

जो कांग्रेस (आई) शासित प्रदेश हैं, उनके यहां कृषि उत्पादन में कितनी वृद्धि हुई है। मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा— आपने पश्चिमी बंगाल की इकानामी के बारे में यहां पर कुछ भी जिक्र नहीं किया। वहां पर आपकी क्या स्थिति है? आपने आज जो जैनरल पिक्चर खींचने की कोशिश की है, आप यह जानते हैं कि केन्द्र में कांग्रेस शासन स्थापित होने के बाद पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो लक्ष्य रखे गये थे कि राष्ट्रीय उत्पाद 5 प्रतिशत होगा, उसमें आज तक 5 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। इतना ही नहीं, राष्ट्र की जो औसत आय है उसमें 5.4 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। राष्ट्र की पर-कैपिटल इन्कम में 3 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा— भारत ने आइ० एम० एफ० से जो 5 बिलियन डालर्स का ऋण लिया था, उसकी आखिरी किश्त भी भारत ने स्वीकार नहीं की, इसका कारण यह था कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति में काफी सुधार हुआ है। इन सब बातों को देख कर क्या आप इस नतीजे पर नहीं पहुँचते हैं कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो किया है— वह अपने आप में प्रशंसनीय है और उससे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ हुई है।

इतना ही नहीं— यह बात हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में लिखी जाएगी कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में इस देश के किसानों ने 144 मिलियन टन खाद्यान्न उत्पन्न किया है, जितना अनाज इस देश में कभी पैदा नहीं हुआ। खाद्यान्न उत्पादन का लक्ष्य केवल 142

मिलियन टन था, लेकिन वास्तविक उत्पादन 144 मिलियन टन हुआ। उत्पादन में यह वृद्धि किसके नेतृत्व में हुई, किस सरकार के नेतृत्व और प्रोत्साहन से यह उत्पादन हुआ है?

मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा— एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन के साथ-साथ इण्डस्ट्रीयल प्रोडक्शन में जो हमारा लक्ष्य था उसमें आज हमारी पिछले 4 वर्षों से प्रोडक्शन वृद्धि 5 प्रतिशत से कहीं अधिक है।

15.04 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member will continue on the next occasion. We have to take up the discussion under rule 193.

15.04 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS ON 17th APRIL, 1984 RE BURNING OF RAILWAY STATIONS IN PUNJAB AND SHOOTING OF SOME PERSONS AT AMRITSAR

MR. SPEAKER : Now, discussion under rule 193. Dr. Swamy.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East) : Sir, I rise to raise a discussion on the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on the 17th April, 1984, regarding the burning of railway stations in Punjab and the shooting of some persons at Amritsar. Punjab today is No. 1 problem in the country because the national unity is at stake. Poverty is not, in my opinion, as of now such an important problem. I think the crisis that is there in Punjab is so serious that its implications for

the integrity of the country are so profound that I think the nation's entire attention should be now devoted to finding a solution. I would place the emphasis on solution because the *post-mortem* after some time is valueless. If a part of our country is either put to great ravages or is amputated or something terrible happens, then there is no use of a *post-mortem*. So what is necessary is not faulting-finding but essentially to understand the problem and for the Government to act because it is the responsibility of the Government to act. We, in the Opposition, when persuaded that the Government is acting in the right direction, always support the Government. But when the Government is not acting; and is wrongly acting, we reserve our right to oppose it and oppose it tooth and nail.

The present situation really began, if there is a starting point, with the declaration of the Dharma Yuddh on the 26th July 1981 when Shri Harchand Singh Longowal in his speech mentioned 46 points which were going to be the points of the agitation. None of these points were anti-Hindu. They were dealing with political, economic, territorial and some religious demands. But to-day almost everybody I meet from Punjab say that this has now become a Hindu-Sikh problem. The question is : why? Why, when something which began as not being anti-Hindu has now been perceived as a communal problem? What began also as an internal rift of the Congress (I) has generated and gained a momentum. Everybody knows that there were disputes within the Congress (I) which led to one-upmanship and in regard to this one-upmanship, I remember in the entire debate of 1982 when I went through the debates I found much of the points made by the speakers was that this Punjab problem is a reflection of what is happening inside their Party. But then that is not situation to-day. The situation is that the edifice of the Government in Punjab has crumbled and with it the moral sanction and what remains to-day by the name Government is a carica-

ture which has earned profound scorn in the minds of the people in Punjab and outside and this is particularly with a Government which was elected on the slogan of a government that works. So I think that is a very sad commentary.

The question that I would ask of the Minister is : how long will you delay solution? Do you have a solution? If you have not, then you should then come and say so. Or if you have a solution, how long will you delay it? I do not know what is the truth. But one Opposition Leader once told me and told some of us — I do not hesitate in quoting** it—

...I do not know...

(Interruptions)

आचार्य भगवान देव (अजमेर) : ये बिल्कुल बेबुनियाद वान कर रहे हैं अध्यक्ष महोदय। (व्यवधान)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I am not saying that I believe it.

MR. SPEAKER : Hearsay things should not be said unnecessarily. They create...

PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar) : Sir, since he has dragged the name of the Prime Minister in the matter and quoted some Opposition leader, therefore, it is incumbent upon him to disclose the name. It is a very serious allegation. This cannot go un-rebutted. The allegation has been levelled against no less a person than the Leader of the House and that too through some Member who might be sitting here.

MR. SPEAKER : He has said that he does not believe it.

आचार्य भगवान देव : पंजाब के सामले में डा० स्वामी ने आग में घी डालने का काम किया है। ऐसी बात करने का क्या मतलब है? (व्यवधान)

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Under the rules he should either withdraw or disclose the name. He has to disclose the name.

आचार्य भगवान देव : यह बड़ा गम्भीर मामला है। हमें इस पर आपत्ति है। (व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER : Are you withdrawing it? He has withdrawn it. I think.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : We want disclosure of the name. He cannot withdraw since he has made the allegation.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : They cannot compel him to give the name. It cannot be expunged and they cannot also compel him to give the name.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Since this allegation has been made and you allowed it to go on the record of the House he cannot withdraw it. He can only disclose the name.

MR. SPEAKER : It is still under my consideration. It has not gone on record.

आचार्य भगवान देव : इसको, आप कार्यवाही से निकाल दीजिए।

(व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER : Do you withdraw it?

आचार्य भगवान देव : क्या इस तरह की बातें कहना उचित है?

(व्यवधान)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : There is nothing derogatory or unparliamentary. It should go on record.

श्री रसीद मसूब (सहारनपुर) : विदवा क्या करे? विदवा करने का तो कोई मतलब ही नहीं है।

(व्यवधान)

श्री रशीद मसूब : ودمه ڈرا کیوں کریں۔
ودمه ڈرا کرنے کا تو کوئی مطلب ہی نہیں ہے (انٹروپیشن)

MR. SPEAKER : Either you have to withdraw or tell the name.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I have not withdrawn it. I only mentioned this because the person who told me is a member of this House.

श्री रसीद मसूब : विदवा कैसे किया जा सकता है ?

(व्यवधान)

श्री रशीद मसूब : ودمه ڈرا کیسے کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ (انٹروپیشن)

आचार्य भगवान देव : क्यों करते हैं, इस तरह की बातें? क्या मतलब है, ऐसी बात कहने का?

(व्यवधान)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): The problem is very simple. The Prime Minister is in the House and if she says that 'I have not said it' then... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Tewary, you have the patience to listen also. I am telling whatever he has said indirectly amounts to an allegation. It cannot go on record. This is an allegation.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I said somebody told like this to me and I also said it is not... (Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Sitchar) : Not somebody. You said some member of the House and a leader of the opposition. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There are certain rules.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
I know the rules. I am telling you
that I had quoted...

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY
(SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR) : Sir, it
is not that simple. He cannot make
an irresponsible allegation—most
motivated irresponsible allegation—and
then allowed to get away.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
What is the allegation? There is no
allegation. I did not say that the Prime
Minister said like this. I said one
opposition leader...

(Interruptions)

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) :
That goes against the very fabric of
Parliamentary democracy.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
I said that one Opposition leader said
not only to me but to several persons
in this House that** and I wanted to
say that this was not true.

(Interruptions)

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI-
MATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Sir, I have
made no such statement to anybody,
neither to a member of Opposition nor
of my Party, nor to any non-political
person. The one thing which I have
repeated is that the Opposition seems
to be obsessed with the elections. I am
not. I am busy doing my job. When
the time comes for elections, we shall
have the elections. But doing the job
now, dealing with the problems now
and implementing our programmes
now, that is something that has
nothing at all to do with the elections.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar) :
Now, he must withdraw those
allegations.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR : Do
you subscribe to this kind of speeches?
(Interruptions) That only shows how
skin-deep your concept is about Parlia-
mentary democracy. Sir, should this
type of speech go in the proceedings?

(Interruptions)

PROF. N.G. RANGA : It is a
shameful way of abusing parliamentary
democracy and its privileges.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
Sir, I entirely accept the Prime Minis-
ter's words and I am very happy.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :
Sir, you should not leave it like this.

MR. SPEAKER : That is all
right. That is also according to
the parliamentary practice. It is under
the rules. I must tell you that unfoun-
ded allegations like this cannot be
allowed and are not proper. I have got
the rule here.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : So, don't get
agitated. Sit down.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :
Sir, you should not leave it like this.
This is the propaganda they are making
all over the country. We must know
who are those leaders. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I have done my
job already. Have not I? Let me tell
you one thing. I know that unfounded
allegations should not be made on the
floor of the House. This is not a good
practice. It is not a parliamentary
practice. That is what I told you. We
had a meeting on this. This is the book
where the guideline has been drafted
by all the political party leaders and
we have evolved some rules and some
conventions which we have to follow.
I think it is all right.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR : Sir, does it stand part of the record or not ?

MR. SPEAKER : Allegations cannot be part of the record.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ATOMIC ENERGY, SPACE, ELECTRONICS AND OCEAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI V. SHIVRAJ PATIL) : Sir, now this floor of the House cannot be allowed for insinuating things. The statement made by Dr. Swamy is based on the information given to him by someone else. Now, these kinds of things are spread in the House and outside. This is not solving the problem. But it will help in aggravating the problem. So, the House is entitled to know who is the leader who has given the information. (Interruptions). We would like to know the name and the House would like to know who is spreading this kind of rumours.

(Interruptions)

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी (हिसार) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का सवाल है। अगर मैं समझ नहीं पाया हूँ तो बात दूसरी है, मैं यह समझ पाया हूँ कि श्री स्वामी ने ये शब्द कहे कि किसी मंत्री ने कोई बात नहीं कही।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : हो गया, क्या कहना चाहते हैं ?

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे कोई बात कही है, जिसका मुझे यकीन नहीं है तो किसी मंत्री को डिस-बिलीव करना, यह मंत्री की खिलाफत है। आप लोग क्यों इतनी बात कर रहे हैं ?

श्री पी० शिवशंकर : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी गुजारिश है। यह बड़ी अजीब बात है। आप सब कुछ बोलेंगे और फिर कहेंगे कि मैं

यकीन नहीं करता। क्या तमाशा है, क्या रेस्पॉसेबल बात है ? एक तरफ कहें कि मैं बिलीव नहीं करता.....

(Interruptions)

PROF. N. G. RANGA : What an irresponsible type of statement this is ?

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : एक मंत्री किसी साथी पर आरोप लगाये और उसका हवाला भी दे और कहे कि मुझे इसका यकीन नहीं है, इसे मैं गलत मानता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह आपके सोचने की मोरली बात है। जिस चीज पर विश्वास नहीं करते, उसको कहते क्यों हो ?

(व्यवधान)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : That leader is a Member of this House ; it is for him to stand up, see my predicament and come to my rescue.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Is he present in this House now ?

(Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : It is very serious ; it is a reflection on the opposition leaders.... (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : Let them take care of that themselves.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I thought that this piece of information was of such great importance and that I should get direct verification. I think the Prime Minister's reply is completely satisfactory ; I believe her hundred per cent. I do not think, she would have said it.... (Interruptions). It is not unusual for Members on that side to quote X, Y and Z and make allegations about what the opposition leaders are doing, for example, abroad etc. It is not that it is an allegation that I made, but I am entitled to bring forward before Parliament certain

opinions which circulate in the country and get direct verification....

(Interruptions)

PROF. N.G. RANGA : This is most irresponsible....(Interruptions).

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Prof. Ranga is an old style parliamentarian, I am a new style parliamentarian ; I have my own standards.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : I have never come across that kind of misbehaviour on the part of any Member in Parliament.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It is not a misbehaviour ; I resent that. I wanted a confirmation....

(Interruptions)

A man of such seasoning should behave in this way....

(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : This is too much ; this cannot be said. It should be expunged from the record....(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : You have forgotten the seriousness of the whole situation. Why have you got together ? It is to impress that there is something, a very serious danger facing us right now. We should act accordingly.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : The subject is of great concern to me. After all, I am not concerned with that part of the country directly in the sense that I am not elected from there, but still is a part of India, and, therefore, I have taken it upon myself to go to Amritsar and investigate myself as to what is going on. It is not that I am not interested in the subject. I think, it is very important that the Government comes forward and tells us what is the actual position. And if I hear something which is not true, which I find is fantastic, I must bring that before this House.

Now, since the last discussion there have been certain new elements in the Punjab situation. The first one is the gross failure of intelligence which has been made known to us through the fact that 39 railway stations were burnt in one night and one can imagine what organisation must have gone into that. It is not easy to burn a railway station specially in these way-off places, because there are either villages of houses quite near these railway stations. And in fact, I was given to understand that most railway stations had armed personnel, either of the CRP or BSF, or of Punjab Police, Posted. (Interruptions)

THE^h MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.C. SETHI) : In flag stations, there was no Police personnel.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : If all the 39 railway stations had no police protection, there must have been people around there. I assume that he is not saying that because they are flag stations, there is no intelligence work also in the neighbourhood. This gross failure of intelligence should worry Government, and us also : how could such an act take place in one night with such systematic execution, and the Government not being in the know of it ?

The second new element is the spread of terror which has taken place now, from cities to villages. This is something which is new to the Punjab situation. It was not there before ; it has happened in the last two months. Here, the picture will be more serious if the situation becomes communalised. Then the ratios are much more different. The minorities become even bigger minorities. If this tension spreads to villages, it will become a catastrophic situation. Earlier on, we had known that it was confined to the cities. But now we find villages also infected.

The third element is the migration which has now begun to take place. Now people in Kaithal and Yamuna

Nagar etc. in Haryana say how people are coming across, after folding up their business in Punjab. The migration has started. For them, it is a terrible thing. Once they had migrated in 1947; and then now in their own country they have to migrate. It is having an effect. Imagine these people coming and telling these stories. Sometimes these stories get told in an inflamed manner. What effect will it have on the rest of the country? Will it stop with Punjab? Will it stop with Haryana? It will spread. These stories are bound to have effect all over the country.

In fact, some of these magazines have sent their correspondents and interviewed people. There are poignant stories about people who voluntarily vacated during the 1947 Kashmir war, during the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, and during the 1971 Bangladesh war. They told the correspondents now that at that time, they had voluntarily vacated, knowing full well that the country would be victorious and that they would be coming back to their villages. But today they say they are going unwillingly, and that they have a feeling that they will not be coming back. This is the most tragic commentary on the situation which exists today.

The fourth element is the economic disaster, which Punjab is now beginning to face. The Sikh farmer and the Hindu trader and also the migrant *bhatya* who comes from U.P. and Bihar together form an economic unit, i.e. one cannot be without the other. The *bhatya* labour comes from U.P. and Bihar. (*Interruptions*) They look like me; just like me. They are not coming to Punjab any more. There has been a very sharp drop in the migration of this seasonal labour which comes for harvesting. The Hindu trader who gives finance and so on in advance to the Sikh farmer is also pulling out. What will it do to Punjab, and to the country? After all, Punjab is the granary of the country, in terms of what it supplies.

In fact, my own information is that in the last few months, the situation in Punjab has rapidly moved into the hands of the extremists; and the Government is dithering in the situation. What is it that they have in mind? Do they have a solution? I myself feel there is a solution, but the time is running out. I suppose, from what I have heard, that there is not more than one more month before the situation really gets out of hand. What we are seeing inside the Golden Temple indicates that; what we see in terms of killings which take place every day indicates that—today in Chandigarh it was there, and we saw this report. Yesterday it was somewhere else; then it was in Amritsar. Then an MP was killed in his own house, and somebody was killed in Delhi in broad day-light. The situation every day we are seeing. But according to those who are knowledgeable observers—they tell me—the Government has got one month. And after that, there will be, in fact, a rebel Government in Punjab. I do not know what is behind all this. But a solution has to be found and there is a solution. I do not know what is in their mind, because paradoxically the government is very ready to yield on religious demands, but on political, economic and territorial demands, they seem to be dithering all the time. For instance, on the religious demands about Guru Bani and the all India Gurdwara and so on, they conceded unilaterally. But on the question of Chandigarh, on the question of river water, on many other related economic issues, on the territorial question, dithering is going on. We do not know exactly what they have in mind. But when it came to Article 25, the Government was very quick in acting. I have my views on what should have been done on Article 25 presently. But here by Government's own admission, it says, they have not received any formal communication from the Akali Dal in regard to Article 25 before 18th March 1966. This issue had not been discussed in any of the earlier talks nor did it figure in the list of demands. Government agreed to it. What I feel about Article

25 I say in a minute, but I do feel that the readiness of the Government to yield in religious demands and dithering and reluctance on the other demands leaves me greatly puzzled. Even on the religious demands, the question is you announce it but you do not implement.

When I last went to Golden Temple, they said, these people promised us Guru Bani, but there was no arrangement made for it. Why was it not implemented? They said, "They would implement it." Now on Article 25 also, there is a feeling that there is a back tracking. I do not know whether there is a back tracking or not; but this is for the Minister to tell us, but there is a feeling that there is a back tracking.

A question arises that if they want to negotiate, they must know with whom to negotiate. Mr. Longowal is considered the moderate. I also know him to be a very reasonable person. But one day if they negotiate with him, the next day they declare that he has engaged in seditious activities and they say that they will prosecute him for it; and yet on another day, said that they had made only an announcement but they had not gone through the procedure. If you have a case against a person and charge him with seditious activities, how can you negotiate with him? That means you do not want to negotiate with him. This would be a logical corollary. With whom do they want to negotiate? You have put Tohra, Badal and other people in Jail. When you have put them in Jail, they will not negotiate with you. Then with whom do you want to negotiate? This is something which the Government must answer. About sedition, Longowal himself said that he thought that this was a joke. But most people in Punjab feel that this is political because they pointed out to him about this. Once one of their party man, ** who is now the administrator of the Punjab State Electricity Board, had

handled Rs. 200 crores worth, in 1978, he had burnt the Indian National Flag.

MR. SPEAKER : Please, please, again you are referring to a person who is not present. It may lead to falsehood.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Is it a false thing ?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes. Please do not do it.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He burnt the flag.

MR. SPEAKER : You do not know, because I was there at that time.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Did he not burn the flag ?

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not do it, because you do not know about it.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : There is no question of knowing it.

MR. SPEAKER : Information can be wrong.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I have to go on the basis of what I have been informed by the people whom I trust. I want to know what is the truth? Where do I find out the truth?

MR. SPEAKER : Not like this. You cannot go on the basis of all and sundry, a few Sikhs here or a few Sikhs there. (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR) : Parliament is not the forum for this.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : That is the only place where you are committed to tell the truth; elsewhere I cannot catch you. You may not tell the truth. This is the only place where you can tell the truth.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAM-
ENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND
WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI
BUTA SINGH) : He cannot authenti-
cate it. He cannot level a charge
against a person who is not present
here to defend himself.

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not
do it.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : He is not
present here in this House.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
Did he not burn the flag ?

MR. SPEAKER : No, no.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : You must
authenticate before you make a charge
against a person.

SHRI G. S. REDDI (Miryalguda) :
Let him give a notice of a question.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
Did he not burn the flag ?

MR. SPEAKER : He could have
got information not like this.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
I can always even say that he is
reported to have burnt the flag; you
cannot say that I cannot say that.
These are some of the things that
are going on in Punjab.

आचार्य भगवान देव : माननीय
सदस्य को पहले इसका सबूत सदन के
सामने पेश करना चाहिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप उनका नाम
नहीं ले सकते जो हाउस में मौजूद नहीं
हैं ।

(व्यवधान)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
These are some of the things which

are being said in Punjab, that the
Government is engaged in favouritism.
So I am bringing it to your notice.
The fact of the matter is that the
Punjab situation is getting worse. We
must know, why ? That is the feeling
in the minds of the Sikh people there.

श्री रामसिंह यादव (अलवर) : मैं
निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह राष्ट्रीय
ध्वज और राष्ट्रीय चिन्ह की निन्दा है,
उसका इस तरह से कोई भी अपमान
नहीं कर सकता है ।

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
If Mr. Buta Singh can tell me that **
did not burn the National Flag, I will
take his word. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : He did not. I
cannot tell you here. But if you had
asked me in the Chamber I would have
told you. I was the Leader of the
Opposition at that time.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
You can tell me now. I will take
your word because I get it on a good
authority.

