

की चुनौती स्वीकार करें वरना खाली मुंह से बोलने से कुछ नहीं होता ।

मैं अपनी बात खत्म करते हुए हरी नाथ मिश्र जी से निवेदन कहूंगा कि दरभंगा के, मिथिलांचल के गरीब लोगों की ओर ध्यान किसी ने नहीं दिया, सौभाग्य से आपके हाथ में यह विभाग है, उन लोगों को आपसे आशा है, उनकी पूर्ति कीजिए । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सदन से कहूंगा कि हम तो बहस करते रह जायेंगे, लेकिन होगा कुछ नहीं क्योंकि अंधे के आगे रोना, अपना दीदा खोना ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This debate will continue after some time. Now, the statement will be made and if time is available, we shall take it up and if no time is left, because at 6 o'clock, we have to take up half-an-hour discussion—and after the half-an-hour discussion, this debate will be taken up; today we have to complete the debate; we have no time left. Home Minister will now make the statement.

### STATEMENT BY MINISTER

#### I. Incident at Patiala on 2nd May, 1983.

#### II. Situation in Assam.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI): I request that I would make both the statements...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): I think it will be better if he makes one statement first and then we seek clarifications, and afterwards he can make the other statement. We want the Home Minister to make the statements separately.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I will deal with them separately; but let me read both of them at the same time.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): My friend, hon. Jagdish Mathur has made a very valid point. These are two totally distinct and separate issues on which the Minister is making statements. There is the issue of firings in Patiala and...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That has been said. Don't enter into argument. Your objection is noted that you want separate statements. That is clear. Why waste the time?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: We want clarification separately.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You need not take the time of the House.

SHRI VISHVAJIT PRITHVIJIT SINGH (Maharashtra): Mr. Jaswant Singh wants to speak on both the statements; that is his problem. You must understand it, Sir.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I am making the statement first regarding the incident at Patiala

#### I. Incident at Patiala on 2nd May, 1983

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, according to the information furnished by the Government of Punjab, an altercation took place on 2nd May, 1983 at Patiala between two shopkeepers over the use of loudspeaker. Their supporters reached the spot, which accentuated the situation. Persons belonging to both the groups clashed and indulged in arson and brickbating. It has been reported that about 28 shops were set on fire and some scooters were also damaged.

The police used tear gas and resorted to lathi charge and firing to bring the situation under control. Curfew has been imposed from 5 P. M. on 2nd May, 1983.

In these incidents six persons are reported to have been injured. They have been admitted in the hospital and are reported to be out of danger.

On May 3, 1983 two shops were damaged in arson and one incident

[Shri P. C. Sethi]

of stabbing was reported. Some shops at certain places in Punjab also remained closed. On the night of May 3/4, 1983 one shop is reported to have been set on fire.

Fifty-nine persons are reported to have been arrested till the evening of May 3, 1983.

The State Government are keeping constant vigil and have taken necessary measures to deal with the situation which is reported to be under control.

I am confident that this House will join me in condemning acts which create disharmony and misunderstanding amongst different sections of society. I appeal to all communities and every section of public opinion in Punjab to strive to maintain the traditional communal harmony and peace and continue to work together for the greater good of the State and the country.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): I would like to seek clarifications on this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But my problem is that I have received so far 20 names. I will call only one person from each party and not everyone. Members will have to restrain themselves.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): Sir, on a point of order. The practice has always been...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow only one Member from each party.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: This is not a simple question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All-right, I call upon Mr. Mohunta to put questions.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, I am very thankful to you for affording me this opportunity to speak on this subject. But all the same, I would again request...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You put your questions.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: This is such an issue where everybody is deeply interested.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why do you waste the time of the House? You put your questions.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Sir, this incident as it has been painted here, is not such a simple thing, it is not such an ordinary occurrence, that a dispute between two shopkeepers has erupted into this flare up and a seemingly difficult situation has arisen. This is not a simple thing. We have to go into the whole history of this. The situation in Punjab is tense not because two shopkeepers have quarrelled. It is tense because for the last more than two years, we have been prolonging the discussions. Discussions after discussions have been held and you have been saying that you are trying to meet their demands half way, full way, that you have met their religious demands and that you are thinking over their other demands. In the meantime, sentiments and feelings have been worked up. This situation has arisen, because,—you will excuse me—I would say, the Government has acted in the capacity in which Shakespeare put Hamlet. You have not acted at all. It is said that if a little bit of Othello had been in Hamlet and a little bit of Hamlet had been in Othello, both the tragedies would have been comedies. If the Government had taken action at the appropriate stage, there would not have been this tension. This problem is not such a simple affair. This is a communal problem. People from two different sects, from two different communities, have struck against each other. This has led to this flare up. Today, in the newspapers, I have read that the Army is standing by. This is not a simple thing that police had fired some tear gas shells resorted to firing and the persons who had been injured have been admitted to the hospital. The question is, how far it will escalate. You cannot stop this

volcano. I said earlier, while dealing with the Punjab situation, that we are close to the volcano, it is burning, it has erupted; kindly take remedial steps. But nobody thought over it. The result is that we are absolutely close to the eruption of the volcano. I do not think you can stop it, the way in which, the speed with which, you are going ahead. The question is, why all these things are taking place? Why can't you stop it? You cannot stop it by sitting here in Delhi on a question of prestige. There is no prestige involved. You talk to these people. What are the differences? I cannot understand. There are no differences whatsoever. All the points have been thrashed out threadbare. The water dispute has been thrashed out and an agreement was reached. Nothing remains. On the territorial dispute, nothing remains. Why is this being allowed to continue? I would like to point out that if this thing continues and you cannot stop it, then, the consequences will be very grave and we will be paving the way for the balkanisation of this country. Nobody will be able to stop it. You must act fast, with speed and without any delay so that you can once and for all clinch the issue and restore normalcy, peace and amity amongst the people of the State.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal):** Sir, the apprehension is that what has happened in Assam.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You speak on Punjab.

**SHRI SUKOMAL SEN:** What has happened in Assam is again going to be repeated in Punjab, that is what I am pointing out. Because of the drift in the case of Assam such tragedies are taking place. Similar drift is also obvious in the attitude of the Government dealing with the Punjab issue. After the killing of the DIG also the issue was discussed in this House. Now today's paper says that there was firing in Amritsar, one DSP was shot at, but he escaped. Then in Patiala there is almost communal

riot. The Hindus and the Sikhs are fighting with each other. The Hindus have gone to the extent of forming 'Hindu Suraksha Samiti'. So, it is not an issue between the Akalis and the Government of India only. Now it has become an issue on the one side between the Government of India and the Akalis and on the other side between the Sikhs and the Hindus. So, the issue which was originally between the Government of India and the Akalis has further developed to be an issue between the Sikhs and the Hindus also. So, I would like to know from the hon. Minister, how long will they wait to settle the issue of Punjab? Where is the knot? They have agreed to the religious demands. Where is the actual knot for which the solution remains to be seen? Also I would like to know from the Home Minister what action he is going to take in that regard and how he wants to deal with the incident that has taken place in Patiala. The situation may flare up if it is not checked in time.

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** श्रीमन, मैं सबसे पहले यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक बहुत बड़ी घटना पर मामूली-सा स्टेटमेंट दे दिया गया है जिससे कोई बात समझ में नहीं आती है। कुछ समाचार-पत्रों में यह बात छपी है कि पटियाला में सूट एट साइट का आर्डर जारी कर दिया गया है, लेकिन इस स्टेटमेंट में उसका कोई जिक्र नहीं है। इसलिए मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पटियाला में सूट एट साइट का आर्डर इसू किया गया है और वहां पर फौज पहुंची है या नहीं? दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पटियाला में यह पहला घटना नहीं है। पिछले महीने भी कई बार इस प्रकार की घटनाएं हो गई हैं। इसलिये मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की स्थिति को देखते हुए क्या पुलिस ने या सरकारो मशीनरी ने इस संबंध में कोई प्रिकोशनरी कार्यवाही

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

की है या नहीं और इस संबंध में आपके इंटेलिजेन्स की क्या रिपोर्ट है ? क्या आपके पास इंटेलिजेन्स सोर्सों की तरफ से यह रिपोर्ट है कि पटियाला में टेंशन और झगड़ा हो सकता है ? क्या आपको इस बात की भी जानकारी है कि पटियाला शहर में एक सम्प्रदाय के लोगों की अधिकांश आबादी है और इसलिए अगर टेंशन बढ़ा तो वहां से कुछ लोग अपने मकानों को छोड़कर भागने लगेंगे और अगर ऐसी स्थिति आती है तो उसके लिए आप क्या काम कर रहे हैं ? प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने स्वयं कहा है कि इस आन्दोलन के पीछे विदेशी हाथ है । किस विदेशी शक्ति का हाथ है, यह आप नहीं बताएंगे, लेकिन मैं मान लेता हूं । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इंग्लैंड, अमेरिका या पाकिस्तान या किसी अन्य देश को जो इस आन्दोलन के प्रति सहानुभूति रखते हैं, उनके एजेंट प्रवोकेटर्स हिन्दुस्तान में मौजूद हैं ? आप जानते हैं कि कोई भी आदमी छः महीने में अपने बाल या दाढ़ी बढ़ा सकता है और सरदार बन जाएगा । इस बात का न तो अकालियों को पता है और न आपको पता है । इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि सरकार यह बताए कि क्या उनके पास इस प्रकार की कोई जानकारी है ? अन्त में मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि पंजाब भर में ऐसी जो आग फैली हुई है उसके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं ? अभी तो ऐसा लगता है कि वहां की सरकार भी लुढ़क रही है, उसके पाव भी उखड़ रहे हैं । मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि पंजाब के शासन की बागडोर जिसके भी हाथ में हो वह एक तगड़ी सरकार होनी चाहिए । अगर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन कमजोर होगा तो न तो पुलिस कोई

कार्यवाही कर सकेगी और न ही कोई काम वहां पर हो पाएगा ।

**श्री (मौलाना) असराहत हक (राजस्थान) :** क्या आपको सरकार बना दी जाये ?

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** हम तो वहां पर सरकार बना चुके हैं । जब वहां पर हमारी सरकार अकालियों के साथ थी तो कोई झगड़ा नहीं था, दोनों सम्प्रदायों की दोस्ती थी ।

**श्री (मौलाना) असराहत हक :** अगर आपमें ईमानदारी होती तो जब आप सेंटर में थे तो उस समय यह कर लेते तो ये झगड़े न होते ।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** सिखों के साथ हमारी दोस्ती थी । जब दोस्ती रही तो वहां एक पत्ता तक नहीं हिला । ये आपने झगड़े करवाये हैं । लेकिन इस बात को मैं नेना नहीं चाहता ... (व्यवधान) ...

