

have been named. Today when I went through a paper, I found that there was an argument in an article, that it should be the work of some Muslim country. The argument was that the bomb explosions had occurred only on Friday. The new York explosion had occurred on Friday. Bomb explosion in Egypt arranged from Iran had also occurred on Friday. The Bombay explosions had also occurred on Friday. All the explosions at these three places and one more at another place—I don't remember that place—occurred on Friday. On all these Iran is suspected. The conclusion that they arrived at is that Iran or a Muslim country should be suspected for the bomb explosions. I do not want to arrive at such conclusions today, because we do not have any concrete basis for that. Suppose somebody asks what is the evidence on which I am accusing a particular country, we don't have any evidence. Perhaps other friends there may have. I do not feel that we have sufficient evidence for that. That is why I personally feel that it is advisable.... (Time bell) Madam, I hope you will allow me after lunch.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. You can continue after lunch. The House is adjourned for lunch till 2.30 P.M.:

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirtythree minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty three minutes past two of the clock. **The Vice-Chairman (Shri MD. Salim)** in the Chair.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Bomb explosions in Bombay on the 12 March, 1993—contd

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.D. SALIM): Shri G. Swaminathan to continue.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, the next point I would like to cover is that there has been violence in Bombay during December, 1992 and January, 1993. There were a lot of terrorist activities and then there were bomb blasts. In spite of that, my personal feeling is that adequate precautions have not been taken by the concerned authorities and also by the Government. I am also distressed. As has been pointed out by some Members, the Government should have been more careful in these matters and when such kind of bomb blasts take place the intelligence information either did not reach the Government or even if it reached the Government, they have not taken adequate precautions to see that such bomb blasts were averted. This only indicates that the Government has not been alert. Sir, there should not be any complacency. As it has been stressed by the other speakers, now it has been Bombay, tomorrow it may be other big cities like Delhi and Madras. One of the terrorist organisations elsewhere has also sworn that the retribution will be not only at the level of the places but it will also be at the level of persons. We have read a message and also a report in the press that the LTTE Supremo had said that the retribution will take place at a very big level in India. So, I would like to caution the Government that they should take precautionary measures not only regarding the big cities and other important places in India but also about our VVIPs because I personally fear that some kind of retributive measures may be taken by the LTTE. It also indicates that the plastic bombs planted there cannot be easily detected by dogs and even by specialists. This is the same thing which was also used in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. I am informed that Libya has supplied this kind of material, to other countries, to terrorist organisations. From press report I understand that is sufficient for 150 years for any terrorist organisation anywhere

in the world. So I caution the Government regarding this point also.

Coming to the next point, a friend of mine asked me, "You are absolving other countries. We cannot point a finger at Iran. You say that we cannot say that Pakistan is involved. You also say that the LTTE cannot be accused. Do you mean to say that no country is involved? My personal feeling is that some other country is definitely involved. The hon. Prime Minister himself has stated that the brain is elsewhere and the hands only have operated here. I am seriously feeling that it is not some terrorist organisation within the country which has done it. But, as has been elaborated upon by other Members, the money that has been spent, the brains that have been used, the number of people that have assembled, the planning that has been made, all indicate that definitely some countries which are inimical to us have been involved in these things. I will not completely absolve Pakistan. The other day when I went to Kashmir, I could see a number of weapons which had come from the border to Kashmir. Not only from Kashmir. They have come from Afghanistan and other countries. So, Pakistan may be one of the countries involved. The only point I want to make in this connection is that we cannot say definitely that it is Pakistan. We can suspect Pakistan; we can suspect the LTTE; we can suspect some other country. But we cannot pointedly say that it is the only country. I am not absolving any country out of the proposition.

There is one more thing which has been mentioned casually by a friend but which I want to stress here. That is, our police and army personnel are not trained even after so many years, to meet such emergencies, terrorist violence, in our country. The police is only for the law and order purpose. The army is only for fighting our enemies from outside. Even our BSF forces

have not been adequately trained. The training has only started. I recently read a book by Peter Drucker who is a famous person for management affairs. He has stated that hereafter, every country, either India or other Asian countries, even bigger countries like America, has to be very cautious. Seven to ten years back he wrote that. He has said in that book that previously there were warfares between one country and another where the armies could fight each other. But now, it would be easier for a country to smuggle small bombs into another. He even said that atomic bombs of the size of an orange could be smuggled into a country and terrorism could happen within the country. So any country has to be very cautious with this kind of terrorism. It is highly necessary that we train our army personnel and the police to see that they are able to have anti-terrorist measures to tackle this problem. I personally feel that it is not a localised problem of Bombay. It is not even a problem of just India. It is a world problem. In 1978, I was sent as a delegate of the Government of India to a Commonwealth Conference in Jamaica. In the Conference, I first heard about terrorism and how to counter terrorism was one of the subjects talked about in that particular Conference in 1978. Now, after fourteen years, we are realising what terrorism in the world is and how many countries of the world have been affected by it.

In the end, I would only wish that the Government should take the leaders of the Opposition and other Members into confidence. I would like them to present a paper on our National Policy and how they are thinking about containing terrorism in our country. No White Paper has so far been given by this Government on this. I want it very much because we are all very much concerned as to what is the appropriate action that the Government is going to take as a means of anti-

terrorist activity to contain that thing and then what they are thinking about it. All the Members of Parliament and especially we, leaders of the Opposition, are very much interested to know it and I would request the Government to place a paper on the national policy to contain terrorism in this country.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Sir, before I start making my speech, I want to make it clear that though we have chosen the convenient device of a Calling Attention, this morning, the hon. Chairman said that there would be a discussion. There is some kind of a misconception that in Calling Attention only the first speaker gets the maximum time and those who follow him don't. All get equal time. The only thing is because his name is given first, he gets an opportunity to speak first as if the name which should come first is drawn by lots. Therefore, I don't want my time to be curtailed. If any ruling is quoted, then I would say that their reliance on that ruling is totally misplaced.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN, Sir, I would like to know whether Mr. Bhandare wants to speak for 50 minutes.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Certainly.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You speak for the average time.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Because this is a discussion, there is no average time. This is a discussion. What happens is this. All of them have said one thing or the other against my Government, our Government. I want to have my say in reply. Therefore, it is a discussion. If you don't want it to be a discussion—Calling Attention, questions, all these things—that is a different matter, but the Chairman has already given his ruling that this is going to be a discussion, and I will be brief. (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.D. SALIM): This is the time you should speak on the subject, instead of speaking to us.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I always rely on brevity, but I don't want to compromise at the cost of losing the substance of the matter.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise with great anguish for the simple reason that I am not only a citizen of Bombay but I am an aboriginal of Bombay. My son is the eleventh-generation-born in that great city and I think we all have contributed a great deal to make that city what it is, by our spirit of adventure, by our great interest in culture, by our great interest in sports and all other walks of life which make Bombay not only a vibrant city but a throbbing city also. I don't find that throbbing in any city of the West, including Paris. One has to walk on the streets of Bombay at 3 o'clock in the morning and just feel the sense of happiness which you see in the pedestrians even in that unearthly hour. Even the ladies can walk safely. And, therefore, I have not yet come to terms with what has happened there since the 6th of December and repeated in January, a month later, and now repeated on the 12th of March, two months later. I think this great city somehow or the other stands cursed. I will go into all the points which have been raised. Therefore, when I rise here I rise as a Bombayite, I rise as a citizen of this great country and I expect that a debate on this issue which is a matter of concern for everybody in our country outside should cut across the party lines. I am really sorry that very very petty arguments have been made. Now undoubtedly this is a terrorist job. Things don't go off like that at more than a dozen places killing more than 200 people and injuring over 1,500 people. It just doesn't happen unless there is a great planning and a sinister

design, carried out in utmost secrecy. My friend, hon. Pramod Mahajan, for whom I have the highest regard and affection, said that the intention is to disrupt the unity and integrity of the country. That is there in every terrorist attempt. Whether it is in Kashmir, whether it is in Punjab, whether it is in Bombay, make no mistake about it, the first thing is what the general fallout of it is. I will come to it later. All that they try to achieve, I will come to it a little later. Please don't make a mistake and in Bombay we don't make a mistake and that is where I compliment my friends in Bombay, my brothers and sister in Bombay that they have responded by saying that the unity and integrity of this country will not be disturbed despite any provocation from any terrorist quarter. My another esteemed and equally dear friend, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, said that this was a cause for panic and terror. The word 'terrorism' itself comes from the expression 'terror' and in any terrorist activity, particularly in this type of unmanageable magnitude, there is no question about what the terrorist has in his mind, that is, causing panic and terror. There again I salute my people of Bombay because they have not succumbed to panic and terror. All these arguments are made to show as if what the hon'ble Prime Minister had said was not correct, they say, "How can the Prime Minister say that this is an assault on our economy?" Let them not forget that Bombay continues to be the commercial capital of the country. It is something more than that. It is the gateway of India. It is a mini India. I don't think that there is any other place, any other city — whether you take Madras, whether you take Calcutta or whether you take Delhi — where you find this beautiful cosmopolitan character of a true Indian community cutting across all languages, cutting across all regions, cutting across all religions, cutting across all communities. Therefore,

our people have given a definite message to the rest of the country that they will not be affected by any panic. In addition to this, the most important message which the citizens of Bombay have given to the rest of the country by their conduct, exemplary conduct, great fortitude and great bravery is that no matter what happens the economic growth of the country will not come to a halt. That is the message which the people of Bombay have given to the rest of the country. All captains of industry and commerce have come there. It is called 'The City of Gold' and cotton is called 'white gold' and it did prosper with the setting up of a large number of textile mills over a period of a century. The terrorists chose the Stock Exchange as the primary target. It has been established that the intensity of the explosives used in the Stock Exchange was the maximum. It was more than that which was used for the Air India building, it was more than that which was used to blow the petrol pump near the Sena Bhavan. Can any one imagine what would happen if these terrorists had succeeded in their attempt and the Stock Exchange had come to a grinding halt for the next one month? Those who have some elementary knowledge of commerce will realise how the whole growth of capital would have been strangled and a period of one month's strangulation like that would have caused untold economic disaster to the whole country. It is not a matter of chance that 70 per cent of the income-tax comes from Bombay. Therefore, please make no mistake about their choice of Bombay. They could have chosen any other place and, according to me, the danger is very much there and now that similar things will occur anywhere else in the country. As somebody has said, may it occur here, in this Chamber, tomorrow, it may occur in any part of the country and we have to be very, very vigilant and we have to be ready to fight against this. Therefore, I think, it is in-

correct to look at what the hon. Prime Minister has said in this way. Yes, it affected the unity and integrity of the country. Yes, it caused panic. Above all this, at this moment, it affects the growing economy of this country. Let us not get lost in the small niceties. Let us face it that today the need of the hour is rapid economic growth. Particularly after liberalisation, after the end of the winter of the cold war, things have changed. India is taking its rightful place among the comity of nations as a highly industrialized nation. I know we are one of the poorest. But I also know that in matters of agriculture we are one of the topmost. We are among the first three or four. I also know that in matters of chemicals and engineering we are ahead of China, whatever may be their per capita income and GDP and other things. Therefore, make no mistake at all that there was a calculated attempt disrupt our economy. Look at what happened elsewhere. A similar thing happened in the World Trade Centre in New York. Why did they choose the World Trade Centre in New York? Two successive issues of the Time have carried articles—one dated 8th March contained an article titled 'Search for the tall bomber' and the other dated 15th March is its continuation where they say about how one of them was caught purely by dumb luck. Through sheer blind luck they could catch hold of one. In the same issue you find it has been stated that between Friday the 26th of February and Friday the 12th of March as many as 10 blasts had taken place at many places in the world like Yugoslavia, England, Georgia, again England, Peru, Spain, Russia, Egypt, Greece and so on. What I am saying is, let us not shut our eyes to the fact that international terrorism has reached the shores of our country. We have to be vigilant about it. We have to take effective steps to deal with it. The second point—it is again a political point—undoubtedly, an operation of this nature requires extensive planning. Fixing of bombs at a dozen

places like this would take considerable amount of time means and preparation. There is no doubt that though outside agencies are involved, they could not have succeeded unless they had the support of some local elements. This is not a matter of debate at all on petty differences. I am inclined to believe that if these bombs had to be located in as prominent places as there—driving into the drive-way of the Stock Exchange building or the Air India and other places—a minimum of 50 and even above 100 people, local people, must have been involved. I wish at least one of them blurted out and we had the luck of catching even one of them before the blast.

We did not have the luck. But it is in a way and I am not denying it, let me tell you that our intelligence agencies are not geared up for international terrorism. I am making a fervent appeal today and I want the whole House to join me in that appeal, that you must immediately set up a special agency to meet this challenge of international terrorism. Why blame India, why blame Maharashtra, when even New York, the most sophisticated place, they had no advance notice. The bomb burst, luckily there were only 5 deaths. But 1100 people were injured at single place, the World Trade Centre. If I may just read from the first article, this is what was said: "When they had no clue what so ever, then the hard work began. Once they entered the damaged area, investigators will face the tedious process of finding chemical traces and fragments of the vehicles to help and identify the type of bomb. Most well-known terrorist groups have their own signatures, characteristic explosive compounds, detonators and even divine designs..." "If the investigators find enough clues, they can detect who made this particular bomb", says Prof. Robert Philips, an expert on terrorism. They are able to detect even the individual bomb-maker's way of doing things,

of placing wires, of placing ridges, how they put the whole thing together. There aren't lots of people in the world who do this well. And then, in the other portion, it says; "the sheer difficulty of constructing bombs of this nature almost rules out an American-made device." And I say the same thing. My friend, Mr. Mahajan, asked, "But why not name the country? How do you say that it is an international phenomenon? Why do you say that it is this country or that country?" But as the hon. Prime Minister has said, the correct thing is to investigate and not to speculate. But that is not to say that today, we cannot come to a *prima facie* conclusion that it is an international conspiracy for the simple reason that the intensity of these chemicals and these explosives with this intensity are not obtained in India. They are not found in India. Secondly, they are not constructed in India. Thirdly, there are so many things you can look at and you will find that a thing of this nature has never happen in India or elsewhere. I don't want to go into all these things. There will be many, many things which will be uncovered. One will have to sit with the entire lot and very systematically eliminate till one reaches the conclusion. And till that conclusion is reached, I think those who are in power should be responsible enough not to make a loose statement. It is a very, very long and difficult investigative process. I am sorry, my friend, Mr. Mahajan, has some notion as if the bomb can explode on Friday and you can arrest the guilty on Saturday. Even this article from the Time magazine thought that it would take months before they came to a clue and when they got a clue earlier and when they arrested one of the Georgians for it, the title says, the banner-line says, "A case of dumb luck," and I quote: "The odds were heavily against investigators finding anything so decisive so soon." Therefore, let us not deride our-

selves that our police failed to notice before or that they have failed to notice it soon there after. If we have to face this menace, we have to be practical, we have to be realistic, we have to understand what problem we are tackling. And therefore, the first suggestion which I am making to my friend is that he should elaborate—he should ask the Minister to elaborate in his reply—in what way they are going to (1) set up an agency; (2) combat international terrorism which has reached our country. There is one more aspect that I want to ask you. Having seen that we could not get any advance intelligence, in what way are they going to strengthen advance intelligence in matters of international terrorism and in what way are they going to collaborate with other countries, and particularly, which other countries? To my mind, Israel comes on the top of the list. It is surrounded by terrorists on all sides and it has stood its ground. And, I am happy that all the agencies—the Army, the Research and other agencies—are cooperating in this effort. I can assure all the Members that knowing the intellect, knowing the hard work of an Indian and efficiency of our police this particular crime will not go undetected. We will get the culprits. But then falls a greater responsibility on us. My friend, Mr. Subramanian Swamy referred to retaliation. I would send an appeal on this occasion to all. Whatever may be the result of the investigations, whosoever comes as the culprit, let not the people retaliate by taking law into their own hands. They have a nation, they have a Government competent enough to make a fitting retaliation on their behalf. I think this is the message of the Bombay people and that message should be carried.

My friend, Mr. Mahajan said that this was the occasion for the Government to resign. I know his des-

pair. He has come from Bombay. But they just cannot understand how the people have stood so firmly, so unitedly, with courage and with equanimity, partly because—and a substantial part of it is because—of the confidence that they have in the Maharashtra Government and the Central Govt. today. Please make no mistake about it. You will make a speech here for the sake of the record. But go and find what the people feel there in Bombay. But there is no doubt, when I pay compliments to the citizens of Bombay, that they are the most civic-minded citizens and there is no wonder that they did not wait for the police to come and do this and do that, but they just helped themselves and before the police could send out any message for donation, donors were already there giving their blood in large quantities. Therefore, I have no doubt that there will be the detection of the culprits, there will be the apprehension of the culprits. But it is a very difficult thing because many of them may find that they have left the country and yet I would appeal: Let us leave it to the Government to retaliate and not allow the citizens to take law into their own hands.

Then, Sir, this statement again is quite disappointing. Any newspaper that you read in the morning contains far more details. I think the time has come now when we must ask the Government to stop coming out with such bureaucratic and useless statements.

SHRI P. UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Very clerical!

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Sir, what this statement suppresses is the fact that the poorest of the poor and the smallest of the small have died and they have been injured in Bombay. Take the casualties in the Bombay Stock

Exchange. Do you know who have died there? Not one member of the Stock Exchange has died. I do not want any one of them to die and, in fact, everyone of them should live long. But the point that I am making is that small hawkers who were selling forms, share forms, small people who were selling tea, and equally small people who had come to take sandwich or tea, have died and there is no reference to this aspect of the matter in this! They got injured. You go to World. One has to see to believe what must have happened. The bus there had flown 150 yards with the driver. One sees the seat of the driver which is completely crushed. Only his shoes tell the tell-tale story of the great tragedy and, in this process, one young boy of 13 died who lived in that jhuggi there; it went into the jhuggi. A building called "Malkani Mansion" has been almost brought down. All the people have been evacuated and they have nowhere to go! Therefore, the second point that I would like to make is this: The Government is announcing compensation for deaths of persons or injuries of persons. But they are not announcing anything for damage to properties there. I do not know whether it is there in the statement; if it is so, I will stand corrected. But let the Minister tell us. What happens today is that in many places people lose whatever they have. So, Sir, please ask the Minister to make an announcement today itself in his reply. He should say as to how he is going to rehabilitate all those people who have to leave their houses under these circumstances, and what compensation they are going to give them for this. Sir, the statement talks of those who are injured; who are outside the hospital. But though they are outside the hospital, it does not mean that they are not injured. Their injuries still continue. The hospital charts show that. And I would appeal that the Government of Maharashtra and the Central Government should also see that an infrastructure is created

whereby the private practitioners also help them. And the cost of the private practitioners, if need be—I am quite sure, that no private practitioner would charge—should be paid by the Government. Then, there are other things for the future.

I want to add one more thing at this stage. We must take aggressive measures to boost up the economy. I went and met the Executive Director of the Stock Exchange. I had a word with the President of the Bombay Stock Exchange. I met the Board of Directors and other members of the Executive Committee. And I am proud to say that the stock exchange will start functioning, if not from today, definitely from tomorrow. I told them, "well, the Bombay Stock Exchange started on the footpath. Forget that your building is damaged." Of course, they have to ensure the safety of the building. But short of that, they have to get the telephone lines, and they have also to get some minimum of electricity supply. But that is being arranged....

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Under the banyan tree....

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: Yes, they can start under the banyan tree. That is why there is so much of vibrancy in Bombay life. I said that they can start. And they were ready. And you will see that the Stock Exchange, the nerve centre of the entire economy of the country will start vibrating again from tomorrow; it is not a small thing that on Friday the blast overtakes you in such a big way and by the end of the week, you are on your feet. The compliment, again, Mr. Mahajan goes to the citizens of Bombay.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: No. It goes to those who are not injured, the Directors who you met.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: No, no. That is your concept. I am sure you will never accept whatever good is done. I am quite sure, the Maharashtra Government is doing everything, and despite what you may say, the confidence of the people in the Government will continue.

And, Sir, when I rise to speak today, how I wish to myself that the events of 6th December had never happened. I do not like to talk politics. But it is not given to them to talk of incompetence of the Government. That is writ large almost to the point of changing the history of the country. But, this is a new thing which has been thrown up by Bombay and let us really cash in on it, that we will not allow anything to come in the way of the unity and the integrity of the country, that we will not panic, we will not be terrorised, and that no matter what comes, the economic growth of this country will not stop. Therefore, I appeal to all the parties today that let us fulfil this basic need of the country, let us control the population and improve our work culture, improve our economy in which the Bombay people are giving you the lead, and forget the small things which divide and split the societies, the small things which make you overturn the rule of law, which make you to take the law into your own hands and bring unhappiness and misery to the millions. Let us now look to an era where we bring in prosperity, happiness and hope to the millions of Indian citizens, led by Bombay, the great city in Maharashtra, the 'Maha' among our 'Rashtra'.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise in great grief and greater anguish to talk about this particular incident and participate in this discussion. I on my own behalf and on behalf of my party extend my heartfelt sympathies to the people of Bombay,

specially to those who have been affected by this dastardly act, and condolences to those families who have lost their near and dear ones. I must also congratulate, like my friend Mr. Murlī Bhandare, the people of Bombay for having risen to the occasion both in the sense that they were able to rush to the help of the needy and also because they did not allow this incident to disturb the peace of Bombay.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not the time for a political debate. This is not the time to score political points and I have no wish to do that. I will not even refer to the inadequacies of the statement. I only say that if the Government statement had included the sensitivity, had had given expression to the feeling as all of us have for the people of Bombay, and had given expression to the sympathy that we have for them, I would have found the statement more complete. I am sorry this aspect is completely missing from this statement.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, while we on this side say that this is not a political issue, that we do not want to take any political advantage of it, it is equally incumbent—and I like to remind the Treasury Benches—that they approach the issue in the same spirit.

Mr. Bhandare has made his speech and has gone away. He is a very dear friend of mine. I wish he had not joined issues; he had not taken Mr. Pramod Mahajan to task for making certain points that he had made. I have no intention to speak on his behalf; I really don't mean to defend him; he is a very articulate Member himself. But this is not the occasion where we have to join issues with each other. This is a moment, Mr. Vice-Chairman, of a national crisis. A national crisis has overtaken our country. Therefore, it is in that spirit that all the Members of this House belonging to various political

parties having our own profession, our own ideologies, must approach this task because if we fail to do so in this House, in this Parliament; then we shall not only be failing ourselves, we shall be failing the nation. That is why, we have to rise above all these petty considerations.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, if we want to tackle the problem which has arisen, then our diagnosis has to be correct. That is the first requirement. If we make a wrong diagnosis, if we locate the wrong reasons, then quite clearly we will not be able to tackle those causes which may be behind these incidents. And this is what we were behind these incidents. And this is what we were referring to. This is what the various Members who have spoken so far, meant when they said that an over-emphasis on only the economic issues, an over-emphasis on the economic programme, would be misplaced. This is our genuine concern; if we were to only say that because India is suddenly a tiger uncaged, that our roar is being heard all over the world, that we are the strong economic power in the world and the world is shaking and trembling of fear for our great might.... I think we will be fooling ourselves. Therefore, this emphasis on only the economic aspect of our national life is misplaced. That is what my friends were mentioning. That is what I would like to mention. That is where I have a fear that the diagnosis this Government is making might go wrong and, therefore, they might end up tackling wrong reasons and wrong causes. We have to clearly realise, Mr. Vice Chairman, that this is an assault on the Indian State. It is an assault, it is an attack on the Indian people, we have to realise that Terrorism has various facets. It might be limited to one territory. It might be limited to one community. It might be limited in various ways. But this does not have those limitations. It has

some sinister implications. Therefore, to look at it partially, to look at it inadequately, will be a grave mistake, to my mind. Certainly, the economy will suffer. In any such law and order situation, the economy becomes a victim. Transport does not move. Things do not happen. Economic activity does not take place. So, the economy is affected. There is no denying that point. But this is not just economic strangulation. It is, as I said, an assault on the nation and on the people, which is a matter of deepest concern and we have to realise that.

Now, it is up to the Government whether they appear before the people, in Parliament, in sack cloth and ashes or not. It is up to them. But there are two things, Mr. Vice-Chairman, on which the whole existence, the *raison d'être*, of this Government is going to be judged. What happened has happened. I am not referring to what happened on the 6th of December. I am not referring to the holocaust, the communal holocaust, that followed the 6th of December. I am not referring to the second round of rioting that took place in Bombay. I am not even referring to what happened in Bombay on Friday. But if such a thing were to happen again anywhere in the country, there is no way this Government can absolve itself of further responsibility. There is no way they can continue occupying the seats which they are occupying. Let me be very clear about it. Let me be very clear about it.

If this kind of incident takes place anywhere in the country, you cannot absolve yourself of further responsibility. In fact, you have just escaped by the skin of your teeth as it were. Let me tell you. If that bomb on the scooter had not been located by the people of Bombay, by that particular doctor who did see that scooter standing there would have been a repetition of what had happened on Friday. So, for God's sake, you have to become alert. You have to gear yourself up in order to ensure that nothing of this kind really

happens anywhere in the country. The citizens of this country have right to feel secure. It is your duty to protect their life and property. Live up to their expectations. Do not forsake it.

The second acid test for the Government, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that they have to book the culprits. Bring the guilty to book. Mr. Bhandari was saying just now that it is a difficult task and that it will take a long time. I am not interested in this kind of argument. I am saying that the Government will have to bring the guilty to book immediately. Do whatever you want. You have all the powers of the State at your disposal. Get in touch with whosoever you want to, anywhere you want. I please come and tell Parliament about the people who are the guilty people. I am not trying to point my finger at anybody on the basis of suspicion. It will be irresponsible on my part. It will be irresponsible on the part of the Government. It will be irresponsible on any other person's part to point his finger either at a neighbour or at an organisation and say that this person is guilty. I would like to say that. It is your responsibility as a Government to get to the bottom of the whole thing and come back to Parliament, come back to the people and tell them who the guilty people are and take the severest action against those guilty people.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I feel these are the two things on which this Government's credibility, its entire existence is going to be judged by the people of this country—whether you are able to protect the people's lives and property in future and whether you are able to bring the guilty to book in the Bombay bombing. These are the two things.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, what is it that has happened? There is a saying that if you sow the wind, you shall reap the whirlwind. We have sown this country with the wind and

are reaping the whirlwind. I hope this is the last instalment of it and not the first, but we are living through difficult times. We are going to have problems. This is something which you knew. As a Government it was your duty to know that things will not be normal. Therefore, I am surprised when I see a certain sense of complacency on the part of the Government when they talk in terms of changing the agenda, bringing back to economic issues, as if what had happened on the 6th of December is something which is erased from the peoples memory by some magic wand. Things do not happen that way in reality. In the world in which we live things tend to persist. Today you are talking of globalisation on an economic plane. Let me tell you, Sir, that there is far greater globalisation, there is far greater global integration as far as terrorism and all that goes with it is concerned. Whether we like it or not, national boundaries have ceased to exist as far as these groups, these marauders, these attackers are concerned. Therefore, what happens in this country is not merely the concern of the people of this country, it becomes a concern of other interested people immediately else where also in the world. Therefore, your task has become more difficult.

Without going into any great length, I would like to say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that representatives of the Government need not rush to the press with half-cooked statements. Please be very, very careful in making your statements. We have had statements from the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, we have had statements from the Home Minister and we have had statements from the Prime Minister himself. In all these statements there are contradictions.

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH
(Bihar): And the State Home Minister's statement now.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: The statement of the Minister of State for Home is also there.

I would suggest that the Government should first get at the bottom of the whole thing before you make a statement. And when you make a statement, the statement must be based on facts, the statement must be based on definite information and the statement then must become the charter of action. You cannot say that such and such organisation is involved and such and such country is involved and get away with it without doing anything. If a neighbour of ours has done such a beastly act, then there is enough reason for this country to go to war with that neighbour. I am not mincing my words. But first we have to be sure. We cannot just make a statement in a light spirit and get away with it.

So, I will gain say, without referring to the failures of the Government, that we need to strengthen our intelligence machinery. How are you going to do it? Where the inadequacies were, where the weaknesses are, this is something which you must investigate. You must find out and take corrective steps in order to strengthen our intelligence machinery, our intelligence organisations so that such incidents are not repeated without our knowledge any more.

The second suggestion which I would like to make is, there is a word in Urdu, called *iqbal*. Government is run in *iqbla*. Will, not force, is the basis of Government; this is how famous political scientists have put it. A Government runs on *iqbal* which is today under a serious question mark. Re-establish that *iqbal*. Let the world know that there is a Government in this country which intends to govern, which has the will to govern. This is the message which must go, this is a signal which you

must send in the national interest. Therefore, re-establish the iqbal of Government.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Bhandare was talking of retaliation. I don't think it is anybody's case here in the House that we should start retaliating against each other, that sections of population should retaliate against each other. That is not the intention. I think he has misunderstood the point. But certainly it is the duty of the Government—it is the sacred, bounden, duty of the Government—to retaliate, if the Government finds that there are forces which are out to disrupt and destroy our nation. Then if you don't retaliate and if you sit wearing bangles around your arms, then you are not performing the duty of the Government. Therefore, if you have to retaliate, I am telling you on behalf of my party—and I am sure, many of us here share that feeling—retaliate with all your might, retaliate against anyone, and you will find the whole Parliament of India standing solidly behind this Government if you take these bold, courageous, steps. So, don't hesitate. If you find that there is a foreign hand, break that hand, break it for ever so that that impure hand will never rise in the direction of our country again, so that those fingers will never try to take us in their grip. Therefore, that has to be done.

Most importantly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the point I would like to make is, while we are not making it a matter of politics, while we don't want political interests to be served in a moment of national crisis, my humble advice to the Members of the ruling party would be not only not to make it political but also not to make it intra-political. There is a danger, there is a certain hint that I find, which is very unfortunate. If you try to look at it from the point of view of your own internal differences,

please don't do it. Take my advice. There will be enough time left for all of us to fight, live, survive. But, first of all, the nation must live. And the nation can only live, Sir, if the Government shows that it has the will to govern, if the Government shows that it is alive to its responsibilities, the Government shows that it is alert about the future, the Government shows that it is equipped to deal with such situations. And if there is failure, then it will not be the failure of the Government alone but it will be our collective failure because sitting in this House here we would have all failed in defending the future of this country, in defending the security and integrity of this country.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRA (Bihar): Thank you, Sir for asking me to get up and raise my voice, with compassion, if I may say so. I read the statement of the Government once. I did it twice, I did it thrice. The only thing missing, which I found was compassion.

My friend, the Minister of State is new to his job—and I have a great deal of sympathy for him. The statement has not been drafted by him. But those who have drafted should have seen to this. Since Parliament was discussing this for the first time after the tragedy, I was hoping that the Government would ask all of us to stand up and send our word of sympathy to those who have been bereaved. The statement doesn't talk of that; the statement does not talk of the families who have suffered. They deserve sympathy from this House. It merely talks in terms of the money that is going to be given to them. The complete lack of compassion, complete lack of concern for those who have suffered and for the innocent lives that have been lost, is something sad. And even belatedly—b

cause I am rising land to speak on this—may I, even now, say that when the message goes from this House, the message must begin with a word of sympathy, with a word of compassion for those who, for not fault of theirs, have suffered? I think, Sir, when you wind up this debate, you will ask all of us to stand up for a couple of minutes in silence to pray for those who have lost their lives and who are still lying in hospitals.

About the statement, Sir, unfortunately, again, I say, I have never seen a statement like this in which a Government states just facts. I think even a cub reporter of a newspaper would have given a better statement than this. We have been seeing newspapers for the last three, four days particularly. Every newspaper has given more information than this paper has. It does not give us anything. You read this paper, and you do not get anywhere except that, in para 10, the Prime Minister of India goes to Bombay, he goes to the stock exchange, the devastated building and thinks that the attack is on our economy. I think, it could not have been a more sad statement than this. I was carefully hearing him on the television, and I was thinking about this. The leader of the nation goes to Bombay. He does not condole those whose dear one's have died. He does not go to the homes of those who have died. He goes to the stock exchange and thinks that India's economy has been attacked. My friend, Mr. Yashwant Sinha who is more experienced in this sphere than I am, has asked a very valid question. What is it that great thing that India has achieved ever since Dr. Manmohan Singh's economics has come in that the world is thinking of attacking our economy today? I think, this is a cynical way of looking at things.

The explosions, as he has said, were executed with precision, and they were hi-tech. What is our response? Is our enquiry hi-tech? When we say

that our intelligence has failed, do we realise that our intelligence set-up is anything out hi-tech oriented? If the terrorist movements have acquire hi-tech, it is equally important that your intelligence system should also be hi-tech oriented. We are still laden with old rifles. They are still laden with those intelligence people who do not know where the trouble lies.

