

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jaswant Singh, your point is being conveyed to the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs and the Minister of State is only reading out the statement. You have wasted already two minutes.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Kindly let me finish. (*Interruptions*) There was a specific mention that it will not be the Minister of State, but it will be the Home Minister, who will make the statement. That was said by the Chairman and not by us. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): In fact, the Home Minister was here when I was speaking. But again he has left. (*Interruptions*).

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : देखिए, कितना इम्पार्टेंट इश्यू है, प्राइम मिनिस्टर हाउस में मौजूद है, मिनिस्टर साहिवा स्टेटमेंट देना चाहती हैं, इसके माने जसवंत सिंह जी, यह होते हैं कि आप इस मामले की इम्पार्टेंस को फील नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप एक टेक्निकल बात बढ़ा रहे हैं। सारा हाउस जानना चाहता है कि क्या हो रहा है और इसके लिए मिनिस्टर साहिवा मौजूद हैं, प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब मौजूद हैं। क्या छोटी सी बात के लिए आप इतना कर रहे हैं?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: You see, there was a specific mention about this and the Chairman said, "No; I do not want the Minister of State to make the statement, but I want the Home Minister to make the statement."

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You see, the Home Minister has just gone out. His pad is here and his papers are here and he will be back in a few minutes. In the meantime, let her read out the statement. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let the Minister read out the statement.

**Statement by Minister—Regarding the situation arising out of Bomb Explosions in Delhi and neighbouring States on May, 10-11, 1985**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA): Madam, I rise to speak on an issue which I am sure is upper-most in the minds of every Honourable Member here. As the House is aware, since the evening of 10th of May there have been a spate of explosions in Delhi and some of the neighbouring States, killing and maiming innocent persons including women and children.

In Delhi alone there have been 21 incidents of explosions resulting in 46 deaths. Almost an equal number of people were injured. Apart from this there have been 20 incidents wherein bombs were recovered and defused by the experts. In most of the cases bombs were concealed in transistor frames. Some round type of bomb were also found, two of them near the compound wall of the Parliament House. Luckily, as I mentioned earlier, in many places these objects were detected in time and steps taken to defuse them. Similarly, there have been reports of 10 incidents of bomb explosions in various parts of U.P. resulting in loss of 23 lives and injury to almost an equal number of persons. One unexploded device was detected. In Haryana six incidents of explosions have resulted in loss of 11 lives and injuries to around 50 persons. In Rajasthan also, there have been two incidents of explosions resulting in the death of two persons. One unexploded device was detected and removed. (There have been some reports of recovery of similar devices in Punjab also).

These dastardly and heinous acts have so far resulted in the loss of lives of more than 80 people in Delhi & other States. These devices were placed in buses, trains and crowded places where the damage

[Shrimati Ram Dulari's Sinha]

could be maximum. Some of the objects were innocently picked up by people and the same exploded in and around their homes killing and injuring them.

The very bestiality of these acts sends a sense of shock and revulsion in the mind of every civilised person. The pattern which has emerged conclusively proves that a co-ordinated, well planned operation was launched to terrorise the people creating fear and suspicion in their minds in order to disrupt communal peace and harmony. State Governments and the Administration of Delhi and Chandigarh have taken very prompt action to apprehend suspects and a large number of persons, who were suspected to have links with the extremists, as well as anti-social elements. The action is still continuing. The Government is also fully aware of the urgent need of unravelling the conspiracy and identifying the perpetrators of these dastardly acts. A special cell has also been created to coordinate all the investigation effort. Sir, I would like to assure the House that all possible efforts are being made in this direction.

We are now witnessing a new and overt phase of terrorism. Some anti-national elements, who do not wish the political process to begin for the solution of Punjab problem, are obviously indulging in these provocative acts. Their efforts are to create panic and to disrupt communal harmony that has prevailed so far amongst the Hindus and Sikhs. The situation has to be faced with calm and without panic. The Administration is fully vigilant. Although most of the incidents took place in the evening of 10th May the quick response of the Administration has resulted in detecting not only many unexploded devices and thus preventing many more casualties but also finding out vital

clues in respect of these incidents. Since the afternoon of 11th there have been no reports of any further explosion. I must compliment the people who have not exhibited any panic and have thus effectively defeated the nefarious designs of the enemies of this country.

Government is determined to deal with the situation firmly. As we have repeatedly said the measures that we initiated in the last two months to begin the process of normalisation should not be seen as a sign of weakness. We are still awaiting a positive response to our steps. Now that terrorism has surfaced openly, it is a challenge to not only to leadership but also to the masses to wake up. They must appreciate the immense damage the extremists are causing to the nation. I trust that even at this stage, the latter will realise the grave implications of their actions. The extremist forces that have indirectly been unleashed must be contained, and senseless killing of innocent persons stopped forthwith. Unless this is done, consequences will be grim. I would repeat that Government will not hesitate to take the sternest measures to restore peace and to maintain law and order.

It is heartening that amidst the horror and anguish of the carnage, there has been an exhibition of solidarity and fraternity as well as expression of goodwill from all sections of community. Prominent leaders belonging to different political parties and religions have condemned the indiscriminate killings of innocent people. It is the duty of every decent citizen to ensure communal harmony and to bring assurance to his neighbour. Saner elements of both the communities have great responsibility. Anger should not be allowed to overcome reasons, thereby falling into the deadly trap that is being

laid by the terrorists. I appeal to this House, and through this House to one and all, to face the situation without losing one's cool. I appeal to all to cooperate with the authorities in their task of maintaining law and order and to help in apprehending miscreants and trouble makers who might try to take advantage to vitiate the atmosphere.

My heart goes out in sympathy to families of the deceased persons. I along with the Home Minister visited some of the Hospitals in Delhi to meet and console those who have been injured in these blasts. I am sure the House will join me in wishing them speedy recovery. Ex-gratia payment is being made to the next of kin of those who have lost their lives.

In the end, I again take this opportunity to re-assure everybody through this House that Government is alert to the situation and will spare no effort in maintaining communal peace at any cost. Nor would Government hesitate in taking the sternest measures against terrorism.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I stated this morning that these incidents of 10th and 11th have shocked the whole country and the whole country would share the Home Minister's view that these dastardly and heinous acts have created a sense of revulsion in the mind of every civilised person. It is a challenge to the Government. It is a challenge to the country. But this challenge is not going to be met simply by strong statements or even the expression of right sentiments which are certainly contained in today's statement. We have to analyse how is it that these terrorists have succeeded to this extent.

Till 3 or 4 days back, at least we who are not familiar with the internal governmental set up were given the impression from official quarters that the extremist movement in Punjab was no longer centrally directed.

Till June, 1984 the situation was that the extremists were spread all over Punjab, that they were being guided centrally from within the precincts of the Golden Temple. It was said that the Government was aware that all this was costing the country dearly, but they had certain constraints because the extremists indulged in acts of violence, killed someone and before they could be apprehended, they would take refuge inside some religious place or some gurdwara and so escape arrests. The Government policy at that time was that they would not enter any gurdwara. But after June, 1984, the impression that the country got gradually was that now those constraints are no longer there and slowly this extremism throughout the country is being contained and it is being brought under control. Though not completely eliminated, nevertheless it is no longer of those serious disturbing dimensions as it was before June, 1984.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I have before me a Times of India clipping of 16th April which means less than one month from this day. The headline says: "Punjab fast returning to normal". Mr. K. S. Dhillon who is the Director-General of the Punjab Police, addressed a press conference in which he gave statistics and figures to show how the extremists' threat has been contained. When a pressman said that there seemed to be still a sense of insecurity all over the State, his reply was very curious. He said in reply to the question. I am quoting from the Times of India.

"Mr. Dhillon said that the feeling of insecurity among the people was due to some other factors and also because of certain acts of violence and the way such violence is presented in the newspapers."

So, it means that if there is a sense of insecurity in Punjab or else-

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where, it is because of the way in which newspapers are publishing these incidents of violence, it is these newspaper reports which are creating a sense of insecurity; otherwise, the threat is under control.

Now, within less than one month, we find ourselves face to face with a situation in which, not in Punjab but outside Punjab, right under the nose of the Central Government, on one single day there are a series of bomb blasts in which in two days more than 80 innocent men, women and Children lost their lives. Incidentally, it strikes me that when the first incident took place at about 7 o'clock on Friday, the 10th—and then there were a few more incidents also—if in the 9 o'clock A.I.R. bulletin on that night and 11 o'clock on that night or through the television the people had been warned that this is how the incidents have taken place at various places and transistors have been used to cover up bombs and, therefore, you should beware of it, a warning that was given late, a warning which was published in the newspapers next morning even before it was officially given, perhaps people would have been more careful. The warning which was published in the newspapers next morning made many people go to their homes and keep the transistors outside which the children brought and kept in the jhuggi. It happened in Janakpuri at least where one such child who had brought such a transistor, after reading in the newspapers that transistor bombs are being used, it immediately struck the father that his child had brought a bomb yesterday night and it was still lying there. And then it was kept outside the jhuggi and the police was informed. And an Army squad came and it was defused. I hold that if on that very night, on the 10th night when several incidents had taken place, the radio and the television had been used effectively—it is effectively used on so many other occasions for

other less nobler purposes; this is not the occasion for dwelling to that—if it had been used immediately for that purpose and people had been warned, perhaps, at least 11 lives would have been saved. Not all, but those 11 lives would have been saved. Most of them lost their lives that night because they did not know that the transistors contained bombs.

Madam Deputy Chairman, as I said earlier, I started with this statement by the Director-General of Police. I believe that one of the reasons why this threat of extremism has acquired the present dimensions is our wrong assessment of the extremist threat, our wrong evaluation of the threat. I do not propose to discuss the whole gamut of Government's Punjab policy, I hold that the roots of extremism lie in that. Extremism was unknown, terrorism was unknown to Punjab till 1980. It is only after 1980 that terrorism grew in Punjab and terrorism became the kind of diabolical force that it is today. It is during the last five years. This is not the occasion and there is no time for going into all that—the rise of Bhindranwale and what happened thereafter, how for four years we allowed the situation to drift. And only in June, 1984 we took an action which was a kind of exterme action. Today, I would like to confine myself to Government's immediate handling of the extremist problem. And there I feel that we have somewhat erred in our evaluation of the extremist threat. Till a few days back it was said that the incidents of violence taking place for example, the murder of my colleague in Chandigarh, Manchanda or the murderous assault on the Congress (I) General Secretary, R. L. Bhatia, or such incidents that have taken place are not centrally directed. They are the results of some young men indulging in sporadic activities of violence. This was the

assessment officially given to us that there is no central direction, and it is sporadic. Now these 10th and 11th May incidents have forced the Government itself to admit that "the pattern which has emerged conclusively proves that a co-ordinated, well-planned operation was launched to terrorise the people".

If our valuation has been wrong, one reason has been that our intelligence apparatus has failed miserably completely. During the last one year there have been three major failures of the intelligence. Starting with June, 1984 itself the operation in the Golden Temple of Amritsar. This is not just what I am saying; I would like to quote no less a person than Lt. General Sundarji, who in his first meeting with the press, when he narrated at length the kind of arms that his men, his jawans, had to confront with said that we were taken by surprise. When pressmen asked him whether there was a failure of intelligence, the General, Lt General Sundarji, said the short reply is "Yes". Now this is the highest person in charge of that operation admitting that there was a failure of intelligence. Subsequently, there are reports that in the Political Committee of the Cabinet which met shortly thereafter the Prime Minister herself, Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi herself mentioned this, referred to this and said that there should be steps, urgent steps, taken to revamp the whole intelligence set up and ensure that something of this kind does not take place. What happened thereafter was that a high level joint CBI, IB team was constituted to investigate all aspects of terrorist concentration in the Golden Temple Complex, including the stockpile of arms recovered from there following the Army action. The team was headed by Mr. E.M. Renison, Additional Director in the CBI

and it included senior intelligence officials in the Army, the BSF, the Intelligence Bureau, the CBI and the Punjab Police and its purpose was to find out all that had happened and how it had happened. Now, the Home Minister is here. This House would like to know what were the conclusions drawn by this high level intelligence team. What were the recommendations made by the team in order to see that there is no further failure at the level of intelligence. How had it been implemented? I think that intelligence failure is the biggest single factor which is responsible for extremists and terrorists being able to act with such impunity. Very often, it appears to us that they know more about us and about our Government and about our police than we know about them. And, this is a continuing failure. We failed in June, 1984. We again failed in October, 1984. Which was another monumental failure, when the country's Prime Minister was shot in her own residence by her own security guards.

The country lost its Prime Minister and the major reason being a failure, a gross failure at the level of intelligence. That was another warning for us to see that all the shortcomings, all the lacunae, all the lapses are corrected and we are able to deal with this threat in an effective manner. Obviously, we have not been able to do it.

Now, there is a plethora of reports, and some of those reports, on the face of it, are very fantastic. Going through press clippings, I saw a February report of the Hindustan Times in which it is said that 3000 people have infiltrated from across Pakistan border into India; some of them have been apprehended; some

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of them have been kept in the red fort, some interrogated. Then I have read a report only yesterday in the *Statesman* and about which I think the Home Minister should set at rest all doubts. The *Statesman* of yesterday says that Punjab authorities had informed Delhi that a number of terrorists had come to Delhi and they were planning a kind of massive operation, that they suspected that it might be an attack on prominent people in public life, or other individuals, and it turned out to be something of this nature synchronous blasting of bombs. Another report appearing this morning in the *Jana-satta* refers of infiltration of about 50 terrorists some time towards the end of April from across Jaisalmer border, from Pakistan through Jaisalmer, and there are several things mentioned in that. And there is a yet another report quoting—and Mr. R. L. Bhatia saying that 26 terrorists have crossed the border near Amritsar and come from that side and they intend to indulge in terrorists activity. I hold that it is in the interest of internal security and it is in the interest of foreign policy also that official spokesmen, very responsible spokesmen should not talk about foreign powers lightly. I hold that if this is true that Pakistan has been training extremists, training terrorists, then all these friendly noises with Pakistan should stop. Pakistan should be told in no uncertain terms that this is an unfriendly act; we cannot tolerate it, if this is true. I say, if this is true, because I do not know. I suspect that Pakistan may be having a hand in this, meddling in this. But what strikes me is the double approach by the Government of India. It talks very casually and at length during elections about Pakistan's hand but that does not seem to affect our relationship with Pakistan. It is not a small matter—

encouraging or arming or providing arms or providing training to terrorists, who are frankly indulging in an act of treachery and treason; nothing less. This cannot be taken lightly. So if this is true that 50 people have crossed over—or even if 10 have crossed over—and come from there, our reaction should be really commensurate with the act. We should not confine ourselves merely to criticising Pakistan here in Parliament or publicly and letting it go. No, as I said, it is an unfriendly act and the response should be accordingly.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV  
(Bihar): What about America?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: America or any power, it is the same thing though I do hold that in America there are various lobbies and those lobbies—everyone of them—try to function in its own way. We are more concerned with the Government. thing happening in Pakistan is not the work of a lobby; anything happening in Pakistan cannot happen unless it has the support of Pakistan Government. Therefore, it is much more important. Things can happen in America which may not have the approval of the American Government. Things have happened outside America also, without the approval of the American Government. But if anything happens with the approval of the American Government, our response should be the same.

As I said, internal security as well as foreign policy demand that our approach in this regard should be clear. It should be totally insulated from considerations of political advantage, electoral advantage, totally insulated, should have nothing to do with it, absolutely. As I said, in the case of the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, it was the second failure. This is the

third failure. In this case, on this occasion, let the Home Minister take us into confidence. What was the information in the possession of the Government? What did it do in pursuance of this information? Did it take any steps?

Now, two bombs were kept outside the gates of Parliament House. For the last six months or eight months—certainly, for the last six months, after the tragic assassination of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi—the security arrangements inside Parliament House have been tightened, very much tightened, so much so it causes inconvenience to everybody, including Members of Parliament. But this is part of the requirements of the situation and everybody has reconciled himself to this. But despite all this, two bombs have been placed here also. What kind of bombs were they? Were they the same transistor bombs? Or, were they bombs of a different nature? How did it happen? What were the securitymen doing at that time? What action has been taken in this regard? In so many places, this has taken place. But not in a single case, have we been able to apprehend any person on the spot, red-handed. Reports in the newspapers today, does bring some satisfaction. It is claimed that there has been a breakthrough. A lawyer has been arrested. His name is given as one Kartar Singh. I do not know who he is. He lives in Patel Nagar. I am told, it was on the recommendation of the ruling party that he became an Oath Commissioner . . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: A notary.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: A notary. I am told. (Interruptions)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : इस पर गवर्नमेंट का कोई मतलब नहीं है ।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : मैं कहना नहीं चाहता . . . .

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इंटेलेजेंस ग्रान्पने खराब की है ।  
It was your regime which spoiled the intelligence organisation.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am told, a prominent Congress leader, one Mr. Raj Kumar Kohli, has been very close to him. He has been his supporter. I do not know. But I expect the Home Minister to come out with full facts. because, I am told, today also, a raid on his house has revealed a heavy cache of dynamite. This is the latest position. Yesterday's search was incomplete. why, I do not know. Otherwise, they should have been to discover the dynamite yesterday itself. Perhaps, if this arrest has taken place and this has given us a breakthrough, credit goes to the neighbour . . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: A congressman.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: If he is a Congressman, I am still more satisfied. Perhaps, credit also goes to the fact that Kartar Singh was using a cordless telephone. The use of cordless telephone has helped the country in a very big way. (Interruption) As I said, the first factor is, wrong evaluation of the extremist threat. The second factor is, poor intelligence. The third factor is, poorer law enforcement. Poorer law enforcement. This is the third factor. because, if there are ten cases of crimes, ten murders, I can understand, three or four getting away. But five or six have to be arrested and if we are able to arrest five or six, book them. this is the biggest deterrent against extremism, against this kind of violence. If these terrorists have been absolutely care-free it is

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because, for the last several months, not to say of the earlier years, they have been acting without concern for the law-enforcing authorities. And getting away with it. Conviction is still more difficult because conviction needs evidence which is not easy to procure. Therefore our efficacy against this threat depends upon the efficiency of the law enforcement machinery. Unfortunately, today it is not at all efficient. Punjab no doubt is a different case. There the police includes elements which are mixed up with these extremists and they have to be cleansed completely.

AN HON. MEMBER: That happened during the Coalition.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I would like to know from the Home Minister as to why through this kind of lacuna, this kind of deficiency, this kind of shortcoming and inherent weakness of the police force is not there in Delhi, why then have the bomb blasts that took place 1-1/2 years back in Delhi are yet remained untraced? Why? What has happened in that regard? Have we been able to trace the people who threw the bombs? At that time it was hand-grenades; now it is more sophisticated. As I said in the morning, these acts of violence that had taken place on the 10th and 11th reveal a greater sophistication, a sounder organisation and a more determined direction. What has happened in the case of earlier Shahdara blasts which took place 1-1/2 years back, I would like to know. Because we failed to book them, therefore they feel encouraged in Delhi.

