

This November, I Try To Speak To Ghalib

This November I invoke not Waris Shah
but you, Amrita
And through you
I try to speak
to Asadullah Khan Ghalib
the poet laureate of Delhi :
*Hain aur bhi duniya mein sukhanvar bahut achhe
Kehte hain ki Ghalib ka hai andaaz-e-bayaan aur*



Perhaps I should address
the great (or some say 'the greatest') poet directly
My dialogue with nazam-ud-daula is long overdue
Years ago I used to 'see' him
His words would console me, even generate a smile
*Unke dekhe se jo aati hai munh par raunaq
Woh samajhte hain ki bimar ka haal achha hai*

But that was before he forgot
the river that runs through his city. Someone added poison
to countless eyelids and tongues and took Yamuna by its gullet
The waters blood-reddened just like Chenab
Someone reduced Delhi to cruel squads, a strange Diwali
Dark clouds ascend like Qutab Minars
I am trying to start a conversation with Ghalib
Gallees, mohallas, nukkads glitter, coated white with deathly phosphorous

But where are you ? The one who witnesses, then enlarges the world
What happened to you 'the dominant one'?
What happened to melodies of the original Asad ?

Ghalib, are you embarrassed ?
Men who wrote essays about you at the Doon
ordered this final flourish
of Indian independence

The Ghalughara of 1984

Those tutored inside sumptuous
Congress libraries, the rose-lapelled ones, who
quote-recite your heart-seducing verse
they personally decreed book-burnings, human-necklacings

To this day
shafts of light that fall
over Connaught Place, Rakab Ganj, Yamuna Paar
carry traces of restless particles of ash

Are you embarrassed ?
Men who demand reparations
from old colonial masters
(in faux Oxbridge accents)

Their tongues fail
to wiggle
a mere word
when it comes to 1984

Dear poet, in your city
thrive Masters
of Death. Children bask in glory
of triumphant, un-mended elders

Ghalib, where are you ?
Tell me elegantly (or inelegantly) how to make sense
of this smoke-filled
melancholy night ?

King of nazam, why do you remain un-bothered
by 'un-mournable' bodies ?
Un-concerned
about 'cleansing', rape, injustice ?

Come on, it is not enough
to hide behind that melodious couplet
Maut se pehle admi gum se nijaat paye kyon.



Before the onset of death, how can man expect to be free of grief?

You are not just a love sonnet guy,
you saw 1857, churned oceans
of ink then, capturing turbulence
also the slow-lava flow, you made reams of paper come alive

Wake up ! Get rid of your soft quilt
And teach us how to stand
on the debris of 1984
Teach us how to tell this un-finished story to children?

I, too, would like to laugh again
Hope again ?
Come, poet, say mouthfuls of achhe khayal, Bring radiance
joy, chardi-kala to daughters who stopped weaving



I ask you to console the bare bones
of un-consolable mothers
I ask you to discipline the wayward sons
with the whip of your unflinching words

Sons, who, unlike their perished fathers
find themselves coated
with mud,
hashish and crystal-meth

Ghalib, the perpetrators love
this one line
Ek Brahman ne kaha hai ke yeh saal achha hai
Well, here is a Brahmin, who has decreed this year will be a good one

1984 was definitely a good year
But
only for incurable pigs, who spoke from Red Fort
like failed physicists

Tortured with iron rods
stabbed in their bellies
even ghazals ceased

to name the world

But each year
that followed 84
has been a superb
year for the perpetrator

Of course time has passed. Many things
have changed. The new emperors of Hindustan
have instilled fear even
in stones, including the one that covers your remains

And you 'Asad', you shawled 'lion'
still
refuse
to intervene ? Explain !

Say something -
Your reputation is at stake
Time has chosen you
as the sayer of the unsayable

Bol, speak
Otherwise, I will
in my way. And if I fail,
another will

And one bright-sunny day in the future
we will learn to trust poets again, and learn on our own
to stand upright on the debris
of 84. And the buried book will rise again

The buried book will rise again
And it will reveal
to little children playing in the garden
its crisp, un-scorched pages.



