturally we do not want to parade them although India does seem to parade its deficiencies and its shortages and its poverty—everything far more than any other country does. But nevertheless we have taken the country forward in every possible direction. When I say 'we' I am not referring to myself. I am not referring to this Parliament. I am referring to the Indian people. It is the Indian farmer, the Indian worker, the Indian scientist and Indian technologist who have increased our productivity. It is the Indian Army which has defended our borders against foreign aggression. So, when I say 'we' I mean all these people. Sometimes the opposition forgets this. They want to believe everything that those against us say rather than what the government says

We are not talking on behalf of government does matter because it is the government which gives the direction. We do not swing from side to side like some people and some countries. We have set ourselves a steady course, the most difficult course of combining the best of the old with what we consider the best of the modern and in the face of the most tremendous odds and obstacles of every kind, to which I might add some of the hon. friends opposite sometimes contribute. We have not wavered. India has spoken and does speak not only for our people but also for the countless millions, the majority of the world's population and we have been willing to stop aside in order to help others.

Now, Sir, Professor Chakraborty, while concluding his speech yesterday said that the Congress having ruled the country for so many years forgetting that the three years in-between were ruled by others—therefore for it was the Congress's duty to keep the unity of the country. Now, this seems to imply that national unity is a party issue. Is that what he is trying to say ? This is the manner in which it was projected. This is how it came out.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Just now, Madam, you have said that the government formulates the policy. It is not we or my party. You formulate the policy and you are primarily responsible to keep the country together.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : National unity is a national issue and it is the responsibility of all political parties and all Indian citizens. The impression that I got when I heard the hon'ble member's speech was that perhaps other parties can be free to play with fire but run away when the blaze gets too hot. So, for me and for, my party, national unity and integrity are our supreme objectives and nothing can be allowed to come in the way of that, neither elections nor anything else. What is happening in Punjab was not simply a story of cruelty or merciless violence against innocent people. It was a concerted attempt by a combination of internal and external forces to encourage divisive forces and if possible, to divide the country. This was the challenge before us. Another hon. Member who spoke before lunch, who said that although the army had not been sent to other places where there was violence there why the army action in Punjab. The situation in Punjab is an entirely different one although there are links with what has happened in other border States.

Now, the question of the foreign hand is also mentioned. This was brought up earlier by several members. We are asked for evidence we are asked to name the countries, the people and so on. Now, we are not sitting in a court of

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law. We are dealing with historical forces and movements. We are fighting for our freedom. During the struggle for our freedom, did we have any iron-clad evidence that communal riots were being provoked? We could not have. But we did discover after freedom that some of them were deliberately instigated. In fact, as I have said earlier, I met a high official at the time of Queen Elizabeth's Coronation who told me of his role in one such-communal riot.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
They were ruling the country.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :
That is not the point. The point is what happened even after colonialism. Imperialism as such has gone but we all know of the views which several industrial countries hold about developing countries; we all know of events in other countries. At this moment we can only guess. We cannot produce proof of what any body is doing. We can only judge from what is happening in other countries, what has happened on other continents. Those events have been acknowledged. They are no longer guess work. Some of us did human inkling and I spoke of it. I was hooted down, by my own party. Members when I said something like that at a party meeting. Later, books appeared and evidence appeared describing what had happened. We can only judge from our political experience, from the knowledge of what is happening in the rest of the world. We must recognise the nature of contemporary world forces. There are well documented activities of external agencies in other countries. The question before us is : whose interests are being served by casting doubts on the role of these external forces ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Come to Punjab.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Punjab is very much at the centre of it. That is I am speaking of these matters. Why should this collusion take place at this

time ? The link between communalism and neo-imperialism are deep-rooted. India is among the few developing countries which is a democratic and secular State. India is also among the few developing countries to establish through planning which was at first so strongly denigrated in some parts of the world, a strong independent and self-reliant national economy. India is in the fore-front in the movement for peace and disarmament. India's voice is loud and clear for re-structuring the existing inequitable relationship in international economy. India symbolises non-alignment and is its most positive force. Efforts to subvert our independence through open aggression, through overt and covert pressures have failed. Because, true to our tradition, the Congress did not succumb during the post-independence period to the pressures or blandishment of powerful forces.

So, now some other way has to be found to weaken India, and this is the true significance of events in Punjab. That is why, the agitations in Punjab, a sensitive border State, a State with a dynamic economy. In other parts of India also although these may have different reasons, yet there is some link between them. Can we ignore the remarkable coincidence of troubles in Punjab with the re-arming of our neighbour ? Can we ignore the strong revival of secessionist forces in Jammu and Kashmir and those in Tripura and the north-east border ? In fact, not only in Tripura, but we have that problem in the whole north-east.

As I said, some are willing to believe the good intentions of everyone else except their own Government. To them these events may have no connection, but anybody else will see that they are closely connected.

The main point is-need the army have gone to the Golden Temple ? And how did we deal with the demands ? A name has been mentioned, and the person is now supposed to be a hero of the Sikhs. I do not want to go into this business,

This accusation has been refuted ; there was no connection between any person there and the Congress. If the press or some people say that two of our M. Ps won their elections because of him and so forth, I can say there is no truth in that allegation.....(Interruptions).**

MR. SPEAKER : No ; there is nothing on record. Will you please keep silent ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : This matter has been gone into yesterday and again today and I am not going to reopen it. But it has been very clearly stated that what the hon. Member has said is incorrect. There were internal quarrels amongst the Akalis themselves. We know, they were there before, they were visible even during the talks. And it is possible, I cannot be positive about this, but what I have heard is that some candidate of his was defeated by some other Akalis in their own elections so to take revenge, the decided to defeat their candidate. That has nothing to do with us. Anyway, the question is about the demands.....(Interruptions)

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR—rose.

MR. SPEAKER : I will give you a chance to speak if you like, but if you do like this, I will name you. Sit down. Do not look up there(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : You have stated the real reason for all these remarks ; You have correctly identified the real reason for such accusations and remarks.

So far as the demands are concerned, I have made my views and my stand, which is the government's on the religious issues clear from the second meeting at which the opposition was not present, the second meeting with me. When that meeting was over, they said, these are not the real demands ; the real

demands which had not been mentioned up till then were water and territory. Naturally, I said, 'if those were the most important demands you should have mentioned them earlier. We have sat for 2 1/2 hours today ; we sat for, perhaps 2 hours on the previous occasion. Then I had some public function and I had to leave. So, from then on the religious demands were pushed into the background and these other two were brought forward. My stand on these has been categorical I have stated time and again and I think Shri Chavan or some one who spoke has also said this—that Chandigarh would go to Punjab.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It should have gone by now.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It could not go unless Haryana got something in its place. Well, it is on this that we could not get any agreement. They were not willing to talk to the Haryana people.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : That was not true.

MR. SPEAKER : Don't interrupt. Will you sit down ? I object very much to it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : The Prime Minister should state the facts.

MR. SPEAKER : No, this is an interruption. I would like you to sit down. How can you say that it is not a fact.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I know it. You please sit down. Not a word should go on record, whatever he says, without my permission.

(Interruptions)**

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Let them quarrel amongst themselves.