**श्री उपसभापति :** उनको पूछने दीजिये ।

SHRI V. N. TIWARI (Nominated): It started in 1978 when they were in power.

SHRI KALRAJ MISHRA (Uttar Pradesh): It is Darbara Singh who started this problem. You analyse the whole situation.

**श्री उपसभापति :** कृपया जरा उनको बोलने दीजिये । जब आपका वक्त आयेगा आप बोल लीजियेगा ।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** जब गुरुद्वारा प्रबन्धक कमेटी के चुनाव हुए तो भिंडरावाला को जानी जैल सिंह, जो उस समय होम मिनिस्टर थे, उन्होंने सपोर्ट किया था और वहां वह जीते

ये क्या यह मालूम है आपको और वहाँ भिड़रावाला यहाँ हथियार लेकर घूमता रहा... (व्यवधान)... वह पकड़ा नहीं...

**SHRI V. N. TIWARI:** The Akhand Jatha—Nirankari clash took place in 1978 and that is the root cause of the problem.

**श्री जगदीश अलाद माथुर :** मेरे सीधे-सादे चार-पांच सवाल हैं कि अगर विदेशी हाथ है तो किस सूत में है, फाँज गई है या नहीं गई, इंटेलिजेंस आपको क्या है, क्या वहाँ आबादी को खाली करने की स्थिति है और अगर आ सकते हैं तो आप क्या कर रहे हैं और सारे पंजाब में इस से निपटने के लिये क्या कुछ कर रहे हैं ?

आखिर मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मुख्य मंत्री ने यह कहा कि अटवाल को हत्या करने वालों को निशानदेही हो गई है। उसके बाद अखबारों में यह भी छपा है कि वह गलत छपा है। कौन सा बयान उनका सही है। अटवाल को हत्या के संबंध में एक बार मुख्य मंत्री कुछ कहते हैं और उसको फिर वापस लेते हैं। तो किसी भी हत्यारे को क्या कहीं पर निशानदेही हुई है कि हत्यारा कौन है ?

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH (Nominated):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to address a few remarks to the Home Minister. Mr. Home Minister, you will agree that what has happened in Patiala is the result of the prolonged confrontation between the Akalis and the Government and the tension created thereby with its epicentre at Amritsar. You will also agree that the longer this confrontation goes on, the worse the tension will become. What has happened at Patiala is going to be repeated elsewhere, it will spread to hamlets, villages, towns and cities of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi. In fact, if this

tension continues, wherever there are Sikhs, there will be tension because in the popular mind it has come to be accepted that all Sikhs are Akalis. I would like to ask you: is this what you want to happen? Mr. Home Minister, results of this tension are going to be horrendous. There will be more Hindu-Sikh riots in different parts of the country. It will increase the sense of insecurity in the minds of Sikhs who form less than 2 per cent of the population of this country and are scattered all over India. They will magnify their grievances and look up imaginary grievances. They will feel that they have been discriminated against and thereby create a fertile soil for sowing the seeds of Khalistan. I would like to ask you: is this what you really want to happen? There are mischievous elements on both sides, as has been seen in Patiala. I have more evidence with me. Recently a Member of this House, Shri Gurcharan Singh Tohra, as President of the SGPC, has addressed me a long telegram, which I was going to take up as a Special Mention but which I have been permitted to mention here. This is a fracas over Manji Sahib a temple in Haryana. The SGPC has made a direct accusation of the involvement of the Haryana Government in flouting the orders of the Gurdwara Judicial Commission, the High Court of Punjab and Haryana and the Supreme Court. by refusal to allow permission to the Receiver appointed by the Judicial Commission to take possession of the Gurdwara. I do not want to go into details. All I want to mention is that you put up, what my friend has said, agent provocateurs to create communal issues where there are none. Is this what you would like to happen?

Finally, I have one simple question to ask. Are you willing to make a statement here and now in this House that you will resume negotiations with the Akalis immediately and not suspend or postpone them till an ultimate settlement has been reached? If you are not willing to

[Shri Khushwant Singh].

make that statement, at least I will put, the worst construction of your attitude.

SHRI V. N. TIWARI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Mr. Home Minister's Statement on the incident that occurred on 2nd May 1983 at Patiala says that it was on account of altercation between two shopkeepers over the use of loudspeaker. Sir, I was born in that town, I was brought up in that town. I know Jaurian Bhatti, Anardana Chowk and Master Tara Singh Chowk for the past 30 years sources of Tension for all these years. A procession was taken out by the Hindus, but the Government took no action when they knew that there was tension on account of Akalis' demand and they were also doing the same type of activity. It is not a question of loudspeaker. The tension was being felt for so many days by Hindus, the communalists. The other day I said that people who say that nothing is happening in Punjab do not know that violence is actually in the minds of the Punjabis. It is not a question of loudspeaker. It may only be an excuse. What are we going to do for easing the tension which is there in every mind, whether he is a Sikh or a Hindu? I agree with Sardar Khushwant Singh that if we do not solve the problem immediately, there are going to be more riots, not only in Patiala but in other parts of the State also. And, Sir, I would like to know in all humility one thing. I can understand that something happened when there was no law and order. But, what has happened when the curfew was on? Shops have been burnt in the town. Can Government justify it? I had said in October that if those who have to maintain law and order indulge in violence the situation cannot improve. I said that the Punjab Police is responsible for many things. When the curfew was on, what was the police doing when shops were being looted, when things were being burnt? I asked the other

day what action is being taken against the police officers who have not arrested one culprit. And now when the curfew is on, property is not safe, life is not safe. How long are you going to watch it? How long are we going to suffer it? This is my second question.

And lastly, Sir, I am convinced that with any delay, situation is going to deteriorate. Therefore, the time has come to act and solve the problem. I would like to know from the Home Minister what initiatives the Government is taking to solve this problem. And I can assure you about one thing. As I said, this entire tension, even of Akalis and others, is the result of that feud in 1978 between the Nirankaris and the Akhand Kirtan Jathas. If you see the incidents of murder, all these are connected with each other. They were witnesses in courts and other things are there. Therefore, let us not forget this aspect, that Punjab has a history of generation after generation feuds. If I am killed, my third generation will take the revenge. Therefore, do not forget this race of Panjabis and save Panjabis from such things. This is my appeal.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
हम लोगों का क्या हुआ ।

श्री उपसभापति : जितने है सबको  
बुला लिया है ।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
आप क्या बोलियेगा ।

SHRI RAMESHWAR SINGH: Hello.

श्री उपसभापति : यह कोई तरीका  
नहीं है । आपने मेरे पास सूचना नहीं  
भेजी कि आपको सवाल पूछना है ।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : आपने अभी कहा :  
आपने बचन से क्यों पीछे हट रहे हैं  
... (व्यवधान)

**श्री उपसभापति :** जिनके नाम हैं उनको बुलाएंगे । 20 नाम थे उनमें से बुला लिया । आप बैठिये । आप मुझे सिखाइये नहीं... (व्यवधान) आपने लिखकर नहीं दिया हैलो कहते हैं ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** कम से कम हमारा भी ख्याल रखिए ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** मैं ख्याल रखता हूँ । आपने नाम भेजा नहीं, मैं कैसे बुलाऊँ । बहुत सी पार्टियों ने नाम नहीं दिये हैं ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** आप गलतफहमी समझ रहे हैं... (व्यवधान)

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maharashtra): Sir, you are not a telephone operator that the hon. Member should call you hello.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He does not think he is sitting in Rajya Sabha; he is thinking that he is sitting in a market place. What can we do?

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** मेरी मजबूरी समझिए ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** रामेश्वर सिंह जी, एक तरीका सदन में है, उसको फालो करेंगे तो ठीक होगा । अगर आपको पूछना था तो आप लिखकर नाम भेजते, आपके व्हिप नाम भेजते । आपने भेजा नहीं है What can I do? I do not know who wants to speak. This whole party has not put any name.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** सुनिये ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** क्या सुनिये । आप टाइम बरबाद करते हैं । चलिए, आप पूछ लीजिए सवाल ; आप जैसे आदमी से डोल करना बहुत मुश्किल है... (व्यवधान)

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** मैं टाइम बरबाद नहीं करता हूँ ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप टाइम बहुत बरबाद करते हैं । मैं आपके व्हिप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृपया इस सदन को चलाने के लिए हमारी मदद कीजिए और रामेश्वर सिंह जी से हमारा रक्षा कीजिए । वरना वे सदन को चलाने नहीं देंगे । इस तरह की बात हम नहीं पसंद करते हैं (व्यवधान)

**श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी (नाम-निर्दिष्ट) :** "हैलो" का वर्ड क्या हमारी प्रोसेडिंग में जायेगा ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** जाने दें जिए ताकि दुनिया को पता चले कि रामेश्वर सिंह जी क्या जानते हैं । सवाल पूछिए कृपया ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** मैं बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूँ कि कम से कम आपने ध्यान दिया हमारी तरफ ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपको जरूरत नहीं है ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** आपने जो हमारे चीफ व्हिप को कहा है, यह आपने ठीक कहा है क्योंकि हमको यह मालूम है ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप सवाल पूछिए, रामेश्वर जी । Do not give lecture. Put question.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** आप पता नहीं क्यों हमारे नाम से चिढ़ जाते हैं ?

**श्री उपसभापति :** इसलिए कि आप शिष्टाचार का पालन नहीं करते हैं । आप सवाल पूछिए कृपा करके पंजाब के बारे में ।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** अगर आपको हमसे चिढ़ है तो हमको भी आपसे चिढ़ है ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** रखिए अपने पास । आप सवाल पूछिए ।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : जिस दिन पंजाब पर यहां बहस हो रही थी, मैं नहीं जानता हूं किसी और ने क्या कहा, लेकिन मैं शायद पहला आदमी हूं, जिसने उस दिन भी कहा था गृह मंत्री साहब से कि 1947 में देश का जो बंटवारा हुआ था वह इन्हीं नीतियों के कारण ही हुआ। क्योंकि 1947 में देश का बंटवारा नहीं होता अगर अंग्रेजों हुकूमत, शासन एक वर्ग और दूसरे वर्ग को लड़ाने की कोशिश नहीं करता। अंग्रेज हुकूमत यहां पर चाहती थी कि हिन्दू और मुस्लिम दंगे हों और देश का बंटवारा हो, यह उस वक्त की हुकूमत चाहती थी। मैं गृह मंत्री साहब से... (व्यवधान)

SHRI B. IBRAHIM (Karnataka): Is he putting a question or making a speech?