MR. SPEAKER : I am on record
in the Punjab Legislative Assembly on
this very subject. I am not going to
allow names to be recorded. No names
are to be recorded.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
The Government agreed to make
clarifications on Article 25. Article
25 does not by itself say anything
about the Sikhs being part of the
Hindu religion, but the explanation
makes out that, in fact, as far as the
institutions being thrown open, Hindus
means Sikhs, Jains, and Hindus, etc.
So, this is something which they have
objected to and from what Mr. Sethi,
the Home Minister let loose, it appears
that they have also asked for a separate
personal law. What Mr. Sethi did not
tell us, is that Mr. Longowal has said
that, "If have you a uniform civil code
in the country, then I will not ask for

**Not recorded.

a separate civil law. But if you give it to one community, one religious community, then we have a right to ask for it." This, Mr. Sethi did not tell the House and he knew that Mr. Longowal is of this view.

So, here is a question of an entirely different picture being put forward before us; that here is Mr. Longowal who says, "You either treat us on par with all religious groups, by having a uniform civil code, or you give it to everybody who asks for it."

Now, I may say, that not only Sikhs have asked for a separate personal law, but I have seen statements of people of Jain religion also and some Buddhist leaders also, in this regard. This is something which the Government should make clear. Now, it is for the country also, to seriously think now, whether in terms of keeping the country together, when you are going to allow this multiplicity of laws. In fact, Mr. Longowal's comments should be taken as a national debate on this question. I do not think that in the context in which Mr. Longowal has made this demand, this is an unreasonable demand, and therefore to the extent that the Government accept it, that is fair enough. There is also some.

(Interruptions)**

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It is for you to debate. I am saying that Mr. Longowal has said that if you have a uniform personal law, then...

(Interruptions)**

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He has said also. (Interruptions)** He did not say "Abolish it". He has said about a uniform civil law. (Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER : Not allowed. They are speaking without my permission. It does not form part of record.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I need not say that you should have a uniform civil code. But I say that there is a powerful logic in what Mr. Longowal, says that if you give it to one religious group, you cannot deny it to other religious groups if they ask for it.

(Interruptions)

I have got this confirmed from Mr. Longowal himself that he is of the opinion that either there should be a uniform civil code or the Sikh religion should also be given this right.

(Interruptions)

Coming to the question of solutions, first of all, I would like to say that in the present context it would be entirely unwise and foolish if the Government enters the Golden Temple as demanded by some people. It will make the situation in Punjab irretrievable as of now. In fact, the rumours are greatly afloat in Punjab that the Government is secretly planning to do something like that. I am saying that this is a rumour. I am not saying that this is true or I have heard it from any opposition leader—Mr. Longowal or anybody. I am only asking you why you should spread rumours.

(Interruptions)

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : स्टेशनस जल रहे हैं, लोग मर रहे हैं, उन मुलजिमो को पकड़ो, उनको सजा दो। लॉ एंड आर्डर कायम रखो। इसलिए थोड़े ही बोल रहे हैं कि मंदिर में घंटी बजे या न बजे, मस्जिद में नमाज पढ़ी जाए या न पढ़ी जाए, गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब का पाठ करो या न करो। यह पोलिटिकल बात यह लॉ एंड आर्डर सिचूएशन के बारे में बोलो।

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : If my name is tagged with Mr. Bagri, that does not mean that he can speak along with me also.

MR. SPEAKER : You are sitting on the same bench!

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : What is the solution? First of all, let us recognise that the people of Punjab, particularly the Sikh community are emotional people, who have a feeling of grievance. They have a felling that they have to struggle for everything. This may be right or wrong, but this is there. When you have got to approach a solution, you have got to take all this into account. They feel that for getting their linguistic State they have to struggle more than others. They feel that despite the fact that they produce so much for the granary of the country, they have to fight for the water. They feel that Chandigarh could have been given to them as Madras city with 60 per cent Telugu speaking people, was given to Madras State, Tamil Nadu. (Interruptions) Therefore, this grievance is there..... (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, you carry on.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : You are asking him to carry on, ask him to conclude.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : I cannot appease Mr. Banatwalla, so naturally he is unhappy.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIHAL SINGH (Chandauli) : Who is happy with, you?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Well, you are also unhappy, the whole House is unhappy.....(Interruptions).

Therefore, I say that is something on which the Government will have to build confidence and for that there are certain things which they should have done. For example, on the 3rd April there was a big shoot-out in which eight Sikhs died in Amritsar. There should have been a judicial enquiry. They asked for it. When we asked for a judicial enquiry in Patiala that was accepted, the same way, this should also have been accepted. But the Government did not accept it. This created a very bad feeling. So, I say

that there must be confidence-building in which the Government should appear to be action fairly. Whether the Government acts fairly or not is not that important as to appear to be acting fairly, and here is something where the Government missed the bus. Similarly, when we ask Parliament questions, the Government avoids telling us certain things. Mr. Sethi tells us something but when it comes to an Unstarred question, we get different sort of information. Government have consistently refused to give a White Paper on the Punjab situation and table all the correspondence. Why, I do not understand. If you want our support, you must tell us what the facts are.

Similarly, on the question of arms inside the Golden Temple, the Government is on record to say that to some extent the arms are permitted. The question is how much of the arms are not permitted. Government has no answer to this. According to the answer given on 7th of March 1984, they say :

“The Government of Punjab have reported that the number of firearms permitted by the Government earlier in the Golden Temple is as follows :

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etc. etc. but they say: “We have no information whether the number of arms inside the Golden Temple exceeds this or not.” This is what you say but you are not able to answer it.

Similarly, there are ruling party Members who regularly say that hand is involved but when questions are asked in the Parliament, the reply is in the negative. For example, the question asked is whether CRPF caught two Pakistani spise in the guise of Nihanga, and the answer given by the Home Minister is: “According to

the State Government of Punjab, CRPF personnel have not caught two Pakistani spies in the guise of Nihangs". The ruling party Members come everyday saying that this foreign hand is there, that foreign hand is there, but when it comes to answering questions, they are unable to give us any concrete facts. How can you expect us to support you if you do not come out with concrete facts? Similarly, on foreign hands question No. 652 was whether there is a foreign hand behind the incidence of violence by extremists' and the Government's answer is: "Government have received the information in this respect from time to time and the Government have continually been monitoring with utmost vigilance". This is no answer. I would, therefore, say that the second requirement is that the Government must tell us the truth as to what they know. Or, if they do not know anything at all, they must tell us. I also say for the solution that there is no point in further negotiations and discussions. If the Government wants to act in a decisive way and wants our support, then I would say that they should implement certain demands unilaterally because they have been discussed lawfully. No further discussion is necessary and in this regard I would say that certain demands which are purely secular in character, should have been conceded. If you want I can quote them, these are Chandigarh, Water, etc. These are well-known. On the question of Boundary Commission the Government should implement it and then if the other side is not forthcoming I will say that there will be a moral base for the Government to ask for cooperation from the Opposition to take corrective action in Punjab.

So, finally I would say that is the responsibility of all of us to give courage to the people of Punjab, who are valiantly fighting the extremists. For this, there should be regular visits by Parliamentary Committees, they should meet the people, go to the various towns and address meetings.

and some get killed for a good cause. ... (Interruptions) I say this in the utmost seriousness. Almost all of us are giving speeches here. But none of us is going into Punjab, perhaps with your exception. This is what should be done. After all, if the Ninth Guru could give his life for the religion of his brother, I think it is time for the sake of Punjab we make a commitment and go there.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Sitamarhi): Mr. Speaker, the situation in Punjab, and as a result thereof in the country, is so serious that, if I may say so, this country after independence did not face such a situation. Since Dr. Subramaniam Swamy began by saying that Punjab is problem No. 1 in the country, I expected that he would try to bring into focus the seriousness of the situation and would offer solutions, which would be acceptable to the Parliament as a whole, and not indulge in partisan arguments and points. This is very important. Unfortunately, probably he came to the House in a state of absent-mindedness.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: He was rumour-minded.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Yes, rumour-minded and he got de-railed.

SHRI RATANSINGH RAJDA (Bombay-South): Rumour or humour?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: In the very beginning, it is my task to appeal to the House to take a national perspective. In this respect, this House has a glorious tradition and whenever the country faced a national danger or crisis, the House rose as one person. I need not remind the House that as late as in 1971, when there was the Bangladesh crisis, what was the situation here? Every member spoke with one voice and mind because there was a clear perception that there is a threat. Probably the threat at that time was very real; the war was going on, the Seventh Fleet was moving in the Bay of Bengal and there

was all-round threat. Today there is a similar kind of serious threat. But, unfortunately, there is not that clear perception today. Though the Prime Minister as well as others have been warning of this situation and though she has said in this House that this country is facing many dangers, many members in the opposition scoffed at it.

So, today my first duty is to analyse very briefly what the danger is. The danger is both external and internal. Externally the danger is from neo-imperialism. Dr. Subramaniam Swamy has been to foreign lands, he is a student of economics and the political working in the world and so he knows what neo-imperialism is and how it is working. It is creating a dangerous situation in the world, in the Indian Ocean, in the Persian Gulf, in Pakistan, everywhere. The Defence Minister has done his duty by exposing the military danger from Pakistan. He has mentioned it in this House. So, the Government have been saying again and again that this country is facing a danger from outside.

Another danger is the de-stabilisation at home because of the unfortunate nexus between the anti-national forces in the country, with the neo-imperialist forces outside. The anti-national forces are active all over. The country is committed to secularism, which means respect for all religions. If we do not have respect for all religions, our unity will be threatened and there will not be any Indian nation. We have different languages and we have almost all the religions of the world. If there is no equal respect for all religions and languages, our parliamentary system of Government and the unity of this country will be threatened.

But unfortunately, what do we see today? We see that right in the beginning communalism was the biggest internal threat and whenever there used to be communal riots, the House as a whole rose—I may remind

you of the great debates on these issues times without number in this House. Whenever the Members saw communal riots taking place, this House saw a threat to the unity of this country and the House rose to the occasion as one whole to meet that challenge irrespective of different parties or groups. Today it is coming in the shape of fundamentalism. We saw the Islamic fundamentalism, we saw the Hindu fundamentalism, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and others, and all the movements that are going on, and unfortunately, the most shocking and surprising thing is that we saw a streak of fundamentalism among the Sikhs. Sikhism is the last religion in this world, the purest of the religions for the service of humanity. It was born to save Hinduism, to serve the humanity for which enormous sacrifices were made. It is based on secular principles, respect for religious freedom and all that our country stands for. But there is also fundamentalism in that. And we have some fundamentalism in Christianity. This is the biggest danger and this is the nexus—the fundamentalist forces in the country and the communal forces in the country having a nexus outside, and this is the danger that the country is facing—trying to de-stabilise the country. This is a great country which cannot be taken over easily, but it can be dismembered, it can be weakened and therefore, let us agree on one thing as we have agreed in 1971, as we have agreed on basic issues of State policy in the past and my appeal is to that vanishing creed of freedom fighters, those of us who fought for the freedom of the country—they are on all sides of the House. Let us all unite and create that condition so that this problem can be tackled on a national basis. This is my first appeal to the House that let us rise as one person, the whole Parliament, to face the situation in Punjab.

Having agreed on this, now let us agree on the nature of the threats. You scoffed at it saying, 'Where is the foreign hand? Why did you talk this

Dr. Swamy ? You know that foreign hands cannot be discovered easily, and even if they are discovered, the Government cannot say it because they have to deal with them, they have to strike them. Of course, they have to caught somebody coming over the border in Punjab. It is a soft border because people can go across it illegally. There have been people going like that in the past, smugglers and others. Today we have been reading in the papers that people trained in Pakistan have been coming over and doing acts of violence and terrorism. The other day, during the debate on Punjab last time, Mr. Indrajit Gupta made a very good point. He said that these are acts of very highly skilled professionals and the professionals are trained, and therefore we must approach this problem in a more serious manner, because of the situation we are facing. Terrorism in Punjab is a very organised terrorism and highly professionalised terrorism and the amount of sophisticated weapons that they have in their hands are all coming over across the border. There is enough evidence, the Government has said so, the press is saying so and everybody is saying that there is evidence that there is a lot of gun-running between the Punjab and Pakistan across the borders and those arms are in the hands of this particular group of terrorists and therefore, this is the crux of the situation.

16 hrs.

I will again give another example. Some serious incidents have taken place and it gives rise to a cause for concern. But this is not the time to attack the Government for that saying, 'you are not acting and you are not doing this.' I will tell you what happens when you are faced with a very highly professionalised terrorism according to Mr. Indrajit Gupta, to which we agree.

These are the people who were trained by high professionals. They are operating under an organised

leadership. You compare the situation with the situation in England-North Iris terrorists. In London there were weeks of terror. Every day, in their main streets—Regent St., Oxford St., and everywhere bombs were thrown, Police and the people were getting killed. But the Government, the Parliament and the country kept their nerves. That is how a great country should behave. I want this great country to behave in that way. I want that we should not lose our nerve. I know 37 Railway Stations have been burnt. There has been fire and that many killings are taking place every day. Once the House had to agree that we are fighting terrorists and that there is a foreign hand. You may agree or not, the Home Minister may identify but tell you or not. I would advise him, if he knows, he should not tell. He has to carry out necessary operations. If he wants to disclose, let him disclose. If he does not want to disclose, he should not. But the point is, you see global forces working together with internal destabilisers and saboteurs. Do not be simpleton. There are forces in the world. They do not want India to be strong. There are forces in the world which want India to be destabilised and weakened. They want to dismember our country. Unfortunately, they have a handle in Punjab. They want to exploit that situation. Therefore, having agreed to these major premises, let us forge our response. This is a national crisis. There should be national response. Second is the nature of the threat—what is the threat ? The threat is to the unity and integrity of the country. The threat from forces outside and access with forces inside—reactionary forces. If we agree to this, then what is the solution ?

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy started by saying—what is the solution, but he forget and went astray.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
 No, no.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : So far as the Government is concerned, time

without number, the Prime Minister and the Government have always shown, I say 'always shown', great sympathy for the demands of the Akali Dal. Dr. Subramaniam Swamy himself has said that they had 46 demands in the beginning or 45 whatever it is. None of them were the demands against the Hindus. That is true.

You charged the Government that Government has not acted in time : it has changed its stand. But actually, what has happened? Who has changed the stand? Has the Government's stand of settling this question peacefully, through negotiations changed? No. It has not changed. Even to-day the Government is saying that we are prepared to discuss and settle the issues. First, 45 demands; then in an appeal to all M.Ps Sant Longowal listed 12 demands. In the latest letter to M.Ps Sant Longowal has another list of demands and so on. Finally, as you have yourself said, they came with the new demand regarding Article 25. There are various other demands. I do not want to go into their details. But whenever the Government started to act, I am sorry to say, it was the Opposition which criticised the Government. I give you two examples—the amendment of the National Security Act, describing Punjab as a very dangerous State. The Ordinance was issued. Was it accepted? Was it supported by the Opposition?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
That is not the solution?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : You want the Government to act. Do you want the Government to go naked in a crisis or in such a situation?

श्री राम बिलास पासवान
(हाजीपुर) : पास होने के बाद क्या हो गया ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Government wants power. It is the Government which is charged with not

discharging the responsibility. I am not saying that ordinance—National Security Act—is the solution. But it was arming the Government with necessary powers to deal with the situation. You criticise that. Now, let us take article 25. The Akali Dal did not place the demand in the beginning; neither in the 45 demands; nor in the 12 demands; and nor in the other letter. Later on, they came for a change in the article. They even burnt down copies of the Constitution. A very reasonable person like Sardar Parkash Singh Badal went on committing a crime by burning the copies of the Constitution. You know the law. I think, to burn the Constitution is a cognizable offence. And for that, you have to suffer. Now, you say "why have they put him in jail"? If you commit a crime, naturally you suffer for it. It is not the pleasure of the Government to put leaders like Shri Badal in jail. If you deliberately commit a crime which is cognizable and which attracts punishment, you have to accept the punishment.

Therefore, when the Government said that they were prepared to talk about it, then first you started questioning the *bona-fides*. You started questioning it. The other day in the debate, you said, "What is in the letter and what is your commitment"? What is this? This is not the response. This is not the response to face a national crisis like that. You went on alleging that the Government was dithering and not acting. But the fact of the matter is, on all these matters, the Government has been willing and responding positively to various demands so that the matter may be settled. Unfortunately, some of our Members say, as you have just now said that the Prime Minister is obsessed with elections. Well, elections are still a few months away. We know, we have a matured democracy.

16.07 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the chair.]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Are you sure that the elections are...

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT : I am in the same position as you are but knowing that the term of Parliament would come to an end in January, 1985 only after... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No side-talks please.

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT : For him or for me ? I cannot ignore very important hon. Member. And, therefore, the question is let us keep out the elections. Regarding election atmosphere and other things, all of us are very seasoned and veteran election fighters. Election tempo is decided just a few weeks before elections and that settles—the wind blows this way or that way. It is still a few months away. Why are you bringing in all these things ? Let us try to deal with the very serious situation.

Therefore, the point I am going to make is, let us understand how to deal with the situation. We are fighting terrorism and we must strengthen the Government in order to effectively solve the problem.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : How ?

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT : The Government has to act. And the Government is saying, the Home Minister and the Prime Minister are saying that they are always acting and they are in command. They have been saying that. Now, various tripartite meetings took place and bilateral meetings took place. You know what happened in 1983. I am coming to this. Shri Indrajit Gupta asks "How"? During tripartite talks of 1983, various formulations were made and the understanding was very near. However, it appears that at the last moment, the Akali Dal leaders suddenly left the negotiating table when a little more effort on their part could have settled the matter. I think, at that moment, the Opposition

also could have persuaded them since they have a very direct contact. You are saying that the Government has a secret contact. But you have open and direct contact. You could have persuaded them saying, "Here, we want solution and we will pressurise the Government". Even many of the Congress Party Members would have helped you in persuading the Government to come to the solution. But you did not do so. Again, about the February, 1984 tripartite meeting. I am saying this because all of us were involved in it. Tripartite meeting was adjourned for a short while because of the very unfortunate or very sad events that had taken place both in Punjab and Haryana. The Akali Dal delegation went there to see and help restoring peace, in troubled areas. But later on, the Akali Dal delegation never returned. You did not ask them, you did not tell them, let us come to the talks; let us continue the talks, when the peace was restored. Here, the whole House expressed sadness and sorrow at what happened in Haryana and at what happened in Punjab. Innocent people of both communities, Sikhs and Hindus, lost their lives. There was a genuine national sorrow. But, after that, what happened ? You should have persuaded them to come and resume the talks.

What are their demands ? In spite of the fact that new demands are being added, the Government has been making efforts to solve the problem. The Prime Minister has a particular sympathy with the demands of the Akali Dal and she wants to solve the problem. Despite what is being propagated against her that she is against the Sikhs or she is against the Akalis—she is not—she wants to solve this very vexed problem. But at the crucial moment, it was your duty also to see that tripartite talks should have been resumed. Therefore, if we failed, we have all of us failed. Don't put the blame on one quarter. All of us have failed. The time is running out. But still it is not too late.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
When they succeed, they say that they have succeeded. But when they fail, they say that all of us have failed.

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT : I am telling you certain facts. I am not saying in a spirit of putting blame or apportioning blame on any quarter. It is a national crisis and let there be a national response. There were two occasions. If there had been a total national response in 1983 and 1984, this matter could have been settled.

Meanwhile, what has happened? Terrorism has taken command. The forces of violence, the forces of hatred, the forces of communalism, the forces of bringing a division amongst the Sikhs and the Hindus, have taken command. In that, the nation has lost and nobody has gained. Therefore, on this occasion, let us examine very coolly what should be done.

Firstly, let us understand the situation. There was no bandh or any such thing when the Irish movement was going on. Why are there bandhs by anyone, the Akali Dal bandh or the BJP bandh or any other bandh? You charge the Government that we are electioneering and politicalising. But what are the bandhs for? Does that solve the problem? On the other hand, it creates provocation and it creates a bad feeling. Therefore, firstly, a call from Parliament should go to the Akali Dal that they should call off the agitation. There should be no agitation because there is a consensus for solving this problem through negotiation. You know it; you have all participated in the talks.

The problem was nearly solved. The religious demands were accepted. About Article 25, their latest demand, the Government has agreed to talk, discuss and negotiate. The territorial demands can also be settled. There is no problem about that if there is a goodwill. The water demand is nearly settled because the procedure to refer it to tribunal has been agreed to. So, what is left in their demands? There

is nothing left unless some people have certain other ideas, extra-territorial ideas, extra-territorial nexus, de-stabilising the country, disintegrating the country and all that under the influence of Pakistan or other outside forces. Let these dark forces be isolated. The terrorists are working for creating terror. They are not for a solution of the problem. Luckily, they are very few in number. If you help the Government. I think, the Government will be able to isolate them. It may take some time. You remember how much time it took to solve the insurgency problem in Nagaland. You remember those days when we used to discuss and charge the Government in the same way, "You are not doing anything." Even our great valiant army was criticised. But with goodwill, with firmness, with flexibility, ultimately the Nagaland problem was not only solved by army action but also by persuading the Naga people to come to the mainstream. Therefore, we should do what is our common task. No bandh, no agitation, nothing. Terrorism and violence which are threats to any organised existence or to a nation have to be tackled. There should be agreement on that and there is an agreement on that. We should create a cordial atmosphere in Punjab. You say that the Hindus in Punjab are terrified. Yes. Incidents like this can create terror in the mind of anybody. It is very unfortunate. Sikh and Hindu amity must be maintained. Similarly, in Haryana or in Delhi and everywhere else, the country must remain firm on secularism, respect for all religions, equality for all citizens and safety to all citizens. It must remain firm and then only we can approach the people. Let us go to the people in Punjab and create a peaceful situation. You have ample experience how to tackle insurgency and terrorism. Ours is a great country and it has a great Parliament. We should not be unnerved with some incidents which are happening here and there. Just as it is a matter of sorrow when somebody dies, it is a matter of greater sorrow when some innocent people are killed. Let

the involvement of the nation in that sorrow be there. Let all of us try to create a peaceful situation in Punjab. Let us rouse the people of Punjab so that the Government acts and isolates terrorists who are creating violence.