**Not recorded.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
When Atalji was speaking, a number of
interruptions were there.

MR. SPEAKER : This is something
wrong basically which is irrelevant.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRA-
BORTY : I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER ; I have given you
time. Without my permission it is
irrelevant.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. SPEAKER : Without my
permission, it is irrelevant. I am not
talking about it ; without my permission
it is irrelevant.

*(Interruptions)***

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
When Atalji was speaking, did they
interfere with your permission, Sir ?

MR. SPEAKER : No. That was
also irrelevant.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :
We do not want to disturb when the
Prime Minister was speaking. Please
take note of that.

MR. SPEAKER : That was also irrele-
vant.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I
might be irrelevant, but I was..... ..

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : When I am saying
that you are irrelevant; I am saying that
the interruptions without my permission
are irrelevant, unnecessary. Why do you
take it on yourself unnecessarily ? Don't
drag yourself unnecessarily ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You
had seen how Atalji was being interrup-
ted ?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER That : is what I
said about that; that is why I was harsh;
that is why I took objection to that also,
not to this one only.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : He
made personal remarks. I am not making
personal remarks against anybody.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Shri
Atalji did not make any personal remarks.

SHRIMUTI INDIRA GANDHI : He
did you please look into the record. I
was listening to his speech. It did not
make any difference that I was in my
office. The voice is exactly the same and
the words are the same.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR
(Gorkhpur) : You were sitting in your
room. That is why you could not hear
it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : No.
I heard every single word. Now, the
question is that originally we had said
that Fazilka and Abohar should go to
Haryana, but once Punjab said, they
wanted them. The question was what
would Haryana get instead. Punjab said
that we should give money for a new
Capital. We have no objection. We said
we would share the cost with Punjab, but
we felt and I still feel that Haryana
should get some compensation in land
also. Now, this is my view. It does not
mean two or three villages which Haryana
would get anyhow. This is what Bagriji
must also have thought. He knows the
posting. We could not get a lasting solu-
tion by starting an agitation in Haryana
simultaneously. Therefore the two matters
have to be balanced.

AN HON. MEMBER : It was engine-
ered.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It
was not engineered. It was well control-

led as soon as it broke out. It was a tragic occurrence and we were deeply—I was deeply—distressed that our Sikh friends should have been harassed their turbans taken off or whatever else was done. But as soon as we heard of the incident we took the strongest action and from then on it did not recur. But I am referring to that demand. Had we made a declaration that Chandigarh would go to Punjab while keeping the Haryana matter hanging, then there would have been trouble in Haryana. This is what I am trying to say. But just now I am not concerned with the demands that were discussed. I am concerned with the demand that was not discussed, which is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The opposition parties were not able to convince me that the Akali Dal had given up the Resolution entirely. All I was told was, “They will not raise it now”.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : Why should they give it up ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Now, he is saying, “Why should they give it up”. Please see the significance of that statement.

Now, what is the Anandpur Sahib Resolution ?

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated Anglo-Indian) : Mr. Longowal had repeatedly stated it. May I just make it clear ? He repeatedly stated that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was his minimum demand. He had said it repeatedly.

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not interrupt.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : whenever the Akalis were asked about this, they said,—I do not know whether they used the word ‘minimum’—but they said—that they had not given up the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Furthermore, when I asked the opposition leaders who were present at some of the meetings about this resolution they confirmed that

it had not been given up, it was only shelved. Shelved for how long, they could not say, whether that could be for three months, six months or one year.

In those circumstances I did not see any point in the Government officially announcing what it was agreeing to. What were we getting in return ? The Akalis were not willing to accept that there was terrorism from the Golden Temple. They were not willing to accept that there were arms in the Golden Temple. Vajpayeeji said that I asked them if there were arms. I did not ask them. The then Home Minister wrote to them to say that we have information that there are arms. we have information that in such and such room such and such wanted person is hiding, so please hand them over, so that we do not have to take any action. And that is why we repeated that we did not want the Police to go in, that we did not want to interfere in any way with religion. It is only when we came to a dead end and that the army action had to be taken.

One word about the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. My colleague Shri Sethi made his statement in Parliament that the Akalis were changing their demands. In his reply Shri Longowal asserted that the Akalis had at no time given up the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.....
(Interruptions).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why did you not include that in this ?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : That should have been included in this.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Apart from the endorsement of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in the presence of the Janata Party leaders in Ludhiana in 1978.....

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What is the date of that letter ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : May 1st, 1984.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why did you not include it in the White Paper ?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Why did you not include it ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : So, this means that the Janata Party accepted it then.

SHRI MANI RAM BAGRI (Hissar) : Who was its leader then ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Whoever the Janata Party sent. And therefore, the Akalis said that the terms of the Sarkaria Commission fell far short of the demands of the Akali Dal.

There is also much talk about who is moderate and who is not.....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Are you referring to that on page 73 of the same document which you have produced ? There is the commitment of the Akali Dal to the integrity and the unity of the country.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I do not refer to any document. I refer to a communication received from Shri Longowal.

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : वहाँ पर जनता पार्टी का लीडर कौन था ।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मुझे क्या मालूम कि कौन था । किस वक्त कौन जनता पार्टी थी और कौन लोक दल था, किस पार्टी में कौन है, आज कल की राजनीति में यह तो पता ही नहीं चलता है ।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : मैंने पूछा है कि आनन्दपुर साहब प्रस्ताव के पास होने के वक्त वहाँ पर जनता पार्टी का लीडर कौन था ।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : जो भी होगा, यह वहाँ की जनता पार्टी को मालूम होगा ।

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : आप बता दीजिए ।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मुझे नहीं मालूम है ।

I am told that in July, 1981 Shri Tohra, President of the SGPC and Shri Gurdial Singh Ajnaha, Head Priest of the Akal Takht went on a tour of the UK and USA. We have reason to believe that they established contact with the proponents of separatism. I do not want to take names, you know the names prominent in that movement. From the Talwandi Group, the General Secretary and the former Minister in the Badal Ministry is reported to have sent an application to the United Nations for associate membership of the UN for the Sikhs a nation. So far as we know, the application was more or less at the time of this visit to the countries.

We know how the Akal Takht and the Golden Temple complex were being used. And we know that at first this was denied. Soon after the Army action when I sent somebody to the Golden Temple, one of the Important persons there said that he was in charge of the Akal Takht but for four months or so he had not been allowed to go there. He was in the complex but he was not allowed to go there.

We have heard of the feelings of the Sikhs. When I went to Amritsar, I was closeted with some of the authorities for a briefing meeting but some of those who had accompanied me went into the city and met a number of Sikhs and also Hindus. One taxi-driver said : "You people who were not living in Amritsar have no idea of what we have been through. I am a Sikh; I am a Jat Sikh. I am not basically a political person. I do not belong to any political party. But when I left home in the mornings; my family did not know whether I would be back in the

evening. If there was a noise near the door, we did not dare open it." This was the atmosphere before the Army action. The further you go from Amritsar you find the atmosphere changes because those people do not know what was happening there. Such was the situation.

You say : 'Did the Government fail ?'