One of the reasons for the weaknesses in Delhi I hold, is the continuing change of Heads of police. Over the last 5 years, we have perhaps

had five Police Commissioners, starting with Mr. Chaturvedi, then we had Mr. Bajrang Lal, then we had Mr. Tandon, then we had Mr. Jog for a brief while and now Mr. Robeigo is about to take over. So we had 5 Commissioners of Police in five years. And of course four Home Ministers also. We had Giani Zail Singh Ji, then subsequently Mr. Sethi and then Mr. Narasimha Rao and now Mr. Chavan. Some of these things may be inevitable. I understand that. For example Mr. Jog's personal problem, I am aware of it. But as I said the other day, Jog should not have been brought here at the outset. Adhocism also hurts the administration. But in other cases apart from Mr. Jog there has been no justification. It has been very many times on the basis of political whims and fancies whether a certain officer is liked by those in authority or not. These constant changes have also weakened the Delhi Police.

I would conclude, Madam. If it is true that there has been infiltration from across the Pakistan border and people have been coming in, what are we thinking in that regard. Are we going to and can we afford to, in the present situation, let the border remain as porous as it is? Gurdaspur particularly is very vulnerable. Then the entire Rajasthan border is very vulnerable. It is no doubt very difficult; I know there are difficulties. Just as difficulties on the Eastern frontier have created problems for us which have made us decide formally to set up a barbed wire fencing all along the line, why not think right now what can be done to see that this porous border becomes less porous? In Kashmir we have made it imperative for every one living on the border to have an identity card.



Why can't we have identify cards here also in these areas? In fact it would be good for us to have identity cards in the whole country for every citizen and not in the border areas only. I have already demanded that the intelligence system should be revamped urgently. In that context I would like to know from the Home Minister what were the recommendations made by the Committee that you had set up. The core problem we have to address ourselves to in Punjab is this. In Punjab, let us be clear in our minds, today the situation is not such that if we decide about Chandigarh, if we decide about the river waters, this problem of terrorism is going to be defused; no. Maybe two years back it was so, but not today. Therefore, there is no meaning in waiting for, say, what is going to happen in the 17th meeting. Now of course the meeting has been called off. I believe that the first actions and utterances of the Akali leaders, after their release, have contributed to the strengthening of the extremist ethos. I hold that Mr. Longowal committed a big mistake, which did great damage to the entire situation, when he called upon Mr. Joginder Singh to seek his blessings or sought his intervention to create unity in the panth. I hold that Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra made a very unwise declaration when he said that the Sikh community will pull down the Akal Takht and rebuild it. Though I don't think that when they have resigned today, they are fleeing away from the scene. I do not believe it. I believe they are protesting against what has happened, but this is a second thought. Even though it is a second thought, I welcome it. But I hold that the entire country, including the Sikh community, has to take up an uncompromising stand against these extremists. The Prime Minister had said the other day, "Till now we have been pursuing a soft policy.

We can also have a hard policy; we can have a strong line." I believe that so far as these terrorists are concerned, there is no question of oscillating between a soft policy and a hard policy. We should always be firm, unswerving and unhesitating. It is only in respect of the political demands or political issues that the Government's response should always be reasonable. So far as these terrorists are concerned, their objective is clear. Let us have no illusions about it. Their goal is Khalistan and nothing else and their method of achieving it is to create a sense of panic all over the country, wherever they can and, furthermore, to try to provoke Hindu-Sikh riots. After all, the core problem in the country is that the Hindu in Punjab feels insecure, the Sikh outside Punjab feels insecure, and if these riots can be provoked, then there might be an influx from Punjab, Hindus coming over here and Sikhs going into Punjab. This would get them closer to Khalistan.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Advani, please conclude. We have only 2-1/2 hours and there are a lot of speakers.

SHRI LAL L. ADVANI: My last request would be: I think the time has come when the Akali leaders—I am not talking of the leaders of the ad-hoc committee; I am talking of Mr. Longowal who was the President till now, or the SGPC Chairman or those who have anything to do with the *Granthis*—exert to have a *hukamnama* issued. They have been issuing *hukamnamas* in respect of all kinds of things, declaring so and so as *tankhayia*. But let them have a *hukamnama* issued against violence, against terrorism and say that anyone who kills innocent citizens is not a Sikh and he cannot call himself a Sikh.

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With these words, Madam, I am grateful to you for allowing the House an early opportunity to discuss this important matter.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE** (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, I share the anguish of the whole House over the recent developments. While making observations on the statement made by the Home Minister, my mind goes back to the days when we discussed on the floor of this House and tried to find, a political solution to the problem. There is no doubt that during the deliberations, many new points emerged which the Government took into account and tried to act upon. I also had the same expectations from my distinguished colleague, Shri Advani, when he made his observations. But, I am a little disappointed. Is it merely the problem of failure of intelligence? Is it merely the problem of wrong evaluation of the situation? Is it merely a problem arising out of poor law enforcement machinery? The growth of terrorism and its dimension, which has taken place in this country today—can we simply say that if we can improve out intelligence apparatus, if we can improve our law enforcement machinery, and if we can make the correct evaluation of the situation, we will be able to tackle the problem of terrorism? Perhaps, Madam Deputy Chairman, we are oversimplifying the problem. Had it been so, in many countries the problem of terrorism could have been tackled. In England, the problem of terrorism would not have continued for more than one-and a half decades. Therefore, this is not merely the question of lapses in the administrative machinery here and there.

While making his observations, Shri Advani quoted one police officer. I am not disputing that statement. From Prime Minister to Home Minister,

I have never heard from anybody in the Government that they have accepted the position that everything is normal in Punjab or that normalcy has already set in. Had it been so, there was no necessity of initiating certain steps which the Government has taken recently. It has been welcomed by this House. Even when incidents were taking place or rather the situation was unfolding, the Prime Minister reminded us on the floor of this very House in the earlier part of this month, to watch the situation carefully and to maintain fortitude.

To my mind, a situation has arisen where I entirely agree with Mr Advani that it is not merely the problem of certain demands—economic or political. Mr Advani also said that this problem was there from the beginning, and had some of the issues raised by Shiromani Akali Dal been sorted out in 1982 or 1983—the problem of terrorism would not have taken this dimension. I disagree with him.

I had a very small role, as a small actor in the Punjab drama, as a member of the erstwhile Government when I took part in a number of discussions, formal, informal bipartite and tripartite. Just now I cannot divulge all these things. The impression which I had, there was no intention to solve the problem. We shall have to accept the fact. We shall have to call a spade a spade. Now, a time has come.

Madam, Deputy Chairman, I will mention just one incident. It was on the 15th February, when we were having a tripartite meeting—on that particular day of the Hindu Suraksha Samithi—I am talking of the 15th February, 1984—on the 14th we had a meeting and on the 15th we had

tripartite meeting—All these things are there in the white Paper. If somebody has any doubt, he can verify these facts from it there at the instance of one Opposition member, who was also a Member of this House, I suggested that let us adjourn the meeting because the Akali leaders who were participating in the discussions had pointed out that they would like to go back to Punjab, try to restore normalcy bring back the situation to normalcy so that the people do not feel that when Punjab is burning they are away from Punjab .they would like to be with the people, try to make their contribution in easing the situation and then they will come back and start negotiations I suggested that if the suggestion comes from the Government it would be misunderstood; let it come from them and the Government would readily respond. The Home Minister readily responded to find in the newspapers: "The two days' meetings were infructuous; therefore, there is no need of going back again". All these are parts of history. I am not going to dig it to score a point But what I want to emphasise is that from the very beginning, there was a tendency to see that a political settlement at the negotiating table is not arrived at. And the same thing is happening just now. When the Government has taken certain initiatives, rather I would say when the Government has gone a few steps forward of its own, and an atmosphere was being created, attempts are being made to frustrate that initiative. Therefore, if we feel that merely by taking certain administrative measures, we will be able to meet the situation, I am afraid we won't. This is the area where we shall have to make our own contribution. And we can make our contribution if all the political parties, if all the saner sections of the entire nation, come forward. A time has come when the terrorists are to be politically isolated and public opinion is to be built up that this country is not going to tolerate this nonsense. The system

which we have built up over a period of years, for which many of us, many of our forefathers had to make the supreme sacrifice, cannot simply be allowed to be destroyed. Those institutions cannot be allowed to crumble down just because a few hundred people have their hands on guns. And they cannot dictate a situation where the whole system would collapse like a pack of cards. It is not merely a question of whether some amount of water would be given to Punjab or Haryana, whether some territorial readjustment will take place between these two States. Much larger issues are involved—whether our system can accommodate dictation at the point of gun or not. No democracy can survive then. Madam Deputy Chairman, this is the situation in which we are to understand and try to find out a solution.

I have no first-hand experiences but the reports which we are getting show that what was not there even in the earlier years, up to 1981, 1982, 1983, has now started—an all-pervading panic, some sort of an uncertainty. On the floor of this House, we had discussed it and we were happy to point out that despite these things there, the economic activities of Punjab were not damaged to that extent. But today it is no longer true. The whole community is going to suffer and it is going to have its cascading effect on the entire body politic. Therefore, my suggestion to the Government would be this. And it is not only to the Government. It is not merely the job of the Government. I do not think that there is any instrument by which you can switch on or switch off terrorism, whoever be the Home Minister. If Mr. Advani occupies the office of Mr. S. B. Chavan, I do not know if he will have any instrument by which he can switch on or switch off terrorism. By switching on, we can have light and by switching off, we will have darkness. But there is no mechanism of switching on and switching off to tackle the problem of terrorism. The problem of terrorism is to be tackled politically, by isolating

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them, by withdrawing the political or other type of respectability. The whole problem of the Punjab situation is that—it may sound a little strong, but we shall have to say it—unless we tell very clearly that the political system and the religious system in this country cannot go together, we cannot tackle the problem. Religion and politics have been mixed and interwoven so much that our secular system cannot accept that situation. I would not like to say anything which can aggravate the situation, but we shall have to keep it at the back of our mind. I agree with some of the suggestions which are coming out. This is really a new development, rather a welcome development, that all cross sections of Sikh leadership have come forward and condemned the type of terrorist activities which are taking place. We shall also keep in mind what she had said in her broadcast on 2nd June to the nation after the Bluestar Operation, that this is not a situation to rejoice, this is a situation when all of us should feel sad because the Government was forced to take a decision of that type. We should all rise to the occasion, all of us combined, all of us united and united not merely for tackling the problem of whether the intelligence system has improved or not—that is secondary and one can argue it. It is true the intelligence to a certain extent is not as effective as it is desirable. But there are reasons. I do not want to go into that political aspect now. What we built up in this country over a period of years, the whole thing is totally demolished. When you expose the system to an open public inquiry in the name of purifying the administration, every action has its own and equally opposite reaction. What was built up in the 50s, 60s, 70s, a perfect intelligence system, the whole fabric, was totally demolished in the later part of 70s when an attempt was made to purify the administration; in the name of administrative excesses an entire system was exposed to public scrutiny, to the glare of public scrutiny. That is the story. I am not going to reopen. But once demolished, it takes time to rebuild it. I know because I had the privilege of working before 77,

after 77 in the Government of India and I myself found how difficult it was when I wanted to find out why it happened. The answer was simple. Something happened between these periods, for two or three years, which destroyed, to some extent, the morale of the civil service, the morale of the intelligence system and it took time, the country had to pay a heavy price. I agree with Mr. Advani, the country had to pay a heavy price in the first week of June and again on 31st October, and we should not pay any more price, but we will have to pay. It is not merely the question of how to tackle a few terrorists here and there; the question is whether the system is going to survive, whether our collective wisdom, the collective will, the democratic system, to live and let live, to allow others' views to come forward, to allow hundred schools of thought, whether our democratic system which we have chosen, how we respond to it, would depend not merely on the administrative efficiency of the Government, will depend not merely on how we improve our law enforcing machinery or how we improve our intelligence system, but will depend on how the entire political system responds to that system. If we can respond in the right earnest way, in the proper manner, the system will be saved, the country will be saved; otherwise we are facing the challenges and we shall be in a very difficult situation. One thing more I would like to point out. As they have started doing, particularly the Akali leadership, they will also have to think; it is true every religion has its own lessons. It may be difficult for them to totally divorce from their religious aspects. But at the same time they will have to bear in mind they were in administration, they were in Government, they ruled both Hindus and Sikhs, they will have to bear in mind for their own sake for their own interest, that they cannot allow to create a situation where a section of the vast majority would feel uncertain, would have doubts about their *bona-fides* they should come forward and they should assert themselves. This is not merely a test

for the Government administrative machinery, but this is also a test for them and much would depend on how they respond, on how they react, to the situation. So far as we are concerned, the Congress (I) Party, definitely, will stand by them, will stand by them not for any political manoeuvring, will stand by them not for any political adjustment, will stand by them not to have some short-term gains, but will stand by them in asserting their leadership to get rid of this extremism. This is basically their internal matter and they have to tackle it and we have nothing to say. But, at the same time, it is to be noted that if the leadership of that party goes to that section which is more vocal, it is not going to improve the situation.

With these words, Madam, I do hope that it would be possible for us to contribute, not to finding faults here and there, but to creating a situation, creating a climate, in which it would be possible for us not merely to tackle the problem of terrorism, but also to build up a strong public opinion on account of which they will feel isolated. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Mohanan.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, it was a shocking experience to the entire country and the entire peace-loving people of this country to see the monstrous and indiscriminate killing of innocent people in Delhi and the neighbouring States by a group of terrorists on Friday night and Saturday last. It was crystal-clear that this was a deliberate attempt on the part of the anti-social and the divisive forces with the help of the neighbouring enemies and their imperialist bosses. It was also a deliberate attempt to provoke the people to act on communal lines, to whip up hatred and violence among the people and to deliberately erode the sense of nationalism and unity among the people.

Madam, those treacherous elements are going under the pretext of acting as the

saviours of a particular community, that is, the Sikh community. But, really speaking, these people are anti-nationals and they cannot protect the Sikh community through this type of terrorist activities and killing of innocent people. But they themselves are doing all kinds of harm to the very same community whose protectors and saviours they claim themselves to be.

Madam, we know the Sikh community and their leaders and their respected Gurus. They all fought valiantly against our enemies and they sacrificed their lives and they are now our respected martyrs, they are the respected leaders of all sections of this country. But, claiming to be the followers of these respected Gurus and these martyrs, these people are playing into the hands of the enemies of the very same Gurus and martyrs whose followers they claim to be. Therefore, they cannot claim, these terrorists cannot claim, that they are the protectors or the saviours of the Sikh community.

Madam, I am happy to note that a number of prominent Sikh leaders have now come forward to condemn openly and unequivocally these terrorist activities of a group of people. But, at the same time, I am sorry to note that even now some prominent Akali leaders are vacillating. Even now they are not there to come out with a strong condemnation against the dastardly killing of innocent people in Delhi and other places. Of course, this stand of the Akali leaders, at least a section of the Akali leaders, gave encouragement to these secessionist, divisive forces. So these Akali leaders cannot absolve from the responsibility until they are condemning unequivocally this type of terrorism. Madam, not only that. My impression is that they themselves go into the trap of these extremists and humiliated. They themselves are now the prisoners of their own people. I would like to tell the Akali leaders that their calculation and their tactics have misfired, and I request them at least at this juncture to come out with a bold stand and to condemn these violent activities and to try to co-operate with other forces to maintain peace and communal harmony in this country,

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to defend the unity and integrity of this country. Otherwise nobody will be there to support them.

Madam, now let us look into the other side, that is, the responsibility of the Government. The argument put forward by the esteemed Member Pranabji regarding the failure of the intelligence agency in this country was quite an amusing one. He put all the blame on a non-Congress regime for nearly 27 months, and very cleverly tried to run away from the factual position. We cannot take this issue on such political considerations and discuss it at this juncture. I know, many Members from this side may also be able to retort. But this is not the time. But the way you have put forward your argument was — I cannot use too strong words — an amusing one.

Regarding the attitude of the Government towards the terrorists, my feeling is that from the very beginning you were in the wrong. In 1981, after the dastardly assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, your police asked the culprit to fix a date for his arrest. From the very beginning, from that day, at that time, you were trying to lure the terrorists and isolate the Akali leadership on political motive and political grounds. You were not prepared for a settlement on political grounds, but at the same time you lured the secessionists by extending this type of support and encouragement to them. That is my charge. But I am not going into the details, because this is not the time to discuss all these things. Even though Pranabji referred to those things, yet I am not going into the details at this juncture. But then we are discussing the intelligence organisation. What is the safety, what is the guarantee for the safety and security, of this country itself? You have a large contingent of army. You have a well equipped navy and air force. But of what use are these forces when a handful of trained people from other countries or their agents inside our country can do anything and can commit any kind of act under the very nose of the Administration, even in this capital city of this great country. Where is the guarantee?

(Time Bell rings). Before the Blue Star Operation, they were having sophisticated arms in the Golden Temple. After the Blue Star Operation, our Intelligence failed to protect the life of our Prime Minister. Now again Delhi, the capital city of India, became a death trap. Is it a fact? What is the protection to the common people, innocent people? Let us forget about ourselves. We are responsible to give them protection. What is the guarantee? I would like to know from the Home Minister. You cannot run away from it. (Time Bell Rings). I will finish within two minutes.

Although I have my strong views about Government's failure, I cannot subscribe to the argument from certain quarters, especially from some supposed-to-be-responsible national press, that the generous attitude shown by the Government to solve the Punjab problem in a peaceful manner and a series of action on the part of the Government including the release of some Akali leaders and followers and ordering an enquiry into the Delhi riots are responsible for this immediate spurt of violence on the part of the terrorists. I cannot agree with that argument. I am still for it. We are not negotiating with the terrorists. We are negotiating with the people of Punjab on political grounds. So, we will have to create such an atmosphere in order to isolate these people on political grounds. We have our experience of facing the terrorists on political grounds. More than 13000 of my party comrades were butchered by the Naxalites in West Bengal. But we fought back, not with guns, but with political will and political courage. (Interruptions)

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal): Not your party people alone, but others also.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: I would like to ask the ruling party and the Government whether they are prepared to come forward, go to the villages and tell the people about it. Only through political exposure and isolation we can contain it. At the same time, you cannot run away from your responsibilities. We have to strengthen our law and order system and

especially our intelligence system. You cannot run away from it. (*Time Bell rings*) Madam, in this regard, today's papers reported that there was a breakthrough and the police have arrested more than 100 persons on suspicion. Some localities were also mentioned. I would like to know what were the results of this search and arrests. Was any foreign citizen arrested or apprehended? I would like to know it from the Home Minister. In the end, Madam, I would like to reiterate that it is dangerous and it will not be fair to equate the political demands and the terrorist activities. When we are taking a lenient attitude to solve the problem in a peaceful manner, it does not mean that we have a soft corner towards these terrorists. Always you are saying stern action against these terrorists. But against whom you are taking this? You have completely failed to find out from where these activities are being monitored. So, first strengthen the political campaign to isolate these terrorists. Secondly, strengthen the law and order system, especially the Intelligence agency.

