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Title: Regarding riots of 1984 in which a large number of Sikhs were killed.

MADAM SPEAKER: Now, we take 'Zero Hour'.

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL (BHATINDA): Madam Speaker, with a heavy heart, I rise today once again to remind this House of one of the darkest days in the history of this country where 26 years ago, a genocide took place and was carried on for three full days. The same Ruling Party, with six years today in office, was the party in power at that time 26 years ago. Members of a certain community were targeted, hunted, butchered, massacred and killed mercilessly for having committed no crime, for not having committed a murder and for not having looted. They were not asked and they were not saved and nobody came to their rescue. And the very perpetrators, the people who were supposed to protect the people, watched, while the law-makers of the country turned a blind eye and took no steps to stop the genocide of 7,000 innocent Sikhs, which took place in the capital of our country and throughout the nation.

Madam, the entire country had witnessed it for three days. I would like to ask if there is any Member in this House who does not know who was behind this genocide, who will put his heart on his conscience and swear on the heads of his children that he does not know which Ruling Party was responsible for this. I would like to ask if there is one Member in this House who says that even a single person has been brought to book, who had encouraged and abetted this genocide.

Madam, today leave aside what I say, I would just like to put in front of you the recorded statements of some of the well-known and most respected members of this country and of our community. I first speak about Shri I.K. Gujral, the former Prime Minister of India. I will just read out a few excerpts.

"On 1st November 1984, I contacted the President of India. He advised me to visit the affected areas and also contact the Government. I considered it very odd as President of the country is telling me to do this. During my talk with the Home Minister, I could notice that he did not know many details about what was happening in the country.

I noticed houses were burning, trucks were burning. I received a call from General Aurora and I was informed.

General Aurora is a war hero in front of whom 91,000 Pakistani troops had surrendered. It further reads :

"Along with Patwant Singh and Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh and others, had met the President of India and returned disappointed by his response.

We had decided to go and meet the Home Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao and I had seen various incidents of burning properties on my way to the Home Minister's house and return, I could see there was no attempt to either get hold of the people or to extinguish the fire. I was stopped on the way twice by a crowd carrying lathis, shouting slogans. Some of them came near my car, opened the door and inquired if there was any Sikh inside. "

Madam, there are many other incidents how he met the Lt. Governor and took whatever steps he could think of.

It further says :

"On 5th November, Shri Chandra Shekhar and myself visited the refugee camps in Trans-Yamuna. There were 7,000 to 8,000 men, women and children in the police station. I asked the SHO how it was that so many incidents had taken place in his locality and why no one was arrested. He told me that he had arrested 10 persons, but they took them away. At that stage Shri Chandra Shekhar had asked him as to who had taken them away, but the SHO was silent. From what I had seen and from what I heard from the people in the refugee camp, it appeared to me that the riots were organised. The ex-Prime Minister of this country is giving this statement! The riots were organised, particularly, because so many people have taken part in the riots. They were spread all over the town. The persons in the refugee camps named certain people. I went to the house of Shri Musafir who was attacked by the mob and he said that local *goondas* attacked his house. He was a Congressman, yet his house was attacked. I was told by Shri Jagmohan Singh Kochar, Member of the Corporation that he had fired in the air to thwart the mob, but he also told me that in the mob he could identify four persons who belonged to the Congress Party and were his colleagues in this crime who

perpetrated this crime."

Madam, I will speak about General Aurora -- the war hero.

"We could make out that a highly volatile situation was developing and if it is not controlled by timely action, then it could flare up beyond all proportions. A delegation comprising of myself, Arjun Singh and Gruchar Bachan Singh called upon the President who on appeal the President said that I have no powers to intervene. We were all amazed to hear this remark coming out from the mouth of no other than the President of the country who was even otherwise morally and constitutionally bound to protect the lives and properties of innocent citizens of India. Our queries from the President were whether Army had been called in to restore law and order. He said that I am not in contact with the Home Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao and requested me to speak to the Home Minister. I telephoned the Home Minister from the Rashtrapati Bhawan, but was told that he is not available. Sardar Patwant Singh, I. K. Gujral and myself went to the house of the Home Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao without appointment. We reached at 3 pm and we were surprised to see that there was no meeting in progress. Absolute calm was prevailing in his house. The situation looked very normal and did not reflect that half the city was in flames and murders were taking place in widespread areas. Our request to the Home Minister came out no meeting was going on and when I asked him whether Army was being called the Home Minister replied that it would be here in the evening. When I asked him how it is being deployed, he said the Area Commander will decide. We noticed that the approach of the Home Minister was very casual and he did not seem to be concerned at all about the Sikhs being butchered in large scale and bloodshed. This is the Home Minister who is not bothered. The arrangements including setting up of a Joint Control Room are normally completed before the Army is deployed. We noticed that although the GOC of Delhi area was in town, but the Home Minister made no effort to contact him. The Home Minister was grossly negligent in his attitude and I along with my wife had to leave my house and spent the night at I. K. Gujral's house."