Well, to some extent, it was a sort of failure. But what is the reality of the situation ? Because Police forces consist largely of the majority community of the State. This makes it difficult for them. They do not necessarily agree with what is happening but they are pressurised; not just they themselves but their families are threatened with death. Anybody who tried to help to find the terrorists or who gave information was killed, his family was threatened his family members were killed. Some days ago, just before parliament opened, two Sikh women came to see me. They said : We have been here for some time, we wanted to see you but did not know how. I said ; Well, did you contact anybody ? They said : 'We did not know whom to contact'. And finally, they thought of telephoning. They telephoned in the evening. They were given an appointment the very next morning. One of them said she was living not far from the Golden Temple. Three of her sons were killed in front of her. She said : I am an old lady, I have three daughters-in-law to look after. I have grand-children to look after. I dare not go back, I do not want to go back to Amritsar. I was born there, I was brought up there, I do not know any other part of India but I do not want to go back to Amritsar. Please give me some place to live in Delhi or anywhere else. Such were the things that were happening there. So, when in spite of our best efforts, the police was not effective any more. And this is not peculiar to Punjab. We have been seen this happening in Assam. I referred the other day to the language riots. I was not in the Government then but I was sent there as Head of Committee on behalf of my party. The question there was not of Hindus versus Muslims. It was between Hindus and Muslims who spoke Assamese

and Hindus and Muslims who spoke Bengali. What did we find ? In those districts where the officers were Sikhs or where they came from South India, there was no trouble. But where communities, the officials were Assamese whether Assamese speaking or Bengali speaking, they were so terrified that they could not function. If a Bengali upheld the just case of a Bengali, they would say : 'No, he is a Bengali, that is why he is supporting him. And I must admit that even a Bengali who was with me, whom I thought was well above such narrow mindedness believed that an Assamese could not be believed. This sort of atmosphere is terrible. This is what we have to fight together. It can not be achieved by Government alone. This is why in the National Integration Council in Srinagar, the minorities made the proposal of having a mixed force.' I am sorry that we have not succeeded in having one. Something has been done to induct more minority people in the police force and other forces but I must confess it is inadequate. In Punjab there is one kind of situation, in U P. it may be another, in Kerala it may again be different.

This is why people have confidence in the Central forces rather than in the local police. It is not that we want to interfere, that we want to send the Central forces, but a situation is created in which there is confidence on those who come from outside whose families cannot be threatened. Some people want the army withdrawn from Punjab admitting that one or two incidents may take place. But others threaten saying what will happen when the army goes away. I do not want the army to stay there permanently. Of course, it is not going to stay. It should come out as soon as possible but we must, in the meantime, create conditions in which the people of Punjab feel safe, not only the Hindus but a large number of Sikhs as well. They may say something publicly but privately they have admitted that because they were against extremism, they are in peril. There is no day when I do not get letters with photostat copies of these threatening letters which people in Punjab are receiving.

[Shrimate Indira Gandhi]

All these things have to be kept in view.

There is no doubt that.....

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Withdraw from the Golden Temple itself.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The army is already out from the main area, it is outside the *parikrama*. But a new situation has arisen, that of *kar seva*. We are trying to talk to every different group. It was our information that the Akalis did not want to repair the Akal Takht. They want to keep it as a monument for the future. Hon'ble members can well understand that, if it is kept as it is, will it not increase the bitterness day by day? This is the problem. Hence we felt that if one group is not willing to do it, somebody else should do so. Whoever is willing to undertake this task should do so. Frankly, I say that if nobody else does it, then the Government should do it. But it should be done. After that if the Akalis want to break down the Akal Takht that is their business. But, if it is broken because of our action, then we should see that it is repaired, that it is left in the condition—not in the condition in which we found it, because when we entered it was full of terrorists and full of arms. I do not mean that past—it should be a building which is as beautiful, as strong and complete as it was before the days of terrorism. This was our only motive in trying to encourage the *kar seva*. I do feel that the sooner this work is complete, the sooner it will be possible for the army to leave.

When one man takes courage,— and it requires a lot of courage, in the face of threats to do this *seva*, he is entitled to protection. People were allowed in the Golden Temple earlier, they went in thousands and thousands. I do not know what the exact situation is today. But there was a risk of people going in large numbers and women squatting to stop the work. This would create a bad situation. So, until some of the building work is done, full protection must be there.

However, even now the army is not in the main areas. They are not in the Harmandir Sahib, they are not in the *Parikrama*, they are outside.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They are in the *Darshan Deori*

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : They may be, I do not know. They may or may not be. I said they have to be in a position where, should the trouble arise, they can immediately control the situation and save the people.

When we were talking about *Kar Seva* some people demanded that the army must go out completely and ultimately suggested that it could stay on top of the gate. What can they do from the top of the gate? They can only shoot. If they were put somewhere on the ground, they can stop the people or do something less drastic. These are some of the problems. If one goes into all the details, it will take hours and hours. These are some of the important points which have to be understood.

I am happy that people have praised the role of the army, the courage of the army. But an hon'ble member of the other House who is not a member of our party made a rather derogatory statement. I know that we are not supposed to refer to the other House, but I have already spoken there and shall not get a chance to reply there. I must deplore his remarks. They are not conducive to bringing back harmony or for the national good.

Earlier people denigrated the police. I mentioned just now why the police was not effective. It is not just that they were terrified. But when people in responsible positions are denigrating authority, they cannot, at the same time, expect people to obey authority. There are two contradictory attitudes, you speak all the time strongly against the police. Naturally, the police wonder why they should act. If anything happens, the on-slaught is on the police or on the para-mi-

litary forces. It is demoralising for them as an open attack. The reinstatement of the police who were dismissed because of sabotage or other indiscipline will certainly demoralises the rest of the police, those who have stuck to their duty.

These are many factors which created an exceedingly complex situation. The army had an arduous task and they did it bravely. We have praised the Army on many occasions, not only for their work in war time, but also for the efficient selfless work they do in peace time. Some of our Jawans have lost their lives or limbs in the course of food dropping in the North-Eastern area or in flooded areas. We do not want to use the army on every pretext or make them do the work of civilians but there are certain occasions when the use of the army is inevitable. As I said, the situation in Punjab was not an ordinary situation. It went far beyond any normal agitation or normal violence and crime.

As regards the Sant who is now guiding the Kar Seva and his attitude towards the Granthis, a journalist who cannot by any stretch of imagination be accused of partiality for my government or for me personally, wrote in his paper that the SGPC Chief had over-ruled the Priests objections and allowed the terrorist leaders to establish themselves in the Akal Takht and convert it into an arsenal. So, why accuse Baba Santa Singh.

Some hon. Members have asked why we delayed the action. It seems one cannot be right no matter what one does. We delayed it precisely because we did not want to take it, because we wanted some way out, some kind of understanding which would include the throwing out of terrorists, the dismantling of the arsenal and the ending of a situation which threatened our country's unity and integrity. It is because we were trying until the very last moment, that we did not take the action earlier. But when we came to a stage when we felt that there was no other way, we had to ask the army to go in. I did not choose the day. I suppose various things were taken into consideration.

There is talk of a person becoming a hero and some people are trying to separate him from the other Akali leadership. The Opposition leaders, may know that one of the first demand of the Akali leadership was for Bhindranwale's release.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : (Azamgarh) : He was released earlier than that, It was not in the tripartite meeting

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It is mentioned in the White Paper.