Jaspreet Singh

Indo-Canadian Prize Winner

Writer & Author of '84 based novel - 'Helium'

How Police was used to conduct 1984 Anti-Sikh Pogrom

Following is an Extract from the Book " 1984 The Anti-Sikh Violence And After by Sanjay Suri, published by HarperCollins Publishers India

The call to the office of The Indian Express newspaper in New Delhi came in the afternoon. "The police have arrested many men for looting Sikhs,' the voice said. 'A Congress MP has come to the police station. A big confrontation is taking place now because he wants the men from his party to be released.' Not the exact words, but this was more or less what the man had called up to say.

But that wasn't the only bit hard to believe. Could it be that the police somewhat had actually taken steps against the hordes of men who had attacked, looted and killed Sikhs on the streets of Delhi? We had seen, I had seen myself, the police deliberately do nothing to protect Sikhs through the violence that arose after Mrs. Gandhi's death. In those days, for the police to arrest such criminals would itself be news.

"At one point, Amod Kanth turned right upon the Congress-I leaders. 'You are protecting criminals.....'Kamal said, or words very similar to that. This he spoke plainly and directly. That provoked the most frenzied shouting I'd heard until then, aimed at Kanth and the SHO. I glimpsed Bakolia get up from his chair and square up to the SHO, as if almost to assault him. Some of his companions grabbed him to calm him down. Shastri did nothing to stop him, he appeared to back all that Bakolia was saying.

"I now walked up to Amod Kanth, standing outside the SHO's office. He seemed trembling with emotion, I saw tears. I had seen him humiliated by a senior officer for doing his job and for protecting his men who had done theirs, and he knew I had, I asked him what he would now do. 'Just take leave and go away,' he said. He did not look like he wanted to say much more, and left. I too headed back to my office.

"Consider a moment all that would have to be true if, as Dharam Dass Shastri said, the arrested men were innocent. If these were innocent men, as claimed by the MP, then the SHO had led his force into manufacturing false evidence to arrest the right-hand men of the



ruling party MP.

The police, of course, knew at the time of the arrests that these were Congress party workers. The men would hardly have failed to declare who they were—the Congress stamp was their best bet against arrest. The 'don't you know who I am' culture is pervasive in Delhi, always has been, alongside its cousinly 'don't you know whom I know'.

SHO Ranbir Singh and his men had not just made arrests; a good deal of looted property had been recovered. For Shastri to have been right, the police would have had to recover these stolen goods from other looters, carried them over to the homes of the Congressmen, 'recovered' those planted goods back, and then arrested the Congress members and leaders living in those homes. False charges would have to follow faked recoveries.

"The need to provide protection to Sikhs was never remote, it was right before Rajiv Gandhi. Within walking distance of the prime minister's house, Sikhs were being 'necklaced' with burning tyres. Of course, the prime minister wasn't taking a walk on the streets, but even without the benefit of all the intelligence and government reports undoubtedly had, he would have been columns of smoke rising in the skies all over Delhi, and around him. He would have seen and heard the crowds baying for blood as they filed by Indira Gandhi's body at Teen Murti Bhavan, Rajiv Gandhi could hardly have been unaware that the city was in breakdown all around him. In the end, whether Rajiv Gandhi ordered the killing or just failed to take steps to prevent, or at least reduce, the killing made no difference to those killed and their families.

"Rahul Gandhi had made a sensible remark over the Muzaffarnagar victims that could hardly be lost on Punjab. 'First you plant anger, then you ask, why are you becoming a terrorist?' That was exactly the question that arose in the 1980s in Punjab, and it was a question for the Congress to answer. The creation of Bhindranwale against the Akalis, the many slights to Sikhs up to and during the Asian Games of 1982, were provoking anger that 'some carried over into terrorism (it only took some). The question Rahul Gandhi asked over Muzaffarnagar was the very question that hung over the Congress government's policies in Punjab leading up to 1984. This was the question that led on to the assassination of Indira Gandhi and then to the killings of Sikhs in Delhi that followed.

"And Kamal Nath? My reporting from Rakab Ganj that day, and the affidavits I filed before the Misra and later the Nanavati commissions of inquiry seem to have pleased no one. I was told by lawyers speaking up for Sikhs that my affidavit was not 'very strong' or 'very clear', that it was not good enough to 'nail' Kamal Nath, that I



had been wishy-washy. On the Congress side, I was told I had make allegations against Kamal Nath that I could not substantiate. The Nanavati Commission noted that my affidavit had not been 'very clear'.