This is the war hero of our country!

Shri Shanti Bhushan, a renowned lawyer --

"They went to the affected areas and said that no action was being taken. We then decided to form a group of lawyers and go to the affected areas. The group of lawyers consisted of Shri Ram Jethmalani, Shri Fali Nariman, Shri Soli Sorabjee, Shrimati Rani Jethmalani, Shri Prashant Bhushan and many others. We visited Shakarpur and many other places and they saw that there were many dead bodies of Sikhs who had been killed and some bodies were still burning. They saw police officials with their name plates and their clothes, but got the impression that they were doing nothing to stop the killings. When we were watching the TV broadcast, we heard slogans "*khoon ka badla khoon se lenge*". Madam, on the TV of this country these are the slogans being shouted. I am not saying this. Thereafter, I noticed that the then Prime Minister was present at the place and was bound to have heard these slogans."

I also remember that the then Prime Minister said in a public speech after a few days of the violence that : "when a big tree falls, the earth shatters." Madam, the Prime Minister of a country says this! The Home Minister is not bothered! What do you think is going to happen to those 7,000 innocent Sikhs who are butchered?

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Member, it is a very sad incident, which you are talking about.

...(Interruptions)

MADAM SPEAKER: It is very sensitive and very sad. But please come to the point as to what exactly you want from the Central Government today.

...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : I first want to let the Members of this House realize what all had happened. Please give me a few more minutes to mention what the renowned people have said. There are plenty of us who had forgotten it and who would like to forget it also.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please come to the point.

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL: Please listen to this. Until our conscience wakes up, no action is going to take place. It is high time that the conscience of the people of this country and the leaders of this nation is awakened.

Madam, Madhu Kishwar, a journalist and a human rights' activist said, "I personally witnessed some carnage and

successfully tried to stop the mob." ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please sit down.

...(*Interruptions*)

श्रीमती परमजीत कौर गुलशन : आप सुनने का साहस करो...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये।

श्रीमती परमजीत कौर गुलशन : सत्त्वाई को जानो कि सत्त्वाई क्या है। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप भी बैठ जाइये।

वेई! (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती हरसिमरत कौर बादल : क्या मैं एक बात भी गलत बोल रही हूँ या मैं एक भी बात झूठ बोल रही हूँ और क्या एक भी चीज अपनी तरफ से कह रही हूँ, ये जाने-माने लोगों के रिकार्डेड स्टेटमेंट्स हैं, मेरे स्टेटमेंट्स नहीं हैं। ...(व्यवधान) These are the recorded statements. These statements are not from me, but they were made by well-known and respected people of this country, this nation. ...(*Interruptions*) ाह सत्त्वाई है।...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये।

श्रीमती परमजीत कौर गुलशन : आप इस सत्त्वाई को भूल नहीं सकते। ...(*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : हरसिमरत कौर जी, आप केन्द्रीय सरकार से क्या चाहती हैं और वह क्या करे, आप इस बात पर आइये।

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : Madam, at least, let me put in front of the House what took place at that time. There was one incident concerning one Gurjeet Kaur. ...(*Interruptions*) क्या मैं कुछ गलत बोल रही हूँ।

MADAM SPEAKER: She is coming to the point.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : Madam, since I am not being given an opportunity to speak, I demand ...(*Interruptions*) क्या मैंने कुछ गलत बोला। चूंकि आज आपके बच्चों की बात नहीं है, इसलिए आप हमें बोलने नहीं देंगे। क्या मैं कुछ गलत बोल रही हूँ, क्या मैंने कुछ गलत बोला है?...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : गुलशन जी, आप बैठ जाइये।

वेई! (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अजनाला जी, आप बैठ जाइये।

वेई! (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Now, please conclude.

...(*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये।

वेई! (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : सैन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट से क्या चाहिए, आप वह बोलिये।

वेई! (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये।

वेई! (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions) अँ! **

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : Joint Commissions, barring one, were constituted during the Congress regime ...*(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions) अँ! **

MADAM SPEAKER: She must conclude. She prolonged it too much. Let her conclude now. Please conclude.

...*(Interruptions)*

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप खत्म करिये।

अँ! (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude. There are other people to speak in 'Zero Hour'.

...*(Interruptions)*

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आपकी बात खत्म हो गई।

...*(Interruptions)*

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अब आप समाप्त कीजिये।

अँ! (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग बैठ जाइये। हरसिमरत जी, अब आप समाप्त करिये।

...*(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude.

...*(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: I have given her so much time, now she should conclude.