(Interruptions)

आप लोग सुनते नहीं हैं और अपनी कहते चले जा रहे हैं। मैंने यह नहीं कहा जो आप कह रहे हैं।

It is in the White Paper. Here you are all criticising the White Paper. You are telling us it does not have this and it does not have that, but it seems to me that you do not know what it contains.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : We have seen it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Then how do you say that you do not know about it ?

(Interruptions)

Anyway, he was not released by us but by the Court, but that was the Akalis' first demand.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Yes, it was a demand, but it was not in the tripartite meeting.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Madam Prime Minister, along with the Minister I was present in all the tripartite talks and at no meeting any representative of the Akali Dal demanded the release of Bhindranwale.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : They did so in writing then.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : But the Government had released him earlier.

SHRI A. K. SEN : The court had released him.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Now, it is mentioned in the White Paper. That is what I am telling you that you do not bother to read yet comment on it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am telling you that it is wrong.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I strongly deplore the remarks made by the hon. Member opposite about saying that India is many nations. India is one nation, it was one nation and it will remain one nation. (Interruptions). I heard when he said that.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : No, no. I want to correct myself. I did not want to say 'many nations'. I meant 'one nations, many Nationalities'.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA : (Calcutta North East) : Madam, that may be the political view of so many political parties in this country. What objection can you have ? In spite of these things, political parties do assert that it is one country and shall remain as one country.

MR. SPEAKER : That is what she said.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : That is what I am saying.

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA : But how can you object to somebody telling that

India is a country of so many nationalities ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The word 'nationality' may have many many meanings, but I am afraid it is a dangerous word to use.

SHRI MANI RAM BAGRI : India is one nation, one country.

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : बागड़ी जी धन्यवाद ।

श्री प्रदत्त बिहारी बाजपेयी : सोवियत रूस में, और कहीं पर भी आपने यह कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में कई नेशनैलिटीज हैं और उस पर हमने आब्जेक्शन किया था ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : No, no. Never, never, The word I used is 'Community', never 'nation'.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI : Perhaps I have been misquoted by the Prime Minister.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : All right. But it is true that in some Communist countries they do use the word 'nationalities'.

* SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : That is why you used this ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I did not use it. I have never used it. I do not approve of it, let me make this quite clear. But the Akali leadership was using the word 'qaum' as nationality. This I clarified, I used the word 'qaum' because we have always used it to mean 'community'.

There is no question of there being different nationalities in India. We are all one nation, we are all Indian citizens, and as I understand, the word 'nationality' means different citizenship.

I am not bothered about the dictionary meaning, (*Interruptions*). It may be wrong. If you mention it in any.....

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Mr. Speaker, Sir, she has been wrongly tutored. 'Nationality' and 'community' are two different things.

MR. SPEAKER : You were too young at that time to teach us.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : 'Nationality' and 'citizenship' are two different words.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : How can a foreign national become a citizen ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Why not you take Indian nationality. Then you become a part of the Indian nation.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He becomes an Indian citizen, he does not become an Indian national.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : He does become an Indian national (*interruptions*). Let us not get bogged down in semantics here.

(*Interruptions*)

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : जिस किसी ने भी भारतीयता अस्विकार कर ली है वह भारत की कोमलतम म शामिल है।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : No. I am not interested in dictionary meanings. I am interested in how this particular word is understood in the English-speaking word.

MR. SPEAKER : That means nation.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am

confining myself to one language, and not to other languages.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If you go into Marxist vocabulary, you will be in trouble.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Prof., Dandavate, I had myself mentioned that in Marxist parlance it is.....(*Interruptions*).

I think I have made all the points and my colleague the Home Minister, will go into the details. But the question is: Now, what do we do ? And the first thing is that we should bridge any division between different Communities. We must, all of us, and this is the responsibility of all parties and all citizens of India, to heal whatever hurt is there. Not only our Sikh friends are hurt. All of us, are hurt.

I myself was deeply pained in taking the action. You can ask my colleagues what I went through. Perhaps, this is the first and only time in my life when I did not sleep. But I felt that the step had to be taken in the national interest. And today we have been to see how we bridge the chasm that has been created and the distances that have been created between one community and another. That is, our foremost duty.

We have to fight communalism of any kind because that is the greatest danger to our unity.

Where did this cry of separatism rise ? It did not arise in India. It rose far from our shores from people who are affluent. Some may be wanting citizenship of other countries. Many are actually citizens of other countries. Some may feel that this will bring them some advantage. Whether there were pressures or suggestions from others, I do not know. But this slogan is strongest to-day outside our country. We must meet this challenge as one nation as and one people. We should not bring in party politics.

Some people feel alienated. The Sikhs feel alienated for some reason. Other

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

people feel alienated not because of religion but because of economics. There are many reasons for alienation. There is also alienation because some people suddenly became rich. They became alienated from the places from which they came and from their families. There are all kinds of alienation.

Our effort is to try to have a balance in the country so that we can pursue with our programmes and not only strengthen, but consolidate our unity to go ahead strongly on our accepted path of socialist development. We have to revitalise, the tradition of our national struggle. We have to move the entire people. This is where we have to have a massive movement—a movement for unity has to be created, just as during the freedom struggle and even after the freedom struggle my father said—“Freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might”, this is what we need to-day, to revitalise the tradition of our national struggle and to move the people by a vision of a new society based on equality and social justice.

The battle for secularism, the battle for unity is not only in our words. It must be in the hearts and minds of all our people. This we have not been able to achieve. At the slightest provocation we find some communal trouble arises or class trouble arises. We have also to remove the cause for grievances. But for this great task of building a strong and united India we have to rise above our narrow outlook and short term gains, look ahead to a future that is worthy of the sacrifices of those who suffered and lay down their lives for our country's freedom and its defence.

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : भाखड़ा नहर जो दो बार काटी गई है, उसके बारे में आपने कुछ नहीं कहा।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : उसका हमें बेहद दुख है। मैं हर वक्त हरियाणा गवर्नमेंट के संग और इंजीनियर्स के टच में हूँ और

पता कर रही हूँ कि क्या हाल है और किस प्रकार वहाँ का मदद कर सकते हैं।

जिन लोगों की जानें गई हैं, पहले भी उनके लिए हम शोक यहां व्यक्त कर चुके हैं बाहर भी कर चुके हैं।

लोग कहते हैं कि फौज को हटा लो, खाली गोल्डन टेम्पल में जो हुआ, उससे खतरा नहीं गया है। खतरा अभी है। इस का सामना करना है। किस तरह से करना है यह हम सब लोगों को मिलकर तय करना है।

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Nadar.

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR (Trivandrum) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the speech made by the hon. Prime Minister intervening in the debate is only an eye-wash. It was a deliberate attempt to fool the people of this country through this House.

I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the people of this country have been kept in darkness for the last almost four years in regard to the happenings in Punjab as the reports either through the Government media like Television and All India Radio or through even the newspapers have been censored. There has been an undeclared press censorship regarding happenings in Punjab for the last two-three years. There is now a declared press censorship. Even this White Paper is a censored document.

