

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the House will stand adjourned for lunch till 2.30 p.m.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock,
THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now there is a Report with a statement of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

REPORT AND STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

श्री राधाकिशन मालवीय (मध्य प्रदेश): मैं अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित जनजातियों के कल्याण संबंधी समिति के निम्नलिखित प्रतिवेदन और विवरण की एक-एक प्रति (अंग्रेजी तथा हिन्दी में) सभा पटल पर रखता हूँ:

- (i) कल्याण मंत्रालय—टाइबल कोऑपरेटिव मार्केटिंग डेवलपमेंट फेडरेशन आफ इंडिया लिमिटेड के कार्यकरण के संबंध में बारहवां प्रतिवेदन और उससे संबंधित कार्यवृत्त।
- (ii) नागर विमानन मंत्रालय—इंडियन एयरलाइन्स में अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लिए आरक्षण और उनके नियोजन के संबंध में समिति के दूसरे प्रतिवेदन (दसवाँ लोक सभा) के अध्याय-I में अन्तर्विष्ट सिफारिशों पर सरकार द्वारा की गई अंतिम कार्यवाही को दर्शाने वाला विवरण।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Hon. Members may kindly adhere to the time cooperate in the discussion.

STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION ON THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE DEMOLITION OF RAM JANAM BHOOMI-BABRI MASJID STRUCTURE (contd.),

श्री सैयद सिब्ते रज़ी (उत्तर प्रदेश): मिस्टर वाइस-चेयरमैन, मैं आज जब इस चर्चा में भाग लेने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ तो मेरा दिल और दिमाग गम्भीर और रंज के सागों से पूरी तरह से भरा हुआ है और अगर मैं

यह कहूँ तो गलत न होगा कि "किसी को क्या हो दिलों की शिकस्तगी की खबर कि टूटने में ये शीशे सदा नहीं रहते"। आज सुबह विपक्ष के नेता सिकन्दर बख्त साहब के तकरीर को सुना। उम्मीद थी कि मरहम का कोई साया हिन्दुस्तान के जले हुए दिल पर वह रखने की कोशिश करेंगे। उन आहों को, उन चीखों को, उन पुकारों को, उन फरियादों को, उन उठते हुए आग के लपटों को जो हिन्दुस्तान के कोने-कोने में फैली हुई थी और फैली हुई है और जिसमें न जाने कितने मासूम लोग जल रहे थे, मर रहे थे और न जाने कितने लोगों के घर जड़ रहे थे, उनकी फरियाद की तरफ भी वे तवज्जह करेंगे और उस बात की तरफ जिससे आज हमारा अन्न, हमारी आशती, हमारी दोस्ती, हमारा भाई-चारा, हिन्दुस्तान का सेकुलर कोरेक्टर और हिन्दुस्तान का फख्र से उठता हुआ माथा जो झुका है, उसका भी कोई तसकरा होगा। लेकिन बराबर उन्होंने अपनी तकरीर को आडवाणी साहब की गिरफ्तारी और जोशी साहब की गिरफ्तारी तक रखा, इसका ही तसकरा किया और अपने जज्बात का सहारा लेते हुए इस सदन में इस बात को साबित करने की कोशिश की कि अयोध्या में 6 दिसम्बर को जो कुछ भी हुआ वह एक जज्बाती मामलात का नतीजा था और किसी न किसी तरह से उन्होंने उन लोगों को जो कसूरवार थे, उन्होंने उन लोगों को जिन पर इसकी जिम्मेदारी आती थी, उनको बरीउज्जमा करने की कोशिश की। यकीनीतौर पर उन्होंने सारी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार और हमारे नेतृत्व पर डालने की कोशिश की और उन्होंने इस बात को सदन में बताने का प्रयास किया भी नहीं और एक होशियार वकील की तरह यकीनीतौर पर उनसे ऐसी उम्मीद भी नहीं की जा सकती थी। लेकिन तारीख के सफात इतनी जल्दी खत्म नहीं हो जाते। तहरीक पर लिखे हुए हरफ जो हरफ खून की स्याही से लिखे हों, खून की रोशनाई से जली-हरफ में लिखे हों उनको मिटाना बहुत ही मुश्किल होगा। मैं अपनी तकरीर को बहुत ही मुख्तसर रखना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि आपने आते ही इशारा कर दिया। मैं टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया जो 8 दिसम्बर का है उसके आखिरी पेज से आपके सामने उद्धृत करना चाहूँगा, कोट करना चाहूँगा जो उनके लीगल कोरस्पोंडेंट की तरफ से लिखा गया है। उसमें हेडिंग है—SC's contempt move against Kalyan.

"Holding that the demolition of the Babri mosque by kar sevaks in Ayodhya yesterday was in fact "desecration of the court order" the Supreme Court today decided to initiate criminal contempt of court proceedings against the former Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr.

Kalyan Singh, and five senior IAS officers for their involvement in the daylight "tragedy". The five officers are the state Home Secretary, Mr. Shekhar Aggarwal, the Tourism Secretary, Mr. Alok Singh, the Faizabad District Magistrate, Mr. U.C. Tiwari, and two senior secretaries, Mr. V.S. Saxena and Mr. Prabhat Kumar. These officers, in their separate affidavits filed in the court from time to time, had affirmed that the structure was protected and would always be protected. Mr. Kalyan Singh had also given an undertaking that the BJP Government in Uttar Pradesh was committed to safeguard the interests of all communities."

मैं बख्त जी से पूछना चाहूंगा कि आल कम्प्युनिटीज़ का इंस्ट्रुट किस तरह से सेफगार्ड किया गया, किस तरह से संविधान के परखचे उड़ाए गए, अदलिया का मज़ाक उड़ाया गया? हमारी पुरानी परम्पराओं में हमने यह कहा है कि:—

रघुकुल रीति सदा चलि आई,
प्राण जाई पर वचन न जाई।

वह वचन जो प्रधानमंत्री जी के सामने दिया गया, वह वचन जो संसद में दिया गया और वह वचन जो न्यायालय में दिया गया, उसको किस तरह से तोड़ा गया, किस तरह से उसका मज़ाक उड़ाया गया? हमारे चेयरमैन साहब ने कहा था कि गांधी जी की हत्या के बाद यह दूसरा अज़म और अन्दोहनाक वाक्या है। यकीनी तौर पर 6 दिसम्बर को गांधी जी की दोबारा हत्या हुई, गांधी जी का दोबारा खून हुआ और गांधी जी का खून उन उसूलों के साथ किया गया जिनके लिए हमारे संविधान में हमने कसम खाई थी। देश में दंगे फूटे, उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार हटाई गई, डिसमिस की गई। उसकी जो बजूहात है, वह आपको मालूम है। ऐसे अन्दोहनाक हालात में रोशनी की सिर्फ एक किरण दिखाई देती है और वह यह है कि नेता विरोधी दल इस सदन में उस हदसे की भर्त्सना करें या न करें लेकिन इस देश के तुलो अज़्र में रहने वाले हमारे हिन्दू भाईयों ने जिस तरह से मस्जिद के डिमोलिशन के ऊपर, मस्जिद के ध्वस्त किये जाने के खिलाफ निन्दा की है, उसके खिलाफ आवाज़ उठाई है, वह हमारे सेकुलर और धर्मनिरपेक्ष वातावरण के अन्दर एक उम्मीद की किरण है। उसी से हम यह आशा करते हैं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर हमारे संविधान की दोबारा रक्षा होगी और संविधान में जो हमारे स्थापित उसूल हैं उनको ले कर हम आगे बढ़ेंगे। आज जिस तरह से प्रधानमंत्री जी ने इस देश के अन्दर

एक नयी परिपाटी डालने की कोशिश की है कि हम सहमति की राजनीति से आपसी बातचीत के जरिये मसाल का हल निकालेंगे, आपसी भरोसे और विश्वास पर देश की राजनीति को चलायेंगे, इन संकल्पों को पूरा किया जाए। गरीबों के सपनों को साकार करने, देश की गिरती हुई आर्थिक स्थिति से उठा कर दुनिया में विकास के रास्ते पर बढ़ते हुए देशों के साथ ले चलने की जो हमारी संकल्पना थी, उन सारी की सारी संकल्पनाओं को 6 दिसम्बर को तोड़ देने और ध्वस्त करने की कोशिश की गई। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे वज़ीरअज़म ने ठीक कहा, बाबरी मस्जिद के गिरने के बाद हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने कहा कि बीजेपी ने कौम के साथ गहारी की है, राष्ट्र के साथ गहारी की है। हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने जिस तरह से हिन्दुत्व और हिन्दुत्व का जो वकार है, उसके सिलसिले से जिस तरह से भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने वहां पर अपनी अलाइड फोर्सिज़ जमा की उसके ऊपर" ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): I am on a point of order. There cannot be any reference to the President in this House, whether it is good or bad or otherwise.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI: I withdraw it यकीनी तौर पर आजादी के बाद हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख में वह सबसे यादा बदतरीन दिन था। बहुत जोरदार तरीके पर कहा गया कि आडवाणी साहब ने विरोधी पक्ष के नेता से इस्तीफा दे दिया। निश्चित रूप से, मैं समझता हूँ कि प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर न हो तो मैं इस बात को कहने की कोशिश करूंगा कि केवल उस पद से इस्तीफा दे देने से काम नहीं चलता। यकीनी तौर पर उनके मन में ग्लानि थी। लेकिन यदि वे आगे बढ़ते और जिस तरह से उन्होंने वादे किये थे उन वादों को पूरा करते हुए वहां पर मास और मस्जिद की संरक्षा के लिए आगे बढ़ते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जो इस वक्त परिस्थिति उभरी है वह न होती।

मुझे बताया गया है और जैसा कि मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा, वहां पर एक कंट्रोल रूम बनाया गया था। मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि वह कैसा कंट्रोल रूम था। वह किस तरह से काम कर रहा था। यह घटना होती रही, 4-5-6 घंटे तक यह सब होता रहा और कंट्रोल रूम से कोई भी इत्तिला इस तरह से नहीं पहुंच सकी कि वहां रोकथाम हो सकती।

इस तरह के फासिस्ट चेहरे उभरकर आये और उन चेहरों ने हमारे तमाम जो उसूल थे उनको डिस्टर्ब करने

* Expunged as ordered by the chair.

की कोशिश की। यह अटैक अभी बख्त साहब ने कहा कि प्रोप्लान्ड नहीं था, योजनाबद्ध नहीं था। मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह अटैक योजनाबद्ध नहीं था तो अखबारवालों के कैमरे जिस तरह से छिपे गये, तोड़े गये उसकी क्या जरूरत थी। साफ बात यह है कि आप हर उस इन्विडेंस को, हर उस गवाही को मिटा देना चाहते थे जो आपके खिलाफ बाद में बोल सके। वे तो हिन्दुस्तान के जियाले जर्नलिस्ट्स थे जो आपके उस बेरहम कुशासन के खिलाफ जो आपने 6 घंटे तक वहां फैला रखा था, उसके बावजूद भी कुछ चीजें निकालकर ले आये। मैं यह बात अपनी तरफ से नहीं कर रहा हूँ। मैं फिर 9 दिसम्बर के टाइम्स आफ इंडिया को कोट करना चाहता हूँ। उसमें हमारे जो फोटोग्राफर थे जिन्होंने प्रेस कांफ्रेंस की थी और उस प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में जो कुछ कहा उसमें से दो तीन उद्धरण मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगा।

I quote from a report dated 9.12.1992 carried by *The Times of India* under the caption "The attack was pre-planned, say lensmen".

"New Delhi, December 8: Systematic, 'pre-planned', 'pre-meditated', 'co-ordinated', were just some of the adjectives used by journalists to describe the vicious and life-threatening attacks by thousands of 'kar sevaks' on a tumultuous Sunday. The journalists, who escaped death by the skin of their teeth, held the Bharatiya Janata Party and Vishwa Hindu Parishad leadership directly responsible for the attacks."

I further quote:

"Never in their professional life had any of them encountered such a planned and murderous attack, said reporters and photographers, while scurrying for their lives, they even appealed to senior Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) leaders, they said, but to little avail.

If men were targeted women journalists were not spared either by the ruthless 'kar sevaks'. It was about 20 minutes

before the central dome of Babri Masjid fell. Ruchira Gupta of *Business India* says she went towards it, a cap on her head. Mistaking her for a Muslim, the belligerent 'kar sevaks' pounced upon her. Caught by the men, her shirt was ripped, they tried to throttle her as they repeated again and again that she was a Muslim. Says Ruchira: 'I then realised what it was to be a Muslim'."

I further quote:

"Praveen Jain, a photo-journalist with *Pioneer* recalls how the mob of 'kar sevaks' kept chasing them even as he, Pablo and Nitin tried to escape from their clutches. Armed with *trishuls*, they chased the trio until he sought shelter in an ambulance. But not for long—since the people manning it (also VHP, RSS activists) became suspicious and asked if he was a journalist. He then managed to run to the dais where the leaders sat. He pleaded with Mr. L.K. Advani and Mr. M.M. Joshi to do something but 'nobody was willing to listen'.

The harrowing incidents narrated by national and international journalists in the Press Club today are only the tip of the iceberg. Scores of journalists, including those with more serious injuries, are still in Ayodhya and Faizabad. But as one journalist said: 'The few of us who are here can tell you exactly how a fascist state functions after experiencing Ayodhya'."

यह है आपकी कहानी—

इतनी न बढ़ा पाकिये दामन की हिकायत,

दामन को जरा देख, जरा बंद कबा देख

....(व्यवधान)

शायरी की लुपत पर मत जाइये, मुल्क को ठीक करने की कोशिश कीजिए और आखिर में मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा—

Again, I quote:

“Action hailed: Even as the journalists were being targeted, the car taking Ms. Vijayaraje Scindia was stopped. Some journalists, almost in tears pleaded with her to do something. Instead, she said, उन्होंने जो किया, अच्छा किया। (whatever they did was alright), and moved off.”

ऐसी हालत अयोध्या में हुई और उसके बाद जो भी आप नाम देने की कोशिश करें, आप जो भी कहने की कोशिश करें, लेकिन हमने भरोसा किया कोर्ट के आदेशों पर। हम शुरू से कह रहे थे कि रिसीवर बिठाया जाए, लेकिन कोर्ट ने कहा कि हम दिये हुए अखबारों के स्टेटमेंट पर नहीं जायेंगे।

हम बार-बार कोर्ट के सामने यह ला रहे थे कि आडवाणी जी क्या कह रहे हैं, जोशी जी क्या कह रहे हैं, किस चीज को अयोध्या में खतरा है। लेकिन कोर्ट ने कहा, एफिडेविट दिये गये हैं, आश्वासन दिये गये हैं और किसने दिये — लोकतंत्र के अंदर मुख्य मंत्री से ज्यादा कोई जिम्मेदार हैसियत हो सकती है प्रदेश के अंदर। प्रदेश के चुने हुए मुख्य मंत्री ने, जिसने बार-बार कहा कि मैं संविधान की सुरक्षा करूंगा, जिसने बार-बार कहा कि जो मैंने शपथ ली है, उसको मैं पूरी तरह से पूरा करने की कोशिश करूंगा और उसी मुख्य मंत्री को जब टेलीफोन किया गया, तो उसने यह कहा कि अभी तो वहां कुछ हुआ ही नहीं है, ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है, कल तक कोई बात नहीं है, एडवॉइजर तक की रिपोर्ट जो है, वह यही है कि वहां कल तक कुछ नहीं हुआ था।

मैं, गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहूंगा कि तेज शंकर साहब की जो रिपोर्ट है, वह जो कोर्ट में गई, आपने उस सिलसिले में क्या किया? हमें उम्मीद थी, सारे देश को उम्मीद थी कि साधुओं और संतों की जमात ऐसा फैसला करेगी, जिससे कि ऐसा रास्ता निकलेगा जिससे कुछ तो खून स्केगा, लेकिन सब कुछ होते हुए भी देश एकदम से स्तब्ध रह गया, जो इस तरह का वाक्या हुआ।

हमारी फोर्सों की बात आई, निश्चित रूप से जब केन्द्रीय बल यहां से गये हैं, इसी सदन में वक्ता साहब, आपने किस तरह से उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठाई थी। आपके मुख्य मंत्री ने किस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री को चिट्ठी लिखी थी, आपके राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष ने किस तरह से देश की जो हमारी सुरक्षा के बल हैं, उनके ऊपर कीचड़ उछालने की कोशिश की थी और यहां तक कहा था कि उत्तर प्रदेश में केन्द्र के जो बल और जो फोर्स गई है, वह फोर्स दुश्मनों की फोर्स है, वह आक्युपेड

फोर्स है, वह फोर्स जो आक्युपेशन करने गई है, वहां पर कब्जा करने गई है।

इस तरह की बातें की गई और किस तरह से बलों की तैनाती का सवाल यहां पर उठाया गया, बलों की वापसी की बात की गई है। हमें खुशी है कि गृह मंत्री जी ने उसका मुकाबला किया और किसी तरह से भी इस बात पर तैयार नहीं हुए। लेकिन हमें अफसोस है कि जिस तरह से वहां के मैजिस्ट्रेट ने जो आग बुझाने के लिए, वहां उस हालात को कंट्रोल करने के लिए हमारे बल पहुंचे, उन्हें वापस किया।

मैं गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि जिस वक्त डोम के ऊपर और मस्जिद के ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ, तो हमारी फौजें कहां तक पहुंची, कब उनको इतिला हुई, कब वह रेस्क्यू ऑपरेशन में जाकर वहां पर जुटीं और किस प्रकार से वहां के जो हालात थे, उन्होंने उस पर काबू पाने में कामयाबी हासिल की?