With these words, Madam, I conclude.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the Prime Minister.

प्रधान मंत्री (श्री राजीव गांधी) :  
उपाध्यक्ष जी, पहले तो पूरे हाउस को अपने दिल का दर्द उन लोगों तक पहुंचाना चाहिए जिनको चोटें लग गईं। . . .

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :  
महोदया, अगर हम लोगों की बातें पहले सुन लेते तो अच्छा रहता। उनकी बात को लेकर सारे देश को चलना होगा लेकिन हम लोगों की बात भी सुनते तो ठीक होता। . . .

उपसभापति : आप बैठ जाइए, आपकी बात भी सुनेंगे। . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उनकी बात को काटने के लिए हम बीच में उठेंगे तो ठीक होगा ? . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री राजीव गांधी : आप अभी रोककर काट रहे हैं। बैठ जाइए तो मैं बोलूँ ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : मैंने कहा कि हमारी बात पहले सुन ली जाती . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री राजीव गांधी : उसके बाद गृह मंत्री जी आपका जवाब देंगे। पूरा जवाब मिलेगा। जो प्वाइंट आफ उठायेंगे, सब का जवाब मिलेगा। . . .

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : आप क्यों ऐतराज कर रहे हैं ? . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम ऐतराज नहीं कर रहे हैं। . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री राजीव गांधी : उपसभापति जी, आज पूरे हाउस के और पूरे देश के दिल में दर्द है उन लोगों के लिए जिनके परिवारों के लोग मर गए, उनके लिए, जिनको चोट लगी है और पहले हमें यह दर्द उन तक पहुंचाना चाहिए।

आज देश के सामने, हम सब के सामने एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती है। मैं हाउस का बहुत ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। मैं कोशिश करूंगा कि खाली मुख्य बातों पर ही आपका समय लूँ।

अभी बहुत बातें करी गईं। मुझे बहुत दुख हुआ बातें सुनकर क्योंकि जो उग्रवादी चाह रहे हैं, हमारे कई दोस्त वही करने लग रहे हैं। हम दो मिनट के लिए सोचें कि उग्रवादी करना क्या चाहते हैं ? उनका मकसद क्या है ? इसमें दो राय नहीं होंगी कि वे एक ही चीज चाहते हैं कि भारत में आपस में हम झगड़ने लगे, स्पष्ट तौर से हिन्दुओं और सिखों के बीच में लड़ाई हो, झगड़ा हो। आज समय है कि हम सब मजबूत होकर खड़े हों और यह नहीं होने दें। पंजाब में आज इतना दुख क्यों हो रहा है क्योंकि एक तरफ उग्रवादी खड़े हैं और उन का मुकाबला अफाफी दल कर रहा था। वहां पर मोदी जनदी भी तो

[श्री राजीव गांधी]

यहां मोर्चा मजबूत होता था। यहाँ मोर्चा बढ़ाया तो उधर गोली चली। हमें दुख है कि आज जब दिल्ली में उग्रवादी आते हैं तो एक ही राजनीतिक दल के लोग वही रास्ता चलने लग रहे हैं। उसमें एक तरफ उग्रवादी कुछ करें, दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुओं की आवाज उठाये, इससे ज्यादा खतरनाक बात क्या हो सकती है देश के लिए? यह हमें समझना है कि हम यहां खड़े होकर बड़ी-बड़ी बातें कर सकते हैं कि इंटीलर्जेंस ने यह किया, सरकार ने यह नहीं किया, लेकिन असली हौसला उग्रवादियों का कहां से बढ़ा? उनका हौसला बढ़ता है जब वे देखते हैं कि उनके काम कामयाब हो रहे हैं, जब वे देखते हैं कि हिन्दुओं का रिएक्शन बन रहा है। तब उनका कार्य कामयाब हो रहा है। यह कौन कर रहा है? यह कैसे रखेगा हमने कई कदम उठाये अकालीन के कुछ नेताओं को आगे लाने के लिये, बात करने के लिये। हमें लगता है कि हमने ठीक किया, ठीक रास्ते पर चले। मैंने कुछ दिन हुए दिल्ली में एक भाषण में कहा था कि हमने दोस्ती का हाथ आगे बढ़ाया है वही हाथ सख्त भी बन सकता है। दोनों साथ चलने की जरूरत है। कुछ राजनीतिक बातें हैं व प्यार से दोस्ती से होंगी। उग्रवादियों की बातें हैं उनका सख्ती से मुकाबला करा जायेगा और हम करेंगे। आज जो प्रश्न हमारे सामने हैं वह बिल्कुल साफ है। कुछ चुने-गिने सिख, मैं सिख कहता हूं क्योंकि लोग सिख कहते हैं, हो सकता है कुछ लोगों ने दाढ़ी रख ली हो, बाल बढ़ा लिये हों। लेकिन कुछ चुने-गिने लोग उग्रवादी बन कर कहीं बम छोड़ रहे हैं और कहीं कुछ कर रहे हैं। क्या हम इन थोड़े से लोगों के साथ पूरे सिखों को जोड़ देंगे। यह हमें आज सोचना है और हमारी कोशिश होगी कि हम चुने-गिने लोगों को अलग करें और भारत के सिखों को भारत के साथ खड़ा करके उनको खत्म करायें। यह दो रास्ते आज हमें चुनने हैं। आज हमें इन उग्रवादियों का मुकाबला करना है शांति से और अहिंसा से, साइंस रख कर करना है। इसके लिये तो धीरज की ज्यादा जरूरत होगी। ज्यादा आसान रह जाता है कि हम भी हथियार उठाये और उनका

मुकाबला करने लगे लेकिन उस रास्ते पर देश को खतरा होगा। हम सब जानते हैं कि भारत आजाद कैसे हुआ। बन्दूक का मुकाबला बन्दूक से करने से नहीं हुआ, अहिंसा से हुआ था। आज भी अगर उग्रवादियों का मुकाबला करना है तो उसी तरह से हो सकता है। पुलिस अपनी कार्यवाही करेगी लेकिन हमें राजनीति में हो कर अहिंसा से करना है। हमें देखना है कि हमारी तरफ से ऐसी कोई बात न उठे जिससे उग्रवादियों का हौसला बढ़े। हमें देखना है कि कोई भी ऐसी बात न करे। आज अकाली दल के नेताओं ने, अकाली दल नेता कह रहा हूं, मालूम नहीं कौन कहां पर है, किसी ने रिजार्डन किया, किसी का एक्सेप्ट हुआ, किसी का नहीं हुआ, समझ में नहीं आता क्या हुआ, लेकिन हफ्ते, 10 दिन पहले अकाली दल के नेता श्री लॉगोवाल, श्री बादल और दूसरे लोग जो हैं, जो ट्रेडिशनल नेता थे, उन्होंने काफी अच्छा स्टेटमेंट दिया है और हमें उम्मीद है कि उनमें और हौसला बढ़ेगा। वे और आगे आयेगे और सिखों को ठीक रास्ते पर ले जायेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान की एकता और अखंडता बनाये रखेंगे। लेकिन तब भी हमें याद रखना है कि कभी-कभी वे भी गलत बातें बोल देते हैं। जब से उन्हें जेल से छोड़ा तब से कई बातें उन्होंने ठीक भी कहीं लेकिन कई ऐसी बातें भी करीं जिससे पूरे देश में गलतफहमी बढ़ी है जिससे लोगों में शक आने लगा है। अब समय आया है कि वे अपनी पोजिशन बिल्कुल साफ देश के सामने रखें। वे पूरे देश को दिखायें कि बहुत हो चुका है। अब ये बातें हमारी पीछे हों और हम सब मिल कर पूरे देश को एक हो कर आगे बढ़ायें। सब को शक्ति मिले और हम उग्रवादियों को दबायें। यह एक ही रास्ता हमारे सामने हो सकता है। हमारी उम्मीद है कि यह खाली हमारा ही काम नहीं होगा, यह जितने विपक्षी दल हैं उनके साथ मिल कर हम यह कर सकें। हमने कोशिश करी है कि जब भी हम कुछ पंजाब पर बातें करते हैं तो हम सब मिल कर करते हैं। उनसे मिलकर, उनकी सलाह लेकर, उनसे बात करके हम करते जाएंगे। हमारी कोशिश होगी कि



सब की सहायता के साथ यह मसला हल हो और देश इस बीमारी से ठीक हो और हम आगे बढ़ें। जो स्पष्ट विचार उठाये जायेंगे, जो एक्शन लिया है, जो उससे फायदा मिला, जो गवर्नमेंट कामयाब हुई, कैसी टीम बनी है, कितनी गिरफ्तारियां हुई हैं, बम के बारे में क्या है, यह सब गृह मंत्री जी आपको बताएंगे। मैं इस पर समय आपका नहीं लूंगा। हमें कुछ कमजोरियां जरूर महसूस होती हैं कानूनों में और हम कोशिश करेंगे कि इसी सेशन में हम कुछ कानून आपके सामने लायें, थोड़े पुलिस के हाथ मजबूत करने के लिए, देश के हाथ मजबूत करने के लिए।

आडवाणी जी ने एक बात उठाई थी कि अकाल तख्त को वे तोड़ने जा रहे हैं। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह उनकी जिम्मेवारी है, उनका मंदिर है, जो उसे करें। हमारा क्या मतलब है उससे। उसे बनायें, उसे तोड़ें, उसे दुबारा बनायें, छोटा बनायें, बड़ा बनायें, हम उस में क्यों दखल दें? बल्किन ऐसे ही दखल से वे कभी कभी बुरा मानने लग जाते हैं।

कुछ बातें विदेशी हाथ की उठाई गई थीं। मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। इतना ही कहूंगा कि जब सरकार विदेशी हाथ की बात कर रही थी, इन्दिरा जी कर रही थीं, तब हमारे विपक्षी उसका मजाक उड़ा रहे थे। आज हम खामोशी से सुन रहे हैं कि विपक्षी नेता हों विदेशी हाथ की बात उठा रहे हैं। बहुत बार लोग जल्दी से बोल जाते हैं। सोचते नहीं, समझते नहीं। अपनी राजनैतिक दौड़ में दूसरों को राजनीति में नीचे दबाने के लिए, कांग्रेस के ऊपर एक पाइन्ट खींचने के लिए देश का नहीं सोचते हैं। क्या नुकसान भारत की जनता को पहुंच रहा है, वह नहीं सोचते हैं। इससे हम सब को दुःख होता है।

हमारे दूसरे सांसद ने नक्सलाइट की बात उठाई थी। उन्हें याद होगा कितना समय लगा था नक्सलाइट आन्दोलन को

पूरी तरह से खत्म करने में। उन्हें यह भी मालूम होगा कि पंजाब में यह काफी जोरों से चल रहा था। उन्हें मालूम होगा कि काफी नक्सलाइट्स बचे हुए थे। उन्होंने जरूर राजनैतिक लड़ाई लड़ी। लेकिन उसके साथ कई तरकीबें भी इस्तेमाल करी गई थीं। आज असली जरूरत है कि हम सब सोचें कि किस तरह इसका मुकाबला हो सकता है। साथ ही हम अपना बेस बनाने के लिए कोई इस मसले में कमजोरी न डालें। पंजाब में अगर हम देखते हैं तो वहां पर क्या हुआ? एक तरफ उग्रवादी गोली चला रहे थे तो अकाली दल को यह महसूस हो रहा था कि उनका बेस नीचे खिंचा जा रहा है। उन्होंने आन्दोलन शुरू किया। इसी जाल में हमें आज नहीं फंसना है। उधर से गोली चले और हम आन्दोलन चलायें तो वही दिल्ली में हो जाएगा, देश के दूसरे हिस्सों में हो जाएगा। हमें आज ऊपर उठना है। हमें देखना है कि किस तरह से हम उन सिखों को मजबूत कर सकते हैं जो देश के हित में खड़े हैं। हमें देखना है कि किस तरह से जो डरे हुए हैं उन्हें आगे ला सकें जिसमें वे देश के हित में खड़े हों। हमें याद रखना है कि गांधी जी ने और पंडित जी ने आजादी की लड़ाई के वक्त कैसे चुनौती का मुकाबला किया था शांति से। उसी तरह से आज भी इसका मुकाबला करना है। जो पुलिस का काम है, पुलिस करेगी। राजनीति में हमें शांति रखनी है, हमें धीरज रखना है। और इस तरह से हम इस का मुकाबला करेंगे। आप देखिएगा कि उग्रवादियों का मुकाबला करने में कुछ कमी नहीं रहेगी। इटैलीजेंस को बढ़ाने में कोई कमी नहीं होगी। आपने कुछ मिसाल इटैलीजेंस की दी। इटैलीजेंस को काफी चोट लगी थी। एक समय पर आपने कुछ मिसालें भी दी कि आफिसरों को इधर उधर ट्रांसफर करते हैं, तो बड़ा दुख होता है, मुश्किलें होती हैं, कुछ चल नहीं पाता है। अगर आपका दो सैकड़ का समय लेकर आपको याद दिला दूं कि जितने ट्रांसफर 1977 में हुए थे, एक महीने, डेढ़ महीने में, उतने भारत के इतिहास में कभी नहीं हुए। आज हम सब मिलकर एक दूसरे को नीचे खींचने में न लगे। देश को मजबूत करने और उन सिखों को जो हमारे साथ खड़े होने के लिये

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लैयार हैं, उन्हें मजबूत करने में अपनी पूरी शक्ति लगायें। धन्यवाद।

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, for the past two days, unwanted and unexpected things have happened in the capital. There have been a spate of bomb explosions in Delhi and in some of the neighbouring States. More than 80 people have been killed, more than 40 have been severely injured and thousands of persons have been arrested. The police are interrogating them. Madam, I do not consider this as a political issue. If anybody comes up and says that all these things are due to lack of intelligence, or, due to the failure of the intelligence agencies, I strongly opposes it for the main reason that our Prime Minister has been having, for the last one and a half months, discussions with the leaders of the opposition parties, as to what exactly we should do to suppress these elements and to solve this problem. In my eight years experience as a Parliamentarian, never have I seen a Prime Minister calling the leaders of the opposition parties periodically and discussing with them, as to how we should solve this problem. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has taken this step of calling the leaders of the opposition parties, including our Party, even though we do not have any branch here. He held discussions with us and asked for our opinion. That is why, Madam, I say, I do not consider this as a political issue. I would like to remind the House here that I belong to a party which opposed the Congress Party for the past thirty years. No other party opposed the Congress Party, as we have done, the Dravidian Party. We have opposed his grand father, when he was the Prime Minister. I led a procession of college students in my college days. Lakhs and lakhs of people gathered at the airport and showed black flags. The result was, we received lathi-charges. Not even a single day passed without our opposing and attacking the Congress Party. For the last 25—30 years, our party was the only party in Tamil Nadu which opposed the ruling party and after 1967, the Congress Party has not been in a position to come to power in

Tamil Nadu. As I said, Madam, I do not consider this as a political issue, when we fought for a political cause, when we fought against the imposition of Hindi, there was no bomb blasts like this. We Just convened meetings, we took out processions. We observed fast. But we have not done any such thing as these people have done now. That is why, I say, this is not a political issue. If it is a political issue, they should have organised peaceful agitations, they should have observed fast. Madam, we conducted peaceful agitation when we wanted Devikulam and Peermedu from Kerala. We conducted peaceful agitation when we wanted Tirutani from Andhra Pradesh. These were all political issues. If this is a political issue, I do not know why they have indulged in these bomb blasts. I fully endorse what Mr. Advani has pointed out, that this is not an issue of just giving Chandigarh to Punjab. This is not an issue of just proper distribution of river waters. They want Khalistan, they want Punjab to be separated from India. I say, from the lofty peaks of Mount Himalayas to the sacred shores of Kanyakumari, all people are one. We have provided in our Constitution, only for single citizenship and not dual citizenship as they have in the U.S.A. If anybody asks me, I would say 'I am a citizen of India'. I will never say 'I am a citizen of Tamil Nadu'. That is why, Madam, if any piece of land is going out of our hand, we will be the first persons to say that Government of India is not responsible, we the people of India are responsible and we should take up the responsibility to protect all these things. The Home Minister has stated that the consequences will be very serious if at all they continue like this. The army was called out for patrolling the sensitive areas and the city police launched a vigorous drive to nab the terrorists. Ex-gratia payment was also announced. I would like to suggest two or three things. The Prime Minister has called an all-party meeting of Opposition leaders and he has already intimated that he is going to speak to them on 18th next. I do not know whether he is going to invite all the Opposition leaders to discuss things to solve this problem. About

one thing I am quite clear. Whatever may be the reason, because of the terrorist activities if we show leniency, in each and every State so many extremists will come forward with their petty problems. So we should not listen, as Mr. Mukherjee has pointed out, to all these things. These are small matters. These extremists with the help of so many, with the help of the central agency have started all this. They have been putting transistors at different places thereby creating an attraction for the people to grab those transistors and get killed. As a result of this, more than hundred persons have been killed. In my opinion we should listen carefully what our Sikh leaders say and we have to discuss with them and solve this problem.

With these words, Madam, I conclude.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, the statement of the Minister of State for Home, read simply, only deals with the explosions that have taken place, the steps that have been taken by the Government and the resolve of the Government to deal with the situation. The statement primarily deals with the explosions. But if these acts were in isolation, perhaps this debate would not have assumed the importance that it has. It has its genesis and that is where all of us are concerned. But while we debate on this issue, one redeeming feature seems to be that all of us are trying to rise above the party level. There is no doubt that in the process sometimes unconsciously we pass remarks. I will call it unconsciously because some passing remarks are bound to be there which are directed either against the administration or against the prevailing atmosphere. But what concerns me more is, at no point of time the Indian democracy had passed through the strain as it is passing through at the present juncture. In my view, the Indian democracy and the Constitution and its working are put to test after the Independence for the first time. The ethos and values of secularism and democracy are in danger. And that is why it is a matter of anxiety and it is here perhaps that

all of us will have to rise above the party instincts in order to save the ethos and values which have not only been enshrined in the Constitution but for which our elders have given the supreme sacrifice. An infinitesimal minority of misguided youth, in a minority, are now seeking to hold the society to ransom. It is this which has to be focused in the proper perspective. It is no doubt true that the Akali Party—the leaders of the Akali Party and the members of Akali Party — subconsciously, either by keeping quiet or by omission and commission, have given an impression that they have, indirectly, supported the actions of the extremists. I say this because, at the appropriate time they have not been able to pick up or summon enough courage in order to fight out the nefarious tendencies of these extremists. I would have expected that keeping in view the traditions of the great Gurus, the leaders of the Akali Party, by summoning courage, should have stood up against the nefarious activities of the extremists instead of giving support overtly or covertly. This has totally changed the panorama, and the Indian democracy which consists of multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-regional people has been put to a very severe test.