Actually, this White Paper is a document of white cover on back deeds of the Congress-I leaders and their Government. Whatever may be their opinion, whatever may be the opinion of the members of this House belonging to this side or that side, I am of the firm opinion that a democratic Government which uses army to control the law and order situation has no moral authority to remain in power.

Whether it is the White Paper or the speech of the hon. Prime Minister made just now, it clearly shows that the Government of India, the Congress-I Party and their Government in Punjab have totally failed to run the administration of this country.

Since yesterday I have been hearing the condemning extremist and terrorist elements. I want to ask the Government, through you, Sir, who created these extremist and terrorist elements, If you look

17.42 hrs.

to the period between 1977 to 1979, the extremist elements and the terrorist elements were nurtured and nursed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Congress-I Party when they were out of Power. The people of this country are aware of the fact that they had nurtured and nursed these extremist and terrorist elements when the Congress-I Party was out of Power.

Sir, you will be remembering that in my adjacent district of Kanyakumari which belongs to Tamil Nadu, some Congress-I people during that period had burnt people travelling in a bus. You may remember that this was done in Venniyodn in Kanyakumari district.

At that time, the Prime Minister's late son used to go to the courts, used to tore up the papers with other Congress (I) people, used to abuse the judges and the judicial institutions.

Even the Congress-I people hijacked a flight at that time. The man who hijacked the flight had been provided with MLA seat in U. P. after Mrs. Gandhi's coming into power in 1980.

The Bhindranwale extremist elements in Punjab are also a part of the creation of the extremist elements which they have created when they were out of power.

As already made clear in this House, Shri Bhindranwale has put up candidates against Akali Dal in SGPC election under

the inspiration of Congress-I. He has certainly canvassed for the Congress-I candidates in 1980 elections.

You must be remembering Mr. P. S. Bhinder had been sent, from Delhi to Punjab as Police Chief. What was the task given to him? Was it to carry on negotiations with Shri Bhindranwale? No. In fact, it was because Shri Bhindranwale was the election agent of Mrs. Bhinder in her election to Parliament.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South): She is here. She is not contradicting. You are right.

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR: At that time, in fact by Akali Dal, by all the members of the ruling party and some members of the Opposition also. The Akali Dal is not having any member at present in the House.

I may recall to the memory of this House the freedom struggle when the so called Congress leaders at that time of Punjab were only consisting of traders and some upper class people.

But Akali Dal has its own historical role in mobilising the peasantry of Punjab in the freedom struggle.

Similarly, when there were allegations about Akali Dal's role in these activities, Akali President

(Interruptions)

Asked the Government to institute an enquiry into all the happenings of Punjab. I am asking the Government through you "Why have they not instituted an enquiry about the happening of Punjab"?

What is, after all, the Punjab problem? As we all know, Haryana was carved out from undivided Punjab in 1966. But, Chandigarh has been made the capital of both Haryana and Punjab. It is something unprecedented.

[Shri A. Neelalohithadasan Nadar]

As you may be aware, when our old Madras province was divided, Andhra Pradesh has been created and at that time nobody has said that, Madras will be the capital of both Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Similarly, when undivided Bombay province had been divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat, nobody had said that Bombay will be the capital of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : It was because they could not agree to it.

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR : Mrs. Gandhi in 1966 said that Chandigarh will be the capital of both Punjab and Haryana. She had been in power from 1966 to 1977. 11 years. She has failed. During that time, from 1975 to 1977, she has been having unlimited powers during emergency. She had failed to solve the capital question between Punjab and Haryana. She has failed to solve the river waters dispute between Punjab and Haryana. She had failed to solve the territorial disputes between Punjab and Haryana. She came back to power in 1980 with the promise of 'Government that works'; and she has failed in the last four and a half years to solve these problem. Even after military action she has failed to solve all these problems.

While the extremists were taking over the situation, our leader Shri H. N. Bahuguna called a meeting of the Opposition Parties in Delhi on 30th June, 1983, including the Akali Dal, and they had put forward clear-cut suggestions: Chandigarh should be given to Punjab as its Capital. Haryana should be compensated with money for building a new Capital; the river water dispute should be referred to Supreme Court according to the Inter-State River Water Disputes Act; the territorial disputes should be referred to an independent tribunal. All these suggestions were forwarded to the Prime Minister in writing. But she did not accept them, she did not act according to the need. She only stated : 'The Opposi-

tion is trying to create troubles, they are coming in the way of solving these problems, they are putting hindrances in the way of solving these problems'—Expressions were emotionally put forward about integrity and unity of this country. The integrity and unity of this country is very important for all of us. But, as my hon. friend, Swami Idervesh, said yesterday, the present Prime Minister, after becoming Prime Minister in 1966, contributed much against the integrity and unity of this country. Her method of functioning, her style of functioning, changing the Chief Ministers of States like postmen or clerks or district collectors every six months or three months or four months destroyed the national leadership in the States which had been built up during the days of freedom struggle, during the days of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. She is responsible for destroying the national leadership in the States. That was the main reason for disintegrating tendencies and separatist tendencies coming up. I do not want to add further. Historians may record after some years, and correctly, that all the happenings of Punjab including the military action has been a part of political drama manipulated under the direction of the present Prime Minister and nothing else. If cases were to be registered about the murders which were committed under the leadership terrorists or during the military action including the death of Jawans if investigations were to be carried out properly, the first accused in all these cases will be the Prime Minister. She has no authority to remain in power. This White Paper is a clear indication that she has failed and her Party has failed. They have no authority to rule this country. Let them resign and go.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Chiranji Lal Sharma Hon. Members, we have to complete it today ..

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Not today. It can be continued tomorrow. The House should be adjourned at 6.00 p.m.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Yesterday we discussed upto 4.00 p.m. Today

there has been no legislative business and we started early. We have to complete it today,

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : No, Sir. It may be continued tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We cannot carry it over. This was the understanding reached in the Business Advisory Committee.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : प्रधान मंत्री के बाब होम मिनिस्टर क्या बोलेंगे ? इसको कल के लिए ऐडजर्न कीजिए ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It must be over today.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am prepared to sit until mid-night, if necessary. I am in your hands.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There is no question of postponing it. The Minister is prepared to wait. All of you will be given chance. Nobody will be deprived of his opportunity.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I said, I am in his hands.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : We are also in his hands.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We did not have any legislative business today because we have to complete it today. We cannot postpone it. I want the co-operation of the hon. Members.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : This is an important debate. All of us would like to participate.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I will request the hon. Members not to take the maximum time ; they may take not more than 7 to 10 minutes each.