श्री विठ्ठल राव माधव राव जाधव (महाराष्ट्र) : भूमिका बांध रहे हैं।

SHRI B. IBRAHIM: He should ask a question.

श्री हुक्म देव नारायणयादव : मकान बनाने से पहले नींव दी जाती है कि नहीं ?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : गृह मंत्री महोदय को अच्छी तरह से याद है कि उस दिन मैंने चेतावनी दी थी कि मुल्क का बंटवारा करने से आप बचाइये। यह अंग्रेज हुकूमत नहीं है, यह देशी हुकूमत है, लोकतांत्रिक और डेमोक्रेटिक सरकार है और सम्पूर्ण देश की सरकार यह है। इस सरकार में हम आज विरोध पक्ष में बैठे हुए हैं मगर हम कतई नहीं चाहेंगे कि देश का बंटवारा हो और कोई वर्ग अगर देश का बंटवारा करना चाहता है और उसमें सरकार अगर मुझसे सहयोग चाहेगी तो मैं सरकार को सहयोग करने को तैयार हूं। गृह मंत्री जी ने इसमें विरोधी दलों से और हर वर्ग से सहयोग की आशा की है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से

पूछना चाहता हूं कि आपने कौन सी ऐसी व्यवस्था की है और कौन सी व्यवस्था करने जा रहे हैं। आपने उस दिन कहा था कि एक हफ्ते के भीतर हमने मुल्जिम को पकड़ने की व्यवस्था की है। कि हम एक हफ्ते के भीतर, वहां पर जहां पर यह किमनल लोग छिपे हुए हैं देवास्थान में, वहां पर हमने कहा है कि एक हफ्ते के भीतर उन्हें हमारे हवाले कराये। मैं जानता हूं कि पटियाला में जो कुछ भी हो रहा है, वहां आपने लाउडस्पीकर का केवल बहाना दिया है इस सरकार ने केवल अपने पक्ष के बचाव के लिये यह बहाना ढूँढा कि लाउडस्पीकर के बजाने से ही तनाव हुआ। नहीं, यहां पर ईमानदारी के साथ बात होनी चाहिए। मैं खुसवंत सिंह जी की राय से सौ फीसदी सहमत हूं और उनसे बहुत अदब और विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि जो भावना आपकी हैं, वही भावना हमारी हैं कि हमारे देश का बंटवारा न हो। आपने इशारा किया है, आपने अभी कहा है, गृह मंत्री जी से प्रश्न पूछा है कि अगर तत्काल इसका कोई हल नहीं निकला गया तो आप देश में खून-खराबे को नहीं रोक सकते। आपने यह भी शंका व्यक्त कर दी और इस शंका को तो मैंने उसी दिन व्यक्त किया था कि देश भर में जो लोग फैले हुए हैं। उनका जिक्र आपने अभी किया— मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि (व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : जरा सवाल पूछ लेने दीजिये। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : जो देश भर में फैले हुए हैं, अगर यह खून-खराबा देश में होता है, इसकी सारी रेसपांसिबिल्टी सरकार पर होगी। यही नहीं, अगर देश का बंटवारा होता है, तो आप देश के अन्वल



नम्बर के आफिशिल कार्यवाहक की तरह उसमें मारे जायेंगे और आपको कोई माफ नहीं करेगा। ( समय की घंटी)

मैं इस सवाल के साथ आपसे गारन्टी चाहता हूँ—यह गारन्टी आप इस सदन को और देश को दें कि जो यहां कम्पूनलिज्म और साम्प्रदायिक तत्व फूट रहा है, इस को ठीक करने में आप कितना समय लगायेंगे। पंजाब के झगड़े को आप कितनी जल्दी समाप्त करेंगे?

श्री विश्वजीत पृथ्वीजीत सिंह : आज आपने चरण सिंह जी के लिये कोई रक्षा की बात नहीं की।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : पहले आपकी रक्षा हो जाये... (व्यवधान) हम तो आपकी रक्षा के लिये चिन्तित हैं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. The hon. Minister.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, I have made a specific statement about an incident in Patiala. Therefore, I did not go into the other question of Punjab affairs. Moreover, we have discussed Punjab affairs many times in this House. Still there are some questions which need clarifications.

First of all, I want to clarify that the Military has not been called. Secondly, Sir, it is not correct to say, as has been said by Mr. Sukomal Sen, that now it has become an issue between Hindus and Sikhs. Hindus and Sikhs are one and many times, as even Sardar Khushwant Singhji has said here, in one family one man belongs to the Sikh religion and another is a Hindu. There are inter-caste marriages between Hindus and Sikhs. Therefore, the need of the hour is, as I have requested the hon. Members, that we should not paint it in such a manner and we should co-operate in such a manner that this type of painting may not increase the tension in other places.

Sir, as far as the question of shoot-at-sight order is concerned, the District Collector had announced on the loudspeaker that anybody found indulging in arson during curfew was liable to be shot. Therefore, we cannot actually call it a shoot-at-sight order. According to my information, as far as Patiala is concerned, though there have been some communal incidents before, there was no tension in that town before this particular incident took place.

Sir, Mr. Mathur has asked me whether there are some foreign provocative agents in the country. We have no report of such type as far as we are concerned...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Do you mean to say that only sympathisers are there? The Prime Minister is on record as having said that the movement is backed by foreigners. That means only some countries are backing it formally.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: That is a different thing that some countries are backing it from outside by giving support to people like Chauhan and others...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Are you sure that they are not operating within?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: According to our information, none. As far as the killer of Atwal is concerned, as the House knows, I had announced that day... (Interruptions) I would like to point out that the highest officer of the CBI has gone there to inquire into the matter. He has come back and he is again going on 6th. Some clues have been found but it is difficult to say that the actual killer of Atwal has been identified. As regards what Sardar Khushwant Singh had said that now all Sikhs are being considered Akalis, this is not true. I do not consider Khushwant Singh an Akali. Similarly...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Even Akalis don't think so.

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** ...there are lakhs and lakhs of Sikhs who are not Akalis. There are other sections of the society in Punjab itself who are not Akalis. Even among the Sikhs there are other religious sects. There are, for example, the Nirankaris, there are the Nirmals, there are the Adivasis, there are the Harijans; and 48 per cent population is Hindu, and even amongst the Akali Dal every Sikh of Punjab is not an Akali. It is not correct to conclude that all of them are Akalis. He has also said that if this thing continues further, it will create a fertile soil for Khalistan. As far as the question of Khalistan is concerned—it was asked by Rameshwar Singhji at the end—about division of the country—we have made it very clear that we would never agree to Khalistan and we would never allow the country to be partitioned further; there is no question of balkanisation. As far as the telegram from SGPC President is concerned, we have also received it, we have taken up the matter with the Haryana Government; we have asked them to send us a report immediately and take proper action on the telegram. As far as negotiations are concerned, I have always taken a stand—it has been the Government's stand—that the Government is always prepared to talk; we want to settle this issue with negotiated settlement, and we do not want to prolong it. I am sure if they agree, they would be certainly invited for talks and the talks could be resumed...

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** First you invite them and see. But you don't invite them. What is the use?

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** Unless we know their mind whether they would come...

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** They say they are prepared, but you don't invite them. You first send an invitation; let them refuse.

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** The two remaining problems which have not

been solved are not so simple as Mr. Mohanta pointed out. He was himself present and represented the Haryana State's point of view and there was a lot of difference between the two. However, some reconciliation is possible and we have now started negotiations after Bhajanlal's arrival back—both with the Punjab and Haryana Chief Ministers. They are likely to be called to Delhi for further discussions in the matter. As far as what Rameshwar Singhji has said regarding my statement that day is concerned, it has been slightly misunderstood and misquoted. I never said that this is an ultimatum. This has been clarified in this House by no less a Member of the opposition than Mr. Sezhiyan, and Mr. Khushwant Singh and others. It was a very conciliatory statement that I had made requesting them to hand over those people whose list was given to them by the Punjab Government at the earliest and I did say, in a week's time. Therefore, as far as the situation in the Punjab is concerned, we are aware of the situation there and we will take all possible steps and do everything possible in order to reconcile the situation and allow them to prepare to come for the negotiations at the negotiating table.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Now the hon. Minister may make his statement on the situation in Assam.

## II. Situation in Assam

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra):** We have all got the copies of the statement and we have read them. The statement can, therefore, be laid on the Table of the House.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** It is possible that there may be typing mistakes here and there.

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** It is also possible that all may not have got it. I am not going to take much time.

Sir, the Hon'ble Members of the House will kindly recall that the situation in Assam has been discussed at length on a number of occasions starting with my *suo-moto* statement on

21st February, 1983. The last occasion on which the Assam situation was discussed extensively in all its aspects on 26th April when I replied to the Debate on the discussion on the working of Home Ministry. We have taken the House into confidence at every stage and we have come forward on more than one occasion to frankly discuss the various aspects of the Assam situation and major incidents which took place from time to time.

The prolonged agitation which was subsequently given an intensive and militant form has left a trail of misery and destruction. The desperate acts of violence committed by the agitators had fouled the atmosphere in Assam. Those who differed with the agitators and wanted to exercise their right of franchise, the minorities, religious and linguistic and tribals had been feeling increasingly insecure and threatened as they were systematically terrorised. It was hoped that all national political parties who have abiding faith in the democratic set up would strongly deprecate irresponsible and inflammatory statement and postures on the part of the agitators and unequivocally condemn the atmosphere of terror and senseless violence unleashed by the agitators. Astonishingly, some political parties, not only chose to boycott the poll and openly support the agitation but also failed to condemn the violence at the appropriate time. The State Government did its best in the prevailing atmosphere to provide protection and to hold peaceful elections. Taking into account the situation, the State Government made its own plans for the maintenance of law and order. To augment its resources, the Central Government had made available 312 Coys. of police forces and paramilitary forces from outside to the State Government. 275 Coys are still being retained in Assam to assist the State Government for maintenance of law and order and early restoration of normalcy. The Constitution compulsion and legal position for holding the elections, without revision of

electoral rolls, have been discussed at length in the House. Notwithstanding the fact that constitutional position regarding holding of elections has been stated on more than one occasion, it is unfortunate that the same old viewpoints based on half-truths are being advanced to give a distorted picture of events. It is forgotten that to the agitators the political parties and democratic process in Assam had become irrelevant. The Government and the majority of our people did not subscribe to this politics of intolerance and terrorism. The Government was keen to restore the democratic process so that the people of Assam could have a Government of their own which could voice their feelings and tackle their problems as their elected representatives. If the atmosphere for election was not ideal, the fault was not that of the Government or of the Election Commission; the responsibility lies with the agitators and those who encouraged them unwittingly or otherwise.