This is the only way this matter can be solved. The solution should be on that line. Let us all agree on that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would make an appeal to hon. Members to be brief in their speeches so that when the hon. Minister replies, the House will have its full strength as it has now.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The time allotted is only three hours for this discussion.

Shri somnath chatterjee will now speak.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, We are discussing today the situation in Punjab under the shadow of ghastly happening which pose the greatest threat to the integrity of our country and unity of our people. We have discussed on the floor of this House in this Session itself and on several occasions, the situation in Punjab. This has led to the creation of a doubt about the utility of holding such discussions when we find that the Government in Punjab has lost even its capacity to react, if at all it has any capacity to act. It seems to me that the Government there has become a silent spectator only waiting for the events to overtake them. One necessarily wonders whether there is any semblance of Government or Administration in the part of the country. There is complete collapse of whatever machinery, if any, that is there for the enforcement of law and order. What is more, we do not find any administrative or political will to tackle the situation.

Having heard the speech of Shri B.R. Bhagat, we find that the Punjab

Government is not only bankrupt in action but is bankrupt in ideas also. I am sorry to say this. This we can know from what appears through the reports of the newspapers.

When we requested the hon. Speaker that the hon. Minister should come before the House and make a statement, we expected some constructive suggestions from the Government. And the statement was only a crude, if I may say so, or a very unsatisfactory precis of some of the newspaper reports. Not a single course of action has been suggested. What the Government is thinking, nothing is indicated. We had raised it because we had read about these in the press. 39 Railway Stations in nine districts were involved in one sweep as it were. People were killed. A proclaimed offender was killed outside the Golden Temple. Then the killer was killed. Who is killing whom there? An M.P. has been killed; an ex-MLA has been killed; leaders of political parties have been killed. Therefore, what was expected from the hon. Minister was that he should come out with a specific solution, at least the action that is going to be taken by the Government, but we did not find any. We have seen in the papers and in the statement also that a number of AISSF activists have been arrested. But since when have these arrests started and what has been the effect of these arrests on the situation, we do not know; we do not know whether it has been identified as to who have been responsible for the happenings. I would like to know from the Government whether there is any intelligence agency operating in that area. It cannot be just an isolated action at one place, somebody goes there and tries to indulge in arson. 39 Railway Stations were involved almost at the same point of time, and the same type of procedure has been adopted. Therefore, the situation is that there is a complete collapse of the law and order machinery. After all, it is very easy to say, "I will deal with it". Mr. Bhagat has said, "Everything is now on the lap of the Opposition". It is very easy to say, "Let us rise to the

occasion; let us not criticise the Government; you have to support the Government for taking recourse to N.S.A. and what not". If this is the way Government is going to solve this problem, we have seen what has been the result of the Government's action.

So far as law and order machinery is concerned, so far as the question of maintenance of law and order is concerned, it is, squarely and primarily, the Government which is responsible. I shall come to the demands aspect later on. This is precisely what the country wants to know, what the people of this country want to know: how do you propose to solve this problem there? You have kept the issues alive. The seriousness of the situation is that the demands which were political demands at one time or, let us, say, the democratic issues raised by the Akalis have now taken on a religious colour also unfortunately. This is the tragedy of the situation. The extremist elements have now the sway over the situation, they are having greater and greater control. Now the moderates do not seem to have any voice or control at the moment. Even amongst the Akalis, inter-party disputes and killings have started. What was ordinarily thought to be the dominating position of the moderates is not there; they are losing their control or stronghold. And this is all because you have adopted a policy of drift, you have not solved the problem. I would like to remind the hon. Prime Minister that in June last year the parties had come very near a solution, and yesterday at the Convention of 17 Political Parties, national Opposition Parties, a Resolution was passed expressing their conviction that, if only the Prime Minister had adopted a positive and correct attitude to the initiative taken by the Opposition Parties in June last year, the tragic developments of the subsequent nine months and more could have been avoided, peace restored in the disturbed State and the people saved from the present agony they are going through.

The history of Punjab, especially since Partition, has been a glorious history of decades of total communal harmony. But to-day we find this harmony is being shattered. Specially after the Partition of the country the Hindus and Sikhs along with other communities have jointly by their sweat and toil and blood built up the Punjab of what it is to-day. We know the important position Punjab is occupying in our country. Whether it is development, food production or industrial production we are very much proud that a part of our country has developed in this manner, specially when it had to suffer the ravages of partition of this country. But it is nothing but a great tragedy that the people are now thinking of migrating from one State of another. Now whose responsibility is it to give protection to the people who are thinking of going away because of fear of their lives? We do not want that situation. The extremists activities have been going on not only unabated but it is gaining momentum. You are saying whenever you come to Parliament—the Home Minister says that this event has taken place, that event has taken place. The precious little what are you going to do about it? What have you done about it? We have been repeatedly requesting the Government to show that political will and organise all secular forces in the State—the left and democratic forces. The leftist students are now bearing the burnt of this attack. They are facing the extremist student elements in the State. You have never tried to involve them in the process and they are doing in their own way and they are trying their best.

To-day education has come to a halt. Examinations have been stopped because the Sikh Students' Federation gave a call of boycotting the examination. Everybody's study has come to a halt. Examinations cannot be held, classes cannot be held and against that the leftist students are fighting at the risk of their lives. What have you done—either as a political party or as

a Government, to mobilise these forces ?

We have been asking for a white paper....

PROF. N.G. RANGA : We are also helping you. All of us are working together.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : We have been asking for a white paper. You don't wish to publish any white paper. You should identify the elements which have created this situation. You are not prepared to do that. We do not know that reason of it. We have not seen a single positive action to meet the law and order situation. More and more repressive powers you have taken and still more powers you want. In spite of our opposition you have amended the National Security Act. Even you do not come to the Parliament to get it passed. You passed an ordinance. Since then have you been able to control the situation with all the powers you took ? What is the good of saying that the Opposition always opposes ? Of course, we shall oppose all such laws but have we ever prevented your functioning as a government in that part of the country ? I would like to know. Where have the Opposition but difficulties in the way of your controlling the law and order situation or giving protection to the innocent people in that part of the country ? What has the Opposition done ? On the other so far as the demands of the Akalis, the Opposition has tried its best to bring the government and the Akalis as near as possible.

Sir, the matter on which we are greatly concerned is that the two communities which they did not think themselves as two communities—Hindus and Sikhs—they are now thinking on communal lives. I was reading in one journal a statement by an old Sikh gentleman who said "this is for the first time I see in Amritsar that only people of one community are celebrating something or doing something which we have always done

together". But, Sir, this feud between the Hindu and Sikh community is a matter of greatest concern. During the debate on the Home Ministry's grants I asked the House to take note of this. It is taking the shape of communal polarisation which is dangerous for the people of this country and for the unity of this country. We do not want a situation where people of any area by reason of this type of situation will think of going to a safer place only to live and survive.

Sir, the demands of the Akalis like the inclusion of Chandigarh and the solution of the river water dispute are matters which should be immediately solved and settled. We do not want that any situation should continue where the extremists would take advantage of it.

Now, the places of religious worship have become places of political activity. This is what we are against. We want to separate religion from politics. But what we find is that the political activities are taking place in the religious places and religious colour is being given to them. But I would again ask the government to take all appropriate action. It is for them to indicate and disclose. They must be aware of the gravity of the situation and they have to resolve the issue of Chandigarh as early as possible for which the demand has been made by the Opposition parties including the Akali Dal and they must create a situation that nobody can take advantage of a place of worship for the purpose of carrying out terrorist activities. It is necessary to isolate the terrorists. It is necessary to isolate the extremist elements for which firm administrative action is necessary and firm political decision is necessary. You have allowed the situation to go almost out of your hand. You cannot take any possible advantage of this situation. It is very unfortunate that today Mr. Bhagat as the opening speaker on behalf of the ruling party has chosen only to accuse the Opposition. In which way, in this

matter, the Opposition has not tried to cooperate? He said that whatever may be the action taken by the Government, we must blindly support. We don't have that type of loyalty.

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT : I have not said so. I have not said that.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Yes, you said so. You have talked of forces of destabilisation, you have talked of foreign hand. If there is foreign hand; disclose it. Take the people into confidence. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. N.G. RANGA : It is not so easy.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You are in the Government. You should know whether there is foreign hand or no foreign hand.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : As far as action part is concerned, it is not so easy.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is not so easy, but you are occupying the Treasury benches. It is for you to do it. Who is to check it and who is to control it? Do you want that the Opposition will control the foreign hand? You have RAW, you have Central Intelligence agency, you have so many other agencies. Can't you find them out as to where is the foreign hand? If there is foreign hand whom you can't disclose, then who is to get that foreign hand out of India? Who is to do that? Will the Opposition do that? Mr. Bhagat made one observation. He said that the Opposition should not attack the Government.

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT : I am sorry Sir. What I said was that there should be a national response to a national crisis.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I have noted down what he said.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : What he heard is not a number. He heard him in the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let us go through the proceedings.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The National Security Act was passed. We opposed it, as if we have committed a crime. I shall oppose; it every time; if you want advance notice, I shall do so. He says that we must strengthen the hands of the Government. Now, in what way we have weakened the Government? We want the Government that will work, not on posters only. We want the Government that will function there as a Government to give protection to the people, to the innocent people who are not being protected. You cannot take the decision on the demands which have been raised. Tell us why have you suddenly tried to concede on Article 25 if they had not raised it earlier? When the Parliament is not sitting, suddenly you issued a statement saying 'No, no, we are going to consider it' without knowing even what the basis of their demand under Article 25 was. This is the position. So far as the religious demands are concerned, you don't wait for anybody else. You go and announce it with great fanfare. You immediately take a conciliatory attitude on Article 25 demand. But so far as the democratic demands, economic demands are concerned, you are dodging for days, months and years. You have brought out the situation, as it is today when the extremist elements are having the upper hand and the moderate elements are now weakened. Therefore, we have already said, what is the solution to the problems? So, deal with the situation in the proper manner, control law and order situation and give protection to the people. After all, it is your duty to do it. If you cannot do it, then the people will decide what to do.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar) : Sir, Dr. Swamy who started the debate had made statements on the basis of hearsays. The first hearsay was contradicted by the hon. Prime Minister. His second hearsay was contradicted by the hon. Home Minister and the third hearsay of Sant

Longowal who said about different religions was contradicted by Mr. Banatwalla. There is one point that remains to be contradicted and that is that the last time when he went to the Golden Temple, he must have found out that transmitter was being sent but it was not permitted. He is going again and he will find out the facts.

The rest of his statement was based on rumours, so I need not reply to that.

Sir, I am surprised at the statement of the hon. speaker who was speaking before me, that the Government had been having a policy of drift all these years. All the time he was criticising the action of the Government; all the time he was saying that this should be done, that should be done, and the main point of his speech was that Government did not want to settle this matter, and that they were having a policy of drift.

The House knows how many times we had talks with the Akalis, how many times we have invited them. Every time a statement was made here, it was demanded by the opposition people that the Government should not stand on prestige and that they should invite them. We have always been inviting them, and once we invited them, they said that no letter had been received. We sent them a letter. When we invited them for the second time, they said that they would not come to Delhi; we sent our Political Affairs Committee to Chandigarh to talk to them, and then when we again asked them to come over and have a talk, they sent a B team. This is the type of people with whom we are dealing. And then the hon. Member went on saying that we had a policy of drift. I am surprised at this knowledge. That is really my problem that the leaders of the opposition do not understand the Punjab problem, and yet they comment here and say that the Government has a policy of drift.

We have had discussions on the Punjab situation a number of times

in this House, and everytime this turned into a debate and the opposition always wanted to score some points over the Government. We, the people in Punjab, feel that you simply debate here, you simply deliberate here, you simply accuse each other, but you do not want a solution. This is the impression which has gone round in the Punjabis, and especially the people who are suffering. They feel that all the leaders who gather here and towards whom people look for a solution to this difficult problem, simply accuse each other and go away feeling satisfied that they have done their job. My submission to you all is that you have done enough accusing. We have many other points where we differ with each other, and we accuse each other, and everyday we do that; I do not want to stop you, but the Punjab question is a national question. We, the people of Punjab, are suffering, and the people of Punjab are being killed everyday by the extremists, and a situation has arisen there when the people are terrified. So for God's sake, do not have trading on our woss. I request you to take it seriously and try to find some solution.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN :
What is the solution ?

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : They started killing Nirankaris first, then they came to different people; they killed the BJP leaders, they then killed the Congress leaders and innocent people. That is the situation there. We have to tackle this with all the seriousness and I will implore on both sides that we should come to the conclusion as to what is to be done and immediate action should be taken on that, whether it is a political solution, or administrative action we should stress for that. As a Punjabi and especially as a Member coming from Amritsar which is my constituency, I do feel that people over there are very keen that all these things should be done away with, as soon as possible,

Mr. Paswan asked : What is the solution ? I have a solution, which I will suggest to the House; but before I come to it, I want to state certain facts. The present situation is there because of three factors. The first is the confusion and indecision among the Akalis. The second is the role of the opposition. They did not understand the problem; yet they dabbled in it. Then they had a political angle i.e. of the next elections. The third relates to the Government which, I think, should have dealt with the problem with a strong hand. They should not have been lenient. So, I am giving the point of view of everybody.

So far as Akalis are concerned, they started this movement in support of their demands. They assured the people that their satyagraha would be peaceful. Did it remain peaceful ? The *rasta roko*, the *rail roko*, the *kaam roko* movements, all turned violent. Violence started. Not only that.

It is the history of the Akali party that whenever elections are there, before them they always had a *marcha*. They always had a satyagraha. They tried to involve as many people as possible, to sway them, for their votes. They have been doing it in the past on the basis of the language, if you remember. Then for a linguistic province; for Punjabi Suba, they fought.

Now they speak of discrimination against Sikhs. Is it a discrimination against Sikhs that we have a secular democracy, a Constitution in which the ambitions and aspirations of all people are mentioned ? We have made a Sikh our *Rashtrapati*. In various stations of life, we have Sikhs highly placed. Madam Indira Gandhi has given the *kotwali* here to the Sikhs, that is, in Chandni Chowk. It was their long-standing demand. It has been given to them. It is a thing which they wanted. Does it show discrimination ? So many *gurdwaras* have been built after independence; I think about 70. The Prime Minister

has been kind enough to give the allotment of cement immediately. Lands have been given in Delhi at various places for the *gurdwaras*. To say that a person from the family of Nehrus which has been so secular, will discriminate against anybody is absolutely false, and wrong.

After these *marchas*, the Akalis have not been able to decide what to do. Formerly, whenever the *marchas* were held in Punjab, leaders like Sant Fateh Singh and Master Tara Singh were there. They were great leaders. They could have the following of the people. They would always withdraw the *marcha* if they found that it was going out of their hands. But is it the situation with the present leadership ? They are a bunch of leaders who cannot decide; they talk among themselves before they come to Delhi, and they again go back for consultations. They cannot make up their minds. They talk, discuss and conceive; but they produce nothing. So, this is the situation of the the present leadership of the Akalis. Had there been the leadership of Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh, perhaps the present situation would not have arisen. That is why I say that the Akalis are confused about the situation. They cannot make up their minds. Many things have been offered. They accepted them; and later on, they have rejected them. We sent so many mediators. Even many opposition leaders had gone there to talk to them individually or collectively. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee was saying, a drift; we do not want to talk. If he had talked to Mr. Surjit Singh, another CPM leader, perhaps he would have guided him how much efforts had been put in to see that an agreement came through. The second party involved in this situation is the opposition; and as I said earlier, the opposition does not know the real situation in Punjab; none of them knows the background and the history of the Sikhs and the struggle which they have been doing and the role of the Akali Party. They have been supporting their demands. Then they

know that the Akali Party is a communal party. I am surprised when Mr. Somnath Chatterjee and other progressive people like him said that their demands were all right. Does he not know that the Akali Party represents big farmers and also they are a communal party? Yet they are supporting their demands. Anyway, that is their concern. I do not want to challenge him on that account. But all I want to say is that they have been encouraging them in all situations; and not only that, Mr. Swamy went and visited Golden Temple. When he came back he told in the Parliament that their demands were all right. There was no extremist; there was no culprit and criminal inside. I was surprised we had such a wiseman in our House. I do not know why the members of Nobel Prize Committee were sleeping? Why could they not look at him that we had such a genius? In one day they could see everything and tell the whole House. I hope he is again going there for 5 days. They Committee on the Nobel Prize will have a better look at him and see what is his performance there.

When I say that the opposition was confused, firstly they have no knowledge of the background of Punjab and then they become suddenly wise; when they became wise, the Akalis tried to interfere in the Asian Games, when they tried to write to the leaders in the CHOGM Conference; and

When they burnt the Constitution, then they came to know the real intention of the Akalis. That is why I say they supported them blindly without knowing what is the real situation; and now they are changing their position. Therefore, they have confounded the confusion which was already prevailing over there.

In this manner, I say I cannot absolve the Government of the responsibility which they had and they did not perform their duty well, because this agitation is going on for the last two years. We have ample

opportunities and ample time. So many people were sent there. Many a time they came over here. We should have told the nation the true picture. Here they say, some are moderates, some are not moderates; and the people who burnt the Constitution, will you call them moderates? I am surprised at their knowledge. I am surprised that they are supporting that. I can agree that they have a spectre of coming election on their mind and they possibly find an ally in regional parties like the Akali. But they should be frank enough to say that, but they should not support their demands like this which they have been doing; they have ridiculed themselves.

In Punjab, every Pujabi feels that not only they are doing something wrong to them but they are rank opportunists.

One can conceive that this is a democratic government; they have to discuss with them also; they have to discuss with other sources also, but they must come to a conclusion. That I agree, that a democratic Government is a weak Government, they want to have the opinion of all, and before they act they must consult everybody. Well, that is their right. Let them do it. But two years is quite a period, and you must come to a conclusion now because meanwhile who have gained? It is the extremists who have gained. It is the forces, the foreign forces, to which some of our friends are allergic who have gained. I was surprised at the attitude of Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, who knows that the foreign forces are playing their part, but these things are not proved as Mr. Bhagat rightly said. But has he not read the article of Mr. Suleri of *Pakistan Times*? Has he not read what the P.A. of Mr. Zia has said, that the Sikhs should demand a separate electorate? Has he not read it? Has he not read about the discussion in the American Senate, what is going on, what the American Press is doing and what the Pakistan Press is doing? And,

the media outside the country whether it is Pakistani or American is playing a full role.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Canadian also.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : Yes, other Governments also are denouncing this Government, and telling the Sikhs outside, that there is a great danger to their community, that their community is being wiped out, that is what the media is doing outside. What more proof do you want? Do you want the people to be produced before you? Is that the attitude towards a national problem? And my point is that the Government should in these circumstances try to find out more information and if they cannot tell us publicly, let them call some of the leaders and take them into confidence about what they do, so that they do not make noise for other countries, and give this impression that there are foreign agents in this country who speak for their Government. But they do not bother about what is happening in Punjab and in this country.

Sir, I have some suggestions to make and that is that you should involve in the Government, people who know the back history of Punjab, the background of Punjab, whether they are political people or they are bureaucrats, whom you consult. You should involve the people who have the necessary background of the situation of Punjab.

And secondly, I would say, that what is happening in Punjab, is that there are four elements which are playing part there. First the smugglers, second are the anti-social elements, third are the Naxalites, and the fourth are the extremists. I can find that there may be some difficulty with you for not going into the Golden Temple and catching the criminals. But what

is your difficulty in catching the Naxalites, the anti-social elements, and the smugglers, who are bringing arms, from Pakistan, unmarked and all that? I live in Amritsar. I have discussions with so many people. It is an open talk there. People openly say that arms are coming from Pakistan. You as a Government must stop it. Why don't you, arrest all the smugglers, the known smugglers? You must be having their lists. You must be having the names of all the anti-social elements. They must be arrested. All the smugglers must be arrested. All the Naxalites should be arrested; if they are not arrested, then why do you not arrest their father or brother? Why do you not take away their protectors so that those people come back and you can deal with them? And in this way you will be able to isolate the extremists and deal with them and that will be the answer and that is the suggestion which I want to make.

SHRI A.K. ROY (Dhanbad) : Mr. Bhatia, ... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Are you yielding?

SHRI R. L. BHATIA : Just let me complete it. I have one point.

SHRI A.K. ROY : Have you seen the Press reports about Naxalites?

(Interruption)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : Then the Government should finally decide about the discussions, which you are having with the Akalis, and tell them what the Government wants.

(Interruptions)

17 hrs.