"If Kamal Nath was playing a role as responsible citizen and leader, he would have wanted later to follow up with the local police to ensure investigation and prosecution for the murders committed. We have seen no evidence he did that. No one was ever caught and punished for those murders. To all appearances, Kamal Nath was controlling the situation in his own way. That was not the legal way.

In failing to push for police intervention to disperse those crowds, and to push for arrests (if pushing were needed where murders had been committed in the presence of the police), Kamal Nath may well have done something towards making more killings possible. Because these very men were left free to attack Sikhs and kill wherever they went from Rakab Ganj. They left with the message that the police would not stop them. The crowd did finally go their way, and who could say where they headed. This was the afternoon of 1 November, the worst of the killings was to come that night.

" It wasn't announced with any fanfare, but crime reporters knew that Ved Marwah had begun to conduct an inquiry into police failures through the 1984 killings in Delhi. Marwah had been brought back to Delhi Police as additional commissioner of police heading the Crime Investigation Department (CID) following the violence. The new police commissioner, S.S. Jog, who had replaced Subhash Tandon, had asked Marwah early in 1985 to carry out that inquiry.

" I spent just about an hour with Marwah. Through that hour he said a good deal. I play back below what he said, but pause in between to share my thoughts on the implications of what he said, to not read between the lines but to think what the lines meant, what they meant to me as one who was a crime reporter out in the city those days. But it's only right that we should hear from him directly without my thoughts in the way, and so I separate the conversation clearly from my thoughts about it.

" I had seen the police actually looking the other way. Marwah's inquiry documented that a citywide pattern. The police had been in shutdown mode right across the city, he had found; what I had seen for myself was pretty much the picture at other places too that I could not visit.

But more, Marwah said his inquiry had been terminated by an executive order—after the high court turned down a petition demanding an end to it. Twice he had said it was 'quite obvious' who could have terminated the inquiry, that it was 'quite obvious' who would be interested in ending that inquiry.



Mr. Marwah had found the police remiss, but exactly what had he seen? To go back to a playback of the rest of our conversation before we think a little about some extraordinary observations he shared:

Sanjay Suri (SS): Did you find a pattern to the killings?

Ved Marwah (VM): I found, and this was corroborated by every person in the police and outside that I spoke to, that there were relatively a small number of people who went on the rampage. And how a large number of Sikhs were ringed with tyres and burnt alive. The wife of one of the victims, when I went to her home to ask her, told me the terrible scene she went through for one hour. She said she saw her husband burning and nobody wanted no help. And she cried and she cried and she cried. And nobody helped her. So obviously this was not the job of an agitated mob. In my experience, an agitated mob doesn't indulge in this sort of cold-blooded cruelty. This is the handiwork of criminals.

SS: Who mobilized those criminals?

VM: Somebody obviously mobilized those criminals. And secondly, these criminals obviously had a tacit assurance that they will not be taken to task. Otherwise they could not indulge in such activity so openly, so brazenly, in broad daylight in front of so many witnesses. Crimes are not committed that way.

SS: And they were in groups of no more than hundreds?

VM: Not even a few hundred, in some places thirty or forty. In Khan Market, for example, 30-40 people came and ransacked the Sikh shops. There were no mobs at all—you can call them groups of rowdies. They were groups of rowdies being mobilized. There may have been some local people. Looting may have been done by some local antisocial people, but 3,000 Sikhs being killed was done by criminals....3,000 Sikhs being killed is no ordinary thing.

SS: So, on one hand, groups were mobilized by some organization, and on the other, the police failed.

VM: There was a policing lapse. And it was some organization I suspect that was behind it, behind the groups of rowdies, and those who organised all this.

SS: Where did you find the worst of the killings.

VM: Only three (police) districts were affected—east, west and south. North district and central were almost unaffected. In New Delhi (Police district) there were some cases of arson but even that was not very much.



SS: Did you find that the police took firm action anywhere?