Killings in Assam have caused deep anguish throughout the country. All sections of society suffered as a result of the violence perpetrated by anti-social elements and extremists. The House has condemned the senseless violence that took place and made an appeal to strengthen feelings of mutual cooperation and brotherhood and to find a solution to the problem amicably and help in the process of restoring peace and normalcy. The State Government are taking all possible measures to restore peace and harmony and to render relief and rehabilitation to those who suffered in the disturbances. The Central Government is extending maximum possible assistance to the State Government in this regard.

The administration had a very difficult task on their hands and were working under considerable strain. Under the circumstances, it is possible that there might have been some shortcomings. That is why the State Government have decided to institute

[Shri P. C. Sethi]

a high level administrative enquiry into the disturbances. The enquiry is bound to cover all aspects.

At this stage to form an opinion on the basis of reproduction of some wireless messages in the journal, would be pre-judging the issue. Reference has been made to some IB reports. I should like to mention that the Union Government took various assessments at different times into consideration. The State Government authorities were alerted from time to time about the need for intensifying security measures. To the best of their judgement and assessment, the State Government made arrangements to cope with the situation. For what reasons and in which directions the arrangements could not accomplish their objectives, is the matter which has to be gone into in the course of the enquiry proposed by the Assam Government. It is a complete travesty of facts to say that the Government was only interested in completing the electoral process and was unmindful of the protection of the people. The life and liberty of the various sections of the people have been our major concern and responsibility. For us this is not a matter for partisan consideration or political gain. The holding of elections was a constitutional imperative. The effort all along was to see that the law and order are preserved so that those who are desirous of exercising their democratic right of franchise were allowed to do so without let or hinderance, despite the persistent attempts of a determined group of people for whom democratic norms and no meaning and for whom the modes of individual violence and collective terrorism had become instruments to frustrate democratic processes. And it is unfortunate that they and their agitation were often lionised rather than condemned in no uncertain language.

The article in the New Delhi journal has quoted several wireless messages issued by the State Police authorities. It will be seen from these messages themselves that the State Government

authorities have been very prompt in alerting local police about the dangers of communal violence and in issuing instructions, about the need for prompt action. In the face of clear evidence in the messages quoted in the journal itself it is somewhat ironical if not cruel, to make the allegation that there has been negligence and connivance on the part of the Government. The House may draw its own conclusion about the perversity in interpretation of facts.

As regards the message from the police officer incharge of the Nowgong police station, it will be seen that it was addressed to the Commandant of the 5th Battalion of Assam Police, the sub-division police officer at Mari-gaon, and the officer incharge of the police station at Jagir Road. The present State authorities have already initiated measures to ascertain the action taken by various authorities at different levels. I do not wish to offer any comments on this as an enquiry by the State Government is still on. However, I would like to state that the State authorities had been reviewing the reports relating to law and order situation, particularly reports on threats to communal peace on day-to-day basis and issuing instructions for taking prompt action whenever such information came to their notice.

However, we are intrigued by a coincidence. When Heads of States from all over the world had assembled in New Delhi in connection with the Non-aligned Meet, some newspapers and periodicals chose to come out with graphic pictures on the killings in Assam. Now again attempts are being made to stoke the dying embers which can only help to create misgivings in public mind and tarnish the fair image of our nation. It is sad to find that very often while professing dedication to the ideals of objective reporting the consistent attempt to castigate the Government becomes the all important consideration and national interests are completely dis-

regarded. Conclusions are arrived at in advance and facts are made to fit them.

I should also like to refute strongly the baseless insinuations which have been made about any intention on the part of the Government to conceal facts or fudge the record. So far as the Government is concerned there is nothing to hide and we will hide nothing from the House.

It is unfortunate that some sweeping allegations have been made against C.R.P.F. which has worked under trying circumstances with a high sense of devotion to duty and whose role has been commended by members of the House on more than one occasion.

The situation is an exceedingly complex one and the passions unleashed by the recent frenzy of violence will take time to abate. It is, therefore, imperative that nothing is said or done which will re-open the wounds or give rise to misgivings and inflame the passions. The present is the time for all endeavours towards reconciliation and for consolidating the healing process which is slowly but steadily gaining ground. Even though sporadic incidents of violence are still taking place, there have been definite signs of improvement in the law and order situation, as a result of number of administrative and other steps taken by the State Government for the restoration of peace and harmony. The Army has also been deployed in the affected districts in aid of civil authorities for law and order and internal security duties. Any acrimonious debate at this stage as to what went wrong and who are responsible to protect any administrative lapses to upset this process of reconciliation and healing. We have no intention to protect any administrative lapses that might have occurred despite the arrangements. We have also to keep in view that an elected government is in office and it must have the opportunity and also our support to go into these issues, take measures for the future to put an end to such tragic

incidents and bring about an atmosphere of mutual understanding and harmony among all sections of the people in the State.

5 P. M.

**SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN:** Mr. Deputy Chairman, the statement that has been made by the hon. Home Minister leaves many things unanswered, mystified and intriguing. belonging to the Janata Party, I want to assure this House that as a national political party we have abiding faith in democracy and strongly deprecate irresponsible and inflammatory statement and postures on the part of any body and senseless violence unleashed by any group. The hon. Minister has said:

"It was hoped that all national political parties who have abiding faith in the democratic set-up would strongly deprecate irresponsible and inflammatory statements and postures on the part of the agitators and unequivocally condemn the atmosphere of terror and senseless violence unleashed by the agitators..."

Why agitators only? There have been unprecedented, irresponsible and inflammatory statements made by the members of the ruling party who visited there. Tape-recorded speeches are there. What is the answer of the hon. Minister to that? You condemn the agitators. The agitation which was peaceful for three years all of a sudden erupted in volcanic dimensions because of irresponsible statements by members of the ruling party, and no less than the Prime Minister and Shri Ghani Khan Chaudhuri. I seriously charge them. There are recorded statements and reports by the unbiased Press.

The Home Minister states:

"The constitutional compulsion and legal position for holding the elections, without revision of electoral rolls, have been discussed at length in the House."

I want to put the record straight. The Janata Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party apart from Lok Dal,

[Shri Era Sezhiyan]

who unequivocally and without any reservations, accepted the amendment of the Constitution.

AN HON. MEMBER: Anna DMK also.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Yes, Janta and BJP wanted constitutional amendment for the limited purpose and for a limited period. We were ready to go along with the Government. Afterwards the hon. Minister came before the House and said that there was no unanimity among the Opposition parties. But is there a constitutional provision saying that the entire Opposition should be unanimous in passing the Constitutional amendment? You had enough time, but you did not have enough will to avoid bloodshed and carnage in Assam. Only after the serious and mind-boggling article that has come in 'India Today' the Government comes forward and says, "that is why the State Government have decided to institute a high level administrative inquiry into the disturbances." What kind of an inquiry? An administrative inquiry! Is it administrative lacunae? Sir, we do not know how many thousands have died, what has been the magnitude of the carnage? They themselves admit that as many as 200 firings have taken place. Are all these things to be inquired into by an administrative inquiry? Sir, we do not have any faith in such an inquiry. We want a judicial inquiry by no less a person than a Supreme Court Judge. Institute a judicial inquiry to be gone into by a Supreme Court Judge and let him find out all these things, whether the opposition have been responsible, whether the agitators have been responsible or whether the Hon'ble Ministers and the Government have been responsible. Let them go into all these things. Let the burden be shifted and let such an inquiry come to a conclusion and we are ready to abide by that.

Sir, in the same breath in the next paragraph it is said "At this stage to

form an opinion on the basis of reproduction of some wireless messages in the journal would be pre-judging the issue. Reference has been made to some IB reports, etc. etc." On the plea that there is an administrative inquiry they say, let us not go into these things. If there is a judicial inquiry, I can accept the stand. But it is an administrative inquiry. I would like to know the reaction of the Government to the quotations given by Mr. Arun Shourie, who has done a very commendable job. You say, you condemn him. I say, he has done a commendable job which he has done for the country, for the democracy, for the people of Assam and for this Government itself.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir, in this connection I would like to refer to the message, the wireless message, of Mr. Sahir Ahmad, in charge of the Nowgong police station. What happened to that one? It was given on 15-2-1983 afternoon at 3.30 and the carnage was pounced on February 18, almost two and a half days after the message was sent, sixty precious hours were lost. Had the Government taken immediate action, this thing would not have happened. It was not just a routine statement, it was not an Intelligence Bureau report. This message said, "minority people are in panic and apprehending attack at any moment. Submitted for immediate action to maintain peace." I want to know from the hon. Minister what was the response, what was the reaction to that call, the frenzied call of a police officer from Nowgong. I would like that a judicial inquiry should go into all these aspects. I do not have faith in an administrative inquiry. It cannot unravel the brutal and ghastly way in which the entire thing has been handled by this Government. We seek this judicial inquiry not only in the case of Nowgong or in the case of Nelli. Your own reports concede that there have been as many as 202 firings between

January 7 and February 21 this year. All these 202 firings may be included in the terms of reference of the judicial inquiry. If the opposition or the agitators have been in any way responsible, in the name of democracy and in the name of the harmony of this country please take all action against them.

He has stated in paragraph 7, I think some of them become a very cruel joke to be put to the people, that "As regards the message from the police officer in charge of the Nowgong police station, it will be seen that it was addressed to the Commandant of the 5th Battalion of Assam Police, the sub-division police officer at Marigaon and the officer in charge of the police station at Jagir Road. The present State authorities have already initiated measures to ascertain the action taken by various authorities at different levels". Now the Government is not aware of what action has been taken on this one. One thing clear in this connection is that they have not denied this message. No such thing has been done. They have not said, this is fabrication, this is blackmail, this is inland hand. They concede this is collusion, this is foreign hand, that there was a message. But what was the action taken? It is said, the State authorities have already initiated measures to ascertain the action taken. It is the other way round. I think if the judicial enquiry is there, then these people also should be put in the dock and be enquired into by the judicial authority. They cannot be partisan.