But, more than that, there is one more sad dimension of it. Also here I must say that this is because when the last riots took place in Bombay, which were sad, and so many people suffered and lost their lives, what was the Government occupied with? It was not occupied with trying to sort out things and take precautions for future. You saw day after day an infight going on in the ruling party on who should be the Chief Minister, how the Chief Minister should be removed, how many people were with the new Chief Minister, how many people were opposed to him and how many MPs were present before the Prime Minister for him and how many against him. The ruling party was not concerned with Bombay. It was concerned with only infights, and I am sure this type of preoccupation will now be more visible again next week or so when the AICC meets. They will not talk of Bombay in the context of what we are talking: they will talk of Bombay in the context of whether the Minister committed a mistake or not and whether he should be removed or not, not in national interest, but in the party's interest, and also about the party's factional preoccupations.

The C.M., I think, in his statements from Bombay has said even more than what the Prime Minister has said. He has given some information, but I wish he had not because the information that he has given is half-baked, full of more hazards. He had been Defence Minister of this country for nearly two years.

He must understand the delicacies of diplomacy. Countries like India do not go about mentioning names of other countries till they have come to a very firm and final conclusion. And here is a Chief Minister who has experience of running Defence of this nation mentions two nations straightaway. Even if they are culprits, you must understand that you must get evidence, strong enough evidence, on whether that particular government was behind it or it was individual act. May be that that particular group which has done it, is also fighting its own government at the same time. We are seeing what is happening in Egypt. Therefore, I would ask the Government to be more cautious about this because it is the way of looking at things which can create far more serious problems. I have heard my friend from the BJP with a great deal of attention. I think we should not dismiss his remarks only because it came from a BJP Member. We have differences, but he has come from Bombay fresh with facts. He has asked very pertinent questions. I hope the Minister while replying will not be evasive and will not try to say it only because a BJP Member has asked it. At the same time I would say with a great deal of respect for Shri Advani that naming a country is a very dangerous and delicate thing. He is a senior politician and a public man. I would urge him to use restraint at a time particularly when international relations are involved. It is not a question that we should not name nations. When it comes, we may have to, but not before that. Therefore, I think our policy should be very clear that till a very conclusive evidence is at our disposal, we should not mention it.

My friend also had mentioned that some time ago, when there was a naval action against the LTTE, there was a warning given to us. Newspapers say so. The Government does not come out to say whether it is a

fact or not. The Chief Minister has also revealed that somebody has been arrested already. He has also revealed his nationality. Again it was a premature thing. Mere arrest does not mean anything till you have a conclusive evidence. If after the dastardly assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the LTTE has resorted to this also, then the Government of India will have to take a very firm stand on this and assert itself and see to it that something is done. Newspapers have said that the Intelligence Bureau already had the information. I share with you, Sir, a very interesting aspect. On Friday this thing happened. On Saturday everybody was speculating. A responsible person, whom I met and who is not in service any more, raised his finger in the direction of the LTTE. I was surprised myself. He said: "Yes. But you have not read what type of ultimatum the LTTE had given when Mr. Kittu was supposed to be killed, I do not know by whom." But I think that is something which would need clarification.

The post-incident actions are very important. As I said just now, do we want to re-equip our intelligence services with high technology or not? Every time we are behind in it. When terrorism came in Punjab, we found that our people were fighting with 303 rifles, whereas the terrorists had AK-47. Today you find all your intelligence and security people search the people with a detector which can only detect the metallic bomb and not the plastic bomb and the type of bomb which was used for assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I think that is where the question of high-tech does come in. One thing that is more important is that under no circumstances should a message go either from this House or from the nation that we are trying to communalise the issue. That is extremely important. If this type of a message goes, then whoever has done this crime, will have succeeded in his

effort. All those, who are at this game have only one purpose—how to divide this nation on communal lines, on linguistic lines and what not. Therefore, I think all of us, who are responsible in public life should be very careful with this.

I am sorry, that this House, unfortunately, has not come out with strong enough message to the Government that we do not find it up to the mark. It has not discharged the expected responsibilities. I am saying so not because it is another party, I am saying so as an Indian. I have sat on the other side of the Benches as well. Therefore, I feel concerned. I think it is a question on which even the ruling party should think. Can we not do something to see that these incidents do not get repeated? Can we not do something to see that our intelligence is better equipped? Can we not do something to see that our security forces understand their responsibility? Today we equip a person in uniform with obsolete instruments without training and expect him to safeguard everything. He cannot do it and he does not do it. We see it in Delhi and elsewhere. Therefore, before I sit down, I would urge when the Minister replies he will at least give us some information and not repeat a bland statement that has been passed on to us in the name of a statement. Unfortunately the Government had fallen into the habit of making a bland statement. After the 6th December incident, they have issued a White Paper which is only a cover page and nothing else in it. Today you find another statement which is as bland as the White Paper. The result of it is that neither are we in a position to give them advice nor are we able to say whether the Government is doing a right thing or a wrong thing.

I would also urge the ruling party—I think in their own interest—please stop infighting. Now, do not fight each other, fight the enemies of the

nation at least for once, if not done earlier. Thank you.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. I have heard the senior Members of this House and their accusations against the Government on various counts. The bomb blasts in Bombay were meticulously planned starting from 1.20 P.M. to 4.00 P.M. the entire operation was over by 4.00 P.M. A number of lives have been lost and properties worth of crores of rupees have been damaged. The entire country was shocked at the bomb blasts that took place in an industrial city, in a commercial city, like Bombay.

Sir, one has to see what was the roots of these bomb blasts and the riots that took place in Bombay and other parts of the country. As a true citizen of this country I will be failing in my duty if I do not refer to it. What are the factors that led to these riots in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat and other parts of the country and bomb blasts in Bombay? It is no doubt that these incidents took place after the demolition of the Babri Masjid on the 6th December, 1992. After this incident two riots that took place in Bombay were engineered by the Shiv Sena and other organisations which were well known to everybody and which were focussed by various political parties and leaders. As a retaliation these bomb blasts might have taken place in Bombay.

Sir, we are pained to see that the riots and bomb blasts that took place in Bombay are ruining the economy of the country. As soon as the bomb blasts took place in Bombay, the hon. Prime Minister was pleased to depute the hon. Home Minister of State for Home Affairs to that place. The hon. Prime Minister has also made it a point to visit Bombay and the affected areas to create confidence in the minds of the people of Bombay that his Government is really concerned about the people of Bombay and other parts of the country.

Sir, there was a remark made by Members about the hon. Prime Minister's statement, "This may be a result of the economic reforms that have been brought by this Government."

Sir, with due respect, I would like to submit that after a long period, now we have brought economic reforms and they have started showing results. There is no doubt about it. If anyone says that foreign investments are not coming, I will not accept it for the simple reason that the country's economy which was at the lowest ebb has been coming up because of the reforms that have been taken up by the Government. Bombay city is the nerve centre of the Indian economy. In the last riots, more than Rs. 20,000 crores worth of properties have been damaged and a number of lives have been lost. In the bomb blasts, so far no one calculated the amount of property that has been damaged. About the loss of lives, the hon. Home Minister has given it in the statement: The hon. Home Minister, when we were referring to the matter on Friday, said that an international conspiracy relating to the bomb blasts was not ruled out. But I find criticism from the other side saying, "Don't jump to conclusions." The Government is not jumping to any conclusion. But if one sees the device that has been used, the bombs that have been used and the *modus operandi*, one has to come to the conclusion that international organisations are in the field for the purpose of bomb blasts. He said, "We are not ruling out the possibility." He did not say conclusively that it was the international organisations which were responsible for it. But the other side says, "Don't jump to conclusion." Neither the Central Government nor the State Government jumped to conclusions that it was the international organisations that had been involved in it. But we do not rule out the possibility. That was the reply given by the hon. Home Mini-

ster in this House. Sir, a reference has been made to the Chief Minister's version. The Chief Minister gave several statements and the statements of the Home Minister are different from what the Chief Minister said. The Chief Minister stated that one Sri Lankan national was arrested and that the device that had been used was in the weapon system with the LTTE. He also said that in the assassination of our great leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi, such a system was used by the LTTE. There is a motive behind it also. After the death of the various persons who had been involved in the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and also after the death of Kittu they have been giving ultimatum to the Government of India saying that they are trying to create law and order problem in this country for which they are fanning out the militants throughout the country. The organisation was concentrating in Tamil Nadu earlier. Now, even in Vijayawada somebody has been arrested. In Delhi, some persons who were with the conspirators and Sri Lankan nationals were arrested. In Bombay also, some militants were arrested. Therefore, the LTTE's involvement is also not ruled out. But agree with hon. Members that the statement is not giving the full fact. That the bomb defused by the Bureau, the explosives experts, has been planted in a scooter was in news items in the papers, the TV and other media. But it is not referred to in the statement. For more than two days, that particular scooter was there in that particular place. The doctor concerned and the public gave their version and thereafter, the police arrived there. My question is, what has happened to our intelligence system? It is a pertinent question which arises in the mind of everybody. Such a big operation would not have been planned in one day or two days. It might have been planned one month back, minimum one month back. It was such a big operation covering 30 kilometers! The hon. Home

Minister has to give an answer to the House as to what the clue he had. And there was also a news item that after the Ayodhya incident, there were ships moving with weapons near Bombay. That was the information we got. Were they intercepted? Ships with sophisticated weaponry were moving near Bombay. Did the Government have any information? I would like to know this from the hon. Minister in this House. To my surprise, I find that the case has not been so for fully handed over to the CBI. Is it a fact? Now, various agencies have been involved. The Intelligence Bureau, the RAW and other organisations, including the CBI, have been indirectly involved for the purpose of finding out the culprits. According to our information, the case has not been handed over to the CBI. Is it a fact or not? If it is fact, what are the reasons for not handing over the case to CBI? It is a very big issue, it is an international issue and a matter concerning the people of the country and everyone suspects that there is a foreign hand in it. Why the CBI has not been directly involved for finding out the culprits. In New York for the bomb blast that took place in the World Trade Centre within 24 hours the clue was obtained by the Government and some of the culprits were arrested. But, Sir, in this case even after three days the hon. Home Minister is not in a position to come with at least some kind of information about the organisations or the individuals involved in that to this House. If the Home Minister thinks that it is for security or even for the purpose of getting cogent information or details, then it is all right. But there is a challenge to our security system and the police administration of the country by these bomb blasts. Therefore, the hon. Home Minister has to come to this House and he has to inform while replying whether any clue, direct clue, has been obtained by them about the involvement of any organisations in this

matter. Without the support of local agencies or organisations such a big racket, the killing of the people or putting the bomb at various destinations in a very planned manner could not have happened. I want to know whether you have obtained any information relating to the local organisations, agencies or individuals who are assisting them for the purpose of bomb blasts.

Sir, while speaking the hon. Member, a senior Member of this House, Shri Yashwant Sinha was referring to this Government and was saying that this Government should go. ... (Interruptions)... You said that. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I can stand up and say that, but I did not say that. Don't say that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please come to your point.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, if I have not properly understood him as far as that aspect is concerned, I take back that word. I said that word. But for the way in which he was speaking and the accusations which he has been making against this Government. I would like to say only one word. When our great leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, was the Opposition Leader and he went to Madras, protection was not given to him by the previous Government that was led by Shri Chandra Shekhar in which our Yashwant Sinha was a Cabinet Minister. ... (Interruptions)...

AN HON. MEMBER: Let him go on record.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, will this go on record?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): No, no.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, we are debating the bomb blasts in Bombay. In the morning everybody said, "You should not politicise the issue." My hon. friend and colleague is asking something totally out of context and totally away from the facts.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let us be clear about it. ... (*Interruptions*)... Let us be clear about it, whether I am going out of content... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Unless you withdraw your remark against Mr. Chandra Shekhar, we will not proceed. ... (*Interruptions*)... Otherwise, we will not proceed. ... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): It is better you concentrate on this topic.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am going to concentrate on this.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No I must say it is very unfortunate... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, he cannot attack him in the name of the previous Prime Minister.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, I think I was trying to be as humble and as reasonable in my approach as is possible, as was physically possible, mentally possible and I am very sorry that with a reference to my speech Mr. Narayanasamy has brought this extremely unnecessary reference, and if this is the way he wants to refer, then I want to know who the Home Minister was when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated; where that person is now; and what action you have taken against that person. Who was the Home Minister when the Sikh riots took place? Do you remember the name of that person? ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Along with your Prime Minister you must also region.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: One minute. One minute... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: You politicise it. I did not want to politicise it. ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Mrs. Gandhi was... (*Interruptions*)... Whoever was the Minister should resign... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I pleaded with the Ruling Party Member. ... (*Interruptions*)... I pleaded with him not to politicise. If this is the way they are going to respond, then I am here, we are all here with all the ammunition against them and they will not be able to speak for one minute. Let him say this... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, for the sake of record, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in Tamil Nadu where there was a State Government and a Governor who belonged to their party. They should not behave like this Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated in Delhi in her own house. The Home Minister was here. The Union Territory was directly under the Home Minister. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Nothing is going on record. (*Interruptions*)... Nothing will go on record. (*Interruptions*)... Nothing is going on record. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)... Please take your seats. (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)... Nothing is going on record. (*Interruptions*)... Please sit down. (*Interruptions*)... Nothing is going on record. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: If his original comments will go on record, everything will go on record. (*Interruptions*)... The Verma Commission has indicated them. They have no shame. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Morarka. (*Interruptions*)... This afternoon we are discussing it in an entirely different spirit. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, as far as expunging the remarks is concerned, if there is something unparliamentary it should be expunged or, otherwise, the Member must withdraw his remarks; then everything can be done. Instead of doing so, if the hon. Member insists that this remarks should be there, then all the remarks should be there so that the future generation could know about this entire discussion. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): All remarks... (*Interruptions*)... should be expunged. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: He should request conscientiously. Let him say so. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)...

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): Before you give your ruling I have a point of order. Ever since the debate on Bombay bomb blasts started this morning one after the other had been blaming our party and Ayodhya incidents had been brought into this. What is the correlation? (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Jain, please take your seat. There is no point of order. (*Interruptions*)...

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: You cannot be selective. You put on record whatever suits you and delete whatever doesn't suit you. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI MD. SALIM): Please sit down. (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Jain, please sit down. (*Interruptions*)...

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: If you don't want to put it on the record you have to delete it. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Jain, I told you... (*Interruptions*)... There is no point of order. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya): Sir, I was trying to draw your attention for some time. (*Interruptions*)...

AN HON MEMBER: Don't cast aspersions on the Chair. (*Interruptions*)...

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: I am not casting any aspersions on the Chair. (*Interruptions*)... Sir you please allow me. (*Interruptions*)...

श्री राम नरेश यादव : महोदय, उत्तर प्रदेश आपकी व्यवस्था के बाद उसी पर फिर व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाना स्वाय संगत नहीं है तर्कसंगत नहीं है। जो वह कह रहे हैं... (*व्यवधान*)

SHRI G. S. SWELL: Sir, this is a very sad occasion. It has to cut across party lines. All that has been said is extremely unfortunate. (*Interruptions*)... Nothing unparliamentary has been said. It must go on record. But I also say that the whole thing was unseemly, uncalled for and abominable. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Narayanasamy.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir,

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: What about his point? *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): On the point you mentioned. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Everything will go on record. This is Parliament. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, it was not that I talked harshly about the former Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar, and his Government. There is nothing unparliamentary. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, we put it on record that this Government is responsible for the assassination of two Prime Ministers. Here is a political party which did not care for their leaders, which did not co-operate with the Commission of Enquiry. The Verma Commission has said that... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): It is not a question of blaming each other. *(Interruptions)*... It is not a question of blaming each other. *(Interruptions)*...

4.00 P.M.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: It is not a question of blaming each other. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I do not want to withdraw the word that I said. I will not withdraw. Why should I withdraw? *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: He will not withdraw... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): I do not think Mr. Narayanasamy deliberately wanted to hurt anybody and now he is expressing... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: He is not. He says that he mentioned hard

facts about the previous Government. He feels that we are responsible for Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. He is saying so... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It is the findings which say that adequate and proper protection was not given to Shri Rajiv Gandhi... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Is this the point we are discussing?... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Mr. Narayanasamy, you did not. Don't try to dodge facts. Don't misguide. You blamed the Chandra Shekhar Government. You did not... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Don't try to bully me like this... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: When Mr. Narasimha Rao was the Home Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was killed... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Nothing will go on record... *(Interruptions)*... Minister is saying something. Yes, Mrs. Alva... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: We are not talking about blaming anybody. Let Mr. Morarka not talk about it. All that the hon. Member said was the findings of the Verma Commission... *(Interruptions)*... Let me finish... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: The records are there. Why are you twisting it? It is not proper. We are saying something which we have heard... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Morarka, let her finish... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: All that he was saying is that the withdrawal of the NSG... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: He did not... (*Interruptions*)... Mrs. Alva, he did not... (*Interruptions*)... He did not utter a word about the NSG. Look into the records. He did not utter the word NSG... (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sorry, I am very sorry I made a reasonable speech. I am extremely ashamed that I made a reasonable speech in this House when I was intervening in this debate. These people don't deserve it. They need to be dealt with in a different manner. I am sorry to say this because if Mr. Narayanasamy can respond to that speech in this manner then I just don't know what I should do except feel greatly ashamed that I am a Member of the same House of which he is a Member... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I will tell you, if the hon. Member Shri Yashwant Singh's feeling have been hurt, if I have wounded his feelings, then I withdraw it... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Morarka, let him finish... (*Interruptions*)... Do not be so agitated... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Let him say he is withdrawing. I want him to apologize. If you don't apologize, Mr. Narayanasamy, I will see how you will carry on... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Why should I apologise... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Morarka, don't be so agitated... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Sir, he cannot talk like this in the House... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you were in the Chair when I was speaking. You are a witness and so are other Members of the House of the spirit in which... (*Interruptions*)... You are

a witness to the spirit in which I made my intervention. More than any body else I am appealing to you. Is this kind of response to what I said justified? I am leaving it to you, Mr. Vice-Chairman... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Sinha, your speech was appreciated by the Members sitting on this side also. That is why I am asking Mr. Narayanasamy... (*Interruptions*)... not to look at it politically... (*Interruptions*)... It is not a political question... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री राम नरेश यादव : इस मामले को बन्द कर दना चाहिए क्योंकि उन्होंने खेद व्यक्त कर दिया है (*व्यवधान*)

श्री कमल मोरारका : बन्द नहीं होगा

When Mr. Narasimha Rao was the Home Minister, Mrs. Gandhi was killed, why did he not resign?.... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Morarka, please don't get agitated... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN (Andhr Pradesh): I have been listening to Mr. Yashwant Sinha and Mr. Kamal Morarka. Mr. Sinha, only once he referred to you and said that wanted this Government to be dismissed. You have been listening to that. I have been listening to what happened. I have been listening to what Mr. Morarka said, what Mr. Jain said... (*Interruptions*)... Only he was responding to what Mr. Yashwant Sinha said that he wanted the Government to be dismissed. You immediately got up and said that you didn't say that the matter ends there. He has got every right to say whatever he feels like. Why are you taking that every body is responding to you? And the second thing, you said that you were ashamed to be a Member of the House. We are also Member of this House. So, you shouldn't say all these things. The only thing

is, Mr. Narayanasamy should not have said it. agree with you... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Don't expunge anything. Everything should go on record... (Interruptions) Let Mr. Narayanasamy finish it. We all want to have it... (Interruptions)...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Why can't he withdraw? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: Don't say that you are ashamed. Several Members are also there... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Okay, Mr. Dhawan... (Interruptions)...

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: He was not responding to what you said, you got up and clarified the position... (Interruptions) ... Don't take it as a personal thing ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Everything must go on record... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Let Mr. Narayanasamy speak. He is capable of defending himself ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: After all, Chandra Shekhar Government was supported by the Congress(I)....

That was not the Opposition Government ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI (Gujarat): Are you allowing everybody to speak?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ((SHRI MD. SALIM): No, I am not allowing Mr. Narayanasamy, do you want to continue or not?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I just want to say one more point. Then I will conclude... (Interruptions)...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: All that I want to ask is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ((SHRI MD. SALIM): Leave it... (Interruptions)...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: The whole nation is watching us as to in what manner the representatives of the people are responding to this horrendous tragedy which had taken place in Bombay. It is not Bombay but the entire nation. Let us deal with this matter in that perspective. That is what I am asking repeatedly. I am appealing to Mr. Narayanasamy also... (Interruptions)

SMT. MARGARET ALVA: Let Mr. Moraraka address the Chair. Why is he addressing the Members?

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Everybody tries to explain as if we don't understand ... (Interruptions) We are not dances.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ((SHRI MD. SALIM): We are discussing the Bombay blast. Don't talk about anything other than this aspect.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am going to conclude now.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, international terrorism has reached a peak in this world now. Right now, the Government of India is also contacting the Interpol of various nations to find out about the device that had been used and the organisations that have been involved. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether they have got any clue from the Interpol now that they have said that they have contacted them. Lastly, while paying my homage to the people who have lost their lives, I must thank the brave people of Bombay for maintaining peace and amity.

in Bombay in spite of the devastating effect of the blast. With these words, I conclude, Sir.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Sir, with deep anguish rise to speak on the subject. At the outset, I convey sincere sympathies and condolences on behalf of myself and on behalf of my party to those who have been bereaved and injured. I also warmly congratulate the people of Bombay who with equanimity and courage faced up to the present situation. Sir, this issue has two aspects. One is about the incident that occurred, what the role of our Government and the intelligence services was and what the motive was behind the perpetrated crime, blasting several places in the city of Bombay. First of all, I would like to refer to the fact that for the last few years, our country has been witnessing grave incidents of terrorist activities. One Prime Minister was assassinated. Another Prime Minister was also assassinated. And after these two grave national tragedies, perhaps this is the third biggest national tragedy that has taken place in the country where I feel the Intelligence of the Indian Government has totally failed.

Sir, the failure of the Intelligence Service has been discussed in the Parliament, in the country, since the assassination of the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. At that time, the Government could not come out with any action plan as to how to streamline the Intelligence Services so that this type of activities could be pre-empted or prevented or stopped. On the contrary, Rajiv Gandhi was murdered, whether it was Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Government and whether it was supported by the Congress (I) or not is not the issue. The issue is that the Intelligence of the country has failed and it has failed totally. So, we must look into the question as to why the Intelligence Service is fail-

ing everytime, repeatedly, and making the country vulnerable to all kinds of terrorist activities, all kinds of crimes, being perpetrated by the terrorists, whoever they may be.

Now, take the case of the bomb blasts that took place in Bombay on Friday. I do not know what the administration, the police and the intelligence were doing. Sir, in our country, there is a multiplicity of intelligence organisations. There is the RAW, there are other intelligence organizations and the investigating agency, the CBI, is there. All put together, we have a number of agencies which do intelligence work and which do the investigating work. Despite the existence of so many agencies, how in Bombay this heinous crime took place. That is the main issue to be debated and the Government should come out with a clear-cut answers and the Government should also come out with a clear-cut answer as to why this failure took place and what the Government is going to do so that these things are not repeated.

Sir, the point is that it is my feeling that our Intelligence services are not directing their activities towards stopping the criminal designs of different terrorist groups, domestic or foreign. I remember, RAW was created for particular purpose. For what purpose? Mr. Minister, while answering, you please clarify this. But, so far as I understand, the RAW was created to tackle the foreign intelligence activities. But what does our experience tell us? The RAW was blatantly used for domestic purposes, to pull down certain Opposition Governments, to create some trouble in some areas in the Opposition-ruled States and the RAW was used for internal purposes, not for pre-empting the foreign terrorist activities.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): The Government treats the Opposition as something foreign!

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Now, what about the other Intelligence services and how are they used?... (Interruptions)... Sir, we are discussing a very serious situation and I hope the Government would pay attention to the speaker, to what I say, and not to some other Congress(I) Members. This is very bad, indeed. Mr. Home Minister, you will not listen to me? Please listen to me.

SHRI P.M. SAYEED: I am listening to you.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: This type of politicking you must abandon for ever. This is my charge against the Congress(I) Government that it is using the Intelligence services for getting information on other things. The Prime Minister's Office is flooded with Intelligence reports on certain Opposition leaders, on what they are doing and on what the Opposition leaders in the Opposition-ruled States are doing! It is only these reports that are flooding the Prime Minister's Office, not reports on what the terrorists do, not what the foreign terrorists are doing. This is the condition, bitter condition, in which we are living.

Sir, it also happens that the Intelligence services send some reports to the Home Ministry or the Prime Minister, but they are not acted upon, for reasons obvious, for reasons better known to them. There is also lack of coordination between the Home Ministry and the Prime Minister's Office. For some years, we have been having a Minister for Internal Security. Now, what is internal security? Internal security is to see that the things or the incidents that took place in Bombay do not happen again anywhere. But despite the creation of the Ministry of Internal Security, Bombay is burning. In the city of Bombay, different targets are blasted. It is happening. So, what is the Minister doing, what is the Ministry of internal Security doing? The Government has to explain to the country..

can our countrymen rely on this Government which cannot protect its countrymen, the Government which cannot protect its ex-Prime Minister or different targets in the city of Bombay or elsewhere? How will the people rely on them? It is not a trivial matter that simply some reply will come from the Minister and the people will be satisfied. If what has happened in Bombay is repeated anywhere else, it means you are ruining the country. That is my charge against the Government. The Intelligence Services are used not to protect the country, but to protect their own party, and by that their own Prime Ministership or something like that. Intelligence Service of the country is not created for that petty purpose. It is created for the protection of the country itself. But that purpose has been totally defeated by this Government. Sir the point is that the Police people, the Intelligence Services and the gun-trotting policemen are used to cordon off the VIPs and to protect the VVIPs. The entire Parliament House complex is full of gun-trotting people. Poor MPs like are in trouble on the roads. When we walk on the roads, we are stopped by the gun-trotting policemen. The common man is harassed. The common man is killed. The common man loses his life as it happened in Bombay. Then why are these gun-trotting people, then why is this high-flying Intelligence sedice? They are for whom? They are only for protecting certain individuals and not for those rickshaw-wallas, those pan-bidiwallas who have been killed in Bombay, who were torn apart in Bombay. ..

Sir it is time that the Government gave a new look to the whole system of Intelligence, the whole system of policing, the whole system of guarding the VVIPs. There is something wrong somewhere some wrong thinking is going on. High-flying Ministers, flying on helicopters to oversee what is happening in the country will not help in the protec-

tion of the countrymen.

Sir, the other part of the story is that with what purpose, with what motive the terrorists have struck in Bombay? Sir, I am surprised to find that immediately after the incident, the Prime Minister rushed to the press and said that it is to thwart the economic progress of the country that the terrorists had struck. Sir, my point is: Who are against the present economic policy of the Government? Who are against it? Is any country in the capitalist world against the economic policy of the Government? Is America or Britain or France or Italy or Pakistan or Jordan or Iran against the economic policy of the Government? Basically, who are against the economic policy of the Government? It is the Left parties and certain democratic parties who are criticising the present economic policy of the Government. Then, who wants to thwart this policy, who wants to sabotage this policy? Neither America nor Britain nor Italy nor Iran nor Saudi Arabia nor Pakistan nor BJP, nor RSS are against it. Then, who are against the economic policy of the Government? Then, only some Left and other democratic parties remained. Then why rush to the press? Sir, it something funny to say that the country is making revolutionary strides towards economic progress and that is why some reactionaries are trying to the art it, stop it. Then, Sir, in New York; the World Trade Centre was bombed. That was also to stop the economic progress of America? By whom? By the Left in India or Mr. Yeltsin? Nobody. It is a very serious matter. We have to find out the motive behind these terrorist activities. If we just imagine some motive to suit our political designs and make an election propaganda, we will not be doing justice. The Prime Minister and the Government can understand that huge number of countrymen and a big number of political parties and forces are opposed to

the economic policy. The Prime Minister is now utilising this bombing incident in Bombay to harass them and tell the people: 'Look, my economic policy is a progressive policy but some people are against my economic policy. My economic policy can take the country to greater heights.' Sir nobody can be fooled by this propaganda. I find some speakers from the Treasury benches have said that the motive behind this incident is to thwart the economic progress, and so on. This type of simplistic or propagandist statement about the motive of the terrorist activities would only bring ruin to the country. This will only serve the interests of the terrorists who perpetrated the crime in Bombay. On the other side, some people rushed to the press to say that it is the ISI of Pakistan who is behind it. I can understand when the Prime Minister says that it is to thwart the economic progress; I can understand the opposition people saying that it is Pakistan's ISI who are behind it. But this is again to suit their own political designs. The country cannot be saved in this way. If you want to identify the motive according to your political designs, then it will only serve the interests of the terrorists, not the interests of the country. The point is, the terrorists in Bombay selected a variety of targets. You look at the targets. It is either the Stock Exchange building, or Air India building, or some bazars or a hotel or some mohallas, both Hindu mohalla as well as Muslim mohalla which has been made the target. People of all communities lived there who lost their lives. There is a mixed type in the targets selected by the terrorists. Then who wants to thwart your economic progress? Is it the BJP? Is it the RSS? It is not so easy to say it. But by saying such things we only fall into the trap of the terrorists. They selected a variety of targets.

Then we should also learn from the terrorist activities in other parts of the world. See what they are doing in Lebanon or in Beirut and elsewhere. The terrorists select their targets to conceal their motive and to confuse the victims. That is exactly what they are doing here. They try to conceal their motive because if it is the Hindu mohalla or the Muslim mohalla, you can say it is they who have done it. It is the job of the Government to find out the motive behind it. For a long time, we from our party have been warning the Government and the country repeatedly in this House that there are certain forces behind all this. Somebody says it is the foreign hand behind it. We agree, because it is not only in Bombay, it is being done in Punjab, it is being done in Kashmir, it is being done in Assam and in Darjeeling and everywhere else and the work of a foreign hand is visible. Then, it is in complete collaboration with domestic reactionaries. Without the domestic perpetrators of crime, foreign forces cannot work. They cannot succeed without domestic servants. They want some domestic accomplices. Without them they cannot work. And that is the point we have been hinting at for the few years that some forces are there who want to destabilise our country whether it is in Punjab or Kashmir or Assam or Darjeeling or other parts of the country. By communal carnage, communal riots, this and that, some forces want to gain. It is the handiwork of these forces. Now, we have to find out these forces, how they have worked. What are their motives? Which are the forces? Without rushing to identify them immediately according to the political designs that suits one, the Government of India should probe into the matter seriously and sincerely to find out what is happening. There have been a chain of events starting from the killing of Indira Gandhi. Then, Rajiv Gandhi was killed. Now, this thing has happened in Bombay.

It is my feeling that this is some conspiracy. It is this conspiracy which took away the life of Indira Gandhi. It is this conspiracy which took away the life of Rajiv Gandhi. It is this conspiracy again which took away the lives of so many innocent people in Bombay.

What is the motive behind the killing of Rajiv Gandhi, during the election campaign? To destabilise the country. Whether it was done by the L.T.T.E. or some other force, the motive was to destabilise the country. Why was Indira Gandhi killed? To destabilise the country. Why was Bombay bombed in this way? Again, destabilisation is the motive.

Sir, no fool would believe what the Prime Minister says. He says that the Stock Exchange was bombed to thwart the economic progress of the country. Can the economic progress be thwarted by bombing just one stock exchange? Mr. Bhandare just now claimed that the Bombay Stock-Exchange would start working from tomorrow. Everybody knows. One Bhagat Singh was killed by the Britishers. But that did not stop the attainment of freedom of the country. Do you mean to say that by just bombing one stock exchange or a five-star hotel, the economic progress of the country would be stopped? No fool would believe that. The terrorists are not foolish enough to think that by just bombing one stock exchange, the economic progress of the country would be stopped. It is not that simple. We have to find out the real forces behind this. For this, a serious probe is necessary.

Now, some say that it is Pakistan which has done it. I do not know who has done it. Perhaps, Pakistan or any other country may be behind this. This is because Pakistan's hand is already visible in Punjab and Kashmir. It is already visible. Quite possible. But why should we

[Shri P. M. Sayeed]

rush to this conclusion? May I ask those hon. persons who immediately identify Pakistan whether it is a reflection of their own guilty conscience because of what they had perpetrated on the 6th December? It is a reflection of the feeling that because of the communal carnage against the Muslim minority in Bombay that certain Muslim fundamentalists country is taking revenge against it? It is a reflection of the feeling that this is a retaliation for what they have done in the country? Is it a reflection of this feeling? I do not know. We had warned at that time. When the Mosque was demolished, we had warned of the repercussions. Now, this thing has happened in Bombay. It means, you made the entire country vulnerable to activities by international terrorists.