VM: Maxwell Pereira (then Additional DCP, north district) took strong action. Pereira did a good job because his was the most vulnerable area. There's a big Gurdwara (Sis Ganj) there, there was a big Sikh population there. So if it was just anti-Sikh riots, they were the ones who should have been attacked. There was no such thing. And elsewhere too there were no large mobs; only small groups that did all the damage, the people as such did not come out. You've seen this. In Delhi thousands of people collect in no time. There was no such thing (as a big mob).

SS: And so the two things that stood out in your findings were that these were small and organised groups of people, and second, that the police looked the other way as these groups went about looting and killing.

VM: These were the two things.

SS: You found that the police were remiss. But how can the police be just remiss? I, let's say, as a citizen can be remiss, but for the police to be remiss is criminal.

VM: Yes, there was some assurance to criminal elements that no action will be taken against them. And that is criminality. It's a very serious suspicion.

SS: And some police officers whose conduct you had inquired into have turned against you.

VM: Chander Prakash (then DCP, south district) has filed a defamation case against me after the high court threw it away (the appeal to stop the inquiry). He has been launching one litigation after another. Even today a case is pending against me by Chander Prakash for defamation. And you know what is the basis of that? That a news item had appeared at that time in 1985 in a newspaper called Sandhya Times, that my inquiry was going to nail these three or four people, which included his name.

SS: What was his case?

VM: That no inquiry had really been made. I said Sandhya Times had published the news. I have not written that report (in the newspaper). I have not given the names. If Sandhya Times has published something, ask them, who has given them these names. And you know, they have been hounding me for the last thirty years.

SS: But clearly any defamation case has to be against the paper. On what basis is the court proceeding?

VM: The petition has not been accepted, but it goes on and on and on. Thirty years, can you believe this? The last summons I got was some time in 2013. The



people who brought the summons, they came and pasted it on my door. Can you beat it? A former commissioner of police? And being summoned like this? You see how brazen they can be.

SS: How are you dealing with these cases?

VM: The government is supposed to legally defend me in this case.

SS: Are they not doing that ?

VM: If they were doing it, the summons would not be pasted like this. They have hited a lawyer. First the home ministry was doing it. Then the home ministry said they have no records, let the Delhi Police do it. Now the Delhi Police is doing it. It's unbelievable that in our system the culprits get away, and it is the inquiry officer who has to face this. The case is also against Kusum Lata Mittal, the IAS officer who carried out one of the later inquiries.

SS: This sounds incredible.

VM: As the inquiry officer. I am being harassed. But the court should end this one way or another. And there is no substance in the allegation of defamation. I am not the reporter, the question of me giving it to them does not arise. The newspaper editor should be hauled up and asked where did you get this?

SS: By law that has to be the first action in such a case.

VM: Yes, but they haven't done it. And the court is not asking that question.

SS: This is odd, how can a court not raise this ?

VM: Thirty years. It was throws from one court to the other. First, it was in a fast-track court, who knows what they have been doing?

SS: Some of the worst of the killings came in east Delhi. What did you find happened in east Delhi?

VM: In east Delhi, so many of the poor people were burnt alive. They were from Rajasthan. They were carpenters, not Sikhs in the traditional sense of the word, the way Sikhs in Punjab are. But those people were just burnt alive. Their whole place was set on fire, and this was not very far from the Trilokpuri police station. It was tragic.

SS: And in Palam area (close to the now Indira Gandhi International Airport)?

VM: Many of the cases of burning by tyres was in the south district, in Palam. Normally there are no riots in Palam area, because you can't collect crowds



there. But there were many, many killings of Sikhs there, they were burnt alive. That was in the south district. And in Sultanpuri (in West Delhi). These are the three places that were the worst—Sultanpuri,Trilokpuri,Palam.

SS: In all three districts police action was missing?

VM: it was minimal, if at all.

SS: Did you get any indication that the Congress was responsible?

VM: I did not go into that, I won't go into that.

SS: But circumstantially.....

VM: I won't go into that. Even today I won't like to say (anything). Because that would change the whole tenor of what I am saying. I am an apolitical person, and I would like to remain that way.

Marwah saw the pattern of killing across Delhi as deliberate and cold-blooded, not killing by some furious mob that may set upon an identifiable target that came its way. He found that the killings came through controlled action rather than in uncontrolled anger. The woman who cried and cried out in desperation as she watched her husband burn to death within a flaming tyre was not appealing for mercy from some frenzied mob. Those killers, like the other killers those days, were going about their job in a methodical programme to kill. And using tyres to do so.