I say with a little bit of anxiety, perhaps more, and with a little bit of anguish, that this particular minority, which has been affluent as compared to the large segment of the society in this country, should have failed in its duty in rising to the occasion and meeting the challenges of a few extremists who had been testing, or creating, problems of democracy in this country itself. I am sorry to feel sometimes that the policies of this party have led to a situation where, perhaps, unless all of us join hands and try to face them, it appears to be difficult to meet the challenge that has been posed. It is not a question of a narrow, freak, political victory that any party would like to seek in this matter. If you go into the genesis of the whole question, what becomes apparent is that the Akali Party, whenever it had been out of power, had raised some issue or the other in order to focus the attention of the community to

[Shri P. Shiv Shanker]

see that they get the political vantage at the elections or even otherwise. It is this attitude with which they started the agitation, the simple agitation on the question of water and on the question of Chandigarh. Matters slipped out of their hands, as a result of which today we are placed in a situation of a big quandary.

I am only sorry to say that some of the hon. Members have made observations about the failure of the intelligence. In a democracy like ours, where different segments of the people coming from different regions—as I previously said of different hues and colours are there, the system could not be perfect. With 750 million people, we have 750 million problems. *They have to be tackled only with tact.* About the system of intelligence, I do not say that it does not require improvement, but to say that it has failed is not reading the realities in the proper perspective. We are now concerned with the statement. Here is a community where large number of people, who as I said overtly or covertly and often unconsciously, are trying to keep themselves sullen. Now, you do not expect the intelligence to come forth of such people. They are all segments of the people who are afraid of the extremists. They would not like to give the correct information at the cost of their own lives. Now, as regards the intelligence apparatus of the Government it will no doubt work on its own traditional way. In fact, I am sorry I might raise a hornet's nest. I have always felt that the institutions in this country which are a legacy of the British imperialism to us have failed in our developing system. I have always....

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): You remind this to your own Government.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I have said this as a Minister in the erstwhile Cabinet, openly in this House, in the other House and outside also.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal) in the Chair]

Sir, let us see for a moment, what is happening around us. Only a couple of days back I was reading in the newspaper 'some person in his fertile imagination conceived

of filing a writ petition against the sale and circulation of "Koran" itself'. I can understand among 750 million people, this fertility of imagination, could be possessed by a large number of people. But, what about the Judge who issued a notice? Tomorrow somebody would behave like that on "Gita" or "Guru Granth Sahib". Where these institutions are leading us to? I wish, I do not know, because as a person who had been a responsible member of the erstwhile Cabinet and a responsible member of the party, I venture to say that such type of persons in high offices are a danger to the democracy. They should not be allowed to continue. I do not know what Government is thinking about this particular Judge. I am very serious because he cannot play with the lives of the people. Every institution in this country must advance the cause of secularism, socialism, democracy and the republicanism, to which we are wedded, not that we would like to dismember this fabric. This type of process, in my view, creates tremendous problems. Let us understand these things. After all, ours is a multi-racial society. Everyone has his own hopes and aspirations and to that we are wedded. We are wedded to the democracy which is practised, unfortunately, in a developed country. We have imported the concepts of democracy from the developed democratic country. And mutatis mutandis we have applied it to our democracy. That is where we are. And that is why the incongruity appears in our development. This has to be faced squarely. I sometimes feel that we will have to look at these problems in the larger perspective—not necessarily the violence here or there. Accepted national concepts—take what is happening in Gujarat—are on test. Accepted national concepts are now under strain. A few who can become violent or a few who can take upon themselves to be the votaries of a particular cause, in the name of violence, can hold the entire society to ransom. It is this problem, in my submission, which has got to be taken care of a little—not by a narrow approach. In fact, one of the hon. Members has said that we were not prepared to solve the issues on the political ground. I am only sorry that either he is misinformed or he is not in possession of the various facets of the developments that

have taken place over the two years right from 1982. As a responsible member of the erstwhile Cabinet—I also happened to be in the sub-committee which had to deal with these issues that were projected by the Akali party—I can say that the whole difficulty was that they could not have the political will to solve the problem. They only wanted a solution on their terms. That was really a tough job because after all, one has also to see its repercussions on others. In fact, what has happened? In the ultimate analysis, concessions were given to them even by the former Prime Minister, and concessions have equally been given now. Concessions with reference to the religious demands were given by the former Prime Minister. And when the hand was extended for the purpose of seeing that they extend their hand of cooperation in solving the political problems, we could not find a way out. Likewise today also, notwithstanding the fact that the Prime Minister has given certain concessions, they do not have the political will; the leadership does not have the political will. They cannot sit across the table because they are afraid of their lives. This appears to be the sum and substance of their approach. That is where we are not in a position to realise, in the absence of willingness on their part, as to how we can persuade them to come across the table in order to sort out this issue. This requires political will. And it is precisely here, as I was trying to say previously, that the Akali leadership will have to come out of their shell, they will have to stand up, they will have to summon courage in order to sit down and solve the problems. When the Government is prepared to go more than half way, the Akali leadership, in the larger interests of the country, in the larger interests of the Sikh Panth itself, should come forward and sort out the issue. In recent times, I was myself in the two districts of Jullundur and Ludhiana...

श्री अश्वप्रकाश मानवीर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
मान्यवर, समय का भी ख्याल रखें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): It is his maiden speech in the House.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I am sure the hon. Member is not finding anything unsavoury in my speech.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA:  
Not at all

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: It is not a maiden speech in that sense, but as a Member of this House, Yes. As I was trying to say, I have myself gone into the two districts of Jullundur and Ludhiana, into the interior villages. I have addressed meetings.

There more than 95 per cent attendance was of the Sikh people; 8 to 10 thousand people collected. All of them with one voice were specifically saying that they are not interested in this carnage, they are only interested in the development of their State, they would like that agricultural inputs are provided to them properly by the Government. Now, a few people, a few misguided people, would like to hold the entire society to ransom. Often it is said that there is a foreign hand. It is no doubt true it is very difficult to detect the foreign hand, particularly if it is the foreign agencies. I understand, it has come in some paper, that in the day before yesterday's explosion a bomb in one of the buses of Haryana was found with foreign markings, foreign markings of Pakistan. This is what has come. I do not know whether the Home Ministry has gone into it and if it has gone into it, naturally all the Members of the House would be certainly anxious to know as to what exactly are the facts and how exactly the Government purposes to deal with this type of a situation. This is a matter of anxiety for all of us, not merely for X,Y,Z, in particular....

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA: Has that particular object been seized?

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: That is what I am asking, that is a matter for the Home Minister to explain.

Unfortunately, as my colleague, the former Finance Minister, was trying to say, in this country it has come to stay more as an expediency that political parties have started mixing religion and articulating their political faiths. While we on our part are professing secularism and many of the parties adhere to this concept, as a

[Shri P. Shiv Shanker]

political expediency some of the parties are having a cocktail of religion with politics...

**SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA:** (Uttar Pradesh) Name them.

**SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER:** This is something which is known.

I am of the view that it is high time that if we are not in a position to deal with such parties politically, if we are not in a position to isolate them politically, then it is better that the heavy hand of law must come down over such parties to see that such political parties do not have any right to seek election at the polls. I am making this submission because religion is a very sensitive issue and particularly in a developing democracy where the large segment of the society is underfed and underclothed, people are bound to be carried away by religious sentiments and in this atmosphere if the political parties would like to fish in troubled waters, it should be our endeavour, legally and otherwise, to see that we not only do not encourage such political parties but we shall see that these political parties are not allowed to participate in the electoral battles which create quite a big problem. I would like to make one submission.

On an issue like this, I would beg or all the Opposition Parties to stand 6 P.M. stated in supporting the Government in order to uphold the cause of not only national unity and national integrity but also the ethos and values enshrined in our Constitution.

Sir, differences can exist in a democracy and differences should exist in a democracy. Politics in a democracy is the politics of negotiations and it cannot turn into a politics of violence. If it turns into a politics of violence, then it becomes the responsibility of all of us, to whatever party we may belong, to stand united against it. It is in this background that I am beseeching you to consider the proposals that I am putting forth. I have found that, during the last two years or more

each party has been speaking in different tones which, in my humble submission, has certainly encouraged the extremist elements in the Akali Party. Now, this has encouraged them to such an extent that they have become a Frankenstein's monster now. It is in this background that I am trying to suggest-- am not trying to blame X, Y or Z or any party--that on an issue like this which we are confronted with--when I say 'we', I mean the nation is confronted with--that all of us must make sincere efforts to see that the extremists are separated from the mainstream of the society so that we can deal with them sternly in a co-operative manner and we resolve this problem in the national interest. It is not as if it is the sole prerogative or the sole preserve of the Congress (I) Party. The Congress (I) Party in the Government has its obligations. But, if somebody would like to ignite the fire and if the flames are to stay a little higher, then it becomes more problematic. It is in this spirit that I also expect the Government to be though with the extremists. The time has come when the Government of the day, while it has to be stern with the extremists, has also to be a little considerable towards the moderate elements in the Akali Party. We will have to take them certainly along with us and we will have to see that they become courageous enough to face the extremists. It is only then perhaps that we would be able to solve this problem. Otherwise, it will become more complicated and it is in this background, Sir, that I request the Home Minister to enlighten us on the different facets of the problem that is confronting us, on the statement that has been made and the manner in which he seeks to deal with these matters. Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY** (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the most unfortunate and the saddest part of the situation is that in a land where the Buddha was born, where Mahavira was born and where Mahatma Gandhi lived we are to discuss the problem of violence the problem of terrorism, the problem of insecurity and the problem of threat to individual life, to the communal life and to the national life in this country.

The hon. Member who preceded me referred to democracy and to the unity of the country. I realise we are passing through a testing time in our history, a very trying period in our life. There is a threat, an increasing threat, not only to democracy and democratic institutions, but also to the values which we cherish and which we have been cherishing for long. Hon. Member Shiv Shankar appealed to all of us that we should rise above parochial barriers and we should not be partisan, that party affiliations should not matter when there is a national crisis, when there is a threat to the unity of the country, when there is a challenge to our very political system. I agree with him. I share his views. But at the same time, may I humbly suggest to him and the members of his party to observe this exhortation in their activities? The Prime Minister indirectly referred to a political party which may by its activities enkindle disunity and communal passion. I take it he has made the statement inadvertently because the whole theme of his speech was that we should rise above parochial approach and we should face this challenge unitedly. Perhaps he digressed. If he had not digressed, I say that this is not the way of taking all political parties together to meet a common challenge. Even my friend Shiv Shankar referred to this matter by saying that some parties are behaving in a parochial way and creating problems, dissensions, passion and animosity in the country. I think this would not help the unity at all. If my friends opposite really feel that there is a threat to this country then we should learn from our follies of the past. I feel that many wrongs have been committed in the past. I think the present tragedy owes its origin to some of those follies which we have committed as politicians. We should learn from our follies. The present tragedy is the legacy of the past follies, and we feel... (*Time Bell rings*)

I have not yet...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): So many speakers are there. The list we have be-

fore us... (*Interruption*) The time is up to 6.30.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: We can sit longer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): I have given the bell after five minutes; that is the time fixed for you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: In five minutes what I can do?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please try to conclude. That is the situation now.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: The present situation calls for reassessment of our entire approach to the problem of Punjab and terrorism problem which was arisen out of the problem of Punjab. It is as if we are going from one crisis to the other. I appreciate certain initiatives taken by the Government of India of late in trying to solve the problem of Punjab. I also agree that there is no alternative but to have a political solution and settlement through dialogue, through negotiations, through talks. That is the only way. But the present threat of violence has to be met. How to deal with this problem? I know that those who live by violence die by violence. But they create havoc. They create panic, a wrong psychosis and a sense of insecurity among the people which may endanger even the talks which have to be resorted to for bringing about a settlement. I feel one thing strongly in this entire developing situation. The law and order machinery seems to be wilting under pressure. I don't say failing but wilting under pressure. They have not been able to regain their will and strength. They have not been able to reorganise themselves to meet to the new situation. I feel sorry that the present situation requires far more vigilance, far more preparedness, far more courage and far more action on the part of the intelligence as well as law and order apparatus. It is wilting, wilting, wilting all the time as a result of which we have been seeing tragedies after tragedies. We, the Members of this House, are united on

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

the question of meeting the threat of terrorism. Our hearts will go to those families who have suffered and whose members have died as a result of this tragedy. In the end may I urge upon the Home Minister to be firm in dealing with terrorists and terrorism? To my mind, he has not been firm. He has not been courageous. He has shown a lot of hesitation in dealing with the situation. It calls for courageous act. In this endeavour, I would ask the Government of India to separate the extremists among the Sikhs, to befriend the moderates, those who are sane and those who are sensible and those who have the unity of the country at heart. Those people have got to be befriended. I think the Government of India committed the biggest folly in arresting all people, both the extremists and the moderates together. They should not have done that. As a result of this action, they have lost the sympathies of all the Sikhs. May I ask the Home Minister to see that such a mistake is not committed in future. There are sane and moderate elements. There are sane elements, moderate elements among the Sikhs. They have got to be encouraged, they have got to be strengthened, and they have got to be brought to the negotiating table. Only by this way can we resolve the problem of Punjab. Unless this problem is resolved, I am afraid, terrorism may not stop. Therefore, the issue of Punjab got to be tackled in all seriousness.

श्री दरबारा सिंह (पंजाब) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कितना इंटरैस्ट है हमारे दोस्तों को यहां पर यह इनकी हाजिरी से पता चलता है। मैं थोड़े से अल्फाज में अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। मैंने अपोजीशन की तकरीरें सुनी हैं और हमारे साथियों को भी। प्रोब्लम क्यों आई है, इसके बारे में बहुत कम कहा गया है क्योंकि वे दूर से देखते रहे हैं, नजदीक का उन्हें पता नहीं है पंजाब में जिस प्रोब्लम को आज हम डील कर रहे हैं उसमें हिस्सेदारी किस किस की है, वह मैं कहना नहीं चाहता हूं क्योंकि वह तलख बात है। बहुत सी पार्टियों की मंटींग हुई है। उनमें हमें भी बुलाया गया है। उसमें हम ने पूछा गया

कि क्या हल है इस मसले का? लेकिन किसी भी पार्टी ने यह नहीं कहा ....

(व्यवधान) आप मेरी बात तो सुनिये। वहां किसी ने यह नहीं कहा कि जो यह टेरीस्जिम है, इसमें जो पार्टी लगी हुई है काम करने में, उसको क्यों नहीं हटाते हैं, यह गुरुद्वारा में काम करते हैं। उसके बारे में किसी ने नहीं कहा। यह चलता रहा। मीटिंग्स होती रही। वाइट पेपर में भी बहुत कुछ कहा है और बहुत कुछ नहीं भी कहा गया है जो गुरुद्वारों में हुआ है। किसी ने भी पूछताछ नहीं की। मैंने पिछली दफ्ता भी कांग्रेस की कल्चर के बारे में कहा था। गुरुद्वारों में जो कुछ हुआ है, शायद बाहर भी उतनी खराबो नहीं हुई है जितनी अन्दर हुई है। मैं इसको छोड़ देता हूं। जो गुरुद्वारा के मालिक हैं, जिन्हें छोड़ दिया गया है, उन लोगों को सब मालूम है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि इलैक्शन कैम्पेन के बाद फैसला करेंगे। उन्होंने फैसला किया। यही सब को कहा, सब पार्टियों को बुला कर कहा। अकालियों से भी पूछा। थोड़े दिन हुए उन्होंने सब को बुलाकर कहा कि क्या करना चाहिये। यह प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बहुत बड़ी बात है। उन्होंने सब को कॉन्फिडेंस में लिया। साथ साथ दूसरे लोगों से भी बात करते रहे। उन्होंने कहा कि इसका हल होना चाहिये। जब कोई हल नजदीकी आया तो उसी वक्त टेरीस्जिम मैदान में आ गया। टेरीस्जिस्टों को कौन सरोपा देता है। किसी पार्टी ने भी यह नहीं कहा कि यह गलत बात है। इन्फो सेंट लोगों को मारा जा रहा है, आप इनको सरोपा क्यों दे रहे हो। यह बात किसी ने भी नहीं कही? यह उन्होंने इसलिये नहीं कहा कि एक पोलिटिकल बात के तौर पर वे इसको लेते रहे। इस बात को नहीं समझ रहे थे कि टेरीस्जिम बढ़ रहे हैं। इसमें हिस्सेदारी उन लोगों की भी है जो मोडरेट हैं। उन्होंने यह बयान जरूर दिया कि वे देश का इंटेग्रेशन चाहते हैं, देश को डिस्टेबलाइज करना नहीं चाहते हैं। लेकिन दिल्ली में जो कुछ हुआ है वह सब आपके सामने है। कितनी गाली गलोज दी गई कांग्रेस पार्टी को, मुल्क के



खिलाफ कहा गया, हिन्दुओं के खिलाफ कहा गया। बहुत सी बातें कही गई हैं। उसके बाद भी अगर कुछ कहा है, हांश में आकर कुछ अच्छी बातें कही हैं तो यह अच्छी बातें हैं। गुरुद्वारों के अन्दर दो मूवमन्ट्स चल रही थीं। एक टेरोरिज्म और दूसरे वे जो कसम खाते थे अकाल तख्त पर कि हम मर जायेंगे, आपके साथ रहेंगे। वे ही चुने हुए लोग हैं, जो यह काम कर रहे हैं। जब तक आप इनकी डिलिंग नहीं करेंगे तब तक मसला हल नहीं हो सकता है। कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो डरते हैं और बात नहीं करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन उनकी मदद लेना चाहते हैं, सरकार से अपनी डिमान्ड्स को पूरा करने के लिये। डिमान्ड्स के बारे में बैठकर फैसला करने के बजाय प्रेशर बिल्डअप किया गया कि प्रेशर में हम उसको हासिल कर लेंगे। यह बात आपको जहन में लानी चाहिये। वे जब न कर सके तो आगे बढ़ गये और आगे बढ़कर जो आज आप के सामने दिला और देश के दूसरे हिस्सों में हुआ, मुझे उन फैमलीज के साथ बहुत हमदर्दी है जिनका कत्ल हुआ और इस ढंग से हुआ। यह बन्द नहीं हुआ और न आगे बंद होने वाला है, जल्दी। इसलिये हमें तमाम नेशन के बारे में इसको सोचना चाहिये। आप इसको केवल पंजाब की प्राबलम क्यों लेते हैं, यह हिन्दुस्तान की प्राबलम है। मैंने पहले ही इवाइट पेपर के प्रकाशित होने के समय कहा था कि यह पंजाब की प्राबलम नहीं है यह हिन्दुस्तान की प्राबलम है तो इसको हंसी मजाक में लिया गया था। आज भी मैं कहता हूं कि हम सब को मिलकर बगैर पार्टी का लिहाज किये हम एक नेशन हैं यह मानकर इस पर काम करना चाहिये और इस नेशन को जो तोड़ने की कोशिश करते हैं उनका पूरी तौर पर हम हिसाब किताब करें। यहां कहा गया है कि 1980 से यह शुरू हुआ है। मैं बयान नहीं करना चाहता हूं कि 1977 में क्या हुआ। कुछ लोगों ने वहां पर पंजाब में इल्लीगली हथियार भिड़रवाले के घर तक कैसे पहुंचाये कैसे बेनाभी तौर पर वे वहां जाते रहे, यह मैं आज नहीं कहना चाहता हूं क्योंकि उस समय वहां दूसरी सरकार थी, हमारी