(MR. SPEAKER in the Chair)

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी (हिंसा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अच्छा होता कि प्रधान मंत्री जी और गृह मंत्री जी भी होते। यह चर्चा सबसे पहले 81 के अप्रैल में मैंने शुरू की थी खालिस्तान के सबाल को लेकर के और कौन जिम्मेदार है इसका। सदन का कितना उसमें सहयोग है या कितना सदन उसके लिए उत्तरदायी है कि चर्चा चली लेकिन गृह मंत्री जी का जवाब नहीं हो सका क्योंकि कोरम पूरा नहीं था। इसलिए मेरी उस चर्चा का कोई जवाब नहीं दे सके गृह मंत्री जी क्योंकि कोरम पूरा नहीं हो सका। यह पहली बात।

दूसरी बात—यह पक्ष विपक्ष राष्ट्रीय अन्तरराष्ट्रीय-मजाक सा लगता है इस बात को कहने में। मैं समझ नहीं पाता हूँ कौन किसका किसके लिए कहता है और कैसे, किस मुह से, किस जिम्मेदारी के साथ कहता है? अगर चुनाव हों राष्ट्रपति जी का तो वोट मिलें कांग्रेस पार्टी के उम्मीदवार को तमाम अकालियों के सर्वसम्मति से। सर्वसम्मति से सारे अकाली दल ने वहाँ पर वोट दिए कांग्रेस पार्टी को। जरा सोच लेना। मैं छोटी-छोटी बात कहकर आगे चलता जा रहा हूँ। ये कहते हैं कि हमारी मदद करो। मान लो सारी विरोधी पार्टियाँ आपकी मदद नहीं करती हैं, आपकी खिलाफत करती हैं तो गवर्नमेंट किसकी हैं? केन्द्र में कांग्रेस पार्टी चुन कर आई और पंजाब में कांग्रेस पार्टी चुन कर आई। अगर भारत की प्रधान मंत्री यहाँ पर होती तो मैं कहता कि कहाँ है वह प्रधान मंत्री जो अमेरिका के सातवें बड़े से न बबड़ा कर के एक सबाल पर धटल रही थीं? वह इतनी कायर और इतनी दम्बू सरकार की प्रधान मंत्री कैसे हो गई कि करले आम होता है और उसका कोई

इलाज नहीं। कहते हैं कि कुछ कर नहीं सकते। और करो, या न करो, दूसरे मुद्दों की सरकारें तोड़ा करती हैं, विरोधी सरकारें तोड़ा करते हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी अगर थोड़ा बहुत भी शर्म रखती हो तो उसको शर्म आनी चाहिए, अपनी पार्टी की सरकार को तोड़ कर के, अपनी गवर्नमेंट का राज चला कर के वहाँ पर लोगों की हत्याओं को बढ़ा कर के केन्द्र में सरकार चलाती है, इनको एक क्षण भी हुकूमत करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है, तुरन्त इनको इस्तीफा देना चाहिए।

सवाल हम हल करें? क्या है प्राबलम? कोई प्राबलम नहीं है। किस चीज की प्राबलम है, प्राबलम है लोगों की जिन्दगी की। झगड़े चलते रहते हैं, चलते रहेंगे। गांवों से चलेंगे घरों में चलेंगे, जमीनों के चलेंगे, मकानों के चलेंगे, किरायेदारों के चलेंगे, छोटी-मोटी सरहदों के चलेंगे। लेकिन देश के अन्दर का झगड़ा हल करने के लिए अदालत है, पंचायत है, कायदे और कानून हैं। वह सरकार सरकार नहीं है, सरकार कहलाने की मुश्तहक नहीं है जो डंडे के जोर पर, लाठी के जोर पर और बन्दूक के जोर पर चाहे वह हकदार है या बेहकदार है, बगैर किसी कानून के सहारे किसी की चीज को हथियाता है या किसी की जान लेता है और सरकार बेबस रहती है। उस सरकार को हुकूमत चलाने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी का नाम आ गया बहस में। खैर, इससे कोई फर्क पड़ने वाला नहीं है। सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी की निन्दा करो, स्तुति करो। यह डेमोक्रेसी है, इसमें तो विचार रखने चाहिए। यह भी एक विचार है। अगर यह विचार नहीं रखेंगे

तो यह विचार वहाँ से आया? इनका भी एक विचार रखने का तरीका है। हमारी तरफ एक मिसाल दिया करते हैं कि अरे, तूने चींटी को पैर तले रोंद दिया, मैंने तो बड़े-बड़े कबूतर पकड़ कर मार दिए हैं, यह तो चींटी है। (ब्यबधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : चीनी कबूतर भी पकड़े हैं।

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : कहां है विदेशी हाथ, बलिराम भगत जी? अगर तुम्हारे में जिम्मेदारी है, अगर तुम्हारे में थोड़ी भी राजनीतिक लज्जा है तो चाणक्य दो हजार साल पहले यह कह नया था कि जो राजा यह कहे कि कौन सा देश मेरे खिलाफ है उसका मुझे ज्ञान नहीं है तो उसको हुकूमत करने का कोई भी अधिकार नहीं। तुम कहते हो यह मामूली बात नहीं है तो फिर क्या मामूली बात पार्टी को बदलना है कि चुनकर इधर से उधर आ गए और उधर से इधर आ गए? सरकार का काम है जिम्मेदारी को निभाना। यह गृह मन्त्री जी ने क्या बात कही है क्या उसको मैं पढ़ कर सुनाऊं? इस किताब से? कहते हैं दोनों अकाली थे, भिंडरावाले भी अकाली थे और यह भी अकाली—अब नजदीक वाले अब दूर ही रहे हैं दूर वाले नजदीक हो रहे हैं और दूर करने वाले रंगमहल में बैठे हैं, अबलाओं की इज्जत लूट रही है। लारी से लोगों को उतार स्रिया जाये और एक लाइन में खड़ा करके मार दिया जाये। क्या है प्रब्लम? सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी क्या जानते हैं, किसको प्रब्लम कहते हैं?

पानी के लिए बाकायदा एवार्ड हुआ, अर्जों ने फैसला दिया लेकिन उस पर

अमल नहीं किया गया। फिर पंचायत का फैसला भी हुआ। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने एवार्ड दिया उसको नहीं माना गया। चुनावों में वोट के वास्ते देश की प्रधान मन्त्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी गईं और उद्घाटन किया, हरियाणा से 20 करोड़ रुपये लिया और कहा कि लो यह मैं देती हूं। मैं कहता हूं इन्दिरा जी, या तो सांप को छोड़ो मत और छोड़ो तो छोड़ो मत। आपने जाकर पंजाब का सांप पकड़ा और हरियाणा में छोड़ दिया। आपने एवार्ड दिया, किससे पूछकर दिया? एक एवार्ड नहीं दो एवार्ड नहीं, तीन एवार्ड नहीं। इस बाउन्ड्री को मैं बहुत अहमियत नहीं देता हूं, क्या पंजाब में, क्या हरियाणा में, क्या यू० पी० में और क्या बिहार में लेकिन बाउन्ड्री के लिए भी कोई कायदा होता है। हरियाणा में मधु दण्डवते जी की पार्टी अगर कुछ काम नहीं करती, मेरी पार्टी कुछ काम नहीं करती या अगले की पार्टी कुछ काम नहीं करती तो क्या कोई फैसला ही नहीं? कमीशन मुकद्दर हुआ, जस्टिस शाह ने फैसला दिया कि चण्डीगढ़ हरियाणा को मिलेगा लेकिन सन्त फतह सिंह ने मरण व्रत किया। जगजीवन राम जी यहां पर नहीं है उन्होंने फैसला करवाया कि चण्डीगढ़ के बदले में हरियाणा अबोहर और फाजिलका ले ले। वे बोले, ठीक है हम राजी हैं, वहां पर सीबाजी मनाई गई। लेकिन चण्डीगढ़ के वास्ते हरियाणा के 13 लड़के कल्ल हुए, पुलिस की गोलियां से मारे गए परन्तु वे देश से अलग होने की बात नहीं करते हैं, देश-द्रोहिता नहीं करते हैं। मुझे इससे कोई मतलब नहीं कि जमीन का टुकड़ा कहां रहता है, भारत का है भारत में ही रहे लेकिन उसके लिए भी कोई कायदा होना

[श्री मनी राम बागड़ी]

चाहिए।

आज मैं सरकार से कहता हूँ डिमोक्रेसी पर आपका क्या एतमाद है? आप वोट क्यों मांगते हैं? कांग्रेस पार्टी चुनाव किस लिए लड़ती है? पंजाब के लोगों ने तुम्हें चुनकर भेजा लेकिन तुम उनकी जिन्दगी नहीं बचा सकते, पंजाब की सरकार नहीं चला सकते, फिर क्या इंग्लैंड में सरकार चलाओगे? फिर वोट क्यों लेते हो? तुम्हारा अधिकार क्या है चुनाव लड़ने का? (व्यवधान), जरा तमीज से बात करो, गुस्सा मत दिलाओ, यह सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी की बात नहीं है। (व्यवधान) याद रखना, यह मामूली बात नहीं है भारत की सभ्यता टूट रही है। मैं उस दशमेश पिता की बात कहता हूँ, जिसके साहबजादे नौ साल और बारह साल के दीवार में चुनवा दिए और पंथ इसीलिए सजाया था। इसलिए पंथ नहीं सजाया था कि गुरु का नाम लेने वाले गुरु का नाम बदनाम करें और गुरु का नाम लेने वाले उस देश के बच्चों का संहार करें और निर्मम अबलाओं की इज्जत लूटें और बेकसूर लोगों को कत्ल करें। दशमेश पिता ने अपने बाप नीर्वी पादशाही की शीश की शहीदी के लिए भेजा था। आ गए रंजीमेंट उस महान अवतार का नाम किसके साथ जोड़ा और चिट्ठी लिखी राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी कि बहन जी तुम्हें कत्ल कर दिया जायेगा। भाई कन्हैया हुआ करते थे। जब लड़ाई हुई तो गुरु महाराज के पास शिकायत आई कि भाई कन्हैया दुश्मनों के साथ मिला हुआ है। होगा कोई समझदार आदमी। हम ज़रमी करते हैं और भाई

कन्हैया ज़रमी लोगों को पानी पिलाता है। भारत की सभ्यता देखो, भाई कन्हैया को बुलाया गया, सिक्खी को देखो, सिक्खी को पढ़ो, जो आज सिक्खों के नाम पर बेबस और बेकस लोगों को मार रहे हैं, मैंने सुना है कि तू ज़रमी लोगों को पानी पिलाता है। उसने कहा—जी महाराज। पूछा गया क्यों? बोला महाराज जो कहरांदा है, मुसीबत में है, निर्बल है, जो कमजोर है, जो रोता है, उसमें मुझ को आपकी आत्म नजर आती है, मुझे और कुछ दिखाई नहीं देता है। तब दशमेश पिता ने कहा तुम मेरे शिष्य हो और तो यह दवाइयां इनको भी लगाओ। यह सिक्खी की पवित्रता है और सिक्खों का दिमाग है। याद रखना लड़ाई हिन्दू और सिक्ख की नहीं है। हमारे धर्म के बीच में हमारी शादियों में, रिश्तों में, नातों में, बेटे और रोटी के बीच में हिन्दू और सिक्ख नहीं आता है। हिन्दू जाट और सिक्ख जाट में रिश्तेदारी है। हमारे हिन्दू खतरी और सिक्ख खतरी में रिश्तेदारी है। रोड़े सिक्ख और रोड़ हिन्दू में रिश्तेदारी है। हिन्दू ब्राह्मण और सिक्ख ब्राह्मण में रिश्तेदारी जात—है। हमारी रोटी और बेटे के बीच में आती है। धर्म नहीं आता है। यह दिमाग हिन्दू और सिक्ख का दिमाग नहीं है। यह विदेशी दिमाग है, स्वदेशी दिमाग नहीं है। गुरु की औलाद होकर दशमेश पिता की औलाद होकर उन्होंने सर्वस्व कुर्बान कर दिया। हिन्दू की सुरक्षा की वास्ते वह राम की औलाद जिसकी रक्षा के वास्ते गुरु ने सर्वस्व कुर्बान किया। जो राम को मानने वाला गुरु के मानने वाले की हत्या करता है और गुरु को मानने वाला राम के मानने वाले की हत्या करता है, वह न तो गुरु गोविन्द सिंह की औलाद

हे और न राम की औलाद है। गीरी, गजनी वह विदेशी विभाग है, जो देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करा रहे हैं।

अध्यक्ष जी, इलाज के बारे में पूछा जाता है। किस का इलाज पूछा जाता है। कत्ल करते हैं, कत्ल का इलाज पूछते हैं, सरकार है या बनिए की दुकान खोल रखी है। डकैती का रास्ता बताओ, कैसे रोकें। कत्ल होता है उसका रास्ता बताओ कैसे रोकें, चोरी का रास्ता बताओ कैसे रोकें—किसी थानेदार से पूछ लो, वह बता देगा। कोई कहता है कि चण्डीगढ़ दे दो, कोई कहता है कि दिल्ली दे दो। कौन इनकी बात करता है। मुझे नाज है दिल्ली के ऊपर सरदार ज्ञानी जैल सिंह बैठे हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि दिल्ली और चण्डीगढ़ में फर्क क्या है। सारा हिन्दुस्तान ले लो, सारे हिन्दुस्तान से चुनकर आओ। हिन्दू-मुसलमान-सिख-ईसाई में क्या फर्क है, यह सबका हिन्दुस्तान है। जनतन्त्र में लेने-देने की क्या बात है। यह जो लड़ाई हो रही है, लोगों के कत्ल हो रहे हैं या करवा रहे हैं, याद रखना, सेठी साहब, मैं आज एक सख्त बात कह रहा हूँ। इन्दिरा गांधी के बारे में कह रहा हूँ—काश वह यहां होती—इन्दिरा जी, या तो तुम्हारी शक्ति उम्र के साथ क्षीण हो गई है या प्रकृति के प्रकोप से आशु भी कुछ कमजोर हो जाया करता है। जो औरत इतनी मर्द हो कि जब बंगला देश के युद्ध के समय—यह बात दूसरी है कि सारा देश उसके साथ था—अमरीका का सातवा बेटा यहां आया, तो वह नहीं घबराई, आज कांग्रेसियों के कहने से कि भिण्डरावाला यह कहता है, वह कहता है, राजीव को खतरा है, मैं पूछता हूँ—यह 70 करोड़ का खतरा कहाँ चला जायेगा।

सेठी साहब, लोगों की हत्याओं की जिम्मेदारी आप पर है। मैं मानता हूँ—आप काबिल हैं, ईमानदारी से कुछ करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन आपकी पुलिस आपके साथ नहीं है। आपके सरकारी कर्मचारी आपके साथ नहीं हैं। वहां पर आपका फर्मान नहीं चलता है, किसी और का फर्मान चलता है। ये क्या बेचारी श्रीमती वरार है, जिनसे चला नहीं जाता, उनको हिट-लिस्ट में रख दिया है....

श्रीमती गुरुबिन्दर कौर शार (फरीदकोट) : मेरे बारे में क्या कह रहे हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : हिट-लिस्ट में बता रहे हैं।

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : मैं तो तुम्हारे साथ हमदर्दी कर रहा हूँ। सपेरा का नाम हिट-लिस्ट में है। हां, निहाल सिंह वाले का होता तो ठीक था, कम से कम मद्दनी से तो बोलना है, बहादुरी से बोलता है। याद रखो, सपेरा बीन बजा कर काले-नाग को अपने बस में रखता है, काले-नाग की कमाई सपेरा खाता है और शायद उन्हीं काले नाग की वोट से तुमको ताकत मिली हो; लेकिन इस बात को भी याद रखो, सपेरे की मौत का कारण भी काला नाग हो सकता है। वे हाथ अब तुम्हारी तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं, तुम को भी गोली का निशाना बना रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ—अगर चण्डीगढ़ तुम से नहीं सम्भलता है तो हरियाणा को दे दो, फिर देखें, वहां कैसे कत्ल होता है। चण्डीगढ़ की तरफ मुंह करके भी नहीं सुयोगे। चण्डीगढ़ शाह कमीशन ने हम को दे दिया था, लेकिन आपने उसके फंसले को

[श्री मनी राम उगड़ी]

बदल दिया। अब वह आपसे नहीं सम्भल रहा है, वहां ला एण्ड आर्डर नहीं चल रहा है, जो जो आपसे नहीं चलता है हरियाणा के हवाले करते जाओ और तुम छोटी-सी दिल्ली में रहो, इन्दिरा जी, आप इसको ही सम्भाल लो, बाकी की हमारी जिम्मेदारी है।

आप साल्यूशन चाहते हैं किस चीज का साल्यूशन? बार-बार कहते हैं कि हाथ मजबूत करो, क्या तुम्हारे हाथ को लकवा मार गया है? तुम्हारे पुलिस कप्तान तुम्हारे कहने को नहीं मानते। मैंने पंजाब में खुद देखा है—पुलिस अफसरों के पास जो गनमैन हैं, उनको डण्डा दे रखा है। मैंने पूछा—इनको रिवाल्वर क्यों नहीं देते हो? कहते हैं क्या पता ये भी मिले हुए हों, रात को मार जायें। याद रखो, अगर पंजाब का हित चाहते हो, सिख का हित चाहते हो, हिन्दू का हित चाहते हो, तो एक सिख का भी कहीं कल हो, उसका खून बहता हो तो वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए शर्म की बात होगी, उस में सारे हिन्दुस्तान का सर्वस्व जाता है। यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है। आज लोगों के दिमागों में एक किस्म की गलतफहमी पैदा हो गई है। पहले अगर कोई सिख जाता था और कोई रिक्शा वाला उनको बुलाता था, तो कहता था—सरदार जी महाराज। लेकिन आज कोई सरदार आई० जी० पी० भी जाता हो तो लोग मुंह फेर कर जाते हैं। मैं एक और बात बतलाता हूँ—मैं फाग के भौके पर हरियाणा में जा रहा था। एक कार में तीन सिख और एक जवान लड़की जा रहे थे, सब पड़े-लिखे और समझदार मालूम

होते थे। फतेहाबाद के पास उनकी गाड़ी को रोका गया, उनके ऊपर हमला होता है। मेरी कार आगे निकल चुकी थी, मैंने मुड़ कर देखा और हालात को समझते हुए वापस लौटा। मैं वापस गया। मैंने पूछा क्या बात है। उन्होंने देखा कि लोकदल का झंडा लगा हुआ है। उसको देखकर और घबरा गए क्योंकि प्रचार और किस्म का किया हुआ था। मैंने पूछा क्या बात है। उन्होंने कहा आप लोकदल के हैं। मैंने मैंने कहा मैं लोकदल का हूँ, मनीराम बागड़ी मेरा नाम है। क्या तकलीफ है आपको। मैंने अपनी गाड़ी आगे लगाई है। गाड़ी लेकर थाने में गया। उनसे पूछा कि क्या चाहिए। पेट्रोल चाहिए, पेट्रोल लो, किराया चाहिए किराया लो। वे लोग बहुत डरे हुए थे। बोले आगे कोई गांव तो नहीं पड़ता, मैंने कहा नहीं पड़ता। वे चले गए। एक घंटे के बाद बाई-चांस में थाने में गया तो वहां पता लगा कि उनको पकड़ कर थाने में रख लिया है। सरदार जी थाने में बैठे हुए हैं। भटिंडा में उसकी शादी हुई थी। वहां के अफसर शरीफ आदमी थे। मैंने कहा इनको छोड़ दीजिए। कहने लगे कि ये एक्स्ट्री-मिस्ट्रस हैं। मैंने कहा मनीराम बागड़ी के साथ कैसे एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट्रस आ सकते हैं ये आएंगे तो जिन्होंने वोट लिया है अकालियों का उनके साथ आएंगे। कांग्रेसियों के साथ आयेंगे। किसी और के साथ आएंगे, मेरे साथ एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट्रस कैसे हो सकता है। आप मेरी जिम्मेदारी पर इनको छोड़ दीजिए। तीन घंटे बाद उनको छोड़ा गया और वह भी तब जब वहां अफसर शरीफ आदमी था। इतने शरीफ आदमी थे वे कि पंजाब जाकर उन्होंने मेरी इतनी तारीफ की, मैं ईमानदारी से कहता हूँ कि मैंने एक पैसे

का काम किया होगा, लेकिन उन्होंने मेरी सौ पैसे के बराबर तारीफ कर दी। उसके ससुर ने मुझको चिढ़ी लीची, उसको पढ़कर शर्म आती है। कहां गए उस गुरु के शिष्य जिसने कहा था—

“चिढ़ियों से मैं बाज तड़ाऊं,
फिर मैं अपना नाम गुरु गोविन्द सिंह
कहलाऊं।”

उस सिंह की ओलाद को इन कार्यों ने, बुजदिलों ने गुनाहगारों ने, बेकुसूरों का कत्ल करने वाले कातिलों ने, इन कातिलों को पनाह देने वालों ने, इन कातिलों को भपकड़ने वालों ने, उस सरकार गुरु गोविन्द सिंह के शिष्यों को पंगु बनाकर रख दिया है। आज वे कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं।

इस बहस का मतलब यह मत समझना जो आप समझ रहे हैं। कोई कहता है कि पार्लियामेंट का डेलीगेशन भेज दो। क्यों भेज दो। अत्ता बनाने के लिए भेज दो। वहां दरबार साहब में सरोपा मिल जाएगा ?