श्री चिरंजी लाल शर्मा (करनाल) : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं अपोजीशन के ग्रानरेबल मेम्बर्स को मुखातिब करता हूँ एक शेर से—

“हकीकत आशना हूँ,
वाकये इसरारे हस्ती हूँ,
समझना हूँ, मगर दुनिया को
समझाना नहीं आता ।

इस सदन में व्हाइट पेपर पर 2 दिन से बहस चल रही है । हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की कीमत पंजाब और बंगाल में अदा की । जब पंजाब से लाखों की तादाद में हिन्दू और सिख लुट-पिटकर अपने वतन से वतन होकर आये, बेसरोसमानी की हालत में आये, तो खुशी इस बात की है कि यहां आकर उन्होंने एक शानदार जीवन व्यतीत करना शुरू कर दिया ।

5 दरियाओं का पंजाब था, लेकिन उन्होंने अपने भविष्य को उज्ज्वल बनाया और आज पंजाब की हिन्दुस्तान के नक्शे में जो पोजीशन है, वह सबसे ज्यादा अनाज केन्द्र के भंडार में देता है ।

37 साल आजादी प्राप्त किये हुए हो गये । 33, 34, 35 साल तक पंजाब में कोई खास गड़बड़ नहीं हुई । बंटवारे हुआ करते हैं । बर्मा और रंगून भी किसी वक्त हिन्दुस्तान के हिस्से हुआ करते थे, पाकिस्तान भी हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा हुआ करता था । 18 बरस पहले पंजाब बंटा, हरयाणा वजूद में आया, हिमाचल बना । जिस वक्त बंटवारे हुआ करते हैं, छोटे-मोटे भगड़े चलते रहते हैं ।

जैसा कि सदन में जिक्र आया, चंडीगढ़ जो शाह कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के हिसाब से

[श्री चिरंजी लाल शर्मा]

हरयाणा को दिया गया था, 1970 में मैडम प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने उस शाह-कसीशन की रिपोर्ट को मोडीफाई कर के पंजाब को देने का फैसला किया, क्योंकि संत फतहसिंह ने अपने आपको जिन्दा जलाकर मारने की धमकी दी थी और उसके बदले 114 गांव अंबोहर, फाजिल्का के हरयाणा को देने थे।

1976 में रावी-व्यास के पानी का एवाडं दिया गया। 35 लाख एकड़ मुका फुट पानी हरियाणा को मिलना था, उसके लिए 215 किलोमीटर लम्बी नहर बननी थी। हरयाणा ने अपने हिस्से की 109 किलोमीटर लम्बी नहर हरयाणा में बना दी, बाकी जो 106 किलोमीटर लम्बी नहर पंजाब में बननी थी, उसके लिये साढ़े 25 करोड़ रुपया अब से गहले-हरयाणा पंजाब को दे चुका।

मैडम प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने 31 दिसम्बर, 1981 के एग्जिमेंट के हिसाब से 18 फरवरी को उसकी खुदाई की रस्म कदा कर दी तब उन्होंने नहर रोको आन्दोलन शुरू कर दिया। यह तो एक झूठा बहाना था, इसके पीछे एक मुजज्जम साजिश थी।

व्हाइट पेपर के सफे 110 से 162 तक उनके एक-एक वाके की क्रोनोजिकल तफ-सील दी गई है जो कि 1981 और 2 जून, 1984 के बीच में हुए। 8 सफों पर तो मिर्च मार्च 83 तक के वाके हैं और बाकी 45 सफे पर मार्च 83 से 2 जून, 1984 तक के वाके हैं। 13 मार्च की नान-एलाइन्ड मूव-मेंट के 103 मुल्कों के सरबराह श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में नई दिल्ली में इकट्ठे हुए थे। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने एक थर्ड वर्ल्ड—तीसरी दुनिया—खड़ी कर दी, जिसने दुनिया के बड़े-बड़े मुल्कों अमरीका, यू०

के० कैनाडा, जर्मनी वगैरह—की नौद हुराम कर दी। उनके सीनों पर साँप लौटने लगा कि जो हिन्दुस्तान तीस साल पहले गुलाम था, जो अमरीका से अपनी जरूरत के लिए अनाज मंगाया करता था, आज उसकी नेता 103 मुल्कों का नेतृत्व कर रही है। तब उन बड़े-बड़े मुल्कों ने हिन्दुस्तान के खामोश समुन्दर में आग लगाने की कोशिश की। सी० आई० ए० ने शरारत करनी शुरू कर दी, हमारे चन्द भाइयों को पैसा देना शुरू कर दिया और अपने साथियों के जग्गिये हथियार भी सप्लाई करना शुरू कर दिया। जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, गुजस्ता 15 महीनों में जो आग लगी, उसके पीछे एक मुनज्जम साजिश थी।

एनेक्शन 8 में भिडरांवाले स्पीचिज के एक्सप्ट्स दिए गए हैं। मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता।

यहाँ पर सवाल उठाया गया है कि एक्शन देर से क्यों लिया गया, फौज को देर से क्यों भेजा गया। इसका सीधा सा जवाब यह है कि फौड़े का आपरेशन उस वक्त किया जाता है, जबकि वह पक जाए और अगर कच्चे फोड़े पर चीरा दे दिया जाए, तो वह जरूम देर तक हील नहीं होगा। अगर शुरू में ही, इक्का-दुक्का वाकियात के बाद ही, वहाँ पर फौज भेज दी जाती, तो बिरोधी दल के भाई कहते हैं कि इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार की अहलियत का नमूना यह है कि वह फौज के बगैर रूल नहीं कर सकती। जब कुदती-खून की होली खेली गई, तो वहाँ पर पैरा-मिलिटरी फोर्सिज को भेजा गया। जब एक बिरादरी के लोगों को छांट छांट कर गोली का निशाना बनाया जाने लगा और जन्नो-इस्तिबदाब और जुल्मों-तणहूद इन्ही पर पहुंच गये, जब देखा गया कि

मुल्क की सिक्किमिटी और एकता' के लिए खतरा पैदा हो गया है, तो मजबूरन फौज को वहां भेजना पड़ा।

गुरु के सिखों ने कभी इस तरह के जुल्म नहीं ढाए थे। उन्होंने हमेशा हिन्दुओं की रक्षा की। हिन्दु और सिख एक दरख्त की टहनियां और पत्ते हैं। पहले कभी भी हिन्दु-सिख फसाद नहीं हुआ और हिन्दु और सिख का मसला पहले कभी नहीं उठा। पंजाब में 52 परसेंट सिख हैं और 48 परसेंट हिन्दू हैं। वहां पर असर बड़ा भाई सिख है, तो छोटा भाई हिन्दू है। लेकिन भिड़रांवाले की शबल में जब एक नया लीडर वजूद में आया, तो उसने अपनी लीडरशिप को चमकाने के लिए टेररिज्म का तरीका अख्तियार किया। अगर कली के खिलने से पहले उसको नोच लिया जाए, तो वह फूल नहीं बनेगी। कालेजों के नौजवान स्टुडेंट्स को आल-इंडिया सिख स्टुडेंट्स फेडरेशन का मेम्बर बनाया गया और उनको गुमराह किया गया कि हमारा राज होगा। उनको हथियार दिए गए कि जो कर तशद्द के जरिए बैचेनी पैदा करो, ताकि हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों में हिन्दु और सिख का सवाल पैदा हो जाए।

लेकिन उन लोगों का सपना साकार नहीं हुआ। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, भारत सरकार हिन्दुस्तान की राज्य सरकारें और हिन्दुस्तान की जनता बधाई की पात्र हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में कहीं भी हिन्दु और सिख का सवाल पैदा नहीं हुआ, हालांकि इसके लिए एक मुनज्जम साजिश की गई थी।