To end, I would like to say that many disparaging things have been said; there have been innuendoes in a round-about way, against the author of this commendable article and paper and there has been suggestions of collusion with the foreign government. Why? I challenge it. Had it been so, we would be one with you to condemn such person. Include this also as reference for the judicial enquiry and see whether there has been any collusion between INDIA

TODAY and those who are abroad, against this country. Please do that. I challenge the Government. If you have got enough proof in your hand, go to court and institute a case against him who has done it. Why don't you have the guts? Why do you come to this House and make such innuendoes?

Lastly, Sir, the Minister has said many things against the Opposition, against the newspapers but nothing has been said against those persons who have done so much of carnage in the name of democracy, in the name of elections and in the name of having an elected government, a government which is an illegitimate government there. He said all other things but nothing has been said about it. Just like you did in Punjab, you may do the same thing here also. We tried to help you to the extent possible. Negotiations had been held over the issue of Assam and all Opposition parties gave all their cooperation. We wanted a solution to be arrived at, peace to be restored, normalcy to be brought back and harmony to flourish the valley of Brahmaputra. Even now, I would like the Minister to tell us what are you going to do. Will negotiations be started, or will the puppet government there be allowed to continue till stability comes? And that stability will not be attained. Are you going to allow the State of Assam to be perpetually doomed to darkness and terrorisation? I say again, terrorisation has been done by this Government in the State of Assam; nobody else has done it. It looks as though somebody who does a murder, gets away and an onlooker is caught for crying "Murder".

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Again, we are discussing this Assam issue. Now, when we discuss this issue, we should stick to the facts. I begin by saying that it is not a fact that Assam movement was always peaceful. To say that for three years it was peaceful, is not a fact. Assam movement, after some time, turned violent, not to the extent as it did during the elections; but it was violent almost from the

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

beginning. Now, during the elections and on the eve of elections, this violence intensified and turned into carnage. So, unless and until we recognise this fact that this movement was never non-violent, never peaceful, we would not be able to come to correct judgment. Where has been the failure of the Government? My allegation against the Government is that the Government has failed on both the fronts; first, in checkmating the extremists; checkmating them and preventing them from arming themselves, or collecting arms and raising a volunteer force. The Government failed in catching the people at the very initial stage. Government failed in that respect. Government failed before the elections also. And this INDIA TODAY which has published this telegram, in its earlier issue, had published a news item that the agitators had developed a volunteer force and that volunteer force is getting arms; they are contacting the Naga extremists, the underground Nagas and they have gone to the underground Nagas for collection arms. This was a report in INDIA TODAY. And that is why, I say the Government failed to check that development, the volunteer force being developed and arming itself by collecting arms, and killing people. So in the very first instance, Government have failed. I would like to know, wherefrom the arms were imported? What the Government Intelligence had been doing? What the CRPF and the Army had been doing? Why have they failed to check the import of arms from outside? Why have they failed in disarming this volunteer force? Why have they failed in containing them? This is my first charge against the Government.

Then, in regard to the violence which took place on the eve of the elections and during the elections, this statement seems to be very complacent. A selfcomplacent statement has been issued. Now, motives have been imputed against the journalists who have published these facts. My first point is that it is the duty of the

journalists to publish facts, to investigate honestly and sincerely and publish facts. This is the duty of the journalists. This is the duty of the Free Press. Unless we allow this thing, unless we insulate the journalists against any action when they are publishing facts, the Press will not be able to function the Free Press in our country will disappear for ever. These facts have been brought to light; how the Government functioned during the elections. Now, a number of documents have been cited in this journal. The Government has not questioned the veracity of these documents which have been published in this journal. Without going into the details of these facts, I would like to point out only one instance.

The Nellie massacre was the gravest massacre during the Assam agitation. In this journal itself, it is said that more than 1800 people, men, women and children, were killed there. A big mob of twelve thousand people, Assamese people, surrounded this place inhabited by the minorities, Muslims. This place was *gheraoed*. This place was surrounded by twelve thousand people. At that time, a wireless message was sent by the local police to the higher authorities. This message is dated 15th. The carnage took place on the 18th. Clear two days elapsed between the wireless message and the carnage. My point is that, at that time, in Assam, there was President's Rule and there were some advisers to the Governor. It was ruled by the Government of India. I would like to know, what these people were doing? What these bureaucrats had been doing? They have issued warnings. The statement also says that warnings had been issued. Warnings might have been issued earlier. But at the time of this killing, you have done nothing. What is the use of issuing warnings when you have not taken any action at the time of this killing? You have issued warnings after warnings that communal tension is rising, communal tension is mounting up, that at any



time it may flare up and take a violent turn. All these warnings might have been issued one by one. But during the carnage, the authorities who were in charge of the administration in Assam kept silent. This may not be connivance. But is this not negligence? What is the dictionary meaning of negligence? If this is not negligence, what else is negligence? There has been utter negligence on the part of the officers who were in charge of the administration in Assam at that time and these people should be brought to book. They are wholly responsible for the incompetence, inefficiency and callous disregard for human life and for their failure to protect human life. Therefore, I would demand that the people who were in charge of the administration in Assam at that time should be brought to book and action should be taken against them for their callous disregard of human life and for these ghastly killings.

Sir, my last point. These killings have become an international issue. This is coming up in the House of Commons. I would like to suggest that Government should find out what the agitators are planning. I blame both the administration, the Government and the agitators equally and squarely. The agitators tried to precipitate the situation. As I said, this issue which was an issue between the Government and the Assam agitation leaders has degenerated into an issue between Hindus and Muslims, between Bengalis and Assamese and between the tribals and the non-tribals. This issue has degenerated. The AASU and the AAGSP are deliberately whipping up communal tension, they are deliberately whipping up racial tension and all sorts of tensions and they are trying to disturb communal and racial harmony. Therefore, these people who are responsible for this tension and killing should be condemned. At the same time, I also condemn the Government for their utter failure in protecting the lives of the people in Assam. So, I would like

the Home Minister to make a clear statement as to why even after the 15th of February when the signal was issued, the killing was to take place, why the Government machinery did not move properly. If they had moved, this life of more than 1800 people or 2000 people would have been saved and for the death of these 2000 people I hold the Government as well as the agitators equally responsible.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this statement on Assam is in the series of statements which the hon. Home Minister has been making in both the Houses. It is in the context of over 5000 people that have died and in the context of almost 3,50,000 people rendered homeless. It is in line with the same kind of inanities, pedantic, empty of content, empty of meaning that we have heard from this Government as far as Assam is concerned. It has particular reference to no specificity in which this statement has come up in this House today, six pages of nothing. And it is because such a pedantic empty exercises are indulged in by the Government that this whole question of parliamentary enquiry, parliamentary debates, inquiries into incidents that have taken place is rendered totally empty of meaning.

We had hoped that the hon. Home Minister will come up with something substantial. The Government has taken the initiative to come and talk about Assam. What has happened that has necessitated the Government's initiative—this six pages of empty nothing?

Sir, a statement is made that an issue of a fortnightly has carried certain news items, an article, and to refute that issue of the fortnightly the Government has moved and come forward with this statement. I would like to ask the Government and the hon. Home Minister, which of the documents referred to in that article is false; which of the documents quoted from in that article do you deny;

[Shri Jaswant Singh].

which of the documents' references, conclusions drawn on the basis of the documents quoted to, do you find mischievous, wrong? The Government has the opportunity to sand up here and say what it likes. It talks about journalistic responsibility. It talks about propriety. It talks about drawing the right conclusions. The Government mouths clichés about everything who will teach the Government propriety, who will teach us, the politicians a code of conduct? We stand up and with a kind of mindless arrogance we attempt to teach ethics to journalists, to lawyers, to judges, to the whole of the world and yet for ourselves we cannot even draw up a code of conduct. We have no right, none at all, not the Government, certainly not, it has no right to talk about ethics and least of all on the question of Assam.

Some Members have already referred to the fact that this issue and the motivation behind this issue is fired by idealism an idealism which stands for truth, and both idealism and truth are totally absent in the Treasury Benches. So, it does not lie with you to teach ethics, to teach propriety and to say what conclusions are to be drawn.

Sir, there was a suggestion, the whole statement is full of suggestions, that malicious conclusions are being drawn. I charge that the statement itself is malicious. The statement is malicious because it is without any foundation. It attempts to draw a nexus, an illusion that on the occasion of the Non-aligned, Conference journalists performed their duties, therefore, that was malicious, that was wrong. Who timed the Non-aligned Conference? I was then in Assam. I had come from Assam and I was sickened. I was sickened to see the senselessness in having over-laden tables in hotels and our preoccupation with Non-Aligned Conference and tarding up the roundabouts in Delhi. You talk of nexus of being malicious! Surely, the suggestion

contained in the statement itself is malicious.

There was a mention about enquiries. Now enquiry is directly related to the question of accountability. A very major event has taken place in one part of India. Had it been any other part of India, I do venture to suggest, and I have said it in this very House earlier, that this Government would not have lasted. I do suggest that the questions that Assam has raised will not be suppressed in this manner. You may attempt to fudge them, but in this manner Assam will not be silenced. The question of enquiry is directly related to accountability. Accountability arises from conscience. If you have a conscience, then you will feel that you are accountable for something. But I do not see any trace of conscience in the Treasury Benches.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: (Uttar Pradesh): Because it is your monopoly?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Where does accountability come from?

SHRI KALRAJ MISHRA: You have monopolised every thing. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Now you are talking of conscience.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: it is a sense of accountability resulting in the desire to hold an enquiry. If the sense of accountability were motivated by an awakened conscience, then this enquiry would be a judicial enquiry. The hon. Home Minister says: "We do not fudge. We place all the facts before the House". There is fudging in the enquiry itself. I would like to submit and I do not want to reduce my criticism to the level in which the statement has been drafted. At one stage, the statement says that the State Government is thinking in terms of an enquiry. At another place it says, an enquiry has been ordered.