मैं सुबह उठकर सुखवाणी का पाठ करता हूँ कलमा पढ़ता हूँ और साथ में गायत्री मंत्र भी पढ़ता हूँ। तीनों काम करता हूँ। मेरे लिए धर्म और मजहब कोई चीज नहीं है लेकिन जो कहता है कि मैं मार दूंगा, उसका ईश्वर पर विश्वास नहीं है। जो कहता है कि तू मर जाएगा, उसका ईश्वर पर विश्वास नहीं है। मैं तो उसको मानता हूँ जो कहता है—“मेरा मुझको कुछ नहीं, जो कुछ है सो तेरा, तेरा तुझ को सौंप दे, क्या लागे है मेरा।”

ये जो पापी लोग हैं जो देश के मन्त्रियों

को झूठा बना रहे हैं और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ गृह मंत्री जी एक दोस्त के नाते कि आपको फंसाया जा रहा है। चक्रव्यूह में। किसी की ताप किसी के गले में डाली जा रही है। कहां भोपाल वाले के गले में डाल दी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सजेशन देता हूँ। अध्यक्ष महोदय ये कहते हैं सब पार्टी, मैं कहता हूँ नहीं। हमारी पार्टी की नीति इसमें बिल्कुल सही है। हम इस मामले में इस मत के हैं कि जो सरकार देश के टुकड़े होने से बचाने का काम करती है, हम उस सरकार का हमेशा साथ देंगे। चाहे किसी भी पार्टी की सरकार हो। ये नहीं है कि बेकुसूर लोगों को मारने की छूट दे दी जाए। कहां गए बलिराम भगत जी। कहने लगे कि आर्डिनंस नहीं बनाने दिया। आर्डिनंस कायदे से बना या बेकायदे से बना, आप 6 आर्डिनंस बनाओ लेकिन आर्डिनंस के गर्भ से कुछ निकले तो सही। यह तो वही बात हुई कि 9 महीने तक पेट पर कपड़ा बांधे रखा, जब 9 महीने के बाद पूछा कि क्या हुआ, लड़का हुआ या लड़की तो पता चला कि वह तो कपड़ा बांधा हुआ था। या तो वहां सरकार बनाओ नहीं तो अकालियों को गवर्नमेंट दे दीं। अपनी पापुलर सरकार बना लो नहीं तो रिटायर हो जाओ और कह दो कि हम नहीं सम्भाल सकते। आप तो सारे काम उल्टे करते हो ज्योंकि लोग तो भिण्डर और भिण्डरावाले में फर्क नहीं समझते।... (व्यवधान) कुछ कायदे-कानून बनाओ और ढंग से चलो। डी० आई० जी० को पंजाब में आई० जी० बहाकर भेज दिया। पाण्डेय जी को वहां पर भेज दिया है। उनको तो कमलापति

[श्री मनी नाम बागड़ी]

जी के पास सत्संग के लिए भोजना चाहिए था या फिर पूजा-पाठ पर लगाओ। गांधी जी, जय प्रकाश जी और डा० लोहिया जी आज इस देश में नहीं हैं।....(व्यवधान) बागड़ी, आप लोगों की तरह झूठ नहीं बोलता। आप कहते हैं कि पार्लियामेंट का डेलीगेशन भेजो। मुश्किल यह है कि आगे कौन चले? अगर, शांति मार्च रखने की शक्ति है तो आगे प्रधान मंत्री जी और पीछे हम चलेंगे। यह ठीक है कि गोली नहीं लगने देंगे। वह भारत की प्रधान मंत्री हैं और उनकी रक्षा करना हर भारतवासी का धर्म है। उद्घाटन करने या गुरुद्वारे में तो माथा टेकने के लिए अकेले जाते हैं और कहा जाता है कि आप, गोल्डन टम्पल में चले जाओ। हमारे में तो दम नहीं है। सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी में दम है, यह जा सकते हैं। इनको सब अड्डों का पता है।

राजनीतिक बात हो तो हम जाने के लिए तैयार हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने अकाली दल पर बेन बयों नहीं लगाया? क्यों उनको शामिल कर रहे हो? आजकल एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट शब्द बहुत चल पड़ा है। एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट कौन-सी पार्टी है? श्री बी० आर० भगत, जो अच्छा काम यहां करते हैं, उनकी बुराई करते हैं। नेकसलाइट ने एलान किया है कि कम्युनल फिरकापरस्तों के खिलाफ हथियार बन्द होकर इन तानाशाहों को मारो। भगत जी, को यह पना नहीं है कि किसकी बुराई करनी थी और किसकी भलाई करनी थी? ये तो यहां बैठकर उनकी बुराई करते हैं।(व्यवधान).... शायद, भ्राटिया साहब ने

कहा था। उनको अमृतसर जाना है, इसलिए कह रहे थे। गृह मंत्री से जी कहना चाहूंगा कि पाप के भागीदार मत बनो और अपनी सरकार बनाओ। डेमोक्रेसी में कभी भी तानाशाह नहीं बचा है। डेमोक्रेसी का यह कायदा है कि दुबारा चुनाव करवाओ। आप, मेजोरिटी में हैं इसलिए कोई परेशानी नहीं है। नहीं तो, लिखकर चले जाओ कि बच्चों इलैक्शन मत लड़ना वरना मारे जाओगे। सरकार नहीं बना सकते तो अकाली दल से कह दो कि हमसे सरकार नहीं चल सकती और इस्तिफा देकर घर बैठ जाओ और अपना काम-धन्धा देखो।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat):
 Mr. Speaker, I listened with great attention to the speeches of Mr. Bhagat and Mr. Bhatia...

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Mr. Bagri's speech?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Mr. Bagri's speech was of course overwhelming and I am not able to cope with it just now. It was a remarkable speech.

Sir, I regret that it is not possible for us to subscribe to Mr. Bhagat's appeal that in this hour of crisis what is really required is to give overall support to the Government. It appears to us and it appears to the country as a whole, and I am not unfair in saying this, because the people at large in this country do feel that the Government has abdicated its responsibility on the question of Punjab because of what is happening every day. In this Parliament after all, we are not called upon to do, anything else but to discuss and debate; we cannot do anything more here. What is to be supported we will support and what is to be criticised, we must criticise. That is what we are sent here for.

These curious things are happening. I can mention only one of them. Mr. Sodhi who was shot the other day, sitting at a tea shop outside the Golden Temple complex, according to the press reports and according to the statement also which the Hon. Home Minister made the other day, was a proclaimed offender; he was a criminal who was wanted in several cases including the case of a murder of a police officer. He was sitting in a tea shop outside the Golden Temple complex drinking tea. But unfortunately he happened to be accosted and killed by some people belonging to some other faction—that is a different matter. But we have repeatedly been told and I have seen with my own eyes, a few weeks ago, that the police is standing around the Golden Temple almost man to man, in an unbroken chain. Here was a proclaimed offender, a man wanted in several cases, who was sitting in a public tea shop outside the Golden Temple complex and drinking tea.

Where was your policy? Where was your secret service? Where were your intelligence people? How do you expect anybody to have confidence in an administration like this? I am just giving a simple example because they say that it is very difficult to find these people, it is very difficult to locate, them, detect them and apprehend them. But here is a case. He should give some reply. I know he will not reply to any of these points. This is the whole trouble. That is why I do not feel very much inspired to participate in this debate. We can get nothing out of the Government. They are not prepared to say anything.

Mr. Bhatia has made many speeches in this House on the Punjab situation on previous occasions and I remember him several times emphasizing the fact that, according to him, the Akalis have launched this movement only because they want a share in power from which they were dislodged sometime back. I also remember him saying that their influence among the people, among the Sikhs, should not be exaggerated

because he kept reminding us that in the last Parliamentary elections, the Akali Party had fared very badly, winning as far as I remember, only one seat out of 13 seats. I do not know what Mr. Bhatia's personal views are. Today, he struck a slightly different note. May I know why the Government is treating the Akali Party as the sole representative of the Sikh community?

Why? You did the same thing in the case of Assam with the AASU as though there was nobody else in Assam, no minorities, no other people belonging to different communities. For years and years, AASU was elevated to the post of having the sole monopoly and the representative power to speak on behalf of people of Assam. Now you are doing the same thing here with the Akalis. You are equating the Akalis with the entire Sikh community. They are no doubt a very important force, a very powerful force, in Punjab. But is your attitude as a Government correct? I do not think so.

I would like to make reference here to the fact and I would like to remind you that when Mr. R. Venkataraman was the Minister of Home Affairs—temporarily he was holding the Home portfolio—he made a statement in the Rajya Sabha on the 22nd July, 1952. The occasion for that was a meeting was held of the Punjab Integration Council and that meeting was boycotted by the Akalis. They did not attend that meeting. Commenting on this, the then Minister of Home Affairs said, this is from the Record:

“Unfortunately this meeting was boycotted by the Sikh community.”

Even if the Akalis did not attend that meeting, the fact remains that it was attended by some Sikh Congressmen, by some Communists who are Sikhs, by some Independents who were Sikhs. They attended that meeting. But apparently if you are not an Akali, then no other Sikh is worth anything in the eyes of the Government!

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Shri R. Venkataraman has said the community has boycotted this meeting ! This is your attitude.

Now I am raising this matter because you have made a public offer to discuss with them the feasibility or otherwise and the desirability or otherwise, of amending Article 25. I do not want to go into that matter again. You are free to do whatever you like and to discuss with them. But if it is a matter pertaining to the Sikh community, does it concern only the Akali Party and no other Sikh ? When you sit down to hold your discussions on Article 25, kindly keep in mind what I am saying now.

Really speaking, as I have already mentioned the other day, Article 25 has got nothing to do with the question of personal law at all. But Mr. P. C. Sethi has told us the other day, though he refused to reveal in full the contents of that communication which he received from the Akalis, that "Yes. It contains something about the personal law." But he would not tell us what.

May I, with your permission, just quote from what is said by Mr. Longowal in that Memorandum which was circulated some months ago to the Members of Parliament ? Every Member of Parliament must have received a copy of it.

"The microscopic minority like the Sikhs has genuine forebodings that like Muslims, Buddhists, and Jains earlier, they may lose their identity in the vast ocean of the overwhelming Hindu majority. Their misgivings in this respect are further heightened by the highly arbitrary manner in which they were defined as 'Hindus' under Article 25 of the Constitution even in the face of stiff resistance by their representatives in the Constituent Assembly."

Whether this is factually correct or not, I do not know.

"The repeated affirmations currently being made by the Sikhs that they are a nation must be seen in this context. It is a reiteration of their resolve to uphold the sanctity and integrity of their individual identity and it is with this very end in view, that they seek amendment of Article 25 of the Constitution and the provision of a separate personal law of their own like those of the Hindus and Muslims."

This is what Mr. Longowal had written in that Memorandum.

They have made it very clear here, what they want. Whether you should agree to that demand of separate personal law is your business; I have nothing to do with it, though we understand that one of the main planks of that proposal would be something which would lead to disinherit women from their right to property. If the Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi wants to support an idea like that in this year of 1984, that a new provision should be brought in as a result of which women would be cut off from the right of inheritance, you are welcome to do it. You take that responsibility and face the people. But I only plead with you that religion and politics should not be allowed to be mixed up together. This has been the bane of this country in the past. Do not allow the separatist ideas which are based only on religion to be encouraged and strengthened. We are absolutely against this thing. This will mean the end of this country. And why we are pleading with you, at least I am pleading with you, to take firm steps against these terrorist actions which are occurring with reckless abandon is because if you do not do it—how you have to do it, how you should act, what are the stages through which you should pass and all that, that is a different matter—if you fail, then counter-terrorism will be organized by the Hindu community,

by some sections of the Hindu community. They are wanting to do it. There are extremists among the Hindus. Who were responsible for those incidents in Panipat and all that which makes us hang our heads in shame? So, counter-terrorism will be organized by the extremist groups of the Hindus if they see that the Government is failing to curb this terrorism which is being carried on now by the Sikh extremists. And if that is done, if this terrorism is allowed to lead to counter-terrorism, there will be a communal holocaust which has not taken place yet—for which we are very much relieved and happy.

How is it that one of the main targets of the terrorists is these mixed families, mixed Hindu Sikh families? I hope you have noted that. Take the case of Mr. Manchanda who was shot here in broad daylight; his father and brothers are all Hindus though he was himself a Sikh. Then our M. P. Mr. Tiwari, who was killed in Chandigarh; his wife is a Sikh. Mr. Sumeet Singh of *Preet Lari* who was killed was a Sikh although he was clean-shaven; his family was a Sikh family; his wife was a Hindu. Is it just a coincidence that these attacks are made on the mixed families? There is a long tradition among the Hindus, and the Sikhs to inter-marry and have common families. There is a deliberate attempt being made to drive this whole situation towards a communal frenzy, a communal chaos; a communal tension is being sought to be built up.

There is no use saying—I do not know who on this side of the House is bothering to say—that there is no external danger. The point we are saying is that Government, by the way it is drifting and being inactive, passive and helpless, not doing anything, is only further providing a breeding-ground for those forces. Who does not know about those external forces? They are not hidden. Some are hidden; it may not be possible for you to reveal or you may not be able to detect them. But there are many openly hostile forces operating

which some of you have mentioned. I do not want to repeat all that again. Those external forces which are hostile to India would be extremely foolish if from their own interest they did not try to exploit the present situation in the Punjab; they would be fools. This is such an advantageous situation for them to meddle in these matters, and they are doing it.

Mr. Bhatia suggested as one of the solutions that all smugglers should be rounded up ruthlessly. May I know who is to round them up, who is going to round them up? In the police stations there, all the police people, from the officers down to the constable, are hand in glove with the smugglers.

Everybody knows it. Is your Police capable of catching these smugglers—when they themselves are living on a share of the spoils of smuggling which is going on across the border? Everybody knows it. Then you have to come to my logic which I said last time—that at least all the high officials of your Police in Punjab and in the Police Security forces, if necessary, have to be brought from outside. They have to be professional people, committed people—not the people who are in charge now. This is a futile exercise.

I would have quoted somebody. But then seeing what happened to poor Dr. Subramanian Swamy a little while ago, I do not also want to be asked that I must reveal who said such and such things to Mr. But somebody not this side but that side did tell me, that he visited some thanas in Punjab in broad day light and found all the personnel of the thanas dead-drunk—dead-drunk and they were only concerned with their share in the spoils of the smugglers. Mr. Bhatia is giving sermons here about rounding up all the smugglers. Who is going to round up? Then you will have to change your entire set up, the entire security and police set up. Are you prepared to do that? Even the Central security forces which are sent there are under the orders and command of the

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State Police Chiefs. You will not be able to do it.

Therefore, I am advocating a three-pronged line of action and according to the priorities. I said it last time and I am repeating it again and I have no new solution to-day. The first is, as many friends have said here, ultimately whether we like it or not, this problem is not going to be solved by law and order methods. There has got to be some solution of these issues or disputes—call them whatever you like—which have been raised from the beginning of this movement. I do not refer to the religious issues. Most of the religious issues you have already solved—I mean you have accepted their demands. But on this issue of Chandigarh, on the issue of division of river waters and on one or two other issues which are there and about other territorial matters, you have got to come out with your proposals and with your solution. We have advocated that you should again call a meeting and you should call these people back—although I do not for a minute support their claim to be the sole representative of the Sikhs in Punjab, but since you have elevated them to that position as you have done with AASU in Assam—call them back. If they come, well and good. They would not come obviously just now because their people are in jail and you have arrested their leaders. But even if they do not, I say as somebody here has said, these issues have been discussed enough and hundreds of times. Now you should come out boldly with your proposal regarding Chandigarh, regarding other territorial matters and the division of waters. People may scoff at the opposition conclave, but the fact remains that in the opposition conclave where the Akali leaders have been present, they have agreed to certain things including the reference of the river water matters to a Commission headed by a Supreme Court Judge. They have agreed

to it in writing and it is very difficult for them to go back on that without isolating themselves from public opinion. But why don't you say something? Why don't you come out with these things so that among the people at least some sort of sanction is created which will help to isolate these terrorists and extremists among them? That should be done. That is our first priority because either by agreement or unilaterally for these principal issues, these main issues a most reasonable and just solution should be announced by the Government. In most of them, I think, we will be supporting you also if you stick to what has emerged already as a consensus.

My second priority is: of course, we are not yet doing anything about it—not very much anyway and that is mass campaigning among the people. Somebody here said that the Parliament should rise to the occasion and all that Mr. Bhagat was waxing very eloquent. But in all these months we have not been able to send even a parliamentary delegation of Punjab. How are you going to rise to the occasion? I do not understand.

We are not yet able to send a parliamentary delegation to Punjab.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : We should do now.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : We are not able to go and hold meetings. We are not able to organise peace marches. Some parties have been doing something on their own separately but I had pleaded last time that this should be a collective endeavour because my experience is—I have been to Punjab—is that among ordinary Hindus and Sikhs there is no tension. They have good relations with each other. These people have not succeeded in spoiling the same. I was told that from some villages Hindus ran away to the towns and the Sikhs from those villages went to them and persuaded them to come back. They told them that this is very bad.

We are responsible for your safety. You stay where you have stayed all these years. It is these people who come from outside, throw a bomb and shoot somebody and try to create artificial tension. Should we not do something about them? Our parties with whatever organisations they have got—their cadres and all that—should we not throw them collectively into the campaign, giving courage and organising peace marches against these communal divisive forces?

We are not prepared to depend only on government action. Let government act. Government, of course, has prime responsibility but governmental action alone is not going to solve this problem. So far it has failed. Along with that people must be made to act also.

My third item of three-pronged solution is that you must tell us now: Are you going to change the administrative set-up in Punjab? The whole thing has just collapsed. What you speak out in the Central Hall we are not allowed to speak here. In the Central Hall you tell us that 90 per cent of police is sympathetic to these people. (Interruptions) This is what people are saying. Now, Sir, this does not apply only to constables. I would not blame the constable so much. He is a poorly paid fellow. He has his wife and children at home. When a high police officer can be shot at the Gates of Golden Temple then why should he take the risk? So, when anything happens he looks the other way. But what about the high officials, the people who are responsible for this whole operation? If they are going to behave like this and they have no commitment and courage to carry out their responsibility and if they are cowards then you cannot allow them to remain. The whole country's security and unity is at stake because of what is happening in Punjab. So, it must be seen in proper national context.

You are talking about counter-insurgency measures. I also said some

thing about it last time. Counter-insurgency measures depend for their success basically on your intelligence information. If you don't have reliable intelligence service you can never have counter-insurgency measures.

Sir, I am not asking the Home Minister to disclose what he is doing or not doing but the problem is that he never tells the House anything. He can tell us in vague and round-about manner how he is attending to these problems. As we are not getting anything out of the Home Minister that is why these debates are proving fruitless. (Interruptions) I hope the Government will be up and doing more than in the past.

श्री जी० एस० निहाल सिंह बाला (संगरूर): स्पीकर साहब, इस सदन में छठी बार पंजाब पर बहस हो रही है। पांच दफा इससे पहले इस हाउस में इस मसले पर बहस हुई। इसका हल तो बहुत पहले निकाला जाना चाहिए था, लेकिन यह मसला ज्यों का त्यों है। सोचने की बात यह है कि लड़ाई किसने शुरू की, एजीटेशन किसने शुरू किया और अब किसके हाथ में चला गया है। एजीटेशन अकाली पार्टी ने शुरू की थी। अब अकाली पार्टी के हाथ से भिड़रावाले के पास चली गई। और अब भिड़रावाले के हाथ से निकल कर सिख स्टूडेंट फ़ेडरेशन के पास चली गई। मगर वह भी बकत था, जब ये इकट्ठे किए गए। इकट्ठे अकाली पार्टी ने किए, चौक मेहता गुप्तद्वारा से एस० जी० पी० सी० के प्रेजीडेंट टोहरा उसको लेकर आए गोल्डन टेम्पल में। उसको ताकत दी और लोगों को मारने का प्रचार शुरू किया। बैंकों को लूटने का और तरह-तरह की बातें और वह एलीमेंट जिससे

[श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंह बाला]

वह काम करवाया था, अब वह खुद
 खड़े बानी हो गए हैं। यह बात कल
 जाबित हो गई है। एक दिन में लोंगोवाल
 के आदमियों ने लोड़ी का कत्ल करवाया।
 लोंगोवाल के एक आदमी और एक औरत
 का भिडरावाले ने कत्ल करवा दिया।
 तालबन्दी के ग्रुप का आदमी और उसके
 छात्री जहाँ बैठ कर उन्होंने मशवरा किया
 था, वे दोनों दूसरे ग्रुप ने मरवा दिए।
 इससे अन्दाजा लगाया जा सकता है कि
 कहां से लड़ाई चली थी और कहां पहुंच
 गई और अब इस का क्या हल निकल
 सकता है।

स्पीकर साहब, सरकार के लिए भी
 यह बहुत मुश्किल की बात है, मैंइसको
 दासलीम करता हूँ। सिक्खों के जजबात
 पर चोट मारना, गुरुद्वारे में दाखिन होना,
 मैं महसूस करता हूँ यह खतरनाक बात है।
 हिन्दुस्तानी यह महसूस करता है बरना
 सरकार के लिए यह मामूली बात थी और
 पांच मिनट का काम था। झगड़ा इतना
 न बढ़ता और इसी कमजोरी का फायदा
 अकाली उठाते रहे हैं, जिसके आज वे खुद
 शिकार बने हुए हैं। पॉलिटेकल पार्टियां
 लड़ती हैं, एजीटेशन करती हैं, मगर यह
 पहली अकाली पार्टी है, जो गुरुद्वारे में
 बैठकर लड़ाई लड़ती है। समझते हुए कि
 हमें यहाँ पकड़ नहीं सकते हैं। इस किस्म
 के एलीमेंट को वहाँ रखना, जो लोगों का
 कत्ल करके, बैंकों को लूट करके और औरों
 को लूटकर के वहाँ चला जाए और उनको
 प्रोटेक्शन देना। यह अफसोस की बात है
 कि इस हाउस में पहले भी बहस हुई थी।
 अब अपोजिशन पार्टीज के ताल्लुक़ात
 अकाली पार्टी से अच्छे थे। मैंने उस वक़्त

भी अपनी तकरीर में कहां था अगर आप
 सिम्स्यर ही मुल्क के साथ, पंजाब के साथ,
 आप उनको कह सकते हैं कि हम आपका
 साथ छोड़ देंगे। आपका साथ वहीं
 बने अगर आप गलत लोगों को
 गुरुद्वारे में रखोगे। उस वक़्त मेरी बात
 नहीं मानी थी। उसका जवाब हुआ करता
 था कि कोई डेप्युटेशन भेजो। कहते हैं कि
 सिक्ख कभी झूठ नहीं बोलता है और
 गुरुद्वारे में बैठकर तो बिल्कुल ही नहीं
 बोलता है। एस. जी. पी. सी. के प्रिंजीडेंट
 हमेशा करते रहे हैं, प्रंस में आया है—

You send a deputation from the
 Parliament or any Party, you will find
 that there is no culprit in the Golden
 Temple.