The Muslim terrorists might have done it in Bombay. It is quite possible. I do not know who has done it. Sir, in many Islamic countries— for example, in Egypt and Algeria— Muslim fundamentalists have been banned. Many of them have been sent to the gallows. This has happened recently in Egypt and Algeria. Many of them have established bases in Peshawar, in Pakistan. They are fighting against their own Government. They are fighting against any country where they think Islam is being humiliated. I do not know who has done it.

It is time these people should think. They should also feel. Those who are responsible for the demolition of the Mosque on the 6th December, those who are responsible for the communal carnage in Bombay, should also think now, should introspect as to what extent they are responsible for what has happened in Bombay two days ago. They cannot escape from their responsibility.

Having said this, I would also say that the whole gamut of this incident should be gone into thoroughly. A

serious problem should be conducted. The intelligence machinery should be geared up. This kind of trying to identify the guilty to suit one's political design should be stopped forthwith. Think of the countrymen, think of the country, not of the party only, not of the Prime Minister's chair, not of own party's election prospects. Think of the security of the entire country and then only you will be able to find what the real cause is and then only you will be able to take action to stop recurrence of these activities in future.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI:
Hon. Home Minister's home-coming was very short. He just came and...

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर रहमान: (भारत प्रदेश): जनाब वाईस चेयरमैन साहब 6 दिसम्बर को प्रयोध्या में जो कुछ भी वाक्यात हुए.....

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : बम्बई की बात कर रहे हैं या प्रयोध्या की ... (व्यवधान)

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर रहमान : उसी पर ब्रा रहा हूँ। बोलिने दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) : गौतम जी, धैर्य रखिए। आप कहिए अपनी बात।

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर रहमान : दिसम्बर को प्रयोध्या में जो कुछ भी वाक्यात हुए वह हिन्दुस्तान के माथे पर बदनुमा धब्बा था ही और फिर उस प्रयोध्या के वाक्य के बाद हिन्दुस्तान के मूखलफ शहरों में जो बर्बरियत का नंगा नाच होता रहा वह खुद भी हिन्दुस्तान के माथे पर एक बदनुमा धब्बा था। फिर मुझे इतिहाई अफसोस के सा यह कहना पड़ता है कि 12 मार्च को बम्बई में जो धमाके हुए वे भी हिन्दुस्तान के माथे पर एक बदनुमा दाग हैं। इसकी जितनी भी मरम्मत की जाए वह कम है।

जनाब वाईस चेयरमैन साहब, आज ही हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने बम्बई के धमाकों

के ताल्लुक से एक स्टेटमेंट पेश किया। वह स्टेटमेंट पढ़ने के बाद ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हमको इससे कहीं ज्यादा बेहतर मालूमात अखबारात के जरिये मिले और इस स्टेटमेंट में कुछ भी नहीं था। तबको यह भी की जा रही थी कि स्टेटमेंट में कुछ हमको मालूमात फराहम की जाएगी जिसके नतीजे पर हम और बेहतर अंदाज में डिबेट कर सकते हैं। मगर इतिहाई अफ़सोस की बात है कि इस स्टेटमेंट से ज्यादा हम लोगों को मालूमात अखबारात के जरिये मिले चूनावे उती की बिना पर यह बहस की जा रही है। इससे यह मालूम होता है खुद स्टेटमेंट के पढ़ने से कि हुकूमत इस ताल्लुक से ज्यादा संजोदा नहीं है, हालांकि इतने भयानक धमाके आजाद हिंदुस्तान को तारीख में आज तक नहीं हुए। हुकूमत को इसको इतिहाई सीरियस लेते हुए बेहतर से बेहतर अंदाज में इस स्टेटमेंट को पेश करना चाहिए था। मैं इसके लिए हुकूमत को मजबूत करता हूँ।

फिर दूसरी बात यह है, जैसे कि अभी मेरे पेशवो मुकर्रोर साहबजी ने कहा कि ये जो 13 धमाके हुए हैं इन धमाकों से ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हमारे पास की जितनी भी इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसियां हैं वे मुकिम्मल तौर पर नाकाम हो गयी हैं। यह पहला वाक्या नहीं है कि हमारे मुल्क की इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसियां नाकाम हुई हैं इससे पहले मैडम इंदिरा गांधी के कत्ल पर और फिर उसके बाद राजीव गांधी के कत्ल पर और फिर उसके बाद 6 दिसम्बर के वाक्य के ताल्लुक से मैं यह कहूंगा कि हमारे मुल्क की ये एजेंसियां इतिहाई नाकाम हो चुकी हैं। फिर ये बम्बई के जो धमाके हैं इससे तो यह साबित हो चुका है कि जितनी भी हमारे मुल्क की खुफिया एजेंसियां हैं वे पूरी की पूरी, मुकम्मल नाकाम हो चुकी हैं। अगर एजेंसियों का यह दावा है कि हमने हुकूमत को बराबर इस ताल्लुक से मालूमात दी थी तो फिर मैं यह कहूंगा कि हुकूमत नाकाम हो चुकी है वरकत एकदमात करने के ताल्लुक से।

ये जो 13 वाक्यात हुए, यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है। किसी एक शख्स का जाना, बम रखना और बम उड़ जाना, ऐसी बात नहीं है। जैसा कि कहा गया है कि कम से कम 50 या 60 आदमी इसमें मुलव्विज हो सकते हैं और बम्बई जैसे शहर में जब इतने आदमी मुलव्विज

हो सकते हैं और हमारी एजेंसियों को कानों कान खबर नहीं होती तो आप इससे अंदाजा लगाइये यहां पर मैं इसको कोई सियासी मसला नहीं बना रहा हूँ मगर चूँकि हुकूमत की नाकामी है तो हुकूमत के ताल्लुक से मुझे कहना ही पड़ेगा। आपको मालूम होना चाहिए कि पिछले एक महीने से कुछ ऐसा जहन मालूम हो रहा था, जिससे कि महाराष्ट्र और बम्बई में हुकूमत नाम की कोई चीज ही नहीं है। इक्तदार की रस्साकशी हो रही थी और यह देखा जा रहा था कि कौन चीफ मिनिस्टर बनने वाला है, उसकी मिनिस्ट्री में कितने लोग आने वाले हैं, कौन से ग्रुप को बरतरी मिलने वाली है। जब वहां की हुकूमरान जमात इस किस्म की एक्टिविटीज से मुलव्विस हो, तो आप अंदाजा लगाईए कि सिर्फ एक महीने पहले वहां पर जो भयानक फिरकेवाराना फिसादात हुए थे, उसके बावजूद वहां पर हुकूमत की यह नाहिली रही, लापरवाही रही, बेअमली रही, तो आप किस तरह से इसका सुराग लगा सकते हैं।

यह बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है और हुकूमत को इसकी जिम्मेदारी कबूल करनी ही पड़ेगी। न सिर्फ यह कि रियासती हुकूमत को, मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि खुद मरकजी हुकूमत को भी इसकी जिम्मेदारी कबूल करनी पड़ेगी और इसकी जिम्मेदारी को कबूल करते हुए क्या इक्दाम करती हैं, वह तो खुद हुकूमत को समझना चाहिए। वह हमें चंदां बोलने की जरूरत नहीं है कि उसकी इखलाकी जिम्मेदारी जो है, वह क्या हो सकती है।

फिर दूसरी बात यह है कि मैं आनरेबल मिनिस्टर साहब से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि जब इंटेलेजेंस एजेंसी मुकम्मल तरह से नाकाम हो चुकी है, तो आप इंटेलेजेंस एजेंसियों के ताल्लुक से क्या एक्शन ले रहे हैं। आप जरा अपने जवाब में यह बतलाइये। यह बे हद जरूरी है।

तीसरी बात यह है कि इस स्टेटमेंट के ताल्लुक से मुख्तलिफ किस्म के बयानात अखबारात में आ रहे हैं। फौरी दूसरे ही

दिन, बेहतर चीज है कि चलिए हमारे वजीरे-आजम बम्बई गये और वहाँ उन्होंने स्टाफ एक्सचेंज बिल्डिंग का मुआयना फरमाया और फिर उसके बाद प्रेस कान्फेंस को उन्होंने मुखातिब करते हुए कहा कि भाई—दिमाग तो बाहर का मालम होता है, मगर हाथ जो हैं, वह अंदरूनी है।

फिर उसके बाद हमारे वजीरे दाखला यहां बयान देते हैं कि यह बेनुअलअक्वामी साजिश का नतीजा है। जो बेनुअलअक्वामी साजिश का अगर नतीजा है, तो बेनुअल-अक्वामी साजिश से कौन है? एक महीना पहले तक तो आपको कुछ मालूम नहीं हुआ और जब ज्योंही यह वाक्या हुआ, उसके एक घंटे के अंदर आपके होम मिनिस्टर यह बयान देते हैं और हाऊस में बयान देते हैं कि बेनुअलअक्वामी साजिश का यह नतीजा है। तो किस तरह से आप इस नतीजे पर पहुंचे कि यह बेनुअल-अक्वामी साजिश है और अगर यह उनकी साजिश है, तो वह कौनसी बेनुअलअक्वामी एजेंसियां हैं, आप साफ-साफ कहिए। ख्वामख्वाह लोगों के दिलों में शकूफ-शुबाहत पदा हो रहे हैं। कोई कहता है कि वैस्ट एशिया की एजेंसियां आई, मुझे कोई कहता है कि इजराइल की जो मसाद है, वह काम कर रही हैं। तो कई किस्म की ख्वामख्वाह यहां पर खुराफातियां का जा रही हैं।

लिहाजा बेहतर यह है कि आप बिल्कुल सीधी तरह से हाऊस को बतलायें कि वह इंटरनेशनल एजेंसियां कौन हैं और वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि जनुब की जो टाइगर्स की तनजीम है, वह इससे मुलब्विस हो सकती है। यानी आपने जब इनवेस्टिगेशन का हुकम दे दिया है, तो मुकम्मल इनवेस्टिगेशन होने के बाद ही हमारे सामने आइये और कहिए। अभी तो इनवेस्टिगेशन की कोई रिपोर्ट ही आपके सामने नहीं आई और ख्वामख्वाह इस किस्म के अद्वेषे पैदा करना और लोगों के जहनो में शकून-शुबाहत पैदा करना, यह कोई मुनासिब बात नहीं है। इस वजह से कि यह बड़ा हस्सास मसला है और इंतहाई संजीदगी के साथ इस मसले को डील करने की जरूरत है।

आखिर में मैं आपसे यह कहूंगा कि हुकूमत को इंतहाई गैर-जानिबदार होसले और अजम के साथ काम करते हुए फिर से अवाम में एतमाद पदा करने की जरूरत है और फिर हुकूमत की नाहिली और बेअमली की वजह से टेरोरिस्ट्स की हिम्मतें बढ़ रही हैं।

आपको मालूम है कि यह सब वाक्यात जो हैं, वह क्यों हुए। पूरे हिंदुस्तान में जो वाक्यात हुए, बरबरियत का नंगा नाच हुआ और ऐसा मालूम हो रहा था कि न तो मरकजी हुकूमत काम कर रही है और ना रियासतों की हुकूमतें काम कर रही हैं। तो यह जो टेरोरिस्ट एक्टिविटीज हैं, उनकी और हिम्मत अफजाई हुई। आज तक इस किस्म का वाक्या नहीं हुआ था। फिर यह वाक्या और 6 दिसम्बर के बाद इस किस्म का जो वाक्या हुआ, क्या माने रखता है हिंदुस्तान में। इसी वजह से कि जब टेरोरिस्ट्स की तनजीमें हैं, जब उनको मालूम हो गया कि हिंदुस्तान में हुकूमत नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है। तो उनको हिम्मतें बढ़ गई हैं और इस किस्म की एक्टिविटीज बे कर रहे हैं और वे हिन्दुस्तान के एतहाद को और हिन्दुस्तान की कौमी यकजेहती को तबाह और बर्बाद कर रहे हैं। सिर्फ यह जो कहना है कि हमारे माआशी जो पालिसियां हैं उन माआशी पालिसियों की मुखालफत को सामने रखते हुए ये धमाके किए जा रहे हैं। इस किस्म की एक्टिविटीज की जा रही हैं। यह बिल्कुल गलत है। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि उससे बढ़ कर हमारे मुल्क के इतेहाद और हमारी मुल्क की कौमी यकजेहती को बाजब्ला एक साजिश के तौर पर सोची-समझे मंसूबे के तहत तबाह और बर्बाद करने के लिए इस किस्म के धमाके किए जा रहे हैं। लिहाजा मैं हुकूमत से यह दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि वह जो है अपनी सोई हुई नींद से एकदम जागे और यह साबित करे पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में कि आप भी कुछ ताकत रखते हैं और कुछ हिम्मत रखते हैं और आप इस मसले से आसानी से निबट सकते हैं और फिर से पूरे मुल्क में अवाम का एतमाद बहाल कर सकते हैं। शुक्रिया।

شری محمد خلیل الرحمن: ”آئندہ رپورٹیں“
جناب وائس چیرمین صاحب: اردو نمبر کو ابو دھیا
ہیں جو کچھ بھی واقعات ہوئے۔۔۔
شری سنگھ پیرہہ گوتم: بمبئی کی بات
کر رہے ہیں یا ابو دھیا کی۔۔۔ ”مداخلت“۔۔۔
شری محمد خلیل الرحمن اسی پر آ رہا ہوں
بولنے دیجئے۔

اپنے سبھا ادھیکش: ”شری محمد سیہم“
گوتم جی دھیرے رکھئے۔ آپ کہتے اپنی بات۔
شری محمد خلیل الرحمن: اردو نمبر کو ابو دھیا
میں جو کچھ بھی واقعات ہوئے وہ ہندوستان
کے ماتھے پر بدنام دھبہ تھا ہی اور پھر اس
ابو دھیا کے واقعہ کے بعد ہندوستان کے
مختلف شہروں میں جو بربریت کانگنا ناچ
ہو تا رہا وہ خود ہندوستان کے ماتھے پر ایک
بدنام دھبہ تھا۔ پھر اچھے انتہائی افسوس کے ساتھ
یہ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ ۱۲ مارچ کو ممبئی میں جو دھماکے
ہوئے وہ بھی ہندوستان کے ماتھے پر ایک
بدنام داغ ہیں۔ اس کی جتنی بھی مذمت کی جائے
وہ کم ہے۔

جناب وائس چیرمین صاحب آج بھی
ہمارے ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے ممبئی کے
دھماکوں کے تعلق سے ایک اسٹیٹمنٹ پیش
کیا۔ وہ اسٹیٹمنٹ پڑھنے کے بعد ایسا
معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ہم کو اس کے

بہتر معلومات اخبارات کے ذریعہ ملیں اور
اس اسٹیٹمنٹ میں کچھ بھی نہیں تھا۔ تو قح
یہ کی جارہی تھی کہ اسٹیٹمنٹ میں کچھ ہم کو
معلومات فراہم کی جائیں گی جس کے نتیجہ پر
ہم اور بہتر انداز میں ڈیپٹ کر سکتے ہیں۔ مگر
انتہائی افسوس کی بات ہے کہ اس اسٹیٹمنٹ
سے زیادہ ہم لوگوں کو معلومات اخبارات
کے ذریعہ ملیں۔ چنانچہ اس کا بنابر بحث
کی جارہی ہے۔ اس سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ
خود اسٹیٹمنٹ کے پڑھنے کے حکومت اس تعلق
سے زیادہ سنجیدہ نہیں ہے۔ حالانکہ اسنے
بھیا ناک دھماکے آزاد ہندوستان کی تاریخ
میں آج تک نہیں ہوئے۔ حکومت کو اس کو
انتہائی سیریس لیتے ہوئے بہتر سے بہتر انداز
میں اس اسٹیٹمنٹ کو پیش کرنا چاہیے تھا۔
میں اس کے لئے حکومت کی مذمت کرتا ہوں۔
پھر دوسری بات یہ ہے جیسے کہ ابھی میرے
پیش رو مقررین صاحبان نے کہا کہ یہ جو ۱۲
دھماکے ہوئے ہیں۔ ان دھماکوں سے
ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ہمارے پاس کی
جتنی بھی انٹیلی جنس ایجنسیاں ہیں وہ مکمل
طور پر ناکام ہو گئی ہیں۔ یہ پہلا واقعہ نہیں
ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کی انٹیلی جنس ایجنسیاں
ناکام ہوتی ہیں۔ اس سے پہلے میڈم انڈرا گاندھی
کے قتل پر اور پھر اس کے بعد راجیو گاندھی کے

تسلیم اور کھڑے اس کے بعد ۱۲ دسمبر کے واقعہ کے تعلق سے میں یہ کہوں گا کہ ہمارے ملک کی یہ ایجنسیاں انتہائی ناکام ہو چکی ہیں۔ پھر یہ بمبئی کے جو دھماکے ہیں اس سے تو یہ ثابت ہو چکا ہے کہ جتنی بھی ہمارے ملک کی خفیہ ایجنسیاں ہیں وہ پوری کی پوری مکمل ناکام ہو چکی ہیں۔ اگر ایجنسیوں کا یہ دعویٰ ہے کہ ہم نے حکومت کو برابر اس تعلق سے معلومات دی تھیں تو پھر میں یہ کہوں گا کہ حکومت مکمل ناکام ہو چکی ہے بروقت اقدامات کرنے کے تعلق سے۔

یہ جو ۱۲ واقعات ہوئے یہ کوئی معمولی بات نہیں ہے کسی ایک شخص کا جانا، بچہ رکھنا۔ اور ہم اڑا جانا۔ ایسی بات نہیں جیسا کہ کہا گیا ہے کہ کم سے کم ۵۰ یا سو آدمی اس میں ملوث ہو سکتے ہیں۔ اور بمبئی جیسے شہر میں جب اتنے آدمی ملوث ہو سکتے ہیں اور ہماری ایجنسیوں کو کانوں کان خبر نہیں ہوتی تو آپ اس سے اندازہ لگائیے۔ یہاں پر میں اس کو کوئی سیاسی مسئلہ نہیں بنانا ہوں مگر چونکہ حکومت کی ناکامی ہے تو حکومت کے تعلق سے مجھے کہنا ہی پڑے گا۔ آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہیے کہ پچھلے ایک مہینہ سے کچھ ایسا ذہن معلوم ہو رہا تھا جس سے کہ ہمارا شہر اور بمبئی میں حکومت نام کی کوئی چیز ہی نہیں ہے۔ اقتدار کی رسد کشتی ہو رہی تھی اور یہ دیکھا جا رہا تھا کہ کون چیف منسٹر بننے والا

ہے۔ اس میں کسی میں لگنے کو کیا کہنے والے ہیں حکومت کو روپ کو بہتری ملنے والی ہے۔ جبکہ اس کی حکمران جماعت اس قسم کی ایکٹیویز میں مقبوض ہو تو آپ اندازہ لگائیے کہ صرف ایک دن ہی تھیں وہاں جو بھیہا بن کر قہر دارانہ فتوا دے رہے تھے اس کے باوجود وہاں پر حکومت کی یہ نااہلی رہی۔ لاپرواہی رہی جسے عمل دہی تو آپ کس طرح سے اس کا سراغ لگا سکتے ہیں۔

یہ بہت بڑی ذمہ داری ہے اور حکومت کو اس کی ذمہ داری قبول کرنی ہی پڑے گی۔ نہ صرف کہ رہاستی حکومت کو۔ میں تو یہ کہوں گا کہ خود مرکزی حکومت کو بھی اس کی ذمہ داری قبول کرنی پڑے گی اور اس کی ذمہ داری کو قبول کرتے ہوئے کیا اقدام کرتی ہے وہ تو خود حکومت کو سمجھنا چاہیے۔ وہ ہمیں چنداں بولنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ اس کی اخلاقی ذمہ داری جو ہے وہ کیا ہو سکتی ہے۔

پھر دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ میں آنریبل منسٹر صاحب سے یہ جاننا چاہوں گا کہ جب انٹیلی جنس ایجنسی مکمل طرح سے ناکام ہو چکی ہیں تو آپ انٹیلی جنس ایجنسیوں کے تعلق سے کیا ایکشن چلے رہے ہیں۔ آپ ذرا اپنے جواب میں یہ بتلاتے ہیں۔ یہ ہے یہ ضروری ہے۔

تیسری بات یہ ہے کہ انٹرنٹ کے تعلق سے مختلف قسم کے بیانات اخبارات میں آرہے ہیں۔ فوری دوسرے ہی دن۔ بہتر چیز ہے کہ چلے ہمارے وزیراعظم ممبئی گئے اور وہاں انھوں اسٹاک ایکسچینج بلڈنگ کا معائنہ فرمایا اور پھر اس کے بعد پریس کانفرنس کو انھوں نے مخاطب کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ بھائی دماغ تو باہر کا معلوم ہوتا ہے مگر ہاتھ جو ہے وہ اندرونی ہے۔

پھر اس کے بعد ہمارے وزیر داخلہ یہاں بیان دیتے ہیں کہ یہ بین الاقوامی سازش کا نتیجہ ہے۔ تو بین الاقوامی سازش کا نتیجہ اگر ہے تو بین الاقوامی سازش میں کون ہے۔ ایک مہینہ پہلے تک تو آپ کو کچھ معلوم نہیں ہوا اور اب جیوں یہ واقعہ ہوا اس کے ایک گھنٹہ کے اندر آپ کے ہوم منسٹر یہ بیان دیتے ہیں اور باؤس میں بیان دیتے ہیں کہ بین الاقوامی سازش ہے۔ تو وہ کون سی بین الاقوامی ایجنسیاں ہیں آپ صاف صاف کہئے۔ خواہ مخواہ لوگوں کے دلوں میں شکوک و شبہات پیدا ہو رہے ہیں۔ کوئی کہتا ہے کہ ویسٹ ایشیا کی ایجنسیاں آئیں۔ مجھے کوئی کہتا ہے کہ عزرائیل کی جو مساعد ہے وہ کام کر رہی ہے۔ تو کسی قسم کی خواہ مخواہ یہاں پر خرافاتیاں کی جا رہی ہیں۔

لہذا بہتر یہ ہے کہ آپ بالکل سیدھی طرح باؤس کو بتلائیں کہ وہ انٹرنیشنل ایجنسیاں کون ہیں

اور وہاں کے چیف منسٹر صاحب کہتے ہیں کہ جنوب کی ٹائیکرس کی جو تنظیم ہے وہ اس میں ملوث ہو سکتی ہے۔ یعنی جب آپ نے انویسٹی گیشن کا حکم دے دیا ہے تو مکمل انویسٹی گیشن ہونے کے بعد ہی ہمارے سامنے آئیے اور کہئے۔

ابھی تو انویسٹی گیشن کی کوئی رپورٹ ہی آپ کے سامنے نہیں آئی اور خواہ مخواہ اس قسم کے اندیشے پیدا کرنا اور لوگوں کے ذہنوں میں شکوک و شبہات پیدا کرنا یہ کوئی مناسب بات نہیں ہے۔ اس وجہ سے کہ یہ بڑا احساس مسئلہ ہے اور انتہائی سنجیدگی کے ساتھ اس مسئلہ کو ڈیل کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔

آخر میں میں آپ سے یہ کہوں گا کہ حکومت کو انتہائی غیر جانبدار حوصلہ اور عزم کے ساتھ کام کرتے ہوئے پھر سے عوام میں اعتماد پیدا کرنے کی ضرورت ہے اور پھر حکومت کی نااہلی اور بے عملی کی وجہ سے ٹیرورسٹ کی ہمتیں بڑھ رہی ہیں۔

آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ یہ سب واقعات جو ہیں وہ کیوں ہوئے۔ پورے ہندوستان میں جو واقعات ہوئے۔ بربریت کا ننگا ناچ ہوا اور ایسا معلوم ہو رہا تھا کہ نہ تو مرکزی حکومت کام کر رہی ہے اور نہ ریاستی حکومتیں کام کر رہی ہیں۔ تو یہ جو ٹیرورسٹ ایکٹیویٹیز ہیں ان کی اور بہت افزائی ہوئی۔ آج تک اس قسم کا

واقعہ نہیں ہوا تھا پھر یہ واقعہ اور اردمیر کے بعد اس قسم کا جو واقعہ ہوا ہے کیا معنی رکھتا ہے ہندوستان میں اسی وجہ سے کہ جب ٹیرورسٹ کی تنظیمیں ہیں جب ان کو معلوم ہو گیا ہے کہ ہندوستان میں حکومت نام کی کوئی چیز نہیں ہے۔ تو ان کی ہمتیں بڑھ گئی ہیں اور اس قسم کی ایکٹیوٹیز وہ کر رہے ہیں اور وہ ہندوستان کے اتحاد کو اور ہندوستان کی قومی یکجہتی کو تباہ اور برباد کر رہے ہیں صرف یہ جو کہنا ہے کہ ہماری معاشی جو پالیسیاں ہیں ان معاشی پالیسیوں کی مخالفت کو سامنے رکھتے ہوئے یہ دھماکے کئے جا رہے ہیں۔ اس قسم کی ایکٹیوٹیز کی جارہی ہیں یہ بالکل غلط ہے۔ میں تو یہ کہوں گا کہ اس سے بڑھ کر ہمارے ملک کے اتحاد اور ہمارے ملک کی قومی یکجہتی کو کو باضابطہ ایک سازش کے طور پر سوچے سمجھے منصوبے کے تحت تباہ اور برباد کرنے کے لئے اس قسم کے دھماکے کئے جا رہے ہیں۔ لہذا میں حکومت سے یہ درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ جو ہے اپنی سوئی نیند سے ایک دم جاگے اور یہ ثابت کرے پورے ہندوستان میں کہ آپ بھی کچھ طاقت رکھتے ہیں اور کچھ ہمت رکھتے ہیں اور آپ اس مسئلہ سے آسانی سے نمٹ سکتے ہیں۔

اور پھر سے پورے ملک میں غوام کا اتحاد بحال کر سکتے ہیں۔ شکریہ۔

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बड़े अफसोस से बताना पड़ता है कि जिस वक्त हम बम्बई की बांबिंग के बारे में डिसकस कर रहे हैं, आज करीब साढ़े बारह बजे कलकत्ता स्टाक एक्सचेंज पर भी बम गिरा और कलकत्ता स्टाक एक्सचेंज पर बम गिरने के साथ साथ वहां की पुलिस ने पूरा कोर्डन किया है और अभी तक सरकार से यह बयान हमें सदन को नहीं बताया गया कि कलकत्ता स्टाक एक्सचेंज पर भी यह घटना घटी है। (व्यवधान) आज 12.30 बजे। खैर उससे कोई खास नुकसान नहीं हुआ है। अब कहने को बहुत सारी बातें आ रही थीं कलकत्ता स्टाक एक्सचेंज के बगल में बैंक आफ इंडिया है। बैंक आफ इंडिया को लूटने के लिए वहां बांबिंग की है? वहां बांब हुआ और वहां पर भगदड़ मच गई और सब लोग जगह खाली करके भाग गए और उसके बाद कलकत्ता पुलिस ने आकर उस इलाके को पूरा कोर्डन करके, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते हैं कलकत्ता स्टाक एक्सचेंज एक ऐसे बिज्जी इलाके में है जहां कि गाड़ी पार्क करके आदमी चला जाए तो फिर वहां से गाड़ी हटाना ही मुश्किल हो जाता है और वहां से पूरा उस इलाके को खाली किया गया है और वहां पूरा पैनिक् है। वह मकसद क्या है? मकसद, यह जो टेरोरिस्ट एक्टिविटीज हो रही हैं हमारे देश में यह टेरोरिस्ट्स आर्गनाइजेशन आखिर इनका मकसद है कि टेरोराइज करें और वह हर मकसद में कामयाब होते जा रहे हैं और इस मकसद में कामयाबी के पीछे क्या कारण हैं? उसके पीछे कारण है हमारी गलतियां, हमारी कमजोरियां हैं। वे कमजोरियां छिपी नहीं जा रही हैं, वे एक्सपोज हो रही हैं, सामने आ रही हैं, किस तरह उद्घाट हो रही हैं। हमारी कमजोरियां जिनके के कारण आज हम यह महसूस कर रहे हैं कि टेरोरिस्ट एक्टिविटीज चाहे वे फारेन पावर्ज के हाथ में चल रही हों, चाहे देशी किसी शक्ति के साथ में चल रही हों, वह मजबूती से आगे बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और

हमारे इलाके के लोगों को इंटर्नेशनल बैंक बड़ा रहे हैं और हम मजबूरी में इतने मजबूर होकर उनकी सख्त देख रहे हैं और उनकी हर चीज को मानने के लिए मजबूर हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी सरकार में एक इंटर्नेल सैक्युरिटी एक डिफेंड पोर्टफोलियो है और वह इंटर्नेल सैक्युरिटी का मतलब क्या है कि इंटर्नेल और एक्सटर्नेल जो भी एक्सटर्नेल ग्रेट को तो हमारी डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री देखती है, इंटर्नेल सैक्युरिटी को देखने के लिए एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट खोला हुआ है और उससे एक रा डिपार्टमेंट खोला गया था। जिसको रा डिपार्टमेंट को के.जी.बी. और सी.आई.ए. का मुकाबला करने के लिए खोला गया है। (व्यवधान)

श्री भार० के० धवन : रा इंटर्नेल सैक्युरिटी में नहीं है।

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I am coming to it. I know that the RAW is not in Internal Security.

रा भी खोला गया था। क्योंकि कुछ सदस्यों ने कहा कि इंटरनेशनल सिचुएशन को देखते हुए हम लोगों की जो खुफिया एजेंसीज हैं, वह परिपक्व नहीं हैं, ट्रेड नहीं हैं। तो मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि रा हमारे देश में है, जो इंटरनेशनल सिचुएशन को वाच करने के लिए और उसको एनालाइज करने के लिए ही बनाया गया है। पर ऐसे हालात होने पर भी हमें खबर नहीं लगती, जैसा कि उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय 1 बजकर 20 मिनट पर बम्बई स्टॉक एक्सचेंज में बम फटा और 1 बजकर 35 मिनट पर मस्जिद बन्दर, काठिया बाजार में बम फटा, 2 बजकर 31 मिनट पर पेट्रोल पम्प सेना भवन के सामने। शिव सेना भवन के सामने, 2.41 पर गोपाल नगर, 2.42 पर मदनपुर शकील स्ट्रीट पर, इनमें केवल एक मिनट का फर्क है और 2.45 पर एयर इंडिया हेडक्वार्टर में और एयर इंडिया हेडक्वार्टर के साथ-साथ ओमान बैंक की जो ग्रांच है, उसमें बम फटा है और वहां भी लोग भारे गए हैं, लेकिन इसके बारे में कहीं उल्लेख नहीं है। ओमान इंटरनेशनल बैंक है, उससे भी बम फटा है, उसी में ज्यादा गड़बड़ी हुई है। एयर इंडिया का नाम लिया गया

है पर ज्यादा नुकसान ओमान बैंक में हुआ है। फिर 2.58 पर सेंचुरी बाजार वली में, 3.15 पर जावेरी बाजार में जोकि बहुत ही बिजिनेस बाजार है, वहां पर भी बम फटा है। उसके बाद 3.16 पर प्लाजा सिनेमा में, 3.50 पर सेंटर हॉटल और 3.54 पर सीराक हॉटल में भी बम फटा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह लगातार इतनी घटनायें घटती गयीं और इनसे केवल कुछ मिनिट्स का फर्क है। वहां कितने प्लान्ड वे में चीजें जमायी गयीं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, स्कूटर में विस्फोटक पाए जाने का समाचार आज पूरे हिंदुस्तान के अखबारों में आया है, किंतु हमारा गृह मंत्री के बयान में यह नहीं है दादर से स्कूटर पकड़ा गया, उससे भी बम मिला और उसकी भी कंपेसिटी उतनी ही थी। वह भी उतना ही नुकसान कर सकता था ऐसे हालात में उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह लगता है कि या तो यह बहुत बड़ी साजिश है या फिर हमारी खुफिया एजेंसीज ओवर-बर्डेन्ड हैं और उनको इन कामों से हटाकर दूसरे कामों में लगा दिया गया है या टोटल इन-एफीसिएंट हैं। दोनों से से एक कारण हो सकता है कि या तो ओवर-बर्डेन्ड हैं और उन्हें बहुत ज्यादा काम दे दिया गया है। उन्हें सोने का वक्त नहीं मिलता, खाने का वक्त नहीं मिलता, पढ़ने का वक्त नहीं मिलता, रिपोर्ट लिखने का वक्त नहीं मिलता। पर उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी बात से हरेक माननीय सदस्य सहमत होंगे और वे जानते हैं कि खुफिया विभाग में ट्रांसफर किसकी होती है? खुफिया विभाग को नॉन-वर्क डिपार्टमेंट माना जाता है। जो ऑफिसर बहुत ज्यादा करप्ट हो जाता है, उसको ट्रांसफर करके, उसका पनिशमेंट पोस्टिंग आर्थ० बी० डिपार्टमेंट में होता है। तो उस आर्थ० बी० ऑफिसर से हम क्या काम ले सकते हैं?