प्रोफेसर साहब ने कहा है कि ब्लाइट पेपर में हरियाणा का जिक्र नहीं है। मैं

कहना चाहता हूं कि ब्लाइट पेपर पंजाब के बारे में है, उसमें हरियाणा का क्या जिक्र होता है। हरियाणा में क्या हुआ था? वहां कुछ नहीं हुआ। 15 फरवरी और 19 फरवरी को पानीपत, कैथल और जींद में कुछ नाखुशगवार वाकियात हुए, तूफाने-बदतमीजी हुआ। अगले दिन उस बात के होम मिनिस्टर, श्री सेठी, वहां गए। मैं भी वहां गया। चीफ मिनिस्टर भी वहां थे। उसी वक्त शूट टू किल का आर्डर दिया गया। कहा गया कि अगर कोई गुरुद्वारे या किसी सिख की तरफ उंगली उठाएगा, तो उसका हाथ काट दिया जाएगा, आंख फोड़ दी जायगी, गोली मार दी जाएगी। पत्ता तक नहीं हिला हरयाने में जो लॉ एंड आर्डर रहा है वह एक मिसाल है और इसके बावजूद विरोधी दल के प्रोफेसर साहब कहते हैं कि यह कमी है। यह लूपहोल है इस के अंदर, हरयाने का इसमें जिक्र क्यों नहीं आया? वह हरयाना जो एक छोटा सा प्रांत होते हुए भी आज केन्द्र के भंडार में पंजाब को छोड़कर दूसरे नम्बर पर अनाज देता है, जिस हरयाने में कुरुक्षेत्र की वह पवित्र भूमि है जहां नेकी की लड़ाई बंदो के खिलाफ लड़ी गई, जहां कृष्ण ने अर्जुन को गीता का उपदेश दिया था, वहां कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं हुई।

हमारे विरोधी दल के भाई सवाल करते हैं, प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने बड़ा माकूल जवाब दिया है कि फौज वहां से वापस क्यों नहीं बुलायी जाती? हमारे बी० जे० पी० के नेता अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने कहा था कि अपने ही देशवासियों पर फौज क्यों लगाई जाय? एक चीज मैं कहता हूं कि—

जब खुरदरे हाथों में होती है

हुकूमत की लगाम

[श्री बिरंजी लाल शर्मा]

आज वह कहते हैं कि फौज वहां क्यों रहे ? जवाब देंगे विरोधी दल के भाई और माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी इस चीज का कि पंजाब के अंदर 3 लाख स्टूडेंट्स का विन्दगी के साथ खिलवाड़ किया जा रहा था। जो इम्तहानात अप्रैल में होने थे वह 23 तारीख से शुरू हुए हैं और कल 17 उग्रवादियों ने शरारत करने की कोशिश की, उनको गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया वह काम-याब नहीं हुए। वहां फौज के साथ में इम्तहान कराए जा रहे हैं।

क्या विरोधी दल के भाई इस बात का जवाब देंगे कि भाखरा डैम जो हरयाने का जान है, जहां तमाम उस इलाके में जोरी बोयी जाती है, जहां कपास बोयी जाती है, पानी के बिना जहां करोड़ों रुपए का नुकसान होता है, 5 जून को पहले वह नहर काट दी थी। 1 करोड़ रुपया लगा उस की मरम्मत में, महीना डेढ़ महीना नहर बंद रही। आज हरयाने के जजबात से खिलवाड़ किया जाता है हमारे हकूक का जनाजा हमारे कंधों पर निकाला जाता है। हमें पानी की जरूरत है, हम पानी के लिए तरस रहे हैं, हमारी फसलें रो रही हैं और वहां पंजाब के उग्रवादी, वह शरारत पसंद बनासिर, उन्होंने दोबारा नहर में पैदा कर दी। महीने से ज्यादा अरसा लगेगा उसको रिपेयर करने में। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं पंजाब की सरकार से कि क्यों नहीं वहां पर ऐसे आर्डर किए जाते कि शूट ऐंड किल ? कोई रेलवे लाइन तोड़ता है, कोई बस को आग लगाता है, कोई नहर काटता है, अगर उनको यह बता दिया जाय कि जैसे हरयाने में शूट ऐंड किल के आर्डर दे दिए गए थे वही यहां पर होगा तो फिर देखते हैं कि वहां पर यह

कैसे होता है ? इसलिए यह कहना कि फौज को वापस बुला लिया जाए यह मैं समझता हूं कि हकीकत को वह समझते नहीं हैं। वह नहीं समझते हैं कि असल पोजीशन क्या है ?

मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहता हूं। गुरुद्वारा ऐक्ट अंग्रेजों के जमाने में बना था 1925 में उस वक्त के हालात के मुताबिक उस के अंदर बहुत लूपहोल्स और लैकनाज हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि आज जैसी हालात देश के अन्दर चल रही हैं उसके मुताबिक गुरुद्वारा ऐक्ट में तरमीम की जाय और गुरुद्वारा ऐक्ट को नए सिरे से बनाया जाय।

आज जो हालात देश में चल रहे हैं और पंजाब में जो प्रेरशानी पैदा कर रखी है उस के बारे में जिक्र करते हुए हमारे एक साथी ने जम्मू और कश्मीर का जिक्र किया था। वाजपेयी साहब ने एतराज उठाया था। मैं उसका जिक्र करना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन अगर मैं जिक्र करूंगा तो कोई गुनाह नहीं करूंगा बल्कि जिक्र न करके अपन फज की अदायगी में कोताही करूंगा। आज जो पंजाब के टेरिस्ट्स पंजाब में दनादन कर रहे थे जिस के लिए फौज भेजनी पड़ी, आप ने देखा कि श्री नगर से जो हवाई जहाज का अपहरण किया गया जिसे लाहौर उतरने को मजबूर किया गया, क्या उन नौ आदमियों में से दो ने यह बयान नहीं दिया है कि हम वहां ट्रेनिंग लेते रहे ? एक नहीं, दो नहीं, चार नहीं 17 ट्रेनिंग केन्द्र उन उग्रवादियों के लिए उस जम्मू और कश्मीर की रियासत में लगाए जा रहे थे जिस के पहले मुख्य मंत्री फारूक अब्दुल्ला गला फाड़ फाड़ कर कहते थे कि Kashmir is an integral part of India, Kashmir is part and parcel of India.

हर बार यह चीज कही जाती थी, मैं नहीं समझता, जब कांस्टीबूलनली काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है, तो क्यों इस तरह की चीज दोहराई जाती थी? क्या मैं फारूक साहब से पूछ सकता हूँ कि दरबार साहब के अन्दर जब उन्होंने उन लोगों के साथ मुलाकात की थी, तो उन्हें सरोपा पेश किया गया था, आप उन के फोटो को देखिए।

SHRI ABDUL RASHID KABULI (Srinagar) : Sir, he was mentioning about Kashmir. This discussion is not on Kashmir. This should not go on record.