मैं मानता हूँ कि जो कार सेवक — जिनके बारे में कहा जा रहा है कि वह हमारे नहीं थे, यह अपने गुनाहों को छिपाने की कोशिश है। यह पूरी तरह से वह लोग थे, जिनके पास आईडेंटिटी कार्ड थे और किसी भी एक ऐसे आदमी को वहां पहुंचने नहीं दिया जा रहा था कि जो आपके ज़ेरे-असर नहीं था या आप उसको जानते नहीं थे।

मैं आज जो स्टेट्समैन के अंदर एक आर्टिकल है, काक साहब का, जो एक जर्नलिस्ट हैं और उन्होंने किस तरह से वहां की घटनाओं की जो पूरी तरह से तफसील दी है, किस तरह से वहां पहुंचे और कितने बैरिकेड्स आपने लगाये हुए थे, कितनी चैकिंग की हुई थी, तो —

यह जो दामन पर तुम्हारे हैं लहू की छिंटें, तुमको एक उम्र गुजर जाएगी धोते-धोते।

तो इस तरह से आप देश को गुमराह करने की कोशिश न करिए। आप यह खुल कर कहिए कि हमने मस्जिद तोड़ी है और उसको छिपाने की कोशिश मत करिए। और यकीनी तौर पर इसकी आपके ऊपर जिम्मेदारी है। यह मुल्क राम और रहीम का है। यह मुल्क हिंदू और मुसलमानों का है। इस मुल्क को जातियों में और धर्मों में मत बांटिए। यकीनी तौर पर आज मुल्क में जो कुछ है, मुल्क में जो तरकी हुई है, मुल्क में जो विकास हुआ है, वह हमारा और आपका मिला हुआ है। इसलिए कुछ राजनीतिक उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए देश की जो अखंडता है, एकता है, उससे मना खेलिए।

मैं गृह मंत्री जी से सबसे पहले यह जानना चाहूंगा कि 6 दिसंबर को वहां का जो प्रशासन था, उससे आपका राबता कब हुआ, कहां हुआ और वह राबता कैसे टूटा? आपके पास क्या कोई ऐसे वीडियो टेप है जिनके जरिए

आप यह साबित कर सकें कि वहां किस तरह से बजरंग दल और बीजेपी के लोग मस्जिद की अवमानना कर रहे थे, बेहुमती कर रहे थे और उसे तोड़ रहे थे? सेंट्रल फोर्सेस वहां पर कब पहुंची? कब उनको इतला मिली और कल्याण सिंह सरकार को डिसमिस किए जाने से पहले अयोध्या के जो हालात थे, उस सिलसिले में आपसे कोई बातचीत हुई थी और जो परिस्थितियां वहां बिगड़ रही थीं, उसके बारे में आपको क्या तस्वीर बतायी गयी थी? आपने उस सरकार का जो डिसमिसल किया, वह गवर्नर कि रिपोर्ट आने के बाद किया या गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट नहीं आई थी तब भी आपने उनका डिसमिसल किया? कितने बजे प्रेसीडेंट रूल लागू किया? जो नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन काउंसिल की मीटिंग हुई थी, उसमें उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार के मुख्य मंत्री ने किस प्रकार का आश्वासन दिया था? क्या आपसे 6 दिसंबर को भी कुछ फर्दर पैर-मिलिटरी फोर्सेस मांगे जाने का रिक्वीजिशन किया गया और किया गया तो क्या आपने उन्हें वह प्रोवाइड किया था और प्रोवाइड किया था तो क्या उत्तर प्रदेश की उस समय की सरकार ने उसका इस्तेमाल किया था? प्रोबेकटिव स्पेचेल जो 6 दिसंबर से पहले शुरू हुई और 6 दिसंबर को हुई, उसके बारे में क्या आपको सूचना है कि आए लोगों को जिम्मेदार लोगों ने किस तरह से तकरीरों के जरिए वायलेट करने की, इस्तयाल देने की या मुस्तइल करने की कोशिश की? अब तक ऐसे लोग जो कि मस्जिद के डिमोलीशन में सम्मिलित हैं, उनमें से कितने लोग गिरफ्तार किए गए हैं? आखिर मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगा कि अब तक कितनी रिलीफ बंट चुकी है? कितने लोग पकड़े गए हैं पूरे हिंदुस्तान के अंदर और रीहैबिलिटेशन के बारे में आपने क्या-क्या काम किया है? कितना पैसा प्रदेश की सरकारों को रीहैबिलिटेशन के सिलसिले में, कंपेनसेशन के सिलसिले में दिए जाने का तसकिया किया है और कितना पैसा बंट चुका है? उन पार्टीज के खिलाफ आप क्या कार्यवाही करने जा रहे हैं जिसका कि तजकरा आपने इस स्टेटमेंट में दिया है? जो राजनीतिक पार्टियां दूसरों के कंधों पर रखकर बंदूक दागती हैं, जिनका कि संविधान के प्रति कोई दायित्व नहीं बनता लेकिन जिनका कि संविधान के प्रति दायित्व बनता है, जो कि इलेक्शन कमीशन के तहत रजिस्टर्ड हैं, जिनका कि इंटरज हो चुका है, उन तमाम ताकतों के खिलाफ आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं? विशेष तौर पर क्या बीजेपी को जो पार्टी है, जो कि एक राजनीतिक पार्टी है, उसके खिलाफ कोई ऐसी कार्यवाही करने जा रहे हैं जिससे कि वह आगे आने वाले चुनावों में हिस्सा नहीं ले सके और उनको यह एहसास हो सके कि देश के लोगों को बरगलाकर, धार्मिक उन्माद भड़का कर, मासूम लोगों को गोतियों का

निशाना बनवाकर, घरों को लूटकर, वैमनस्यता बढ़ाकर और धर्म और मजहब का ढोंग रचकर इस देश में राजनीतिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में आने की किसी प्रकार की इजाजत किसी भी हालत में नहीं दी जाएगी।

मैं आखिर में अपनी तकरीर खत्म करते हुए सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहूंगा कि हिंदुस्तान की तारीख में, न्यायालय की तारीख में पहली बार सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने किसी स्टेट के खिलाफ "सुमोटो" हियरिंग शुरू की हो। मैं अपनी तकरीर खत्म करने से पहले टाइम्स आफ इंडिया के 8 दिसंबर के अंक से फिर कोट करना चाहूंगा—

"SC's contempt move against Kalyan

New Delhi; December 7.

Holding that the demolition of the Babri Mosque by kar sevaks in Ayodhya yesterday was in fact 'desecration of the court order', the Supreme Court decided to initiate criminal proceedings against the former U.P. Chief Minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, and five senior IAS officers for their involvement in the daylight tragedy."

मैं यह उदाहरण पहले भी दे चुका हूं। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि एक "सुमोटो" जो वाकिया हुआ है, यह एक शर्मनाक वाकिया था जिसमें कि शाम को सुप्रीम कोर्ट खुद बैठा और मैं समझता हूं कि जो लोग इस वाकिये के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं उनको अपनी जिम्मेदारी महसूस करनी चाहिए और देश के अंदर एक ऐसा वातावरण बनाना चाहिए कि फिर से कोई हादसा अयोध्या जैसा न हो। अपने बढ़ते हुए काले हाथों को रोकिए वरन् देश को जनता आपको आगे बढ़ने नहीं देगी। हमारा सिर शर्म से झुकने नहीं दिया जाएगा। देश का तिरंगा सब के हाथों में रहेगा—हिंदुओं के हाथों में रहेगा, मुसलमानों के हाथों में रहेगा। संसद की प्रतिष्ठा बनाए रखी जाएगी। न्यायालयों का स्थान बना रहेगा। कार्यपालिका अपना काम सिर उठाकर कर सकेगी और कोई भी फासिस्ट ताकत या कोई भी ऐसी ताकत जो कानून में यकीन नहीं रखती, व्यवस्था में यकीन नहीं रखती, अदलिया में यकीन नहीं रखती, उसको हिंदुस्तान की जनता कभी माफ नहीं करेगी। वह दुनिया थी, जहां पर बंद रखी थी जुवां मेरी। खंजर, तीर, त्रिशूल, आग, बढ़ते हुए हाथ, उजड़ता हुआ सिंदूर, लुटते हुए दुपट्टे—ये सब वहां कर सकते हैं, लेकिन यहाँ आपकी जवाबदेही है। यह महसर है, यहां सुननी पड़ेगी दास्तान मेरी। शुकिया, आपने मुझे मौका दिया।

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when I rise to refer to the December 6 incident, it is with great pain that I attempt to say something on it. It brings back to our mind the events immediately after Independence. Immediately after Independence, there was communal conflagration.

What happened in the aftermath of the December 6 incident, the black Sunday, as it has been described by all the newspapers in the country? we are all Indians. Being born a Muslim cannot be a cause for death. Being born a Hindu cannot be a cause for death. After 6th December, throughout the country, in major cities and towns, there was communal conflagration. More than 2,500 people have been killed in this conflagration. For this, every Indian, every patriotic Indian, must hang his head down in shame. In free India, today, after forty years of Independence, people are being killed for the sin of being born the son of a Hindu or the son of a Muslim. This is the aspect which has to be pondered over by all the political parties in the country seriously. This is the first point I wanted to make.

Another aspect of these painful happenings was that, in some parts of the country, the law-enforcing authorities, namely, the police, failed to protect, failed to give protection to, the minorities when they were attacked. What does it show? This shows that communalism has crept into the minds of the very authorities who are supposed to protect all those who are in need of protection. This shows the extent to which the communal virus has spread. This is also another important aspect which should be noted.

I now come to the statement made by the hon. Home Minister. He has narrated the incident and put the whole blame on the BJP and its allies. Of course, many things are said correctly therein. At the same time, he failed to mention the lapses on the part of the Central Government itself. What are the lapses on the part of the Central

Government? Naturally, he did not say anything about it.

I heard the speech of my friend, Mr. Sikander Bakht. I listened to his arguments.

3.00 P.M.

And he started with his argument that the demolition of the mosque, or rather the destruction, according to him, was how? It was an aberration, there was a big mass rally, mass movement and some people went on destroying. Then he says that they could do nothing. They did not expect it. Unexpectedly the people rallied, they went to the mosque. But we all know and all the newspapers have also reported that extremely trained personnel were separately prepared for the job. Tools were already prepared. Those tools were at hand. They marched in unison according to the flag and whistles given by their leaders. Mr. Sikander Bakht was relying on newspaper report for something. I would also like to quote from newspapers to show what was the reaction of the national press about this incident on 7th of December. I would like to read only a few portions from two-three newspapers. This is what has appeared in the 'Indian Express' of 7th December, 1992. The headline of the editorial is "A Nation Betrayed" and this is what is said in this. I quote:

"Indian's principal opposition party now stands exposed as one only too willing to resort to deceit and dastardliness in its frenetic pursuit of a religious goal. India's ruling party has set a new landmark in political pusillanimity."

This is said in that. And it says:

"India would have been spared this ominous fallout of all that has gone on in the name of mandir and masjid for these past few years."

Then again it says:

"Conceivably, they may now gloat

over their present achievement, heralding it as an assertion of the hindu will...

...that their victory is India's loss, in this fratricidal game."

Again this newspaper continues:

"Much as BJP leaders disown responsibility for whatever has happened in Ayodhya, no one is naive enough to take them for their word."

That is the statement from the 'Indian Express'.

Sir, BJP declared that no MP would go for 'Kar seva', but then immediately came the announcement—I may quote:

"Before the echo of his direction died down, no less a person than Mr. L.K. Advani was constrained to announce that he was himself setting out to Ayodhya to participate in kar seva besides the party president, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi."

And finally, it is said in the editorial—I quote:

"There may not be many takers for the view that he or his party was overtaken by events and that they had not anticipated this provocative scenario even as they were giving every affidavit that was sought by the Supreme Court."

Finally, it is said:

"...Can make deceit its strategem and have the temerity to make affirmations in courts, which it has not intention or ability to implement."

This is not a statement of mine.

This is the impression of the *Indian Express*.

Then, coming to the *Hindustan Times* of 7th December, what did they say? H.K. Dua writes under the headline "National Shame":

"The responsibility for Sunday's gory

events at Ayodhya should rest among others on men like Lal Krishna Advani who chose to ride the 'rath' without knowing where it would lead him and the country to and Murli Manohar Joshi whose rigid posture could not be explained by any factors other than party compulsions and myopia.

Mr. Advani perhaps was bothered more about personal ambition to be the Prime Minister of the country than concerned about national unity. Dr. Joshi was more bothered about his second term as President of the BJP than anything else."

We have to reflect and see and we have to learn one or two lessons. The *Hindustan Times* says:

One lesson is: Don't bring politics into religion; it is difficult to delink them later on. The other is: Don't arouse passions; it is difficult to tackle them later on."

This is the advice they have given.

Now, something is said about the Congress (I) Party.

May I quote it, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You are at liberty to quote.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN:

"The Congress Party opened the locks at Ayodhya, and three years ago allowed Shilanyas to seek electoral advantage without foreseeing the consequences of what it was doing at that time. The BJP leaders, afraid of losing a constituency, chose to ride the temple 'rath' without realising that they won't be able to control the forces they were unleashing in the process.

"The nation has lost a great deal on Sunday at Ayodhya. Its national unity is indeed in danger."

These are the comments of two

national newspapers. I may quote one more thing from the *Times of India*:

"No matter how much they try to explain away the destruction of the mosque, the fact remains that in the eyes of the nation they have effectively placed themselves outside the rule of law."

Now, Sir, big arguments are being made about law, the Constitution and so many other things. Do I have a right to say that 'I don't care for the Supreme Court dictum. Religious questions cannot be decided by courts. I care a hoot for the court. And after this declaration, the next day I come out and say, "The law should be there to protect me. This is my constitutional right." What is this? One day you are saying that you are not bothered about the Constitution, you are not bothered about the court, you are not bothered about the judgement. The next day you come and argue, "I must get protection from the Constitution, from the court, etc." This is, what is called, double standard.

Sir, with humility I must say some other thing also. From the papers I can tell you that this kar seva and demolition was preplanned and done intentionally. Here I quote the *Pioneer*:

...the karsevaks were rehearsing how to bring down the 465-year old structure. The karsevaks, with ropes and rods had roped a rock pile and were tugging at it from different directions. As events turned out later, this was the very manner in which the three domes of the mosque were brought down the next day."

So, they were preparing for it. A trial was taken.

Coming to another Hindi paper, the "JANSATTA", it also says that preplanning was there. There are also pictures of this. The pictures were published in the Press. It says:

"Selected cadres of the RSS were being methodically given

training for the job in Ram Katha Kunj...

"The planning for demolition was divided into five distinct parts.

"For the job there were separate groups of karsevaks who climbed up the disputed structure from the north and south. An RSS volunteer in uniform, standing on the watch tower just in front of the structure was directing them. He commanded the karsevaks methodically with whistle and flag in hand."

So, what was done there? You say, "I do not know anything. Only some enthusiastic people went there and did it." No, Sir. It has been proved beyond doubt that you had planned for it. You had trained them for it. The implements were ready. Everything was done as per the plan.

Then, may I quote the "ORGANISER" which Mr. Sikander Bakht will be reading always? I shall read it with your permission. In the "ORGANISER" of the 13th of December a long report is there. I am just reading it with your permission. First I will read this and then I will come to something else. I quote:

"The Sangh parivar played its cards well in this battle of wits with the Prime Minister. The Parivar realised that Shri Rao's game-plan was to put the Parivar in confrontation with the courts which it detested. The Parivar's commitment to nationalism and institutions of parliamentary democracy being what it is, it was decided after prolonged discussions with various organisations of the Parivar to devise a strategy to confront the Centre while avoiding a clash with the judiciary. It was a part of this strategy that the UP

Government filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court assuring the latter that the Government would not allow violation of the court orders. The game-plan was not to allow the Centre to pre-empt the arrival of karsevaks at Ayodhya by dismissing the UP Government and deploying paramilitary forces in and around Ayodhya."

Sir, this is an official organ of the RSS. They say that they had planned everything after a full discussion, that Mr. Kalyan Singh's affidavit was to cheat the Centre and that with a purpose they had filed the affidavit to see that paramilitary forces from the Centre should not reach there so that they could complete their job. Therefore, Sir, it was calculated.....

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): He says that it is an aberration.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: Yes, Yes. My point is that this is a false claim.

I can understand that they are in a very difficult situation. Therefore, they want to explain away these things. Therefore, they have to resort to something. They must say something. But this is their own official paper. They themselves commit that they had planned it, that they had discussed it, and that they had filed the affidavit purposely to cheat, to hoodwink, the Government at the Centre to see that the Centre should not send any forces to protect the mosque so that their game-plan could be implemented.

Who decided all these things? The BJP leaders may claim that they had decided it. I have no objection to it because they are its leaders. But the point is that the RSS *Dharam Sansad* which was held on October 30 and 31, decided to do the *kar seva* on the 6th of December. The RSS is an organisation which decides everything on this question. They had decided to have it done on that day. Mr. Chavan and our Prime Minister were engaged in prolonged discussions. They

were relying on them very much. Our Home Minister has gone on record on 4th of December saying: 'I have nothing to disbelieve the U.P. Government's affidavit tiled before the Supreme Court.' And while stating this he said that he had nothing to disbelieve the U.P. Government. But the decision of the RSS was to have *Kar Seva* on 6th of December. They had taken all steps to see that this ghastly deed is performed. They had purposely planned to see that the Government at the Centre does not send the forces there so that they could commit the crime.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please conclude.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: I have only started and my time is up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Your time was 24 minutes. You have so far completed 20 minutes.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: The point which I was making was that the UP Government had given an undertaking to the Supreme Court. Our Central Government thought they would abide by it. But they had forgotten to take into consideration the intention of the RSS. I can say many things about the failure of the Central Government. However we told the Government that they had decided to have *Kar Seva* again, that their plan was to disrupt the Indian unity and that therefore, they would have to take some steps.

On 23rd November again, the NIC met. A unanimous Resolution was passed and it authorised the Prime Minister to take appropriate action. As I just now told you, till 4th something could have been done. Prime Minister was relying on them saying he was believing them. Now he has to say that his belief has been disproved. And what has happened? The point that I want to make is that the nation as a whole, except the BJP, was with you to protect national unity. That is why we stood by the Prime Minister and

asked him to take any steps he wanted to see that this conflagration did not come. He failed miserably. What is the fall-out of it? Within the country 2,500 people have been killed. Externally the big loss is that India, one of the non-aligned nations, having democracy in the country, having secularism in the country, where several millions of people co-existed and worked together, has shattered that image. That is a big loss. Now, in every country they say that India is a country where religious tolerance does not exist. We have forfeited overnight the status we had gained over a long period of time. It is now the duty of the Government to regain that position.

Before I conclude, I wish to emphasise the point that the job which you have to undertake is to control the communal conflagration which has been spread or is being spread in many ways. My friend, L.K. Advani Ji, and Sikander Bakht Ji have been preaching a kind of secularism which we do not understand. They only understand the kind of a secularism preached by Guru Ji Golwalkar. I would quote to you their definition explained by Guru Ji Golwalkar in a book which is Bible for the RSS: In that famous book he says:

"We or our nationhood defined" book was written by Golwalkarji. In Chapter 5, on page 47 it is said like this and I quote:

"There are only two courses open to the foreign elements, either the merge themselves in the national race and adopt its culture, or to live at its mercy so long as the national race may allow them to do so and to quit the country at the sweet will of the national race. That is the only sound view on the minorities problem. That is the only logical and correct solution."

I hope that many of the Members here might have read it. The solution suggested was "quit". From the same

page, I wish to quote a few more lines:

"From this standpoint, sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations, the foreign races in Hindusthan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race; and may stay in the country."

This is the condition. This is the Bible on which the RSS is working. On the basis of this, theories are being talked of. We don't understand this type of secularism. Our Constitution was framed by our forefathers keeping in view the multi-religious groups like Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc. All kinds of religious people are here. They wanted to keep India united. Now what is being talked of? They do not want India as a nation. The RSS philosophy is that the Muslims should quit or they must become Hindus. This is the theory which is being practised. That is the kind of secularism which they are preaching to us. Finally I would tell the Government of India:

You missed the boat for a long time. You are mingling politics with religion. You want to make capital out of religion during the elections. That is the policy which is being pursued in Kerala. Finally, I appeal to the Government of India that they should uphold secularism and the country's unity. For that purpose, we from our side are ready to cooperate with anybody who wants to safeguard the country's unity and integrity. Even at the risk of our lives, we will stand to protect the lives of the minority people as well as the majority. Thank you.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA
(Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the protection of Babri Masjid was not merely a question of protection of a mosque but its protection had become a symbol of the might of the Indian State to defend the Constitution of India, its basic feature of secularism, to preserve the rule of law, to uphold the dignity of the judicial organ of the State. This has not happened. The head of every Indian hangs in shame because it is an affront to the Indian State. Every Indian, whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Christian is an integral part of the Indian State. His pride as a Indian depends upon the might of the Indian State. If the Indian State goes under, it is his pride as an Indian which goes under. Sir, the time has come when we must get rid of the Constitutional myth that the Union is dependent upon the States for the discharge of its functions and duties to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of India, that the Union is dependent upon the States to uphold the authority of the federal organs of the State like the Supreme Court and that the Union is dependent upon the States for the implementation of the federal laws of the Union made by Parliament.