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: This is not fair.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: You may differ from me.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: This is another instance of infighting within the Congress.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: It is not infighting. It is not like Telugu Desam.

SHRI R. K. DHAWAN: If we differ on something, that matter is picked up by you to say it is an infighting.

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इतना गंभीर हमला शायद जर्मनी में वहाँ के जो इनसर्जेंट है, वहाँ का जो बार्डमेन गार्गनाइजेशन है, उन्होंने भी एक घटना में इतना ज्यादा नुकसान देश को नहीं पहुँचाया होगा। इसी तरह यू०के० में ग्राय० ग्यार० ए० हैं, वह भी बहुत खतरनाक माने जाते हैं, लेकिन इतना नुकसान एक घटना के माध्यम से उन्होंने भी नहीं पहुँचाया होगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बहुत बड़ी चूक हुई है और बहुत बड़ी कमजोरी हमारे सामने किसी ने रख दी है तस्तीरी पर कि आप इन मामलों में कमजोर हैं और हम आपको सोते हुए पकड़ सकते हैं और उन्होंने पकड़कर दिखा दिया है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 13 जगह इसी-बेड्स हुई है और इन 13 जगहों पर उन्होंने नई गाड़ियों का प्रयोग किया। अभी सुबह मैं एक माननीय सदस्य से बात कर रहा था तो उन्होंने कहा कि नई गाड़ी खरीदी होगी तो उसकी जरूर बैंक रिसीट होगी, डाफ्ट होगा। मैंने कहा कि आजकल "कैश एण्ड कैरी" चल रहा है। 31 मार्च के पहले आप कैश पैसा दें और गाड़ी खरीदकर ले आओ। अगर मैं एस० एस० अहलुवालिया अपने नाम पर गाड़ी खरीदना चाहता हूँ तो मुझे परिचय पत्र देने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं एस० एस० अहलुवालिया नहीं करके सुरेन्द्र सिंह के नाम पर गाड़ी खरीद सकता हूँ। या कोई भी आदमी आकर अपने नाम से गाड़ी खरीद सकता है और वह गाड़ी खरीदकर ले आए और वह हमें सुराख के रास्ते मैं नहीं ले जाता और इसीलिए उन्होंने नई गाड़ियों का प्रयोग किया है। पर, हमें देखना पड़ेगा कि यह इस देश के खिलाफ बड़ी सोची हुई और समझी हुई साजिश है और इस देश की बढ़ती हुई प्रगति को रोकने के लिए साजिश है।

श्री संघ प्रिव गौतम : फिर वहीं आ गए घूम-फिरकर।

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : यह आपकी समझ के बाहर है। यह ओवर हेड ट्रांसमिशन है आपके लिए। यह बहुत सोची हुई और समझी हुई साजिश है। महोदय, मैं इसलिए बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब-जब भारत देश और जब-जब भारत के लोगों ने सैल्फ रिलायंस की बात की है, जब-जब आत्म-निर्भरता की बात की है तब-तब हमारे देश के नेताओं का खून हुआ है, हमारे देश में गड़बड़ी फैली है और यह भी एक निशाना है हमारे देश में गड़बड़ी फैलाने का, कि जब विदेशी लोग भारतीय नागरिक, एन० आर० आई० नांन रेजिडेंट्स इंडियंस ही विदेश से अपना पैसा लाकर यहां इंडस्ट्री लगाना चाहते हैं तो यह एक मैसेज देना चाहते हैं कि—नहीं, आज इन हालातों में आप यहां इंडस्ट्री नहीं चला सकते। आज हमारा देश उग्रवाद के माध्यम से जात-पात के नाम से, धार्मिक उन्माद के नाम से बंटा हुआ है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मंत्री महोदय को याद निलाना चाहूंगा कि यह पहली भूल नहीं है, शायद ऐसी ही इफार्मेशन हमारे इंटेलीजेंस डिपार्टमेंट के लोग छः दिसम्बर की भी नहीं दे सके थे और छः दिसम्बर को भी उनको ऐसा अंदेशा कुछ नहीं था। उन्होंने ऐसी इफार्मेशन कलक्ट नहीं की थी कि यह जो जमात वहां अयोध्या में इकट्ठी हो रही हैं, जो दो लाख लोग वहां पर इकट्ठे हो रहे हैं वह धक्का लगाकर उस मस्जिद को गिरा डालेंगे। ऐसा फेल्योर उस वक्त भी हुआ था और आज भी हुआ है। इन चीजों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए महोदय... ((व्यवधान))

श्री ई शबल यादव : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : फिर तो सरकार को इस्तीफा देना चाहिये।

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : मैं समझता हूँ कि आज इस पर विचार करने की जरूरत है कि वाकई क्या हम इसी तरह एक बहाना लगाकर ऐसा बोलकर कि वहां विदेशी ताकतों का हाथ है, इससे हम निकल जायेंगे, नहीं, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस देश के लोग इस बात को सुनने के लिये अब तयार नहीं हैं। कौन सी वह विदेशी

साकत है जो हिन्दुस्तान को जर्जर कर देना चाहती है, कमजोर करना चाहती है और इस तरह का उग्रवाद और आतंकवाद फैलाकर हमारे लोगों को, हमारे भाईयों को, हमारी बहनों को मारना चाहती है। उसको मुहोड़ जवाब देने की जरूरत है। आज इस देश में एकता की जरूरत है। और एकता तभी आ सकती है बज हम एक दूसरे पर आरोप लगाना बन्द करे। आखिर, इस सदन में बैठ कर हम जब एक दूसरे पर आरोप लगाते हैं, बहुत सारे ऐसे मुद्दे होते हैं, राजनीतिक मुद्दे होते हैं, पर, आज जब इस देश की इज्जत का सवाल हो, एकता का सवाल हो, अखंडता का सवाल हो तो भारत की आवाज एक होनी चाहिये और भारत की एक आवाज में एक ऐसी बुलन्द आवाज आनी चाहिये कि चाहे कम से कम अपने पड़ोसी हों, चाहे दूर का भ्रातृमी हो, कोई भी विदेश शक्ति हो, कि जिसने हमारे साथ यह दुर्व्यवहार करने की कोशिश की है उसको हम मुहोड़ जवाब दे सकें। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहूंगा कि मंत्री महोदय, पता लगाएँ और सिर्फ पता ही नहीं लगायें, मैं जरा एग्रेसिव हूँ और मैं कहता हूँ कि इस देश के हर चौराहे पर टांग-टांग कर इनको बताया जाय कि इन्होंने क्या किया है क्योंकि हमने देखा है कि हमारे कट्टी में जो इंडियन पेनल कोड और सी०आर०पी०सी० वगैरह चलती हैं और जिस दिन चोर पकड़ा जाता है या आतंकवादी पकड़ा जाता है और जितने दिन तक वह पुलिस रिमांड में रहता है तब तक तो उसको कष्ट होता है और उसके बाद जब वह जेल में चला जाता है तो वह स्वर्ग में वास करता है, क्योंकि हमारे जेलों की अवस्था यह है कि जेल में हर चीज उपलब्ध है और यह भय और डर लोगों का खतम होता जाता जाता है। आखर, पैसा लेकर अपनी ईमानदारी को, अपनी भारतीयता को, अपनी नागरिकता को बेचकर किस तरह से यह देश में घुसपैठ कर रहे हैं, इसको बताने की जरूरत है। महोदय, मैं इसके

साथ-साथ कुछ और भी बताना चाहूंगा क्योंकि मैं भारतीय संस्कृति पर पूरा विश्वास करने वाला एक छोटा सा इंसान हूँ। मैं मंत्री महोदय से गुजारिश करूंगा कि आपकी इंटेलिजेंस ने या आपके खुफिया विभाग ने तो आपको इनफार्मेशन नहीं दी पर मैं एक ऐंस्ट्रोलोजी की किताब से कोट करना चाहता हूँ जिसमें प्रिडिक्ट किया गया है... (व्यवधान)

श्री कलशा नारायण सारंग : 28 मार्च की भविष्यवाणी पड़ी कि नहीं पड़ी... (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इसलिये पढ़ रहा हूँ कि लक्ष्मण दास मदान, जो बाबाजी के नाम पर ऐंस्ट्रोलोजी की किताब लिखते हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री आर० के० धवन : क्या वे आपके भी गुरु हैं ?

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : मेरा गुरु केवल गुरु गोविंद सिंह है... (व्यवधान) मैं उसके बारे में इसलिये बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब 1987 में मैं मैने यह किताब पढ़कर सुनाई थी, 1987 के पहले जितनी भविष्यवाणियां इन्होंने की, चाहे वह विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के बारे में हो, चाहे चंद्रशेखर जी के बारे में हो, चाहे राजीव गांधी के बारे में हो और चाहे वर्तमान अवस्था के बारे में हो, वह सही साबित हुई। मैं कहता हूँ कि इंटेलिजेंस ब्रांच का काम, इंटेलिजेंस डिपार्टमेंट का काम हर चीज को पढ़ना और हर चीज को जानना है। अगर गांव में एक इशतहार भी छपता है तो उस इशतहार को भी पढ़ना इनका काम है (व्यवधान)

श्री इंद्र कुमार गुजराल : अहलुवालिया जी, जब आप पढ़कर सुनायें तो ईमानदारी से सुनाइया कि आपकी सरकार का क्या भविष्य है।

डा० सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : आपको आशा लग गई... (व्यवधान)

श्री आर० के० धवन : उस सरकार का बता दो जब गुजराल साहब... (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० एस० अहलवालिया : मैं तो इनके साथ भोग चुका हूँ। ये जालन्धर में खड़े हुये तो वहाँ के डिब्बे अभी तक बन्द हैं। पटना में खड़े हुये तो वहाँ के भी डिब्बे बन्द हैं। फिर मेरे साथ खड़े हो गये तो इस बार चुनाव लड़ना पड़ा मेरे को। तो मेरे को पता है इनका .. (व्यवधान) उन्होंने कहा है कि—

"After carefully analysing the planetary configuratin, I hereby declare at 23.20 hours on 10th January 1993 that within six weeks from 18th March 1993, when Mars reenters the Punarvasu consellation, serious rocket attacks will be made in India. The initiative will be taken by deploying their secret agents within the geographical territory of India. They will create almost a war-like situation in India. It will be followed by an air attack to save the innocent people from destruction. There may be some variation in the picture which I have drawn, But there does not seem to be any saving element. India will be attacked by a foreign country, mostly Pakistan, between 18th March to 30th April 1993. Terrific violent edaths are feared on the 20th, 27th March, an 8th, 10th and 11th April 1993. I will not be surprised if the plan for attack is finalised on the 2nd and 9th February 1993 or some minor rehearsal is done on these two dates."

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक छोटा सा इस्तहार है, पैम्पलेट छपता है गांव का तो वह आई० बी० डिपार्टमेंट के पास पहुँच जाता है और उसकी वह नस नापने लगते हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री मोहम्मद खैलीलुर रहमान : इसकी तारीख क्या है?... (व्यवधान)

श्री कैलाश नारायण सारंग : कांश्रियों को बता देना इस पत्रिका का ताकि वह अपना भविष्य पूछ लें।

श्री आर० के० धवन : बी० जे० पी० का पूछें पहले... (व्यवधान)

श्री कैलाश नारायण सारंग : उज्जवल है, अत्यंत उज्जवल है, अत्यंत उज्जवल है... (व्यवधान)

श्री राजूभाई ए० परमार : (गुजरात) आपका भविष्य भी इसमें आया था।

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: This magazine is published on 12th January.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मेरी सीधी सी बात है कि हमें हर चीज को ज्वाब में रखना जरूरी है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) : समय को भी।

श्री एस० एस० अहलवालिया : समय को भी ध्यान में रख रहा हूँ। हर चीज को ध्यान में रखना जरूरी है। जब इंटलिजेंस ब्रांच के लोग, इंटलिजेंस ब्युरो के लोग इंफार्मेशन इकट्ठी करते हैं तो वह कहाँ से इकट्ठी करते हैं? लोगों से, अखबारों से, मैगजीनों से। तो ये जो चीजें हैं इन चीजों से कैसे चूक जाते हैं। मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ, राजीव जी की हत्या होने के बाद, अप्रैल के इश्यू में इसी मैगजीन में लिख दिया इन्होंने "Sorry, Rajiv, your horoscope will be sealed on your next birthday."

मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि आखिर खुफिया विभाग को भी वह खबर नहीं मिली वे अखबार पढ़कर जाते, उसी ज्यातिषी की सर्विसेज ले लेते। अगर एनेलाइज करने के बाद चूक हो रही हो तो उसी से पूछ लेते।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं चाहूंगा कि सदन को अभी तक गृह मंत्री महोदय ने जो जो इंफार्मेशन दी है वह पूरी नहीं है। सदन को अपने कांफ्रेंस में लेकर सारी बातें सामने रखें और मैं

अब इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि मैं एक बात पहले कह देना चाहता हूँ कि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि पिछले पाँच सालों में मैंने देखा है कि जितनी भी घटनाएं घटी हैं सारी की सारी चढ़ा दी गई एक खास कम्यूनिटी के नाम पर। कई राज्यों में अब केस कचहरी होते ही नहीं। कोई भी केस हो तो उसको फलां एनकाउंटर में मारा गया है या कहीं टेरोरिस्ट एक्टिविटी हो रही है, वहीं पर उस फाइल को ब्रोज कर दिया गया। पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कहीं इस इन्वेस्टिगेशन में भी कुछ ऐसी गलती न कर बैठें हम लोग। हमें सही तरीके से इस डिजाइन का पता लगाना होगा। अब तो शुरुआत है, यह आज जो मैंने प्रिजेंटेशन पढ़ी है यह तो रिहर्सल है।

(व्यवधान)

श्री इंद्र कुमार गुजराल : इस डॉक्यूमेंट को आप सभा पटल पर रख बीजिए... (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर : क्या गृह नहीं जी ज्योतिष विभाग बोलने वाले हैं अपने विभाग में? ... (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : सरकार अगर आफिशियल पंचांग निकालती है तो ज्योतिष नहीं करती है क्या? आफिशियल पंचांग निकलता है सरकार का... (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : आप तो मत बोलिये, आपका भविष्य तो आपके बालों से बड़ा स्पष्ट खतरे में दिखाई दे रहा है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : मैं मांग करूंगा कि आपने सी०बी०आई० को सौंप दिया है। केस परन्तु मैं जानता हूँ कि सी०बी०आई० आपका आलरेजी बर्देन्ड है। महिम का केस सी०बी०आई० के पास है, बाबरी मसजिद का केस सी०बी०आई० देख रहा है। मैं जे०पी० सी० का मैबर हूँ। सेक्यूटिटी स्कैम का केस सी०बी०आई० देख रहा है, बोफोर्स का केस सी०बी०आई० के पास लगा हुआ है, सी०बी०आई० हर जगह लगा हुआ है। अगर बम के केस को भी वह देखे तो आपके पास कितना स्टॉक है?

गृह मंत्री (श्री एस० बी० चव्वाण) : इस को नहीं दे रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया पर अब्जवार में पढ़ा था कि सी०बी०आई० को बं रहे है। लेकिन इसमें कितनी सच्चाई है पता नहीं। आपने इंटरपोल की मदद मांगी है लेकिन उनसे मांगते से पहले आप सोचिए कि क्या सच्चाई आ सकती है? दूसरे देश की जो इंटरनेशनल सीक्रेट एजेंसी है उसके कॉन्सुजन में गलत खबर देकर आपको चीट मत कर दे। हमने पहले भी देखा है कि इंटरनेशनल एजेंसी से जो खबर आई है उनमें गलतियां हैं और गलतियां थीं। तो आप अपने सोर्स से, किस किस तरह से इन्फॉर्मेशन क्लेक्ट कर सकते हैं वह तरीका अपनाइए। देश आपके साथ खड़ा है। देश की अखंडता और एकता का जहां तक सवाल है आपके साथ खड़ा है। लेकिन अगर तिकम्पापन का सवाल होगा तो शायद देश हमारे साथ खड़ा नहीं होगा। तो इस चीज को ध्यान में रखते हुए कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही करें। कार्यवाही इतनी कड़ी होनी चाहिए कि आने वाले पुस्तों को याद रहे कि इस देश को तोड़ने वाले लोगों का इस क्या होता है।

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, before you proceed further, I am on a point of order. Mr. Ahluwalia was saying that while we were discussing the bomb blasts in Bombay, just today at the Calcutta Stock Exchange a bomb exploded. It is also very serious. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether it is a fact. If it is a fact, does he know anything?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I have been all the time in the House. I don't know. I have not been able to get any information. I will try to get the information and inform the House. ... (Interruptions) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): It has been raised by Ahluwaliaji when he started (Interruptions) ...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: This is the information that I have. There was a minor incident when some miscreants exploded some small bomb

and tried to loot the Bank of India which is located near the Stock Exchange building at Calcutta. They were chased by the police but the miscreants dropped the revolver and exploded small bomb while escaping.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will try to speak. (Interruptions) ...

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA (Bihar): How long will it take to finish this discussion?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD SALIM): We will finish this discussion.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: The House should decide about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI MD. SALIM: That is decided earlier. This is not the time.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: I will try to speak with great... (Interruptions) Will you allow me to speak? Members should go to the lobby.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Please.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Kindly control the House. It is not possible to speak in this way. I say I shall try to speak with great circumspection because—I won't call it a national tragedy—something of very great import to the nation has happened. Every patriotic India has to sit back and think and has to be overburdened with grief. Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are anguished, we are outraged, we are exasperated and we are ashamed at all that has happened. I am ashamed that the image of India today is that of a great giant on the floor with no strength, helpless and open to attack from packs of hounds from any side and is not able to do anything. That is the image of India to the people of India. The image of India befode the whole world is an unedifying image. As regards anguish, it is obvious. So many of our country innocent countrymen have perished. Many more are lying in hospitals. There is heart-rending

grief everywhere. I don't accept the Government's figure that only 235 people have died. All the newspapers say more than 300 people have died. Even the BBC has said that more than 250 people had died. My hunch is that many more people have died. The All India Radio this morning said that 400 people were lying in a critical condition in different hospitals. If you add that figure, I think, easily about 700 to 800 people have perished in Bombay. Besides many others, in hundreds, were injured in different eegrees. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I can think of only one parallel act of terrorism that has happened in the world. That was on the 23 of October, 1983 in Beirut when a suicide bomber drove a light truck into the American Marines Headquarters and set off the bomb and 241 marines perished. This was the biggest. But I think what happened in Bombay was of far greater damage. What happened in Beirut is well known. It was not an act of the Lebanese Government. It was an act of a private group of terrorists. The attack was well known and the target of the attack was known. In Bombay the attack was more intense, more widespread and the damage was far more. We have the reports of a similar attack on the World Trade Centre in New York. It could be similar to what has happened in Bombay although the damage in New York was much less. The intelligence people, the security forces in New York were able to find out the suspect in a couple of days and were able to apprehend him and that was by sheer technology. Among the debris around the World Trade Centre they found the chassis of a vehicle and by examining the different ruins they were able to locate that that was the vehicle that had the highest intensity of explosion and therefore, could be the cause of the explosion. By examining the remains of the vehicle they were able to trace out the person who had rented the car and when they went there they found

out that a particular person by the name of Solameh had rented the car a couple of days ago and he might be the person who had taken the car with the explosives to the World Trade Centre. Luck was on their side too because this particular gentlemen seemed to be of an avaricious nature. He had deposited 400 dollars towards the rent of the car. He had gone to the dealer who had rented the car to him reporting that the car was stolen and he went to claim back 50 per cent of the deposit he had made. That was how they were able to catch this person when he went to the car dealer to claim 50 per cent of the deposit. By interrogating this person, Mr. Solameh, they also were able to trace his religious mentor who was running a kind of a mosque and giving religious speeches, a person by the name of Sheikh Omar Abdul Rehman. This particular gentleman was suspected of having a hand in the assassination of President Anwar Sadaat of Egypt. He is a free-lancer who talks about Islam, who talks about the danger to Islam, who holds out threats to everybody and who who calls of every Muslim to take up arms and to avenge any kind of wrong that was done to Islam. I want to mention this particular point because there is a lot of loose talk about what happened in Bombay which, to me, is irresponsible talk. And, in this, I would put the Prime Minister in that category. The Prime Minister had gone on record to say that he would trace the hand and the head that were responsible for the outrage in Bombay. He had also talked about the possibility of getting assistance from the external intelligence sources, the Interpol and others. And if I am not mistaken, he had also hinted at a foreign hand in the outrage in Bombay. The others who talked had even pin-pointed about the Pakistan Inter Intelligence Services. Now, whoever has talked, I am mentioning the Prime Minister because Prime Minister is Prime Minister. So every word he speaks has a weight

of its own. And I say today that the country is on trial. The world is looking whether India can stay one country. The world is looking whether Indian can stay a stable country. The world is looking whether India can be a functioning democracy or whether India would be balkanised and broken up. The Prime Minister, today, is on trial. The Government of India is on trial. I will not add the Home Minister. He had gone on record immediately that a foreign hand was responsible for the happenings in Bombay. It is for him to come before this House and to provide proof as to whether a foreign hand, and which foreign hand, had a hand in this. But for the Prime Minister to endorse that kind of thinking is something to be taken note of seriously. The Prime Minister today is on trial. Is he able to provide leadership to this country? Is he able to rule this country? Is he able to prevent this country from disintegration? This is the trial for him. And it is for him and his Government—instead of throwing recriminations and allegations to other people, trying to show themselves off as though they are more patriotic than others—to show in the next few days whether they are able to tackle this situation, whether they are able to reverse the course that this country is taking. Now, I think, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra is nearer to the point than the Prime Minister or the Home Minister.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh): That is why he is sent a Chief Minister.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: The Chief Minister of Maharashtra had said that this might be an act of revenge. It is quite possible. There are people in the Muslim world, in West Asia, who call for revenge, for terrorism. This might be an act of revenge for what had taken place in December and January. Because the majority of the people who suffer belong to a particular community, it is only only right to infer that, pe

[Shri G. G. Swell]

haps, the revenge might come from the people who feel offendd in that particular manner. It is quite likely. It is also proved—everybody has said—that the entire thing was well-planned, meticulously planned, that the whole thing was hi-tech, that these kind of bombs could not be found in India, and, therefore, these bombs could have been imported. It is also right to think that there has been local collaboration. To say all that is right. And, Sir, I think here I would agree with many of my friends that we have the right to congratulate the people of Bombay. The people of Bombay did not fall into that trap, to arouse communal sentiments and go against each other's throat. I think it is not right on the part of the Prime Minister to say, to try to explain it away, that this is an attack at the heart of the economy of Inida that this is an attempt to destabilize India, that this is an attempt to destabilize the economy of India. India is too large a country to be destabilized by a few bombs. Even when the country was partioned and thousands of people perished, India was not destabilized. If one bomb in the Stock Exchange in Bombay cano destabilize and derail your economy, then your economy is weak and all that you do is wrong. I have to congratulate my friend Mr. Bhandare, because he said—and I agree with him—that the businessmen are the most hard-hearted, the most hadened and the most heartless people on earth. If some body today starts business and if the Bombay Stock Exchange begins to do business today or begins tomorrow, it is a proof of the resilience of the Indian economy and, therefore, it is not right and proper for our Prime Minister to say that.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not want to take much time. It is because of the failure of the Intelligence services, utter and shameless failure. Of course, it is a failure of the Government of India too in not

being able to anticipate the thing after the happenings in December and January. It is a measure of their naviety, but hat is not enough. We are living in a different world. Terrorism, high-tech terrorism, today is a global phenomenon. We talk of globalisation in various ways and I think the terrorists have stolen a march over us. Terrorists now have a globalized organization. We cannot deal with this kind o terrorism. The terrorism in Bombay is not a home-grown terrorism. It is not the kind of terrorism in Punjab, it is not the kind of terrorism in Kashmir, which is home-grown, although the weapons might be supplied by other people. It is the terrorism of the entire world. America is facing this terrorism. The bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York is an example of hat. This kind of bombing and more of these will occur. You cannot deal with this terrorism unless you have a hand to give, unless you join hands with the other countries of the worold, with their outfit. Therefore, I seriously suggest this—I am sure that Mr. P.M. Sayeed would surely convey this to his Home Minister anl to the Prime Minister—that they should think over. It is no use coming out with such statements because something has happened. The duty of the Government is to anticipate, to know what is going on in the country, in the world.

I would seriously suggest to the Government to think seriously of setting up an organization, a special organization, which will deal with terrorism and also global terrorism, an organization that will have access to say what America is doing today.

I would suggest that India should take advantage of Israel, the coun'ry with whom we have started very late, belated, relations. We have to learn from them. There is no country in the world that has been at the receiving end of terrorism of all kinds, which is threatened by terrorists all over even now

and, therefore, if there is one country in the world that has the experience of dealing with terrorists and getting the better of the terrorists, it is Israel. I would strongly suggest to this Government to get in touch with the Government of Israel to have some kind of an organization, to set up a special organization, not the CBI, not the IB and that sort of a thing. They have proved themselves unequal. Have the cream of this country, the scientists of this country and set up a special organisation and let them coordinate with the different anti-terrorist organisations in different countries because terrorism is a global phenomenon.

One last word, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir: It is irresponsible to say that the ISI is responsible. They would be. We know there are terrorist organisations in Algiers, in Morocco and in other places. In Egypt, the Government of Egypt is doing its best to try to obliterate them. We know the power structure in Pakistan. We know the ISI is a power-base by itself. We know what is happening there. Therefore, even if the ISI has a hand in this, it does not mean that the whole of Pakistan is against us or we go to war with Pakistan. Let me say this that India is geographically situated in such a way that if a big conflict or conflagration through our errors in foreign policy takes place between us and the Muslim world, we shall be the loser. All the entry points to India lie through the Muslim countries. Almost all the oil that we need in India comes from the Muslim countries. It is easy for the Muslim countries for six months not to sell oil to India. In that case, where do we stand? Therefore, we need a different kind of diplomacy. We need a different kind of outlook. And the least that this Government can do is to know what is happening, and to speak with some responsibility. Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI-MD. SALIM): Shri Satish Pradhan.

*श्री सतीश प्रधान (महाराष्ट्र)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया इसके लिए मैं आपका शुकुंगुजार हूँ। आज सुबह यहाँ माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने वक्तव्य दिया है। या वक्तव्य सुनने के बाद अचरज होना चाहिए था, लेकिन वैसा नहीं हुआ इसका कारण यह है कि माननीय गृह मंत्री जी अलग समय पर अलग-अलग वक्तव्य दे रहे हैं। यह वक्तव्य देखकर अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि इसमें सच्चा बहुत कम है तो वह गलत नहीं होगा सबसे पहले मैं एक बात ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ, वह यह है कि जब मुंबई में एक के बाद एक बम विस्फोट रहें थे, तब शिव सेना भवन के पास जो बम विस्फोट हुआ वह सेना भवन के बगल में जो पेट्रोल पंप है उसमें बम विस्फोट हुआ है।

मुंबई में जो बम विस्फोट हुए उन तरफ देखने के बाद एक बात ध्यान में आ जाती है, वह यह कि, जहाँ बम विस्फोट हुए वहाँ बीस-बीस फिट गड्ढे हो गये हैं। जमीन के अंदर यह विस्फोट घुस गये थे। इस बात से पता चलता है कि वह विस्फोट कितने शक्तिशाली थे। लेकिन सरफो द्वारा दिये गये वक्तव्य में इस बात का कहीं भी उल्लेख नहीं है।

जो लोग मर गये हैं उनके बारे में सरकार ने कहीं भी शोक व्यक्त नहीं किया है। यह बात सुनकर मुझे अचरज हुआ। जो लोग जखमी हुए उनके बारे में भी सरकार ने कहीं भी संवेदन व्यक्त नहीं की है। इस हादसे में जो लोग मर गये उनके परिवार वालों को 2 लाख रुपये देने की महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने घोषणा की है। उस बात का उल्लेख इस वक्तव्य में किया गया है। जो लोग जखमी हुए हैं उनको भी सहायता जायेगी ऐसा उल्लेख इस वक्तव्य में किया गया है। इस बात के लिए महाराष्ट्र के मुख्यमंत्री को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ।

कई मामलों में यह देखा गया कि केन्द्र सरकार मदद मांगने से पर

*मूल रूप से मराठी भाषण का हिन्दी अनुवाद

[श्री सतीश प्रधान]

ही मदद की घोषणा कर देती है लेकिन मुंबई के बारे में केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ से ऐसी कोई भी घोषणा नहीं की गयी है।

मैं, यह बात यहां घोहराना चाहता हूं कि माननीय प्रधान मंत्री भी मुंबई में गये थे। उन्होंने भी वहां जाकर स्थिति का जायजा लिया था। लेकिन उन्होंने भी इस बात का कहीं भी उल्लेख नहीं किया है। यह सब देखकर मुझे बहुत दुःख हुआ है। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री, दोनों गृह मंत्री, संसदीय कार्य मंत्री और कई अन्य नेता मुंबई में गये थे। उन्होंने वहां की स्थिति को देखा है। यह सब लोग मुंबई में गये थे इसके लिए मैं उनका आभारी हूं। इन सब नेताओं ने वहां जाकर मुंबई की जनता का दुःख सुना है। वहां की दयनीय स्थिति को देखा है। बम विस्फोट के बाद वहां कई मकानों का ऊपर का हिस्सा उड़ गया है। घर में खाने के लिए कुछ बचा नहीं, ऐसी स्थिति मुंबई में हो जाने के बाद उन लोगों को मदद करना सरकार का कर्तव्य है। लेकिन सरकार ने इस कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं किया है। सरकार ने इस संदर्भ को भी कार्रवाई नहीं की यह बात मैं सरकार के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं।

जो मकान गिर गये हैं वह दुबारा बनाने होंगे। उनको बनाने के लिए सरकार को मदद करनी चाहिए। लेकिन सरकार अब तक के वक्तव्यों में इस बात का कहीं भी उल्लेख नहीं है। मैं सरकार के इस रवैये से बहुत दुःखी हूं। जो लोग बेघर हो गये हैं, जो लोग सड़कों पर रह रहे हैं, उनके बारे में सरकार कोई मदद का आश्वासन देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या सरकार की ऐसी कोई योजना है, जिससे इन लोगों को मुआवजा दिया जा सकेगा, उनको मकान बनाने के लिए मदद दी जा सकेगी।

मैं, मुंबई के अस्पतालों में कार्यरत कर्मचारियों को बधाई देना चाहता हूं। उन्होंने इस आपातकालीन स्थिति में धीरज से काम किया। साथ-साथ मुंबई के नागरिकों को भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने ऐसे समय में शांति बनाये रखी और स्थिति सुधारने में मदद की।

दूरदर्शन, आकाशवाणी और अखबारों के माध्यम से रक्तदान की अपील की गयी है। रक्तदान करने के लिए लोगों की लंबी लाइन लग जाती है। लेकिन सरकारी अस्पतालों में रक्त का संचय करने की व्यवस्था नहीं है। यह आने वाले लोगों को बताया जाता है और उनको वापस लाने का अनुरोध किया जाता है।

यह बात भी समझ में नहीं आ रही है कि जो लोग मुंबई में रक्तदान करना चाहते हैं उनका रक्त नहीं लिया जा रहा है, लेकिन यह अपील गुजरात राजस्थान तक क्यों की जा रही है? रक्तदान के बहाने कोई और काम तो नहीं किया जा रहा है इस तरह की आशंका मन में आ जाती है।

एयर इंडिया और स्टॉक एक्सचेंज के पास जब बम विस्फोट हुआ, तब वहां मदद के लिये महाराष्ट्र के एक मंत्री श्री मानिकराव ठाकरे वहां गये। लेकिन जिनके पिता पहले मुख्यमंत्री थे ऐसे एक नेता भी वहां थे, लेकिन उन्होंने वहां जाकर कोई मदद नहीं की बल्कि वे वहां से चले गये। यह बात मैं गृह मंत्री जी के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त कर रहा हूं। सेंटॉर होटल के दिवार से जो आदमी भाग रहा था उसको पुलिस ने हिरासत में ले लिया। सेंटॉर होटल के सिक्कुरिटी गार्ड ने जिस आदमी को पकड़ा था वह आदमी शिव सेना का सदस्य था ऐसा कहा गया था। पुलिस के हिरासत में इस आदमी को भेजने के बाद उन्होंने पुलिस को क्या

[श्री सतीश प्रधान]

जानकारी दी, इसके बारे में सरकार ने कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया। जिस आदमी को पकड़ा, उससे क्या जानकारी मिली, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ।

माहिम में जो हिंसा हुई, उस हिंसा के लिए जिम्मेदार एक आदमी की पुलिस को तलाश थी। उस आदमी का नाम मोमिन था। उस की पत्नी के नाम पर जो गाड़ी थी वह गाड़ी पकड़ी गयी है।

पिछली हिंसा के दौरान यह आदमी मुंबई में था। उसके बाद भी आज तक यह आदमी मुंबई में था। लेकिन पुलिस द्वारा कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की गयी। अगर पुलिस ने समय पर कार्रवाई की होती तो यह हादसा नहीं होता। और इस घटनाक्रम के बाद वह भाग गया है, वह नहीं भागता। आज वह पुलिस के शिकंजे में होता। पुलिस ऐसे लोगों को क्यों छोड़ देती है, यह बात मेरे समझ में नहीं आ रही है।

परसों गृहमंत्री जी ने बताया है कि यह बम बाहर से लाये गये हैं। प्रधानमंत्री की राय इसके बारे में अलग है और हमारे मुख्यमंत्री की राय भी इससे अलग है।

हर घटना के बारे में अलग-अलग विचार व्यक्त किये जा रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनमें समानता होनी चाहिए। ऐसे संकट के समय में इस तरह के वक्तव्य नहीं देने चाहिए। सरकार के मंत्रियों द्वारा अलग-अलग वक्तव्य नहीं देने चाहिए। उससे भ्रम पैदा हो जाते हैं।

आपस के झगड़ों का चित्र जनता के सामने नहीं आना चाहिए। देशहित में ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। हमारे पत्रकारों के सामने एक वक्तव्य दिया जाता है तो संसद में दूसरा वक्तव्य दिया जाना है। एक ही घटना पर एक ही व्यक्ति के अलग-अलग विचार नहीं होने चाहिए।

गृह मंत्री ने पत्रकार परिषद् में बताया था कि मुंबई की घटना के लिए विदेशी शक्ति का हाथ है। और किस का हाथ है यह मैं संसद में बताऊंगा। यह बात पत्रकार परिषद् में कही गयी है। अखबारों में यह बात आ चुकी है। गृह मंत्री को इस घटना के पीछे किसका हाथ है इसकी जानकारी है। लेकिन उन्होंने यह बात संसद के सामने नहीं रखी। उन्होंने जो आश्वासन दिया था उसके मुताबिक उन्होंने इस घटना में किस देश का, किस संगठन या व्यक्ति का हाथ है उसका उल्लेख करना चाहिए।

सुरक्षा के लिए सरकार के पास कई संगठन हैं। पुलिस का खुफिया विभाग है। इतने विभाग होने के बावजूद भी भारत सरकार को इसके बारे में, इस घटना के बारे में कोई पूर्वसूचना नहीं मिली, यह खेद की बात है। इन विभागों का कोई भी लाभ नहीं हुआ।

जनवरी महीने में गुजरात पुलिस ने आई०एस०आई० के दो अपरेटरों को पकड़ा था। उनके नाम थे नियाझ शेख और अमरुद्दीन। पुलिस द्वारा जब पूछताछ की तो पता चला था कि बहुत से विस्फोटक पदार्थ समुद्र के मार्ग से भारत में लाये जा चुके हैं। उन्होंने जो भी चीजें भारत में पहुँच चुकी थी उसकी जानकारी पुलिस को दी थी। लेकिन फिर भी पुलिस द्वारा कोई भी कार्रवाई क्यों नहीं की गयी? यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है। अगर उसी वक्त कार्रवाई की गयी होती तो आज का यह हादसा टाला जा सकता था।

जब सरकार ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई नहीं करती तो ऐसा लगता है कि क्या सरकार उनको संरक्षण प्रदान कर रही है? इस का कारण समझ में नहीं आता।

सरकार के कई नागरिकों को बंद कर चुकी है, पुलिस उनको हिरासत में ले चुकी है। देश में कई संगठनों पर पाबंदी लगायी गयी है लेकिन सरकार

ऐसे देशद्रोहियों के खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई क्यों नहीं करती, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है।

देश में देशभक्तों को प्रार्जित किया जा रहा है लेकिन विदेशी देशद्रोहियों को संरक्षण दिया जा रहा है। देश द्रोह करने वालों के खिलाफ भी कार्रवाई होनी चाहिए।

देश हित के लिए मतभेद दूर करने चाहिए। एका से ऐसे देशद्रोहियों के खिलाफ कार्रवाई करनी चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए जो समय दिया उसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ।

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, before we rise for the day, I just want to make a mention. Today, being 15th of March, is the very very important day which the entire world is observing as a "World Consumers' Rights Day" and in India also we are observing this day as 'Consumers Protection Day'. So, I am sure the entire House will join me in sending greetings and while we are observing this day, if I may plead with the Government, in consideration of today's 'Consumer Rights Day', would be Government consider, along with the four famous consumer rights which were given by the then President Kennedy, to include in India giving clean potable water to all our villages everywhere in the country? Also...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You have mentioned it. You need not elaborate. We have to continue the debate.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI: I thought he was the last speaker. I will just finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): No, no, you cannot mention any point.