Sanjay Suri

A London Based Journalist

Sh.Ved Marwah

Joint Commissioner of Police



ਰਾਜ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਰਾਜ ਧਰਮ ਵੀ ਨਿਭਾਉ

ਸੁਪਰੀਮ ਕੋਰਟ ਦੇ ਉਘੇ ਵਕੀਲ ਸ. ਹਰਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਨੇ ਆਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਜਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਅਸਤੀਫਾ ਦੇ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ। ਪਿਛਲੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਲੁਧਿਆਣਾ ਤੋਂ ਲੋਕਸਭਾ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਲੜੀ ਸੀ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਉਹ ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਮਯਾਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ, ਪਰ ਵੱਡੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਵੋਟਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਮਯਾਬ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ।

ਫੂਲਕਾ ਜੀ ਮੁੱਢ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਫੋਰਮ ਨਾਲ ਜੁੜੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਸਿੱਖ ਫੋਰਮ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਜਨਮ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਆਪਰੇਸ਼ਨ ਨੀਲਾ ਤਾਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਨਵੰਬਰ ੧੯੮੪ ਵਿਚ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਬੜੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਹਿੱਸਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਇੰਦਿਰਾ ਗਾਂਧੀ ਦੀ ਹਤਿਆ ਦੇ, ਬੜੀ ਵਿਉਂਤ ਬਣਾਕੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਿੱਖ ਨਰਸੰਘਾਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਨਿਰੰਤਰ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਉਠਾਉਂਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਇਹ ਮੰਰਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪਰੇਸ਼ਨ ਨੀਲਾ ਤਾਰਾ ਲਈ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਸੰਸਦ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਆਫੀ ਮੰਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਨਰਸੰਘਾਰ ਦੇ ਦੋਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਕੂਲ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਦੇਵੇ। ਹਰ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੋਨਾਂ ਹਾਦਸਿਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਫੋਰਮ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸਮਾਗਮ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਹ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਉਠਾਈ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਕ ਉਘੇ ਵਕੀਲ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਨਾਤੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਮੁਤਵਾਤਰ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਸਿੱਖ-ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਜਿੰਨੀਆਂ ਰਿਪੋਰਟਾਂ ਅੱਜ ਤਕ ਛਪੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਹੈ। ਵਖਰੀਆਂ-ਵਖਰੀਆਂ ਅਦਾਲਤਾਂ ਦੋਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਜਿੰਨੇ ਮੁਕਦਮੇ ਚਲ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਹੀ ਪੀੜਤਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਪੱਖ ਪੂਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹੈ। ਸਿੱਖ ਨਰਸੰਘਾਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਮੀਡੀਆ ਵਿਚ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਚਰਚਾ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਹ ਵਧ-ਚੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਸਿੱਖ ਫੋਰਮ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਲੜਾਈ ਲੜਦੇ ਹੁਣ ਤਿੰਨ ਦਹਾਕਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਹੋ ਗਏ ਹਨ। ਆਪਣਾ ਅਸਤੀਫਾ ਦੇਣ ਵੇਲੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਉਮੀਦ ਵੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹੁਣ ਇਹ ਲੜਾਈ ਅੰਤਲੇ ਦੌਰ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਉਹ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਾਰਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਇਸ ਲੜਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਤਲੇ ਅੰਜਾਮ ਤਕ ਲਿਜਾਣ ਵਿਚ ਲਗਾਉਂਣਗੇ।

ਆਪਣੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਨਿਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਣਾਲੀ ਵੀ ਅਜੀਬ ਹੈ। ਕਦੀ ਕਦੀ ਗੰਭੀਰ ਤੋਂ ਗੰਭੀਰ ਮਾਮਲਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਇਕ-ਦੋ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਵੇਂ ਇੰਦਿਰਾ ਗਾਂਧੀ ਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਜਨਰਲ ਵੈਦਿਆ ਦੇ ਹਤਿਆਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਦੋਸ਼ੀ ਸਮਝੇ ਗਏ ਸਤਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਕੇਹਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਤੇ ਸੁਖਜਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਅਦਾਲਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਸਾਲ-ਦੋ ਸਾਲ ਮੁਕਦਮਾ ਚਲਾ ਕੇ ਫਾਹੇ ਲਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ ਪਰ ੫੦੦੦ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਨਿਰਦੋਸ਼ੀ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਹਤਿਆ ਕਰਨ-ਕਰਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਦੋਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਉਤੇ ੩੧ ਸਾਲ ਬੀਤ ਜਾਣ ਦੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਵੀ ਦੋਸ਼ੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਠਹਿਰਾਏ ਗਏ। ਸਿਰਫ ਇਕ ਬੰਦੇ ਨੂੰ ਮੌਤ ਦੀ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਪਰ-ਸੁਪਰੀਮ ਕੋਰਟ ਨੇ ਉਸਦੀ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਉਮਰ ਕੈਦ ਵਿਚ ਤਬਦੀਲ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ।

ਹਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਮੁੰਬਈ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੋਕਲ ਗੱਡੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਏ ਬੰਮ ਧਮਾਕਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਨੌ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ (ਸਨ ੨੦੦੬) ਜਿਹੜੇ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਹਾਦਸੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ, ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਤਕਰੀਬਨ



੨੦੦ ਬੰਦੇ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਸਨ ਤੇ ੮੦੦ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਬੰਦੇ ਜਖਮੀ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ, ਦਾ ਅਦਾਲਤੀ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕੰਮ ਲਈ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਬਣਾਈ ਸੀ। ਅਦਾਲਤ ਨੇ ਪੰਜ ਮੁਜਰਿਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਜ਼ਾ-ਏ-ਮੌਤ ਅਤੇ ਸੱਤ ਮੁਜਰਿਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਮਰ ਕੈਦ ਦੀ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਸੁਣਾਈ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਵੀ ਨੌਂ ਸਾਲ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਆਇਆ।

ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਧਰਾ ਸਟੇਸ਼ਨ ਉਤੇ ਅਯੋਧਿਆ ਤੋਂ ਵਾਪਸ ਮੁੜਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਕਾਰ ਸੇਵਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਡੱਬੇ ਵਿਚ ਅੱਗ ਲਗਾ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਸੀ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਦਰ ਕਾਰਸੇਵਕ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਸੀ। ਉਸ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਦੇ ਬੜੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਹਿਸਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ-ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਦੰਗੇ ਭੜਕ ਉਠੇ ਸਨ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਬੰਦੇ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਸਨ। ਉੱਥੇ ਹੋਏ ਕਤਲੇਆਮ ਬਾਰੇ ਜਾਂਚ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਬੜੀਆਂ। ਅੱਜ ਦੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਰਿੰਦਰ ਮੋਦੀ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਦੇ ਮੁਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਸਨ। ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਵਾਰੀ ਉੱਥੇ ਕੈਂਪਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰੁਲਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਵੇਖ ਕੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਹਵਲ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮੁੱਖ-ਮੰਤਰੀ ਵਲ ਇਸ਼ਾਰਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਇਹ ਕਿਹਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਰਾਜ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਰਾਜਧਰਮ ਵੀ ਨਿਭਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।

੩੧ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਗੁਜ਼ਰ ਗਏ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵੇਲਾ ਗੁਜ਼ਰ ਜਾਣ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਅਨੇਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਾਸਨ ਆਇਆ ਤੇ ਗਿਆ, ਪਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਸਹੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਰਾਜ ਧਰਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਿਭਾਇਆ। ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਸਹੀ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਦੋਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਮੁਕਦਮੇ ਨਹੀ ਚਲਾਏ। ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਗਿਰਫਤਾਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ। ਇਕ ਵੇਲੇ ਸੱਜਣ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਜਿਹੇ ਦੋਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੁਲਿਸ ਫੜਨ ਲਈ ਗਈ, ਤਾਂ ਸੱਜਣ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ-ਹਿਮਾਈਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਪੁਲਿਸ ਤੇ ਹੀ ਹਮਲਾ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਪੁਲਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲੀ ਹੱਥ ਭਜਣਾ ਪਿਆ।