सरकार वहां नहीं थी। उस वक्त यह बिल्डअप हुआ है। इसमें कई लोगों का हाथ है। लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करना नहीं चाहता, आज मैं तल्ब बात नहीं करना चाहता हूं। लेकिन जो कुछ यहां कहा गया है उसका जबाब देना पड़ता है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे, किसी भी पार्टी के साथी ने उस वक्त खड़े होकर यह नहीं कहा कि यह जो हो रहा है वह ठीक नहीं है और जब तक आप इस चीज को नहीं हटाते हम इसके लिये तयार नहीं हैं जो स्पारैडिक किलिंग्स हो रही हैं उसको बंद किया जाय। यहां पर अभी ठीक ही कहा गया है कि जब उनको यहां बात करने के लिये बुलाया गया तो उन्होंने कहा चूंकि वहां स्पारैडिक इन्स्टीट्यूट्स हो गये हैं इसलिये फिर आगे बैठ कर बात कर लेंगे, फैसला कर लेंगे, तय कर लेंगे। यह उनका इन-राइटिंग है। लेकिन जब वापस चले गये तो इसके उलट बयान दिया। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इन सब बातों को भूलकर वे रास्ते पर आना चाहते हैं तो हम नहीं कहते कि वे रास्ते पर न आये, जरूर आये। लेकिन वे डरते हैं इन टेरीरिस्टों से। वे उनसे डरते हैं कि कहीं वे हमको मार न दें और वे वहां फंसे हुये हैं। इसलिये वे इस्तीफा भी दे रहे हैं लेकिन अगर प्रेशर पड़ेगा तो इस्तीफा वापस ले लेंगे। मुझे ऐसा मालूम होता है कि सब इस्तीफा वापस हो जायेंगे क्योंकि गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी के प्रेसीडेंट ने वापस कर दिया, तीन उसके मुखलिफ थे, बाकी सारे वोट उनके हक में थे। कल लैजिस्लेचर्स की मीटिंग होगी उसमें बादल साहब भी वापस कर लेंगे। इसी तरह लोंगोवाल साहब हैं उनकी मीटिंग 21-22 को है। मैं समझता हूं आज जो हिन्दुस्तान की इंटेग्रेटी खतरे में है इसको देखते हुये इस तरह का हुक्मनामा जारी होना चाहिये कि जो कत्ल करने वाले हैं, देश के खिलाफ जो काम करने वाले हैं जो टेरोरिस्ट हैं जो सिख नहीं हैं और उनको गैर-सिख करार देना चाहिये। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जिन हथियारों का प्रयोग हो रहा है वे पाकिस्तान से आये हैं। पाकिस्तान से जो कार सेवा के नाम पर लंगर के लिये आता था उसमें, उन गाड़ियों में हथियार आये हैं। जिन हथियारों का इस्तेमाल किया गया उन

## [ श्री दरबारा सिंह ]

पर लिखा हुआ है और उन पर पाकिस्तान की मोहर है। हरियाणा में भी जो पकड़े गये हैं वे भी पाकिस्तान के बने हुए हैं। ये जो ट्रांजिस्टर हैं वे ट्रांजिस्टर कहां से आये, इसकी प्लानिंग कैसे हुई? हमारी जो सीमा पाकिस्तान के साथ है आप जानते ही हैं कि उसको कास करना मुश्किल नहीं है। इतनी लम्बी चौड़ी सरहद है। सरकार ने इसकी व्यवस्था मजबूत की हुई है लेकिन फिर भी किसी न किसी तरीके से कास कर ही लेते हैं। यह सारी चीजें जो मैं कह रहा हूं, अगर इसको रोकना है तो नेशन के तौर पर रोकें पार्टियों के तौर पर नहीं। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने भी यह कहा है। उन्होंने तीन बातें कही हैं। एक तो कहा है कि आप भी एक्सपेक्ट नहीं करते थे आल इण्डिया स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन पर से बैन उठेगा, वह भी उठा दिया गया। यह भी कहा कि लार्डज रिहा कर दिये जायेंगे। यह भी कहा कि जिनके खिलाफ केस नहीं हैं उनको रिहा करेंगे। सब कुछ कर रहे हैं। यह सब काम सिल-सिलेवार चल रहा है। फिर यह आज टेररिज्म जो हुआ है, कल्लेआम हुआ है, 80 के करीब आदमी मारे गये हैं ट्रांजिस्टर बम से तो इसका नतीजा यह है कि मुलह सफाई होने के नजदीक नहीं आना चाहते हैं (समय की घंटी) मेरा ख्याल तो यह था कि मैं ज्यादा बता सकता हूं लेकिन मुझे अगर वक्त कम है तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हम सब पार्टियों को मिल कर के एक बात का फैसला करना चाहिये कि हम एक नेशन हैं और अगर एक नेशन हैं, हम कम्युनिटीज मुख्तलिफ हो सकती हैं। मैं तो सरकार को भी यह कहूंगा कि क्या आपने यह नहीं सुना, अमरीका में उनकी जो लॉबी है वहां पर उसकी अनेकसी में बैठ कर क्या हो रहा है, उसमें कौन-कौन लोग शामिल हो कर के क्या-क्या बयानबाजी कर रहे हैं। पंजाब का मसला जो है वह वहां रखें या न रखें लेकिन अखबारों में ले आए हैं, यह कह रहे हैं कि हम डिसकस करेंगे पंजाब का मसला। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कहां अमरीका है और कहा पंजाब है? हम अमरीका का मसला कभी डिसकस नहीं करते और वे जबरदस्ती अगर पंजाब का मसला डिसकस करेंगे तो यह गलत बात है। अमरीका ने

अपने हथियार कैसे पाकिस्तान में पाइल-अप किये हैं और पाकिस्तान आज उन हथियारों को इस्तेमाल कर के हिन्दुस्तान को डिस्टे-ब्लाइज करना चाहता है। जो चुने हैं वे टेररिस्ट्स के नाम पर यहां आते हैं। मैं कहता हूं कि जो इस जगह आज दिल्ली में हुआ है इसका रियेक्शन जो लोगों में था, आज वह रियेक्शन और होने वाला है। मैं समझता हूं कोई पार्टियां ऐसी लगीं हुई हैं, पार्टियों का मतलब यह नहीं कि आप जो यहां बैठ हुये हैं, वह चाहे जो कुछ करते हैं, ऐसे लोग हैं जो चाहते हैं कि हिंदू और सिख का तनाजा बढ़ जाए। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि टेररिस्ट्स की यह पालिसी है कि वे पंजाब में जो हिंदू बैठे हैं उनको कैसे टेरराइज कर के, उनको मार कर के कैसे उनको उठा सकते हैं और सिख जो हैं वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान से वापिस आ जायें। उन की यह स्कीम है, उसको हम कैसे रोक सकते हैं? उसके लिये कोई वजा-कता बननी चाहिये। मैं तो सरकार से कहूंगा कि इनको चाहिये कि वह रिलीजन और पोलिटिक्स की जो बात है इसको किसी कानून से अलाहिदा करें। यह कब तक चलेगा? किसी मठ से, गुम्बारे से, मन्दिर से, किसी जगह से उठ कर, बात कह दें कि हमारे हाथ में सब कुछ है जो कुछ चाहे कर सकते हैं। अगर इसको नहीं करेंगे तो कम्युनल पार्टी कायम रखेंगे... (व्यवधान)...

## [ उपसभापति पीठासीन हुयीं ]

इस तरह से कम्युनिज्म इतनी खतरनाक सूरत अख्तियार करेगा कि हम सब मिल कर भी उसका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसलिये अफिशियलज को ज्यादा ताकत देने के लिये कोई वजा-कता बनाएं, गवर्नमेंट के द्वारा स्टरेनेस्ट एक्शन लेने के लिये कोई वजा-कता बनायें जैसे कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा है एक अमेंडमेंट इस सेशन के अन्दर जरूर लानी चाहिये। मैं यह कहता हूं कि बहुत अच्छी बात है अगर हम महात्मा गांधी के पद पर चल सकें। यह बहुत अच्छी बात है लेकिन हम चलेंगे, कांग्रेस वाले। यह सरकार का काम नहीं है। सरकार का काम तो डील करना है। अगर उनके सामने कोई किसी को किल करता है तो अपोजीशन वालो आप ही बताइये कि क्या पुलिस शांति

से खड़ी रहे। वह नहीं खड़ी रहेगी क्योंकि उसको तो डील करना होगा। हमने यह डील किया है तभी हमारे ऊपर बम्बार्डमेंट होता रहा है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट को अपने ढंग से डील करना चाहिये। हम आर्गनाइजेशनल तौर पर सब मिल कर जितनी भी आर्गनाइजेशंस हैं डिमांडस्टे करें, यह न करें कि गवर्नमेंट पर इल्जामबाजी करने रहें कि यह बिलकुल फेल हुये हैं इनका एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन फेल हुआ है। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि 1977 की बात खोल दू कि वहाँ पर क्या-क्या हुआ, वहाँ भी और यहाँ भी क्या-क्या हुआ, हमारी इंटेलीजेंस को कितनी खतरनाक हालत से खराब कर दिया गया था। मैं यह सब नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि आज इसका वक्त नहीं है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Darbara Singhji, we have 15 speakers from your side and about 10 from the Opposition. So, please finish.

श्री दरबारा सिंह : मैं अन्त में कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ आप अपनी पार्टी काम के लिये करें जरूर करें, क्योंकि डेमोक्रेसी में किसी को रोक नहीं है लेकिन एक रोक जरूर है कि हम ऐसी कम्यूनल पार्टीज का जो आज हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने के लिये बाहर की ताकतों का इस्तेमाल भी करना चाहती हैं—मुकाबला तो करें। अगर यह नहीं हो सकता तो भाषण जितने मर्जी दें लें, कांग्रेस के खिलाफ कह लें हम तो वेडेड हैं इस जान के लिये कि टेरोरिज्म हर कीमत पर खत्म होना चाहिये और करेंगे। इन्हीं अल्फाज के साथ शुक्रिया।

उपसभापति : श्री चतुरानन मिश्र । आप उस समय बोलना चाह रहे थे ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : चाह रहा था जरूर लेकिन आप नहीं चाह रही थी ।

उपसभापति : आपका टाइम नेट आता है कृपया जो कुछ कहें संक्षेप में कहें ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : संक्षेप ही करवाया है। हमसे शुरू कीजिये वह अलग बात है ।

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उपसभापति महोदया, अभी जो गंभीर घटना घटी है वह हम समझते हैं कि कोई आइसोलेटेड फिनामिना नहीं है। इस प्रकार की टेरोरिस्ट कार्यवाहियों के लिये इस देश को अभ्यस्त होना पड़ेगा। सरकार टेरोरिज्म को रोकने में असफल रही है। यह कई वर्षों से चल रहा है और अभी जो घटना घटी है मैं सरकार से इस विचार में सहमत हूँ कि उनके माडरेट्स के साथ बात करके इस समस्या का निदान निकाला जाये। यह बात सही है लेकिन उनके माडरेट भी ऐसे हैं जो इंदिरा जी के हत्यारे को माला पहनाते हैं, तो माडरेट्स के बारे में भी बड़ा शक हो जाता है। उनके हेड प्रीस्ट ऐसे हैं जो इतनी हत्याओं के बाद कुछ नहीं बोले। फिर हेड प्रीस्ट और हेड बुचर में क्या फर्क होता है। एक अजीबोगरीब बात हो गयी है इसलिये मैं पहली बात कहना चाहूँगा कि यह राष्ट्र अब इस बात के लिये तैयार हो जाये, अभ्यस्त हो जाये, टु लिव विद दीज टेरोरिस्ट्स। इसको एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझिये और राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझ कर इसके लिये काम किया जाये। लेकिन जिस ढंग से शासक पार्टी के लोगों ने बहस की उससे राष्ट्रीय समस्या की झलक नहीं मिली। वे हम लोगों को चुनाव में दोष देते थे कि आप आनंदपुर रिजोल्यूशन मानते हैं तो अब प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बोलते हुए, चलते चलाते सब आपोजीशन पार्टीज को एक ही डंडे से हाँक दिया। अगर यही रवैया है, सहयोग नहीं चाहते हैं, झगड़ा चाहते हैं... (व्यवधान)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Madam, can we have some idea of the timeframe for this discussion? If Members want, you can extend the discussion by two hours, four hours, six hours. But I would like to know what is the time-frame.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : This question is being raised only when Mr. Chaturanan Mishra is speaking.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Mr. Mishra, I am not interrupting you.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : This question should have been raised earlier.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Madam, can we have an idea of the time-frame of this debate so that we will attune ourselves to your decision.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will give my decision. We decided that it should be a two-and-a-half hour discussion. But it is not the Chair which is extending the time, it is the Members who are extending. They are speaking longer. Therefore, it is extended.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana) : Madam, I am on a point of order I would like to know. If two-and-a-half hours is the time set for this discussion, what effort has been made to limit the debate to the period of two and a half hours? If this has been allowed, if this has been allowed to drag on, if Members have been allowed to speak longer, why is this question is being raised when Mr. Chaturanan Mishra is speaking? This question should have been raised much earlier, before the debate started.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mohun'ta, if you have been vigilant, you would have seen that when Mr. Advani was speaking, I rang the bell. I rang the bell whoever was speaking, whether on the right or left. Unfortunately, I have no device to stop the Members from speaking longer, until and unless I ask them. I ask the reporters not to record the speech further, which I do not want to do. This is a very important matter. This is a very important discussion. Let people speak.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : तो उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपसे यह कह रहा था कि इस तरह की जो घटना घटी है उसके लिए एक राष्ट्रीय अभियान की जरूरत है। मैं इस विचार से सहमत हूँ कि बिना एक राष्ट्रीय अभियान चलाए हुए इस समस्या का निदान नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन इसमें अपोजीशन के नाम पर अब हम कम्युनिस्ट लोगों को कहा जाए कि आप धार्मिक पार्टियों को स्पॉट करते हैं या आप धार्मिक पार्टी हैं। हर बोट के ठाड़म में आप लोग बोलते हैं

कि ये कम्युनिस्ट लोग धर्म को नहीं मानते हैं और यहाँ पर खड़े हो कर त्रैकेट कर देते हैं उन तमाम पार्टियों के साथ हम लोगों को हम धर्म में विश्वास करते हैं, कैसे आपको विश्वास होगा? इसीलिए आपको एक राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण बनाना चाहिए, पहली बात आपके लिए यह जरूरी है। अब मैं तीन बातों की तरफ आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करूँगा। पहली बात, सरकार की क्या फेल्योर है? राजनीतिक पार्टियों के क्या फेल्योर हैं सरकार का फेल्योर यह है कि इस तरह से बड़े पैमाने पर एक राज्य में नहीं, राजधानी सहित कई राज्यों में इस तरह का बडबडकारी बाण्ड हुआ और टैरिस्ट्स ने ऐसा किया। सरकार को इसकी भनक भी नहीं लगी। यह अखबार में आया है कि हमारे इंटेलिजेंस के लोगों ने रिपोर्ट दी और सरकार ने इस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। इसीलिए वह जो घटना घटी है और 80 आदमी मारे गए हैं, उसके लिए सरकार जिम्मेदार है। अगर लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी होते तो वह खुद इस्तीफा दे दिए होते। लेकिन वह तो अपनी परंपरा आने साथ लेकर चले गए। लेकिन मैं मांग करता हूँ नैतिकता के आधार पर, कोई मुझसे उनकी दुश्मनी नहीं है, मैं अच्छा आदमी समझता हूँ गृह मंत्री को, गृह मंत्री इस्तीफा दे दें और लोगों को विश्वास दिला दें कि दूसरा जो आयेगा वह सख्ती से कार्यवाही करेगा।

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री को तो बहुत जगह जाना है, अभी विदेश में जाना है, बहुत काम है, राष्ट्रपति जी से कहिए कि वह पंजाब का दौरा शुरू करें, विभिन्न पार्टियों के साथ, कम से कम जो सैक्युलर पार्टीज हैं, जो तैयार हैं, वह उनके साथ जा करके कैम्पेन करें कि धर्म को राजनीति में मिला करके राजनीति नहीं चलाई जाए। वह सब खिलाफ है, आपकी पार्टी को कहते हैं कि उसके खिलाफ है। राष्ट्रपति तो सभी के हैं, हमारे भी हैं, वे नेतृत्व करें और हम लोग साथ देंगे और यह टैरिस्टों के खिलाफ यह

धर्म को राजनीति में मिला करके चलने के खिलाफ, राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए एक कैम्पेन पंजाब में चलाया जाए। उसमें मतभेद भी नहीं होगा। क्योंकि राजीव गांधी जी से मतभेद हो सकता है, वह प्रधान मंत्री हैं, गृह मंत्री जी से मतभेद हो सकता है, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी से मतभेद नहीं हो सकता है, वह तो Caesar's wife is beyond suspicion,