इससे आप अन्दाजा लगाइए, घमं
 के ठेकेदार गुरुद्वारे में बैठकर जवाब देते हैं
 कि गुरुद्वारे में कोई कलप्रिट नहीं है। आज
 क्या हो रहा है, पैम्फलेट छापे जाते हैं
 फलां-फलां नम्बर में भिडरावाले के लडके
 ने इस लड़की को इतनी देर रखा, इससे
 सिक्खों का सिर शर्म से झुक जाता है।

वह लिखते हैं—लोंगोवाल उनके खिलाफ
 पैम्फलेट निकालता है। एक "बबर खालसा"
 है, उन्होंने भिडरावाले से 8 सवालों का
 जवाब मांगा है। इस तरह एक-दूसरे के
 जान-लेवा बन गए हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता
 हूँ—इनकी बर्किंग और इनके इतिफाक
 की हालत आपको मालूम हो गई है—अब
 आप बतलाइये, आप क्या करना चाहते
 हैं? अब तक तो कुछ नहीं किया। यह
 ठीक है—आप मजबूरी महसूस करते हैं,
 गुरुद्वारे में नहीं जा सकते हैं, लेकिन जैसा
 गुप्ता जी ने कहा—वे लोग बाहर निकलत
 हैं, अन्दर आते हैं, लोगों को बेलेन्ज करतें

है, मारते हैं, लूट कर आते हैं—क्या इसमें सरकार की कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है, यह कैसे होता है ? कम से कम वहाँ के आई० जी०, डी० आई० जी०, एस० पी० से पूछना तो चाहिए कि ऐसा कैसे होता है ? कौन अन्दर जाता है, कौन बाहर आता है—क्या इस की इतिला उनको नहीं होती है ?

18.00 hrs.

स्पीकर साहब, आप हैरान होंगे—एक जर्नलिस्ट, जो मेरे दोस्त हैं, वहाँ गए। उन्होंने वहाँ अस्लाह देखा, हर किस्म के आदमियों को देखा, दो कातिन उन के भी वाफिक थे। उन्होंने कहा—हमने आपको खाना खिलाना है और वे खाना खिलाने के लिए बाहर महर में ले गये, किसी अच्छे रेस्टोरां में खाना खाया। जब वापस आये तो उनकी तलाशी ली गई। जर्नलिस्ट दोस्त ने तो अपना आईडेन्टिटी कार्ड दिखाया, लेकिन जो उसके साथ थे, उन्होंने रिवाल्वर गले में डाला हुआ था, गोलियों की पेटी लगी हुई थी, उनको देखा और कह दिया—जाओ जी। इसके लिए आप क्या कहेंगे ? मैं बहुत दफा इन सब बातों के बारे में बोल चुका हूँ, बहुत कुछ बता चुका हूँ—लेकिन अब इनका क्या होगा ? मैं समझता हूँ—इसके लिये सरकार को सोचना होगा—आया वे फोर्सिंग हमें बचा सकती हैं, वहाँ फायदे और कानून को लागू कर सकती हैं या नहीं कर सकती हैं ? मैं बहुत हैरान हूँ—पहले अगर छोटी-छोटी वारदातें भी हुआ करती थीं और उनके अच्छे नतायज नहीं निकलते थे, तो अफसरों को सस्पेंड कर दिया जाता था। पिछले दो सालों से पंजाब में इतने लोग कत्ल हुए, इतनी वारदातें हुईं—क्या किसी आई०

जी० से पूछा गया, किड़ी डी० आई० जी० या एस० पी० से पूछा गया ? इन सब बातों का कोई असर नहीं है, सब कुछ आराम से चल रहा है। आखिर, इनको कौन कहेगा, इन से कौन पूछेगा ? मैं तो यह समझता हूँ—कांस्टेबिल से लेकर आई० जी० तक सब इस हमाम में गने हैं।

मैं तो आज आप से एक ही रिक्वेस्ट करना चाहता हूँ—आज गोल्डन टैम्पल में जो कुछ हो रहा है, जिस तरीके से वहाँ कत्ल ह रहे हैं एक-दूसरे को कत्ल कर रहे हैं और सब पिक्चर आपके सामने आ गई है तो इस हाउस को, सिख जाति से, तम्बाम बुनिया के सिक्खों से चाहे वे पंजाब में रहते हों या बाहर रहते हों, अपील करनी चाहिये कि आप बतलायें कि क्या किया करें ? ये लोग अपने ही लोगों का और दूसरों का कत्ल करके गुदगारे में चले जाते हैं, हम वहाँ जायें या न जायें, क्या करें ?

स्पीकर साहब, पिछले दिनों मुझे इस बात का इल्म हुआ है—मैं बम्बई गया था। मुझे मालूम हुआ कि वहाँ लोगों ने मिण्डरावाले को करोड़ों रुपया दिया था और अब वे रो रहे हैं कि इस गलत आदमी को क्यों इतना पैसा दिया। मैंने कहा—तुम्हें लोग उस को खराब करने वाले हो, तुम्हें लोगों ने उसको करोड़ों रुपया देकर उसका दिमाग खराब कर दिया। वे लोगों को खराब रहे हैं। आप हमारी सिक्ख कौम के दुश्मन हैं। मेरी सबसे बड़ी एक ही दख्खास्त है इस हाउस में कि सिक्ख जगत को अपील करो कि आप बताओ, जो बाहर लोग हैं, जो हमारे इन्जीनियर्स हैं, बाहर के मुल्कों में बैठे हैं, किसान, हैं, मिल ओनर्स हैं, उनसे

[श्री जी० एस० निहालसिंह बाला]

बूछी की आपका क्या इरादा है। क्या हमको गुरुद्वारे में जाने का कोई हक है। यहाँ कातिल रह सकते हैं, औरतों को गुमराह करके वहाँ रहते हैं, वे तो जा सकते हैं, कत्ल कर सकते हैं, अन्दर एक-दूसरे को कत्ल करवा सकते हैं, लेकिन पुलिस नहीं जा सकती। लाशें जा सकती हैं। मैं समझ नहीं पाया होम मिनिस्टर का तकरीर को। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा था कि सोठी का कत्ल हुआ दुकान पर, वह केस रजिस्टर हो गया। जिस स्पॉट पर पुलिस नहीं पहुँच सकी, उस स्पॉट का मुआयना नहीं कर सकती तो केस कैसे रजिस्टर हो गया। कुत्ते की तरह बाड़ी को उठाकर फिकवा दिया गया लेकिन पुलिस अन्दर नहीं जा सकती।

That is the Gurdwara complex. How can this case be registered? Who is investigating the case?

बात कुछ समझ नहीं आई। कैसे रजिस्टर हो गया। ऐसे केस रजिस्टर करने का क्या फायजा। अगर केस रजिस्टर हो गया है तो वहाँ स्पॉट पर जाना चाहिए, देखना चाहिए कि कहां से गोली लगी है। कौन-कौन गवाह है, चरमदीद बाकया किसने देखा है। आखिर कोई ला है। ऐसे ही दो लफ्ज रोजनामचे में डाल दिए और बात हो गई।

मैं बात को लम्बा न करते हुए, क्योंकि बहुत दफा खोल चुका हूँ मेरी यही दखलियत है कि इफेक्टिव स्टैप्स लेने हींगे। यह वहाँ का इत्साफ है कि दो-दो पैसों के बदमाश, छनको मारने से परहेज है, लेकिन वे लाखों रूपए के अच्छे सायक इस्त्रानों को, निर्दोष शोर्यों को कत्ल कर दें, वह बदरिस्त हो रहा

है। तो इतना तो कर दीजिए कि वहाँ सिक्कुरिटी इतनी टाइट कर दीजिए कि वहाँ न कोई आ सके और न कोई जा सके। एक महीने के लिए बगैर माथा टेके लोगों का गुजारा हो जाएगा। और बहुत गुरुद्वारे हैं, वहाँ मत्था टेक लेंगे। हम नहीं जाते, हम भी तो सिक्ख हैं। कई रास्के निकल सकते हैं। या नाम के भरोसे ही बैठना है।

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : राम के भरोसे बैठना है या बलराम के भरोसे बैठना है।

श्री जी० एस० निहाल सिंह बाला : इसलिए ज्यादा न कहते हुए मैं यही दखलियत करूँगा कि सिक्ख जगत को अपील करो, सिक्कुरिटी टाइट करिए, अगर अन्दर नहीं जा सकते मैं इससे इत्साफ करता हूँ। इतना कहकर मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ।

PROF. K. K. TEWARY (Buxar) : This matter has been debated at least on 5 or 6 occasions; and I do not want to repeat the arguments advanced by my friends on this side, and some of the stalwarts in the Opposition.

There are very dangerous trends in the whole scenario; and we have to take stock of the situation in its totality. I agree with the argumnet given by some of my friends that it is no use apportioning blame. But at the same time I would like to remind you, Sir, of a statement made by a colleague of mine in this House that such occasions, such challenges come only once in the life of a nation or come very rarely. I repeat it, and say that an occasion, a challenge has come which has to be analyzed, rather than jumping into some precipitate action.

The necessity, the over-riding necessity is to analyze all the factors involved in this Punjab imbroglio. In Punjab the situation is of course bad; but the attempt to lay the blame, as two important members of the Opposition have done, staggers me: I mean the arguments given by Mr. Chatterjee and Mr. Indrajit Gupta.

If we lay all the blame at the door of the government, this cannot take us anywhere. After all, we have been debating this matter; and the opposition parties, I want to remind them; you just tell me how many times the opposition people have been associated directly or indirectly with the negotiations about Punjabi Subha? I maintain that the whole exercise, what they say inside the House and outside and also the forces at work and the dynamism that the Punjab problem is taking should cause serious concern to all the right thinking people, all the patriotic forces in the country; and we must not try to bark at the wrong tree.

The situation as it emerges to me seem to be a mixture a mix of foreign involvement and also the forces of destabilization, communalism and disruption working inside the country. We have brought to the notice of this House on several occasions of role of the opposition. Today, I have decided to speak spade a spade. It is no use brushing the dirt under the carpet. We have had enough of this, enough of duplicity and dissimulation. This is an occasion when we must be honest to ourselves while analysing the situation in its completeness, in its totality, because Mr. Somnath Chatterjee termed the situation as a law and order situation. I am shocked. This situation, as it is emerging in Punjab, is not a law and order problem; it is an outright assault on the independence, integrity and the freedom of this land. Therefore, to term it merely as a law and order problem and then to blame the government that the government has failed in maintaining law and order, is a gross simplification and I

must tell my Marxist friends that their tragedy, this *naivetta* of their perception, the bondage to their ideological misconception have been the undoings of many a so-called progressive party specially the Marxists, the Communists not only in our country but in other places also. (Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHNA CHADRA HALDER (Durgapur): He is distorting the facts. It is our party which is in favour of finding a solution of the Punjab problem. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Either he has not understood me properly or he is deliberately trying to distort facts.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: Why is he accusing us when we want to solve the Punjab problem honestly? (Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: This will not go on record.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: This shows intolerance, lack of seriousness. If I am permitted to use the word, the ** who sit in the House, are not supposed to understand what I am talking about.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: You were not born when I was in politics. I have been in politics for more than 45 years.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: It was not for** that I was talking... (Interruptions) A reference was made to the nature of the demands. Since the demands have been gone into elaborately, I am not going into the nature of the demands, because the Prime Minister maintained at the very outset of negotiations and she has been repeating herself about the intransigence, lack of

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Prof. K. K. Tewary]

authority on the part of Akali Dal. All of you sitting there tell me whether it is a fact or not that you have been holding meeting with them, you talked about not mixing religion with politics and the united front or whatever outfit has been floated by you.

You have been the supremo, the Communist party of India and the CPM, they have been the supremees of this outfit, which includes even the Janata Party of Dr. Subramaniam Swamy. Sir, this party, whether it is a fact or not that knowing fully well, the nature of the Akali Party, the background, the communal, reactionary, Fascist character of the Akali Party, whether they have been including, inviting them to their conclaves or not, and the conclaves are supposed to solve with a magic wand, they are supposed to solve the problem of this great nation. Tell, me Mr. Swamy.

AN HON. MEMBER : Do not ask him.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : The Prime Minister made an announcement of unilateral acceptance of all the religious demands. (Interruptions)

I am not yielding.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : The type of language—the debate was going on well—the type of language and political attack he has been conducting, we agree that you allowed it, we do not indulge in. If you allow it, you must permit me to attack his Party also.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : You have no standards.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : We maintain a standard. You are violating it.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : You have no standards.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Either you stop it, or I shall be compelled to... (Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I will not be compelled to speak in the House, if you allow Mr. Chakraborty.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : You are allowed. But you cannot indulge in such type of invectives.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Whenever you speak, this is a habit, Mr. Chakraborty.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : What did you do when Mr. Swamy was talking ?

(Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : You either control the House or I will take my seat.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : You control your tongue.

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव में अकालियों ने वोट किस को दिए थे ।

(Interruptions)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : He should control his tongue. I was listening. I am ready to listen. What you are trying to do, you try to understand.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Whether they have been invited for the conclaves or not ? (Interruptions)

Let us swear to it on the floor of this House, without any ambivalence, without any ambiguity, without any short term political gain, that we will have nothing to do with any Party in the country which is against the norms

in the Constitution, the provisions of the Constitution, tries to mix religion with politics. If you are prepared to make this commitment, let us do it here on the floor of the House. You do it on the floor of the House and let this country know. (*Interruptions*) Let the country know that we mean business. I just want to point out the demands that they have been making,—big things that they are—in support of the major demands of the Akalis. I would not go into what the Akalis have done and what are the sets of demands provided to the Central Government, given to the Central Government, by the Akalis. I only want to know, whether you, all of you, who are represented in the alliance or in the front, whether you agree; certainly I mean the others, your constituents in the concerned States, do they agree, on your commitments? The central leaders of these parties, they make one commitment, one sort of commitment to the Akalis, then an agitation starts by the constituents of the same national parties, in Haryana, Rajasthan and other places. The concerned parties, with these, or this solution provided by the national leaders, are not acceptable to us. Therefore, this policy, of running with the hare and hunting with the hound should not continue.

SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE (Bombay North-Central): To which party does Bhajan Lal belong?

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: You are playing Haryana against Punjab.

SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE: Who has started Hindu Raksha Samiti?

(*Interruptions*)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Chatterjee question how the perceptions are getting distorted on the international scene today and how the forces of destabilisation and dismemberment inside the country and outside, all around us, are gathering and threatening and endangering the security and oneness of

this country. The threat perception is very clear to us. A reference has been made to the interference. I request you Mr. Chakraborty to think over this matter. You yourself have been speaking and all your friends have been speaking. If you want evidence and if all your understanding and ideas that you have got before you do not see the external threat, then I bring to your notice some pieces written by very eminent foreigners, specially the Adviser to the Pakistani President, Zia-ul-Haq. The person concerned is General Akram Khan, who is a key member of President's Zia's think-tank. This is what he says about the Punjab problem:

"India is not one country; it has never enjoyed the unity which is the hallmark of a nation state. The people who can be regarded as being potentially separatists are the Sikhs, the Dravidians and the north-eastern people who include the Nagas, the Mizos, Tripura and Assam."

He goes on to ask:

"If the people of the sub-continent can comprise two nations, why not three? Why not four or five or six?"

In the same breath he goes on to say:

"The time is in our favour because the problems with which India is beset in the 80s are becoming increasingly difficult to solve and instead of going from strength to strength India is going from weakness to weakness."

This is the version of General Akram Khan of Pakistan who is also the Director-General of Pakistan's Institute of Strategic Studies. Then Mr. Suleri, one of the Advisers of the President of Pakistan has come out openly in favour of extremists and secessionist elements in Punjab. Why is this happening around us? The Deputy-Secretary of the United States makes a

long and elaborate report to the Appropriations Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives about the Punjab problem. I say that there is a definite evidence, if evidence is needed, that forces of balkanisation, people who do not want India to emerge as a strong country, are very active. Mr. Indirajit Gupta cautioned that if you mismanage the situation, then outside forces will naturally take advantage of it. The shoe is on the other leg. It is not like that. You and I know that the forces of de-stabilisation first creates a situation through their agents in India or anywhere all over the third world. Sir, the analysis done by the American agencies in de-stabilising the Third World is through the use of most potent weapons like the ethnic problem, the religious problem. They know that probably on economic issue they cannot divide the Third World countries. Therefore, the religion is the most combustible article which could be utilised. Therefore, I request Mr. Indrajit Gupta and Shri Somnath Chatterjee to correct their perceptions. They do not wait for a trouble to take place. They go out of their way through their contacts, through their resources to create a trouble and then participate in it. In this connection, I should be permitted to say what Akram Khan has said about India being divided into four or five units, this seems to be a carbon copy, a live echo, of what Mr. Richard Nixon has written in his book. What the Americans think about India and how their projection about India are shared by our enemies all around, specially about Punjab because Punjab is coming handy, will be clear from this.

This is the statement by Mr. Nixon. In his book he says : "It was no more in the natural order of things for all India to be one country then it was for all Europe to be one country; linguistically, ethnically and culturally, India is even more diverse than Europe." Then further on he says : "Whether or not India would have been better off as

several nations." So, Mr. Richard Nixon says that perhaps India would have been a better place to live if it would have been made into several units. These are the definite pieces of evidence. If Communists want any evidence of forces, of destabilising forces, of subversion being operated from the centres of imperialism and neo-colonialism, they are getting interested in India. Why? The answer is very simple that because right from the very beginning they have been utilising this opportunity—religious divisions, linguistic divisions—to divide the sub-continent. And how there is maximum pressure on India because of the leadership of Madam Indira Gandhi, because of the successes that we have been achieving in diverse fields. That has made them envious of us and an attempt, a grand design has been prepared to destabilise. About this matter I request all the senior Members on the Opposition side to be a little introspective. Here you say something and outside you say some thing. Mr. Speaker, Sir, through you and through this House I would like the nation to know the gravity of the situation. When the nation is faced with this crisis, unprecedented attack on the very existence of this nation, when the ghost of secession is looming large on the horizon, what are the Opposition parties doing in this country? Today of course, the Government is doing its job and will do its job but just see how the Opposition Parties have gone out of the way. Recently, so-called alliance drafted a charge sheet. Is it not an attempt to weaken the will of the people of India, to demoralise the people of India, to erode the credibility of the Government? This is a direct attempt and.....(Laughter).

They are laughnig. You tell me. If I take the name of the person you will again start objecting. They had close links with the Akalis. Some of the alliance parties were in the government with them and informally they have been very friendly with them. Many of them—say the Government have failed all along the line? Let them tell me whether they are or they

are not a necessary complement of the political system? Was it not their responsibility to use their good offices and go to Punjab, meet Longowal and other people whom they call moderates? To my understanding, there is no difference, the difference is only between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. There is no difference between the two factions but it was their responsibility. They have let the country down. Let me tell them it was their responsibility, they should have tried to play the role of the Opposition in the constructive sense. What have they done? The Pakistani agencies.....(Interruptions).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :

Just a second, if you look at the last debate, the Home Minister has already admitted and conceded that the Opposition did help in the tripartite talks in narrowing down the difference between the Akali Dal and the Government. He is on record.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Home Minister, of course, did it. It was very kind of the Home Minister to have appreciated their gestures, but what happened subsequently? Of course, in tripartite talks they participated, differences were narrowed down, but again the Akalis, as it is in the nature of things, do not want any solution.

To say that the Government does not want any solution, to say the least is very unkind and very un-charitable. Prof. Dandavate has been participating in the debate and he is the leader of a national party, whatever be the condition of the party today. A scurrilous propaganda has been carried on throughout the country and anybody who is anybody on the opposition side keeps on repeating it; both here and outside, that the Government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi is keeping its eyes on the outcome of the next 1985 elections and, therefore, she is bringing about this communal division between Hindus and Sikhs. Let us be honest in this matter. Indian polity has emerged, has evolved here, on the basis of secular acceptance, secular

philosophy and, except for a fringe of them, the majority of the parties have subscribed to this basic, fundamental philosophy of the nation being a secular nation, the State being a secular State. What is the motive behind this propaganda? Yet, this is what the Akalis keep on repeating, this is what the western press say and this is what the Pakistan propaganda media broadcast that India is ruled by Hindu imperialism. Do you honestly believe that India is being dominated or ruled by Hindu chauvinists? Yet, by repeating this charge, *ad nauseam* you have actually created this impression. Perhaps for some small political gains, you have forgotten your own moorings, your own philosophy, your own commitment.

I am speaking here with a full sense of responsibility and I do not want to apportion blame. You are all Hon. persons, Hon. Members, some Hon. leaders of the opposition parties. I am merely trying to hold the mirror nearer to your faces. What is happening.....(Interruptions). Of course, Punjab is in a bad shape. I admit it. It needs immediate attention. Some solution has to be found to the Punjab problem. But we cannot go on looking at the scene and expect some support from the opposition.