SHRI DINEHBHAI TRIVEDI: Before we adjourn, please allow me.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) : श्री राम नरेश जी, इस विषय पर बहुत से तर्कों से रोशनी डाली गयी है, इसलिए जितना संक्षेप में हो सके आप बोलिए क्योंकि बहुत-से स्पीकर हैं।

SHRI G. G. SWELL: When will the Minister reply?

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI-MD. SALIM): If we conclude the discussion today, then the Minister can reply tomorrow.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: By what time?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MD. SALIM): By 12.00. (*Interruptions*). Seven more speakers are there. (*Interruptions*). We have discussed this at length. You mention only new points.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI: Why can't we take it up tomorrow? It is a very important topic. Why do you want to rush through with this?

SHRI P. UPENDRA: We will continue the discussion tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): We have to conclude the discussion today. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. UPENDRA: You cannot complete the discussion. There are 7 more speakers.

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI-MD. SALIM): It is a Calling Attention, not a full-fledged discussion. The Chairman has given permission that it will be a discussion. There has already been a meaningful discussion throughout the day.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI:
Why should we rush through it?

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh): We should not extend it. It is a very important matter. We are all concerned about it. We want certain clarifications from the Home Minister and it should be today. Why extend it till tomorrow? There may be other developments tomorrow. Already there was a reference about Calcutta. So, we want to know the state of affairs of the country. (Interruptions). We want the reply also today. This is a very important matter. It should not be taken so light.

AN HON. MEMBER: Tomorrow there may be another development.

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI-MD. SALIM): Then the Home Minister will combine both.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let us continue the discussion tomorrow.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) : आप सभी माननीय सदस्यगणों से मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि अगर कोई नयी बात कहनी हो तो उसे रखें और संक्षेप में अपनी बात कहें।

SHRI MOHAMMED AFZAL alias MEEM AFZAL (Uttar Pradesh): You must take care of the prophesy made by Shri Ahluwaliaji also.

SHRI P. UPENDRA: We will continue the discussion tomorrow.

श्री राम नरेश यादव उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, महाराष्ट्र के बंबई महानगर में।

1 बजकर 30 मिनट से 4 बजे तक जिस तरह से बमविस्फोट की घटना घटी है और जैसा कि वक्तव्य में दिया गया है, 235 लोग मरे हैं, 1214 व्यक्ति घायल हुए और 556 व्यक्तियों को आवश्यक चिकित्सा देने के बाद अस्पताल से छुटी दे दी गयी और 658 व्यक्ति अभी भी विभिन्न अस्पतालों में हैं जिनमें से 59 की हालत गंभीर बतायी गयी है। महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि सचमुच में यह जो घटना घटित हुई है, यह

हमारे देश के इतिहास में एक अभूतपूर्व घटना है, अभूतपूर्व घटना है। और उसकी जितनी भी निन्दा की जाए, उतनी कम है। मुझे इस बात को कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि सरकार ने इस घटना की गंभीरता को समझा है और राशन भी गंभीरता के साथ इस प्रश्न पर विचार कर रहा है चाहे हमारे विपक्ष के लोग हों या सत्ता पक्ष के लोग हों। यह भी अपने आपमें इस प्रश्न की गंभीरता की ओर ध्यान आकषिप्त करता है।

महोदय, जब मैं यह कहता हूँ, तो हमारे प्रधानमंत्री भी वहाँ गए, हमारे गृह मंत्री भी गए और हमारे राज्यमंत्री भी गए, इन लोगों ने वहाँ पर स्थिति का जायजा लिया, सारी स्थिति को देखा, कुछ निर्देश भी दिए गए और जांच भी चल रही है। मगर, महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहना हूँ कि जब सरकार ने इस स्थिति को इतनी गंभीरता से लिया, जब इस प्रकार की घटना पहले नहीं हुई थी, तो सरकार का यह जो बयान आया है, मैं इस बयान को पढ़ने के बाद थोड़ा दुखी हो रहा हूँ, वह इसलिए कि सरकार में संवेदनशीलता है, हमारे प्रधानमंत्री महोदय, हमारे गृहमंत्री और राज्य मंत्री भी संवेदनशीलता है, किन्तु इस प्रश्न की गंभीरता को ध्यान में रखते हुए, इस प्रश्न की संवेदनशीलता को ध्यान में रखते हुए एक भी वाक्य कहीं पर सहानुभूति के रूप में नहीं दिखाया गया है। इसके लिए मुझे हादिक वेदना और पीड़ा है। इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी बहुत चिंता का विषय है। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय राज्य गृहमंत्री जी की यहाँ बैठे हूँ, उनसे कहना चाहूंगा क्योंकि देश के सामने एक इतना बड़ा संकट पैदा हुआ है, अराजक तत्वों द्वारा, आतंकवादियों द्वारा पैदा किया गया है और एक योजनाबद्ध तरीके से किया गया है कि ठाई घंटे के अंदर जिस तरह से खेल खेला गया, यह सचमुच में बहुत ही चिंता का विषय है और मेरा अनुरोध उनसे है कि जिस समय माननीय गृहमंत्री जी सदन में जबकि

[श्री राम नरेश यादव]

देने के लिए खड़े होंगे, उस समय इस प्रश्न की गंभीरता को ध्यान में रखते हुए चिन्ता भी व्यक्त करने और जो लोग मर गए हैं, उनके प्रति सहानुभूति भी अपने स्वर में दिखाकर भद्रांजलि अर्पित करने का काम करेंगे। साथ ही साथ मुम्बई की जनता भी बघाई को पाव है, यह शब्द भी मानने चाहिए क्योंकि यहां पर इतनी बड़ी घटना हो जाए, एक सुनियोजित ढंग से हो जाए और उसके बाद भी मुम्बई के लोगों ने जिस तरह से संयम धर्य और साहस का परिचय दिया, उसके लिए वे बघाई को पाव हैं। यह बात भी गृहमंत्री जी के वक्तव्य में आनी चाहिए। इससे पता लगेगा कि सचमुच में सरकार जिस तरह गंभीरता के साथ इस प्रवृत्ति पर विचार कर रही है, उस गंभीरता के साथ सदन को भी और देश की जनता को भी जानना चाहती है कि हम इस घटना पर इतने चिंतित हैं और जो अब यह सारी चुनौती आई है उसका मुकाबला हम पूरे देश के पैमाने पर करेंगे और देश की जनता को यह संदेश भी देना चाहते हैं कि अगले आने वाले दिनों में हम ऐसी कार्यवाही करने का काम करेंगे कि इस तरह की घटनाएं फिर न हो सकें ताकि देश का मानस विचलित न हो सके। यह सब सदन के माध्यम से जनता को जानना चाहिए।

महोदय, इसके साथ ही साथ मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं कि इस वक्तव्य में एक बात आया, जिसके बारे में हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने बहुत कुछ टिप्पणी भी की है। टिप्पणी करने का अधिकार उनको है जनतंत्र में और हमें सुनने का भी अधिकार है और उस अधिकार के आधार पर मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि पैरा "10" में जब प्रधान मंत्री के बयान की उर्चा आई है, तो मैं चाहता हूं कि इस और हमारे सभी सम्मानित सदस्य विशेष रूप से ध्यान देंगे, मैं कोट करता हूं—“इन पैंशाचिक कार्यों की योजना हमारे देश की आर्थिक प्रगति को नुकसान पहुंचाने तथा विकास में विघ्न पैदा करने के लिए बताई गई”।

मैं कहता हूं कि इस बयान में क्या गलती है, जो इस पर टिप्पणी हो रही है? यहां पर इतने लोग मारे गए, इतना नुकसान हुआ, लोगों में भ्रम और भय का वातावरण पैदा हुआ, लोगों की जाने गई और फिर विकास के लिए सरकार जिस दिशा में जा रही थी उस विकास की दिशा में बाधा पहुंची। तो इस बयान में ऐसा क्या बात है, जिसके आधार पर हमारे सम्मानित सदस्य इसका विरोध करते हैं। एक बात अपनी जगह पर सही है, अभी पिछले दिनों मैं (सदन की घंटी) महोदय, जरा सुन लीजिए मैंने जो (व्यवधान)

महोदय, एक बात अपनी जगह पर सही है क्योंकि जब यह प्रश्न आता है तो छह दिसंबर की घटना के बाद मुम्बई में जिस तरह तीन बार सारी घटनाएं हुईं, क्या उन घटनाओं से नुकसान नहीं हुआ था, क्या उन घटनाओं से लोग भागे नहीं थे? उनकी पुनर्व्यवस्था का सवाल था, उनमें भय, आशंका का वातावरण जो व्याप्त था उसको भी ठीक करने का सवाल था, आर्थिक स्थिति को ठीक करने का सवाल था। अभी जब गाड़ी ठीक से चल नहीं पाई थी कि इसी प्बीच में यह हादसा हो गया। इस हादसे के पीछे भी एक योजनाबद्ध रूप से जो यह करने का ढंग था, वह भी बहुत भी गंभीर है। इसलिए एक ऐसी जगह को चुना गया। मुम्बई को क्यों चुना गया? मुम्बई को इसलिए चुना गया क्योंकि यह एक औद्योगिक नगरी का प्रतीक है और एक योजना बद्ध तरीके से यह न किया गया होता तो ढाई घंटे के अंदर 11 स्थानों पर इस तरह से, ऐसी ढाई टैंकनोलॉजी से युक्त बमों का विस्फोट कैसे किया जा सकता था? इसलिए यह नियोजित ढंग से हुआ है और यह बात सही है कि इसमें अपने देश के लोगों का भी हाथ है और बाहरी हाथ भी है। लेकिन यह सारा मामला, चूंकि जांच हो रही है, उससे सामने आ जाएगा क्योंकि हाथ को भी पकड़ना है, दिमाग को भी पकड़ना है।

महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि हमारे जो पूर्वोत्तर के राज्य हैं वहाँ भी आतंकवाद रहा है, पंजाब में भी आतंकवाद रहा है। वहाँ चुनाव हुए, सरकार ने कुछ कदम उठाए जिससे कुछ बात वहाँ सही हुई है। जम्मू-कश्मीर में भी आतंकवाद बना हुआ है, आंध्र में भी कुछ ऐसे इलाके हैं, जहाँ आतंकवाद है। राजीव जी की जो हत्या हुई थी, जिस तरह से उनकी हत्या हुई टेक्नोलॉजी का प्रयोग करके की गई थी वह एक चेतावनी थी और इसलिए आज जो बम्बई की घटना है, यह सरकार के कि, और पूरे देश के लिए एक चुनौती बनकर आई है। इस मामले को हल करने के लिए केवल एक दल का ही सवाल नहीं है, एक पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है, सरकार का सवाल योग्य है, बल्कि सारे देश के लोगों को, सारे दलों को बैठकर के विचार करना होगा। यह जो बम्बई में घटना हुई है वह प्रतीक मात्र है, यह संकेत है भारत की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को छिन्न-भिन्न करने का, भारत में अस्थिरता का वातावरण पैदा करने का और अस्थिरता का वातावरण पैदा करके अपनी राजनीति करने का। इस देश की जनता कभी भी इस देश को इस स्थिति में नहीं ले जाने देगी कि हमारे देश में अस्थिरता का वातावरण पैदा हो क्योंकि देश के लोग बहुत सजग हैं। बहुत संघर्षों के बाद देश आजाद हुआ था, उसको याद करते हुए यह जो देश में आतंकवाद का मामला है, हमें विश्वास है कि इधर के लोग हों, उधर के लोग हों, सभी लोग मिलकर के और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में भी यही रहा है, ये सारे मिलकर के डटकर के मुकाबला करें और सरकार का इसमें साथ दें क्योंकि यह किसी एक दल का सवाल नहीं है, हमारे देश की एकता इसी आधार पर खतरे में पड़ सकती है और हमारे विकास की जो बेग चीजें हैं, उसमें भी इससे अवरोध पैदा हुआ है। तो इस विकास को भी ठीक ढंग से आगे ले जाने के लिए ये कदम उठाने जरूरी हैं। साथ ही साथ एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम) :
कन्कलूड कीजिए।

श्री राम नरेश यादव : महोदय, यह 14 तारीख 2 बजे तक का बयान आया है। इस बी च में क्या-क्या बातें हुई हैं, कितने लोग और मरे हैं, कितने कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं और जो इंटरपोल से मदद ली जा रही थी, उसके कदम उठाने के बाद आज क्या स्थिति हुई है इसके बारे में भी गृह मंत्री जी को बयान देना चाहिए ताकि सदन की और देश को जानकारी हो सके। इतनी विमत्स, अमानाक और दर्दनाक घटना होने के बाद सरकार ने जो तत्परता के साथ कदम उठाए हैं और आज सदन ने जो चिंता व्यक्त की है, हमें विश्वास है कि हम सब लोग मिलकर के, राष्ट्र-प्रेमी होने की हैसियत से सारे लोग इस दिशा में गंभीरता के साथ सोचेंगे और इस मामले को हल करने की दिशा में कदम उठावेंगे। वर्ल्ड ट्रेड सेंटर, अमेरिका में जिस तरह से घटना हुई थी तथा दूसरे और भी देशों में जो इस तरह की घटना हुई है, वहाँ से भी सहायता लेकर के एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी बना दी जाए आने वाले दिनों में ताकि दूसरे देशों में, जहाँ पर इस तरह की घटनाएँ हुई हैं, जिनका मुकाबला करने के लिए वहाँ की सरकार जल्दी से कदम उठा सकी है, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए हमारी सरकार भी विशेषज्ञों की एक समिति बनाए और इसको बनाकर के इन सारी चीजों से निपटने के लिए, इस बढ़ते हुए आतंकवाद के पंजे को तोड़ने के लिए जरूरी है कि कदम उठाए और चाहे आज हो या कल हो, गृह मंत्री का वक्तव्य देश की जनता के सामने जाना चाहिए। पूरा सदन एक है आतंकवाद से निपटने के लिए और इन सारी घटनाओं पर अपनी चिंता व्यक्त करता है, अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट करता है (समय की घंटी) ... साथ ही साथ पुनर्व्यवस्थित किए जाने का प्रश्न है, जिसके बारे में सरकार का बयान कुछ है ही नहीं, उधर भी सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए और ऐसी व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए कि वे लोग पुनर्व्यवस्थित किए जायें।

में इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ इस घटना की कठोर शब्दों में भर्त्सना करता हूँ, इसकी जितनी भर्त्सना की जाए, कम है और सरकार को भी देश की जनता के सामने बताना चाहिए कि आने वाले दिनों में हमारे कदम ऐसे कठोर होंगे कि आतंकवाद के पंजे, जो बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, उनसे हम निपटने के लिए तैयार हैं।

SHRI JAGMOHAN (Nominated): Thank you very much, Sir. Much has been said and I do not wish to repeat any of the points that have been made. Some of the basic points which I would like to touch upon are: What is the attitude of the Indian State? I am not talking of the Government. What is its capability? What is its capacity? What is its effectiveness? Nobody is trying to look into these basic issues. We have the experience. I am really surprised some of the Members said: Oh, terrorism is everywhere in the world and so on. What is our own experience? Terrorism has been with us since 1947. I think this is the only country which has got two of its Prime Ministers assassinated through the terrorist acts. We had so many States which were very badly affected by the terrorist acts. In fact, the entire State of J & K has been totally thrown upside down by the terrorist acts. We are comparing ourselves with other countries. We are satisfying ourselves saying: Oh! there is problem elsewhere also. But more important is the attitude which has been adopted elsewhere and comparing it with the attitude that the Indian State has adopted. I will give you a few illustrations. Take this case of Pakistan propaganda in Kashmir and role of Inter-State service intelligence. I have written a book giving the nature and pattern of subversion and terrorism in Kashmir. It deals with various issues. I am sure no one has tried to analyse what are

the various components of contemporary terrorism. How this terrorism is operating in different directions and what strategy should be adopted to deal with the fundamental issues of the contemporary terrorism as they operate in India, particularly in States like Kashmir, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and so many other places. Where this terrorism is taking place. And what is the attitude? Take any of the pamphlets which are distributed. These pamphlets say:

“याद रखो लोगों, कि आपका मुकाबला एक निहायत बुजदिल कम से है, एक नाइक नाफ्रहल कम से है।”

What is the attitude others may project of us? They say: Oh! India is a very ineffective and useless State. You can easily conquer it. You can easily demolish their administration. You can easily infiltrate. You can do anything you like. Nobody is going to question you. If that is the attitude that is generated and if that is the attitude which we encourage by our own acts of omission, then terrorism will increase. The softness of the State will invite more terrorism. Unfortunately in India the people who have killed four Indian Air Force personnel serving there, they are being offered glasses of juices. What messages are we giving to the people? That those people who have committed abominable crimes, hanging people by the trees, we are going and talking to them. What messages are we giving to the people? We have the vernacular Press in all the States and what message do we give? They publish all type of propaganda against India, all concoctions, all fabrications, and the Indian State gives them all the advertisements! You see the Pakistani propaganda agencies, pamphlets of Pakistani propaganda. They are all written in these magazines. And they have got all the advertisements from Indian States! If this is the attitude we are generating,

then how do you counter the propaganda? Terrorism is a psychological warfare. If the psychology generated is that we have a week adversary, well the terrorism will definitely get a great boost. There is a peculiar lack of understanding of the terminology, religious terminology, that is used, the technology of Che Guevera that is used. All that we are talking about technology is no doubt important, but more important is the will to deal with it. You may have all the technology. I got so many terrorists arrested and appointed designated courts for them in Jammu. What has happened to it? Because some people make noise, the designated courts have been abolished. All those terrorists and killers against whom a great deal of effort through the CBI and so on was made to book them, what has happened to them? Now we are talking of booking the culprits in Bombay. But what about the terrorists who were arrested in J & K and challanned? So far no one has been booked and no one in the Indian State is asking what has happened to those people. What messages are we giving to the people? So this is the basic issue involved here.

The other aspect of terrorism which is totally neglected is the internal subversion in the services. Most of the terrorist acts cannot take place unless there is a collusion between the terrorists and the police. Nobody is attending to that aspect whether in your own intelligence service there is an infiltration, whether in your own executive agency there is an infiltration. Nobody is bothering about it.

It was mentioned that the people of Bombay deserved to be congratulated. I also feel that they deserved to be congratulated for their resilience. But there is an element of cynicism which should not be forgotten. People say, "Oh! Now we rave to live with this thing. Nobody can find

a solution to this thing. Therefore, why not go along with this." This cynicism is a very dangerous thing. We should not underestimate that.

There are many other points which I would like to mention but I will come to the specific question what the Government is intending to meet the challenges. Apart from the experience of fundamental elements, we have got the experience of Kashmir, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and various other places. May I know from the Minister whether anybody tried to analyse these things in depth? I think no one has analysed them.

I would like to give a few elementary suggestions. If the time permits, I will expand them. A time has come where we must have identity cards for every adult person. This will be much less expensive, much less administratively inconvenient than any other thing. If the identity cards are there and surprise and effective checks are made at various places, I am quite sure the aliens who indulge in terrorism will be considerably reduced.

The second aspect which I would like to mention is there was an organisation called the Home Guard Organisation or the Civil Defence Organisation during the war periods, World Wars, Chinese War and other wars. Now this organisation has been disbanded and made ineffective. This terrorism is also a high-tech war. It is a war by the invisible armies. It is a war in a different context. It is a different type of war. So you should activate an organisation of this nature so that the information can be made available from every mohalla from every street, from the voluntary forces, as to who is the person who has come. If a new person has come, you can easily identify him and find out about him.

During the ASIAD, I was the Lt. Governor here in Delhi, There were

threats of terrorists infiltrating into the city of Delhi. I had organised this force so that everybody could tell us from his own mohalla who was the new comer who had come over there. Thereafter we took appropriate action. The police could not be deputed at every house. But the police was deputed after the information was received by this organisation. Unless we do that the problem of terrorism cannot be reduced.

Lastly, what is our publicity? What is our Publicity Department doing? Instead of making people realise, instead of making people security-conscious, we are lulling them to sleep. I do not see that there is any security-consciousness in any of our offices. You can walk out and you can walk in anywhere you like. Even now in Delhi, with all these functions, you can go to any of the functions. You can see a very large number of people walking into the auditorium with their handbags, then, putting their handbags on the chair and then sleeping while the lecture was going on. There is no mental alertness to check who is coming and who is not coming. So these are some of the basic issues which the Government must immediately look into. The most important challenge which I have said is an attitudinal challenge, whether you are going to be totally soft or you are going to practically believe with the vision that we have to rebuild the country, we have to rebuild all our institutions. You may say that IB is a failure or the RAW is a failure. But has anybody ever looked what the IB and the RAW have reported and not acted... And, are the people who have not acted on these reports not responsible? Nobody has looked into this aspect at all. I know that in Kashmir so many reports were made. But no action was taken. It is easy to criticise the intelligence agencies. But these poor fellows cannot speak in the open. I asked them when Rubiya Saveed was kidnapped, "What

happened? You have become so inefficient that you do not even know which street she was taken by, which possible direction she could have been taken in." Why was it so? The actual position was that she was kidnapped from a hospital. And, Government servants are kidnapped. The basic issue is that somebody should go in depth into these things, how the intelligence agencies have been functioning, what the response is to the reports that have been made and what the deficiencies are either in the reporting or in the analyses or in the response. Unless we look into the basic issues, we are not going to tackle this problem which, as various Members have said, is complex and of a very high magnitude. It is apart from the border, international terrorism. But let us first set our own machinery in order because if we remain weak we will invite international terrorism. Thank you.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, What is the business that we are going to take up now? We are told that the Home Minister is almost completing his reply in the other House. Why should not the Home Minister come and reply here after the remaining speaker speak? Then, the debate can be concluded today itself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MD. SALIM): There are five more speakers to speak.

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: We are also supporting him. Because this is a Calling-Attention matter, we want that the Home Minister should give the reply today in this House also. I would request the hon. Minister here, our good friend Dr. Abrar Ahmed, that he should also send this message to the hon. Home Minister. He should also come here and give his reply today.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, my submission is this. This is a very important Calling-Attention matter. When the Home Minister is making a statement there, his reply tomorrow here will be almost identical which means the whole discussion in the House, objectively, becomes infructuous. It had never happened in the past. May be, on one or two occasions it happened. But on such an important issue, about which the whole nation is agitated, the reply cannot be shifted for tomorrow. Today let us fix it up like this. Whatever may be the number of speakers, let us end the discussion at 7 o'clock. Let us send a clear signal to the hon. Home Minister that he has to reply by 7 o'clock. We will wind up the discussion at 7 o'clock. The half-an-hour discussion may kindly be postponed for tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Minister, do you want to react?

डा. अबरार अहमद : माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आनरेबल सदस्यों ने जैसा कहा है, मैंने गृह मंत्री जी के पास मैसेज पहुंचा दिया है, लेकिन उसके पहले सदस्यों की सहमति से यह तय हुआ था कि कत रिप्लाय दी जाएगी। अगर ये आज चाहते हैं तो हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। मैंने गृह मंत्री जी के पास मैसेज भिजवाया है।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Let us also send the message that the discussion will wind up at 7 o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Let us continue with this. Let the Home Minister come.