Yet at the third it says, the enquiry is in progress. I submit, Sir, that every event that took place in

Assam on that occasion was the direct responsibility of the Centre. The State Government is fudging the issue. Assam was directly under your rule. You cannot now get away by saying that the State Government has ordered an administrative enquiry. I lend my weight to what others have said about a judicial inquiry. I will only take one more minute.

There is the question here of condemnation, that we did not condemn; every one else did it. Government did all the right things, but we did not condemn. We condemn violence and we will today condemn violence and we will condemn the violence which the State has perpetrated against its citizens. Nobody has condemned that. Why don't you stand up and say: "We, the State, condemn violence against our own citizens?" That requires self-condemnation.

You talk about not fudging facts. I would ask you a specific question. You say you don't fudge facts; that you come out with facts. An assertion is made here that in Nellie, based on documents in possession of the Government, in the incident which took place, 1783 people were killed. Will you stand up and deny that? Will you stand up and fudge it? Day before yesterday, in this very House a representative of the Government stood up and said: "We stand by our figures" in which they said that the total deaths were less than 1700. You say you don't fudge! As far as Assam is concerned, as far as the whole business of governance is concerned, your only style of governance is fudging. I ask you to clarify this. I ask you to place on record what are the deaths that took place in Lohari-ghat. A mention has been made... one more second, Sir, this is a very major issue. I appreciate your compulsions. But please appreciate my anger. There is a mention here about the fact that agitators did this, that the Opposition parties did this, that the tribals, minorities, linguistic and ethnic groups did this. I submit Sir,

that the actions of the Government have been such, since the tripartite talks started in which I have been a participant, so as to 'divide and rule'. You have perfected the malevolent art of exploiting fear by first creating it. You do it. No one else does it. Every tiny single little fissure in the society in Assam has been turned into a huge chasm of suspicion by the actions and inactions of the Government. I would like to ask one more question. The hon. Minister of State, Mr. Laskar, is here. He has in his possession, as now referred to in this very article, certain documents. Will he lay them on the Table of the House? Will he say that he does not have them? Will he stand up and say that the claims made in the article are false? Or, will he fudge the answer?

I would like to ask one more thing. You talk about normalcy; you talk about the healing touch. June-July monsoons are imminent. As the combined Leaders of the Opposition recently stated, the Brahmaputra will be in floods again and the whole question of communications in Assam will be rendered useless. People are still staying in refugee camps. They will be kept isolated in tiny camps. Eighty out of 126 of the police than as in Assam are under Army control. You have admitted that. All this will not enable you to maintain law and order. It is only through reconciliation that you can do so. And the first step towards that reconciliation is to dismiss that illegality, the illegitimacy which you call a government, which is led by Hiteswar Saibia.

श्री (मौलाना) अस्तराख्त हक :

जब आपने इलैकशन का वायकाट कर दिया तब आप वहाँ क्यों गये थे ।  
(व्यवधान) आप इबादत करने गये थे ।

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

अभी जसवंत सिंह जी ने बताया कि

[श्री सत्यपाल मलिक]

5 हजार के करीब लोग आसाम में चुनाव कराने के पीछे मारे गये। चुनाव हो गया। जब यह सब हत्याकाण्ड हो गया तो इस सदन में आप आये और आप ने कहा कि बहुत बुरी बात हुई, हमने उस चर्चा में शिरकत को और कहा कि बहुत बुरी बात हुई। हम में से किसी का यह इरादा नहीं है कि जो घाव हैं उन को खोला जाये, लेकिन कोई कोम या मुल्क जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता अगर वह अपने अपराधों की वाबत शमिन्दा नहीं होता। बेरूत में इसके एक चौथाई लोग मारे गये थे आसाम में जितने लोग मारे गये हैं उसके। इजराइल जैसा मुल्क, जिस के बारे में कहा जाता है सारे अरब मुमालिक कहते हैं जालिम मुल्क हैं उस मुल्क के लोग खड़े हो जाते हैं और इजराइल की सरकार अपने रक्षा मंत्री के खिलाफ इनक्वायरी बिठाती हैं और रक्षा मंत्री चला जाता है। सेठी जी, सरकारें आती हैं, चली जाती हैं, आप आयेंगे, हम आयेंगे, चले जायेंगे, लेकिन आने वाली पोढ़ियां इस बात पर जिदा रहती हैं कि हमारे मुल्क और कोम ने ऐसे मामले में क्या किया। यह ऐसा बेहतरीन मामला है—बेहतरीन इस लिये कह रहा हूं कि जिस पत्रिका पर आपने हमला कर दिया उस ने पूरा केस बना कर दिया। उस दिन सद्भावना में हम लोगों ने कह दिया। उस पत्रिका ने बेहतरीन तरीके से साबित किया है कि यह ऐसा मामला है जिस पर सारे मुल्क को शर्म आनी चाहिए और सारे मुल्क को एक बड़े सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज से इनक्वायरी करानी चाहिए। अगर कोई देश का राजनीतिक दल दोषी है तो उस पर निशान लगे कि यह दोषी है, अगर सरकार दोषी है तो उस पर निशान लगे कि यह दोषी है। यह होगा तो इस में सारे तबके साथ रह सकेंगे वरना इस मुल्क को आप जबरदस्ती एक नहीं

रख सकते। दो आदमी मर जाते हैं हड़ताल में, जरा सा किसी कांग्रेस टोपी पर डंडा लग जाता है तो आप जूडिशियल इनक्वायरी करा देते हैं, लेकिन इतना बड़ा मामला हो गया सरकारी इनक्वायरी हो रही हैं सारा मुल्क हिल गया है फिर भी आप जूडिशियल इनक्वायरी से बचना चाहते हैं। अखबार में लिखा है कि छोटे से छोटे अफसरों से, दरोगा से लेकर पुलिस के बड़े अफसरों ने बराबर आपको चेतावनी दी, तीन बार एक्ससाइज हुई, तीन बार गवर्नमेंट के सलाहकारों ने जानना चाहा कि चुनाव हुआ तो क्या होगा। जुलाई, '82 में एक्ससाइज हुई, फिर दिसम्बर '82 में हुई, तीनों ही बार प्रशासन ने कहा है कि चुनाव कराने में हिंसा होगी। लेकिन आप की जिद थी मुझे याद आता है कि एक मुगल बादशाह के आखिरी खानदान में कोई था जिस की बेगम ने कहा कि एक डूबती हुई नाव और उस में बैठे लोगों को मैं डूबते हुए देखना चाहती हूं और इस लिये उस की मर्जी पूरे करने के लिये एक नाव में लोगों को भर कर उस के सामने डूबा दिया गया। आप का नजरिया भी उसी तरह का है। आप के अफसर कहते हैं कि चुनाव नहीं हो सकते, आसू कहता है कि चुनाव नहीं हो सकते, अपोजीशन कहता है कि चुनाव नहीं हो सकते। लोकदल और डी० एम० के० और दूसरी राजनीतिक पार्टियां कहती हैं कि हम कांस्टिट्यूशन अमेंडमेंट के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन आप तो शहनशाह हैं। लोकतंत्र के द्वारा चुनी हुई सरकार तो आप हैं नहीं। लोकदल के अध्यक्ष चौ० चरण सिंह एक सप्ताह पहले मिलते हैं श्रीमती इन्दिरा गंधी से और रेक्वेस्ट करते हैं कि आप यह चुनाव स्थगित कराइये। लेकिन कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलता। आज जो बहस हम

कर रहे हैं उस के मातहत इस देश की संसद को यह जानने का हक हासिल है कि अगर वहाँ का प्रशासन और वहाँ की पुलिस यह रिपोर्ट भेज रही थी और वहाँ का स्पेशल ब्रांच यह रिपोर्ट भेज रही थी कि चुनाव होने पर वहाँ हिंसा होगी तो आखिर कौन ऐसा है जो जिम्मेदार है और जिस ने अनयो मनमर्जी के लिये वहाँ चुनाव कराये और उन चुनावों के दौरान आप की सारी शक्ति लग गयी कैंडीडेट की हिफाजत के लिये और पोलिंग अफसर की हिफाजत के लिये और आप ने तमाम रिक्वेस्ट के बावजूद नवेली जैसे गाँव में जो राजमार्ग पर स्थित है, वहाँ पुलिस नहीं भेजी। इस को इक्वायरी होनी चाहिए।

(व्यवधान) आप क्रेडिट ले रहे हैं कि इस रिपोर्ट में जो वायरलेस मैसेज कोट किया गया है, इंडिया टुडे की रिपोर्ट में जो भी वायरलेस मैसेज कोट किये गये हैं उन से यह साबित होता है कि हमारा शासन सतर्क था। इस से साबित होता है कि जहीरुद्दीन सतर्क थे, इससे साबित होता है कि एस पी नवगाँव सतर्क थे, इस से साबित होता है कि नीचे के आदमी सतर्क थे, लेकिन राजभवन में बैठा हुआ आदमी नामाकूल है। उस ने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की। आप तथ्यों को अदलबदल नहीं कर सकते। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर दिन में तीन तीन बार रिपोर्ट भेजी जाती थी, सेचुरेशन के असेसमेंट की बात होती थी, आप के पास केन्द्रिय सरकार की रिपोर्ट आती थी, चोफ एलेक्टोरल आफिसर की रिपोर्ट आती थी, राज्यपाल के सलाहकारों की रिपोर्ट आती थी, लेकिन उस के बाद भी उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। (व्यवधान)

मैं अंत में दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ सिर्फ कि माननीय सेठी जी, यह एक ऐसा मामला है कि जिस के ऊपर कम

से कम सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज की या पार्लियामेंट की इक्वायरी होनी चाहिए।

श्री कलराज मिश्र : मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। संसदीय उपमंत्री श्री कल्प नाथ राय जी उन को उकसा रहे थे इंटरप्ट करने के लिये, इस पर आप क्या व्यवस्था देंगे। यह कोई तरीका है? वह उकसा रहे हैं। वह मंत्री हैं, संसदीय मंत्री हैं। जो सदन की मर्यादाएँ हैं उन को उन कर परिपालन करना चाहिए। वह उन को उकसा रहे हैं कि उन की इंटरप्ट करो। यह क्या तरीका है। इस पर आप व्यवस्था दीजिए। संसदीय मंत्री को आप निर्देश करिए। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि संसदीय मंत्री को आप निर्देश करिए कि इस प्रकार की हरकत से बे बाज आयें।