Sir, in India's history after Independence, two Prime Ministers were betrayed in two different circumstances and at two different times in placing faith and confidence at wrong places and in wrong people. In the 1950s, Jawaharlal Nehru placed his trust and faith in the good intentions of the Chinese for the protection of the frontiers of India. And what happened? His faith turned out to be an ill-placed one. But can we blame Jawaharlal Nehru? He did his best. It was his correct judgment that if India had to maintain peace, India must also strive to build up good relations with its neighbours. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Gopalsamy, your turn will come and you can speak then.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: That was his judgment. The nation did not blame him. The nation rallied behind him. It stood behind him and reposed full faith and confidence in the measures which he took after. India was invaded.

Once again, for the second time, the Prime Minister of India, when India was at the crossroads of history, placed his faith and confidence, in good faith, in the assurances and the undertakings of the principal Opposition party in this country which, no Prime Minister can say, is an unprincipled party. The undertakings and assurances were given on the floor of Parliament by no less a person than the Leader of the Opposition himself. The assurances and the undertakings were given to the highest judicial organ of the State. The assurances and the undertakings were given by the highest functionaries and the leaders of the BJP to no less a person than the Prime Minister himself. In these circumstances, what was the option open to the Prime Minister if he did not but accept the words and the undertakings given by the leaders of the BJP? It turned out to be an ill-placed faith; it turned out to be an act of, using the phrase of the Prime Minister himself, perfidy. Can we blame the Prime Minister? Sir, just as in 1962, the nation rallied behind Jawaharlal Nehru despite the fact that he had been betrayed, today, the demand of history, when India is standing at the crossroads of history, is that the entire nation should rally behind the Prime Minister because the need of the hour is stability, order, peace and tranquillity in the country. We are not here today to trip each other up politically. We are not here today to score political points against each other. The situation is too grim to indulge in this pastime of political exercise. The whole nation is awaiting to see the judgment which will emanate from the portals of Parliament. What is the voice and what is the message which goes to the people of India at this juncture? The voice which has to go from the portals of

Parliament to the people of India has to be the voice of collectiveness, the voice of harmony, the voice of peace, the voice of tranquillity, the voice of unity of all secular forces to fight all those communal forces which are out to destroy the unity and integrity of the nation. I am beholden to the various hon. parties on this side. Despite their differences on various issues with regard to the handling of the Ayodhya issue, they have stood up at least with the Government on one issue and that is that the first and foremost requirement of the day is the unity of the country, the peace, harmony, tranquillity and stability at the Centre. Sir, I submit that the Leader of the Opposition had said that the Prime Minister ought to have delinked, as was demanded by Mr. Advani, the building of the temple on 2.77 acres of land from the question of dispute regarding the mosque. Was it in the hands of the Prime Minister, I would like to say, to delink the two issues? The construction of the temple on 2.77 acres of land had not been stopped by the Centre. It had been stopped by the Supreme Court. If there could be delinking it could be done only by the Supreme Court and not by the Prime Minister. This could be a solution but it was up to the judiciary to decide.

So far as the Centre was concerned, it was only confronted with an order made by the Supreme Court that there shall be no construction on the 2.77 acres of land till the writ petition is decided. I must say with regret. *****I would not equally...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I don't think we should allow any reflection to be cast on the judiciary. (Interruptions).

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am submitting, Sir, that there is no reflection upon the judge. (Interruptions). It does not cast any reflection. It is a comment on the delayed judgement. Commentary on the judgment can be made subsequently at any time.

*Extemporized as ordered by the Chair.

This is just a commentary. I am respectfully submitting that there is no reflection. This is only a commentary. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Bhatia, you know pretty well that there should not be any commentary. (Interruptions) it is a usual practice that we don't make any commentary. (Interruptions) You are a very senior Member and a lawyer also. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, what he said was even more serious. He was not merely casting reflection on the judge but on the entire High Court. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Sir, can this House dictate to the High Court or any court to give their verdict on such and such date?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): No. It cannot do that. What I am saying is, whatever you have spoken, which is not admissible, will be removed from the record.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, I am only respectfully submitting(Interruptions)..... My respectful submission before you is ... (Interruption)... In the very beginning I have said that it is the constitutional duty of the Centre to uphold the authority of the judicial organs of the State. That is my respect for the judiciary. If that is my respect for the judiciary, I am casting no aspersions but only making my comments as a citizen that things would have probably taken a different shape had the judgment been delivered before the 11th of December. This is all I am saying and I have a right to say that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Then go to the next point(Interruption)..... I have already ruled. I have already ruled.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: The hon. Leader of the Opposition has challenged the dissolution of the three State

Assemblies. Let us not forget one thing that the demolition of this mosque created a ground swell of resentment against the BJP throughout the country, from the north to the south, from the east to the west. It created a strong feeling of alienation among the people against the BJP.

A chasm was created between the feeling that the BJP Governments have the right to rule this country and the feeling of the people who were plunged into chaos anarchy on account of the destruction of the Babri Masjid. When the whole country went on fire, when the country was plunged into chaos and anarchy because of this particular action actuated by the actions of the BJP, when there was so much resentment created in the minds of the people of this country, was this not a situation which called for invocation of Article 356 of the Constitution? My answer, Sir, is yes, and in this regard I shall like to draw the attention of the hon. House to only a few lines of the Supreme Court Judgment. This is a famous judgment in *The State of Rajasthan vs. The Union of India*, when nine State Assemblies were dissolved or were sought to be dissolved by the Janata Government and the dissolution was challenged before the Supreme Court. Nine Judge of the Supreme Court heard this case and dismissed the case filed by the State Governments against the Union of India. And this is what the majority Judgement said—I read only a few lines:

“It is axiomatic that no Government can function efficiently and effectively in accordance with the Constitution in a democratic set-up unless it enjoys the goodwill and support of the people. Where there is a wall of estrangement which divides the Government from the people and there is resentment and antipathy in the hearts of the people against the Government, it is not at all unlikely that it may lead to instability and even the Administration may be paralysed.

Whether the situation is fraught with such consequences or not is entirely a matter of political judgment for the Executive branch of the Government.”

Sir, may I ask whether the demolition of this mosque....(Interruption)...

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): Are they holding the elections, Sir? ... (Interruptions)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Whatever the Member wants to speak, he can speak. you cannot contain his right ... (Interruptions).... Dr. Jain, you take your seat.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: Will my hon. friend yield for a moment; I request him to yield for a moment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Bhatia, are you yielding?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: No, I am not yielding. I am not yielding at all. I should not be interrupted. They should have the patience to hear. ... (Interruptions).... Can they deny that the whole country was choked with resentment and ill-will against the BJP on account of the destruction of the mosque? Can they deny that there is a feeling of strong estrangement between the people and the BJP on account of the destructive actions of the BJP which are going to lead the country to total chaos and anarchy? If this is the feeling among the people they have no moral authority to continue. But they decided to stick on to the chairs. In these circumstances, there is no alternative for the Government but to dismiss these Governments and call upon the BJP to go to the people and find out whether they have their support or not. ... (Interruptions).... If they think that the people are with them on the destruction of the mosque, then why are they afraid of going to the people; The Government has given them a chance to go to the people. ... (Interruptions).... The Assemblies have been dissolved. It is

only that their Governments have been dismissed. They will have a right to go to the people; they will have the right to tell the people, "We have done the right thing by destroying the mosque." The people have got the right to give the final verdict. But, what is the position today? The position today is that the people of this country are gripped with strong repulsive emotions against the BJP. In these circumstances, no BJP Government has got the moral authority to rule any part of India.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI (Uttar Pradesh): Will the hon. Member read the minority judgment also; ...*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I don't read minority judgment. That is not the law. ...*(Interruptions)*....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly don't disturb him when he speaks. ...*(Interruptions)*....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, if we are going to disturb each other ...*(Interruptions)*....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): I have already told them not to disturb him.....*(Interruptions)*..... Bhatiaji, you have to conclude now.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, attacks have been made on the hon. Prime Minister. Let us analyse what options were open to the Prime Minister. The first option which was open to the Prime Minister was that the U.P. Government should be dismissed and no *kar sevaks* should be allowed to assemble at that particular spot. Would that action have been constitutional at that point of time? The answer has to be, 'No'. The dismissal of the U.P. Government could not possibly be justified just because the *kar sevaks* were going to assemble at Ayodhya. What was the second option which was open to the Prime Minister? The second option which was open to the

Prime Minister was that he should rely upon the constitutional principle and that is for upholding and preserving the constitution of India, for upholding the rule of law, for upholding the authority of the highest judicial organ of the State, for seeing that the writ of the Union runs on every foot of the Indian soil. For that purpose the only possibility that could arise would have been a direct confrontation between the BJP and the rest of the country, including the Government and this would have been at a particular time when the negotiations for a peaceful settlement were going on. Would that have been the wise course for the Prime Minister to enter into confrontation with the BJP at that particular time? The answer has to be, 'No'. The third option which was open to the Prime Minister was that the Prime Minister should repose faith in the undertaking which was given by the Leader of the Opposition on the floor of the Parliament, in the undertaking which was given before the highest judicial organ of the State and the assurances and undertakings which were given to him by the various leaders of the BJP itself. He adopted the third option. Did he go wrong? Would you have adopted any other option but this particular option? I put straight this question to you. Could you say with all sincerity that you would not have adopted this option? If he adopted this option and in the hind-sight it appears that he was betrayed, can blame him? What was the fourth option? The fourth option was open only on the sixth of December when the masjid was demolished. What was it? At that particular point of time there should have been direct firing killing thousands of people and also resulting in deaths of thousands of people in the large stampede which would have followed. Would any sane Government follow that option? Would any sane Government order firing on the *Kar Sevaks* which would result in the deaths of thousands of those frenzied religious people who had collected there and

which would also result in the deaths of thousands of people through stampede? Was that the option? was that a sane option? If that was not the option then the only option which was available to the Prime Minister was that he should accept the word and the assurance and the undertaking which was given by the BJP and he accepted that option and he followed that option and for that we want to pillory the Prime Minister. Having said that I would like to draw the attention of the hon. House to paragraph 17. Paragraph 17 says, the Central Government will stand up and face these forces. I shall like to ask the hon. Home Minister in what manner we propose to stand up against the forces of communalism. If we propose to stand up against the forces of communalism by holding public rallies, by conducting public meetings, by conducting public harmony yatras, then we are forgetting the history of India. Sir, the fire of religiosity cannot be fought with the cold logic of secularism the cultural heritage of India. You can fight the force of communalism only with the might of the Indian State, only with all the national strength and for that we have to take up some concrete steps. It will not do if we should say that we shall fight these communal forces by putting all the secular forces together and put up a joint front or a united front against the communal forces. Communalism is communalism whether it is Hindu communalism or Muslim communalism. I will suggest four steps. Will the hon. Home Minister consider these suggestions that I wish to make? One is: under section the Representation of the People Act, it is provided that if any candidate seeks to obtain votes by making an appeal on religious it will be a corrupt practice. But when the whole party indulges in this exercise we call it democracy. This is like Bernard shaw's saying that if you kill one person it is murder, but if you kill crores of them at the beat of drums in the battle-field, it is heroism. The time has come when we

should provide by amendment in the Representation of the People Act that if any political party seeks to make an appeal to the religious sentiments of the people then all its candidates, whether they are party to that appeal or they are not party to that appeal, shall stand disqualified. Secondly, Sir, every Member of Parliament takes an oath and under that oath, he says, "I shall uphold the Constitution of India." It is a travesty of this oath that inside the house, a Member of Parliament takes an oath to preserve the Constitution and outside the Parliament, he tampers with the Constitution of India itself. A situation has come when the Constitution should be amended to provide that if any Member of Parliament violates the oath which he took when he assumed his seat in Parliament, he shall stand disqualified. Thirdly, Sir, I say that we should seriously consider whether it is not time we made administrative accountability for these disturbances, these riots, this breakdown of administrative machinery, a penal law. What happens these days? We have become such a soft State that riots take place and all that follows is transfer of a few officials. There has to be accountability, if India has to survive, of these riots, these disturbances, and these challenges to our existence-accountability at every level, accountability at political level, accountability at administrative level. All these things have to come in if India has to survive.

Sir, I would not like to say anything more except this. I wish to tell the hon. Member on this side, despite all the interruptions that were there, that I have had no desire to score any political point. My heart is shaken with the disturbances which have taken place in the country. We have reached a stage when we have to choose a path, either India survives as a secular state or India finishes itself because there cannot be a second partition of India and those who harbour any such feelings that India belongs only to the Hindus, they must come to realise

that India belongs to all Indians who opted for India in 1947. It belongs to the Muslims who chose to stay in India. It belongs to the Sikhs. It belongs to the Christians. It belongs to the Hindus. You cannot throw them into the Arabian Sea or the Gulf of Bengal. You cannot push them into Bangladesh or Pakistan. They are your brethren. They are your equal citizens. The Constitution has treated them as equal citizens, has guaranteed them equal Constitutional rights. Let us realise that there is no other way out for India to survive except to continue to build up her entire edifice on that basic feature of secularism because the alternative to secularism is nothing but chaos. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Shri Yashwant Sinha. Your time is 20 minutes.

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH (BIHAR): It can go up to 40 minutes.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (BIHAR): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Bhatia said just now and I begin from there that this is not an occasion for petty politicking. It is not an occasion for scoring points against each other. If we start trading petty charges, then we will be doing further disservice and add to the process of destruction which has already been started in this country on the 6th of December. This, to my mind, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is an occasion for introspection, for national introspection, for introspection by all sections, by all parties in this House, Introspection by the people at large, introspection by the intellectuals, introspection by the religious groups. If, on this occasion, after this catharsis, we do not do this introspection, then there is no way we can take the country forward from the point it has already reached or take it backward from the brink.

What has happened is that the very social contract which is the basis of our society, a basis which was not created overnight, a basis which was not created

some years ago, a basis which was not created some decades ago, but a social contract which was created centuries ago in this society, a social contract which was handed down by our forebears, generation after generation, it is that social contract which is under assault today and, therefore, we all have to reflect upon it. We all have to ponder over it and we all have to put our heads together and I include my friends in the BJP when I say 'we'. We all have to put our heads together to find out what the solution is and where do we go from here.

I would like to make it very clear even to the Government, because I find in the Home Minister's statement that he has continuously referred to it as the Ram Jhanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure. At some point of time, in another page in his statement, he has referred to it as the disputed structure. The history, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that this was a mosque until the 6th of December. It was the Babri Masjid, the Babri Mosque. Nobody can be allowed to play around with history, however ignoble, however shameful that chapter of History may be. The fact remains that a General of Babur, called Baqui, had built that mosque on that spot and since that day, it has been known as the Babri Masjid, until the 6th of December. What was destroyed was not a disputed structure because we cannot create a dispute about this Parliament building if its three domes are demolished some day, which adorn this building. This Parliament building will not become a disputed structure because somebody raises a dispute. Even the Government of India is not clear about it and that is why I am making this point and saying that it was the Babri Masjid which was destroyed on the 6th of December and the Babri Masjid was a symbol of all this nation stood for and it is that symbol which was destroyed and that is why if we all say that it is a matter of national shame, that we hang our heads in shame, that we, as Indians, have been belittled, that our stature has been reduced

internationally, that we cannot hold our heads high today, it is because that symbol has been destroyed. That symbol, which is unique and which typifies everything that is liberal, everything that is great, everything that is desirable in our society, has been destroyed.

Now, there is a dispute. I do not want to go into the history of it. Every one is aware of it. But a dispute started. Mistakes were made. And when we make mistakes here, then we suffer until death, but the succeeding generations suffer even more. We are paying for the mistakes which were made in the past. Some future generations may, perhaps, pay for the mistakes that we might be making today. But the fact remains that a dispute was raised. Why was that dispute raised? what was the reason behind that dispute? Our friends on this side would like us to believe that this question is connected with our national honour. It is a very dangerous thought because sixty years ago, in the middle of Europe, a similar movement had started.

4.00 P.M.

The concept of *Volk* became synonymous with a particular stock, the Aryan stock. That stock, that German stock had to be purified, a historical mistake had to be corrected. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when we start correcting the mistakes of history, then there is no end to it. And perdition, total destruction, complete calamity is the only outcome of such a correction of a historical fact.

Sir, I have great regard for the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Sikander Bakht. I hold him personally in the greatest esteem. There are many Members in that party whom I personally hold in great esteem. And even today I will say that they are as reasonable, as intelligent, as patriotic as anyone of us. I would like to ask them: What is your philosophy? What is it that you are trying to do? It is said that Fascism and Nazism, the so-called philosophies were mosaics of ancient prejudices, put together without

regard for truth or consistency, to appeal not to common purpose, not to national good, not to the good of the whole population, but to common fears and hate. Is it not what you are doing? I am asking you in all humility. Please reflect upon it. Are we promoting good will in our society, are we promoting brotherhood, are we promoting amity, are we promoting harmony, are we promoting peace? Or, by that dangerous philosophy which you have come to accept, are we promoting prejudices, are we promoting hate, are we promoting cants of all kinds, are we promoting disharmony? Please reflect upon it because, unless you reflect, there are going to be problems, there are going to be situations which we will not be able to handle. And don't be taken in by the popularity. I heard from the BJP Members a challenge when Mr. Bhatia was speaking. They were saying, "all right, let us go to the people." Yes, some day or the other, you will go to the people. There is no way in our democracy; you cannot afford not to go to the people. You will have to go to the people. You might even win. I am not ruling out that possibility. You might even form the Government in Delhi. I am not even ruling out that possibility. But is that the only aim? Could that be the only aim of any political party? Even Nazism and Fascism, at that moment of time, were intensely popular movements. They had the fanatical support of the people of those countries. The Italians and the Germans were blindly behind them. The word of Hitler was law, was the very essence of truth, faith and trust. You can create that kind of euphoria. You can create that kind of frenzy. It is possible because you are playing with emotions. But is that the game that you want to play in this country? No. Therefore, let us not be too much taken in by how many votes we have secured, what popularity we have achieved at a given point of time because it is these melancholic examples of such hysteria and frenzy which have often expelled

from the politics of a country intelligence, morality and other virtues which politics must have if the country has to go forward. Let us not be pushed into those dark ages again. And Aristotle had said, and I would like to repeat specially for the Leader of the Opposition, that man, when separated from law and justice, is the worst of all animals.

What happened on the 6th of December At Ayodhya—even if their version is to be believed—was that the man became separated from law and justice and from morality, and that is why they behaved in that animal fashion in pulling down that structure, that mosque. And whether the Prime Minister believes the BJP or its leaders any more or not, whether the rest of us tend to believe them or not, I would like to say to the Leader of the Opposition that if he says that they are sorry about it, if he says they had not planned it, if he says that it happened despite their best efforts and the best efforts of their leaders, let us for a moment pause and put our trust in them that it happened without their consent or it happened despite them. What does it signify? It signifies that there are elements within them, there are people with them whom they are not able to discipline, whom they are not able to control, and if there are such people, then tomorrow what is going to happen if they were put in a more responsible position? Then would they turn round and say that despite their best efforts, it happened, or despite the best efforts of their leaders it happened? You know of the ancient saying that you can ride a tiger but you don't know how to dismount. This is what you have done. Therefore, there is every reason for you to ponder. The rest of us will ponder. The rest of us will adopt our course of action; but you have to ponder, and I am appealing to you to please see the implications of what has happened. But I would like to say one thing very clearly and that is that we were never in doubt about their intentions. In fact, you will recall that in the week preceding the 6th

of December, there was in this House a debate on the statement of the Home Minister, on the 3rd and the 4th. The Home Minister had given his reply on the 4th—there was a discussion on the 3rd. A very senior Member of my party, Mr. Jaiswal, is sitting here. He is not only a senior Member, he is not only very well informed, but he comes from that area, and if nobody else knows, Mr. Jaiswal knows, and I have a transcript here of what Mr. Jaiswal said that day, and I am just reading it for you and for the House, because it is something which just went unnoticed. He said:

“उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार यह कह रही है कि हमारे जितने नेता हैं, वे प्रचार में लग गए हैं कि निर्माण-कार्य नहीं होगा लेकिन जिस तरह के उनके बोल हैं और जो उनका रवैया है, उसमें भारत सरकार ही विश्वास कर सकती है, कोई दूसरा आदमी नहीं करेगा जिसमें अक्ल है।”

यह कहा जायसवाल जी ने। उसके बाद उन्होंने कहा कि:—

“वे कहते कुछ हैं, करते कुछ हैं। वे वही करेंगे जो उनके यहां तय हो चुका है। उनकी बात को देखते हुए आपकी तैयारी क्या है? आपने क्या तैयारी कर ली है, यह मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ।”

and inpage after page through that transcript, he had warned the Government. ‘Don’t depend on them. Their intentions may not be honourable’. And he said: ‘You cannot depend upon them; you cannot trust them.’ Mr. Jacob, hon. Minister of State for Home was sitting at that time and he was not even listening, and Mr. Jain pointed out that Mr. Jacob was not listening.