श्री संयव सिन्हे रजी : वाइस चैंयरमन साहब, बंबई दिसंबर और जनवरी, के फ्रिकेवराना फसादात के बाद अपने रिसते हुए खून को पोछ रही थी और वहां के आवागं टूटे, हुए दिलों को जोड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे थे, लेकिन आचानक 12 मार्च के इन घमाकों ने हम को दहलाकर रख दिया और यकीनी तौर पर बंबई के आवागं एक मर्तबा फिर सरामीगदी के

आलम में इधर-उधर भागते लगे लेकिन चंद घंटों के बाद ही बंबई के आवागं ने एक बार फिर सारी दुनिया को बता दिया कि हम दुनियादी तौर पर मिल जुल कर रहने वाले लोग हैं और यकीनी तौर पर मुल्क के सामने और देश के सामने और बतन के सामने जो चुनौती आई है, उस का मुकाबला बंबई के रहने वाले हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख और ईसाई, जैनी और पारसी चाहे किसी भी मजहब से ताल्लुक रखते हों, किसी फ्रिके से ताल्लुक रखते हों, हिन्दुस्तान के किसी कोने से भी आकर बंबई में बस गए हों, सब के सब अपनी बंबई को बचाने के लिए, अपनी प्यारी बंबई को जिन्दा रखने के लिए एकजुती के साथ आगे बढ़ेंगे। और यकीनी तौर पर वे सारे होसले वे सारी की सारी साजिशों फेल होती हुई दिखाई दी जो बम्बई को एक बार फिर बर्बाद कर देना चाहती थीं चाहे वह मुकामी ताफतें हो, चाहे वह बैरूनी ताकतों हो। हमें इस बात के लिए बम्बई के अवाम को मुबारकबाद देना ही होगा कि बमों के इतने जवर्दस्त घमाकों के बावजूद कम्यूनल हारमोनी, राष्ट्रीय और सम्प्रदायिक एकता किसी तरह से बिगड़ने नहीं पाई। हो सकता है कुछ ताकतों ने इस राष्ट्रीय और कोमी ताकत को, कोमी एकता को बिगाड़ने की कोशिश की हो। आज यह सिर्फ हमारे बम्बई का मामला नहीं है, यह हमारे पूरे देश का मामला है और पूरे देश को संभालने का मामला है। बम्बई जो हमारी आर्थिक राजधानी है, इसको कुछ लोग बंधक बनाकर रखना चाहते हैं। हमने उनका मुकाबला, देश ने उनका मुकाबला, बम्बई वालों ने उनका मुकाबला पहले भी कामयाबी के साथ किया है और मुझे उम्मीद है इशाअल्लाह आगे भी हम उनका मुकाबला करेंगे।

आज साजिस का जो सावल है वह एक चुनौती है आज जो अलमिया बम्बई से कुछ दिन पहले रखा गया है वह हमारी संसार के लिए और हमारे देश के लिए एक चुनौती है और यकीनीतौर पर इस चुनौती को हम स्वीकार करते हैं। पार्लियामेंट ने इस मसले के ऊपर जिस दिलचस्पी का, जिस कसर्न का और जिस ताल्लुक का इजहार किया है उससे मुझे एक बार

फिर यह उम्मीद जगी है कि हमारा यह इन्स्टीट्यूशन, हमारा यह इदारा, हमारी यह पोलियामेंट इररिलिवेंट नहीं हुई है। 6 दिसम्बर के बाद मुल्क में अब फसादाद फूट पड़े थे उस मसले को भी हम इस हाऊस में डिसकस करना चाहते थे। जनवरी के अंदर बंबई के अंदर जो मामलात हुए थे, फिरकावागाना फसाद हुए थे उस मसले को भी हम इस हाऊस में डिसकस करना चाहते थे। उसको जरेवहस लाना चाहते थे लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उस अलमिया को शायद हमने पूरी संजीदगी से नहीं लिया और इस हाऊस के अंदर एक ऐसा वातावरण एक ऐसा माहोल बना जिसकी वजह से उन हादसात की तरफ हम तकसीली गफ्तगू नहीं कर सके। अगर यह मुमकिन होता तो यह हो सकता था कि हम सरकार को कुछ सुझाव दे सकते, कुछ तजावीज दे सकते और उस तजावीज को जहन में रखते हुए यह मुमकिन हो सकता कि ये वाक्यात जो बम्बई में हुए हैं वे शायद न हो पाते 13 धमाकों में सैकड़ों लोग मरे, हजारों लोग घायल हुए। पूरी कौम ने उसके ऊपर अपनी हमदर्दी का इजहार किया है। और यकीनीतौर पर एक ऐसी शेतानी हरकत की जिसकी जितनी भी मजम्बत की जाए वह कम है। सोची-समझी साजिस के तहत जो वाक्यात हुए उसके दो ही मकसद थे—दहशत फैलाना और बम्बई की जिव्दगी को पूरी तरह से मुफलूस कर देना। साजिस के बारे में मखतलिफ ख्यालात आए हैं। हुक्मत ने अपनी जांच पड़ताल की बात कही है। लेकिन में हुक्मत से यह इस्तुदा करना चाहूंगा कि वह इस जांच पड़ताल के मामले में जल्दी काम करे। देर होने से जो एवीडेंस होता है, जो सुराग मिलने का रास्ता होता है वह मसटूट हो जाता है और हम हक़ायक तक नहीं पहुंच सकते और उन कलप्रिट्स को, उन मुलजिमों को जिनके ऊपर हम इस चीज की जिम्मे-दारी होती है, पकड़ने में इधर-उधर भागने लगते हैं और असली लोग पकड़े नहीं जाते। यह यकीनीतौर पर सही बात है कि हमारी भ्रम शत को तबाह करने के सिल-सिले में, हमारी मइशत को बर्बाद करने के सिलसिले में यह साजिस की गई।

लेकिन मुझे ख़ुशी है और मैं अपने पटो-लियम स्टेट् मिनिस्टर साहब को मुमबार-कहना चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की महशत में एक गैर मुल्क आमाल का जो अभी-अभी एक मुहायदा हुआ है, सिर्फ़ दिन के बाद बम्बई में जो हादसा हुआ है उसके बाद हम समझते हैं मुल्क के आवासम ने जिस तरह से इकजहती का सबूत दिया है, इससे 21 हजार 500 करोड़ रुपए का जो अंडर सी पाइपलाइन आमान से भारत के अंडर आने की बात हुई है, एक दूसरे मुल्क ने हमारे मुल्क के अंदर इनकंस्ट मेंट करने का फैसला किया है इससे यह पता चलता है कि कोशिश के बावजूद हमारे उस ताने-बाने को जो पिछले एक-दो साल के अंदर हमने आर्थिक क्षेत्र में इन्तसादी मैदान के अंदर बनने की कोशिश की है उसे तोड़ना बहुत ही मुश्किल है। यह मुमकिन नहीं हो पाएगा। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि भाजी में भी ऐमे बमों के हादसात हमारे मुल्क में हुए हैं। लखनऊ, कानपुर, पंजाब और कश्मीर में हुए हैं। लेकिन इतने बड़े पैमाने पर पहली बार बम्बई में हुए हैं। हिन्दुस्तान ने इस तरह के धमाके सुने और उन धमाकों का मुकाबला किया। वे एक बड़े ताकतवर बमों की सूत में हैं। यह कहना चाहूंगा कि ऐसा ताकतवर बम इसके पहले राजीव जी की सहादत में सिलसले में इस्तेमाल किए जा चुके हैं। उन क्लब को भी मामने रखते हुए हमें आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

मंसूबाबंदी का हमें पता क्यों नहीं चला, इस पर हमें तवज्जह देनी चाहिए और कीमत करनी चाहिए। जो हमारी सुराख पता करने वाली एजेंसिज हैं उन्हें ज्यादा चौकस करने की जरूरत है।

(उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) पीट्यासीन हुए)

आगे इस प्रकार के हादसों को रोकने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम अपनी इंटेली-जेन्स को फिर से इस काबिल बनाए कि लोगों का उन पर एतमाद हो सके। मैं माननीय होम मिनिस्टर साहब से, वजीरे

दाखल से, यह मात्तम करना चाहंगा कि हमारी जो इस प्रकार की एजेंसीज हैं वे इस तरह की चुनौतियों का मुकाबला कर सकें, जो इस तरह की ताकत अंतर कर सामने आ रही हैं जैसे बम्बई में हादसा हुआ, उसको मदेनजर रखते हुए क्या नक्सिरे से अपनी इंटेलीजेन्स एजेंसीज को रिआम्बलाइज करेंगे? मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। हमारी हुकूमत ने अपनी जिम्मेदारी को निभाया है और जो फिरकाराना ताकत इसको फसाद की शकल में बंबई में कंवर्ट करना चाहती थी उसको रोकने की कोशिश की है और आगे भी मैं समझता हूं कि जो नई चुनौती आएगी उसको मदेनजर रखते हुए हमारी सरकार आगे बढ़गी और कोशिश करेगी कि हर तरह हालात का मुकाबला किया जाय। हमारे स्थिते आपसी मोहब्बत के रिस्ते हैं। हम खुद भी जिन्दा रहेंगे और दूसरों को भी जिन्दा रहने देंगे। अगर इस नज्दिए से हम चलेंगे तो हम इन चुनौतियों का सामना कर सकेंगे और यकजनी तौर पर दुनिया को बता देंगे कि हम हमेशा आपस में लड़ते ही नहीं रहते हैं, भजहव की बात पर या चीन की बात पर, चाहे वह धर्म की बात हो, चाहे वह फिरके की बात हो, चाहे जवान की बात हो, हम अपने मामले सबको पर तय नहीं करेंगे पॉलियामेंटरी इस्टिड्युशन को हम रिलेवेन्ट बनायेंगे और मुल्क के अवाम को बतायेंगे कि उन्होंने हमें जो चुनकर भेजा है अपनी हिफाजत और सुरक्षा के लिए उसको हम यकीनीतौर पर निभायेंगे और मुल्क के मसायल को निपटाने की कोशिश करेंगे। हम हिंसा के रास्ते पर नहीं जाएंगे और दुनिया को बता देंगे कि देश के सामने जो भी चुनौतियां होंगी उनका हम मुकाबला करेंगे चाहे वे बंदूकी हों, विदेशी हों, या देश के अन्दर छिपे हुए गद्दार हों, उन सबका हम मुकाबला करेंगे और उनकी सजिशों को कामयाब नहीं होने देंगे। इन अलफाज के साथ मैं आपसे एक शेर पढ़ना चाहता हूं : हजार सिप्त से पत्थर चले मगर फिर भी, लहू लहान परिन्दे से जान बाकी है।

बम्बई जिन्दा रहेगा,
दुश्मन के इसके उड़ानीमि। मां

बे ताकत जो सरनिम्तरनू करना चाहती हैं, वे खुद सानिगु होंगी और उनको यह पता चलेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान अजीम है। जब इरादे करता है तो बड़े-बड़े पहाड़ों को धकेल देता है, जब इरादे करता है तो मुखालफत को हवाओं के मुंह खूब मोड़ दिया करता है। हम हिन्दुस्तानी हैं और हम इस चुनौती का मिलकर मुकाबला करेंगे।

میری سید سبط الحقی "اتر پردیش" وائس
چیمبر من صاحب مجیدی دسر از بنوری کے
مقر وارانہ فسادات کے بعد اپنے رستے ہوئے
نوں کو پوچھ رہی تھی اور ہمارے عوام
وٹے ہوئے دلوں کو جوڑ
رہے تھے لیکن اس اجماع کے
ن دھماکوں نے ہم کو دھلا کر رکھ دیا اور
عرب مجیدی کے عوام ایک مرتبہ مسنگی کے
مالم میں ادھر ادھر جمائے گئے لیکن جڑ گھنوں
بے بعد ہی مجیدی کے عوام نے ایک باپھر
بنیا کو بتا دیا کہ ہم بنیادی طور پر مل جل کر رہنے
لے لوگ ہیں اور یقینی طور پر ملک کے سامنے
یش کے سامنے اور وطن کے سامنے جو حیثیتی
نی ہے اس کا مقابلہ مجیدی کے رہنے والے
خدیو مسلمان، شکیہ اور عیسائی، جینی اور
رکی چاہے کسی بھی مذہب سے تعلق رکھتے
وں کسی بھی فرقے سے تعلق رکھتے ہوں
ندوستان کے کسی بھی کونے سے آکر کسی
سب کے ہوں سب کے سب اپنی بہن کو
نے کے لیے اپنی میراثی مجیدی کو زندہ رکھنے
نے کے لیے اپنی میراثی مجیدی کو زندہ رکھنے

اور یقینی طور پر وہ سارے کے سارے حوصلے
وہ ساری کی ساری سازشیں فیل ہوتی دکھائی
دیں گی جو سمجھتی کو ایک بار بھر برباد کر دینا
چاہتی تھیں۔ چاہے وہ مقامی طاقتیں ہوں۔
چاہے وہ بیرونی طاقتیں ہوں۔ ہمیں اس بات
کے لیے ہمیشہ کے علوم کو مبارکباد دینا ہوگی کہ انہوں
کے اتنے زبردست دھماکوں کے باوجود۔ کیونکہ
ہارمونی۔ راشٹر پرہ سامبر و ایک ایکٹا کسی طرح سے
بگڑنے نہیں پائی۔ ہو سکتا ہے کچھ طاقتوں
نے اس راشٹر پرہ اور قومی طاقت کو قومی کوکتا کو
بگاڑنے کی کوشش کی ہو۔ مگر یہ صرف ہمارے
بہت سی کامیاب نہیں ہے۔ یہ ہمارے پورے دیش
کا معاملہ ہے اور پورے دیش کو سمجھانے کا معاملہ
ہے۔ ہمیں جو ہماری آرٹھک راجدھانی ہے اس کو
کچھ لوگ بندھک بنا کر رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم نے
ان کا مقابلہ۔ دیش نے ان کا مقابلہ۔ ہمیں والوں
نے ان کا مقابلہ پہلے بھی کامیابی کے ساتھ کیا ہے
اور۔ ہمیں امید ہے انشا اللہ آگے بھی ہم ان کا
مقابلہ کریں گے۔

آج سازش کا جو سوال ہے وہ ایک چنوتی
ہے۔ آج جو المیہ ہمیں کچھ دن پہلے رچا گیا ہے
وہ ہماری سرکار کے لیے اور ہمارے دیش کے
لیے ایک چنوتی ہے اور یقینی طور پر اس چنوتی
کو ہم سوئیکار کرتے ہیں۔ پارلیمنٹ نے اس
مسئلہ کے اوپر جس دلچسپی کا۔ جس کسٹرن کا اور

جس شعلے کا اظہار کیا ہے اس سے مجھے ایک بار
بھر یہ امید کی ہے کہ ہمارا یہ انسٹیٹیوٹس ہمارا
یہ ادارہ۔ ہماری یہ پارلیمنٹ اور لیونٹ نہیں ہوتی
ہے۔ ۶ دسمبر کے بعد ملک میں جب فسادات
بھڑک پڑے تھے اس مسئلہ کو بھی ہم اس ہاؤس
میں ڈسکس کرنا چاہتے تھے۔ جنوری کے اندر
بمبئی کے اندر جو معاملات ہوئے تھے۔ فرقہ وارانہ
فسادت ہوئے تھے اس مسئلہ کو بھی ہم اس
ہاؤس میں ڈسکس کرنا چاہتے تھے اس کو زبردست
لانا چاہتے تھے لیکن مجھے انسٹیٹیوٹس کے ساتھ کہنا
پڑتا ہے کہ اس المیہ کو شاید ہم نے پوری سنجیدگی
سے نہیں لیا اور اس کے اندر ایک ایسا
واتا ورن ایک ایسا ماحول بنا جس کی وجہ سے
ان حادثات کی طرف ہم تفصیلی گفتگو نہیں کر سکتے۔
اگر یہ ممکن ہوتا تو یہ ہو سکتا تھا کہ ہم سرکار کو
کچھ سمجھا دے سکتے۔ کچھ تجاویز دے سکتے
اور ان تجاویز کو ذہن میں رکھتے ہوئے یہ
ممکن ہو سکتا کہ یہ واقعات جو بمبئی میں ہوئے
ہیں وہ شاید نہ ہو پاتے۔ ۱۳ دھماکوں میں
سینکڑوں لوگ مرے۔ ہزاروں لوگ گھائیں
ہوئے پوری قوم نے اس کے اوپر اپنی ہمدردی
کا اظہار کیا ہے اور یقینی طور پر ایک ایسی
شیطانیت حرکت کی جس کی جتنی بھی مذمت
کی جائے وہ کم ہے۔ سمجھتی سمجھتی سازش کے
تحت جو واقعات ہوئے اس کے ذہنی مقصد

تھے دہشت پھیلانا اور بمبئی کی زندگی کو بھڑکی طرح سے مفلوج کر دینا۔ سازش کے بارے میں مختلف خیالات آئے ہیں۔ حکومت نے اپنی جانچ پڑتال کی بات کہی ہے۔ لیکن میں حکومت سے یہ استدعا کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ اس جانچ پڑتال کے معاملے میں جلدی کام کرے۔ دیر ہونے سے جو ابو یونس ہوتا ہے جو سراغ ملنے کا راستہ ہوتا ہے وہ مسدود ہو جاتا ہے اور ہم حقائق تک نہیں پہنچ سکتے اور ان کلپرسٹس کو ان ملزموں کو جن کے اوپر اس چیز کی دہائی ہوتی ہے۔ پکڑنے میں ادھر ادھر بھاگنے لگتے ہیں اور اصلی لوگ پکڑے نہیں جاتے۔ یہ یقینی طور پر صحیح بات ہے کہ ہماری معیشت کو تباہ کرنے کے سلسلے میں یہ سازش کی گئی۔ لیکن مجھے خوشی ہے اور میں اپنے پیڑ و ایم سیٹ منسٹر صاحب کو کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کی معیشت میں ایک غیر ملکی غلام کا جو ابھی ابھی ایک معاہدہ ہوا ہے صرف ایک دن کے بعد بمبئی میں جو حادثہ ہوا ہے اس کے بعد ہم سمجھتے ہیں ملک کے عوام نے جس طرح سے یکجہتی کا ثبوت دیا ہے ۲۱ ہزار ۵۰۰ کروڑ روپیے کا جو اندر سے پاکستان عمان سے بھارت کے اندر آنے کی راستہ ملے ہوئی ہے۔ ایک دوسرے ملک نے ہمارے ملک کے اندر انویسٹمنٹ کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا ہے۔ اس سے یہ پتہ چلتا ہے

کہ کوشش کے باوجود ہمارے اس ٹائٹل بلے کو جو پچھلے ایک دو سال کے اندر ہم نے آرتھک چھتر میں اقتصادی میدان کے اندر بننے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ اسے توڑنا بہت ہی مشکل ہے۔ اس معاملے میں ممکن نہیں ہو پائے گا۔ میں یہ کہنا چاہوں گا کہ ماضی میں بھی ایسے بموں کے حادثات ہمارے ملک میں ہوئے ہیں۔ لکھنؤ کا پور پنجاب اور کاشمیر میں ہوئے ہیں۔ لیکن اتنے بڑے بیانیے پر پہلی بار بمبئی میں ہوئے ہیں۔ ہندوستان نے اس طرح کے دھماکے سے اور ان دھماکوں کا مقابلہ کیا وہ ایک بڑے طاقتور ملک کی صورت میں تھے۔ میں کہنا چاہوں گا کہ ایسے طاقتور ملک اس سے پہلے راجیو جی کی شہادت میں کے سلسلہ میں استعمال کیے جا چکے ہیں۔ ان کلوز کو بھی سامنے رکھتے ہوئے ہمیں آگے بڑھنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہیے۔

منصوبہ بندی کا ہمیں پتہ کیوں نہیں چلا اس پر ہمیں توجہ دینی چاہیے۔ اور کوشش کرنی چاہیے۔ جو ہماری سراغ پتہ کرنے والی ایجنسیاں ہیں انھیں زیادہ جو کس کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ (اپ سچھا ادھیکش "شری شنکر دیال سنگھ پیٹھ آسین ہوئے)

آگے اس پر کار کے حادثوں کو روکنے کے لیے یہ ضروری ہے کہ ہم اپنی ایشیا جنس انجنیرز کو بھر سے اس قابل بنائیں کہ لوگوں کا ان پر اعتماد ہو سکے۔

میں مانتے ہوں منسٹر صاحب سے مل کر یہ معاملہ
سے یہ معلوم کرنا چاہوں گا کہ ہماری جو اس پرکار
کی انجنیرز ہیں وہ اس طرح کی چھوٹیوں کا مقابلہ
کر سکیں۔ جو اس طرح کی طاقتیں ابھر کر سامنے
آ رہی ہیں۔ جیسے بمبئی میں حادثہ ہوا۔ اسکو مد نظر
رکھتے ہوئے کیا نئے سرے سے اپنی انٹیلیجنس
انجنیرز کو ری آرگنائزڈ کریں گے میں زیادہ
وقت نہیں لینا چاہتا۔ ہماری حکومت نے اپنی
ذمہ داری کو نبھایا ہے اور جو فرقہ وارانہ طاقتیں
اس کو فساد کی شکل میں کنٹرول کرنا چاہتی
تھیں۔ اس کو روکنے کی کوشش کی ہے اور
آگے بھی میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جو نئی چھوٹی آئینگی
اس کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے ہماری سرکار آگے
بڑھے گی۔ اور کوشش کرے گی۔ کہ اس طرح
کے حالات کا مقابلہ کیا جائے۔ ہمارے رشتے
آپسی محبت کے رشتے ہیں۔ ہم خود بھی زندہ
رہیں گے اور دوسروں کو بھی زندہ رہنے دینگے۔
اگر اس نظر سے ہم جیس گے تو ہم ان چھوٹیوں
کا سامنا کر سکیں گے۔ اور یقینی طور پر دنیا کو بتا
دیں گے کہ ہم ہمیشہ آپس میں ملوثے ہی نہیں رہتے
ہیں۔ مذہب کی بات بریادین کی بات پر چاہے
وہ دھرم کی بات ہو۔ چاہے وہ فرقے کی بات ہو۔
چاہے زبان کی بات ہو۔ ہم اپنے معاملے مٹھوں
پر ملے نہیں کریں گے۔ بارہمدری انسٹی ٹیوشن کو
ہم ریسویمنٹ بناتیں گے۔ اور ملک کے عوام کو

بتائیں گے کہ انہوں نے ہمیں جو چاہا کر لیا ہے
اپنی حفاظت اور سرکشا کے لیے اس کو ہم یقینی
طور پر نبھائیں گے۔ اور ملک کے مسائل کو
پہچاننے کی کوشش کریں گے۔ ہم ہنسا کے راستے
پر نہیں جائیں گے۔ اور دنیا کو بتا دیں گے کہ
دیش کے سامنے جو بھی چھوٹیاں ہوں گی انکا
ہم مقابلہ کریں گے چاہے وہ بیرونی ہوں۔
وہ دیش ہوں۔ یا دیش کے اندر چھپے ہوئے غدار
ہوں۔ ان سب کا ہم مقابلہ کریں گے۔ اور انکی
سازشوں کو کامیاب نہیں ہونے دیں گے۔
ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں آپ سے رخصت
ماہتا ہوں اور آخر میں ایک شعر پڑھنا چاہتا ہوں۔
ہزار سمت سے پھر چلے مگر پھر بھی
ہولہاں بزمندے میں جان باقی ہے
بمبئی زندہ ہے۔ بمبئی زندہ رہیگا
ہندوستان زندہ ہے۔ زندہ رہیگا
دشمنوں کے ارادے نیت ہونگے
وہ طاقتیں جو ہمیں سرنگوں کرنا چاہتی ہیں۔ وہ
خود سرنگ ہوئی گی اور ان کو یہ پتہ چلے گا کہ
ہندوستان عظیم ہے۔ جب ارادے کرتا ہے تو
بڑے بڑے پہاڑوں کو دھکیل دیتا ہے۔ جب
ارادے کرتا ہے تو مخالفت کی ہواؤں کے منہ
موڑ دیا کرتا ہے ہم ہندوستانی ہیں اور ہم اس
جسوتی کا مل کر مقابلہ کریں گے۔

श्री कृष्ण लाल शर्मा (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बम्बई में जो अत्यन्त भयानक 12 मार्च की घटना हुई है उस पर मैं अपनी तरफ से और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से गहरा दुःख भी व्यक्त करता हूँ और जो परिवार उसके शिकार हुए हैं उनके प्रति गहरी संवेदना व्यक्त करता हूँ। मैं इस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि इस सारे वक्तव्य में हमारे बम्बई निवासियों के लिए जो दो शब्द सहानुभूति और संवेदना के कहे जाने चाहिए थे वे नहीं कहे गये हैं। इतना ही नहीं हम सब अपने भाषणों में कह रहे हैं कि बंबई के लोगों ने जो एक साहस और एकता का परिचय दिया है, इतनी भयंकर घटना के बाद भी, उसकी हम तारीफ करते हैं। लेकिन वह तारीफ इस वक्तव्य का हिस्सा नहीं है। मैं यह बात इस सदन में कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस भयानक घटना के बाद भी बम्बई के लोगों ने अगर कोई संदेश दिया है तो वह यह दिया है—इसको ठीक तरह से रिकार्ड पर लाना चाहिए—वह संदेश यह है कि इस देश में और प्रदेश में सरकार तो विफल हो सकती है लेकिन जनता और लोग विफल नहीं होंगे। यह मैं सँज है, यह संदेश जो बम्बई के लोगों से दिया है। इसका हम अगर ठीक ढंग से प्रचार करें तो यह देश के लिये भी और उन विदेशी शक्तियों के लिये जो हमारे खिलाफ काम कर रही हैं, एक सही संदेश होगा। मुझे जो कुछ बातें ध्यान में लानी हैं वे यह हैं कि यहां हर एक बात को, अपने वक्तव्य को कहते समय कोई 6 दिसम्बर से जोड़ना चाहता है और कोई आर्थिक सुधारों से जोड़ना चाहता है। मुझे लगता है कि बंबई की इन घटनाओं को अगर आइसोलेट करके सोचेंगे या इसको 6 दिसम्बर से जोड़कर सोचेंगे तो हम अपने आप को धोखे में रखेंगे। क्योंकि 6 दिसम्बर के बाद बंबई में जो कुछ हुआ तो उसके कारण कुलमिलाकर केन्द्र को यह निर्णय करना पड़ा कि महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्री को बदला जाय और वहां नया मुख्य मंत्री भेजा जाय। तो यह इस बात का कंफेशन है कि जहां जो कुछ भी विफलतायें, उससे पहले भी हुई है, उसका कारण आपसी कलह और प्रदेश के नेतृत्व की विफलता के कारण हैं, दूसरे किसी और कारण से नहीं है। एकता का भी उपदेश गूँजा जा रहा है। मुझे अफसोस है कि ज प्रधानमंत्री और गृह मंत्रीयहां से बम्बई के लिये गये, वे यहां से विपक्षी

दलों के नेताओं को भी साथ लेकर जाते तो शायद देश के लिये और बाहर के लोगों के लिये संदेश होता कि हम जब भी कोई इस तरह का काम करते हैं उसमें हम दलगत भावनाओं को ध्यान में नहीं रखते हैं। दूसरे को उपदेश देने के लिये बड़े ऊँची ऊँची बातें करते हैं वहां महाराष्ट्र जाकर बम्बई में जाकर प्रधानमंत्री और गृह मंत्री ने क्या इस बात की आवश्यकता समझी कि सब लोगों से मिलें और अगर वे विपक्षी दलों के लोगों को बुलाकर उनसे भी पूछते तो शायद वह कोई उनको उपयोगी सुझाव दे सकते थे, कोई नयी बात कह सकते थे। लेकिन उन्होंने यह बात नहीं की और एक सीमित दायरे में अपने कार्यक्रमों को चलाते हुये वह चले आये। मुझे यह भी कहना है कि बड़ी भारी बातें सरकार कह रही कि हम हैड एंड हैड, ब्रेन एंड हैड, जो भी है उसको डिसकवर करेंगे। मुझे यह बात ध्यान में लानी है कि हम लोगों ने कई बार यह चर्चा की है। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या की चर्चा हुई, राजीव गांधी की हत्या की चर्चा हुई लेकिन इतनी बड़ी और हत्याओं के बाद भी हमने इसके पीछे कौन हैड और हैड है या नहीं है, इस पर न कभी विचार किया और न कभी इसको आइडेंटिफाई करने की कोशिश की। हमने केवल एक ऐसा रास्ता अपनाया कि जो भी बलि का बकरा सामने मिल गया उसको सजा दे दी लेकिन उसके पीछे क्या गहरी साजिश है, उसका हमने कभी भी पर्दा-फाश करने की कोशिश नहीं की। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इस इतिहास को दोहराया न जाये। बम्बई की घटनाओं के पीछे कोई हैड या कोई मस्तिष्क अगर है, वह अन्दर हो या बाहर हो, उसकी पूरी जानकारी और उसकी पूरी जांच अगर नहीं होगी तो इसके बारे में लोगों में कोई विश्वास पैदा नहीं होगा।

मुझे यह भी कहना है कि सरकार ने जांच प्रदेश के सुपुर्दे की है या स्वयं केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इसको अपने हाथ में लिया है, इसको भी स्पष्ट करें। यह इस वक्तव्य से स्पष्ट नहीं होता।

इसमें कहा गया है कि प्रधानमंत्री ने स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को कहा है कि वह सारा पता लगाये। फिर यह कहा है कि इंटेलेजेंस एजेंसीज कुछ करें। मुझे डर है कि अगर इनवेस्टीगेटिंग एजेंसीज का कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं हुआ और इतनी बड़ी घटना को केन्द्र की इनवेस्टीगेटिंग एजेंसी ने अपने हाथ में नहीं लिया और सिर्फ प्रदेश पर छोड़ दिया तो इसके बारे में भी थोड़े दिनों के बाद इतना ही निकलेगा कि इसमें कुछ नहीं निकला और हम कुछ बातें आगे-पीछे कहकर के इस विषय को समाप्त कर देंगे। यह बात मुझे बहुत आग्रह-पूर्वक गृह मंत्री जी से कहनी है कि इसको केन्द्र अपने हाथ में लेकर सारी इनवेस्टीगेटिंग एजेंसीज का कोई को-ऑर्डिनेटिंग सेंटर बनाये किसी एक एजेंसी के सुपुर्द करके, बाकी एजेंसीज उसकी सहायता करें, इस तरीके से काम करना चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस वक्तव्य में जो 6 नम्बर बिन्दु है इसको देख कर मुझे बड़ा अफसोस होता है कि इसको देने की क्या जरूरत थी। यह दिया गया है कि एक कार मिली वहीं में। वर्री एरिया तो बहुत बड़ा एरिया है। उस कार का नम्बर क्या है, कार फोन से प्वाइंट पर मिली और उस कार में जो चीजें उपलब्ध हुई है जिसका वर्णन किया गया है वह चीजें तो इस कांड में प्रयोग में नहीं लाई गई। अब किसी ने यह नहीं कहा कि ए० के० 56 राइफल यहां इस्तेमाल हुई है, ग्रेनेड इस्तेमाल हुआ है। मेगजीन भी इस्तेमाल नहीं हुई। जो चीजें इस्तेमाल नहीं हुई, उन चीजों को कार में से बरामद किया गया। इस कार का नम्बर क्या है, आनर कौन है और उस कार को कौन से प्वाइंट से किस आफिसर ने वहां से निकला, इसकी कोई जानकारी नहीं है। यदि इस तरह से डाइवर्शन के लिये कुछ चीजें देनी है तो मैं समझता हूं कि इसका अच्छा परिणाम नहीं होता। इस तरह से तो हम चीजों को उलझा रहे हैं, सुलझा नहीं रहे हैं।

महोदय, एक बहुत महत्व की बात मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। मैंने एक मेगजीन में काफी दिन पहले पढ़ा था कि यह जो पावरफुल प्लास्टिक एक्सप्लोसिव है इसका प्रोडक्शन केवल चेकोस्लावाकिया में होता है। 1986 में चेकोस्लावाकिया ने एक हजार किलोग्राम एक्सप्लोसिव लीबिया को दिया। यह इतना एक्सप्लोसिव है कि कई वर्षों तक काम आ सकता है। लीबिया जो एक हाट बेड बना है टेररिज्म का, मैं यह बात गृह मंत्री महोदय के सामने इसलिये रख रहा हूं कि जब वे और चीजों की जांच कर रहे हैं तो इस तथ्य को भी ध्यान में रखें।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : गृह मंत्री जी हैं कहां?

श्री कृष्ण लाल शर्मा : जो भी उनके नुमाइंदे बैठे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) : चलिये एक मंत्री है अभी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : गनीमत है एक तो है।

श्री कृष्ण लाल शर्मा : इसके बारे में मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि यह बात ठीक कही गई है कि अभी किसी देश को हम आइंटेंडीफाई नहीं कर रहे हैं, एक देश नहीं इसके पीछे कई देश भी हो सकते हैं। देश के अन्दर भी एक टेररिस्ट ऑर्गेनाइजेशन नहीं है, कई ऑर्गेनाइजेशंस कंबाईंड एफर्ट कर सकती है। इन सारी चीजों को अगर हम लोगों ने डिटेक्ट करना है, इसके बारे में हम लोगों ने जांच करनी है तो इसकी ऐसे उथले ढंग से हम लोग जांच नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसके लिये एक हाई पावर्ड इन-वेस्टीगेटिंग एजेंसी होम मिनिस्ट्री के लेवल पर नियुक्त होनी चाहिये जो इन सारी चीजों की जांच करे कि देश के अन्दर कौन सी ऑर्गेनाइजेशन हो सकती है, देश के बाहर कौन सी हो सकती है उसका पूरा पता लगायें। उपसभाध्य

महोदय, मैं एक बात और कह रहा हूँ कि there is a method behind this madness? एक तो यह घटना पूरे टेररिज्म का एक अंश है, इसमें विदेशी और आंतरिक दोनों हाथ हैं। मैं आपके ध्यान में यह बात ला रहा हूँ कि यह जो हमारे मेट्रो-पोलिटन सिटीज हैं यह उन पर एक अस्साल्ट है। यह दिल्ली में हो चुका है जब इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या और उसके बाद में 1984 के रायट हुये। यह घटनायें केपिटल सिटी में हुई। इसके बाद मद्रास भी हमारा एक मेट्रोपोलिटन सिटी है। वहां हमारे पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री, कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष की हत्या हुई। उसके बाद अब चुना गया है बम्बई को। मुझे डर है कि अगला निशाना उनका कलकत्ता होगा। अभी जब यह खबर आ रही थी कि कलकत्ता में भी कुछ हुआ है तो मैं अपने केन्द्र के गृह मंत्रालय को इसकी चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो कुछ शक्तियाँ हैं बार्डर स्टेट्स में इस तरह से अस्थिरता पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रही है और दूसरा हमारे जो प्रमुख नगर हैं जहाँ पर हम अपने सारे जनजीवन को इस तरह से बनाये हुये हैं जिसके आधार पर हमारे देश की साख बनी हुई है तो उनको भी अस्थिर करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। तो यह जो मेट्रोपोलिटन सिटीज पर एक बहुत बड़ा आघात करने की कोशिश हो रही है इसको भी बड़ी गहराई से देखना चाहिये और इसके संबंध में जितनी भी बातें ध्यान में आ सकती हैं उनको सामने लाया जाना चाहिये। एक बात मैं फिर अन्त में कहूँगा, मैं इसको खत्म कर रहा हूँ उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि आप ऐसी बातें अपने भाषणों में अगर कहेंगे कि जिससे आप विदेशों पर भी आरोप लगायें, टेररिस्टों पर भी आरोप लगायें और फिर एकाध बात ऐसी कह दें कि जिसका

मतलब यह हो कि न इसमें टेररिस्ट्स जिम्मेवार हैं न विदेशी जिम्मेदार हैं बल्कि हम खुद ही जिम्मेदार हैं, इस तरह की अगर कोई बात, वह चाहे हमारा गुस्सा निकालना हो, किसी को बी.जे.पी. से है या 6 दिसम्बर का वर्णन है, तो और बहुत से अवसर हैं, बहुत से मौके हैं उन पर कहियेगा लेकिन इस विषय पर, ऐसे संवेदनशील विषय पर भी आप डाइवर्जन करेंगे तो आप अपने खुद को वीक करेंगे और इसका जो नुकसान होगा वह देश और प्रदेशों का होगा। इसलिये बोलते समय जैसे आप बाकियों से अपेक्षा करते हैं, राष्ट्रीय हित और जनहित का ध्यान रखकर बोला जाय, वैसे ही अगर इसे ध्यान में रखकर सभी बक्ता और माननीय सदस्य बोलेंगे तथा इस सदन को और उपयोगी जानकारी देंगे तो उसका लाभ होगा। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ आपने मुझे समय दिया आपको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI JOHAN F. FERNANDES (Goa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the senseless act on the 6th of December at Ayodhya has put Indina on the international map of terrorism. The Home Minister on Friday already made a statement suspecting a foreign hand in this. Sir, there is a similarity between the explosion which took place in the World Trade Centre in New York on the 26th of February and the series of explosions that took place in Bombay on Friday last. The explosives used in these bombings, the one at the New York Trade Centre and the series of bombings in Bombay, are similar in the sense that they are nitroglycerine-based RDX. So, I think that there is evidence to say that the hand of international terrorism is involved in this.