इसीलिए उनसे आप कहिए कि आप ऐसा करें। दूसरी बात यह कि हमको खतरा है। हमारी जनता ने इस बार बहुत अच्छा बिहेवियर किया है। आपकी सरकार ने टाइमली फौज भेज दी। यह भी अच्छा काम किया है। लेकिन हमारी जनता ने कांशसली काम किया है, कोई अनटूबर्ड हैपनिंग नहीं हुई है और अगरचे बहुत बड़ा प्रोवोकेशन था, लेकिन हमको उस जनता को बधाई देनी चाहिए, तमाम लोगों को और उन मित्र भाइयों को भी बधाई देते हैं जो पहली बार मैदान में आ करके आलोचना करने लगे हैं, निंदा करने लगे हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि हमारे देश में सैक्युलरिज्म की ताकत बहुत मजबूत है। इसको ले करके हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं और उनको हरा सकते हैं जो हमारे देश को विखंडित करना चाहते हैं। मेरे जैसे आदमी को कोई शक नहीं है और हम लोगों ने कई बार कहा है कि इसमें अमरीका का हाथ है, इसमें पाकिस्तान का हाथ है, वह भारत को डी-स्टैबलाइज करना चाहता है। हम लोगों ने कई बार कहा है। लेकिन सरकार शायद हिन्दू रिलीजन में विश्वास करती है, क्योंकि उसमें बहाने जो हैं, हसबैंड के बड़े भाई का नाम नहीं लेती हैं। तो हमारी सरकार उस भैंसासुर का नाम नहीं लेगी, अमरीका का नाम नहीं लेगी। दरबारा सिंह जी ले लेते हैं, लेकिन सरकार कभी नहीं ले सकती है। जब आप ही नहीं कहते हैं तो हम क्या करें। हम तो बार-बार कहते हैं कि उन लोगों का हाथ है। तीसरी बात मैं चाहूंगा कि हिन्दू बैकलैश नहीं हो, इसके लिए अदर दैन पंजाब पाटर्स में नार्दन इंडिया

मे भी हम लोग सभी मिल करके एक कार्यक्रम बना करके, इस अभियान के लिए, राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए संघर्ष करें।

अंतिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जो लोग मारे गए हैं, आपने एक्स-ग्रेशिया कह दिया है, पता नहीं एक्सग्रेशिया क्या है, लेकिन आप उनको भारी रकम दीजिए। आप नैक्सलाइट्स में उनकी तुलना मत कीजिए। इसीलिए कि प्रधान मंत्री भी नैक्सलाइट्स बोले हैं, नैक्सलाइट्स के मामले में, मैं उनका हिमायती नहीं हूँ, उनका आलोचक हूँ, लेकिन वहां Games of rules are known. ये जो टैरॉरिस्ट्स हैं इन्होंने इन्फॉर्मेट आदमियों को किल करना शुरू कर दिया, किसी को भी मार दिया, लेकिन नैक्सलाइट्स मारते हैं पुलिस वालों को मारते हैं सब जाना हुआ रहता है कि किसको क्या करेंगे और जिससे विरोध है उसी को मारते हैं, लेकिन यह तो गरीबों को मार देते हैं, कोई कही जा रहा है तो उसको मार रहे हैं, इसके अगेन्स्ट कोई रूल नहीं है। अगर कल वह जहर मिला दें यानी पानी में जो ड्रिफिंग वाटर है, जिसे हम पीते हैं, उसमें जहर मिला दें तो हम सब लोग मारे जा सकते हैं। नैक्सलाइट यह काम नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए यह धर्म का काम नहीं है, बूचर खाने का काम है, अन्याचारियों का काम है और पूरे राष्ट्र को राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझकर इसका मुकाबला करना चाहिए और सरकार अपनी नीति में परिवर्तन कर लोगों को कॉफीडेंस में ले। बार-बार यह न कहे कि हम सख्ती से कार्यवाही करेंगे। यह तो आप तीन साल से कह रहे हैं सख्ती से, सख्ती से। लेकिन लोग मारे जा रहे हैं। तो किस सख्ती से कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं? वह सख्ती कहाँ है।

श्री सुल्तान सिंह (हरियाणा) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जो देश में वातावरण पैदा हुआ है उग्रवादियों से, उससे सारा देश चिंतित है। आज इस हाऊस में प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में एक बात कही कि हमको ऐसे हावात पैदा नहीं होने देने चाहिए, जिससे जो

[ श्री सुल्तान सिंह ]

उग्रवादी चाहते हैं, वह इस देश में हो। अडवाणी साहब जब बोल रहे थे, तो उन्होंने एक बात कही थी। उनका कहना था कि यह सारी कार्यवाहियाँ पंजाब में 1980 के बाद पैदा हुई। मेडम, आपको मालूम है कि अगर मैं गलती नहीं करता, तो आज जो पंजाब में हो रहा है, यह सारी बात 1977 के बाद पैदा हुई हैं। यह 1977 दुर्भाग्य का एक ऐसा साल था इस देश के लिए कि जिसमें मेकुलर हाथों से ताकत निकल कर कम्युनल, रीजनल और उन लोगों के हाथों में चली गई और उसका अल्टीमेट यह हुआ। इन दो ढाई साल के अरसे में उन सारे कम्युनल फोर्सेज ने अपनी ताकत बनानी शुरू कर दी। मुझे याद है पंजाब का बटवारा अकाली मांगते थे, पंजाबी सूबा मांगते थे। लेकिन पंजाबी सूबा बनने के बाद भी अकाली पोलि टीकल पावर हासिल नहीं कर सके। उनकी तादाद इतनी नहीं थी कि वह कभी अपनी सरकार बना सकें। उनकी जब भी सरकार बनी पंजाब के अंदर, तो उसमें उस वक्त की जनसंघ, या उस वक्त की जनता पार्टी और आज की बी० जे० पी० और आज की जनता पार्टी की ताकत से बनी। उसका नतीजा क्या निकला? उस ताकत को हाथ में लेकर उन्होंने एक नई प्लानिंग शुरू कर दी, नया तरीका शुरू कर दिया और वह कोनसा था? मैं पहले भी इस हाऊस में कह चुका हूँ और आज भी कहता हूँ कि 1978 में जो सरकार बनी थी पंजाब के अंदर, उसमें प्रकाश सिंह बादल मुख्य मंत्री थे, बलदेव प्रकाश जी उनके साथ मंत्री थे और बैशाखी 1978 को 16 निरंकारियों को मारा गया था। यही वह दिन था, जिस दिन उग्रवाद शुरू हुआ और यही नहीं... अडवाणी जी आ गए हैं। तो अडवाणी जी, आपने कहा कि यह 1980 के बाद हुआ। मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूँ और आज भी कहता हूँ कि जब पंजाब की सरकार में प्रकाश सिंह बादल मुख्यमंत्री थे, बलदेव प्रकाश जी उनके मंत्रिमंडल में मिनिस्टर थे, तो बैशाखी वर्ष 1978 में 16 निरंकारियों को मारा गया। तो उस समय

आपने इंटेलीजेन्स का यह सवाल नहीं किया। उस वक्त इंटेलीजेन्स कहाँ थी? वह फेल थी या पास थी? यह वही दिन था, जिस दिन उग्रवाद शुरू हुआ और यह उग्रवाद बढ़ते-बढ़ते यहाँ तक आ पहुँचा है।

मेडम, इसके साथ-साथ अक्टूबर, 1978 वह था, जिसमें प्रकाश सिंह बादल चीफ मिनिस्टर पंजाब और वह चीफ मिनिस्टर पंजाब, अकाली दल के नहीं थे, जनता पार्टी के मुख्यमंत्री जनता पार्टी, उसके कुलीशन में थी, उसके साथ थे। उस प्रकाश सिंह बादल ने प्रस्ताव रखा लुधियाना कांफ्रेंस में, आल इंडिया अकाली दल की कांफ्रेंस में, जिसके जगदेव सिंह तलवंडी अध्यक्ष थे, आनंदपुर साहिब प्रस्ताव का। उस वक्त जनता पार्टी ने, प्रकाश सिंह बादल का साथ नहीं छोड़ा उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि आप यह प्रस्ताव पास कर रहे हैं, इसलिए हम आपकी कोइलिशन से जा रहे हैं। बाकायदा प्रकाश सिंह बादल मुख्यमंत्री बने रहे, उसके केबिनेट के अंदर जनता पार्टी के लोग मिनिस्टर बने रहे। इसके बाद आज वह कहते हैं कि सरकार की इंटेलीजेन्स फेल हो गई है, सरकार की यह चीज फेल हो गई है। मैं तो आपको एक बात कहता हूँ कि इस देश में कभी यह बात सोच ही कोई नहीं सकता था, कभी ख्याल भी नहीं कर सकता था कि यह बातावरण पैदा हो जाएगा और यह बातावरण क्यों पैदा हुआ? उसकी वजह यह रही कि विरोधी दलों ने कभी सीरियसली उस बात को नहीं लिया। बार-बार इस हाऊस में इंदिरा जी ने कहा, बाहर भी कहा अकाली दल के लोगो को कि यह मूवमेंट जो स्टार्ट कर रहे हो, यह मूवमेंट स्टार्ट तो कर सकते हो, लेकिन इस मूवमेंट पर काबू नहीं रख सकोगे।

मैं आज भी कहता हूँ कि लोंगोवाल साहब कुछ कहें, बादल साहब कुछ कहें, टोहरा साहब कुछ कहें। वे आज भी आग से खेल रहे हैं। आज शायद उन्होंने भी इसको महसूस करना शुरू कर दिया है।

कि शक्ति आज उनके हाथों से निकल गयी है। गांधी जी बड़े सयाने थे। इस देश के मूवमेंट चलते थे। थोड़ा सा चौराचोरी का वातावरण हुआ था, अपने मूवमेंट को वापिस ले लिया। एक वायोलेंट की बात हुई थी, इसी बात पर गांधी जी ने सारे मूवमेंट को विद-डा कर लिया था। लगातार दो-तीन साल से वायोलेंट हो रहा है। लेकिन आज तक भी अकालियों ने अपने मूवमेंट को वापिस नहीं लिया, उसको कंडेम नहीं किया और बातचीत करने के लिए मूवमेंट को पोस्टपोन कर रखा है। लेकिन उसको विद-डा नहीं किया। यही लोगोवाल साहब थे, जो बाहर निकलकर आए और पहुंचे सीधे भिडरा-वाला के घर और उनके पिताजी से ब्लेसिंग लेने लगे।

मैं एक बात उपसभापति महोदया, आपके माध्यम से अपने गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूं कि गृहमंत्री जी अंग्रेजों की कुछ चीजें हमने इनहोरेट कर रखी है और वह कौनसी है, वह है—अंग्रेजों के राज में मजहब के आधार पर वोटिंग होती थी कि मुसलमान मुसलमान को वोट देगा, सिख-सिख को वोट देगा। हिन्दू-हिन्दू को वोट देगा और जब ऐसा वोटिंग पैटर्न था 1946 तक। तो लोगों ने मजहब का इस्तेमाल करना शुरू कर दिया वोटिंग के लिए। अकाली पार्टी गुरुद्वारे से निकल कर वोट मांगने जाते थे, मुस्लिम लीग मस्जिद से वोट मांगने जाते थे, हिन्दू महासभा मंदिर से वोट मांगने जाते थे। लेकिन अब तो हिन्दुस्तान आजाद है। अब तो अंग्रेज इस देश में नहीं हैं और अंग्रेज जो चीजें छोड़कर गए हैं उससे हमारा छुटकारा होना चाहिए। हिन्दुस्तान का जो रेप्रेजेंटेशन आफ पीपुल एक्ट है उसको अमेंड करना चाहिए उसमें परिवर्तन करना चाहिए उसमें तब्दीली करनी चाहिए और उसमें यह पाबंदी लानी चाहिए कि कोई अगर मस्जिद से निकल कर वोट मांगने जाएगा मुस्लिम लीग के नाम पर तो वह डिस्क्वालिफाई होगा मेम्बरशिप से, कोई गुरुद्वारे से निकलकर जाएगा अकाली दल का झंडा लेकर वोट मांगने तो उसकी मेम्बरशिप डिस्क्वालिफाई होगी।

हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर जो भी चुनाव लड़ना चाहता है वह जब हमारा कंस्टीट्यूशन सेकुलर है जब प्री-एंबल... (व्यवधान)...

एक माननीय सदस्य : मुस्लिम लीग से कोएलेशन करना चाहिए...

श्री सुलतान सिंह : मैं तो कह रहा हूं कि इसको बंद कर दें। आज ममझ नहीं पाए। मैं तो यही बोल रहा हूं कि—हमारे कंस्टीट्यूशन में एक अमेंडमेंट लाएं कि हमारा कंस्टीट्यूशन डेमोक्रेटिक होगा, सेकुलर होगा, सोशलिस्ट होगा तो फिर सेकुलर कंस्टीट्यूशन में गुरुद्वारे का इस्तेमाल कैसे आ जाएगा, सेकुलर में मस्जिद का इस्तेमाल कैसे आ जाएगा, सेकुलर में मंदिर का इस्तेमाल कैसे आ जाएगा? तो मेहरबानी करके गृहमंत्री जी आप फोरन रेप्रेजेंटेशन आफ पीपुल एक्ट को अमेंड करें और चुनाव का कानून ऐसा बनाएं कि कोई आदमी मंदिर, मस्जिद और गुरुद्वारे का प्रयोग चुनाव में करे तो उसकी मेम्बरशिप डिस्क्वालिफाई कर दी जाए और वह मेम्बर न रह सके। जैसे अभी सरकार डिफेक्शन का कानून लाई है जिसके अनुसार कोई मेम्बर अगर दल-बदल करेगा, तो वह मेम्बर नहीं रहेगा... ऐसा कानून आप ला सकते हैं कि कोई धर्म की, भाषा की बात करेगा तो मेम्बर नहीं रहेगा। ऐसा होने पर यह मसला हल हो सकता है और मैं ज्यादा समय आप का नहीं लेता, पर दुबारा कहता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि इस बात के ऊपर सारी पार्टियों का एक मत होना चाहिए...

एक माननीय सदस्य : एक्सेप्ट योर पार्टी।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : मेरी पार्टी की बात क्या करते हैं। मैं इस बात का पोलिटिकल कैपिटल बनाना नहीं चाहता। इस की पोलिटिकल कैपिटल बनाने की बात जनता पार्टी ने की जिस की वजह से यह सब हो रहा है। आनन्दपुर साहिब का रेजोल्यूशन जनता पार्टी के राज में पास हुआ, निरंकारियों को मारा गया जनता पार्टी के राज में (व्यवधान) और मैं जानता हूं कि आप जिस तरह से अकालियों के साथ मिले हुए हैं...

उपसभापति : आप उन की बात का जवाब मत दीजिए । आप मेरी तरफ देखिये ।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : तो मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहता हूँ कि कुरा करके हिन्दुस्तान के इस कानून को बदलो और यह डिस्क्वालिफिकेशन बना दो तो यही मनला नहीं, बहुत सारे मामले हल हो जाएंगे । न उग्रवादी रहेंगे और न यह बगड़ा रहेगा । इतनी मेरी अपील है । मैं ज्यादा नहीं बोलना चाहता क्योंकि और दूसरे मैसेज को भी बोलना है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि मंत्री जी मेरी बात को मानेंगे ।

**SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA:**

Madam, we are passing through a very critical phase in history. Today we stand at the crossroads where a direction also leads towards disintegration of the country. All efforts should be made, all solutions must be directed towards one aim and objective and that is to keep this country one, to save the unity of this country and to fight against those tendencies whose aim is to 'disintegrate this country. On this point there are no two opinions either on this side of the House or on that side of the House. But the unfortunate thing is that the debate today has acquired such a low profile, the debate has been so lowered that instead of going ahead for a solution on the Punjab problem, we are running away from it. All speeches on that side of the House have been directed towards censuring the Opposition as if the Opposition people are the only people in this country who are interested in creating an imbalance in the country, as if the Opposition parties are the only people in this whole country who are not interested in a peaceful settlement of any outstanding issue. If this debate was aimed at finding faults on either side, I could have catalogued a number of points for you to reconsider where you have gone wrong and how we have reached such a situation today where this problem of terrorism has acquired such ugly proportions and is today beyond the reach of solution. A number of points I could have catalogued, but I do not want to go into it. Today I am trying to suggest that we are in a situation where we should forget what has happened earlier. Let history decide as to

who was responsible for bringing the country to such a sorry pass. I request people on your side of the House: don't dabble into this question as to who created this situation because if you go deep into it, you will find that you are the culprit, not this side. You are in charge of the whole show. This baby is yours. You have nurtured it to such an extent and in such a manner that we are faced with a situation where we find terrorism today. We want you today to forget all those things. We are prepared to forget and start from a clean slate to find out a real solution to the Punjab problem. Don't take it to be a Punjab problem. It is a national problem and to solve this national problem, you need a national consensus. And you must aspire in the best possible manner to take all sides of this House and the parties outside the House into confidence and sit round a table with them to find a lasting solution to this knotty problem. By keeping on throwing mud at us you are not going to reach anywhere. You want our cooperation. In the same breath you criticise us. Some vague statements have been made by the honourable Shri Shiv Shankar that the Opposition parties have not cooperated with them, that the Opposition parties are helping the Akali party or the other parties to raise communal issues. Kindly don't make such vague statements in this House. If you mean to discredit any political party on any particular point, be bold enough to say in the House so that you can give them a befitting reply or the concerned Opposition parties learn that they are communal parties. But don't make any vague statements; at least this situation today does not call for throwing mud at others. You are not going to reach anywhere by that. We are interested that you find a solution, we are interested that this must stop; at the same time we are interested that you don't try to make a political capital out of every ugly incident that occurs. What has been happening uptill now is that those forces which are responsible for creating terrorism have been directly or indirectly been given a fillip by the ruling party just to achieve certain political gains, minor political gains. I would say, don't take the country for a ride, don't spoil the whole situation, you must take the cooperation of others, don't throw mud, you seek our co-



operation and we will give it to you. I can tell you, we can undergo an exercise in debating a sacrifice to any extent provided you are sincere about the matter and you want to solve the problem.

The first point made by every Member on that side of the House is that these extremist activities emanated from the Akalis. I do not know, it may be; but you have no evidence with you. Till today you are not in a position to name a single person who is a member of the Akali party and who has implanted these bombs at the various places. You do not even know whether they are Sikhs by religion. You only know that there have been certain bomb explosions and you have drawn a conclusion that because there have been bomb explosions, therefore, they must have been committed by the Sikhs. This proposition is entirely wrong. *(Interruption)* Then I want to know who are the people who are responsible for these terrorist activities and if these people are not known to you, whether they are Indians or whether they are foreign nationals... *(Interruption)* and if the aim and object is of creating hatred between the Sikhs and the non-Sikhs or between the Sikhs and the Hindus, who are the people who are going to benefit by it, whether they are from that side of the House or from this side of the House, any political party, you name that political party that this is the political party which is creating this chaos, that this is the political party which gains from out of such chaos, you name it, and if you cannot name that political party or those persons or their religion or whether they are foreign nationals or whether they are Indian nationals, then, kindly make an investigation into it before publicly accusing anybody baselessly which does not solve the problem. We understand that the people of Punjab do not want any trouble around their houses, they do not want their people to be killed, they are not interested in creating chaos and disturbance. Why cannot you get their cooperation in apprehending the culprits, in apprehending the people who indulge in these activities. I cannot understand how the police can fail. The police, if it is properly equipped—it may fail once, it may fail at two points or at three places or four places—cannot fail throughout. Till today, right from the

time that such extremist activities started in Punjab you do not have information of any person, you do not have information which is their headquarters, which is their monitoring centre, from where they get explosives, from where their arms and ammunition come, who are the people responsible for it, how those people are guided, how do they manoeuvre these things. After all, what has happened in Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and elsewhere is

not something that can be called 7 P.M. sporadic. These acts reflect a proper design and a proper scheme. *(Time Bell Rings)*. I will just conclude now.