Mr. Jaiswal said: “यदि वह नहीं सुन रहे हैं तो उनकी बदकिस्मती है और देश की बदकिस्मती है।” देश की आज जो बदकिस्मती हुई, वह आप भी जान रहे हैं और मैं भी जान रहा हूँ।

Mr. Vice-Chairman, when Mr. Jaiswal was warning the Home Minister that the Babri Masjid, that the structure, might be in danger, what did the Minister of State for Home, Mr. Jacob, say? He gets up, the Minister of State, Mr. Jacob, gets up and says: ‘Please make a new point’. He says: ‘Please make a new point’.

Now, we have great faith in Parliament. We were very keen that a Resolution should be passed, condemning the demolition of the Mosque and in regard to the riots which were taking place. We all felt that if something goes forth from this Parliament, the people of the country were going to be favourably impressed. But is it the way Parliamentary debates should be treated? is it the way in which serious points made by senior Members in this House should be treated?

Again, Sir, can anybody in the Government stand up today and say that they did not know? Apart from their intelligence agencies, the House had warned them. Can they say that they did not know? Can they say that they were not forewarned? it does not lie in their mouth, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to take that defence at all.

Now, what about the BJP? They are, perhaps, confused in their minds. What was their first reaction? Their first reaction was 'whatever had happened, had happened despite us'. Their reaction was 'We were trying our best to prevent it, but they did not listen to us about 2,000 or 5,000 kar sevaks mounted the assault and, therefore, it had happened'. But then, Mr. Advani changed the track. What did Mr. Advani say later on? He said that it was part of a movement for demolition. This is what he said. He owned up. He said that it was a movement.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: (Gujarat): He said: 'part of a movement'.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Even Mr. Sikander Bakht, when he was speaking earlier on, was saying that this was a mass movement. Mass movement for the demolition of the Mosque? Mass movement for what? Now, what is their third alternative? Yesterday, in the other House, and, today, in this House, they have said that they are sorry. At

one moment, they say that they are sorry. At another moment, they say that they take the credit for what happened. They are confused. They do not know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, what line they should take. May be, over a period of time, some line would emerge. But at the moment, they are confused.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: They are not confused. We are confused about them.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): The Government is confused.

AN HON. MEMBER: Everybody is confused.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am confused because I believe in doing, whatever one does, honestly. I do not believe in double speak. I do not believe in duplicity. I do not believe in double standards. But if they believe in double standards, I am confused then because, if you say one thing in one breath and another thing in another breath, in all humility, I say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will be confused. Your intentions are not made clear by your words.

The point that I am making in this. We knew about it. We warned them about it. But what can one say about this Government? They were warned. I can only feel sorry. They had all the information. They had everything. They were warned by Parliament. They were warned by the National Integration Council. They were warned by their intelligence agencies. They were warned by everybody that things might go out of control. But the Government was myopic, it was only considering all the time as to what was going to happen to the 2.77 acres of land, whether they would do kar seva with instruments, without instruments, with their hands, whether they would wash or they would chisel or they would clean. The Government of India was only

considering what they would do in regard to the 2.77 acres of land. But did they bother as to what was going to happen to the Babri Masjid? Did they bother about it?

I would, in this connection, refer to the statement made by the Home Minister even today, on 18th December, in this House, twelve days after this had taken place. He says that they had written to the State Government, requesting them to undertake a comprehensive review of the security plan. 'However, the statement says—this suggestion was not accepted by the State Government'. The State Government did not accept the suggestion of the Government of India to review the security plan for the Babri Masjid. The Government of India says that the State Government did not accept its suggestion. This means, they were not going to review the security plan. The inner cordon security was that of the CRPF. We all know that. The outer cordon was that of the local armed police, the PAC. They were not reviewing, nobody from the Government of India was reviewing, nothing was being done and still the Home Minister told us on Friday in ringing terms in this House that "We are committed to upholding the Constitution and we shall uphold the Constitution." Did the Home Minister say, "We are committed to upholding the Constitution provided the Uttar Pradesh Government supported us? Did the Home Minister say, "We shall uphold the Constitution provided we got the cooperation of the Uttar Pradesh Government?" There have been occasions in this House when the Home Minister has made statements and said, "I am saying this on the basis of the information that I have received from the State Government. So, we do not know, we are not responsible for the truth or otherwise of these statements." But did he say that about Babri Masjid? I am asking Mr. Bhatia because he is a constitutional lawyer: will it be enough for the Central

Government to stand up and say that they gave this assurance to Parliament only on the basis of the assurance of the U.P. Government and that today all the fault lies with the U.P. Government, all the fault lies with the BJP, all the fault is with the Courts? It is a very strange logic that I have heard in this House. Again, there is a commonality between them and the BJP when Mr. Sikander Bakht was saying that if the Allahabad High Court had given its judgement before the 6th, Babri Masjid would not have been demolished. Mr. Bhatia was saying in a language which could have been perhaps milder that*.

But then, can we abdicate our responsibility and put the blame on the judiciary? We must be out of our mind totally to bring the judiciary into this and blame them for all that has happened.

SHRI SUSHIL KUMAR
SAMBHAJIRAO SHINDE
(Maharashtra): I am on a point of order. The hon. Member is referring to Mr. Bhatia's speech, but when Mr. Bhatia was mentioning that, you have specifically said that if there is any reference about the High Court, that would be struck off. You have given this order from the dais that there should not be any such reference. Now can there be a reference to the High Court by any other Member? That is my point.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:
That is not a point of order, that is a point of disorder. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): When Shri Jaipal Reddy raised the point... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, when I spoke, there was intervention and you said that those words will not go on record.

Those words cannot be a subject of reply or comment by an hon. Member because they are not on the record.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Otherwise, I have a right to defend myself. So, he cannot say something on what I am supposed not to have said.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:
That has gone on record. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: What is your ruling?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Any reference relating to Supreme Court and High Courts, according to the convention... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No, Mr. Vice-Chairman, have you expunged all the reference to the judiciary which was made by Mr. Madan Bhatia?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): That is what I have said... (*Interruptions*). I said that it will be removed from the record. I said this when Shri Jaipal Reddy raise the point.

SHRI SUSHIL KUMAR SAMBHAJIRAO SHINDE: Thereby if any reference comes on record, that will prove that somebody talked on the point of the High Court.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, in the parliamentary parlance, only a matter that is *sub judice* should not be discussed in this House or a judge should not be criticised in his capacity as a judge, but to say that you should not make any reference to a matter that has already been adjudicated by a court, is not correct because all the time we are talking about courts... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am asking, what kind of reference are precluded?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Only two things are precluded in this House. One is a matter which is *sub judice* and the other is that no judge can be criticised for whatever he has done as a judge. So, it is not correct to say that nobody can make a reference to a matter which has already been decided by a court. All the time we

are talking about the Supreme Court and about the judgment, and to say "you should not talk about it," what is this?... (*Interruptions*)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Swaminathan, you take your seat.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: My personal feeling is, what Mr. Bhatia said should also be on the record and ~~what~~ my esteemed friend said should also be on the record. That is my feeling. That is the correct position according to rules. ... (*Interruption*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You take your seat.

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to support the contention of my friend... (*Interruption*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: All that Mr. Sinha is saying is that Parliament and people should not abdicate their responsibilities to a court of law... (*Interruption*)...

SHRI SUSHIL KUMAR SAMBHAJIRAO SHINDE: There is no content. ... (*Interruption*)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is very strange that the hon. Member is being supported from the other Benches, and that too by Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I think I am also tempted by the atmosphere. Mr. Sinha started very well, I must say, but later on he got himself entangled. There is only one point on which I would like to understand because he referred to the statement that I have made. Just for my understanding I would like to know about it. The advice given by the Central Government to the U.P. Government for making security arrangements for the safety of the RJB-BH entry point was not observed by the U.P. Government ... (*Interruption*)...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Temple or mosque? ...*(Interruption)*...

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Does it mean that; That is a point. And when I made the commitment that we would honour the Constitution, does it mean that at that point article 356 should have been applied? What exactly is the idea that you want to convey?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL (Bihar): Article 352 should have been applied.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: When on 4th of December when the hon. Home Minister was giving the reply...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): He is making a speech or what?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): No, he is giving a statement...*(Interruption)*...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: ...then the leader of the Opposition referred to the scope of article 355. I stood up and I tried to explain that article 355 would be available even when there is an imminent and serious danger to the security of the Constitution of India. These hon. Members and their friends then stood up and said, "Why are you giving a lecture when article 355 is not there? Let him sit down." ...*(Interruption)*... They said they were totally satisfied that article 355 should not be invoked. This was their stand. They made me sit down. And today they are talking about the Central Government not having invoked it at that particular point of time. Therefore, the Hon. Home Minister is right in arguing that rather article 356 should have been invoked. Is this the stand?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it was not Yashwant Sinha, not Mr. Jaipal Reddy, not Mr. Gujral or Mr. Bakht, none of us, who argued from this side. We did not say in ringing terms, as the Home Minister has said, "upholding the Constitution is the responsibility of the Government and we will see to it that it is upheld." It was he

who said it and it was his responsibility, therefore, to work out his modalities. He can't come to us on the 18th December and say, "What did you expect us to do"? Did you call a meeting of the leaders of the parties, did you discuss with us, did you say, "Here we are faced with this situation; what should we do?" You took it to the National Integration Council on the 24th of November, Mr. Home Minister, and you got all the authority that the country can give you, the people of this country can give you, to act in the best possible manner with one objective to protect the secular fabric of this country, to protect the mosque at Ayodhya. That was your mandate, that was your responsibility. You admitted it. You can't turn to me at this point of time and say, "What should I have done?" I am not privy to all the information which flows to the Government.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: You have misunderstood me...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Sinhaji, you have to conclude now.

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Sir, only five minutes are past now.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are a number of questions. When Mr. Mufti Mohd. Sayeed was speaking, he asked the Government this question, and I only hope that when the Home Minister or somebody from the Government side will reply to our points, they will meet these points.

They have to, because these points have to be clarified before the people of this country. If the demolition of the Babri Mosque was started before twelve noon, why is it that the Prime Minister called the meeting of the Cabinet only at six o'clock? Six hours, six precious hours were allowed to elapse, and another 40 hours were allowed to elapse after President's rule was imposed for Ram Lalla to be established there, for the wall of the temple to be constructed there?

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN:
Ram Lalla was already there.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No. It
had been removed.

Today the Home Minister tells us in
this statement that they propose.....

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: It
was only transferred, not removed.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: that
the demolished structure... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: No, he is
not yielding.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: is
going to be rebuilt. The Government is
saying that the demolished structure is
going to be rebuilt. What is the
demolished structure? Even the Home
Minister and the Government of India is
totally, thoroughly confused on whether
it is a mosque or mandir. They do not
know what it is. Are you going to rebuild
the Babri Masjid and instal Ram Lalla
inside it and let the dispute fester for the
rest of this century and the twenty-first
century? What is it that you are trying to
do? Words are flying without anybody
understanding their meaning. You are
going to rebuild the disputed structure
and rebuild the dispute along with the
disputed structure. This is what you are
trying to do. Please go ahead if this is the
buddhi that you have, this is the *akal* that
you have.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to say very
clearly that after having slept the sleep of
Kumbhakarna, these people have
suddenly woken up after the 6th of
December, and in their frenzy now they
are taking steps which are totally uncalled
for, unwarranted. I would like to lodge
my protest and my party's protest against
some of those steps. They are not
warranted. We were against the ban. You
cannot enforce that ban. There is no way.
The Bajrang Dal is not even a registered
organisation.

What did the Jamaat-e-Islami do in
Ayodhya? Did they demolish the
Mosque? In your frenzy again, to keep

balance between this and that, you have
banned the ISS, and the Jamaat-e-Islami
along with the RSS, the Vishwa Hindu
Parishad and the Bajrang Dal, and you
are not able to enforce the ban.

We are also against the arrest of the
leaders. I would like to make it very clear
that if the BJP has bounced back and if
this Parliament was held to ransom, it
was largely because of that inept step that
the Government took. We were not in
favour of this.

We are also against the dismissal of the
three State Governments which have
been dismissed subsequently, those of
Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and
Rajasthan. let me be very clear.

The time today, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is
for plain speaking. The time is when we
must say that fundamentalism from any
community will not be tolerated any
more in this country. Let us be very clear
about it in this House. Let us be very
clear that the swing-back will not be to
pander to the fundamentalism of the
minority community. We will be doing a
great disservice to this country if we ever
indulge in that.

I would like to appeal to all. Let us
forget electoral politics for a moment.
We will be doing a great disservice to the
future of this country if votes, votes and
votes alone are going to be our sole
concern. Now they seem to be walking
away with Hindu votes. Somebody else
will try and pander to Muslim
fundamentalism and walk away with their
votes. Somebody is walking away with
the votes of the backward people. What
the hell are we doing in this country?
Can't we be a reasonable people? Can't
we once again re-establish those values
which are so important to the very fabric,
to the very existence, to the very future
of this country?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.
NARAYANASAMY): You have to
conclude now.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Yes, Sir,
I will conclude.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is, as I said, a moment of introspection. It is a moment of repentance. It is a moment of remorse. Our hearts must be full of these feelings. If we want to charter a correct course out of the present mess and morass in this country, it is time for maturity.

It is a time for measured responses, not for immediate reactions. It is a time for magnanimity; it is a time for maturity. It is a time for generosity. Let us not play petty politics. It is a time for statesmanship. Mr. Gujral was right when he said that it was a time for statesmanship. It is a time for healing the wounds. It is not a time for confrontation. The Home Minister has said it in this House that even on the 4th of December they were hoping that there will be no confrontation. Now, absolutely unchecked they have gone into confrontation. I do not know what the outcome of it is going to be. Secularism has to be defended. The 1931 Resolution of the Indian National Congress — the Karachi Resolution — said that religious neutrality of the State shall be an accepted principle, an article of faith, in independent India. It is the religious neutrality of the State which has to be re-established. But along with that it is important that the Government maintains its credibility, its moral authority. If the Government does not do that, if the Government loses it further, then who can save this Government? Who can speak for this Government? We need not be harsh judges. Mr. Bhatia was saying that we must all unite, put up a united front, strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister. How? What is your plan? What is your action programme? Just fighting the battle administratively and legally will not help. We have to fight the battle politically. The challenge which has been mounted to the very fabric of this nation has to be met politically. There is no other option? Let me be very clear about it. You can ban this organisation or that organisation, you can ban the BJP, you can ban the Muslim League. You can do

what you like. You can take a lot of administrative actions. You can forbid them from coming to power. But as long as they have the minds of the people, as long as they possess the Hindu mind...

SHRIMATI JAYANTI
BHATTARAIAN: They don't.

SHRI YASHIWANT SINHA: If they do, then where is the hope? It is, therefore, for the minds of our people that we must fight. That mind which has been poisoned, that mind which has been possessed, that mind, which is sought to be misguided. We are talking about secularism. I have this Burhanpur Masjid guide. This is an ancient mosque dating back to 15th or 16th century. There is an inscription there in Sanskrit.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA
(Rajasthan): Don't tell them about it.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Whom are we trying to teach?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I appeal to Mr. Yashwant Sinha not to refer to that mosque. Otherwise the BJP will demolish that mosque also. *(Interruptions)*

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: I am surprised to see this.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Chairman, I was saying that secularism is in our blood; liberalism is in our blood. It is the very essence of our society. Nobody can be allowed to destroy that; nobody can be allowed to change that blood which is flowing in our veins. It is there and we are very clear. There has been an international criticism. Our neighbours have criticised. We have to meet the challenge unitedly. There is no doubt. We are very clear. In Pakistan they have destroyed temples and still they are asking us why Babri Masjid was destroyed. They will do, because it is their bounden duty to create embarrassment to us. It is very clear. We will be judged by our own standards internationally. International community is not going to judge us by the standards

of Pakistan or Bangladesh or Iran. They are going to judge us by the standards of India. Therefore, we have to face the problem. And, as I said, we have to face the problem with magnanimity. Let every community which inhabits this sacred land today resolve that we shall not fight these petty battles. What is going to happen to that piece of land? Will the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad be magnanimous enough? Shall all of us be magnanimous enough to agree that instead of a mere Ram temple to the Great Maryada Purushottam, we shall agree to have a temple of all faiths at that spot of land or a temple where all faiths will mingle? Is not that perhaps the best tribute that we can pay to the one we revere? That perhaps is the best tribute that we can pay to the One whom we revere, to the one we worship. Let us not reduce great things to small dimensions. Therefore, I am appealing to this House, I am appealing to the Government, I am appealing to the BJP, give up this path of confrontation. For God's sake, let us agree to work together. Let us agree to work together for the future of this country. Let there be a meeting of minds. Let there be a common course of action. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Shri N.K.P. Salve, not here. Shri Surest Pachouri.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 6 दिसम्बर को हमारे देश में अयोध्या में जो लज्जाजनक घटना हुई दरअसल वह एक राष्ट्रीय त्रासदी थी। राष्ट्रीय त्रासदी इस मायने में थी कि जो काम वहाँ हुआ वह न केवल हिन्दू संस्कृति पर कलंक लगा बल्कि हमारे देश में विभिन्न धर्मों को मानने वाले जो लोग हैं वह सब महान धर्मों (व्यवधान)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, can we have some order in the House? We also want to hear what he is saying. If you can't control the House, let him wait until the Member have settled down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Let there be

order in the House. Shri Suresh Pachouri, please continue.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी: मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि 6 दिसम्बर को अयोध्या में जो लज्जाजनक घटना हुई, जिसे राष्ट्रीय त्रासदी का नाम दिया गया, वह काम न केवल हमारे सन्तान धर्म के खिलाफ था बल्कि विभिन्न धर्म जो हमारे देश में माने जाते हैं उनके सिद्धान्तों और उनके व्यवहार के भी प्रतिकूल था। इस सब से हमारी सदियों पुरानी परम्पराओं पर धक्का लगा है जिसके लिए हम लोग विभिन्न धर्मों के प्रति आदर भाव रखते हैं और जिसके लिए भारतीय परम्परा और भारतीय संस्कृति काफी प्रसिद्ध मानी जाती है। सम्राट अशोक के शिलालेखों में भी लिखा गया है कि "वह जो अपने धर्म का आदर करता है और दूसरों के धर्मों की निन्दा करता है, दूसरों के धर्म को अपने धर्म से हेय समझता है और अपने धर्म को दूसरे धर्मों से बड़ा मानता है, निश्चय ही अपने धर्म की हानि करता है।" मान्यवर, कुछ ऐसी स्थिति पिछले कुछ सालों से हमें अपने देश में देखने को मिल रही है जिसकी परिणति 6 दिसम्बर को अयोध्या में हुई जब जब श्री राम का नारा लगाने वाले लोगों ने रणकुल रात पर कालिख पोत दी। उससे जो हिन्दू आस्था है, जो सनातन धर्म है, उन पर विश्वास करने वालों का सिर शर्म से झुक गया। यह सारी बातें हम को इस बात की ओर इंगित करती हैं कि उस सारे क्रियाकर्म में, उन सारी घटनाओं में जो लोग शामिल थे, उनकी मानसिकता किस प्रकार की थी। यह सब क्यों हो रहा है? आखिर कौन सी परिस्थितियाँ हैं जिनके रहते हमें अयोध्या के बारे में इस सदन में और इस सदन से बाहर बार बार विचार-विमर्श करना पड़ता है। उसके मूल में हमें जाना पड़ेगा। उसके कारणों में हमें जाना पड़ेगा। यदि हम इन सब पर जाएंगे तो बड़ी निष्पक्षता के साथ हमें यह स्वीकार करना चाहिये कि इस सब के पीछे वोटों की राजनीति छिपी हुई है। इस सब के पीछे हमारा वह राज छिपा हुआ है कि हम कौन सा वोट बैंक सोलिड कर लें।