(व्यवधान) यह क्या कोई तरीका है।

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक : मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूँ। आसू के जो लोग हैं, मैं उन की कोई वकालत नहीं कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आजादी के बाद की पहली पीढ़ी के ये लोग हैं जिन्होंने अपने स्टेट के मामले को ढाई साल तक एक्जैम्पलरी तरीके से, पूर्ण शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से चलाया, आंदोलन चलाया। आप उन के साथ समझौते के बहुत नजदीक पहुंच गये थे। उन्होंने उस ढाई साल में जो आन्दोलन चलाया, ऐसा शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलन आजादी के बाद कोई दूसरा नहीं चला। आज आप उनपर इल्जाम देते हैं और उन की बात नहीं सुनी जाती। अगर उन्होंने उसके बाद कुछ गलती की तो मैं उन की कोई वकालत नहीं करता, लेकिन दूरदराज के नौजवान

[श्री सत्यपाल मलिक]

जो अपनी कौम को, संस्कृति को बचाने के लिये लड़ते रहे, शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से लड़ते रहे और आप ने उन की बात नहीं सुनी और उन पर आज आप इल्जाम लगा दें तो इस तरह से यह देश कायम नहीं रहेगा ? ऐसा होने पर उन लड़कों को दिल्ली से कोई मुहब्बत रहने वाली नहीं है यह मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। आज अगर आप उन पर इल्जाम लगाते हैं, तो मैं उन को क्रेडिट देता हूं, कि आज भी उन की ऐक्शन कमेटी में मुसलमान हैं और हिन्दू भी है, और उन्होंने शानदार काम किया है पिछड़े ढाई साल में। मैं उन का कोई ब्रीफ नहीं होल्ड कर रहा हूं, लेकिन मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि क्या आप संसद् की कोई कमेटी इस मामले की जांच करने के लिये नियुक्त करेंगे या यह सदन ऐसी कोई कमेटी नियुक्त करेगा। हमको यह अधिकार हासिल है कि हम माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से मांग करें कि जो पोलिटिकल ब्रांच की रिपोर्ट है, जो सरकार को पुलिस ने रिपोर्ट भेजी है, जो आई० बी० की रिपोर्ट है, कम से कम नवेली के मसाले के बाद जो आई० जी० की रिपोर्ट है, असम से जो रिपोर्ट आपको भेजी गई है उसका क्या सदन के पटल पर रखने के लिये तैयार है ?

**श्रीमती मैमूना सुल्तान (मध्य प्रदेश) :** डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब, मैं एक सफाई चाहती हूं। आपने चूंकि बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों को बोलने का मौका दिया, मुझे भी एक सफाई चाहिये। आपका मशविरा बहुत कीमती है और हम चाहते हैं कि जितने भी मशविरे अपोजिशन से आये उनको संजीदगी से हम सुनते हैं और उनको सुनकर कोशिश करते हैं कि जहां तक संभव हो उनको अपनाया जाये।

जहां तक हालात का सवाल है, असम में हालात पहले से बेहतर हैं और वहां अब हालात अच्छे नजर आते हैं। लेकिन कुछ लोग अगर चाहते हैं कि जख्मों पर जो पट्टी है वह उघाड़ दी जाए तो जो जख्म हैं वह उघाड़ने के बाद साफ तौर से खुलकर सामने आयें और इधर जो कौमी रहबर हैं ये भी समन्दर देखें। आपने इजराइल का जिक्र किया, मैं यह पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या आप चाहते हैं कि इस सिचुएशन के लिये हम इजराइल जैसी वारदात शुरू करें। अगर यह चाहते हैं तो उसकी सफाई कर दीजिये।

**श्री सबाशिव बागाईतकर (महाराष्ट्र) :**

श्रीमन, मैं यह सफाई, यह व्यवस्था चाहता हूं कि आपने एक पार्टी से एक आदमी को बोलने की इजाजत दी है, तो ये सफाई मिनिस्टर से किस तरह से मांग रही हैं, यह सफाई मिनिस्टर से मांग रही हैं या अपोजिशन मੈम्बरों से ? ..  
(व्यवधान)

**श्री उपसमापति :** अब इस पर कोई सफाई की जरूरत नहीं, आप बैठ जाइये।

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA:** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am sorry Mr. Sezhiyan and my other friends from the Opposition have used even this occasion to malign our party, our Government and our leader on an issue where, if they were to be objective, they would know who are really responsible for what happened in Assam. I do not intend to indulge in any acrimony or mud-slinging. But certainly when Mr. Jaswant Singh of the BJP talked to idealism being absent on this side and when idealism in this context can only mean secularism and the protection of minorities, then the picture is well known to the whole world as to who stands where and who has been all through our recent history the protector of

minorities and the sentinel of secularism and on the other hand who have done all in their power to destroy these values and this idealism. (Interruptions) Sir, when Mr. Sezhiyan posed certain questions, he will agree with me that these were all the same old hackneyed questions which have been debated again and again on the floor of the House. (Interruptions) Please, we have heard members on the other side with great patience. Let them show us the same consideration.

**श्री कलराज मिश्र :** श्रीमन्, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। आप जसवंत सिंह जी और सेजियन जी के सवालों का जवाब दे रहे हैं या क्लेरिफिकेशन ले रहे हैं। यह अगर डिबेट है तो हम भी बोल सकते हैं। उन्होंने अपने विचार रखे हैं, हम भी अपने विचार रखना चाहते हैं। स्टेटमेंट पर इनको बोलना चाहिये। जसवंत सिंह जी का श्री एरा सेजियन का नाम लेकर बोलने का कोई तरीका नहीं है। स्टेटमेंट पर अपनी बात कहें। यह विषय के विपरीत जा रहे हैं। क्लेरिफिकेशन के अंदर यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। मैं आपका इस संबंध में प्रोटेशन चाहता हूँ। (व्यवधान)

**श्री उपसभापति :** अगर मैं इस बात पर रोकने लगू तो बहुत सदस्य खड़े हो जायेंगे। मैं इसको रोकता नहीं हूँ। जो आपके मन में आया आपने कहा और जो इनके मन में आया यह कह रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA :** I do not know that the honourable Member on the other side is so ignorant of parliamentary practices and procedures. If I as the Deputy Leader of the ruling party have to speak on this motion, then, all the misrepresentations that have been indulged in by the other side which reflect on our party and our leader, we have to meet them. If they had not indulged

in these tactics and practices, and if they had confined themselves only to asking questions of the Home Minister and seeking clarifications, then it would have lain in their mouth to protest. But they want to have the cake and eat it too. They want to indulge in all kinds of allegations against us and when it comes to our then they want us not to speak out, but, on the contrary, to confine ourselves to the statement of the Home Minister. This approach should apply to both sides and on behalf of our party we are prepared to adhere to this practice if they will give us the assurance that they will adhere to it; but they cannot have it both ways. Now coming to the question of these killings in Assam. What has the article in INDIA TODAY sought to do? It has tried to give the impression that this Government, despite knowing that their own people, the members of the minorities, who, by and large, owe their allegiance to us, that their lives were in danger, the Government still allowed them to be massacred and butchered. Can a greater untruth be ever spoken? The main question is: Who have been responsible for these atrocities. Giving one wireless message here, concocting some other evidence there, preparing in advance, as the Home Minister rightly pointed out, a certain material by some officials in order to save their own skin, and thus giving a distorted picture not only to this country but to the world outside, does this answer it? The truth lies somewhere else. And it is that which has really blurred the whole image of this country. During my recent visit abroad, many well-meaning friends told me that nothing has done greater harm to our secular image than these killings of Nellie and other places. So, what we have witnessed in this House is really a very peculiar situation. On one side Mrs. Gandhi is maligned as the greatest protector of minorities. Yes, maligned by Hindu chauvinists the communal people. Among the Hindu communal elements, she is being maligned charging her that she is

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria]  
pampering the Muslims. On the other hand what is sought to be done here is that she is by enhends the biggest enemy of Muslims that she has been responsible for these murders. I demand of the Home Minister that this lie must be nailed...

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAITKAR:  
So, appoint an inquiry commission; let a commission of inquiry be appointed, if you are so anxious; let a judicial inquiry be conducted.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: Inquiries will be conducted. Where everything is so open are enquiries necessary? The truth Sir, is known to them as much as to us. But now a different game is being played. In this matter where our own people were killed, where our own followers have been butchered, we are being accused as the murderers.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who are the culprits?... (Interruptions).

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: I am really pained that my good friend Mr. Mathur is feeling so worked up and agitated about what happened in Nellie and other places that he is shedding crocodile tears and accusing us on this side of perpetration of these crimes. What Mr. Mathur said reminds me of a Urdu couplet.

हम ग्राह भी करते हैं तो हो जाते हैं  
बदनाम,

वह कत्ल भी करते हैं तो रुस्वा नहीं  
होता :

डा० मदन मोहन सिंह सिद्धू (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन् मैं भी एक शेर अर्ज कर दूँ :-

हमने माना कि तगाफुल न करोगे,  
लेकिन खाक हो जाएंगे हम, तुमको खबर  
होने तक :

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: I demand of the Home Minister to bring out all facts in this ghastly because I agree with Mr. Era Sezhiyan and Mr. Jaswant Singh that his is rather a vague and general statement. It does

not meet the challenge that has been thrown at us. It does not nib the mischief and insinuation that lie behind all these machinations. I would like the Home Minister to come out with a sort of detailed White Paper giving full facts about the activities of all those people, all those communal goondas, all those anti-social elements and leaders of political parties who are enemies of secularism...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: And all those Ministers and Prime Ministers.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: And who want Muslims to be butchered and massacred whenever it is possible for them to do so. I make this charge. I would like him to come out with all the facts and the facts themselves will expose the opposition.

It is true that the official machinery failed to protect the minorities. But why did it fail? Because there are still innumerable State officials working hand-in-gloves with the agitators in the Assam movement. It is this aspect which will have to be thoroughly gone into. Unless you are able to cleanse the Assam Administration of all those elements who are working along with the agitators to see that somehow or other those who do not agree with them, those who belong to the minorities in particular, are victimised on the ground that they are not siding with them. All these facts must come out and then only you will be able to tell the world why Nellie killings took place and how and why you were helpless in preventing them.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : श्रीमन्, मैं भी एक शेर अर्ज कर दूँ—

खुदा के वास्ते इन्हें न छोड़ो,

शहर में यही तो कातिल बचे हैं :

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, when I was listening to Dr. Zakaria casting aspersions and making insinuations.



against Mr. Arun Shourie and the journal, I was reminded of a very important debate which took place sometime back on the Antulay affair when he spoke in the very same vein. The House will recall that the time has proved that what we spoke from this side was correct and not what Dr. Zakaria said from that side on that day. And I am sure that history will once again prove that Dr. Zakaria is not correct even now, but what the journal has tried to point out is totally correct.