When two Hon. Members of this House went to Pakistan to meet Zia, what prevented them from going to Amritsar and meeting Longowal? I want to know whether it is a fact that these two members: prior to their visit to Pakistan, had several rounds of meetings with the American Ambassador here and whether the meeting with the Pakistani President took place in the absence of the Indian Ambassador, which is never done. I would like a specific answer from the Hon. Home Minister to these questions. This is the scenario. Therefore, even at this stage, the opposition parties can change their stand in this conflict this growing conflict which is taking place.

MR. SPEAKER : He has taken more than half an hour. He should conclude now.

PROF K. K. TEWARY : What is happening today is frightening. The entire opposition... (Interruptions) A solution cannot be worked out without a full and responsible participation of the ruling party and the opposition. Where the country's integrity is in question, I think we should have one voice. Shrimati Gandhi has already done enough to bring about a proper atmosphere for the solution of this problem. Therefore, even at this late stage, I expect the opposition, in view of the seriousness of the situation, to play a constructive role, as a link and a mediating factor between the Government and the Akalis and bring them to the negotiating table for a lasting solution to this explosive problem.

श्री सूरज भान (अम्बाला) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, पंजाब की आज की हालत को देखकर स्वर्ग में लाला लाजपत राय, शहीदे आज़म भगत सिंह, शहीद ऊधम सिंह और पंजाब के हजारों शहीदों की आत्मायें उर्दू का यह शेर गुनगुना रही होंगी :

क्या इसलिए तकदीर ने
 चुनवाए थे तिनके,
 वन जाए नेशमन तो
 कोई आग लगा दे ।

मिर्जा गालिब का एक शेर मैं थोड़ा सा बदल कर पंजाब के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा :

जखमी दुखी पंजाब पर रहमत खुदा की
 मर्ज बढ़ता गया ज्यूं-ज्यूं दवा की ।

आज 13वीं बार इस हाउस में पंजाब के इश्यु पर डिस्कशन हो रहा है। 11वीं बार नहीं जैसा कि मेरे दोस्त कह रहे थे। पंजाब में रात 12 बजे से लेकर तीन बजे के बीच तीन घंटों में 39 स्टेशन्स जला दिए

गए। इसमें 400 किलोमीटर का एरिया कवर्ड है। इसके बारे में नार्दन इंडिया के महाहर पेपर 'ट्रिब्यून' के एडिटर प्रेम भाटिया ने अपने अडिटोरियल में लिखा है उसमें से मैं कुछ पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

"Nine of the State's 12 districts were covered by what was no less than a military operation, meticulously planned and skillfully executed... As in every good military offensive, the attacks on the railway stations carried an element of surprise and virtual simultaneity."

वे आगे कहते हैं ।

"This was no simple act of destruction, inspired by passion. The operation indicates detailed preparation and dependable resources. The total distance involved was more than 200 miles.'s

आगे और क्या कहते हैं वह लास्ट सेन्टेन्स पढ़कर सुना रहा हूँ :

"The people of Punjab are not concerned any more with means and methods. They want to be allowed live in peace."

13.36 hrs

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI
 in the Chair]

सभापति महोदय, इस मुकदमे में 1973 में इमर्जेंसी लगी थी, काले बादल छाये थे लेकिन उस इमर्जेंसी से भी लोग उतने दुःखी नहीं थे जितने की आज पंजाब के हालात से दुःखी हैं। इमर्जेंसी में इतनी बात थी कि गिरफ्तार करके कहीं छोड़ दिया जायेगा लेकिन आज तो यह भी पता नहीं रहता कि सुबह का निकला हुआ

आदमी शाम को अपने घर वापिस भी आयेगा या नहीं। भारतीय जनता पार्टी के हरबन्सलाल खन्ना, कूलिंग-पार्टी के संसद-सदस्य प्रोफेसर तिवारी और यहां दिल्ली में हरबन्स लाल मनचन्दा—किसी को भी वे नहीं बखशते हैं। खन्ना का कुसूर यह कि उनके विचारों से उनके विचार नहीं मिलते थे। प्रोफेसर तिवारी ठेठ पंजाबी थे, उनका भी कुसूर यही था कि उनकी विचारधारा उनसे मेल नहीं खाती थी। मनचन्दा जी सिक्ख थे—लेकिन उनके विचार उनसे मेल नहीं खाते थे—यही उनका भी कुसूर था। जो भी उनके खिलाफ बोलेंगा उसको वे नहीं बखशेंगे। अब तो यह अखबार में आया है कि कंप्यूटर से हिट लिस्ट बनाई जा रही है। पता नहीं कौन-सा कंप्यूटर इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है हिट लिस्ट बनाने के लिए। एक खबर तो यह भी पढ़ी है कि फारेन एजेंसीज भी इन्वेज की जा रही हैं उन आतंकवादियों की तरफ से। खुले रूप में चार आदमियों के नाम हैं—प्रधान मन्त्री जी, राजीव गांधी जी, चरण सिंह जी और अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी—वे कहते हैं पैसा चाहे कितना भी खर्च हो लेकिन इनको खत्म किया जाए। फारेन आतंकवादियों के लिए पासपोर्ट, उनकी सुरक्षा, उनके यहां पर आने और जाने का पूरा इन्तजाम किए जाने की बात कही जाती है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ आपको सरकार क्या कर रही है? अभी यहां पर चर्चा हुई कि सुरेन्द्र सिंह सोढ़ी दरबार सहाब के बाहर जाय पी रहा था, वह एक प्रोक्लेम्ड आफेंडर था, वह अपनी बहन के घर होकर आया था तो कहाँ थी आपकी पुलिस? उसको मारने वाले थे छिन्दा और बलजीत कौर। वह उसको मारने के बाद स्वर्ण मन्दिर में चले

जाते हैं। बाद में स्वर्ण मन्दिर से बाहर भी आ जाते हैं, लेकिन आपकी सी० आई० डी० कुछ नहीं कर पाती है। मालिक सिंह भाटिया को सो-काल्ड भिडरावाले ने माफ भी कर दिया कि चलो इसने कसूर मान लिया है कि वह साजिश में शामिल था। भिडरावाले के आर्डर को भी वायोलेट किया गया और बलजीत कौर, सुरेन्द्र सिंह छिन्दा को दोनों को बाहर मार दिया गया। जो सोढ़ी का कातिल था। सरकार उसको पकड़ नहीं सकी है। लेकिन उन दुश्मनों ने कातिलों ने कातिल को मार दिया। सरकार खामोश है, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर किस लिए?

एक बात मैं आपको और बताना चाहता हूँ, उनके पास बम मिलते हैं। सैंड्रों बमों के विस्फोट हो चुके हैं। आपकी सरकार मानती है, अखबारों में आया है, लेकिन होम मिनिस्टर ने अपनी जवान से नहीं कहा है। हमारी फौज से निकले हुए बम हैं, पाकिस्तान में बने हुए बम भी हैं और अमरीका के बने हुए बम भी हैं तथा रोवियत रूस के बने हुए बम भी हैं। यह अखबारों में छपा है। उनके पास स्टेनगन हमारी मिलिटरी की हैं और इन विदेशों की भी हैं। कैसे जाती हैं और कहाँ चली जाती हैं, कुछ पता नहीं है। इससे एक बात साफ है कि शासन की अयोग्यता, अक्षमता और अकर्मण्यता बिल्कुल साफ जाहिर हो गई है। इसलिए बेहतर है कि आप पंजाब के लोगों से कह दें कि यह हमारे बस की बात नहीं है; आप अपनी रक्षा अपने आप कर लें। यदि इतनी हिम्मत है, तो आप कह दीजिए।

सभापति जी, एक दो चोजें मैं और आपके समक्ष रखना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ हम

[श्री सुरज भान]

यह कहते हैं कि अकाली दल अपना स्टैंड बदलते हैं और उनको कसूरवार ठहराते हैं। इन तमाम चीजों की धुल्लुआत करने वाले भिडरावाला आपकी पैदावार है। इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है, यह कई बार इस हाउस में कहा जा चुका है। हरियाणा के डिप्टी स्पीकर पर हमला करने वाला और हरियाणा के मुख्य मंत्री का बयान छपा है। हरियाणा डिस्ट्रिक्ट कर्नाल यूथ कांग्रेस (आई) के तीन आफिस बीयरर्स हैं। जिनको अब निकालना पड़ा है। मैं सेठी जी से एक बात और पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने आल इण्डिया सिक्ख फंडेशन को बंद कर दिया है। लेकिन नार्मली जो कानून आप बनाते हैं, उसमें जब तक खास तौर से मेशन न किया जाए जम्मू-काश्मीर पर लागू नहीं होता है। क्या आपने आल इण्डिया सिक्ख स्टूडेंट फंडेशन को जम्मू काश्मीर में भी बंद किया है या नहीं? वहाँ के सिक्ख स्टूडेंट फंडेशन के कर्ताधर्ता मिटठेन सिंह हैं, जिनको मिटठू कहते हैं। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे कांग्रेस-आई के नेता के लडके हैं। मैं आपको सिलसिला बता रहा हूँ। आप बताइये कि आपने वहाँ पर बंद किया हुआ है?

मैं आपसे दो-तीन सवाल पूछना चाहूँगा। मेरा पहला सवाल है—क्या सरकार मानती है कि आतंकवादियों के हैड भिडरावाले हैं? दूसरा सवाल—क्या आपको जानकारी है कि पंजाब में कुछ गुरुद्वारों से बाकायदा लाउड-स्पीकर पर एलान किया जा रहा है कि कोई सिक्ख हिन्दू की जायजाद को मत खरीदे, यह जायजाद हमें मिलने वाली है। अगर इस

किस्म का प्रोपेगेंडा होगा जैसा कि उनकी नीति है कि वहाँ हिन्दुओं को मार कर, धमका कर और डराकर निकाला जाए। इसका यह रियेक्शन होगा कि पंजाब के बाहर जो सिक्ख बैठे हैं, वे वहाँ आ जायेंगे और खालिस्तान बन जाएगा। तीसरा सवाल है—क्या अकाली दल का एजीटेशन और आतंकवाद की पूरी मुहोम, आप इसको मानते हैं कि इन दोनों को स्वर्ण मन्दिर से डायरेक्शन दी जा रही है?

चौथा सवाल—क्या यह असालयत है—अखबारों में छपा है कि स्वर्ण मन्दिर में आने-जाने के लिए सुरंगें बनी हुई हैं? उन सुरंगों के जरिये बम जाते हैं, स्टेनगनों जाती हैं, आदमी जाते और आते हैं। क्या वे वाकई बनी हुई हैं और अगर बनी हुई हैं तो अभी तक आप ने कुछ क्यों नहीं किया?

पाँचवा सवाल—अखबारों में छपा है कि पाकिस्तान के जनरल इकबाल आज कल वहाँ नहीं है और वे यहाँ आतंकवादियों को डायरेक्शन दे रहे हैं। क्या इसके बारे में आपको कोई जानकारी है? क्या यह असलियत है कि पाकिस्तान का वह जनरल इकबाल नई दिल्ली के वैस्टर्न कोर्ट के एक कमरे में आकर अकसर ठहरता है, यह वह कमरा है जो वी० आई० पी० को, एम० पी० को एलाट होता है।

छठा सवाल—पाँवटा साहब में ट्रेनिंग कैम्प लगा था। वैसे ट्रेनिंग कैम्प जम्मू-काश्मीर और पंजाब में भी लगे थे। लेकिन पाँवटा साहब में जो इन्स्ट्रक्टर्स उनको तलवार और दूसरे हथियारों का इस्तेमाल सिखाते थे, वे हिमाचल के एक भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री के घर में ठहरे थे?

आखरी सवाल—कितने अपराधी (आफेण्डर्स) हैं जो आप की जानकारी में स्वर्ण मन्दिर में ठहरे हुए हैं और वे कौन-कौन हैं ?

अब आखिरी में मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ :—

पहला सुझाव—पंजाब की पुलिस किसी जमाने में हिन्दुस्तान की मशहूर पुलिस होती थी। लेकिन आज हालत क्या है ? मैंने सुना है अगर अमरीका में कोई घटना हो जाय तो 48 घन्टे में वहाँ की पुलिस तलाश कर लेती है, स्कार्टलैंड वाले सिर्फ 24 घन्टों में तलाश कर लेते हैं, लेकिन पंजाब की पुलिस के आदमी इतने एफिशियेन्ट हैं कि घटना होने से पहली ही 24 घण्टे पहले, उनको जानकारी मिल जाती है, यानी यह सब घटनायें उनसे मिल कर होती हैं। क्या इन हालात को सुधारने के लिए—जैसा गुप्ता जी ने सुझाव दिया है—मैं उसको ही रिपीट करना चाहता हूँ—पंजाब के सीनियर आफिसरों का ओवर-हाल करेंगे और खास तौर पर जो वहाँ के ला-एण्ड-आर्डर के इन्चार्ज हैं, भिण्डर साहब; उनके पफर्मिस को रिम्यू करेंगे और उनको वहाँ से बाहर भेजेंगे ?

दूसरा सुझाव—क्या जो वहाँ पर पैरा-मिलिटरी फोर्सिंग है, उन को पूरे इख्तियारात देंगे। एरियाज को उनके बीच में बांट दिया जाए, उनकी ड्यूल रेस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी नहीं होनी चाहिये। उनको अपने-अपने एरियाज को एलाट कर दिया जाय और खुली छूट दी जाय।

तीसरा सुझाव—पंजाब की टोटल इन्टेलिजेंस को केन्द्र अपने हाथ में ले। बैसे तो भरोसा आप पर भी नहीं रहा है,

फिर भी कम से कम स्टेट के इंटेलिजेंस को अपने हाथों में ले।

आधरी सुझाव—पंजाब के कुछ जिलों—मिसाल के तौर पर फीरोजपुर, अमृतसर, पटियाला—इन में इतने ज्यादा हालात खराब हो गये हैं कि इनको सीधे-सीधे आर्मी के हाथों में दीजिए, उनको दिए बगैर गुजारा नहीं है।

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, the subject which is under discussion today is a very serious subject and the speakers before me have dealt with it at length. I think, it is the third time or second-time the subject is being discussed in the House.

Sir, the situation is tense and everyone is aware of it. You go to any part of the country and talk to a normal citizen. He is also worried about it. He is equally concerned and he is also looking towards the Government as to what action the Government is going to take on the subject. It is a matter of concern for the whole nation. I will deal with mainly what are the causes for the situation and I would like to suggest to the Government some remedies which I feel as a Member of Parliament.

The main cause of the situation is that political character in this country is deteriorating day by day. It is very unfortunate. This is one of the factors which has brought the country to such a stage. Earlier, the political character was such that the politicians used to take the nation above politics. It is coming down day by day. Not that I want to blame the Opposition.

I have heard the speeches and also I have read the news in the newspapers. When the Akalis were starting their agitation to burn Article 25, it continued for about 10 days. It came in the press. But most of the Opposition parties did not condemn it.

SHRI RAMAVTAR SHASTRI (Patna) : No, no. You have not read the newspapers properly. We have condemned it.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Some Parties condemned it but there are some parties which did not condemn it.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : May be, some party you have in mind. But so far as my party is concerned, the BJP, we have condemned it.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : That is the only problem with the Opposition. When we talk about the Opposition, they do not talk on behalf of the Opposition. They say, "My party, this party and that party." I am talking about the Opposition.

SHRI RAMAVTAR SHASTRI : In the Opposition, there are so many parties.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Let me give another example of the Opposition. During the NAM, the Akali Dal decided to distribute leaflets containing the demands of Punjab. The President of the Party did not say anything ; he did not condemn it. When the Government charged Mr. Longowal, then he said in one of the public meetings that it was politically motivated. What does it mean ? When he was doing that during the NAM, when the foreign dignitaries had come to this country, he did not condemn it. It was a denigration of our nation. The Opposition should not do such things. We have to come out of these things. Otherwise, there will be no solution in sight.

I think the Akalis are a part and parcel of the whole agitation. The SGPC is under the control of the Akalis. It is their nominees who are managing the gurdwaras all over the country. If they take a decision that they will not allow any anti-social elements or criminals to stay in the gurdwaras, don't you think that there will be a solution ? But nobody is coming out with it. No one is

forcing the Akalis and telling them, "You take that decision." The Akalis have never taken a decision that they will not allow any anti-social elements and criminals to stay in the gurdwaras. Mr. Bhindranwale has been described as an anti-social element by any citizen of the country. Why is he being permitted to stay in the Golden Temple ? You are condemning the Government for that. But what is the action taken by the Opposition in this regard ? Of course, the Government cannot be absolved of their responsibility. It is the responsibility of the Government to take action. But what is the action taken by the Opposition toward that end ?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : You make an appeal to Dr. Subramaniam Swamy.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : I read in one of the debates that when late Nehru came after the NAM and he entered the Parliament, the appreciation of his role in the NAM was initiated by the Opposition members. Late Mr. H.V. Kamath and other members appreciated such acts. But today's attitude is completely different. Today, if something is done by the ruling party, the Opposition finds fault with that. If a man is sent in space, instead of appreciating that, they will say that the prices of *dal* and salt have gone up. This is the type of attitude taken. This is one of the factors which is affecting every situation arising today.

The situation in Punjab is a national issue. We all have to come out with it so that we can solve the problem. The Government administratively has to take some action. The Government cannot every time say that firm action is being taken and, every day, you read in the newspapers that 5 or 10 killings have taken place.

That is not a responsible statement for the Government to make. They have got to elaborate and in detail tell the House what action they are going to

take. The Government have got to tell the House that this is the action we are going to take.

Frankly speaking, the House is not bothered about what action they take. We are interested that no killing of anybody should take place and consequently there should be no news about such killings in the newspaper reports. We are interested in the safety of the people. We are interested in the welfare of the people. What action is taken to bring about peace and amity and understanding, is the problem of the Government. We are not bothered about what action the Government has taken to bring about normalcy. There should not be any killing in the State. This is what we, as Members of Parliament, feel.

Another point which has been raised is about the foreign hand. One of the Members sitting before me has mentioned every time that there is a foreign hand. There is a foreign hand involvement in it. One may not accept it openly. But if you read newspapers, you will find that there are indications as Prof. K.K. Tewary pointed out, that these activities are taking place. In 'Patriot' it is there. It is clearly mentioned in some of the other newspapers and magazines also. When we raised this question nearly two months ago that AISSF people were killed in Jammu and Kashmir, there was a Call Attention here and there was such a hulla from this side also—both the friends are missing today—and they claimed that there was no such activity there. And today they are asking "Have you banned AISSF in Jammu & Kashmir or not?" He is asking a question of the Government; Two months back when we raised a Call Attention, we stressed here that these people are being trained there. There was a Call Attention from this side. But now there is nothing like this. It is the same House and it is the same Members?

With this kind of attitude, can there ever be a solution the problem? You have to see the foreign hand, But the

problem is that you see only the Congress-I everywhere.

Government has to urgently gear up the administration and take steps to this effect on a war footing. Punjab is not that big State as UP and Bihar. You have to mobilise the forces. You have to take steps on a war footing. Open your control room and your operation room in each Block and district headquarter. Get a report from them. Take firm action and demoralise the anti-social elements psychologically. The action should be taken on a war footing. There is no time to lose.

I have heard Shri Nihal Singh three or four times talking about screening of people. He has said that screening of staff was not done. It is not a very big task. You have to screen the officers and staff. Some staff is not doing the work properly. It is not taking up the cause properly. Screening should be done. You have to find out and screen the staff. You cannot depend entirely on anybody and later blame the Intelligence Department. Anybody can fail. There are hundreds of resources available for the Government to find out and get the work done. You cannot leave it to one Department or one Bloc. You have to have alternative arrangement for that.

Peace Committees in each Block headquarters and in each village should be set up. It has to be monitored. Whatever help Government can give to the social organisations should be given.

We had been discussing the Punjab problem from the political point of view, sitting in the House. But today I seek an assurance from the Members of the opposition. Today, all Opposition Members who are sitting here must give an assurance to the House and to the nation that if Akalis do not dissociate themselves from anti-social elements, they will no more support the Akalis.

But I see nothing of the kind. You come and fight for the Punjab cause

[Shri Rajesh Pilot]

here in the House. And tomorrow you go and sit in the Conclave. In that conclave, again you decide your policies. This is the sorry state of affair.

You must give a firm assurance to the House and to the nation that in case Akalis go on increasing their activities with anti-social elements, you will not associate with them for political reasons. This must be taken seriously by all of you. Some of the Senior Members of the Opposition must give this assurance to the House. Otherwise, we discuss every time and come back with no result. This is of no avail and it will not bring any result.

I would like to bring to the notice of the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs the fact that the country is now very much worried on account of the Punjab problem. You go to any State whether it is North-East or South. The minds of people everywhere are very much agitated over Punjab problem. The Punjab situation is very bad. We have to act on a war footing and improve the conditions first. The people must feel a sense of safety there. At present, people are afraid to move towards the direction of Punjab. They have developed a psychological terror. You have to take immediate measures to remove that terror from the minds of the people and create confidence.