कोई हिन्दू वोट बैंक की परवाह कर रहा है कोई मुस्लिम वोट बैंक की परवाह कर रहा है, कोई हिन्दू कार्ड प्ले कर रहा है, कोई मुस्लिम कार्ड प्ले कर रहा है लेकिन नेशनल कार्ड प्ले करने की किसी में जुर्रत नहीं हो रही है। कोई हिन्दू भावना को जागृत कर रहा है कोई मुस्लिम भावना को उभारना चाह रहा है लेकिन राष्ट्रीय भावना हमारे देश में जागृत हो, राष्ट्रीय भावना पनपे इस बात की किसी को कदाचित् चिंता नहीं हो पा रही है। यदि इस चिंता के बारे में हम लोग विचार करें तो हमें उस समय को याद करना होगा जब हम परतंत्रता की बेड़ियों में

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कोई हिन्दू वोट बैक की परवाह कर रहा है कोई मुस्लिम वोट बैक की परवाह कर रहा है, कोई हिन्दू कोई प्ले कर रहा है, कोई मुस्लिम कोई प्ले कर रहा है लेकिन नेशनल काई प्ले करने की किसी में जुरत नहीं हो रही है। कोई हिन्दू भावना को जागृत कर रहा है कोई मुस्लिम भावना को उग्र करने काह रहा है लेकिन राष्ट्रीय भावना हमारे देश में जागृत हो, राष्ट्रीय भावना पाने इस बात की किसी को कदाचित्त चिन्ता नहीं हो पा रही है। यदि इस चिन्ता के बारे में हम लोग विचार करें तो हमें उस समय को याद करना होगा जब हम परतंत्रता की बेड़ियों में

झकड़े हुए थे। मैं उस शहर से आता हूँ, उस भोपाल शहर से, जो अपनी गरिमामयी परम्परा के लिए प्रसिद्ध रहा है जिस भोपाल शहर में जब हमारे देश का विभाजन हुआ, हिंदुस्तान और पाकिस्तान बना तब भी वहां साम्प्रदायिकता की लपटें नहीं देखने को मिली थीं, तब भी वहां साम्प्रदायिक दंगे नहीं हुए थे लेकिन जो 6 दिसम्बर की राष्ट्रीय त्रासदी हुई उसका परिणाम यह निकला कि भोपाल भी आग की लपटों से झुलस गया। भोपाल में भी साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए। प्रदेश के अन्य स्थानों के साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के साथ तथा देश के कोने कोने के दंगों के साथ भोपाल में भी भयावह स्थिति देखने को मिली। स्थिति यह थी। यदि मैं आज के मौके पर उसका वर्णन करना चाहूँ तो वह गैरवाजिब होगा। गैरवाजिब इसलिए कि दंगे किस ढंग से हुए, लोगों के साथ किस ढंग से ज्यादाती हुई इस पर यदि हम व्याख्या करने लगेंगे तो हम दाअसल जो साम्प्रदायिकता का ताण्डव नृत्य हो रहा है जिस साम्प्रदायिकता की आग से लोग झुलस रहे हैं उस पर काबू नहीं पा पाएंगे। लेकिन हमें उन कारणों में अवश्य जाना होगा, उसके बाद की परिस्थितियों में हमें अवश्य जाना होगा कि आखिर यह सब क्यों हो रहा है और इस सब पर अंकुश रखने की क्यों आवश्यकता है। मान्यवर, जहां तक तीन राज्यों की सरकारें धंग करने की बात आई, जहां तक संबंधित लोगों से विचार विमर्श करने की, अयोध्या के मसले में बात आई, उसका ब्योरा यद्यपि गृह मंत्री जी ने दिया है उससे संबंधित मैं कुछ बातें करना चाहूंगा। मैं उस समय की तरफ आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा जब 1989 में शिलान्यास हुआ था। जब 1989 में शिलान्यास हुआ था — हमारे यहां एक कहावत है, कहा जाता है कि

Whoever trust a faithless friend
And twice in him believes
Lays hold on death as certainly
As when a mule conceives.

जब 1989 में इन्होंने जो समझौता किया था, जो डीड इस प्रकार की विश्व हिंदू परिषद ने की थी जिसमें अशोक सिंघल, महंत अवैद्यनाथ, गोपाल दास और दाउ लाल खन्ना ने हस्ताक्षर किये थे उसमें यह उल्लेख था —

"The VHP undertakes to abide by the directive of the Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court given on 14.8.89 to the effect that the parties to the suit shall maintain the status

quo and shall not change the nature of the property in question and shall ensure that the peace and communal harmony are maintained."

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब इन्होंने उस समय दिया गया वादा नहीं निभाया, उस समय उन्होंने जो हस्ताक्षर से बात कही थी वह नहीं निभायी तो एक तरफ जो आप कहते हैं कि हमारे साथ धोखा हुआ, वह तो होना स्वाभाविक था। खून-खराबा न हो, अतः हमने सम्मत् विल से इनसे सामयिक पहल की। लेकिन फिर भी हमारी तरफ से उनसे विशाल हृदय से समाधान हेतु विचार विमर्श किया गया। अगर और भी आप गहवाई से जाएं तो उस समय जो जैन स्टूडियो में कैसेट बना था, "प्राण जाय पर वचन न जाई", उसके अलावा और जो कैसेट बने थे वे अत्यंत विषैले थे जो बातें कही गयीं, विभिन्न राजनैतिक दलों के लोगों के द्वारा विशेष रूप से भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेताओं के द्वारा कि जहां तक राम मन्दिर निर्माण का प्रश्न है उसका फैसला धर्म संसद करेगी तो यह हमारे देश के लिए दुर्भाग्यजनक बात है कि संसद हमारे देश में होने वाली किसी भी प्रकार की बातों का फैसला नहीं कर सकती है बल्कि धर्म संसद करेगी। आखिर धर्म संसद को, मैंने पहले भी कहा था कि किसने वह संवैधानिक अधिकार दे दिया कि विपक्ष की सबसे बड़ी राजनैतिक पार्टी इस बात को कहे कि हम कानून को नहीं मानेंगे, हम संविधान को नहीं मानेंगे, हम धर्म संसद का फैसला मानेंगे। नवम्बर प्रथम हफ्ते में आडवाणी जी ने कहा था कि कोर्ट जो भी फैसला दे, मन्दिर बनेगा।

हम याद करें उनके द्वारा यह कहा गया था कि कार सेवा किसी भी हालत में नहीं स्केगी। यह सारी बातें कही गई थीं। मुरली मनोहर जोशी ने यह बात कही थी—कार सेवा की परिभाषा का अधिकार उच्च न्यायालय के पास नहीं है। कार सेवा के स्वरूप का फैसला करना संतों का काम है और आडवाणी जी ने बार-बार यह कहा था कि कार सेवा का जो फैसला होगा, जिस प्रकार की कार सेवा होगी, उसका स्वरूप धर्म संसद 4 दिसम्बर को फैसले में करेगी। हम उस बात को मानने के लिए मजबूर रहेंगे। 4 दिसम्बर की धर्म संसद की बैठक 5 दिसम्बर के लिए आगे बढ़ाई गई।

मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ, मान्यवर, ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, I am on a point of order. No proceedings of this House can be recorded within the House.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI
NATARAJAN: He is not recording.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: What is he doing?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Suresh Pachouri, kindly keep it inside. It is not allowed according to the rules. It can't be done. (Interruptions)

श्री सुरेश पचौरी: मान्यवर, यदि कोई चैलेंज करेगा, तो मैं उसे सुना तो दूंगा कि कौन राम जन्मभूमि समिति का पदाधिकारी है और कौन धर्म संसद का पदाधिकारी है और कौन इस राजनीतिक पार्टी का पदाधिकारी, उस समय क्या बोल रहा था।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please follow the rules. Don't produce it in the House.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी: मैं कोई भी ऐसी चीज नहीं बोलना चाहता हूँ, जिसका मेरे पास रिकार्ड न हो। मैं कोई ऐसी चीज पढ़ अप नहीं करना चाहता। जिसके मेरे पास पत्र नहीं है मैं उन बातों का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता। यदि उन्हें चैलेंज किया जाए, तो मैं हर स्थिति में उस बात पर बहस करने के लिए तैयार हूँ। इसलिए मैं यह सारी चीजें लाया।

तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि 25 नवम्बर को सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार से एक शपथ-पत्र मांगा था कि वह सुनिश्चित करें कि कार सेवा नहीं होगी। कोर्ट के आदेशों की अवमानना नहीं होगी। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने कहा कि उन्हें एक सप्ताह का समय चाहिए ताकि विश्व हिंदू परिषद और धर्म संसद से वह विचार-विमर्श कर सकें। माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने जो बयान दिया, 3 तारीख को, उसमें इस चीज का उल्लेख है कि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने कहा था कि विश्व हिंदू परिषद और धर्म संसद से विचार-विमर्श करने के बाद हम लोग एक एफिडेविट प्रस्तुत करेंगे। 27 नवम्बर को एफिडेविट दिया गया 28 नवम्बर को एफिडेविट दिया गया, जिसमें यह सुनिश्चित किया गया कि वहां कार सेवा नहीं की जाएगी, वहां निर्माण सामग्री नहीं ले जाई जाएगी और उस समय भारतीय जनता पार्टी के दो संसद सदस्यों, चिन्मयानंद जी ने और श्रीमती विजयारणजे सिंधिया जी ने भी इसी प्रकार का पत्र लिख कर दिया।

मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि उस पत्र में क्या उन्होंने आपसे वायदा किया था। यदि उन्होंने कोई वायदा किया था कि कोर्ट की अवमानना

नहीं करेंगे, इस बाबत उन्होंने धर्म संसद से बात कर ली।

श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण : उन्होंने यह गारंटी दी कि जो उन्होंने लिख कर दिया है, उससे हम सहमत हैं।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : उन्होंने यह गारंटी, मान्यवर, आपको कौन सी तारीख को दी?

श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण : यह तो देखना होगा।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : नहीं तो मैं अपने रिकार्ड में देख कर आपको बता दूंगा।

श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण : दोनों ही लैटर्ज हमारे पास हैं।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : तो मैं कह रहा था कि उन दो संसद सदस्यों के दिये गये वचन के हिसाब से आप लोग निश्चित हो गये, लेकिन धर्म संसद की बैठक की घोषणा जारी रही। धर्म संसद की चार तारीख के अलावा पांच तारीख को धर्म संसद की बैठक हुई। मैंने इसी संसद में इसी जगह यह कहा था कि फैजाबाद में तीन बजे बैठक चल रही है। उनका भाषण आप सुन लें, मैं आपको इस कैसेट की कापी दे दूंगा, धर्म संसद ने अपने फैसले की घोषणा आचार्य धर्मेन्द्र के माध्यम से किस प्रकार की थी, मैं वह भी आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। मान्यवर, उसमें उन्होंने कहा था। ... (व्यवधान) मुझे वह सुनाने नहीं दे रहे हैं। मुझे दिक्कत है। उसमें आचार्य धर्मेन्द्र ने कहा था, घोषणा की थी धर्म संसद के फैसले की कि लोग कहते हैं कि कार सेवा का स्वरूप क्या होगा। राम जन्म भूमि के निर्माण के लिए हम कहना चाहते हैं कि धर्म संसद का फैसला है कि आवश्यक कार्य होगा। उसे सम्पन्न करने हेतु जिस प्रकार की सेवा की आवश्यकता होगी वह सेवा संपन्न की जायेगी (जो शेषावतार मंदिर आप देख रहे हैं, उन्होंने इस प्रकार कहा था, मैंने वह कैसेट भी देखा है) जो शेषावतार मंदिर आप देख रहे हैं उसकी ऊंचाई से एक मीटर ऊंची और दीवार जहां राम लल्ला विराजमान है, वह बनेगी। इसके साथ ही साथ, उन्होंने कहा था कि लोग कहते हैं कि क्या आप 11 तारीख के कोर्ट के फैसले का इंतजार करेंगे। हम किसी तारीख की राह नहीं देखेंगे (और फिर तालियों की गड़गड़ाहट कर सेवकों की है) धर्म संसद का निर्णय अटल है, अपरिवर्तनीय है और मार्ग-दर्शक मंडल का यह फैसला है जब 6 दिसंबर को गीता जयंती के अवसर पर सूर्य बिल्कुल बीच में होगा तब ठीक 12 बजकर 15 मिनट पर कार सेवा प्रारंभ की जायेगी। यह हमारे धर्माचार्यों का फैसला है। इसमें धर्माचार्य भी शामिल

होगे यह धर्म संसद् के प्रस्ताव की भाषा है। यह सब धर्म संसद् द्वारा अनुमोदित कैसेला है जो आपको पढ़ कर सुनाया जा रहा है। ऐसा पूरी इस कैसेट में आचार्य धर्मेन्द्र ने 5 तारीख को घोषणा करते हुए कहा था। यह सारी बात है। फिर उन्होंने आगे कहा कि लोग हम से पूछते हैं कि क्या हम कानून का पालन करेंगे। तो हमारी घोषणा है कि हम कानून का पालन करेंगे और कानून का पालन नहीं करेंगे अर्थात् कानून को तोड़ेंगे। कानून का पालन उन लोगों के लिए करेंगे जो हमारे भगवान श्रीराम में आस्था व्यक्त करते हैं। जो कानून 80 करोड़ हिन्दू भावनाओं का अनादर करेगा हम उस कानून को भंग करेंगे। मैं यह आपको नहीं बताने जा रहा हूँ कि कल क्या-क्या होने वाला है। इसकी कल्पना राम भक्तों ने कभी नहीं की होगी कि ऐसा कल होने वाला है। यह 5 तारीख को धर्म संसद् के फैसले की घोषणा जब धर्मेन्द्र ने पढ़ कर सुनाई कार सेवकों के बीच में तो हमको उसी समय सचेत हो जाना था। हमें उसी समय उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने जो वचन सुप्रीम कोर्ट में ओर हम सब को दिया था उसने तब सतर्क हो जाना था। मैं आपके माध्यम से मान्यवर, यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ हमें उसी समय सतर्क हो जाना था जब रितम्बर का भाषण आचार्य धर्मेन्द्र के सामने हुआ। रितम्बर जो अध्यक्ष परम शक्ति पीठ की है तो उसको एक रूपये के हिसाब से जमीन 2 दिसम्बर को दे दी गई। यह सब फैसला हुआ जिसकी डीड की कापी मेरे पास है जो साधवी रितम्बर को जमीन दी गई। यह मैं आपको दे देता हूँ। अब सवाल इस बात का उठता है उस समय सरयू नदी के पास मैं किस प्रकार के नारे 6 दिसम्बर की सुबह स्रान करने से पहले लगे। अगर हमें उस समय की भी सूचना किसी भी माध्यम से मिल जाती तो शायद हम अलर्ट हो जाते। मान्यवर, अत्यन्त आपत्तिजनक नारे उस समय लगाए गए। वह नारे भी पूरे मेरे पास रेकार्ड हैं। दो मिनट का समय आप दें तो वह नारे भी आपको सुना दूँ जो सरयू नदी के सामने वहाँ उन्होंने प्रतिज्ञा के साथ कहे। सारे कार सेवकों ने नारे लगाए सुबह 6 बजे से जिस कैसेट का जिक्र उस सदन में हमारे मंत्री जी ने किया वह कैसेट मैंने भी देखा है। जो सुबह 6 बजे से हुआ है, नारे लगे। "मिट्टी नहीं गिरायेगे, ढांचे को गिरायेगे"। हमें तब भी अलर्ट हो जाना था। हमारी इंग्लिजिस क्या कर रही थी? हालाँकि जैन स्टूडियो के इस पुराने कैसेट में भी वह नारा है। उसने यह है कि "मर जायेगे, मिट जायेगे, मंदिर बही बनाना है, राम नाम की ओढ़ के चादर, हमें अयोध्या जाना है"। यह सारा है। उसी में आचार्य धर्मेन्द्र ने कहा कि शिलान्यास के

वक्त संसार के और इस देश के हिन्दू लोगों ने देखा था कि भगवा ध्वज हमने वहाँ चढ़ाया था।

अब फिर हम चढ़ाएंगे। तो जब वहाँ का ढांचा ध्वस्त हुआ तो इधर जो भाषण आडवाणी जी और श्रीमती विजया राजा सिंधिया और साध्वी ऋतंभर के चल रहे थे, तो कुछ लोगों ने फिर घोषणा की कि आप सब लोगों के लिए खुशी का समय आ गया है कि भगवां ध्वस्त विवादित स्थल पर उस ढांचे पर चढ़ गया है। मान्यवर, सरयू नदी पर नारे लगे कि "राम लला हम आए हैं, मंदिर यहाँ बनाएंगे। बालू नहीं डालने आए, ढांचा गिराने आए हैं और सब ढांचा गिर गया तो सबने नारा लगाया कि "जय श्रीराम, होगया काम।" मान्यवर। यह सारी स्थिति वहाँ निर्मित हुई।

एक माननीय सदस्य : फोटो दिखाओ।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : एक संसद सदस्य का मुस्लीमनोहर जोशी जी से गले मिलते हुए, बधाई देते हुए फोटो है। मान्यवर, उस समय बधाई दी गयी, गले लिपटकर, उसका फोटो मेरे पास है। चाहें तो हमारी साथी संसद सदस्य देख लें कि भा० ज० पा० अध्यक्ष जोशी की पीठ पर, अयोध्या में विवादोत्पन्न ढांचे के तीसरे गुंबद के टूटने के बाद, जय श्रीराम का नारा लगाया गया। मान्यवर, ये सारी बातें वहाँ हुई।

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया : शेम-शेम।

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : डूब मरो। यही धार्मिक संस्कृति है आपकी? लानत है ऐसे हिंदू धर्म पर।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूँ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You please kindly conclude.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूँ भा० ज० पा० जैसी उस एक राजनीतिक पार्टी से कि वह संघ परिवार के आदेशों को मानने के लिए वचनबद्ध है, संविधान की रक्षा करने के लिए कटिबद्ध है, धर्म संसद् का निर्णय मानने के लिए मजबूर है या सुप्रीम कोर्ट या इस देश की जनता या इस देश की सरकार को दिए गए वचनों को निष्पाने के लिए उसका दायित्व है, यदि ऐसा नहीं है तो जिन तीन राज्यों की सरकारें भंग की गयीं, वह भंग करना प्रधानमंत्री जी का एक उचित और सामयिक कदम था। केन्द्रीय सरकार का वार्तारूपी कदम भी उचित और सामयिक व गरिस्थिति जन्य था मान्यवर, यह कहते हैं कि मौतें दूसरे

एज्यें में ज्यादा हुई। मान्यवर, मौत किसी भी राज्य में हों, किसी भी हों, मौत-मौत होती है उसकी निंदा की जानी चाहिए, लेकिन मध्यप्रदेश में और विशेष रूप से भोपाल में जिस ढंग से मौतें हुईं, उनका वर्णन करना ठीक नहीं होगा आज के हालात में। जिस सार्वजनिक ढंग से, जिस सामूहिक रूप से महिलाओं के साथ सामूहिक कत्ल किया गया, उसका वर्णन करना बेकरार है। मैं 8 तारीख को भोपाल गया। भारतीय जनता पार्टी का कोई नेता वहां नहीं गया। हमारे दूसरे और साथी यशवन्त सिन्हा और चतुरानन मिश्र जी दो-तीन दिन के बाद वहां इलाहाबाद अपनी आंखों से देखकर आए हैं। मुख्य मंत्री 12 से 12.20 बजे तक के लिए वहां गए। जब उन्हें पता चलता कि अर्जुन सिंह जी, हम, शिंदे जी और दिव्यजित सिंह जी जाने वाले हैं तो केवल 20 मिनिट की औपचारिकता दंगप्रस्त क्षेत्रों में घूमकर उन्होंने पूरी की। मान्यवर, वहां लोगों को पर्याप्त खाद्य सामग्री उपलब्ध नहीं कराई जा रही थी कोई पर्याप्त मेडिसिन की व्यवस्था नहीं थी। दो-तीन दिन के बाद कुछ व्यवस्था की गयी, लेकिन मान्यवर, इससे हटकर वहां स्थिति क्या हो गयी जिसकी वजह से उन राज्य सरकारों को भंग करना आवश्यक हो गया? मान्यवर, मध्यप्रदेश की स्थिति दूसरे एज्यें से भिन्न क्यों थी? मध्यप्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री और कई मंत्रियों ने जो काम सेवक अयोध्या गए थे, उन्होंने ससम्पन्न विदायी दी। दूसरे एज्यें के मुख्य मंत्रियों ने विदायी नहीं दी।

श्री भूलाचन्द्र मीणा (उजस्थान) : उजस्थान में भी दी थी।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मैं भा० ज० फा० के अलावा अन्य शासित एज्यें के विषय में बोल रहा हूँ। दूसरे एज्यें में जिनके बारे में मौतों का जिक्र किया जा रहा है कि वहां संख्या ज्यादा है, जब अयोध्या से कर सेवक 5.00 P.M.