Sir, the honourable Minister has made an incomplete statement. I think the statement is not up-to-date. I say this because in today's newspapers, we have read that some suspects are being apprehended and

we have also read that a scooter has been impounded with 8 lbs. of RDX at Dadar. But this has not been incorporated in the statement here.

Sir, if we analyse this bombing, it started at 1.20 P.M. in the south of Bombay and it reached up to Juhu and the last bombing was done in the three hotels and the closest hotel to the airport. So, there was a systematic plan and the get-away point was kept open. We have seen that the airports were not bombed. There are two airports at Santa Cruz, one is the national and the other the international, and we saw that the closest hotels to the airport were bombed. I do not know whether the Government had reacted very soon and seen to it that the airports were sealed. I think the Home Minister is here now and it would be appropriate for him to throw some light on this aspect, whether the airport was sealed, what the response was how long they took to seal the airport and so on. This must have been the get-away point of those terrorists.

Sir, the papers have already mentioned that two suspects have been apprehended and both of them are foreign nationals. It is also mentioned that one of the suspects I do not want to name him here according to the papers, belong to a neighbouring country which is south of India and the other suspect is absconding. It is said that he is of foreign origin. So, I would like to know from the honourable Minister whether the second suspect who is absconding is of Indian nationality. It is mentioned in the statement in para 6 that so many rifles an empty magazines of AK-56 impounded from that vehicle and the suspects are absconding. Most probably they would have left the country. So, I want the hon. Home Minister to throw some light on this matter also.

Sir, many hon. Members have mentioned in this august House that this is the second international conspiracy of a major magnitude, the first being the assassination of our former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. And there also, our Intelligence had totally failed. I do not know whether they had informed the Government. And the response was slow as mentioned by Mr. Jagmohan. But I want to say here that the agencies, the IB and the RAW have failed us miserably because this is not spontaneous. We knew what happened in Bombay in December ad January, and something was expected. And the Chief Minister of Maharashtra has rightly pointed out that it may be a revenge. And I do not know what our Intelligence agencies were doing. Sir, again, we read in the papers that we are seeking the assistance of the Interpol, that we have already got something from the Interpol, from the Union States. And we have also requested the Interpol which has its headquarters in France. And the Government has also mentioned in the statement about a certain country from Western Asia. May I know from the hon. Minister whether they have contacted the Government of Israel because, Sir, their secret agency, the Mossad is very famous in detecting such crimes and international terrorism. So, I think, the Government should come out openly rather than just be vague about it. I have said that the IB and the RAW should be overhauled. The RAW was formed in 1974 or 1975. And the basic aim of forming the RAW was to counter the intelligence activities of CIA and KGB during the cold war period. I think, the KGB is not existing now, and there is no cold war as such. So, I think, we have to change our attitude towards our Intelligence agencies. And, I think, their basic work is now just to collect intelligence. They cannot investigate. So, in view of the serious happenings

in Bombay and the impending danger elsewhere in the country, I want to know from the hon. Minister whether he will give a thought to see that these agencies are overhauled. We read in the paper that the IB and RAW are always at the point of disagreement because they have some colonial hang-over. I am told that there are fights between the IAS and the IPS cadres. So, I want to know whether the hon. Home Minister will overcome these difficulties and see that a broad-based Intelligence outfit is formed in the country to fight and to give assistance whenever such terrorist activities take place in this country.

Sir, the speakers who participated in the debate congratulated the people of Bombay, the civilian people of Bombay who came to the rescue of the people who suffered without knowing their creed or caste. I feel that they should be congratulated, and this is the height of secularism.

With these few words, I hope the hon. Home Minister will respond to my specific queries. Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :
अफ़जल जी, पांच मिनट से आप अपनी बात कह दीजिए। उसके बाद गृह मंत्री जी जवाब देंगे।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Sir, my name is there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH):
According to the list here, he is the last speaker.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Sir, I belong to Bombay. This will be an injustice to me...

SHRI SUKHOMAL SEN: Sir, he may be allowed, We want to hear him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH):
Don't worry. I will call you, Mr. Jagesh Desai.

श्री मोहम्मद अफ़जल उर्फ़ मौम अफ़जल : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, जो वजीरे दाख़ला का बयान आया मैं, उस पर बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है।

सब से पहले तो मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से और अपनी तरफ से जो हादसा हुआ है, उसको हादसा न कह करके ह्यूमन ट्रैजडी समझता हूँ और मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि तारीख से शायद दहशतगर्दी की जो तारीख है, उसके अंदर एक वक्त में बम के धमाके से इतने लोग कभी नहीं मारे गए। अलबत्ता एक वाक्या ज़रूर हुआ था 1985 के अंदर, जब एक ट्रक के अंदर इसी तरह का एक्सप्लोसिव लेकर के कुछ अमरीकन फौजियों को हलाक किया गया था, और उसमें 280 लोग मारे गये थे। इसका मोटिव क्या था यही असल चीज़ है, जिस पर सरकार को तबज्जह देनी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि बम्बई के लोग इसके लिए सब से पहले मुबारकबाद के मुशतर्क है, क्योंकि जिस वक्त इस हादसे की इस्लामि मिली तो मैं समझता था कि जिस तरह से प्लायंटस को सिलेक्ट किया गया था उसके बाद मुझे कम से कम यह यकीन था कि बम्बई जो, अभी बिल्कुल जकमों से चूर है, एक बार जक़्मी होगी और वहाँ पर फिर दोबारा से फिरकेवाराना फसादात शुरू हो जायेंगे। लेकिन बम्बई के लोगों ने और वहाँ की हकूमत ने जिस तरीके से उसको कंट्रोल किया और अपने जजबात को काबू में रखा, मैं उसके लिए दोनों को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। मोतरम वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, जो शुबहे की सुई है वह बहुत तरफ जा रही है और आज जो मैंने यहाँ बहुत सी तकरीरें सुनी हैं उसमें कुछ और इज़ाफे हो गए हैं। मिसाल के तौर पर हमारा शुबहा पाकिस्तान की इंटेलीजेंस सर्विसेज़ की तरफ भी है आई. एस.आई. की तरफ, एल.टी.टी.ई. की तरफ

भी है, अभी ईरान के सिलसिले में भी कहा गया और कृष्ण लाल शर्मा जी ने एक लीबिया की मिसाल भी दी और मोस्सद का भी जिक्र हुआ और मैं समझता हूँ कि सी.आई.ए. का भी इसके अंदर इमकान हो सकता है। है किसका, यह तो अभी नहीं कहा जा सकता, यह पता करना तो सरकार का काम है, लेकिन मैं एक बात जरूर कहूँगा जो गुजराल साहब ने तबज्जह दिलाई मुझको यह जरूर महसूस हुआ कि इतने बड़े हादसों के बाद हमने तबज्जह दिलाई मुझको यह जरूर महसूस हुआ कि इतने बड़े हादसों के बाद हमने अपनी गैर मुल्की पालिसी और गैर मुामलिक ने हमारे ताल्लुकत किस तरह से हैं उसको नजर से रखते हुए अपने बयानात में एहतियात नहीं बरती, खास तौर से हमारे आपोजिशन के जो लीडर हैं आडवाणी साहब। उन्होंने जिस तरह कल कहा है कि पाकिस्तान को एक दशहतगर्द मुल्क करार दे देना चाहिए, इस तरह की डिमांड बगैर किसी सबूत के करना मेरे ख्याल से जिम्मेदारी का सबूत नहीं है। अगर कोई राह चलता लीडर या कोई राह चलता आदमी इस तरह का बयान दे दे तो कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता, लेकिन हमारे मुल्क में जो लोग बिल्कुल साधने से नजर आते हैं, बड़े लीडर हैं, उनको यकीनन एहतियात बरतनी चाहिए। मोतरम वाइस चैयरमैन साहब, मैं सिर्फ एक बात यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इससे पहले ऐसा क्यों नहीं हुआ? एक खास ऐसे ही मौके पर ऐसा क्यों हुआ? हमारे बी.ए.पी. के कई भाइयों ने कहा कि 6 दिसम्बर के वाक्या से इसको नहीं जोड़ना चाहिए। इससे इसको अलग करना चाहिए, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि इस 6 दिसम्बर के वाक्या से नहीं जुड़ा हुआ बल्कि हकूमत की कार-करदगी से यह मामला जुड़ा हुआ है। इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज पर जिस तरह से यहां पर इलजामात लगाए गए हैं, कम से कम मैं उससे इत्फाक नहीं करता। इसलिए कि इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज ने इस मुल्क के अंदर हो सकता है बहुत से मौकों पर, वे भी इंसान हैं, उनसे चूक हो सकती है, लेकिन क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है? मिसेज गांधी की मिसाल दी गई। मैं तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता; बहुत सीनियर लीडर हैं हमारे

होम मिनिस्टर साहब। वह जानते हैं कि मिसेज गांधी को क्या हिदायत, इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज ने क्या इडवाइस दी थी। लेकिन मिसेज गांधी ने उनको मानने से इंकार कर दिया था। यह उनका बड़प्पन था। मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ, लेकिन इससे इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज की कोई कमी नहीं थी। मैं तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, बहुत बड़ी बात खुल सकती है। क्या राजीव गांधी साहब को बहुत ज्यादा एहतियात बरतने के लिए नहीं कहा गया था?

(उपसभापति पीठासीन हुईं)

क्या अभी जो 6 दिसम्बर का वाक्या हुआ, हमारे अहलुवालिया साहब ने कहा इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज ने उसके वाक्या के सिलसिले में कोई इत्लाह नहीं दी थी, 6 तारीख के बाद 7, 8 और 9 के अखबारों के अंदर खुद इटेलीजेंस के जरिए से खबरें छपी हैं और बहुत बड़े-बड़े जिम्मेदार अखबारात ने छपी हैं कि वजीरे दाखला को मुतले कर दिया गया था कि बाबरी मस्जिद गिराई जा सकती है। जब इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज ने रिपोर्ट्स दीं। आपकी पोलिटिकल विल क्या है? हकूमत का उसके ऊपर सोचने का अंदाज क्या है? वह कितना काम करना चाहती है? इसका ताल्लुक भी इटेलीजेंस में काम करने वालों से, वे भी इंसान हैं, कोई पत्थर के बने हुए नहीं हैं, कोई कंप्यूटर नहीं हैं। जब वे एक सही बात कहते हैं और उस पर देखते हैं कि हकूमत इनएक्टिव है, कोई काम नहीं करना चाहती है, तो इटेलीजेंस के लोग भी बददिल होते हैं और सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हम तो खड़े हो करके इनके बारे में कुछ भी कह सकते हैं। वे खड़े हो करके अपनी सफाई पेश नहीं कर सकते। वे यह नहीं बता सकते कि उन्होंने इत्लाह दी थी या नहीं दी थी। तो इसमें सरकार की भी जिम्मेदारी है। 6 तारीख के बाद जो बंबई में वाक्यात हुए, मैं उसके साथ सीधा रास्ता जोड़ता हूँ। जिस तरह से बंबई के अंदर फिरका-बाराना फसाद हो रहे थे और सड़कों पर बेगुनाह इंसान जानवरों, कुत्तों और बिल्लियों की तरह से मारे जा रहे थे और दूसरी तरफ उतने ही शर्मनाक तरीके से हमारे मुल्क के तीन बड़े सियासतदार-वजीरे

दाखिला उसके अंदर मौजूद है डिफेंस मिनिस्टर हैं और हमारे साबिक वजीरे आला भी उसमें मौजूद है, कौन नहीं जानता कि अखबारों में क्या-क्या नहीं आ रहा था कि उनके आपस में डिफरेंसेस हो रहे थे। यहां तक लिखा जा रहा था कि वह कोर्ट सेटल कर रहे हैं और बम्बई की सड़कों पर इंसानों का खून बह रहा था। तो जब सरकार ने यह साबित कर दिया कि वह खुद कमजोर और लोगों की जान और माल की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकती, क्योंकि जब घर कमजोर होता है तभी नकब लगती है। अगर आपका ताला मजबूत पड़ा होगा तो किसी की हिम्मत नहीं कि ताला तोड़ दे। जब आपने तास्मुर दे दिया कि आप इतने कमजोर हैं कि आप तीन हजार इंसानों को मरने से नहीं बचा सकते, जब आपने यह तास्मुर दे दिया कि दिन के उजाले के अंदर इटेलीजेंस की रिपोर्ट के बावजूद एक मस्जिद टूट सकती है तो वह लोग तो मुल्क के टुकड़े करना चाहते हैं वह लोग जिनके इस मुल्क के अंदर बहुत सारे इंटेरेस्ट्स हैं और इंटेरेस्ट्स बहुत-सी इटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज के हैं, गैर-मुल्की बहुत सारी पावर्स के हैं। हो सकता है कि सीबिया का भी हो, हो सकता है कि ईरान का भी हो, लेकिन सी.आई.ए. का इंटेरेस्ट हिंदुस्तान में कब से है यह कौन नहीं जानता? मुस्सद का भी इस मुल्क के अंदर इंटेरेस्ट है। मैं जानना चाहता वजीरे दाखिला से कि क्या उनके पास ऐसी कोई इन्फार्मेशन आई है कि गुजिस्तां तीन साल में बम्बई के अंदर इजरायली कांमुलेट जनरल के दफ्तर में हमारे ही मुल्क की चंद पालिटिकल पार्टियां और गैर पालिटिकल पार्टीज जिनकी कि रेस्पेक्शन अच्छी नहीं है मुल्क के अंदर उनके लीडर्स खुफिया तौर पर जाकर मिलते रहे हैं या नहीं? अगर मिलते तो इजरायल के सिफारसगारों से मिलकर वहां वह क्या बात करते थे? क्या इटेलीजेंस के पास उसकी कोई इत्तला थी? क्या वजीरे दाखिला इस पर कोई रोशनी डालेंगे? क्या वह मुस्सद की भी कुछ तलाशी लेंगे और इजरायल के सिफारसखाने की भी कारगर्दगी को भी देखेंगे कि बंबई के अंदर जो कुछ भी हुआ है, उसके अंदर उसका तो हाथ नहीं है? तो मोहतरमा मेरा

कहना यह है कि सारी जो खराबी हमारे बहां आ रही है और जिस तरह से टेरोरिज्म बढ़ रहा है, अभी जगमोहन साहब ने भी यहां पर कहा और मैं उससे सी फीसदी इत्फाक करता हूं। उन्होंने भी कहा कि बहुत सारी इटेलीजेंस रिपोर्ट्स होती हैं और उन पर कोई कारदगर्दगी का मुजाहिरा सरकार नहीं करती। सरकार ने पिछले तीन महीनों में यह बार-बार साबित किया है कि वह कमजोर हैं, गालिबन इसी वजह से गैर-मुल्की हाथों को भी इतनी हिम्मत हुई है कि वह अंदर घुसकर इस तरह के काम कर रहे हैं और जिस तरह के वाकियात हुए हैं, उससे इससे तो पूरे हिंदुस्तान की प्रेस एग्री कर रही है, तमाम पोलिटीशियंस एग्री कर रहे हैं और खुद हमारे वजीरे दाखिला और वजीरे आजम इससे एग्री कर रहे हैं कि यह सब इतने साफिस्टीकेटेड तरीके से, प्रिन्प्लांड तरीके से किया गया है कि हमारे लोग इस्तेमाल तो जरूर हो सकते हैं, लेकिन ये हमारे लोगों का बनाया हुआ समीकरण नहीं है बल्कि बाहर से हुआ है। इसलिए हम को यह देखना चाहिए कि जब हम अपने मुल्क के अंदर रूल आफ ला को एस्टेब्लिश नहीं करेंगे, जब हम अपने लोगों की जान और माल को नहीं बचा पायेंगे तो बाहर से कोई भी हम को कमजोर कर सकता है। बुनियादी जरूरत यही है कि हम अपने आपको अंदर से मजबूत करें और यह साबित करें कि हमारी सरकार एक मजबूत सरकार है। वह किसी भी प्रकार के मामलात से निपटने की ताकत रखती है, तो शायद बाहर के लोगों की हिम्मत नहीं पड़ सकती। अगर ऐसा होता तो मिसेज गांधी के जमाने में भी सी.आई.ए. की एक्टिविटीज कुछ कम नहीं थी, उस जमाने में भी इतने बड़े-बड़े बम फट सकते थे लेकिन यह कभी नहीं हुआ। तो मैं यह तबज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूं कि अंदरूनी तौर पर अगर आप अपने आपको मजबूत जाहिर नहीं करेंगे, अंदरूनी तौर पर आप अपने लोगों की जान और माल की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकेंगे तो बाहर के लोगों के हाथ को आप रोक नहीं सकेंगे चाहे आप कितना ही बड़ा दावा कर लें, चाहे आप कितना भी बड़ा उसके ऊपर एक्शन करने की कोशिश करें।

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داتس چیرٹن صاحب، حوذیر داؤلہ کاریان
کیا ہے۔ بہت کچھ کہا جا چکا ہے۔
سب سے پہلے تو میں اپنی پارٹی کی طرف
سے اور اپنی طرف سے جو حادثہ ہوا ہے اس کو
حادثہ نہ کہ آر کے کے زون میں ٹرک ٹکڑی سمجھتا ہوں اور
میں یہ محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ تاریخ میں شاید جو
دہشت گردی کی تاریخ ہے اس کے اندر ایک
وقت میں ہم کے دھماکے میں اتنے لوگ کبھی
نہیں مارے گئے۔ البتہ ایک واقعہ مذکور ہوا تھا
۸۵ء کے اندر جب ایک ٹرک کے اندر
اسی طرح کا ایکسپلو سیم ہیکر کے کچھ امریکن
فوجیوں کو ہلاک کر گیا تھا اور اس میں ۲۸۰
لوگ مارے گئے تھے اس کا موٹہ کیا تھا
یہی اصل چیز ہے جس پر سرکار کو توجہ دی
جانی چاہیے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ بمبئی کے
لوگ اس کے لیے سب سے پہلے مبارکباد
کے مستحق ہیں کیونکہ جس وقت اس حادثہ کی
اطلاع ملی تو میں سمجھتا تھا کہ جس طرح سے
پرائمنٹس کو سیکیورٹ کیا گیا تھا اس کے بعد مجھے
کم سے کم یہ یقین تھا کہ بمبئی جو ابھی زخموں سے
چھو رہے ایک بار زخمی ہوگی اور وہاں پر پھر
دوبارہ سے فرقہ وارانہ فسادات شروع ہو جائیں گے
لیکن بمبئی کے لوگوں نے اور وہاں کی حکومت
نے جس طریقہ سے اس کو کنٹرول کیا اور اپنے

جذبات کو قابو میں رکھا میں اس کے لیے
دونوں کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں۔ محترم داتس چیرٹن
صاحب، جو شبہ کی سوئی ہے وہ بہت طرف
جار رہی ہے اور آج جو میں نے یہاں بہت سی
تقریریں سنی ہیں اس میں کچھ اور اٹھانے
ہو گئے ہیں۔ مثال کے طور پر چارلسمبہ
پاکستان کی انٹیلیجنس سروسز کی طرف بھی ہے
آئی۔ ایس۔ آئی کی طرف۔ ایل۔ ٹی۔ ڈی کی
طرف بھی ہے۔ ابھی ایران کے سسید میں بھی
کہا گیا اور کرشن لال شرما جی نے ایک لیبیا کی
مثال بھی دی اور موساد کا بھی ذکر ہوا اور
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ سی۔ آئی۔ اے کا بھی اسکے
اندر امریکان ہو سکتا ہے۔ بے شک
نہیں کہا جاسکتا۔ یہ پتہ کرنا تو سرکار کا کام
ہے۔ لیکن میں ایک بات ضرور کہوں گا جو
گجرات صاحب نے توجہ دلائی مجھ کو یہ ضرور
محسوس ہوا کہ اتنے بڑے حادثہ کے بعد ہم
نے اپنی غیر ملکی پالیسی اور غیر ملکی ہمکار
تعلقات کس طرح سے ہیں اس کو نظر میں
رکھتے ہوئے اپنے بیانات میں احتیاط نہیں برتی۔
خاص طور سے ہمارے ایوزیشن جو ابھی
اڈولانی صاحب انھوں نے جس طرح کل کہا ہے
کہ پاکستانی کو ایک دہشت گرد ملک قرار
دے دینا چاہیے اس طرح کی ڈیمانڈ غیر کس
ثبوت کے کرنا میرے خیال میں ذمہ داری کا

ثبوت نہیں ہے اگر کوئی راہ چلتا لیڈر یا کوئی راہ چلتا آدمی اس طرح کا بیان دیدے تو کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا لیکن ہمارے ملک میں جو لوگ بالکل سامنے سے نظر آتے ہیں۔ بڑے لیڈر ہیں انکو یقیناً احتیاط برتنی چاہیے۔ مخرم وائس چیرمین صاحب میں صرف ایک بات یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس سے پہلے ایسا کیوں نہیں ہوا۔ ایک خاص ایسے ہی موقع پر ایسا کیوں ہوا۔ ہمارے بی۔ جے۔ پی کے کئی بھائیوں نے کہا کہ ۶ دسمبر کے واقعہ سے اس کو نہیں چوڑنا چاہیے اور اس سے اس کو الگ کرنا چاہیے۔ لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس ۶ دسمبر کے واقعہ سے نہیں جڑا ہوا بلکہ حکومت کی کارکردگی سے یہ معاملہ جڑا ہوا ہے۔ انٹیلیجنس ایجنسیز پر جس طرح سے یہاں پر الزامات لگائے گئے ہیں کم سے کم میں اس سے اتفاق نہیں کرتا۔ اس لیے کہ انٹیلیجنس ایجنسیز نے اس ملک کے اندر ہو سکتا ہے بہت سے موقعوں پر۔ وہ بھی انسان ہیں۔ ان سے جوک ہو سکتی ہے۔ لیکن کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے مسز گاندھی کی مثال دی گئی۔ میں تفصیل میں نہیں جانا چاہتا بہت سینئر لیڈر ہیں ہمارے ہوم منسٹر صاحب۔ وہ جانتے ہیں کہ مسز گاندھی کو کیا ہدایت انٹیلیجنس نے دی تھی۔ لیکن مسز گاندھی نے ان کو ماننے سے انکار کر دیا تھا۔ یہ ان کا بڑا پس تھا۔ میں یہ نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں لیکن اس میں

ایک حس ایجنسیز کی کوئی کمی نہیں تھی۔ میں تفصیل میں نہیں جانا چاہتا ہوں۔ بہت بڑی بات کھل سکتی ہے۔ کیا راجیو گاندھی صاحب کو بہت زیادہ احتیاط برتنے کے لیے نہیں کہا گیا تھا۔ ”اپ سبھا پتی بیٹھا سین ہوئے“ کیا ابھی جو ۶ دسمبر کا واقعہ ہوا۔ ہمارے اہلو و الہ صاحب نے کہا انٹیلیجنس ایجنسیز نے اس واقعہ کے سلسلے میں کوئی اطلاع نہیں دی تھی۔ ۶ تاریخ کے بعد ۷ اور ۹ کے اخباروں کے اندر خود انٹیلیجنس کے ذرائع سے خبریں چھپی ہیں اور بہت بڑے بڑے ذمہ دار اخبارات نے چھاپی ہیں کہ وزیر داخلہ کو مطلع کر دیا گیا تھا کہ باہری مسجد گرائی جا سکتی ہے۔ جب انٹیلیجنس ایجنسیز سے رپورٹس دیں۔ آپ کی پریٹیکل دل کیا ہے۔ حکومت کا اس کے ادب سے سوچنے کا انداز کیا ہے۔ وہ کتنا کام کرنا چاہتی ہے۔ اس کا تعلق بھی انٹیلیجنس میں کام کرنے والوں سے ہے۔ وہ بھی انسان ہیں۔ کوئی پتھر کے بنے ہوئے نہیں ہیں۔ کوئی کمیوٹر نہیں ہیں۔ جب وہ ایک صحیح بات کہتے ہیں اور اس پر دیکھتے ہیں کہ حکومت ان اینڈو ہے۔ کوئی کام نہیں کرنا چاہتی ہے تو انٹیلیجنس کے لوگ بھی بد دل ہوتے ہیں اور سب سے بڑی بات یہ ہے کہ ہم تو کھڑے ہو کر کے انکے بارے میں کچھ بھی

کہہ سکتے ہیں۔ وہ کھڑے ہو کر کے اپنی صفائی
بیش نہیں کر سکتے۔ وہ یہ نہیں بتا سکتے کہ اٹھو
نے اطلاع دی تھی یا نہیں دی تھی۔ تو اس میں
سرکار کی بھی ذمہ داری ہے۔

تاریخ کے بعد جو ایسی میں واقعات ہوئے
میں اس کے ساتھ سیدھا راستہ جوڑتا ہوں۔
حسن طرح سے بمبئی کے اندر فرقہ وارانہ فساد ہو رہے
تھے اور سڑکوں پر بے گناہ انسان۔ جانوروں
کتنے اور بلیوں کی طرح سے مارے جا رہے
تھے اور دوسری طرف اتنے ہی شرمناک طریقے
سے ہمارے ملک کے تین بڑے سیاستدان۔
وزیر داخلہ اس کے اندر موجود ہیں ڈیفنس
منسٹر ہیں اور ہمارے سابق وزیر اعلیٰ بھی
اس میں موجود ہیں۔ کون نہیں جانتا کہ اجزاء
میں کیا کیا نہیں آ رہا تھا کہ انکے آپس میں
ڈفرنسز ہو رہے تھے یہاں تک لکھا جا رہا تھا
کہ وہ کورٹ سیٹل کر رہے ہیں اور بمبئی کی سڑکوں
پر انسان کا خون بہہ رہا تھا تو جب سرکار نے
یہ ثابت کر دیا کہ وہ خود کمزور ہے اور لوگوں کی
جان اور مال کی حفاظت نہیں کر سکتی۔ کیونکہ
جب گھر کمزور ہو جاتا ہے تبھی نقب لگتی ہے۔
اگر آپ کا تالا مضبوط پڑا ہو گا تو کسی کی ہمت
نہیں کہ تالا توڑ دے۔ جب آپ نے تاثر دیدیا
کہ آپ اتنے کمزور ہیں کہ آپ تین ہزار انسانوں
کو مرنے سے نہیں بچا سکتے جب آپ نے یہ

تاثر دیدیا کہ دن کے اجاڑے کے اندر انٹیجیس
کی پورٹ کے باوجود ایک مسجد ٹوٹ سکتی ہے
تو وہ لوگ تو ملک کے ٹکڑے کرنا چاہتے ہیں
وہ لوگ جن کے اس ملک کے اندر بہت سارے
انٹرسٹ ہیں اور اس میں انٹرسٹ بہت
ساری انٹیجیس انجینئرز کے ہیں۔ غیر ملکی بہت
ساری پادرس کے ہیں۔ ہو سکتا ہے کہ بیباک بھی
ہو۔ ہو سکتا ہے کہ ایران کا بھی ہو۔ لیکن سی۔
آئی۔ اے کا انٹرسٹ ہندوستان میں کر سہ
ہے یہ کون نہیں جانتا۔ مساد کا بھی اس ملک
کے اندر انٹرسٹ ہے۔ میں جانتا چاہتا ہوں
وزیر داخلہ سے کہ کیا ان کے پاس ایسی کوئی
انفارمیشن آئی ہے کہ گزشتہ تین سال میں
بمبئی کے اندر عزرائیلی کو فوٹو لیٹ جنرل کے
دفتر میں ہمارے ہی ملک کی چند پوٹو لیکل پائیا
اور غیر پوٹو لیکل پارٹیز جن کی ریویویشن اچھی
نہیں ہے۔ ملک۔ کہ اندر ان کے لیڈرس
جفیہ طور پر جا کر کے ملتے رہے ہیں یا نہیں۔
اگر ملتے تو عزرائیل کے سفارتکاروں سے مل کر
وہاں وہ کیا بات کرتے تھے۔ کیا انٹیجیس
کے پاس اس کی کوئی اطلاع تھی کہ وزیر داخلہ
اس پر کوئی روشنی ڈالیں گے۔ کیا وہ مساد کی
بھی کچھ تلاشی لیں گے اور عزرائیل کے سفارتخانہ
کی بھی کارکردگی کو بھی دیکھیں گے کہ بمبئی کے
اندر جو کچھ بھی ہوا ہے اس کے اندر اس کا تو

ہاتھ نہیں ہے۔ نو محترم میرا کہ یہ ہے کہ ساری
جو خرابی ہمارے یہاں آ رہی ہے اور جس طرح سے
ٹیرورزم بڑھ رہا ہے۔ ابھی جگہ بہن صاحب نے
بھی یہاں پر کہا اور میں اس کے سونے صدی اتفاق
کرتا ہوں۔ انھوں نے کہا کہ بہت ساری انٹیجینس
رپورٹس ہوتی ہیں اور ان پر کوئی کارکردگی کا مظاہرہ
سرکار نہیں کرتی۔ سرکار نے پچھلے تین ہفتوں
میں یہ بار بار ثابت کیا ہے کہ وہ کمزور ہے۔
غالباً اسی وجہ سے غیر ملکی ہاتھوں کو بھی اتنی
سمت ہوئی ہے کہ وہ اندر گھس کر اس طرح
کے کام کر رہے ہیں اور جس طرح کے واقعات
ہوئے ہیں۔ اس میں اس سے تو پورے
ہندوستان کی پولیس ایگری کر رہی ہے۔ تمام
پالیٹیشنس ایگری کر رہے ہیں۔ اور خود ہمارے
وزیر داخلہ اور وزیر اعظم اس سے ایگری کر رہے
ہیں کہ یہ سب اتنے سائنٹیفک طریقہ سے
پری پلانڈ طریقہ سے کیا گیا ہے کہ ہمارے لوگ
استعمال تو ضرور ہو سکتے ہیں۔ لیکن یہ ہمارے
لوگوں کا بنایا ہوا۔ سمیکرن نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ باہر
سے ہوا ہے۔ اس لیے ہم کو یہ دیکھنا چاہیے کہ
جب ہم اپنے ملک کے اندر رول آف لا کو
اسٹیبل نہیں کریں گے۔ جب ہم اپنے لوگوں کی
جان اور مال کو نہیں بچا پائیں گے۔ تو باہر سے
کوئی بھی ہم کو کمزور کر سکتا ہے۔ بنیادی ضرورت
یہی ہے کہ اپنے آپ کو اندر سے مضبوط کریں

اور یہ ثابت کریں کہ ہماری سرکار ایک مضبوط
سرکار ہے وہ کسی بھی ہر کار کے معاملات سے
نپٹنے کی طاقت رکھتی ہے۔ تو شاید باہر کے لوگوں
کی ہمت نہیں بڑھ سکتی۔ اگر ایسا ہوتا تو سرنگاندھی
کے زمانے میں بھی سی۔ آئی۔ اے کی ایسی وٹیز
کچھ کم نہیں تھیں۔ اس زمانہ میں بھی اتنے بڑے
بڑے بم بھٹ سکتے تھے۔ لیکن یہ کبھی نہیں
ہوا تو میں یہ توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اندرونی
طوے پر اگر آپ اپنے آپ کو مضبوط ظاہر نہیں
کریں گے اندرونی طور پر آپ اپنے لوگوں کی
جان اور مال کی حفاظت نہیں کر سکیں گے۔ تو
باہر کے لوگوں کے ہاتھ کو آپ روک نہیں
سکیں گے چاہے آپ کتنا ہی بڑا دعویٰ کریں۔
چاہے آپ کتنا بھی بڑا اسکے اور آپکشن کرنے کی
کوشش کریں۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.
Jagesh Desai. You are the last speaker.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairperson, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity.

First of all, I would like to pay my respects and homage to all those who were killed in this tragedy. I also convey my heart-felt condolences to the bereaved families. I pray that those who have been injured may have early recovery.

Madam Deputy Chairperson, I am thankful to the hon. Members, from all sides, for complimenting the people their co-operation.

SHRI JOHN. F. FERNANDES:
You are one of them.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I really feel, from my heart. The whole House, including myself, feels that the people of Bombay are very courageous and in any crisis, they all come together. I remember, 31 years back, when there was the Chinese aggression, people of Bombay stood as one man. Whether it was the Jana Sangh Party, whether it was the SSP or the PSP or the Congress, all worked as a team, but things have changed now. Madam, terror was created in Bombay in the month of December and January. One of the objectives, according to me, was to terrorise those who had come from outside Maharashtra. Many had left Bombay and gone to their native places. Now they are returning. I remember that nearly 40 to 50 per cent people had gone from many industries and thus production had suffered. When they were coming back, this has happened. This is very unfortunate.