...*(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: Now you must conclude.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : The Director of CBI overruled the recommendations...*(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: Please sit down. Hon. Minister wants to say something. Please sit down.

...*(Interruptions)*

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अब आप बैठ जाइये। जब आप बैठेंगे तब मिनिस्टर साहब बोलेंगे।

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : I may be allowed to complete first. ...*(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: I have given you so much time and I have been telling you to say what you want from the Central Government. Just one minute, let the Minister say.

...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF WATER RESOURCES (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Madam, what happened in 1984 was not only tragic but was a most shameful act. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : I would like to say what the Prime Minister of the country has said. We have received these words for long enough now. ...(*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग शान्त हो जाइये तो उन्हें सुनेंगे, पहले आप लोग बैठ जाइये। हरसिमरत जी, अब आप कनकलूड करें। Please conclude. Please tell us what you want from the Central Government.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL: Madam, as far as words are concerned, we have got them from the Prime Minister of this country also who has said that it shall be our honest attempt to wipe away tears from every suffering eye. If cases needed to be re-opened or re-examined, the Government will take all possible steps. This has already been said by the Prime Minister of the country. What further assurance? ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please wind up.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL : Even now, instead of getting re-investigated, the cases are being closed. There is a case against Shri Sajjan Kumar, FIR No.67 of 87 which was registered in 1987 has not been filed in the FIR records. For 18 years, FIR has not been filed. ...(*Interruptions*) I would like an answer. Why has it not been done? ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: All right. Hon. Minister is responding. Please sit down and take your seat.

DR. TARUN MANDAL (JAYNAGAR): I would like to associate myself with the views and sentiments expressed by Shrimati Harsimrat Kaur Badal.

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों खड़े हो गये हैं? आप बैठ जाइए।

⌚!(व्यवधान)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, what happened in 1984 was not only the most tragic incident after 1947 but one of the most shameful acts. ...(*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए, इन्हें बोलने दीजिए।

⌚!(व्यवधान)

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Prime Minister has apologized several times. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, this is not fair. She has taken 25 minutes and she is not letting me say even a few words. She converted this into a full-scale accusation, Madam, and she is not letting me say a word.

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए, अब उन्हें बोलने दीजिए।

⌚!(व्यवधान)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: She did not let me say what I wanted to say, Madam. ...(*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए, अब उन्हें बोलने दीजिए।

⌚!(व्यवधान)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, I was submitting that the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 were not only the most tragic incident in the country after 1947 but one of the most shameful ones. Madam, the mayhem that was perpetrated was because the man turned monster. Every right thinking person in the country really felt sad at that. This is a matter on which there is no difference of opinion in any party. People share the same view cutting across the party lines. With uttermost humility I would like to remind the hon. Member, she was not here then, that the Prime Minister then said, "This madness must stop". This is what was said by him. This matter has been discussed a number of times here. The hon. Prime Minister, in a debate sometime back when he ordered re-inquiry into the matter, apologized in this House itself. I happened to participate in the discussion then. It was a discussion at that time aimed not to whip up passions in the

country. Today, I am sorry to say Madam, we have to really have a sort of self restraint. ...(*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए, Please listen to the hon. Minister.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, my concern only is ...(*Interruptions*) Madam, my concern only is ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please listen. बैठ जाइए, आपको सुना गया है, अब आप सुनिए।

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, my concern only is, I am repeating that word again and I want all the Members to hear that. ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record except what the Minister is saying.

(*Interruptions*) अ€!*

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, my concern today is that when we refer to the black deeds of the past, we must in fact ensure that no word uttered by us leads to sort of a schism in the society again. It was in fact the darkest period of our time. But we have overcome that with the passage of time. Today if we try to bake the political cake on the funeral pyre of the victims, the country is heading for a bad day. ...(*Interruptions*) Madam, what followed those dark days was ten years of terrorism in the country. Terrorism stalked the country. Punjab suffered during that period. ...(*Interruptions*) And these people did not have the courage to come out. If Mrs. Harsimrat wants me to tell her what was being said by the Chief Minister of the State at that time, that was a personal conversation. I am aware of that. ...(*Interruptions*) Who were the people ...(*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record except what the hon. Minister is saying.

(*Interruptions*) अ€!*

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Finally I want to make a point and assure this House and the country that this Government would never misuse any official machinery ...(*Interruptions*) That was precisely the reason why the Prime Minister ordered that cases be reopened against some people. ...(*Interruptions*)

That is not fair on the part of any hon. Member. ...(*Interruptions*) Judiciary is independent in this country. Everybody knows about it. If there is an order by a court, there are remedies available, Madam. What the Prime Minister did was, he directed that cases be reopened. That demonstrates amply and loudly the intention and the *bona fide* of this Government. ...(*Interruptions*) Therefore, my request is, let us not whip up passions in this House. ...(*Interruptions*)