੧੯੮੪ ਵਿਚ ਵਾਪਰੇ ਦੁਖਾਂਤ ਦੀ ਜਾਂਚ ਲਈ ਅਨੇਕ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਬਣੇ, ਅਨੇਕ ਕਮੇਟੀਆਂ ਬਣਾਈਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ, ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਰਿਪੋਰਟਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਿਤ ਹੋਈਆਂ, ਪਰ ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਸਿਫਾਰਿਸ਼ਾਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ, ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਲੋੜ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ। ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਕਾਨਪੁਰ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਜੰਦਰ ਯਾਦਵ ਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਡਿਪਟੀ ਕਮਿਸ਼ਨਰ ਸੀ। ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਰੇਲਵੇ ਕਾਲੋਨੀ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਮਕਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਦੰਗਾਈਆਂ ਨੇ ਘੇਰਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ। ਮਕਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਸਿੱਖ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ ਸਨ। ਫੌਜ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਟੁਕੜੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਚਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਉੱਥੇ ਆ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਪਰ ਵਿਜੰਦਰ ਯਾਦਵ ਨੇ ਫੌਜ ਨੂੰ ਰੋਕ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤੇ ਬੜੇ ਜੋਰ ਨਾਲ ਕਿਹਾ-ਮੈਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਰਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਵੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ-ਆਈ ਵਾਂਟ ਟੂ ਸੀ ਦੇਮ ਡੇਡ।

ਰੰਗਨਾਥ ਮਿਸਰਾ ਕਮੀਸ਼ਨ ਨੇ ੧੯੮੪ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਤਲੇਆਮ ਬਾਰੇ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਰਿਪੋਰਟ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਸੀ ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਫਾਰਿਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਉਤੱਰ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸ਼ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਬਜਿੰਦਰ ਯਾਦਵ ਦੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਵਿਭਾਗੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ। ਉਤੱਰ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਉਸਦੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਕੋਈ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ, ਸਗੋਂ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਮੋਸ਼ਨ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਰਿਟਾਇਰ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ।

ਇਹ ਹੈ ਰਾਜ ਧਰਮ ਨਿਭਾਉਣਾ।

ਰਾਜ ਧਰਮ ਨਿਭਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਅਟਲ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਵਾਜਪੇਈ



ਨੇ ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਹਤਿਆਵਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਕਹੀ ਸੀ। ਗੁਜਰਾਤ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਆਇਆ। ਸੁਪਰੀਮ ਕੋਰਟ ਨੇ ਦੰਗਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਂਚ ਲਈ ਖਾਸ ਪੜਤਾਲਿਆ ਕਮੇਟੀ (ਸ਼ਪਟਚਿਲੀਨਵਟਸਟਨਿਗ ਛੋਮਮਟਿਟਟਟ) ਬਣਾਈ ਤੇ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਕਾਰਜ ਸੌਂਪਿਆ।

ਉਸ ਜਾਂਚ ਵਿਚ ਦੰਗਾ ਭੜਕਾਉਣ ਅਤੇ ਬੜੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਨ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਘਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੁੱਟਣ, ਅੱਗਾਂ ਲਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਬੜੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਦੋਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਫੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਬੜੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਜ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਮਿਲੀਆਂ। ਕੁਝ ਨੂੰ ਉਮਰ ਕੈਦ ਵੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਗਈ। ਸੁਪਰੀਮ ਕੋਰਟ ਜੋ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਸ਼ੀਠ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਦੰਗਿਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਵੀ ਬਣਾਉਂਦੀ ਤਾਂ ਅਨਗਿਨਤ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਜ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਦੀਆਂ ਸਨ।