19.00 hrs

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार (पीलीभीत) : सभापति जी, पंजाब में उग्रवादियों की गतिविधियाँ दिनों-दिन बढ़ती जा रही हैं और जब-जब हम लोकसभा में उसकी चर्चा करते हैं, उसके बाद उनकी गति-विधियाँ और भी बढ़ जाती हैं। कभी-कभी मन करने लगता है कि हम इस समस्या को लोकसभा में डिस्कस न करें, नहीं तो ये गतिविधियाँ और आगे बढ़ती

जाएंगी और हैल्पलैस हो जाएंगे। श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक कांग्रेस का सवाल है, कम्यूनलिज्म का सवाल है, इस कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी ने चुनाव में शिवसेना के साथ समझौता किया, केरल में मुस्लिम लीग के साथ समझौता किया और सरकार बनाई, अकालियों के साथ सरदार लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल के जमाने में समझौता किया और सरकार में आई, और त्रिपुरा में आनन्दमार्गियों के साथ इस पार्टी ने समझौता किया। लेकिन आज यह कहते हैं कि कम्यूनलिज्म दूसरे फैला रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ शिवसेना जैसी कम्यूनल दूसरी कोई पार्टी यहाँ नहीं हो सकती और आपने उनके साथ भी चुनाव समझौता किया... (व्यवधान)... उनकी सपोर्टिंग पार्टी के साथ समझौता किया... (व्यवधान)... श्रीमन् अगर आपको बुरा लग रहा है तो... (व्यवधान)... लेकिन इन्होंने शिव सेना के साथ समझौता किया, अकालियों के साथ समझौता किया। क्या यह गलत है या नहीं। मुस्लिम लीग के साथ समझौता किया और सरकार में बैठी। हमेशा इस पार्टी ने ऐसी पार्टियों के साथ समझौते किए हैं... (व्यवधान)... आप मेरा इंटरप्शन वाला पीरियड निकाल दीजिए। इसलिए कम्यूनलिज्म को बढ़ावा देने में इस पार्टी ने योगदान दिया है, जितनी यह पार्टी आगे रही है, उतनी कोई दूसरी पार्टी नहीं। शायद भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने भी कभी इतना कम्यूनलिज्म न उभारा हो, जितना विभेद कांग्रेस आई पार्टी ने देश में पैदा किया है। श्रीमन्, यह समय में नहीं आता कि जब ये अकालियों के साथ मिले हुए नहीं हैं तो यह प्रीमियम सौल्व क्यों नहीं हो रही। कैसे जानी जैल सिंह जी के चुनाव में अकालियों ने इनको वोट दे दिए, कैसे दिल्ली

के चुनावों में, जो हुआ, अकालियों की पूरी कम्प्यूनिटी ने मिलकर कांग्रेस को जिताया और बोट दिए। यह गुल्मी आज तक मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है। श्रीमन्, हिट लिस्ट में बहुत से लोग होंगे, लेकिन औरी-जिनली अगड़ा किस बात का था—

इसलिए उनको होम मिनिस्टर बना दिया गया।

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH): I take objection to what the Hon. Member says. He is mentioning the Hon. Psesident by name (Interruptions.)

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : यह लिखा है, होम मिनिस्टर के बारे में किताब में, यदि आप कहें तो मैं उसको निकाल दूँ। जो उनके बारे में लिखा हुआ है, वह तो रहेगा। यदि जानी जैल सिंह जी कहीं विद्यार्थी थे, और किसी विद्यार्थी के कोई थप्पड़ मार दे, जानी जी कहें कि मेरे थप्पड़ मारा, तो वह नहीं आयेगा। इसलिए ये ठीक बात कह रहे हैं।

(व्यवधान)

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : श्रीमन्, यह प्रीव्जम कहां से शुरू हुई, क्योंकि **साहब जब होम मिनिस्टर बनाए गए, उस वक्त से यह प्रीव्जम शुरू हुई। दरबारा सिंह साहब बाद में चीफ मिनिस्टर बने, क्योंकि मैडम को कोई पैरलल आदमी तो रखना था, जैसे आजकल नारायण दत्त तिवारी के खिलाफ के० सी० पन्त को लगा दिया गया है... (व्यवधान)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : This is all

** Not recorded.

irrelevant. This has nothing to do with Punjab.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not bring in the name of President.

(Interruptions)

MR CHAIRMAN : I think, you do not want to discuss the Punjab issue.

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : यह पंजाब ईश्यू नहीं डिस्कस हो रहा है, क्या श्रीमन् मैं यहां** नाम नहीं ले रहा हूँ, जिस वक्त ये होम मिनिस्टर थे, उस वक्त की बात कर रहा हूँ। मैंने इसलिए कोई अनपार्लियामेंटरी शब्द नहीं कहे। ** का अगड़ा कहां से शुरू हुआ... इट इज ए हार्ड फैक्ट (व्यवधान)

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : आप चण्डीगढ़ जाइए, पंजाब जाइये, इनकी करतूतों की बिना पर आज चण्डीगढ़ जल रहा है, गोलियां सरे-आम चल रही हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : ये लोग जा रहे हैं, मुझे पीछे...

श्री मनी राम बागड़ी : चण्डीगढ़ जल रहा है इनकी करतूत की वजह से। अब वहां गोलियां चल रही है।

SHRI A. R. MALLU (Nagar-kurnool) : It is quite unbecoming of a Member of Parliament to make any allegation against President.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Pleased conclude now... That will not go on record.

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : बुरा लग रहा है श्रीमन्, मैं बिल्कुल बैठ जाऊँ, न बोलूँ? मैंने अभी सिर्फ डेढ़ मिनट ही बोला है।

मेरा कहना यह है कि यह सरकार किस

[श्री हरीश गंगवार]

काम के लिए बनी है ? हमने भी किताब में पढ़ा था कि शांति व्यवस्था कायम रखना सरकार का पहला कर्तव्य है। उसी को हम जानते थे कि सरकार का मतलब है कि हर आदमी जिन्दगी, जानो-माल को सुरक्षित रखे।

उत्तर प्रदेश में अगर किसी दरोगा के क्षेत्र में 3, 3 या 4, 4 कत्ल हो जायें, डकैती पड़ जायें, वारदातें हो जायें तो उसको हटा दिया जाता था। डी० एस० पी०, एस० पी० को हटा दिया जाता था। पिछली दफा फूलन देवी वाले केस में आई० जी० को हटा दिया था क्योंकि बहुत लोग मारे गए थे।

मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ जिन दरोगाओं के क्षेत्र में, थानों, सी० ओ० और एस० पी० के क्षेत्र में ये वारदातें बढ़ी हैं, उनमें से कितनों को सजा दी गई, कितनों को हटाया गया, कितनों को डिमोट किया गया और कितनों को घर बेटाकर लाइन हाजिर किया गया ? आप एक को भी नहीं हटाना चाहते, आपकी हिम्मत नहीं है किसी को हटाने की। ऐसा लगता है जैसे कोई कत्ल करने वाले कसाई हो, आप उसको देख रहे हैं कि इसको रहने दो, आखिर किसी दिन कत्ल करते-करते थक जायेगा। तो अपने आप कत्ल करना बन्द कर देगा। आप पालिसी अपना रहे हैं कि देर करो-देर करो, चाहे जितने आदमी मरते चले जायें। ऐसा लगता है कि कोई सरकार पंजाब में नहीं है।

आपने सरदार दरबारा सिंह को इसलिये बर्खास्त किया था कि वहाँ कोई

ला एण्ड आर्डर नहीं था, सिन्चुएशन सम्भल नहीं रही थी। अब आपकी सरकार है, आप वहाँ रूल कर रहे हैं तो आपका क्या फ़ैसला है ? आप भी हट रहे हैं या नहीं ? अब पहले से ज्यादा सिन्चुएशन खराब हो गई है, इसलिए आप इसको भी बर्खास्त करो।

मैं तो यह मानता हूँ कि इस सरकार का कोई नैतिक अधिकार नहीं है कि यह एक मिनट भी शासन में रहे। मैं इसके इस्तीफे की मांग करता हूँ। पंजाब की सिन्चुएशन दिल्ली से डील होती है। वहाँ जो भी काम होता है, सब दिल्ली के इशारे पर होता है और यह सरकार इसको कंट्रोल नहीं करना चाहती, इस वजह से वहाँ पर फ़ायदात आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। मेरा साफ़ चार्ज है कि यह सरकार जिस दिग चाहेगी, उसी दिन उसको ठीक कर सकती है। अपोजिशन ने पूरी कोशिश हर दफा की है, जब भी उन्होंने चाहा है, त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता से भी और दूसरे तरीके से भी। अपोजिशन का कोई आदमी नहीं चाहता कि यह मामला सुलझे नहीं या शांति न हो। आप शांति चाहते हैं, लेकिन आप उसका जरिया नहीं निकाल रहे हैं। आप चाहें तो एक मिनट में शांति हो सकती है, नहीं तो शांति नहीं हो सकती।

वहाँ क्या सिन्चुएशन हो रही है ? एक आई० जी० की पत्नी स्वर्ण मन्दिर में गई और उन्होंने जाकर मत्था टेका और भिडरावाले से कहा कि मेरे पति के ऊपर दया रखना। जब यह हालत हो कि आई० जी० पुलिस की पत्नी जाकर कहे कि मेरे पति के प्राणों की रक्षा करो तो इससे साफ़ पता लगता है कि वहाँ केवारा का शासन हो गया है, वहाँ सरकार का कोई शासन नहीं है,

पुलिस का कोई शासन नहीं है, न सेंटर का और न स्टेट का शासन है। यह कहकर सरकार अपनी जिम्मेदारी से बरी नहीं हो सकती कि कुछ लोग इसमें बाधा डाल रहे हैं। मैं सिर्फ यह अर्ज कर रहा हूँ—

न इधर-उधर की तू बात कर,
 यह बता कि काफिला क्यों लुटा ?

तेरी रहवारी का सवाल है,
 तुझे राहजन से गज नहीं ।

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the problem of Assam and Punjab has been created in the country by certain forces. Without going into the details and without repeating the points I would like to ask the Home Minister to clear one thing in this House whether it is a fact that persons who have been arrested in different places in the country—whether Jammu, Delhi, Amritsar or Chandigarh have given categorical statement before the police that all of them have been trained in the Golden Temple and they have been supplied arms or given money to buy arms by Bhindranwalla, whether this is a fact that these people have been trained inside the Golden Temple. This point may kindly be elaborated because the Opposition is always telling that in the Golden Temple there is no arms trading and they are also saying that the AISSF has no link with the Akalis, whether these persons who have been arrested—whether smugglers or extremists have in their statement before the police admitted that either the Akalis or the extremists have got all help from Bhindranwalla and other parties.

Sir, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee said that it is the bankruptcy of government regarding policy and politics. I feel it is the bankruptcy of the Opposition for not understanding this problem which is a national problem and the lack of cooperation which is making the problem more serious than solving it. Sir, in this House we have debated this problem

many a time and I see some similarity between Punjab problem and Assam problem because in Punjab there is an allegation against the police. A similar situation at one time took place in Assam also and when we spoke to the police personnel at that time they used to say that my family members live in the village and if I take action here there will be reaction there.

Last time when I participated in the debate I requested the Home Minister that this is an aspersion on the police and the officials. We have to take certain steps so as to gear it up and gradually involve police other than Punjab police to take control of the law and order situation which has been created in Punjab. Recently 39 railway stations were attacked. That proves the inaction of the police and the inaction of intelligence and their failure. Government must take positive steps so that people in the country—especially people in Punjab—feel that Government has taken positive steps to see that the police there—whether Punjab police or CRPF or BSF—is active.

Sir, Mr. Nihalsinghwalwa made a simple suggestion and I would also like to repeat and add to it. The other day I was travelling in a train. Fortunately or unfortunately out of the companions I got three were Sikh gentlemen. They also made the same sort of suggestion. They said that Mr. Dev if you want to solve this problem then your present attitude of solving the problem is not correct. They said, why don't you encircle all the gurudwaras of Punjab and not allow anybody to go inside with arms and ammunitions and also do not allow anybody to come outside with arms and ammunition. One of them was a Brigadier. He said, if you ask me I would say air-drop every bit of things that they want for six months inside the gurudwara so that they may not say they were deprived of any amenities and time will come when either they will surrender the arms or shoot each other. This is what has been said by Army people who hold responsible rank

[Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev]

of a Brigadier and were travelling with me.

It may sound funny, but the situation has gone out of proportions and it has reach to such a stage that certain drastic action has to be taken without wounding the sentiments of the people of Punjab, without affecting their religious sentiments. At the same time, we on the Government side must prove that we are trying our best to find an amicable solution to the present problem. There was an article published very recently in 'The Telegraph'. Some journalists went there and they could gather some information about one businessman who had gone to Mr. Bhindranwale for some help. The businessman requested Mr. Bhindranwale to help him in grabbing a plot of land. In the negotiation, Mr. Bhindranwale demanded some amount of money and the businessman had accepted to give him some amount of money. But after sometime Mr. Bhindranwale came to know that the businessman was a very big man and therefore he increased the amount of money from his original demand. So, this proves that his intention is not to work for the cause of Akalis. He is only trying to create a situation with the help of some foreign hand. But here the Opposition are asking the Government to find out the foreign hand. Sir, it is not only the foreign hand that is working behind but it is also foreign brain that is working here. This foreign brain is coming through the neighbouring countries of Punjab from far away countries. We should therefore understand the present situation and take immediate steps. The time is very short to combat the situation. Dr. Swamy in a very subtle way has said that a parallel Government is going to be formed there within one month. I do not know how he could the time-limit of one month. Is it because he has some contact with Mr. Bhindranwale? Who gave him this information regarding the time-limit? He was very specific of this time-limit of one month. I do not know whether

this information is correct. But it is said that there is already a parallel Government running there and they are taking recourse to terrorists activities. To counter-act the terrorists activities, the time has come that the Government must act in a manner that people all over the country feel that they are really meaning business. Sufficient time and chances have given to the Akalis to prove that they are loyal to the nation and their sympathies are genuine to the cause of Punjabis. But it has been proved beyond doubt that they are neither sympathisers to the cause of Punjabis nor they are ardent workers to promote national cause. Their only purpose is to create instability at the instigation of the foreign hand. Hence I would request the Government to come forward to spell out their proposed action. The Hon. Home Minister should tell the House what positive steps they are taking to counter the situation which is creating problem all over the country and also creating a feeling of disintegration within the country.

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD (Hingoli):
 Mr. Chairman, Sir, while participating in this debate, I am reminded of the oath that I took in this House, to uphold our Constitution. The Constitution in its Preamble says like this :

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens ;

JUSTICE, social, economic and political ;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity ; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual the unity and integrity of the Nation."

I am sorry we did not confine

ourselves strictly to the spirit with which we have taken the oath to uphold the Constitution. Sir, instead of doing heart-searching, we concentrated more on mud-slinging business on each other. Unfortunately Dr. Swamy set the tone in this direction. Sir, we are all aware of the blatant atrocities and acts of violence being committed by the extremist elements in Punjab. They have upset the whole country. These people have access to sophisticated arms and they have been trained to operate them. They have been provided with transport facilities to reach the destination and after committing crime, they are picked up from there and taken to safer places where they are given shelter. Is it not the duty of all of us to do something when such a situation has arisen? Punjab is a very delicate problem; it is a strategic State. The people feel insecure. Under these circumstances, it is very difficult for any Government, even for this Government also, to handle the situation without cooperation from all quarters. We find that the Government has been slow, but there are certain compulsions. That does not mean that the Government has utterly failed. We have tried to negotiate with people, but unfortunately much headway has not been reached.

On this occasion, I would like to say that we all should help the Government find out the culprits, to get them arrested. Before independence, it was easier for the British people to get informants, and get all the plans and conspiracies much earlier than they were committed. Has it become more difficult during these days to get all this information earlier? What is wrong? The police force was much efficient in those days, and today why have they failed? There is something wrong, and we should all cooperate in finding out that wrong. I do not agree with Shri Somnath Chatterjee that their duty is only to criticise the Government and to cooperate as and when they wish. That should not be their motto. All of us know, which are the foreign powers trying to help those people. We know it, Shri Chatterjee also knows it

certainly, and all of us know it, in that case why not stand together and united and help the Government of the day to weed out the malady?

In this context, I have certain suggestions to make. On the 14th February some sort of an agreement was reached. That agreement should be made known to the people, and if it is possible, those things, which were agreed to should be implemented unilaterally. We should not wait for them, and the suspicion that has been created among some of the Sikhs that this Government is not prepared to do anything should be removed by doing this.

Secondly, it is not only in Punjab that you will have to look to the intelligence, the police force and its control, but in the adjoining areas of J&K, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Rajasthan and other areas, this will require to be taken care of properly. Don't think that it is difficult for these people to sneak away in these areas and take shelter. I would suggest that this should be done quickly, so that these people do not go out of their areas and get shelter elsewhere.

I remember when there were riots in Muradabad, most of the members of this House visited Muradabad and then they came here and participated in the debate. I expected the opposition members to do that also in this case. In this particular case, what has gone wrong with the opposition? Have they forgotten their responsibility? You could have gone there. Our people went there, they lead peace marches; Shri Bhatia did it. Don't think that it is the Government alone that can do everything. Government alone cannot do anything unless we are all involved in this.....(Interruptions).

Let the people of Punjab feel that all the political parties, people belonging to different States, Assam, Maharashtra or Kerala or other States are for finding a permanent solution for Punjab. If this atmosphere is created,

[Shri Uttam Rathod]

I am sure, most of the things would be come easier.

On this occasion, I am reminded of a couplet which Allama Iqbal said :

छिपाकर आस्तीं में बिजलियां
रखी हैं गरदू'ने,
अनादिल वाग के गुफिल न
बैठ अशियाने में ।
न समझोगे तो मिट जाओगे
ऐ हिन्दोस्तां वालो,
तुम्हारी दास्तां तक भी
न होगी दास्तानों में ।

DR.V. KULANDAIVELU (Chidambaram) : On behalf of my party, the DMK I would like to participate, there it is my bounden duty to participate in the discussion which is going on for more than 4½ hours now.

We are dealing with a very serious human and national problem. There need not be any disagreement amongst us. As we are dealing with a national problem, the ruling party and the Opposition must have a consensus. As a rationalist party, DMK has always stood for the right causes. Whenever anything goes wrong, we always fight for correcting it. But whenever any crisis is faced by the nation or there is threat to its security or to the lives and property of its people, we have been extending our support whole heartedly to the Government in power.

Heart-wrenching incidents are taking place in Punjab. Nobody can tolerate merciless killings of human beings and losses to national property. So, I was expecting some consensus between the ruling and the Oppositions sides. But I was dismayed to see the ruling

side making charges against the Opposition, and the Opposition also making counter-charges against the ruling party. But we must be united when the cause of the people is involved. Merciless killing cannot be tolerate. We do not want divisive forces to be encouraged.

We in the DMK, our initial stages were clamouring for a separate Dravidian country. But our intention was to claim more rights and benefits for the people in the South. When the Chinese aggression occurred in 1962, our great leader and party chief, Ierarignar Anna announced in Parliament our wholehearted support to the Government, and withdrew the separatist movement. At the same time, he proclaimed that the intention behind our claim had not become irrelevant, that is seeking the help of the Central Government for the uniform extension of services to all the seats. The problem is not a small one. Now it is time that the opposition as well as the ruling party, without mud slinging on either side, must come together and form a tripartite committee that is the government side, the ruling party side, the opposition side as well as Akalis must be invited. We must discuss this situation together; and at the same time, the Akalis should not be condemned. The extremists actually are taking the upper hand. They must create a peaceful atmosphere not only in Punjab but in other places also; and this should prevail throughout the country.

In Delhi, every day, people are anticipating whether Parliament will be bombed or any leader will be killed. But this strategy should not continue. So, we must come to a common agreement, both the ruling party as well as the opposition parties. We must constitute a tripartite committee through a series of negotiations so that it must ensure a peaceful atmosphere in Punjab and the security of our people and the safety of the property of the nation. With these words, I extend my cooperation to the government.

19.30 hrs.

RE SITTING OF LOK SABHA
ON SATURDAY, APRIL 21,
1984

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAM-
ENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS, AND
WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI
BUTA SINGH) : I have a request to
wake to the House with your permission
Since we are having a holiday on Friday
and the next day is Saturday—I have
discussed it with the Hon. leaders of
the opposition parties also—we should
devote the Saturday for a general dis-
cussion on the Finance Bill; and on
Saturday, the House will sit to discuss
the Finance Bill. They have kindly
agreed to my suggestion.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur):
As I had told you, we have already
fixed programme for Friday,
Saturday, and Sunday I will not
be available here on Saturday.
He has agreed to permit some of us to
speak on Monday, because everybody
was under the impression that we shall
have 3 holidays. 20th has not been
declared a holiday suddenly.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : All
of us.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Agreed.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : So,
20th, 21st and 22nd, they are already
listed holidays. That is why everybody
has fixed up his programme for 3 days.
But, now, Mr. Buta Singh specifically
approached us and said that the Finance
Minister has to go out on Tuesday
abroad to some IMF meeting. Then,
naturally, as usual, we said, all right.
(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : I had also some
programme. I do not want to do it
with them.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : All
the more good. We will appreciate it

further. So, the discussion will be
concluded on Tuesday.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : That is right.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : So,
he has agreed to that final conclusion
of the whole Finance Bill will be over
on Tuesday. So, some people will be
adjusted on Monday and some people on
Saturday.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I can arrange
for a dinner also.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : No
allurement (Interruptions). Then our
good gesture has no points.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :
(Jadavpur) : At 11 he must arrange for
a quorum to start with (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : That should be
ensured.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : The
maximum cooperation that we expect
from you is that you exhaust the Con-
gress I list on Saturday as much as
possible.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : That is
right.

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी (हिसार) :
खण्डोगढ़ के बारे में अगर कोई ताजा खबर
आई हो तो बतला देना, कहीं मुझे कल फिर
बोलना पड़े।

19.34 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON THE STATE-
MENT MADE BY THE MINIS-
TER OF HOME AFFAIRS ON
17TH APRIL, 1984 RE BURN-
ING OF RAILWAY STATIONS
IN PUNJAB AND SHOOTING
OF SOME PERSONS AT
AMRITSAR—CONTD.

THE MINISTER OF HOME
AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI) : I
must express my gratitude to you for