I am very sorry at the attitude of the Home Minister. Let me point out that I am not one who is to be angry. I am not one who will cast accusations or counter accusations. It is because I feel that the thread that binds the mind of the Assamese people, the emotional feelings of the Assamese people, particularly the Assamese youth, with the rest of the country today is very thin. The mind of the Assamese people is linked with the rest of the country by a very thin thread today and let there be no illusions about it. I am a nationalist and it pains me to say this and I see that very dangerous trends are ahead and, therefore, nothing should be done or said which would snap this thread. The honourable Minister in his concluding part of the statement has very correctly said, "It is imperative that nothing is said or done which will reopen the wounds or give rise to misgivings and inflame the passions." He says further: "The present is the time for all endeavours towards reconciliation and for consolidating the healing process." Very good. He goes on to say: "Any acrimonious debate at this stage as to what went wrong and who are responsible is not only premature, but also likely to upset this process of reconciliation and healing". He pleads in the statement that we should not go into an acrimonious debate as to what went wrong and who are responsible for this. But, what about this statement? What is this statement then? You have accused the Assam Students' Union; you have accused the Ghana Sanghram Parishad, and you have accused

the Opposition parties. And you have said this as if we are all wrong. But ironically you plead that for the process of reconciliation we should not enter into any acrimonious debate. This statement shows that everyone else in this land can be accused for what has happened in Assam, but not the sacred cow, that is, the ruling party and that is precisely what I am taking objection to.

If you feel that the process of reconciliation in the State demands that there should be no accusation and counter-accusation, then you, Mr Home Minister, should take particular caution at this stage not to indulge in such types of acrimonious accusations against others. Please don't indulge in such types of acrimonious accusations against others, because if you accuse me or if you accuse the AASU or the Ghana Sanghram Parishad or accuse the political parties, then counter-accusations will undoubtedly follow, and that is what pains me. You have tried to defend your position with regard to the Constitutional amendment and otherwise also. When a person has no clothes to protect himself against wind what he tries to do is to clutch at his clothes with intensity and that is what the present Government is doing. Now, I am asking a positive question: Supposing that the Opposition parties do not agree to a Constitutional amendment, a statement which I dispute why you created such a situation, in which five thousand people were killed because of this Constitutional compulsion? There was another opportunity and there was another avenue open to you and that was the declaration of the emergency.

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA:** You would have done that also.

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:** May be. But I am asking you, Mr. Zakaria, a question. As a responsible Government, if there are two options before you, one, declaration of the emergency and the

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

other, saving of five thousand people, what option should be followed by the Government? That is the question I am asking. Can a responsible Government say, "Because the Opposition may attack us or may accuse us, we will not go in for emergency, but will go in for killing five thousand people." This is the insensitivity of the Government which we the Opposition parties are accusing the Government of because of which five thousand people have been killed. For a Constitutional compulsion, in the history of any democratic country in the world, up till now there has been no instance whatsoever of death of five thousand people and misery to lakhs of others and there were a number of options before you. If the Opposition did not co-operate, the atmosphere in Assam was such that you could have proclaimed the emergency or stopped the election and the Chief Election Commissioner himself said that the situation was not favourable for an election. This is the complaint that I am making.

Now, I come to the third point. What about these telegrams? These telegrams referred to in the magazine. These telegrams were all the time warning the Government of the impending danger in Nellie. Why no action was taken? I tell you, Mr. Home Minister, what one District Collector told me point blank. I went to Goalpara where the villages were burning. The villages were burning and there were attacks and counter attacks and I went to the District Magistrate and told him, "For heaven's sake, why don't you send the police forces to protect people and their lives and properties?". He told me: "Look, Mr. Goswami, will you kindly impress upon the Central Government to stop the election because I do not have sufficient forces at my command to continue the elections and, at the same time, protect the life and property of the people." I am, with full responsibility, naming the District Collector

of Goalpara and, on that day, he told me: "Why don't you ask the Central Government?" The District Collector told me that there were reasons and the facts are that two District Magistrates were asked to go on leave as they gave opinion against the election. (Interruptions). I was told by the CRP officials, "For heaven's sake, bring orders to us so that we can protect the life and property of the people." We have been asked only to look after election. Unfortunately, the local administration all the time were giving an impression to you and the Central Government that if election takes place only there will be trouble in a few constituencies; and in the others there will not be much trouble. Therefore, they underplayed the situation. Only when the situation went out of control you were called. That is what I am demanding. I am in agreement with Dr. Rafiq Zakaria that a White Paper on Assam, giving all the facts and documents, be published by the Government, so that we may have a clear picture as to what happened in Assam. Why do you blame the entire Opposition? Your Deputy Leader, speaking in this House on behalf of all, is asking for a White Paper. When there was a unanimous demand from the Opposition on White Paper, you... (Interruptions). Why don't you agree to a White Paper? (Interruptions). If you do not agree, the conclusion will be that the White Paper will paint you black. If you do not agree, the White Paper will paint the Government black. So...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At six o'clock we have Half-an-hour discussion.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am concluding. My second question is whether you are taking any steps for re-starting the negotiations. As I said at the beginning with all responsibility and with all pain that today Assam is linked with the rest of the country by a thin thread; whether the Assamese people are right or wrong is not the question at all. The best way to

ensure integrity is to resume negotiations. You say, in the case of Punjab, you are prepared to call the agitators. Why don't you resume the negotiations with the Assam movement leaders once more also because normalcy in Assam is totally linked with the solution of the problem. Mr. Laskar knows about it. Today the situation may appear normal apparently, on the surface, but it is not so down below. Normalcy only can come provided there is a reasonable solution. And to arrive at a just solution, you need to re-start the negotiations. Only then can we come to a just solution of the problem, keeping the interests of all sections of the community. I hope the Minister will give answer. (*Interruptions*)

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA (Maharashtra): There is already a White Paper. You have not read it. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him reply.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: It is not correct to assume, as Mr. Sezhiyan has assumed, that the agitation was peaceful. I have pointed out a number of times that even before the elections were ordered, there were 280 deaths and casualties. Many officers. . . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: He has said in the statement: "However, we are intrigued by a coincidence. When the Heads of..." (*Interruptions*) Direct or indirectly, he is... (*Interruptions*) This paragraph should be withdrawn. Will he do it?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will reply to all points. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: (Assam): He has stated that before the election there were so many deaths. Were they killed by the police or by other persons also? Will he kindly clarify?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: These are deaths both by police firing and also the agitators. Sir, I have never in the statement charged that the author of the

paper itself is in collusion with foreign people. I have also not said that whatever he has said about these reports is wrong. I have made clear...

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: In the statement you have stated: "However, we are intrigued by a coincidence. When Heads of States from all over the world had assembled in New Delhi in connection with the Non-Aligned Meet, some newspapers and periodicals chose to come out with graphic pictures on the killings in Assam. Now again attempts are being made to stoke the dying members which can only help to create misgivings in public mind and tarnish the fair image of our nation". You are insinuating the author and the magazine that they are trying to tarnish the fair image of the nation. Please withdraw this one. You can accuse me, you can insinuate against me and the party but do not do it against the press. The press has done a commendable job. You may not agree with them. It may not be palatable to you. Therefore, I would appeal to you to withdraw these things. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: It is a threat to the press. The entire press is threatened.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Please allow the Minister to speak.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: It should be withdrawn immediately.

श्री कलराज मिश्र श्रीमन्, इस पैरा को इनको तुरंत वापस लेने की घोषणा करनी चाहिए... नहीं तो समाचारपत्रों का... (*व्यवधान*)

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, he has created the impression that the press will not be allowed to remain free. The statement made by the hon. Minister shows that he would not allow a free

[Shri Surendra Mohan]

press in the country. We are very strongly protesting and we want that he must withdraw it.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: We are very much for the freedom of the press. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: We do not agree with this one, namely, that attempts are being made to stoke the dying members which can only help to create misgivings in the public mind and tarnish the fair image of our nation. Therefore, in protest we walk-out. You are trying to choke the press.

*(At this stage some hon. Members left the Chamber)*

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Now, as far as Assam is concerned, there were about 3.10 lakh people in the camps and I am happy to say that now only 1.12 lakhs have remained there and many of them are also likely to return back when the heavy rains start. But arrangements are being made to see that they do not suffer even during heavy rains.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Are you sure?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: What I have said about the report is that most of the conclusions drawn are not very correct. It is also not correct to say that these wireless messages which were communicated between various police stations and district authorities were sent to the Central Government. As far as this report is concerned, this was written somewhere in the month of March when all the election process was completed by the Intelligence Bureau on the 21st of February. Now, of course, one or two copies are available in the office although they were not officially sent, but they are available in the office.

As far as the number of deaths is concerned, the Chief Minister of Assam himself has said that the number of those persons who are missing should also be counted as dead and

now according to him there are three thousand deaths and not 1700 deaths.

Sir, as far as the elections are concerned, I have more than once clarified the position about the elections and I need not repeat all that here.

I am grateful to Dr. Zakaria for putting the cards straight and I am really very thankful as far as his suggestion is concerned as far as a white paper is concerned. There is already some document and from time to time we have come out with documents. If any additions are necessary, we will certainly consider it.

As far as Mr. Goswami's points for resuming the talks are concerned, we have already taken the stand that let some normalcy be restored and we will certainly try to resume the negotiations, we are prepared for it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I did mention that the reference to the Press that has been made here is really regrettable. We would have liked from our party that such a reference had not been made by the Home Minister and the fact why we are not walking out is because the whole of Assam issue is involved. But it must be said that the language used is definitely vindictive of the press and such reference should not have been made. We on our part also request the hon. Minister to kindly withdraw this part of the statement at least.

#### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSIONS

On points arising out of answer to Unstarred Question No. 2272 given on 4th November, 1982 regarding industrial sickness

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, we are starting it at 6.10; we should have started it at 6 O'clock. [The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Rafiq Zakaria) in the Chair]

One gets sick in discussing sick industry, where the Government and whoever becomes the Minister agrees