वापस लौटे मन्त्रों में तो विजय-तिलक के साथ उनका स्वागत हुआ। यह और किसी राज्य के गैर-भा० ज० फा० मुख्यमंत्रियों ने नहीं किया।

इससे अलग हटकर, मान्यवर, एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव बात मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि 8 तारीख की जब मिलिटरी को यह हथकौट भोपाल को सौंपा गया तो एजीक्यूटिव पावर मिलिटरी को नहीं होते थे, उसे एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव आर्डर देना होते थे और इसके लिए एक मजिस्ट्रेट की आवश्यकता होती थी। तो 8 तारीख को साढ़े आठ बजे मिलिटरी ने एक मजिस्ट्रेट और पुलिस आफिसर की मांग

की, जो कि आधी रात के बाद ढाई बजे एक मजिस्ट्रेट दिया गया और तब तक यह सारा ताण्डव नृत्य चलता रहा। वहां जो सारी सांप्रदायिक हिंसा चली, जिसका मैं यह वर्णन नहीं करना चाहता, वह सब होता रहा। और तो और जो शासकीय विज्ञापन छापे गए कारसेवकों के जाने बाद विभागों के द्वारा, निगमों के द्वारा, ऐसे शासकीय विज्ञापन जो गैर-भा० ज० फा० सरकार हैं उसने नहीं छापे।

इससे भी अलग हटकर, मान्यवर, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ आपके माध्यम से यहां विराजमान मध्यप्रदेश के भारतीय जनता पार्टी के सदस्यों से, कि 7 और 8 तारीख को उनके वहां के जो स्थानीय मंत्री हैं, क्या उन्होंने सांप्रदायिक दंगा प्रभावित क्षेत्रों का दौरा किया? क्या यह सही नहीं है कि प्रतिबंधित सांप्रदायिक संगठनों के निषेधों के संबंध में जिम्मेदार मंत्रियों और भारतीय जनता पार्टी के जिम्मेदार ओहदेदारों ने आलोचना की? क्या यह सही नहीं है कि इन भारतीय जनता पार्टी से संबंधित मंत्रियों ने जो अपनी परिचय-पुस्तिका विधान सभा में प्रस्तुत की है, उसमें गर्व के साथ लिखा है कि हम आर० एस० एस० से संबंधित हैं, जिस पर कि अब प्रतिबंध लगा दिया गया है? यह सारी बातें हुई हैं। जिस शर्मनाक ढंग से वहां मौतें हुई हैं, वैसी मौतें कहीं और किसी गैर-भा० ज० फा० एज्यें में देखने की नहीं मिलेंगी। लेकिन, गैर-भा० ज० फा० एज्यें में भी जो मौतें हुई हैं, उसकी भी मैं निंदा करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ उसके लिए भी पर्याप्त कदम उठाए जाने आवश्यक हैं।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री लक्ष्मीराम अग्रवाल (पच्छ प्रदेश) : क्या महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में मौतें नहीं हुईं?... (व्यवधान)...

वहां क्या आराम से लोग मारे गए हैं महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में?... (व्यवधान)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I Think you have a hearing problem.

You are not understanding what he is saying...(interruptions)...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय सदस्य को बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो आफिसर बनपुर से स्पेशल प्लेन से आभी-आफीसर मिस्टर शर्मा गए थे भोपाल तो उनके सामने मिलिटरी ने अपनी यह मजबूती दिखाई थी बी० जी० पी० और चीफ सेक्रेटरी की

फर्जेस में कि यह लोकल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हमें पर्याप्त सपोर्ट नहीं कर रहा। अब मुझे जानकारी नहीं है कि म्हायष्ट और गुजरात में भी मिलिटरी ने ऐसी कोई क्वाबुरी दिखाई थी। अगर आपकी जानकारी में हो तो बता दीजिए। The local administration was not cooperating in the State. This was stated by an Army officer.

श्री लक्ष्मीराम अग्रवाल : अगर मिलिटरी मजबूर नहीं थी तो इतनी हत्याएं क्यों हुईं महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में?... (व्यवधान)...

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : कैम्प लगाकर रिवर्सल की गई थी हत्याएं करने की महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात में।... (व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Will you please conclude?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : He is not allowing him to conclude... (interruptions)...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मान्यवर, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ आपके माध्यम से हमारे मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम एम ने संकट के समय बड़े विवेक, संयम और मर्यादा से काम लिया था। उन्होंने कोई उत्तेजनक कार्य नहीं किया था। आज इस बात का तकरावा है कि जब पूरा देश सांप्रदायिक दावानल में फंसा हुआ है, सांप्रदायिकता की लपटों से पूरा देश झुलस रहा है, हमारे देश की अस्मिता पर प्रश्न-वाचक चिह्न लग गया है, हमारे देश की अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति डगमगा गई है, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हमारे देश के सम्मान को और हमारे देश की बात को ठेस पहुंची है। भारतीय सम्मान हेतु प्रधान मंत्री जी सक्रिय हैं। वातावरण नियंत्रण में हो, इस हेतु विशाल हृदय से वे सबसे विचार-विमर्श किये हैं। आवश्यकता है कि हम लोग मर्यादा और संयम से काम लें ताकि हम गर्व के साथ कह सकें, हम गर्व के साथ केवल यह न कहें कि हम हिन्दू हैं बल्कि हम गर्व के साथ कह सकें कि हम भारतीय हैं। हम उस देश के नागरिक हैं जिस देश में विभिन्न धर्मों के अपनाए जाने वाले लोग हैं, जिसमें विभिन्न धर्मों को मनाए जाने की स्वतंत्रता है। इस बात का उच्चारण गुरुप्रबंध साहिब में बड़े अच्छे ढंग से किया जाता है:—

"अब्वल अत्ले नूर उपाया, कुदरत दे सब बन्दे"

जिसको वेदों में कहा गया है:—

"एकेव मानुष जाति:"

जो, जिस धर्म के भी अपनाने वाले लोग हैं, वे सभी एक हैं। तो ये सारी बातें, जब हम एक ऐसा वातावरण निर्मित करेंगे, तब हम आज की परिस्थितियों से निबट पाएंगे।... (समय की घंटी)... अयोध्या में घटनाएं कैसे हुईं, अयोध्या की परिस्थितियों ने मोड़ कैसे लिया, उसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन है? आजकल तो एक पहेली चल रही है कि मैं जिम्मेदार नहीं हूँ। इस राष्ट्रीय त्रासदी की एक राष्ट्रीय पहेली है। हर आदमी कह रहा है कि इसके लिए हम रीसायनल नहीं हैं। लेकिन हमें बड़ी जिम्मेदारी के साथ इस चीज को स्वीकारना होगा कि हम इस बात से दामन भले ही छुड़ाए कि हम जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं, लेकिन हमारी कुछ जिम्मेदारियाँ हैं, हमारे कुछ दायित्व हैं, हमारे कुछ कर्तव्य हैं, जिसके निर्वहन के लिए इस देश की जनता हम पर आँखें लगाए देख रही है, हम पर टकटकी लगाए देख रही है। संसद में आज हम चर्चा करते हैं इस शर्मनाक घटना के बाद, लेकिन उपाय पर हम चर्चा नहीं करते हैं, निदान पर चर्चा नहीं करते हैं, समस्या के निराकरण की ओर हम नहीं बढ़ते हैं, केवल हो-हल्ला करते हैं तो लोग हमें व्यग्रता की दृष्टि से देखते हैं। आज इस बात पर गौर करने की जरूरत है, मान्यवर, हम सब को कि हम एक ऐसी परिस्थिति का निर्माण करें, हम एक ऐसे वातावरण का निर्माण करें कि हम उस मानसिकता से लड़ सकें, जिस मानसिकता के रहते एक जाति से दूसरी जाति के लोगों को, एक धर्म से दूसरे धर्म के मानने वाले लोगों के बीच में विष-यमन किया जाता है, भाइयों से भाइयों को जुट करने की कोशिश की जाती है। सुबे के समय पर धर्म के समय पर जाति के नाम पर हम को आपस में दूर करने की कोशिश की जाती है। हमने को बहुत कुछ कहा है, लेकिन आज हमारा देश जिन परिस्थितियों से गुजर रहा है, आज हमारे देश के सामने जो चुनौती है, उसका सामना करने के लिए अगर जरूरत का है कि हम... (व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Kindly conclude. You have taken more than 40 minutes.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : ठीक है, मान्यवर, बैठ जाऊँ हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Shri V. Gopalsamy... (Interruptions)...

There is a time-limit for everybody.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : पचौरी जी कबन से पृष्ठ कर लें।

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर रहमान (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
पचौरी जी को बोलने दीजिए। कम्प्लीट नहीं किया है।

श्री प्रपेन्द्र सिंह यादव (नाम-निर्देशित) : पचौरी जी
को बोलने दीजिए।

**SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO
JADHAV (MAHARASHTRA) :** Let
him speak for another two or three
minutes.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.
NARAYANASAMY) :** I have given him
more than 40 minutes. He has to
conclude. I have told him also several
times.

**SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO
JADHAV :** In the Lok Sabha, Members
have spoken for a very long time. This is
a very important debate. He was on a very
good point. I request you to give him
more time.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.
NARAYANASAMY) :** There is a time-
limit fixed for each political party. Let us
strictly adhere to it. Mr. Gopalswamy,
you start.

SHRI V. GOPALSWAMY : Mr. Vice-
Chairman, Sir, at the very outset, I
would condemn the deplorable dismissal
of the three BJP-ruled State Govern-
ments, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and
Himachal Pradesh, as an act of
outrageous assault, an undemocratic
assault on the Constitution. Sir, we, the
DMK, will be second to none to raise our
shoulders to fight the fundamentalist
menace, the Hindutva concept of the
Sangh Parivar and the BJP lock, stock
and barrel.

Because my leader, Dr. Kalaignar
Karunanidhi, opposed the gory declara-
tion of Emergency in 1975, he had to
face the worst persecution in the political
world of India. Had he compromised for
the sake of Chief Minister's Chair, his
Government would not have been
sacked. We suffered imprisonment in the
dark Deccan cells of the prison. In no
uncertain terms, I would like to register
my point of view and also the view of my

party that Article 356 should be deleted
from the Constitution. We are opposed
to the invoking of Article 356 in any
form. The Democles' sword hanging on
the heads of State Governments cannot
become a platter all of a sudden.

Sir, I feel proud and I raise my head in
pride and honour that my leader and my
party have been consistent in our
conviction to uphold democracy. It was
our party which appointed the famous
Rajamannar Committee which went into
the aspect of State autonomy. On the
Floor of the State Assembly, in the year
1974, we passed a resolution on State
autonomy which formed the basis and
became a landmark for discussion on
State autonomy.

Sir, today we are discussing the
Ayodhya under the shadow of a terrible
tragedy, under the shadow of a barbaric
assault which has shaken the very
foundations of democracy. Sixth
December, the blackest Sunday, will go
down as the darkest day in the annals of
the Indian history as a day of shame and
sorrow, as a day of perfidious pillage, as
a day of sabotage and sacrilege, as a day
of destruction and betrayal. I would point
my accusing finger against Mr. Lal
Krishna Advani and Mr. Murli Manohar
Joshi along with the infamous elements of
the Sangh Parivar, the BJP, the RSS
family, for their murderous assault on the
secular edifice of the country. The
directions of the Supreme Court have
been thrown to the winds. They were
buried in the debris of the Masjid at
Ayodhya. They have thrown a challenge
to the very existence of India as a multi-
lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural
State. Is it not a fact, I would like to ask
my hon. friends from the BJP, that Mr.
Advani on the first of December itself
made in a statement in Varanasi that 'kar
seva' would not stop till the temple is
built? In the very statement, he
mentioned that there was no mosque at
all, the Ram Lila idols are there,
therefore, a temple will be built. That
means the intention and the motive is
very clear, that they were aware of the

destruction of the mosque.

Sir, the Father of the Nation, the Mahatma and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, very secular to the marrow of their bones, would have turned in their grave. The fall of the three domes of the Babri Masjid on the 6th of December reminds us of the furious sound of the three bullets which pierced the fragile physique of the Mahatma. The irony of Ram is in the very name of Godse himself, itself, that is, Nathuram Vinayak Godse. Sir, here in the name of Ram, again the soul of the Mahatma was murdered at Ayodhya. Sir, I would like to ask a few embarrassing questions to the Home Minister, to the Members of the Treasury Benches. Our hon. Prime Minister had stated that his calculations went wrong, his judgment went wrong. Sir, no Prime Minister on earth would have shown such a callous and reckless and irresponsible attitude. Utmost faith was reposed in the Prime Minister by the National Integration Council. A clear mandate was given. Everybody has agreed to stand by the Prime Minister except a few who did not attend that Council and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : Sir, I strongly object.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : I am putting the fact... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : It is not a fact. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu was there and she supported the Resolution. (Interruptions) To say that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu did not support the Resolution is wrong. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : Is Mr. Swaminathan denying the fact that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu made a statement in the National Integration Council that 'kar seva' should be allowed at Ayodhya?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : She stated very clearly that 'kar seva' should be allowed provided there is no legal implication... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Swaminathan, you will get your chance to speak.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : Even the Supreme Court allowed 'kar seva' if it was done within a certain meaning. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Swaminathan, you will get your chance. At that time, you can speak.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : Sir, with the mandate that was given, with the faith that was reposed in the Prime Minister, what has the Prime Minister done? Sir, I would like to ask the Home Minister as to what happened to the limbs of the Home Ministry, the Intelligence agencies. What were they doing? What happened to the joint committee meeting of the Intelligence agencies? Is it a fact that they furnished news that there will be the destruction of the mosque and whether such a report was thrown into the dustbin? Or, is it a fact that the Intelligence agencies got paralysed? Sir, did the Home Ministry exist in the first week of December or simply vanished into thin air? Sir, right from the middle of November, they were mobilising for the D-Day. Orchestrated rehearsals were going on in the camps of the front organisations and the Sangh Pariwar to demolish the mosque. And Your Intelligence agencies should have furnished that information. Otherwise, that shows the callus, monumental failure on the part of the Central Government. Sir, the Prime Minister says that his calculations went wrong, his judgment went wrong. But, Sir, could a car driver go to a court of justice and plead innocence that because his calculations went wrong, he rammed down four or five precious lives on the highway? Will a court of justice pardon him, condone him? Sir, the responsibility rests with the Prime Minister, with the Home Minister.

Sir, we have derived many legacies

from the British Empire. Here, the Prime Minister has derived the legacy of Chamberlain because Chamberlain trusted Adolf Hitler. He went for a pact with the Nazi Germany. He was hobnobbing, he was having parleys with Hitler and the Nazi Germany. Then, suddenly he found that he was hoodwinked. So, he had no other option than to step down.

So, Mr. Narasimha Rao has become the Chamberlain of India with a subtle difference that he repented and resigned and our Chamberlain, Mr. Narasimha Rao, still says: 'I will never quit office; I will stick to the office'.

Sir, may I ask whether it is not a fact that during the Congress regime, both at the Centre and in U.P., in the year 1949, on the night of 22nd December, the idols were put inside the masjid? Is it not a fact that during the Congress regime, both at the Centre and in U.P., the locks were permitted to be opened? Therefore, all of a sudden, the masjid was turned into a temple and the idols were put inside. Is it not a fact that during the Congress regime at the Centre, Shilanyas was allowed to be performed? So, the entire mess was the creation of the Congress. You have played the communal card in Jammu. When it suits you, you will play the communal card.

A learned person had said: Lift one fistful of salt and the British Empire was shamed. Today, lift one fistful of rubble at Ayodhya and put every Indian head to shame. Sir, when these merchants of destruction were destroying the masjid and for five or six hours this was going on, was the Prime Minister waiting for the final result that the entire masjid was razed to the ground? What was the Central Government doing till dusk? You convened the meeting of the Central Cabinet, the Political Affairs Committee, after dusk and after everything was finished. By 2.40, the first dome was demolished; by 3 O'clock, the second dome was demolished; and by 4.40 the third dome was demolished and

everything was finished by 5 O'clock, and our Home Minister was telling us: 'I have deployed Rapid Action Force and they can strike any moment and will reach within eight cracking minutes.' What prevented you; Now you are putting the blame on the State Government. Sir, in the United States when the Black students were to be allowed to enter the school of Arkansas by the Supreme Court, the local Governor himself stood in front of the school, not allowing the Black students to enter. The Federal Government sent forces, the troops, and physically removed the Governor and the Black students were allowed to enter the school.

Today we are facing a grave threat to the unity and integrity of India and secularism and democracy of this country. Ayodhya incident is not a simple thing. It is a part of a larger gameplan of the BJP, the *Sangh Parivar*, the RSS family and they will not stop with Ayodhya. At different forums, at different times, these sadhus and saints have elaborated their theory. They passed a resolution at Ujjain in 1989 at their *Dharma Sansad*, that is their Parliament a five-point resolution and the most important part of it is Hinduisation of politics. They want to establish Hindu Rashtra using religion as a political weapon. It is very clear. Their mind is very clear. Their motive is very clear. Their menacing attitude and approach is very clear. They had declared that December 6 would be observed as Gita Jayanthi day, and, with the destruction of the Mosque at Ayodhya, in the name of *kar seva*, the political Mahabharata would be started. This was their declaration. They are advocating a very very dangerous theory. They are advocating a dangerous theory, the theory of supremacy of Aryan civilisation, of Aryan race. They want to turn the clock back. This is not at all possible. They want to distort history.