Madam, it is a pity that with all the Intelligence that you have, as Members on the other side say, with all the police forces at your command, and with all the necessary infrastructure with you which is required for detecting crimes, till today you have not been able to tell the world who those people are. If, with all these at your command, you are not able to tell who those people are, I am sorry to say, you are nowhere near any solution. Therefore, I would like to say one thing. Leave your vanity, come down to the earth, do not have any hesitation, and talk to the people on the other side. Ask the people on the other side of the House, call them and have consultations with them. If you have consultations with them, it will be easier for you to reach a stage where it will be possible for you to see how this problem can be tackled. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Miss Khaparde.

कमारी सरोज खापड़े (महाराष्ट्र):  
उपसभापति महोदया, दो-तीन दिनों से दिल्ली में व दिल्ली के आस-पास के प्रान्तों में जो हिंसाजनक घटनाएँ हुई हैं, हो रही हैं उस पर हम चर्चा कर रहे हैं। महोदया, दो घंटे से...

उपसभापति : दो घंटे से नहीं तीन घंटे से।

कमारी सरोज खापड़े : तीन घंटे से जो चर्चा इस सदन में चल रही है उस चर्चा को सुनते-सुनते मुझे इस चर्चा के दौरान कुछ

### [कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें]

वर्ष पहले दिल्ली के लाल किले से स्व-साम्राज्ञी लता जी ने पंडित जवाहरलाल जी के जमाने में एक गीत गाया था। उस गीत की पक़्तिया याद आ रही हैं। उस गीत की पक़्तिया यह थी :

ए मेरे बतन के लोगों जरा आंख में भर लो पानी,

जो शहीद हुए हैं उनकी, जरा याद करो कुर्बानी।

मैंने इस गीत की पक़्तिया इस लिये सदन में सुनाई कि आज वक्त आ गया है कि हम इस देश की आजादी के लिये लड़ने वाले बहादुरों को याद करें। देश की आजादी के लिये लड़ने वाले उस जमाने के हमारे नेता, उस जमाने के नौजवान, हिन्दू, सिख, ईसाई, मुस्लिम सभी कौम के लोग उस समय आजादी की लड़ाई में शामिल हुए थे। आजादी की लड़ाई में भाग लेने वाले लोगों की, मैंने अगर नाम की शुरुआत की तो कुछ लोगों का नाम तो मैं ले सकूंगी और कुछ लोगों का नाम नहीं ले सकूंगी। लेकिन फिर भी मेरा फर्ज बनता है कि नाम लूं। आजादी की लड़ाई में लड़ने वाले महात्मा गांधी, सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल, लोकमान्य गंगाधर तिलक, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, राजगुरु, मोती लाल जी, स्वरूपा रानी, कमला जी, इंदिरा गांधी जी, शहीद भगत सिंह, एनी बीसेंट, मौलाना अब्दुल कलाम आजाद, इन सब लोगों का जब मैं नाम लेती हू तो आपको यह महसूस होगा कि इन सारे नामों में कोई भी किसी एक कौम का नेता शामिल नहीं था, सारे कौम के लोग आजादी की लड़ाई में शामिल थे। अंग्रेजों की नीति के विरुद्ध जब हम लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे तो हमारे सामने एक ही उद्देश्य था देश की आजादी। उस देश की आजादी को हासिल करने के लिये हमने जिस महत्व को जाना उस महत्व को जानने के बाद जिस तरह से आंदोलन में भाग लिया उस भाग को जब याद करते हैं तो ये सारी बातें याद आती हैं कि क्या देश की आजादी हमने आज के दिन के लिये ली थी कि आजाद हिन्दुस्तान के लोग भाषा के नाम पर, प्रांत के नाम पर, जाति के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर लड़ा करें

और एक दूसरे से अलग होने की बात बोलें, यह किसी भी दृष्टि से उचित नहीं है। दुर्भाग्य से आज हमारे देश में इस तरह की अलग होने की बात कही जा रही है। पंजाब का हिन्दुस्तान में एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। यह हिन्दुस्तान का एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा है। जिस प्रकार से हम शरीर के किसी अवयव को अलग नहीं कर सकते हैं उसी तरह से पंजाब को भी भारत से अलग नहीं किया जा सकता है। तीन-चार आस-पास के प्रांतों में और विशेषकर दिल्ली में ट्रांजिस्टर बम की घटनायें हो रही हैं। इसको देखने के बाद कई बातें दिमाग में आती हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि इसके पीछे आतंकवादियों का यह इरादा होगा कि हम लोग ट्रांजिस्टर बम का आंदोलन यहां पर दिल्ली में फैलाए और यहां पर हिंसा का वातावरण पैदा हो। नान-सिखों के मन में सिखों के प्रति नफरत की भावना पैदा हो। शायद इसी हेतु से उन्होंने यह आंदोलन यहां पर शुरू किया है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहती हू कि सिखों, हिन्दुओं, मुसलमानों, ईसाइयों आदि सारे धर्म वालों को, हमारी सारी जनता को कोई भी अलग नहीं कर सकता है। मैं समझती हू कि चाहे कितनी भी नफरत पैदा की जाय, ट्रांजिस्टर बमों के माध्यम से, हिंसा के माध्यम से कितनी भी नफरत पैदा की जाए, मेरा विश्वास है कि नान-सिख कम्युनिटी के मन में कभी भी किसी प्रकार से भी सिख कम्युनिटी के खिलाफ नफरत की भावना नहीं पैदा हो सकती है। आज मैं इस अवसर पर अपने देशवासियों को विशेषतः धन्यवाद देना चाहती हू कि इतनी सारी खराबियों के बावजूद, हिंसा होने के बावजूद, उन्होंने किसी भी प्रकार से रिएक्ट नहीं किया। इस काण्ड में जिन परिवारों के लोग मरे हैं उन परिवारों के लिये मेरी सहानुभूति है। जो लोग घायल हुये हैं उनके लिये मेरी भगवान से प्रार्थना है कि वे जल्दी ठीक हो जाय। भगवान उन्हें हिम्मत दे, साहस दे ऐसी चीजों का मुकाबला करने की। मैं अपनी तरफ से और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से उनके प्रति सहानुभूति प्रकट करती हू।

महोदया, टाइम की पाबन्दी है, इसलिए मैं एक दो बातें ही कहना चाहती

हूँ। पंजाब में कुछ दिन पहले हमारी पार्टी की तरफ से, कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से, एक मास कटेकट का प्रोग्राम चला था। उस मास कटेकट के दौरान मुझे पंजाब में कुछ दिन घूमने का मौका मिला। मैं ने अपनी आँखों से जो कुछ देखा उससे मैं यह कह सकती हूँ कि पंजाब में कोई भी पुरुष या महिला ऐसी नहीं थी जो इस हिंसा के बातावरण से तंग नहीं आई थी। वे चाहते हैं कि यह हिंसा का बातावरण समाप्त हो। एक बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई कि हमारी भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के हत्यारों को ये आतंकवादी शहीद किस तरह से कह रहे हैं। इनकी, इन आतंकवादियों की, शहीद की परिभाषा क्या है, यह मैं नहीं समझ पा रही हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि हमारी भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री 104 राष्ट्रीयों की नेता थी, विश्व की नेता थी। उनकी हत्या करने वालों को शहीद बताना बहुत गलत बात है। ऐसे लोगों के बारे में मुझे लगता है कि उनके मन में क्या है? आखिर उनके इरादे क्या हैं? और किस तरीके की उनकी भाषायें हैं शहीदों के प्रति। मुझे सिर्फ अंत में एक ही बात कहनी है कि आतंकवादी जिस तरीके से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता में जाति के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर अंशतोष का बातावरण पैदा करके एक दूसरे से टकराने वाली जो बातें करते हैं उन बातों को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए और हम लोगों की भी जो यत्नणा है उस यत्नणा में यह देखना चाहिए कि इस तरीके की जो ताकतें हैं वे ताकतें इस देश में पनपे नहीं। महोदया, हिन्दुस्तान रंग बिरंगे फूलों का एक गुलदस्ता है। हमारे देश में सभी प्रकार के लोग रहते हैं, सभी भाषायें बोलने वाले लोग रहते हैं, सभी धर्मों के लोग रहते हैं। इसलिए हम यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान धर्म निरपेक्षता में विश्वास करने वाला एक देश है और उसको हम लोगों को इस तरीके से रखना है जिस तरीके से इस देश की रक्षा के लिये हमारे बहादुरों ने अपनी जानों की कुर्बानी दी है। महोदया, मैं आपका बहुत अधिक समय नहीं लूँगी। लेकिन फिर भी अगर कोई एक अच्छे और खूबमूरत देश को तहस-नहस करने की कोशिश

करे तो ऐसे जो देशद्रोही हैं उन लोगों को सबक सिखाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। महोदया, ये अक्ल के दुश्मन जो लोग हैं ऐसे लोगों को अच्छा सबक सिखाने की आवश्यकता है। महोदया, अंत में मैं एक शेर कहकर अपनी बात समाप्त करना चाहती हूँ :

‘सर जमीनें हिंद पर अखबामे आलम के फिराख ।

काफिले आते गये हिन्दुस्ता बनता गया ॥’

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करती हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Lakshman. Needless to say that you will be brief.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): I would like to share the mood of the House that what has happened in Delhi and other places needs to be condemned with all the force of the language that is at our command. As far as this is concerned, I am sure there are no two opinions about it.

However, some of the speakers, particularly from the other side, did try to make out a case as though there was no role whatever for that party in the situation that has developed over the years and the blame for what has happened today lies with those who are on this side of the House. I do not think that is correct. Secondly, an attempt was also made by some of the Members to prove that the Intelligence has not very much failed, or law and order has not very much failed. If there has been a failure, it is because somebody was all the while trying to disturb the peace. This is exactly the burden of thinking of Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. But I would like to re-emphasize that we cannot but apportion the blame to the failure of Intelligence in this country and it has been demonstrated over a period of 2 years at least four times. There have been at least four instances when we were lulled into a feeling that everything is all right only to find when we woke up the next morning in the newspapers that the whole confidence in the Intelligence was shaken. It happened four times, as I

[Prof. C. Lal Samanna]

mentioned earlier. If we are trying to find a solution which is a lasting solution to this problem, we have to accept the failure of the Intelligence in this country and then put it back on rails so that in future at least that will not recur. Similarly, we have to accept that the law and order situation did fail. Then, what is the point in saying who has been responsible, at what point of time did it start? One hon. Member said that all the problems started only in 1977. From his point of view—after all, selective perceptions are always there—it may be correct. Perhaps, even others could share with him that feeling because the great figure who is looming so large today is the creation of, not necessarily those who were in power at that time, but obviously those who were in Opposition at that time, namely Bhindrawale, was the creation of—I do not want to say who has been responsible for it. And today we are condemning him. But there was a time when he was almost put on the pedestal. "The Illustrated Weekly of India" came out with one single issue regarding this. It was withdrawn. It was not banned but withdrawn with post-haste. And still some copies which had been sold are in circulation. And that issue of the "Illustrated Weekly of India" clearly gives enough evidence, enough information as to how this phenomenon of Bhindranwale was the creation of the party in Opposition at that time, the party in power today. Not only that. Even during the last few years, one of the very important leaders—when I say this, I am not absolving what has been done by others also; I will tell about that also—one of the important leaders of the party in power who is much more important today made a statement that 'Bhindranwale is only a religious leader'. What does it mean? Does it mean that he was only a religious leaders? Does it mean that he was nothing but a religious leader, and if there is some extremism which was rampant in Punjab, it was elsewhere also and he had nothing to do with it or was he only trying to say that other things being equal, he was a religious leader? I do not know what exactly he meant at

that stage. But he did give a certificate as this certificate was given by even a few leaders from the opposition also. A few leaders did say that there was nothing wrong with the Golden Temple, they did not see any armaments there, etc. Therefore, there is no point in today trying to apportion the blame as to who has been responsible for what has happened over a period of time either on this party or on the other party. But what is important today is that there had been mistakes. There had been politicisation of the situation by all the parties, by many of the parties. And taking that into account, what could be done today? There is no point in blaming each other. What is the step which we are going to take as a fresh initiation of a process by which this problem could be solved? Therefore, the system which is under threat, that system has to be restored, not merely going by a few things. Then, the second is this: Over a period of four or five years or even earlier than that, a number of cases have occurred. I would like to know from the Home Minister as to how many cases have been investigated. In how many cases they have been able to file the FIRs, in how many cases have they been able to complete the process, in how many cases they have been able to identify and in how many cases those identified have been punished. If over a period of six or seven years, the Government in power is unable even to identify those who have been responsible for what has happened either in Punjab or in other places and still if that party tell us or if that Government tells us that "in future we are going to look after everything; don't worry; we will take stern action," I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister as to how many cases were there and in how many cases the punishment has been given.

Finally, the Minister's statement says, "We are still awaiting a positive response towards our step." I would like to know from the Home Minister what exactly does the Government mean by positive steps. From whom are they expecting it? With the same voice we say that those leaders are not very serious about it and

they are not doing what they should do and at the same time we want a positive response from them. Therefore, I would like to ask the Home Minister whether he would initiate a process, irrespective of the stance that they have been taking, leaving aside the so-called extremist currents who have been responsible. Treat them as those who are dealing with crime. Those who are indulging in crime are criminals. Treat them as criminals, if necessary. But if you want to have a solution, are you prepared to initiate steps at least right now so that we can convince the masses at large, the people at large, that the process of solving the problem has been initiated and, therefore, will you identify as to who are the individuals, who are the groups, who are the parties, who could be of help in solving the problem? Will you initiate that process at least? After identifying will you be in a position to call a meeting of them and start a process of dialogue and discussion so that a solution could be found? If that is not the case, if you are only going to make a statement that we are waiting for positive steps, and in the meanwhile the extremist activities go on, and you only say that you will deal with them sternly and not deal with them, as is the evidence, which is there for the last four or five years, I think we are in for a much bigger problem. In the interests of this country, in the interests of the maintenance of the integrity of this country, I want this Government to act, I want this Government to initiate a process to prove that what it is preaching, it is actually wanting to realise and in that if there is any support needed from the opposition parties, I do not think that it will not be forthcoming. (*Time Bell rings*). After all, everybody has been making one thing clear that all of us are interested in maintaining the integrity of the country and all of us are interested in reducing the tension that is prevailing in the society as a result of terrorism and extremism. (*Time Bell rings*). Kindly therefore do take steps for the restoration of normalcy in this part of the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Bhandare. I do not think that I need remind you...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, the whole nation...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Everybody has to be very precise because the Minister has to go for a Cabinet meeting and so he should have enough time to reply.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Now that you have taken a minute of my time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It was only a second and I will give you a second more.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Madam Deputy Chairman, I shall be very brief because brevity is the soul of the wit. Today the whole nation is in distress over the happenings in the capital and many other places in the Northern Region over the last two-three days. It is particularly distressing because we have won our independence through non-violent means. We have followed the path shown by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, by excluding all hatred. We are the leaders of peace-loving nations in the whole world and, therefore, this traumatic experience is really something which is very disturbing. But the main purpose of the debate is really how to meet the challenge of these terrorists and extremists and for that I think the first thing we ought to do is to analyse what they want to achieve through these terrorist means. I think the first object is, and I think it has been proved by the recent past, to destroy the moderate leadership, the same leadership among the Sikh community. The second object is to frustrate negotiations between the Government and the Akalis which may result in a fruitful and amicable solution. The third is, as has been explained in the statement, to cause or disrupt communal harmony and put a wedge between the two communities in our country. Last but not the least, all these activities are designed and intended to affect the integrity and the unity of the country and I would not be surprised if I express my gut feeling that this

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

is a prelude to the demand for Khalistan. Now, once having known the object, let us try to analyse how we can meet the challenge. As has been explained so lucidly and so ably by our revered Prime Minister, I think we can really meet the challenge by frustrating their basic aim, which I have indicated above. This is not the time for anger; this is not the time for rancour, and in fact, if this debate shows anything, it will show the unity of the nation and it will show that our whole country is united to preserve the unity and integrity to meet this challenge.

There are challenges. I think on every occasion now, the Prime Minister is consulting the Opposition. Despite the fact that there was a great deal of pressure on him not to make unilateral concessions, he has gone on gradually a long way, firstly in releasing them, then removing the restrictions, and making several other concessions. Appeasement is not a part of popularity, particularly the national popularity but it is a symbol of sagacity, and I must say that the Prime Minister has shown great sagacity even at the cost of some unpopularity, to meet the challenges.

Having seen this, I think today we resolve, as a nation, one and all, without going into our petty differences and trying to apportion blame, that we will not allow this communal harmony to be disrupted by terrorist activities. We will not allow the integrity and sovereignty of our nation to be affected and we will really create a climate where the extremists are isolated. There is another thing also to be noticed, and it is this; and it is a welcome feature. For the first time we find that there is universal condemnation by all the responsible Sikh leaders. This is a very very healthy sign and I make bold to say that if you scratch a Sikh, you will find that there is a true Indian inside. I think we must cash and capitalise on this feeling because I know it is my sacred duty to defend the Sikhs in Delhi and Sikhs also know it. I have done it in the past. All my neighbours have been very happy that I am their neighbour because they know at any time

of trouble, they can turn to me for adequate protection. And I think it is, likewise, the duty of the Sikhs in Punjab to protect, because there has been a mention earlier that the whole idea is to set an imbalance and cause some sort of movement of population from one part to the other... (Time bell rings) There are one or two things more and as I said, I will not take much time. I think I have taken just 4 minutes so far...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Eight minutes; I am a better time-keeper.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: One or two minutes more. We must also realise that there is no early or easy solution to this problem. We must learn to live with this problem for quite some time and that is, because today there is really no leadership with whom to negotiate; there are no demands, granting of which will bring out a solution. And today, unfortunately, the extremists seem to be in command of the situation. But the situation can rapidly change. All that we have to do is, not to take set decisions that we will take a hard line in regard to negotiations or a soft line in regard to negotiations and I think it requires us to play it by the ear. But so far as the extremists are concerned, nobody is more firm than the Prime Minister himself and, in fact, I remember as early as in 1981 his telling us that the situation in Punjab was the gravest that was possible for the country. He had expected it early, and if one is to really look at his statements that he had made first as General Secretary and now as Prime Minister, I think there is no wrong assessment at all. Without the correct assessment, Blue Star Operation would not have been there at all. Much has been said about the intelligence and law enforcement machinery. I must say that our intelligence and law enforcement agency are not made to meet a challenge of this type; it can take care of boot-leggers; it can take care of smugglers. But not a situation like this. We know. We read in the newspapers. It cannot be created overnight. Efforts are being made and the Prime Minister is personally at it to create the necessary infra-

structure for a powerful intelligence machinery as well as a law-enforcing machinery, to meet the challenge. The very fact that three people have been arrested, clearly goes to prove that we are at it. If you say there has been failure of intelligence, then for all the crimes taking place, you can say there is failure of machinery. But this is what happens in every society and it is not correct to say that the machinery has failed.