Madam, this country will remain united. There are some forces who want to weaken this country. Some are adopting political methods and some want that this country should not develop economically. I do not want to go into all the reasons, but I do feel very strongly that one of the reasons is that there are some forces who do not want to see India stronger. India can be stronger if it is economically strong. Several decisions were taken by the Government. Financial organisations of other countries are allowed to have their shares in the Indian stock exchange. By having this kind of blasts in stock exchanges a signal has been given, "Do not come here, do not invest here." Similarly, the bomb blast at Centaur Hotel both at Juhu and Santa Cruz and in a hotel of Bandra; what is the significance of that? They want to tell the tourists that they should not come to India, so that we do not get foreign

exchange. There may be other reasons, but this is one of the primary reasons, according to me.

Madam, throughout the discussion today I was present here. Barring one or two points everybody has spoken for a strong India. They have not taken any partisan view. I also do not want to take any partisan view, but unfortunately, I want to stress upon one important point which has pained me, and that is what Mr. Advaniji has said in Bombay. I have the highest respect for him. When he was in this House, I had the highest respect for him. He has said, "I suspect Pakistani involvement in this," and that also he has said it in Bombay. What effect is it going to have? Already there are many who are always saying that many Muslims in Bombay are pro-Pakistani. And if this kind of thing is going on in Bombay, what kind of effect will it have in Bombay? That is why I am worried that such a senior and seasoned leader should have gone to Shankarraoji and said that this is what he felt. Madam, this kind of statements should not be allowed. We should not close our mind. If you are saying it as a part of your ideology or because of your whim, then we will come to wrong conclusions. Already an enquiry is being held. Let us wait till then. Till then we should not take the name of any country, whether it is Pakistan or any other country. And if any country is involved, it should note that this country will never forgive that country. People of this country will say that now you have to take some action and I am sure any Government, whether this Government or any other Government, will take action. Madam, about the scooter at Maitson, unfortunately, the Home Minister has not made a mention of it in the statement. 8 Kilo of explosive material was found in the dicky of the scooter, and the Police Commissioner, Mr. Samra, has said that this kind of an explosive is

not available in this country. That means it must have come from outside. Similarly, all these blasts were so meticulously organized that it must have taken many days to do it. It could have been done within one or two days; it could have taken even a month. But then, what were you doing all this time? That is the question to which I am not able to find an answer myself.

Then, out of the 235 dead bodies, 83 are still not identified. Is it because they are beyond recognition? Here I have my own doubt—I may be wrong—and you may have some clue from that also. Maybe there was some suicides squad involved in it. I don't know. When these 83 bodies are not identified till now, we should be very careful about it and try to find out whether anybody belonging to such a suicide squad had also died in the blasts. It is possible that we may get some clue from that also. Again, about the scooter, it is a new scooter registered at Thane. Who is its owner? You will have to find out that also.

I would not like to say such, Madam, but, lastly, country cannot be destabilized by anybody. The people of this country have always remained united. But you have to show to the people of this country, by your firm actions, that you mean business, and you have to find out the culprits very early. Seventy-seven hours have already passed after the incident, and even after 77 hours we would like to know some information. If it is not to be divulged, we leave it to you, if it is going to hamper your investigations—which we do not want to happen. But if broad indications could be given so that the doubts of some Members, including myself, could be cleared, they are welcome ... (*Time-bell rings*).

Madam, I am thankful to all of you for praising the people of Bombay.

But there is one thing which I must point out. The Central Government has not given any kind of financial help to all these affected people. Secondly, 15,000 hutments were burnt down at that time. Now all these families have to be rehabilitated. The State Government can't do it. For that purpose also nothing has been given by the Centre. So, I pray through you, Madam, that substantial amounts should be given to all those who have been displaced so that they can be rehabilitated properly.

With these words, Madam, I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the discussion is over. But I have been told by the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Mrs. Alva, that it was told that the reply would be given tomorrow... (*Interruptions*) ... Please listen. She is pointing it out so that tomorrow she should not be blamed, the Chair should not be blamed.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: And I should not be blamed tomorrow because they have gone away.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is the wisdom of the House.

... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: Madam, I want to tell you what the fact is. Shri was not here. This was decided earlier, perhaps. But we demanded, the other Members also demanded, that because the Home Minister was giving the reply today in the Lok Sabha, it was necessary that he should give the reply today itself in the Rajya Sabha also. This has been decided here. Then Dr. Abrar Ahmed had sent a message to the Home Minister and so the Home Minister has arrived here.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद साधु : मैडम, हमने सरकार की सुविधा के लिये कल तक का समय मांगा था, आप तैयार हैं, उत्तर दें।

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, I am just clarifying, because all the leaders were here and they said, "Do it tommrow". ... (Interruptions) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. Let her speak.

आप इंटरप्ट करते हैं तो उनकी बात सुनाई नहीं देती है। पहले आप सुन लीजिये, फिर बोलियेगा।

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I asked all the leaders and they said, "We will have it tomorrow." That's why I have told him that it is tomorrow. I am just clarifying. Tomorrow they should not say that they were told something and I did something else after they had left.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Everything I have said in the other House will come in the press and in Rajya Sabha it will go by default if I reply tomorrow. That is the only point. Otherwise it will not make any difference whether I give the reply today or tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What Mrs. Alva wants to say is that as the Home Minister was busy in the other House and she was not sure as to how much time he would take there, it was so decided that, maybe, he would reply tomorrow. Now, as the Home Minister is here and he is willing to answer...

SHRI KRISHAN LAL SHARMA: And we are willing to listen.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Agreed. You are willing to listen because you are here, but those who have left the House, assuming that the reply would be tomorrow, may be upset. ... (Interruptions) ...

Just a minute, please. They may be feeling that ... (Interruptions)

Please. They may be feeling that Mrs. Alva or the Home Minister did not do what was decided to be done in the House. So, the blame would be on them. It should be like this. Now, if the House so agrees, if whoever is here, wants the Home Minister to give reply today, fine. If the House so agrees that he may reply tomorrow, perhaps, he may be able to give more information tomorrow at twelve o'clock. It is entirely up to the House. He is here, and if the House so agrees, he will reply. ... (Interruptions)

श्री कृष्ण लाल शर्मा : इसमें एक बात जरूर है कि जो सीनियर मੈबर्स हैं, उनको तो यह कच्चे हुआ है कि रिप्लाय कल देंगे। लेकिन अगर हाउस एग्री करता है रिप्लाय के लिये, तो ठीक है।
(व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : अभी सवाल यह है कि जो लोग बैठे हैं,

The House is in order. The quorum is all right. If Members feel that the urgency of the situation, as the Home Minister has replied in the Lok Sabha, is that he should reply now, I will ask the Home Minister to reply.

होम मिनिस्टर साहब, बोलिये।

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am sorry that I could not be present in the House to listen to the different arguments which were put forward in the wake of this Calling Attention motion.

I join the House in sending our condolences to the members of the bereaved families. We will give whatever assistance possible to the members of the bereaved families. So also for all those who have been injured in this,

[Shri S. B. Chavan conted.]

the House will definitely join me, that we pray that they should recover earlier and that they should be able to have their own vocations as they were doing before.

Let me take this opportunity of submitting especially for the information of the hon. Members that the kind of patriotism, courage and fortitude which the people of Bombay have shown during this episode, in fact, deserves everybody's applause for having done the right thing in fact, in such an hour of crisis, and they deserve all our praise. Bombay has always been for a good cause, and whenever there has been a calamity, Bombay has always risen to the occasion. They never considered any kind of calamity in terms of this religion or that religion. Whosoever has suffered, irrespective of the religion he belongs to, ultimately, is a human being who has suffered, and the people of Bombay consider that it becomes their duty to help everybody who has suffered in this matter. When an appeal was made for donating blood, you will be surprised that there were long queues for it. It was an unprecedented sort of thing, never heard of anywhere, that thousands of people, just on an appeal, on the very day assembled at different hospitals, donated their blood, and they were prepared to do any kind of sacrifice for helping all those who, in fact, had undergone the suffering.

Madam, there is one point which now, at this stage, I would like, to take up, and that is about the limited kind of statement that was read over here. Maybe an impression might be created as if we are bothered about only the economy of the country. It is not merely the economy of the country but the kind of instability which some of the countries round about are interested in creating in our country, which, in

fact, is a matter for great concern to all of us. It is the unity and integrity of the country to which a challenge has been given by all those who would like to see that our country is weakened. The kind of reputation that this country has been enjoying in the comity of nations also gets adversely affected. That is the kind of situation that some people have been treated in. That is the kind of situation that some of the people have been interested in too.

Madam, I have just gone through some of the points which were raised. Hurryingly I must say that actually we are still considering as to what needs to be done; 72 hours or 77 hours have passed. I must say at the outset that we were in fact, struggling for getting some kind of a material which can be chemically analysing order to find out what is the kind of material which has been used. Unfortunately for us, we could not get any splinters because they were all plastic bombs. In a plastic bomb no splinters are available. Everything bursts out and no material becomes available. But fortunately for us, in the scooter, which was found, not 8 kilograms, but 10 kilograms of material has been found. So, that can be a very important evidence and it will have a tremendous use in analysing as to what is the kind of material that has been used. Why I have said—and also the Prime Minister has said—that outside agencies seem to be involved is because of the fact that this technology is not available in India. For the first time an unprecedented situation has arisen, which, in fact, has created a feeling in our mind that some of the countries outside seem to be interested in destabilising the situation in our country. Which are those countries is a matter which we will have to find out. But I cannot possibly say without any fear of contradiction that this is the agency which is involved. There are

different militant outfits which are available. There is the LTTE; there is the Khalistani force; there are Kashmiri militants and there are other outfits which are available in the North-Eastern region. When the question was raised, I have seen the interview given by Mr. Advani. I am sorry I cannot use his name here, because he is not here to reply. But still he happens to be the Leader of the Opposition in the Lower House. That is why it becomes my duty to bring to the notice of the House that they seem to have come to the conclusion that it is the ISI which seems to be very interested, and we have to take action against them. I do not hold any brief for ISI at all. ISI had been mainly responsible for....

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATH.

UR: He said it was good conjecture. As you said there is an international conspiracy. International conspiracy can be that of any country. Similarly Advani's remark was just a conjecture. He said it was just possible. He was not sure of it.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN. I have no objection to that. Actually ours is also a conjecture. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If everybody is going to interrupt, the Home Minister will not be able to reply. I would not permit. Let him reply.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: He has named my leader. I was present in the Press conference where Advani Ji gave this reply. There was the foreign Press also there. Everything is recorded. He said: Taking into account all the situation what they are doing in Kashmir, what they are doing in Punjab and what has happened in Bombay, the needle of suspicion is towards the ISI. This is what he said. Nothing more than this.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:

Just a minute, Mr. Chavan. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the statement that he has made. He is now referring to foreign militant groups. If he had referred in his speech that he had made in Bombay that he is holding foreign terrorist groups responsible for it, then things would have been clear. Instead of that he has stated foreign country'. To refer to a foreign country is one thing and to refer to a foreign terrorist group is another. Therefore, I shall most respectfully submit that the whole confusion arises out of the reference to the foreign countries and it has been taken to the illogical extent by Mr. Advani, Leader of the Opposition in the other House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let the Home Minister reply... (*Interruptions*)... Mathur sahib, the question was put to the Home Minister. The Home Minister has made a statement on the Calling Attention motion. Let him reply to it.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : अडवानी जी लोक सभा में ये, सारा भाषण आडवानी जी की प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस पर क्यों बोल रहे हैं? ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I stand by what I have said in Bombay. I don't deny what I have stated in Bombay. Some people say that there has been a contradiction between the statement given by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and the Chief Minister of the State. In fact, there is no contradiction. All the three of us are unanimous on this point. We never said that it is a foreign outfit which is involved. We said that it is a foreign country which is involved and the agents are ours. These outfits have become the agent of a foreign country. According to me, it is a treacherous act. So all those persons

[Shri S. V. Chavan]

were involved in this thing. It will be the responsibility of the investigating agency to find out who has gone against the interests of the country. I can assure the House that as soon as we come to a definite conclusion that somebody...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Why do you refer to a foreign country?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: A foreign country will not come by itself. They will employ the local agents.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: To say a foreign terrorist outfit is another...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: No, it is not a foreign terrorist organisation.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Why do you compel the Home Minister to say that a foreign terrorist organisation is involved? He said that a foreign country was behind it.
... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: In fact, there is no contradiction. I am definitely stating again in this House that it is a foreign country to which I have referred. This was done through the local agents. It becomes our responsibility to find out as to who these traitors were. If they have done this ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is referring to a foreign country instead of a foreign terrorist group. This is where the mistake lies. ...
(Interruptions) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please. Mr. Gupta, please take your seat.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: To say 'a foreign country' is one thing and to say a foreign terrorist organisation' is another thing.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. The Home Minister is

giving his reply. He is the Home Minister of the country. You have expressed your opinion. You don't equate the two. If he is saying something here, he is saying it with all responsibility as the Home Minister. Why are you objecting to it?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Madam, the statement made by the Prime Minister was, "The brain is outside, the hand is inside." What does that message convey? He should understand it. Actually it is not any outside military outfit which is involved but it is a country which, in fact, is involved. They are doing it. They have been instigating. What exactly is the result is a point which we have to go into and try to find out as to how best we can find out.

Madam, there is only one point which I want to say. I do not know whether this point was raised here or not. But the condition in which a scooter was found, I feel I must bring it to the notice of this House because it is a very important thing to know that a scooter was left there. The dicky of the scooter contained about 10 Kgs of high-powered plastic explosives. The scooter was taken charge of by the military bomb disposal squad. A preliminary enquiry indicated that the explosive substance consisted of RDX chemical. The scooter was placed with the explosive device on the 12th March, 1993. The detonator to the explosive was connected with the ignition switch of the scooter. According to me, this is a very important evidence. Both the igniter and the explosive are very important materials for matters of investigation. I do not know whether the hon. Members have referred to that point here.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: You have referred to this as an important evidence. It has already appeared in all the newspapers. They said that some important clues...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Madam, if the hon. Members are in a hurry, I can say about the other part also. There is a very important clue which has been found. But it will not be in the public interest to divulge what they have found. I can merely say that they have found something. And if it leads to a positive conclusion, I am sure the entire conspiracy can be unearthed. But in these matters, you can never be sure. Lead stories are there. But taking advantage of the lead, if you can reach a positive conclusion, then, of course, it is of tremendous worth. This is a matter which I thought I should bring to the notice of this House. We are at it. But I must also say at this stage that everybody seems to be very much upset about our intelligence agencies. The intelligence agencies seem to have given the information. And hon. Member Shri Afzal said that some papers seemed to have reported that the intelligence agencies have given the information to the Government of India that the Babri Masjid was going to be demolished on 6th December. I can say this without any fear of contradiction because I have consulted the Director of the IB on whether it was a fact, whether such a kind of statement which had come in the press was a fact. I can say, without any fear of contradiction, there is no truth in whatever the papers have said. It is a totally baseless kind of story. Does it mean that having got the information, still we were inactive in the matter? It is making a very serious charge against the Government. Of course, you can say anything. But if you try to question our bona fides in the matter, I think it will be unfair on the part of the hon. Member to come to this kind of an implication.

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ भीम अफजल :
ब्रह्माण सहिव, इसको आज आप
डिनाई कर रहे हैं, यह 7, 8, 9
नारीब के अखबारों में छपा है ।

[+] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

इसको उस वक्त आप को डिनाई करना
चाहिये था ।

श्री एस. बी. चव्हाण : मुसीबत
यह है कि हमने उर्दू का अखबार पढ़ा
नहीं ।

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ भीम अफजल
यह अंग्रेजी अखबारों में छपा है । आप
कहे, तो मैं कटिंग पहुंचा दूंगा । अगर
आपकी वजह से इस काबिल नहीं है कि
अंग्रेजी के अखबार ही पढ़कर आपको बता
दें कि क्या हुआ, इसमें हमारा कसूर
नहीं है ।

[+] شہزی محمد افضل عرف م۔ افضل :
یہ انگریزی اخباروں میں چھپا ہے ۔
آپ کہیں تو میں کٹنگ پہنچا
دونگا ۔ اگر آپ کی رزالت اس قابل
نہیں ہے کہ انگریزی کے اخبار ہی
پڑھکر آپکو بتا دیں کہ کیا ہوا
اس میں ہمارا قصور نہیں ہے ۔

श्री एस. बी. चव्हाण : लेकिन मैं
आपको फेक्ट बता रहा हूँ, जो फेक्ट है . . . ;

The fact of the matter is that no such information has been supplied to the Government and to suggest that having got the information, we allowed the mosque to be destroyed and just keep standing there as a kind of observer is rather unfair on the part of the hon. Member.

Madam, there is no denying the fact that our intelligence agencies have done excellent work. But they cannot defend themselves. It is a fact.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA:
Despite that excellent work, Rajiv Gandhi was killed. Despite that excellent work, Indira Gandhi was killed. Despite that excellent work, such a series of bomb blasts has taken place. We must pay our compliments to the Minister of Intelligence, particularly to the State Minister of Internal Security. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Das Gupta, you have to have a sense of proportion. When it is a matter of very important investigations in which the intelligence agencies are involved now, do we want to convey the impression that this House is not having full faith in them? What kind of a message are we doing to send to the people about those who are, in fact, engaged in this kind of a very important investigation? I would rather request hon. Members that in such an unprecedented matter which has happened in Bombay, of which we feel very sorry, we have to stand as a united nation and give a message to all those who are concerned that in such matters there is no party feeling amongst ourselves, we are all united and we would like to say that nobody can, possibly, think in terms of doing anything to the unity and the integrity of the country. If anything is being done on those lines, certainly we will stand united and give a befitting reply to all those who are involved in this kind of a mischievous propaganda. It is true that there is a disinformation campaign which has been carried on against India. And, I have no doubt in my mind that we are falling short of the kind of counter-propaganda which, in fact, is required to make matters very clear to all those people who, in fact, would like to hear the other side of the picture. Every time, we find that there is a very effective propaganda done by Pakistan and their outfits, but somehow we have not been rising to the occasion in countering the propaganda. We will have to do something in this matter.

About the intelligence agencies, I do not want to claim that there is no scope for any improvement. This incident has brought to our notice that re-orientation not only of the police forces but even of the intelligence agencies is called for. And every effort will be made to see

that they are able to meet the challenge, unfortunately if anything hereafter were to happen, to see that we rise to the occasion and we are able to book all those who, in fact, are involved in the matter. Madam, I have done.

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH: Only one point, Madam.

गृह मंत्री महोदय ने जो भी जवाब दिया है और जो बातें कहीं हैं, तो हम लोग पूरा देश इस घटना से दुखी हैं, आश्चर्यचकित हैं और सरकार की नीयत पर हमको कोई शक नहीं है, सरकार ने सज्जती से काम लिया है। इसके लिये हम उसको धन्यवाद और बधाई भी देते हैं। हमको यह आशा है कि जो कुछ भी बम्बई में हुआ है वह दूसरे नगरों में नहीं होगा और बम्बई से फिर नहीं होगा। हम यह भी चाहेंगे कि जिस तरह से हमने आपको कहा है, वैसे ही कोई भी इस तरह की घटना हो तो विपक्ष को भी विश्वास में ले करके आप आगे बढ़ें क्योंकि यह देश पक्ष या विपक्ष का नहीं है, यह देश 85 और 87 करोड़ लोगों का है जिनके नुमाइंदे हम लोग यहां पर बैठे हुये हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि सदन उठे उसके पहले हम लोग खड़े होकर इसमें जिन लोगों ने अपनी जानें गवाई हैं, इतना बड़ा मानवता के प्रति हादसा हुआ है, उनके लिये श्रद्धांजलि जरूर रखें।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I have got only one point. According to the reports, the bomb blast cases have not been referred to the CBI and the CBI has been indirectly involved in the case of investigation like the Intelligence, RAW, R and D, all these organisations. I would like to know why the case has not been directly referred to the CBI. What is the reason for it?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: In fact, I had a discussion with the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. He said, "Now

I feel quite confident that our police forces and the investigating agencies will be able to do the job. If I feel that any assistance is required and this case needs to be handed over to CBI, certainly I will write to you." "But at this stage" he said "I don't believe in that."

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, because of the reference to international help from U.S.A. I am referring to CBI.

श्री संयच सितते रजो : मैं वजीरे दाखला से सिर्फ यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अखबारों में यह आया है कि इंटर-नेशनल एजेंसीज को भी कनेक्शन में लिया जा रहा है, इंटर पोल की बात भी आई है और ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने भी आफर किया है, इस सिलसिले में मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि हकीकत क्या है और क्या इंटर पोल की सर्विसेज भी आप ले रहे हैं ?

شری سید سبط الرحمن : میں وزیر داخلہ سے صرف یہ جانتا چاہتا ہوں کہ انہار پول میں کیا ہے کہ انٹرنیشنل ایجنسیز کو بھی کوئی ٹیسٹ میں لیا جا رہا ہے۔ انٹرنیشنل کی بات بھی آئی ہے اور برٹش گورنمنٹ نے بھی آفر کیا ہے۔ اس سلسلے میں یہ جانتا چاہوں گا کہ حقیقت کیا ہے اور کیا انٹرنیشنل کی سروسز بھی آپ لے رہے ہیں۔

श्री एस.बी. चव्हाण : इससे पहले एक मरतबा यह सवाल उठा था कि न्यूयार्क के अन्दर जो हादसा हुआ उसमें और इसमें क्या ताल्लुक है और एक ही किसम के लोग इन दोनों जगह इवोल्व्ड है क्या ? इसलिये एफ.बी.आई. के साथ हमने कंटेक्ट करने की कोशिश की और उनकी तरफ से जो

जानकारी मिली है वह इस किसम की है कि अब तक उन्होंने जो जांच की है उसके अन्दर इन दोनों का कोई कनेक्शन नहीं है, यह उन्होंने कहा है लेकिन यह अब तक की मालुमात है। आगे जो होने वाला है, इवेस्टी-गेशन होने वाला है, इससे रूल आउट नहीं कर सकते हैं। उसकी फाइनल रिपोर्ट आयेगी, तब ही हम अपनी कोई राय बना सकते हैं। इंटरपोल को भी हमने कंटेक्ट किया है। उनकी सर्विसेज भी जहां तक जानकारी मिल सकती है, वे आफर करने के लिये तैयार है।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Is it true, Sir, that ten persons from U.S.A. are coming for helping him? That kind of news is there.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: If it is required, they will come, but I don't think that it is called for.....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, do you still, have something to say

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, I will only say that we appreciate the stand taken by the Prime Minister that on the question of investigation we shall have to depend on the decision and the suggestions of the Government of Maharashtra and the CBI cannot be considered to be the panacea in all the cases. It is for them to coordinate but I would like to make one point. In the case of handling these terrorist attacks it is not the U.S.A. alone but there are other countries in the world—the hon. Minister knows them—from whom we should take help in all possible ways to locate the whereabouts. That is number one. Number two is this. A large number of people have died. In all cases it has not been possible to trace out the dead because some bodies have just disappeared. It is for the Government to come to their help and relief. But I am not talking about them. What about the rehabilitation?

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

There are people who are wounded very seriously and a large number of them may be rendered totally incapacitated. Therefore, it will be necessary to give a rehabilitation package to them. I know that the Government of Maharashtra has enough financial resources. Whatever may be the resources of the Government of Maharashtra it should be the nation's concern, it should be a sig of solidarity of the country. I would like the hon. Minister to react whether they are considering floating any fund and calling upon the people, State Governments and all that to give funds. Funds should be very large. There should be a sense of solidarity. The Bombay people must feel the sense of solidarity. The country must also feel that what had happend in Bombay would have happened in Calcutta also. The people in Calcutta are giving blood today. In Calcutta today 56 people have given blood to be sent there. hon. Minister should make arrangements so that blood can be flown from Calcutta to Bombay. Therefore, I am suggesting that some sort of a programme should be taken up to orgnize solidarity and build a rehabilitation fund to give aid to the people who have been injured in a colossal way.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES: Madam, the Government of India is going to take the help of USA, UK and FBI and they have mentioned some West Asian countries also. May I know from the hon. Minister whether he will take the help of Mossad of Israel? I am told that they are expeditis in such activities ... (Interruptions)... In detecting such terrorist activities.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : महोदया, इससे संबंधित विषय जिसके बारे में मैं गृह मंत्री जी से आश्वासन चाहूंगा कि पाकिस्तान कांसुलेट मुंबई शहर में नयी जगह मांग रहा है। वह जिन्ना हाउस चाहते थे। सरकार ने उसको देने से इंकार

किया और सरकार का निर्णय उचित है। लेकिन हमें यह पता चला है कि अब पाकिस्तान को, मुंबई मंत्रालय जो है, उसके सामने जो मंत्रियों के छोटे-छोटे बंगले हैं और एयर इंडिया की बिल्डिंग और मंत्रालय के बीच का, आप तो सारी मुंबई के बारे में जानते हैं, वहां और मंत्रियों के बंगले के, बीच, मंत्रालय के सामने पाकिस्तान कांसुलेट को जगह देने का निर्णय लगभग हो रहा है। मुझे पाकिस्तान कांसुलेट को स्थान देने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। आप उनको अच्छा स्थान दें। लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि बिल्कुल मंत्रालय के सामने और सारे मंत्रियों के बीच में पाकिस्तान कांसुलेट हाउस हो, यह आगे समस्या खड़ी कर सकता है।... (व्यवधान)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I oppose this question. The Minister should not respond to this question. (Interruptions)...

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Then, why are you putting questions? (Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: That is for the Government to decide. Without finding out which is the country ... (Interruptions)... You are indirectly indicating that.... (Interruptions)...

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभापति महोदया, यह केवल पाकिस्तान ... (व्यवधान) ... पाकिस्तान ने खिलाफ साजिश की है। (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Home Minister will decide what he wants to answer and what he doesn't want to answer. I think he is capable enough to do that. ... (Interruption).

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: There are two or three points raised.... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Sometimes he wants to answer something; sometimes he doesn't want to answer something.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know the Home Minister is competent enough to decide what he wants to answer and what he doesn't want to answer. I leave it to his judgement.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Some hon. Members have raised the issue about some of the people who died but whose identity could not be established. In fact, I had requested the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to publish a list of all those who had died and also those who had, in fact, been injured. If their family members are able to come they will be able to trace them; otherwise, as the hon. Member was suggesting, we will try to find out as to how best we should be able to help them. As regards some people who seemed to have committed suicide over there, it will have to be gone into by the investigating agency. It is not that Maharashtra has got unlimited resources. The resources of every State Government are known to me. I know what the West Bengal Government's resources are, what the Maharashtra Government's resources are. On this occasion I fully agree with what the hon. Member has said—it is a question of helping the victims as a nation. As a nation we will give them whatever is required, specially to those who were, in fact, living in jhuggis. They also require some kind of assistance. I will definitely take up this issue with the Prime Minister and try to see that some kind of help is given to them. As regards those who have been permanently incapacitated they are going to be given Rs. 25,000. Those who have suffered minor injuries are going to be given Rs. 10,000 and for those who are in hospital for more than one day Rs. 5,000 has been promised by the Government of Maharashtra. If Government of Maharashtra wants any

assistance even in this, certainly I will request the Prime Minister to send some relief from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute... (Interruptions)... Please... (Interruptions)... A suggestion came from a Member of Parliament that we should come forward as a nation. It is my suggestion that why not as Members of this House we send one day's salary to them as a gesture of goodwill. We represent the States... (Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: We agree to it... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: So we all agree that we should send a day's salary... (Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Let it be put on record that Rajya Sabha Members have decided to give one day's salary to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund... (Interruptions)...

श्री राम नरेश यादव : उपसभापति महोदया, पूरा सदन इससे सहमत है। यह होना चाहिये। (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकर ब्याल सिंह : मैडम, हम लोग आपके इस निर्णय के साथ हैं। इसकी बिलकुल घोषणा की जाय। (व्यवधान)

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, this arises out of the last answer. The Home Minister must have been informed that I had raised a question regarding compensation to the people who lost their lives and those who got injured in the bomb blast. Several properties have also been affected, particularly the Malkani Mansion at Worli. Several "Jhuggis" have been affected. I would like to know what steps are being taken, what assistance is being given to provide alternate shelter and also for compensating loss of property... (Interruptions)...

श्री सतीश प्रधान : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभापति : आप भी कुछ लीजिये ताकि इकट्ठा जवाब हो जाए।

श्री सतीश प्रधान : मुझे भी मही पूछना था।

उपसभापति : बस आपको भी मही पूछना था।

We have had enough discussion and the Home Minister has given a very categorical reply ... (Interruptions)

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : वह तो बहुत छोटी बिल्डिंग है। ... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: About the point which the hon. Member Shir Bandare has raised, it is a question of Malkani mansion, certainly we can not come to their rescue. Ultimately, relief can be given to those who have become totally helpless in the matter ... (Interruptions)...

SHR MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: It is a middle-class family ... (Interruptions) ... and they have adopted the name 'Mansion' ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: If it is a middle-class family and they have adopted the name 'Mansion', I have no objection. But we cannot compensate everybody. Certainly it becomes our responsibility to see that proper relief is given to those people who have become victims of this kind of incident ... (Interruptions)...

श्री राम नरेश दादव : उपसभापति महोदया,

उपसभापति : बहुत हो गया। होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इसका जवाब दे दिया है।

श्री राम नरेश दादव : महोदया, यह बहुत जरूरी है... (व्यवधान)

जब सरकार ने उनकी बसाने की बात की है, तो उनको इस बात की गारंटी होनी चाहिये, ताकि वह लोग वहां से भाग न सकें और वहां उनको बसाया जा सके। यह व्यवस्था भी सरकार को करनी चाहिये (व्यवधान)

श्री सतीश प्रधान : महोदया... (व्यवधान) ;

उपसभापति : उन्होंने उसका जवाब दे दिया है आप बैठिए। (व्यवधान)

श्री सतीश प्रधान : मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि उनके पास बराबर इन्फार्मेशन नहीं हैं। (व्यवधान) मैंने कुछ बिल्डिंग ऐसी देखी हैं जिनको पूरा का पूरा गिराना पड़ेगा और फिर से पूरा खड़ा करना पड़ेगा। ऐसी कुछ बिल्डिंग की हालत हो गई हैं। इसलिए मैं पूछना चाह रहा था कि उन लोगों को आप क्या ऐड देने वाले हैं, किस तरह से मदद करने वाले हैं।

उपसभापति : यह तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का सवाल है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब उसका जवाब नहीं दे सकते। आपकी जो बात है वह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को कनवे कर देंगे (व्यवधान) इस समय दुःख का समय है इसमें विवाद खड़ा न करें, (व्यवधान)

श्री सतीश प्रधान : ऐसा कैसे हो सकता है ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : आप बैठिए

श्री सतीश प्रधान : ऐसा कैसे हो सकता है। (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : आप बैठ जाइये। आपका जवाब उन्होंने दे दिया है कि वह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को कनवे कर देंगे।

Home Minister, please convey the matter to the State Government ... (Interruptions)....

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I will do that ... (Interruptions)...

श्री सतीश प्रधान : यह कैसे बोल रहे है (व्यवधान) यह लोग क्यों परेशान है (व्यवधान) कैसे बोल रहे है आप (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, I will ask the Members to be very serious in this matter. Please don't make allegations against any Member Please... (Interruptions)...

Please sit down. Don't ignite the whole thing... (Interruptions)... Please... Mr. Pradhan, take your seat... (Interruptions)...

श्री कैलाश नारायण सारंग : अरे कुछ तो (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : आपको कोई शर्म दिलाने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप बैठ जाइये (व्यवधान) सतीश प्रधान साहब आप प्लीज बैठ जाइये। आप शांति में बैठ जाइये जरा (व्यवधान)

श्री सतीश प्रधान : मैं सिर्फ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : आपने जो बात कही मैं समझ गई। आप बैठिए। आपने यह कहा है कि जो बिल्डिंग जिस हालत में है कि पूरी गिरानी पड़ेगी और उनकी जगह

नयी बिल्डिंग बनानी पड़ेगी क्योंकि यह होम मिनिस्टर दिल्ली के होम मिनिस्टर है, केन्द्र होम मिनिस्टर है। आपकी जो भावनायें हैं यह सब स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को पहुंचा देंगे। और हम सब लोग आपके साथ सहमत हैं कि जिन लोगों को तकलीफ हुई है उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा राहत देने की स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को भी जरूरत है और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को भी जरूरत है। वह बात होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मानी है। अब मेम्बर्स अगर आप खड़े होना चाहते हैं तो एक मिनट खड़े हो जाइये कंडोलेंस में उसके बाद हमने यह निर्णय लिया है कि हम लोग एक दिन की सेलरी जमा करके स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को हमारी तरफ से भिजवा देंगे विद टोटल।

(इसके बाद सभी माननीय स. ब. एक मिनट तक मौन अव था में खड़े रहे।)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned till 11 o' clock tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-six minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 16th March, 1993.