My friends from the BJP say that the Babri Masjid came into existence in the year 1528, i.e. 464 years ago. They said:

'We want to remove this structure, or, the Masjid'. They want to go back to the days of Rama. Now, it is a matter of dispute whether the kingdom of ayodhya was there, whether Rama was there. Even historians are not sure about it. Even if it is assumed that Rama was there some thousands of years ago...

AN HON. MEMBER: Lakhs of years ago.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Even if it is assumed that Rama was there some lakhs of years ago, do you want to take India back to the days of Rama? This is a very dangerous theory. The protection of minorities is the bulwark of democracy. The majority cannot go militant. The majority cannot go parochial. It is the bounden duty of the majority to see that the minority is protected. My leader has very aptly said: 'The eyes of the elephant are very small, but if the eyes are damaged, the elephant would get demoralised'. The minorities should be protected.

The parochialism of my BJP friends has made them close their eyes to the reality, to what is happening in the world today. Despite the menacing moves which took place in Karachi, Dacca and Teheran, most of the Islamic Governments have shown restraint, to protect the Hindus. (*Interruption*) In some of the Islamic countries, they have even donated lands to the Hindus for construction of temples. Sir, about 15 lakh Tamilians are now living in Malaysia and Singapore. Fortunately, or, unfortunately, it is the only place, other than India, where they live in peace and dignity. Most of them are Hindus. The Head of State in Malaysia, which is an Islamic Government, is a Muslim. But the Government there have permitted their Hindu brethren to construct a Mariamman temple and a Murugan temple. Every day, hundreds of thousands of bhaktas visit these temples. Now, if you destroy a mosque here, what will happen there? It is not your kith and kin. The people living in Malaysia and Singapore have

their links with Tamil Nadu. They are terribly afraid. But till this day, the Islamic Governments there have shown restraint, to protect the life and property of the Hindus.

Even if you take Rama as an Avatar, he nurtured brotherhood... this is according to your own version of Ramayana... with the hunter Guhan, the vanara chieftain Sugriva, with Hanuman, and embraced even Vibhishana, who was, of course, a traitor. But now, in the name of Rama, you want to spill blood in the country.

When Pakistan attacked twice, many of the Muslim families sent their valiant sons to fight for India. Many of those Muslims have laid down their lives for the unity of this country. But these people have forgotten that aspect. 'Hindi, Hindu Rashtra, Hindut', it is a dangerous concept which will destroy the unity and integrity of this country. They are telling that the Maurya civilization or the Gupta civilization was a glorious civilization that the Aryan civilization was a glorious civilization. This is the syllabus of the U.P. and Madhya Pradesh schools. If that is so, with all my pride I would proclaim that we belong to the Dravidian stock. It is distinct. Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru admitted that ours is the most ancient civilization of the world, totally distinct and different from the Aryan civilization, our culture is different, our approach is different, our civilization is different, but anyhow we have all joined together in this landscape to be citizens of this country. If you want to take us back to the days of Mauryas or Guptas, I would say with all the force at my command that we were never under the yoke of those Mauryas and Guptas. Yes, they never dared to enter the domain of our Tamil territory. Rather, the mighty forces of our ancestors entered the Gangetic plains and hoisted their flag on the lofty peaks of the Himalayas. That is the history. Sir, if they take us back to the days of the Aryan civilization, if they say that the Moghuls have come through Afghanistan

and Kabul, should I put a question, who came through the Khyber Pass and the Bolan Pass long ago? It is claimed by all that in search of pastures they came through the Khyber Pass and the Bolan Pass. That is the history. And now you want to take us back to those days.

AN HON. MAMBER: No one can deny that.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: If you want to take us to those days, then I would like to tell you that there was no India till the British came. That is the fact of history. Not even during the days of Akbar, not even during the days of Ashoka this landscape was united as one country. The Union Jack brought the unity of India. Now the saffron flag will divide this country. This is the warning I want to give you. If you want to establish Hindu Rashtra in the Gangetic plains, I would say, already the North East is preparing itself to snap its ties with the rest of India. Kashmir is burning and you are having problems in Punjab.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI) In The Chair]

If you want to establish Hindu Rashtra, you forget about Kashmir, Punjab and North East; the map of India will be torn into pieces. The country will be balkonised. Sir, we accept national integration and unity. We do not question the unity and integration of this country. But, Sir, we cannot compromise the basic fundamental rights of 'we' people in the name of domination by a particular community. This is the danger we are facing today. Sir, even during the days of partition, when rivers of blood were flowing at Noakhali and other places, Hindus and Muslims were embracing each other in my State of Tamil Nadu. The credit goes to the Dravidian movement, the credit goes to the great Periyar, the credit goes to my late lamented leader Anna, the credit goes to the traditions which have been cherished and protected by my party, by the Dravidian Party, and my leader. But, Sir, today that poisonous air

is slowly spreading beyond the Vindhyas and even in our State. In Kerala already they are facing it. But we will never allow that. Whoever tries to inject that venom into the blood will fail because for thousands of years our concept has been tolerance, our concept has been accommodation, our concept has been embracing, respecting and honouring all beliefs and faiths.

Sir, today they want to distort history. They won't tolerate Begum Hazrat Mahal, those who had fought for this country, those who had shed blood for this country. Sir, Tipu, who used to make the British tremble, himself had shown an example of tolerance and mutual acceptance of religious faiths. It was he who had built the Ranganatha temple at Srirangapatnam by the side of a mosque. Therefore, Sir, today the secular flag of India hangs halfmast. The BJP stands exposed and unmasked at the crossroads of history. And, for the destruction of this particular mosque, the Union Government owes all the responsibility. They have failed, miserably failed, because they have been playing the communal card. They were not able to control these forces.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): Would you please try to conclude now?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Yes, Sir.

Sir, one wrong cannot correct another wrong. The Central Government has shown knee-jerk reaction and response after its colossal failure to protect the mosque at Ayodhya. Therefore, my leader has made a statement that the dismissal of the three State Governments reminds us of the dismissal of the PEPSU Government during Jawaharlal Nehru's time, and to recall the famous words of Dr. Ambedkar, he described it as the "Rape of the Constitution."

Sir, we have to fight it out politically. Of course, we have welcomed the ban of these communal organizations, but unless

we fight their political concept, the most vicious concept *Hinduvva* the unity of this country will be at stake. It is our duty to warn every section and every political party that unless this *Hinduvva* concept is put under check, by the end of the second millennium, by the end of the 20th century, India will not be as it stands today.

Thank you, Sir.

डा० अन्नार अहमद (संजयस्थान): **उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय**, 6 दिसम्बर का दिन हिंदुस्तान के इतिहास में एक ऐसा कालक दिन है जिसने पूरे हिंदुस्तान के इतिहास पर एक कलंक लगा दिया और उस कलंक को हम शायद कभी नहीं धो पाएंगे। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कोई ऐसी घटना नहीं है कि अचानक हो गयी। भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता 6 दिसम्बर के पहले जिस प्रकार की बात कह रहे थे जिस प्रकार के अलग अलग वक्तव्य दे रहे थे उससे मुझे तो पहले ही यह स्पष्ट हो रहा था कि निश्चित रूप से 6 दिसम्बर के लिए इन्होंने एक साजिश, एक षडयंत्र तैयार किया है और 6 दिसम्बर को कोई अनहोनी घटना होने वाली है। अगर आप इन लोगों के बयानों को गौर से देखें जो मैंने 3 दिसम्बर को भी इस सदन के अंदर दोहराये थे। इनके एक नेता मुरली मनोहर जोशी जी के उस वक्त के वक्तव्य है कि जो भी फैसला होगा, साधु संतों की सभा में होगा। दूसरे नेता माननीय आडवाणी जी हैं जिन्होंने कहा था कि चाहे खूनखराबा करके कार सेवा करनी पड़े तो करेंगे। दूसरे दिन कहा, कानून तोड़कर भी कार सेवा करनी पड़ी तो करेंगे। तीसरे नेता माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी और राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री भैरों सिंह शेखावत जी ने कहा कि नहीं अब भी बातचीत से हल होगा और हम बातचीत के जरिये इस बात को हल करेंगे। उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री कल्याण सिंह की बात को देखें तो वे अंतिम क्षणों तक कहते रहे कि वहां सांकेतिक कार सेवा होगी, भजन कीर्तन होगा। पूरी भारतीय जनता पार्टी एक है। ये सब नेता हैं और उनके अलग अलग वक्तव्यों को अगर आप देखें तो उससे स्पष्ट था कि इनका मकसद तय है, इनकी साजिश तय है, इनका षडयंत्र तय है और उस षडयंत्र के माध्यम से 6 दिसम्बर को काला दिन आया, ~~है~~ कलंकित भारत को किया कि जिसको हम कभी भूल नहीं सकते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भी वह वीडियो रील देखी है जिसका जिर कल गृह मंत्री जी ने दूसरे सदन के अंदर

किया था। उस वीडियो रील को देखने के बाद किसी प्रकार का शक और शुबह नहीं रह जाता कि किसने क्या किया और क्या नहीं किया। साढ़े 10 बजे माननीय जोशी जी, माननीय आडवाणी जी और इस सदन के एक हमारे सदस्य प्रमोद महाजन जी स्पष्ट रूप से थे। कहा जाता है कि वे 11 बजे या साढ़े 11 बजे पहुंचे। लेकिन साढ़े 10 बजे उस स्थान पर मौजूद थे। लोगों का स्वागत कर रहे थे, अभिवादन रीसब कर रहे थे और उसको चाहे मस्जिद कहें, मन्दिर कहें, ढांचा कहें, 11 बजकर 55 मिनट पर ~~लोए~~ ने उसकी तरफ कूच किया। 11 बजकर 55 मिनट के बाद जिस तरह से मोम के छत्ते पर आपने देखा है—अगर आप भी वह वीडियो रील देखें तो उसी तरह से उस मस्जिद के गुम्बद पर चढ़कर लोग, जैसे मोम के छत्ते को मक्खियां चेंपती हैं, चेंपे हुए थे और वे खाली हाथ नहीं थे। उनके हाथ में इतने मोटे मोटे हथोड़े थे जो मैंने बड़े बड़े कोयला तोड़ने वालों के हाथ में देखें हैं या बड़े बड़े मजदूरी करने वालों के हाथ में देखें हैं। उनके हाथ में सम्बल थे, उनके हाथ में गेंटी थीं, उनके हाथ में फव्वे थे और उससे बाकायदा जिस आदमी को जहां जगह मिल रही थी, वह गुम्बद को चेंपे हुए था तो वहां गुम्बद पर हथियार चला रहा था जो अगर नीचे था तो वहां हथियार चला रहा था जो उस चबूतरे के नीचे था कच्ची जमीन पर उस सम्बल से कच्ची जमीन को खोद रहा था और वहां जो पुलिस के नौजवान या सिपाही थे वे मात्र एक तमाशाबीन थे। सबूह 6 बजे से मैंने उस वीडियो रील को देखा। 6 बजे से 11 बजकर 55 मिनट तक इतने कम लोग वहां थे कि उन पर आसानी से नियंत्रण पाया जा सकता था। लेकिन किसी पुलिस वाले ने किसी को रोकने की जुर्रत नहीं की, किसी से कुछ कहने की जुर्रत नहीं की और जब 11 बजकर 55 मिनट पर लोग उसको गिराने लगे तो साढ़े 12 बजे से वहां से पुलिस वाले चल दिये। उसके बाद यह कहते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की कोई उसमें भूमिका थी या उसको बचाना चाहते थे या सुप्रीम कोर्ट के अंदर जो हलफनामा दिया था उसके अंतर्गत कोई काम करना चाहते थे।

मुझे हैरत हुई जब सिकन्दर बख्त साहब ने संविधान की बात, कानून की बात, कोर्ट की बात की। एक बार नहीं जब इसके पहले भी सत्र के अंदर वहां चबूतरा बन रहा था, हाईकोर्ट ने फैसला दिया था तो दो दिन तक हम सब चिल्लाते रहे कि यह संवैधानिक संकट है उसको रोकिये लेकिन ये वही लोग थे जिन्होंने उस संवैधानिक संकट को बनाया। उसके बाद हलफनामा दिया। दुनिया भर की बातें कीं, आश्वासन दिये। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को

आश्वासन दिये। सुप्रीम कोर्ट को आश्वासन दिये। हलफनामा दिया। हर एक भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता ने अलग अलग जगहों में अलग अलग समय में उस ढांचे को, मस्जिद को या मन्दिर को बचाये रखने के आश्वासन दिये। लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी छह तारीख को जो इन्होंने किया, उसके बाद यह कहे कि हम संविधान की रक्षा की बात करते हैं, संविधान की बात करते हैं, मुझे हैरत होती है कि इस मुंह से इस पार्टी और संविधान की बात कहना, कानून की बात कहना, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के आर्दर्श की बात कहना, अच्छी नहीं लगती।

मैं आपको यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सिकन्दर बख्त साहब ने एक बात कही कि उसमें सिर्फ आर०एस०एस० के, विश्व हिंदू परिषद के या बजरंग दल के लोग ही नहीं थे, कुछ और लोग भी उसमें थे और उनका इशारा यह था कि उस मास मूवमेंट के अंदर जो और लोग आ गये थे, उन्होंने उस मस्जिद को तोड़ा है। यह वह कहना चाहते थे। आज तक वह देश को जिस तरह से गुमराह करते रहे, संविधान को गुमराह करते रहे, सदन को गुमराह करते रहे, कोर्ट को गुमराह करते रहे, उसी तरह से आज उन्होंने इस सदन को भी गुमराह करने की कोशिश की है।

मैंने अपनी आंखों से उस रेल को देखा है, जिसमें आर०एस०एस० के लोगों की एक अलग पहचान है, अलग वर्दी है, अलग वहां उनका काम था। वह मस्जिद के तोड़ने वालों को किस तरह से गाईड कर रहे थे और क्या उनका रेल है, उसको कहते हैं कि कुछ और लोग वहां चले गये थे, कुछ और लोग वहां घुस गये थे। गांव-गांव से आने वाले कार सेवक को इन्होंने आई-कार्ड दिये थे और कोई भी आदमी उस क्षेत्र के अंदर बिना आई-कार्ड के कदम नहीं रख सकता था, एकदम अंदर नहीं जा सकता था।

वहां यह कहते हैं कि कोई और लोग चले गये, जिन्होंने वह ढांचा, या वह मस्जिद तोड़ी है। इस तरह का गुमराह करना बहुत हो चुका है, देश को बहुत गुमराह कर चुके हैं, लेकिन अब गुमराह नहीं किया जा सकता। वहां का जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट लगा हुआ था, अगर आप उसके रेल को सुनेंगे, तो हैरत करेंगे। अगर यह सवाल आता है, हमारे साथी भी यह पूछते हैं कि जो पैर-मिलिटरी फोर्स वहां गई थीं, उन्होंने क्यों नहीं कदम उठाया। पर मेरी जो जानकारी है, वह यह है कि छह तारीख को पैर-मिलिटरी फोर्स ने मूवमेंट किया था, उस जगह से सिर्फ तीन किलोमीटर तक पहुंच गई थीं, लेकिन वहां के डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट ने, क्योंकि कोई

भी पैर-मिलिटरी फोर्स को बिना वहां के डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट या बिना वहां के एक्जीक्यूटिव के आर्डर के, वह वहां मूवमेंट नहीं कर सकती, अंदर नहीं घुस सकती, तो वहां के मैजिस्ट्रेट ने उस पैर-मिलिटरी फोर्स को वापस कर दिया और यह मजबूरी थी उस पैर-मिलिटरी फोर्स की। वह बाहर उस डिस्ट्रिक्ट मैजिस्ट्रेट के या मैजिस्ट्रेट के, वहां मूवमेंट नहीं कर सकी। तो वहां जो पूरा प्रशासन, पूरी सरकार उस काम को करवाने के लिए, पूरी राज्य सरकार, वहां का मुख्य मंत्री, वहां के सारे अधिकारी जहां इस काम में लग रहे हों, वहां किस प्रकार से यह कहा जा सकता है कि हम संविधान की रक्षा कर रहे थे, हम उस मस्जिद की रक्षा कर रहे थे, और आज इस सदन के अंदर हमें गुमराह करने के लिए यह बातें की जाती हैं।

मैं तो इस बात को बहुत अच्छा मानता हूँ कि अयोध्या के अंदर गोली नहीं चली, वरना आज जो लोग यह सवाल हमसे पूछ रहे हैं कि वहां गोली क्यों नहीं चलाई, शायद उनका पहला सवाल यह होता कि वहां गोली क्यों चलाई, वहां खून-खराबा क्यों किया? तो मैं तो इस बात को अच्छी मानता हूँ कि वहां गोली नहीं चली, वरना इतने लोगों के अंदर जिस तरह का खून-खराबा होता, शायद वह भी इतिहास के लिए एक कलंक ही होता। उसको भी हम कोई अच्छे अलफाज़ में या अच्छे शब्दों में नहीं कह सकते थे। लेकिन उसका नाजायज़ फायदा उठा कर के, धोखा देकर के जो इन लोगों ने किया, उसको यह देश और इतिहास नहीं भुला सकता।

उपसभाध्यक्षजी, इस घटना के बाद जो हुआ, जो प्रतिक्रियाएं आईं, उससे मुझे बेहद खुशी है क्योंकि इस घटना की जिस प्रकार से निंदा की है हर समुदाय के व्यक्ति ने, हर समाज के व्यक्ति ने, हर वर्ग ने, हर जाति ने, उससे देश का हक सेक्युलर स्टेट्स और उभर कर सामने आया और तमाचा लगा है उन ताकतों को, जिसने इस देश की तारीख खोदने की कोशिश की। इसकी आलोचना सिर्फ एक जाति के लोगों ने नहीं की, हर जाति के लोगों ने की, हर समुदाय के लोगों ने की, हर वर्ग ने की।

आज सिकन्दर बख्त साहब कुछ अखबार कोट कर रहे थे। मैं उन्हें मंथिर देना चाहता हूँ। उस में बहुत छोटा हूँ, कि अखबार ही कोट करना चाहते हैं और अखबार की बात करना चाहते हैं, तो सात दिसम्बर की भी अखबार पढ़ लें। सात दिसम्बर के भी एडिटोरियल पढ़ लें। उनको पता लग जाएगा कि कितनी प्रशंसा की