I will end by saying that history will not pardon us if we fail at this critical juncture, if we are overtaken by anger or rancour and if we let sagacity, forbearance, tolerance and patience to forsake us. Thank you.

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH (Nominated):** Madam Deputy Chairman, you do not have to ask me to be very brief. I have pleasant things to do at this hour. But I decided to stay on in the House, because I was very particular to associate myself in condemning what has happened in Delhi in the last three or four days. When it comes to matters like this, there is no Hindu, there is no Muslim, there is no Christian, there is no Sikh, there is no Kashmiri, there is no Punjabi, there is no Bengali, there is no Tamilian or Gujarati. There are no political parties, Congress, communist, Socialist, Janata or whatever. We speak with one voice. We will not tolerate this kind of goondaism in this country. I speak, specially conscious of my being a Sikh. I cannot presume to speak on behalf of the entire Sikh community, as some Members on the other side occasionally do. But this is the first time. I find myself in complete agreement with what Sardar Darbara Singh has said. The condemnation of these terrorists must go out from not only the Akal Takht, but from every gurudwara in the country.

I would like, briefly, to congratulate the Ministry the way it handled the situation this time. We were in a very tricky situation and there was absolutely no violence following these dastardly crimes. If this had happened in November, I am very much certain, what has happened in Delhi at the time, perhaps, may not have taken place. But let this be a precedent.

Whenever we are faced with a crisis, let the Government move immediately, Mr. Home Minister, as it did this time.

Now, Madam, there are two things which I would like to mention. The first is, to identify who are these people who are doing this. The second is, how are we to combat this thing. I have no doubt, some of them are Sikhs or posing as Sikhs. I have, in the past, mentioned that there is a certain amount of infiltration from across the border. I do not, by saying this, in any way, implicate the Pakistan Government. I say, they are Pakistanis crossing the border, perhaps, without even the knowledge of the Pakistan Government. But if the Pakistan Government wants to prove its *bona fides*, it should seal its border, as I think, we should also seal our border with Pakistan, as long as this infiltration and smuggling go on. What exactly can we do to stamp out this noxious weed which has grown amongst us? There are only two ways. First, there must be community participation with the force of law and order. Police must be able to gain the confidence of the community itself so that the community feels confident enough to give information to the police about the presence of the terrorists, their movements and help the police to catch them. That confidence has not been created. I think, it will be quite some time before you can make the police in such a way that people will risk their neck to come to their help. The other thing which we can do is,—which is not very difficult to do and has been said for a long time—we must frustrate the design of these nefarious gangs. The design is quite simple. They want to bring about an exchange of population based on religion to drive the Hindu out of Punjab, to drive the Sikh out of India into the Punjab. Now it is the duty of the Sikh in the Punjab to make sure that the Hindu there feels secure and is not compelled to leave, and it is the duty of the Hindu in the other parts of the country to give the Sikhs a feeling of self-assurance that they can stay and this is their country and no outside element can push them out. The tragedy of the whole situation

[Shri Khushwant Singh]

is that we are allowing a handful of thugs to hold the country to ransom and we will see that this thuggery does not go on for too long. /

**SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR** (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairperson, there is a desperate attempt to create an atmosphere of confusion and communal hatred within the country by a group of insane fascists belonging to my Sikh community. In their mad attempt to prove what super beings they are, they have become devoid of all human feelings and values, and in their futile attempt to attain their dreams of a Khalistan, they have started a process of destruction which will and is, in the final analysis, leading my once great community to the brink of self-destruction.

Human life, Madam, seems to be of no consequence to these mutants of the late Mr. Bhindranwale. Nor does the meaning of a democratic process and society register within their small minds. They belong now exclusively to their own fascist world, steeped in their devious motivations for their own selfish ends.

Why have we Sikhs allowed this to happen? Why are we still allowing it? What has happened to our inherent decency and courage? What has happened to our first quality of always having the insight to decipher the flaws within us and having the courage to openly admit and rectify them? What has happened to our capacity to laugh at ourselves? What, in fact, has happened to our overall character that Guru Nanak let flow into our blood?

I put these questions to my brother Sikhs from the floor of this august House today not in anger but in sorrow, because I have pleaded enough with them in private and I have been told by them that I am a politician and that politics has created this sorry state of affairs in the Punjab, that this has become totally a political issue to be solved by politicians alone and not a Sikh issue to be solved by Sikhs themselves. Why so? Because it does not suit them, nor do

they have the courage to face up to the disease that is consuming us all. They who belong to the 90 per cent of the silent Sikh majority, are so silent that they prefer to turn a Nelson's eye to the happenings around them, for fear of being enlisted within the infamous 'hit lists' being authored by mad religious bigots from within our own community. They prefer to shift the blame on to the Government and at the same time take shelter behind it. This two-faced attitude which they have so conveniently developed to safeguard their personal positions, undermines the future of our children we so fondly look at before going to sleep every night. It also puts them within the climate of cowardice—the weather that does not historically suit their personality. They will never admit even to themselves that there is a semblance of truth in this as they have got used to taking the easier way out of every thing. Even now it is not too late for those of the silent majority to save the face of our children by being man enough to stand up and speak out against a system created by a cowardly few from amongst us who want to subjugate our very souls to their devilish designs. They are usurping our faith—and our faith in ourselves. They are reducing the lot of us to a bunch of cowards.

The Sikh intellectuals who indulge in self-righteous double-talk from their drawing rooms know that what I am saying is absolutely true—that the issue has always been an issue for the Sikhs to solve amongst themselves within the framework and concepts of commonsense values and not religion which had no meaning and attachment to the political and economical issues involved. Religion was brought in by corrupt vested interests within the Akali Dal, and the result today is before us. The intellectuals have conveniently developed a mental block to suit a thought process that makes them feel comfortable in their old age, in the belief that one must live by one's community irrespective of the false pride, acts of madness, cruelty and anti-national stances being taken by its sectarian leaders. If you speak against the



rot of ritualistic dogmas being made more important than human life, are you being unfaithful to your community. If you firmly voice your opinion against the growing tendency to politicize the Sikh faith by its priests and sectarian leaders, are you being anti-Sikh and blasphemous? If you speak for an Act in Parliament to change the Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925 to completely separate religion from politics, will you be working against the Sikh tenets as laid down by Guru Nanak? If you strongly voice your opinion against the concepts of the Akali Dal's Anandpur Sahib resolution, are you being anti-Pan-**thic** and deserve to be threatened with annihilation of your whole family? Are you allowed an opinion at all within our community, or must you fall in line with immaturity—all in the name of religion? Is that why the two foremost intellectuals of the Akali Dal—Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Sardar Parkash Singh Badal—had to run out on their principles? Or is it—as many like to believe—an internal matter of the Akali Dal? Is it not true that a single wrong word uttered by an Akali leader shakes the flesh of all the Sikh community living outside the boundaries of Punjab and shakes the mental balance of the Hindu community within Punjab? Does this not mean that this communal party is holding the people of both communities to ransom? Is it not true, now that they have handed over their leadership to their mutant children who do not know that leadership means responsibility and sanity and not brawn, cruelty and bullying? I was always given to believe that intellect never had narrow boundaries. Should we not try to prove this correct?

And now to my relatives and life-long friends who constantly tell me to lie low and not to speak—lest my family and myself are harmed by extremists from my own community: This, of course, amounts to blackmail and mental intimidation, a threat to the democratic process, a threat to the freethinking Sikh and the curbing of the truthful side of his inherent pride. But then, the majority of my friends and relatives belong to the very silent majority, to whom I appeal now, to move out and

speak up against what is being done against the process of good character-building of their children. It is not enough to just keep them alive. They must be free to live in this country without the boundaries of religious fanaticism and dogmas. The Sikh congressmen are very often accused of being non-sikhs and anti-sikh just because we do not fall in line with the Akali style of functioning and this holds true also in the minds of a large section of the silent Sikh majority. This again is an attempt to shift the blame from ones self and take the safe way out of the inevitable responsibility that falls on our community itself, to pull itself out of the quick sand of fundamentalism. It should be well understood by our Sikh community that this false slogan of seeking a separate 'identity' does not hold any water—since Guru Nanak has clearly given us the duty to identify with all and not separate from any—for that is why. He identified Himself with, and held in total reverence the twenty two Hindus and Muslim saints whose works He incorporated within our final Guru Granth Sahib and—I identify with all equally and collectively—any other identity for me is false.

All this violence, Sir, taking place for the last several months in our country—culminating in the cruel and senseless acts of these past two days is a clear pointer to the massive degeneration that is basetting our society. Is there a foreign hand encouraging it? If so, why are the Akalis playing their game? Or is it an excuse to cover up their shortcomings? Why are they abetting this by hiding it? If the Government is to rule effectively—it will have to crush this cruel and anti-national movement ruthlessly - and we the members of this single Indian society will have to assist them to do so - collectively and without becoming sanctimonious about it.

Thank you.

उपसभापति : अब समय काफी हो गया है। विकल जी आप कभी किसी और समय बोल लें।

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश)  
यह वक्त बार बार तो नहीं आया । . . .  
(व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : खुदा करे यह वक्त  
बार-बार न आए । . . . (व्यवधान)

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह : इतना बोलने  
दिया, दो मिनट और बोलने दीजिए । . .

उपसभापति : अब मिनिस्टर साहब  
को सुनिए ।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): Madam, Deputy  
Chairman, after the intervention by the  
Prime Minister and after spending four  
hours in this House and six hours in the  
lower House, I think, we had considerable  
amount of discussion on a very important  
issue. I must say that, by and large, the  
opinions expressed in this House, barring  
a few incidents, have been, in fact, very  
constructive.

Madam, at this stage, I am going to  
touch only three or four important points.  
I do not think that we have sufficient time  
at our disposal to go into the details.

First of all, the hon. Members, Shri Guru-  
padaswamy has said that the Prime Min-  
ister seems to have made the statement in-  
advertently. I do not think that you can  
ascribe that kind of a thing to the Prime  
Minister. When he said that here, we have  
to take note of it and find out as to what  
is the context in which this statement has  
been made. Everyone of us is unanimous  
on the point that this is a national issue and  
we should rise above party affiliations. We  
should also rise above the different States  
from which we come. While we say that,  
instances are not lacking where people have  
practised quite differently. And that is why  
if the Prime Minister were to say this, it  
has some kind of a background which  
every one of us has to take serious note  
of.

My hon. friend here made a very impor-  
tant suggestion, and asked me to take note  
of the same, saying that some kind of an  
amendment is required in the Represent-  
ation of the People Act. I think if the hon.

Members were to go through the provisions  
of the Representation of the People Act,  
they would find that the the kind of sen-  
timent which he has expressed is very much  
there. It does not require any amendment  
of the Representation of the People Act.  
But ultimately it is a question of practice.  
We have the Act. We have also the kin  
of what we call political will to act on  
the sentiments which we express. But  
sometimes the temptations of the situation  
are such that we cannot overcome the  
temptations and sometimes we do fall a  
prey to them. Who are those people is  
a matter for every one of us to search  
his heart, and you will come to know as  
to what exactly is the behaviour that we  
have been indulging in.

My hon. friend, Shri Advani, I think,  
made a point that there has been some  
kind of a misjudgment, that no proper  
assessment or evaluation of the situation  
has been done. If I mistake not, the hon.  
Member was present when the Members  
of the Opposition were taken into confi-  
dence in discussing the Punjab issue. And  
for the first time, to my surprise, I find  
that the hon. Member makes a statement  
here that this is a totally wrong assess-  
ment of the situation, that the evaluation  
seems to be wrong. I wish he could have  
elucidated that point a little further for  
my information. Not at this time, but  
later on, we can meet and find out as to  
what exactly is that point which he has in  
mind. So far as the Government is con-  
cerned, we are more than convinced. . .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Madam, De-  
puty Chairman, I did not want to refer  
to those talks. Therefore, I did not say  
about it.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: That is the  
point that is why I am not going into  
the details. Otherwise I would have also  
gone into the details. I am refraining  
from going into it.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: It is not  
proper to refer to those talks. Therefore,  
I didn't.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I believe what  
you talk there, you also talk here. Any-  
way, certainly I would not like to go into  
that aspect of the question.

Madam, a question was raised that some explosions had taken place in Delhi either in 1982 or in 1983, and what happened to those cases; nothing seems to have been done. I have all the details with me, but because of the shortage of time, I would not like to go into the details. Every case has been worked out and some people have been arrested and cases are going on in the court of law. Beyond that, I would not like to say anything on those cases. Madam, another point was raised by another hon. Member. The unfortunate thing is that the hon. Member who makes a point is not there to listen to the reply for the point he made.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** They will see it tomorrow morning.

**SHRI S. B. CHAVAN:** Very well. A point was made, which I would like to contradict, that Bhindranwale is a creation of the ruling party. This point was raised so many times. It had been contradicted. Again I would like to say with all the force at my command that this is not correct. And making repeated re-utterances of the same thing does not make it true. So he will kindly take note of this.

Another point which he made was how many cases were filed against the extremists. I have all the details with me. Right from 1981 to March 1985, I have all the details with me. If he is interested, I can possibly pass on this information. And if he wants this to be recorded, for matters of record, I can as well read the whole statement. But I can merely say that from 1-3-81 to 31-3-85 the number of persons killed is 427. Criminal cases registered in connection with these killings is 285; cases ended in conviction 3; cases ended in acquittal 16. These were the two important figures which I thought it will be in the interests of all Members of the House to know as to what exactly is being done.

Another point was raised by the very same honourable Member who said that the Government does not seem to know as

to who is involved in this bomb explosion case. I think if he had cared to go through the press conference, which unfortunately our Police Commissioner had taken, he would have found the details—three persons have been arrested; incriminating material and incriminating documents have also been found; sources have been traced—and I think it will not be in public interest to give any more details about this case. But very important clue, in fact, has been found and it will be possible after the full investigation to ascribe as to who these people are, what their connections, etc. Everything will be revealed after the investigation is completed.

There was another point which, I think it was Shri P. Shiv Shankar who wanted to know -- he wanted to find out how far his information was correct that there was a bomb explosion wherein three people died and a pistol was recovered, that the pistol had a foreign marking. He wanted to get a confirmation from me whether it had the marking of Pakistan. Maybe, maybe that it is having Pakistani marking.....

**SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA:** Why maybe? Not correctly?

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** When I say maybe, it has some significance. When I do not rule out the possibility, you should understand what it is. I think it has never been our practice to name any other foreign country because ultimately, as some honourable Members have said, name the country and treat them as unfriendly and completely dissociate yourself from any kind of relations with those countries. I think it is very easy to say that. I don't think that we can afford to take this kind of a step. We know fully well in the universe there are people who are unfriendly who are indulging in all kinds of things which any normal friendly country will never do. In spite of that, we cannot afford to completely disconnect ourselves because there are a large number of issues involved

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

which require friendly and close relations with such countries. I don't think that I should say anything more on that.

Then, Shri Darbara Singh and some other Members asked what could be the objective of this kind of an explosion. The objective is -- and this is not an isolated incident, in the past also whenever there were talks and amicable settlement was in sight, extremists always indulged in this kind of terrorist activity and explosions took place, some people were killed: it is a definite conclusion from the past experience-- the time also after the release of the Akali leaders, though in the beginning very funny kind of statements were made and in this very House I had to say that I would not rule out the possibility of their objective and fair assessment of the situation and I thought that they will be able to respond positively after some time. But they are now victims of circumstances and there is total confusion in the Akali leadership at this stage. To whom to talk to is also a problem. There are friends who suggest that there is no point

8 P.M.

in discussing the issues with the Akali Dal who would not like to come to the negotiations table while there are others who say that if you talk to them, they will dictate such impossible conditions that it would be almost impossible for you to come to any negotiated settlement. I would not like to ascribe anything to any of these two views. But I would still wait. Let the conditions stabilize and thereafter, we can certainly consider on what lines we have to go further. I say this because I can assure the House that we are equally interested in finding a political solution to the Punjab problem and we do not want to continue this kind of a stalemate. I would not like to say anything more about their internal struggle for leadership. But the solution of the Punjab problem is a national issue and we cannot possibly take a stance that we can afford to postpone for an indefinite period as to whom to talk to in the near future. This will get more clarified and thereafter we will be able to take some kind of a decision on it. But, at the same time, when these positive steps were being taken, some people, some

sections of the people, seem to carry the impression that this is a weak-kneed policy, that the Government seems to be very weak and that it is yielding to pressure.

I would like to assure this House that this was a very calculated move with a view to finding an amicable political solution of the problem and it was not because of any pressure that we have taken this step. It was a unilateral decision with full understanding of the implications and it is with a full understanding of the implications that we have made this calculated move and we expected that there would be a positive response. Still I have not given up hopes. I would again like to remove any kind of misunderstanding that the Government is going to follow any kind of soft line in this. On political issues, certainly, within the framework of the Constitution, as far as possible, we can go and will try to do it. But, so far as dealing with the terrorists is concerned, I can assure the House, without going into details that in taking any step required in this direction, certainly the Government will not be failing. I can assure the House in this matter and I don't think I need say anything more on this and, when we say this, certainly we mean what we say. I do not think that we are going to falter in our decisions so far as dealing with the extremists or the terrorists is concerned.

About the other matters, Madam, I do not think that it will be fair on my part to take more time of the House. I again thank all the honourable Members and I hope that all sections of the House will rise above their party affiliations and give full co-operation in finding a political solution to the problem and also in dealing with the situation to and terrorism and extremism in our country.

Also, Madam, I take this opportunity of thanking all the citizens of Delhi who, in spite of a very provocative situation, have reacted calmly and in a very mature manner. They deserve all the compliments for their behaviour as they did not fall a prey to the machinations which, in fact,

were meant for these people because they thought that the people should violently react, create a gulf between the Hindus and the Sikhs and this is the death trap that they had laid for us. But, fortunately, our people kept their heads cool, reacted very reasonably, and they deserve all the compliments for this and we hope that things hereafter also will see this kind of a cool-headed reaction on the part of the people and I have every hope that every

section of the House will help us in creating this kind of a congenial atmosphere. Thank you, Madam.

**उपसमाप्ति :** सदन की कार्यवाही कल 11.00 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at five minutes past eight of the Clock till eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 14th May, 1985.