ਸਰਦਾਰ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਨੇ ਉਮੀਦ ਜਾਹਿਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ੧੯੮੪ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਮੁਕਦਮੇ ਅਦਾਲਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਚਲ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਫੈਸਲੇ ਵੀ ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਹਨ। ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਕਿ ਫੂਲਕਾ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਉਮੀਦ ਦਾ ਅਥਾਹ ਕੀ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਜੇ ਅਜਿਹੀ ਕੋਈ ਗੱਲ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਸੱਜਣ ਕੁਮਾਰ, ਜਗਦੀਸ ਟਾਈਟਲਰ ਵਰਗੇ ਬੜੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਦੋਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਜ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਮਿਲਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਤਾਂ ਦੇਰ ਆਇਤ ਦੁਰਸਤ ਆਇਤ ਵਾਲੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ।

ਦਿੱਲੀ ਦੀ ਆਮ ਜਨਤਾ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਨਰਸੰਘਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਾਰਿਸਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜ-ਪੰਜ ਲੱਖ ਦੇਣ ਦਾ ਐਲਾਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਵੀ ਚੰਗੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਮੁਆਵਜ਼ੇ ਦੀ ਰਕਮ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਪੀੜਤ ਪਰਿਵਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਸੱਲੀ, ਮੁਜਰਿਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਹੀ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਮਿਲਣ ਵਿਚ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਮੁਆਵਜ਼ੇ ਦੀ ਰਕਮ ਨਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦੀ।

ਸਾਬਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਅਟਲ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਵਾਜਪੇਈ ਦੀ ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਰਾਜ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਰਾਜ ਧਰਮ ਵੀ ਨਿਭਾਉ ਅੱਜ ਵੀ ਸਕਾਰਥ ਹੈ। ਰਾਜ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਰੇ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ ਪਰ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਲੋਕੀ ਹਨ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਰਾਜ ਧਰਮ ਵੀ ਨਿਭਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਡਾ. ਮਹੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ



The Carnage and After

...Tension prevailed in Delhi soon after news bulletins disclosed that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassins were Sikhs. But until 4.30 P.M. things were quite normal outside the All India Institute of Medical Sciences where a bleeding Mrs Gandhi had been rushed to in the morning. A 5,000 strong crowd stood outside its main gate shouted: "*Indira Gandhi Amar Rahe*" (long live Indira Gandhi). Among the crowd there were also a few Sikhs. Then all of a sudden a phalanx of 35 to 40 men emerged from the crowd and moved menacingly towards the Ring Road crossing. Seconds later a green coloured burning turban was flung skywards, followed by five more burning in a row on Ring Road outside Safdarjang Hospital. The much- feared riots had begun.

About 20-odd policemen, who had until then been pushing back the excited crowd from breaking into the hospital gate, rushed to the scene of violence. They could hardly rescue one out of the 10 Sikh victims from the mob fury. Bus after bus was stopped and the Sikhs subjected to humiliation. Scooters and motor cycles were stopped, the Sikhs beaten up and their vehicles set on fire. All the Sikhs had suddenly become enemies.... A shocked fellow, journalist, Dev Dutt, remarked "Has the Prime Minister of India died? They should have anticipated all this?"

Such was the scale of violence that from 5 P.M. to 10 P.M. the Delhi fire station received over 200 distress calls. Firemen, who went to extinguish fires, were threatened by crowds. Slowly the firemen retreated as they received no help from the police, conspicuously absent from trouble spots.

All night mobs roamed the streets of Delhi with lathis, iron rods, cans of petrol or kerosene. They looted Sikh shops and set them on fire. The first areas to be affected in the capital were INA market, South Extension, Kotla Mubarakpur and Paharganj. The Singh Sabha Gurdwaras at Laxmibai Nagar and East Kidwai Nagar were set ablaze.

The killing, looting and plundering gained momentum during the next three days. The pattern was the same all over. Bands of Hindu lumpens prowled the streets,

bazaars, Railway Stations and industrial complexes to lynch the Sikhs, ransack and burn their houses, properties, gurdwaras, business places, schools and colleges, taxi stands and trucks. The whole of Delhi was under an umbrella of thick, black smoke which intensified as the days wore on.