(In.errupt ons)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will go through the records. Mr. Sharma you please complete your speech

श्री चिरंजी लाल शर्मा : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आपकी इजाजत से मैं बिगोधी दलों को मुखातिब करते हुए एक शेर कहता हूँ (व्यवधान) थोड़ा सन्नो-तहम्मूल से काम लें, आपको भी मौका मिलेगा, मैंने किसी पर पर्सनल एटेक नहीं किया है... चूँकि श्री नगर को फिजा में कान्क्लेव हुआ था, इसलिए शेर अर्ज कर रहा हूँ :—

मैं जिस के हाथ में कल

फूल देकर आया था,

उसी के हाथ का पत्थर

मेरी तलाश में है।

हमी ने जिन पत्थरों को

भ्रता की थी धड़कनें,

जब बोलने लगे तो हमी

पर बरस पड़े।

डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, समझ में नहीं आता, व्हाइट-पेपर की बाबत इतना कुछ क्यों कहा जा रहा है, कहते हैं कम्पलीट नहीं

है, इसमें कुछ चीजें छिपाई गई हैं। मैं कहता हूँ—

पल भर में सूर-दशते-जुनू

चल पड़ा समाज,

न अपने धर्म की शर्म न

अपने गुरु की लाज।

डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं अब दो-तीन प्वाइंट्स श्रीर टच करना चाहता हूँ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I said that I would give 7 or 10 minutes. You have already taken 15 minutes. Please conclude now.

श्री चिरंजी लाल शर्मा : मैं आपके हुकम का अहतराम करते हुए एक शेर और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। यह शेर मैं अपोजीशन को मुखातिब करके कह रहा हूँ—

समझते खूब थे हम

शातिरे-दौरा की चालों को,

मगर ऐसा नशा आया कि

बाजी हार बैठे हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, Mr. Dharam Bir Sinha will speak.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA (Barh) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, before I speak, I would like you to seek a clarification on a point. Sir, now it is already 6.15 P.M. and we are all tired. If the debate is going to conclude today, meaning that the Home Minister will reply today, then I will begin my speech. If the Home Minister is going to reply to the debate tomorrow, since it is already 6-15 PM, I will seek your permission to allow me to speak tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Actually the Home Minister was to reply today and everything must be over today according to the understanding. But the point is that some of the Members from

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

both the sides have requested that the Home Minister should reply tomorrow. In fact, the Home Minister was prepared to reply to the debate today itself, but some of you have expressed their desire that they would like to hear him tomorrow.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA : Don't be unfair to us I have not expressed any desire like that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You must leave it to the Chair to decide. The idea is that you must get your chance to speak. That is assured to you. What else do you want ? Leave the rest to the Chair.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA : I have a right to speak in the House. You are not obliging me by giving me a chance. It is already 1815. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You are going to speak. The Home Minister is here and he will note down your points. You leave it to the Chair when he replies. Why do you worry ? Are you going to speak or not ?

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA : We know the advantages and disadvantages of concluding this debate today or tomorrow ? (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I may even ask the Home Minister to reply today. Are you going to speak or not ?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : We must know upto what time we are going to sit today. If the Home Minister is going to speak today, then accordingly you extend the time till the debate is over. We can understand that, but we cannot leave everything to you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Previously, the Minister said that he would sit late today and reply, but then he came to me and told me that on the request

of some hon. Members, he would reply tomorrow. That is why, I told Shri Sinha that we will complete the discussions today and he will reply tomorrow .. (*Interruptions*). What does it matter whether he replies today or tomorrow.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : It does matter.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All the Members from the ruling party have withdrawn their names, and I will call only the Opposition Members.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : We must know whether the debate is going to be over today or will continue tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am going to call you one by one .. It is not only according to your convenience .. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : You have to do that ; you cannot call us collectively.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Seven hours are already over. Why can't you cooperate ? We have to sit like this sometimes.

Shri Sinha : the Home Minister is here, he will note down your points .. You cannot dictate to the chair like this .. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA : If the Home Minister is not going to reply today, none of us from the opposition parties is going to participate.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All right. I will call you one by one.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA... Shri Kosalram.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM (Tiruchendur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am not going to take much time of the

House ; I will only make one or two suggestions to the hon. Home Minister.

The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee is a statutory body created under the Act of Parliament. When such a statutory body becomes the mouth-piece of terrorists, insurgents and anti-national criminals and murders, there should be no hesitation in dissolving this body by amending the Gurudwara Act. The Home Minister is here. He should make a note of it. I suggest that Gurudwara Act should be amended immediately during this session. This is a dangerous Act. I suggest that the Government should bring forward the Gurudwara Act Amending Bill during this session itself and get it passed for dissolving SGPC. No religious group in India has the right to preach secession to murder innocent people, to loot banks, to store arms and ammunitions in temples, whichever temple it may be whether it is Gurudwara or temples or mosques or mutts or churches, etc. The most deterrent step must be taken now without any reservation so that such terrorism does not strike again in the country. Another law must be passed for prohibiting the use of temple funds for political purposes and the use of forum of temples, mosques, churches, mutts etc. for political propaganda.

I appeal to the opposition parties that they should consider nation's security and unity as foremost rather than the narrow political objectives. You can criticise the government I have no objection. The opposition is here to criticise the government but you must see the national security and unity as foremost rather than the narrow political objectives.

Our Prime Minister's determined action in Punjab has received all India support and also support from foreign governments. For example, my Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has publicly warned the separatist forces in the State that they would be dealt with as severely as those in Punjab. Such has been the reaction of the States in our country.

I strongly support this White Paper and request the Government to bring forward an amending Bill during this session.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has come. He will make an announcement at 6.30 P.M.

SHRIMATI SUKHBUNS KAUR (Gurdaspur) : I have been sitting here and listening to the debate. One hon. member who is present here has made certain allegations about me personally. I am standing here to contradict that. He said, Sant Bhindranwale was the election agent of mine and I had worked with him on the stage. In fact, that is absolutely incorrect. There is a news item in the paper called *Jai Satha* on the 31st of June. I contradicted it and I think he has got the information from there. The man who stood against me in the election was from BJP candidate, Mr. Negi. I think he gave that news. I think he never read the contradiction. I just reiterate my stand that he was not my election agent. I have never seen that man. He did not address any meeting with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi or with me or in any of my election meetings.

Secondly I would like to appeal to Jathedar of Akal Takhtsahib and the Head Priest that we should not make any political issue of the Kar Seva. It is a privilege for everybody. Hindus and Sikhs whoever wants to do it and they should be allowed. I would appeal to him that we should not get into any disputes about that. He should allow anybody whoever wants to, to come and do it.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : I was going to make a request that because there is a long list of speakers from our party and from the other side also, it will be in the fitness of things that we continue the discussion tomorrow. I have discussed this with

[Shri Buta Singh]

the hon. Speaker and he also said that if the Members agree, he has no objection.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is the correct procedure. Good.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : We can continue tomorrow.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I know that they will readily accept it.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : I have a difficulty. I have a full day in Rajya Sabha. It is already fixed. I have been told about it. I have accepted it in the hope that we are going to finish the discussion today. If you want to have it day after tomorrow, I am pre-

pared. Even for nocturnal proceedings I am prepared.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Discussion can be tomorrow and reply can be later.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : This is a rare occasion of unanimity between the Opposition and us.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We take it up day after tomorrow.

18.27 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Thursday, July 26, 1984
Shravana 4, 1906 (Saka).*