है सब अखबारों ने उनकी पार्टी की और उनके लोगों की, जिन लोगों ने यह कलंकित काम किया है, जिन लोगों ने अपना यह विकृत चेहरा इस देश के सामने दिया है। अगर सात दिसम्बर के जिन अखबारों को वह कोट कर रहे थे, जिन एडिटर्स की बात कर रहे थे, उन सब अखबारों को पढ़ लें मैंने पढ़ा कि उन एडिटर्स ने और उन अखबार वालों ने जिनको आज वह अपने पक्ष में रखना चाहते हैं, उस भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लिए क्या कहा है, उसके नेताओं के लिए क्या कहा है, उन कार सेवकों के लिए जो देश फतेह करने के लिए गए थे, उनके लिए क्या कहा है और उनके साथ जिन लोगों को लेकर गए थे उनके लिए क्या कहा गया है। उसके बाद वह अखबार की बात करें तो शायद उनकी गलतफहमी दूर हो जायेगी। जो काम उन्होंने प्रैस वालों के साथ उस समय किया इस देश के इतिहास में शायद वह पहली घटना थी। लेकिन महोदय, उसके करने की एक वजह थी और वह वजह यह है कि ऐसे नहीं कि प्रैस वालों से उनकी कोई पुरानी दुश्मनी हो, वह सबूत मिटाना चाहते थे कि कोई सबूत नहीं रहे, कोई वीडियो गैल नहीं रहे, कोई वीडियो कैसेट नहीं रहे, कोई अखबार वाला ऐसा न रहे सबूत न बचे जो बाहर जा करके यह कह दे कि बेदरों से इन लोगों ने उस मस्जिद को ढाहा है। उनका मकसद यह था। उस मकसद को पूरा करने के लिए उस मीडिया का, उसने उन अखबार वालों का जो आज देश को सच्चाई का दर्पण बताते हैं, उन पर भी चोट करने की कोई कसर नहीं रखी और वह कहते हैं हमने उनसे मुआफी मांगी ली। किस बात की मुआफी, काहे की मुआफी, क्यों मुआफी? मात्र इसलिए कि आपने सबूत वह चाहते थे कि नहीं रहे और किसी हद तक वह सबूत मिटाए हैं। लेकिन वह जो ऊपर वाला है, वह जो भगवान है, वह जो अल्लाह है, उससे आप नहीं छिपा सकते, उसकी निगाह से नहीं बच सकते, उसकी मार से नहीं बच सकते। कहां तक सबूत मिटायेंगे? सबूत हैं, आज भी मौजूद हैं। जिन लोगों ने ऐसा काम किया है उन लोगों की तस्वीरें हैं, उन लोगों के नाम हैं उन्होंने जो काम किया है वह काम सब के सामने पड़ा हुआ है। अक्सरमाध्यम महोदय, वह चाहे देश को गुमराह करने के लिए कुछ भी करें, लेकिन आज यह देश गुमराह होने की स्थिति में नहीं है। मैं उस बात की बहुत कटु आलोचना करता हूँ कि चाहे हमारे देश में, चाहे विदेश में, कहां भी मंदिर तोड़ा गया हो या मस्जिद तोड़ी गई हो, मैं उसकी पतर्ना करता हूँ। कोई धर्म चाहे वह इस्लाम हो, चाहे वह हिन्दू धर्म हो, कोई धर्म नहीं कहता कि किसी मंदिर को तोड़ो या किसी मस्जिद को तोड़ो।

अगर बाहर के मुल्कों में मंदिर भी तोड़ा है तो उन्होंने बहुत गलत काम किया है। वह जिस नाम की दुहाई देते हैं इस्लाम की बात करते हैं, यह इस्लाम के खिलाफ उन्होंने काम किया है। उन्हें इस्लाम की दुहाई देने का कोई हक नहीं है। अगर किसी ने मंदिर तोड़ा है, अगर किसी ने मस्जिद तोड़ी है तो कहीं भी रामायण में, गीता में भगवान राम ने किसी और अवतार ने कहीं नहीं कहा कि आप मस्जिद तोड़ो। अगर ऐसी घटनाएं जो हुई हैं उनकी मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से कड़ी आलोचना करता हूँ, भर्त्सना करता हूँ और खम्भी करता हूँ कि दोबारा इस प्रकार की पुनरावृत्ति न हो और मैं उन लोगों को बर्दाई देता हूँ, मुबारकबाद देता हूँ, जिन्होंने खड़े हो कर हिन्दू समुदाय के लोगों ने मस्जिद को बचाया, मुस्लिमों को मरने से बचाया। सैकुलरिज्म आज हिन्दुस्तान में है, ऐसे लोग जिंदा हैं, ऐसी मिसालें हैं और अभी भी वह बातें हुई हैं और मैं उन मुसलमानों को बर्दाई देता हूँ कि जिन्होंने हिन्दू भाइयों को खड़े रह कर बचाया, उनके मंदिरों को बचाया। मैंने अखबार में वेस्ट बंगाल का उदाहरण पढ़ा और भी जगहों की बात सुनी। जब मैं व्यक्तिगत लोगों से मिलने गया तो लोगों ने कहा कि हम मुसलमान हैं, लेकिन हमें फ्लां शर्मा जी ने बचाया है, हमें फ्लां गर्ग साहब ने बचाया है। हमारे घर को उन्होंने बचाया है। तो आज अगर यह गलतफहमी इनको है कि सब धार्मिक उन्माद के अन्दर अंधे हैं हमारे भड़कावे में आकर हिन्दू मुसलमान के खून का प्यास हो गया है तो यह इनकी गलतफहमी है। इस देश के अन्दर सैकुलरिज्म जिंदा है, सैकुलर लोग जिंदा हैं, जो एक-दूसरे से प्यार से रहते हैं, मोहब्बत करते हैं और उसके लिए मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि इतनी बड़ी घटना इन्होंने की, लेकिन उसके बाद भी इस मुल्क में जितने लोग मरे वह हिन्दू-मुस्लिम फसाद से नहीं मरे, बहुत कम कोई इक्की-दुक्की घटना हो सकती है, उन्होंने ऐसी की होगी, लेकिन इतनी बड़ी घटना होने के बाद भी जो लोग मरे हैं वह लोग पुलिस की गोलियों से मरे हैं। ऐसी घटनाएं बहुत कम हैं जो कि वहां एक-दूसरे को मार दिया हो। इनके धार्मिक उन्माद फैलाने के बाद भी लोग उसके अन्दर नहीं आए और इस बात का दुख है कि आज पुलिस के अन्दर और पैर मिलिट्री फोर्स के अन्दर जो इनके द्वारा लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है और उसके माध्यम से जो लोग वहां पहुंच जाते हैं और इस प्रकार की घटना करते हैं, यह एक दुःखद बात है। मन्त्री जी इस बात को जरूर देखें। जो प्रतिबंधित संगठन हैं, जिन संगठनों पर आप प्रतिबंध लगा रहे हैं, उन संगठनों के जो लोग पुलिस के अन्दर पहुंच गए हैं,

इस देश की क्या हालत बनायी है, लेकिन नहीं उस बात को सुना गया और आज यह सवाल खड़ा किया जाता है कि आडवाणी जी को क्यों बंद किया गया है?

6.00 P.M.

उनको खुला रखते जश्न मनाते, सब उनका जुलूस निकालते और जिस तरह से पहले आडवाणी जी की रथ-यात्रा के समय कल्ले-आम हुआ था उसी तरह से कल्ले आम करवाते। तब वह शायद खुश हो जाते। यह सवाल पूछते हैं कि आडवाणी जी को क्यों गिरफ्तार किया गया?

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बार-बार और आज भी वह बात उठी, इस हिन्दुस्तान में रह रहे मुसलमानों पर अंगुली उठती है। कहा जाता है कि यह पाकिस्तानी है, पाकिस्तान के सिम्पेथाइजर है। पाकिस्तान की मदद करते हैं। मैंने 3 तारीख को भी यह बात कही थी...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): Dr. Abrar Ahmed, just a moment because it is 6.00 p.m. now. I have to take the sense of the House because there are many speakers. I would try to know the sense of the House. Could we adjust a few more speakers today? I think one or two speakers can be adjusted today and then we can adjourn. I think the House has no objection.

डा० अब्रार अहमद: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कह रहा था कि हम पर अंगुली उठायी जाती है और अंगुली उठकर यह कहा जाता है कि यह पाकिस्तानी है, तो उस संबंध में मैंने 3 तारीख को भी यह बात कही थी और आज फिर उसको दोहरा रहा हूँ कि 1947 में जब पाकिस्तान बना था तो इस मुल्क में रह रहे मुसलमानों के पास एक विकल्प था कि वह हिन्दुस्तान में रहे या पाकिस्तान में जाय। यह विकल्प दूसरों के पास नहीं था। उस वक्त मुसलमानों को यह विकल्प चुनना था कि वह हिन्दुस्तान में रहे तो उसके साथ उसे अपनी मौत को भी चुनना था क्योंकि यहाँ रहने पर उनको कल्ल किया जा सकता है, उनको मारा जा सकता है, लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी उसने वहाँ जाना पसंद नहीं किया। उसे हिन्दुस्तान की मिट्टी से उतनी मोहब्बत थी, इस भारत माँ से इतना प्यार था कि मर जाएंगे, इसी मिट्टी में मिलेंगे, लेकिन यहीं रहेंगे और वह मुसलमान यहाँ रहा। आज अगर मुसलमान को यह कहा जाए कि वह

पाकिस्तानी है तो मुझे हैरत होती है उन लोगों की अक्ल पर, उन लोगों के दिमाग पर जो कि आज भी उस मुसलमान पर अंगुली उठाता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वर्ष 1947 के बाद से आज तक का इतिहास उठाकर देख लें किस्ने हिन्दुस्तान के नब्बौ बेचे, किस्ने गद्दारी की। इसके लिए मुसलमान पर अंगुली नहीं उठा सकते। किस्ने 1965 की लड़ाई में पैटन-टैंक तोड़े? फिर, 1947 की लड़ाई में क्या हुआ? मुसलमान पर अंगुली नहीं उठा सकते। उसके बाद आप उनको कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तानी हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मैं आपके माध्यम से उनको बता देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे मुल्क को किसी तरह से गुमराह करना चाहते हैं तो यह मुल्क गुमराह नहीं होगा। बड़े ज़ोरों से यहाँ सोमनाथ के मंदिर की बात कही सिकन्दर बख्त साहब ने, मुझे आज यह कहने में कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं है कि उस समय अगर भारतीय जनता पार्टी होती तो शायद सोमनाथ का मंदिर नहीं बनता। उसको भी यह राजनीति में बसीट ले जाते। उसके लिए लोगों को यह लोग सौगंध, कसमें खिलाते। उस वक्त राजनीति नहीं थी, यह लोग नहीं थे, ऐसी मानसिकता लोगों में पैदा नहीं हुई थी, लोग तब सेकुलर माइण्ड से चलते थे। अगर यह नेता उस टाइम होते तो शायद अयोध्या से पहले उस सोमनाथ को दिल्ली की गद्दी पाने के लिए यह लोग मनसूबा बनाते। आप सवाल करते हैं उस टाइम क्यों नहीं हुआ? उस-टाइम इसलिए नहीं हुआ। अगर यह लोग नहीं होते, तो मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि अयोध्या के अंदर, जहाँ हम स्ट्रक्चर कह रहे हैं। मस्जिद कह रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान का मुसलमान उसको मन्दिर मानता और खुद अपने हाथों से देता, लेकिन इन लोगों ने जो धार्मिक उन्माद फैलाया, जिस तरह की सांप्रदायिकता फैलाई, जिस तरह से हिन्दू और मुसलिम भावनाओं को भड़का कर दिल्ली के तख्त पर पहुंचने की योजना बनाई उसकी वजह से आज यह हालात हुए हैं वरना सोमनाथ मन्दिर जिस तरह बन गया था, शायद यह मन्दिर भी उसी तरह से बन जाता।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से एक सवाल पूछता हूँ इन लोगों से और वह यह कि जब 1947 में इस ढांचे के अंदर मूर्तिया रख दी गई थीं, इसके अंदर पूजा हो रही थी और उसको आप मन्दिर कहते थे, मैं भी उसको मन्दिर मानता हूँ, तो फिर उसको क्यों तोड़ा? जब वहाँ मूर्ति थी, जब पूजा हो रही थी, जब उसको मन्दिर कह रहे थे तो क्या ऐसी जल्दई आ रही थी? अगर कोई कोई दस साल या पांच साल ज्यादा लेता तो

प्रशासन के अन्दर पहुंच गए हैं, उन्हीं लोगों की ही देन है जो आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हुआ है, बारह सौ लोग मरे हैं। वरना, आप इस पूरी घटना को देख लें जिसमें लोग सोचते थे कि यह देश जल उठेगा, कल्ले आम मच जाएंगे। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वहां हिन्दू-मुसलमान नहीं लड़ा। सिर्फ वहां लड़ा जहां कि इनके दिमाग के, इनकी मानसिकता के लोग थे, वहां बंद जगहों पर इस प्रकार की घटनाएं हुईं, लेकिन उसको भी लोगों ने अपने धैर्य से, अपने सेकुलरिज्म से, एक-दूसरे के प्यार और मोहब्बत से बड़ी जल्दी कंट्रोल कर लिया। तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज इस मुल्क के अंदर जो हालात इन्होंने बनाए हैं, वह बहुत ही गलत है और बहुत ही कड़ी आलोचना के योग्य है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक सरकारों बरखास्त करने की बात सामने आ रही है, तो जिन लोगों ने वहां के हालात नहीं देखे हों, वे सदन में खड़े होकर कुछ भी कह सकते हैं कि राजस्थान की सरकार बरखास्त क्यों कर दी? मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार बरखास्त क्यों कर दी? यूपी की सरकार क्यों बरखास्त कर दी? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राजस्थान का रहने वाला हूं। मैं वहां के जिलों में, कस्बों में, गली-गली में जाता हूं। वे मुझसे बात करें कि वह सरकार क्यों बरखास्त हुई? मैं उनको बताऊंगा। मानीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वह राजस्थान जिसमें कि कुम्हरे जैसा कांड हुआ। पिछड़े और शेड्यूल कास्ट के लोगों को जिंदा जला दिया गया। वह राजस्थान जहां आडवाणी जी की रथ यात्रा के समय अल्पसंख्यकों को जयपुर में जिंदा जला दिया गया। सैकड़ों लोगों को "टाडा" में डाल दिया गया जिनके कि बच्चे भूखों मरने के लिए मजबूर हो गए। वह राजस्थान जहां कि पिछड़े, शेड्यूल कास्ट और अल्पसंख्यक सिर उठाकर नहीं देख सकते थे, उस सरकार के लिए ये सवाल पूछते हैं कि वह क्यों बरखास्त कर दी गयी? महोदय, आपने अखबार में पढ़ा होगा कि जब कार सेवा की बात आयी तो वहां के 17 मंत्रियों ने कार सेवा में जाने की पेशकश की, इस्तीफा देने की पेशकश की। वहां जाने वाले कार सेवकों को मुख्य मंत्री रेलवे स्टेशन पर सी ऑफ करने गए। उन्हें माला पहनाने गए, अपने मंत्रियों को छोड़ने गए और आने के बाद मंत्री उनका स्वागत करने गए। बैन लगने के बावजूद उनका स्वागत किया गया और कार सेवकों से कहा कि जाओ जगह-जगह धार्मिक उन्माद फैला दो। जिस तरह से वहां लोगों को गोलियां मारी गयीं, शायद ही हिन्दुस्तान में कहीं मारी गयी हों।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सवा महीने का बच्चा धार्मिक उन्माद फैलाएगा? उसको गोली लगी। महिलाओं के गोली लगी। दूसरी और तीसरी मंजिल पर रहने वाले लोगों को गोलियां लगीं जो बच्चे को स्कूल छोड़ने जा रहा था, उसको गोली लगी। जो स्कूल से बच्चे को लेने जा रहा था, उसको गोली लगी। जहां कोई मांब नहीं था, मैं पूछता हूं कि अगर मांब था तो कितनी दुकानें जलायीं उन्हीं? कितनों को लूटा उन्हीं? कितनी को चाकू मारा जहां आपने लाशें बिछा दीं। उसी जयपुर के पास एक मालपुरा है जहां कि एक फेमिली के 17 लोगों को जलाया। वहां की एक जुलाहा बस्ती जिसके अंदर तीन परिवार रहते थे, 22 लोग कुल मरे, लेकिन 17 लोगों को जलाया क्यों जलाया? उन्हीं बंद का आन्धान दिया। गरीब तो रोज कमाता और रोज खाता है। अगर वह दिन में दुकान बंद रखता तो उसके पास शाम को आटे के लिए पैसा नहीं होता। उसने मना किया, उसको जला दिया। उन 17 लोगों को किसने जलाया? उस कार सेवक को जलाया जो एक रोज पहले वहां से लौटा था और ये सवाल करते हैं कि राजस्थान सरकार क्यों भंग हुई? अरे वहां जाकर देखो, उनसे पूछो जोकि बेवा हो गयी हैं, जिनके सिर से मां-बाप का साया उठ गया है। उस राजस्थान के अंदर आज यह सवाल खड़ा किया जाता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके साथ ही साथ माननीय बख्त साहब ने बहुत सारी बातें कहीं मैं उन सब बातों को एक-एक कर के जवाब देना चाहता था। उन्हीं कहा कि आडवाणी जी को क्यों गिरफ्तार किया गया? क्या करते आडवाणी जी का? उनके लिए कोई और आई०पी०सी० है? उनके लिए कोई और कानून है? वह क्या वहां नहीं गए थे? क्या लोगों को भड़काकर नहीं ले गए थे? किसी ने कहा कि आडवाणी जी बंद रहे। आम आदमी जिस पर कोई कानून लागू होता है, वह कोर्ट में जाता है, अपनी जमानत करवाता है। क्यों नहीं जमानत करवाते थे? राजनीतिक लाभ लेना चाहते हैं। दिल्ली के तख्त पर पहुंचना चाहते हैं उसके जरिए से और कहते हैं कि आडवाणी जी बंद है। आम आदमी जो जरा सा भी जुल्म करता है, उससे आडवाणी जी क्यों अलग हैं? क्या उनके लिए कोई और धारा है? कोई और कानून है? मैंने माननीय गृह मंत्रीजी से कहा था कि 25 साल पुराना आडवाणी जी का रिकार्ड निकलवाओ। आपकी सी०आई०डी० की रिपोर्ट है। ये आडवाणी जी जब एक अखबार के कार्रस्पोंडेंट थे, तब की रिपोर्ट है कि उनके पार्लियामेंट का पास नहीं दिया जाए। आज उसने मुल्क की क्या हालत बनायी है?

हिन्दुस्तान में रहे तो उसके साथ उसे अपनी मौत को भी चुनना था क्योंकि यहां रहने पर उनके कत्ल किया जा सकता है, उनको मारा जा सकता है, लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी उसने वहां जाना पसंद नहीं किया। उसे हिन्दुस्तान की मिट्टी से उतनी मोहब्बत थी, इस भारत में से इतना प्यार था कि मर जाएंगे, इसी मिट्टी में मिलेंगे, लेकिन यहीं रहेंगे और वह मुसलमान यहां रहा। आज अगर मुसलमान को यह कहा जाए कि वह पाकिस्तानी है तो मुझे हैरत होती है उन लोगों की अक्ल पर, उन लोगों के दिमाग पर जो कि आज भी उस मुसलमान पर अंगुली उठाता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वर्ष 1947 के बाद से आज तक का इतिहास उठाकर देख लें किस्ने हिन्दुस्तान के नक्शे बेचे, किस्ने गद्दारी की। इसके लिए मुसलमान पर अंगुली नहीं उठा सकते। किस्ने 1965 की लड़ाई में पैटन-टैंक तोड़े? फिर, 1947 की लड़ाई में क्या हुआ? मुसलमान पर अंगुली नहीं उठा सकते। उसके बाद आप उनको कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तानी है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मैं आपके माध्यम से उनको बता देना चाहता हूं कि अगर वे मुल्क को किसी तरह से गुमराह करना चाहते हैं तो यह मुल्क गुमराह नहीं होगा। बड़े जोरों से यहां सोमनाथ के मंदिर की बात कही सिकन्दर बख्त साहब ने, मुझे आज यह कहने में कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं है कि उस समय अगर भारतीय जनता पार्टी होती तो शायद सोमनाथ का मंदिर नहीं बनता। उसको भी यह राजनीति में घसीट ले जाते। उसके लिए लोगों को यह लोग सींगध, कसमें खिलाते। उस वक्त राजनीति नहीं थी, यह लोग नहीं थे, ऐसी मानसिकता लोगों में पैदा नहीं हुई थी, लोग तब सेकुलर माइण्ड से चलते थे। अगर यह नेता उस टाइम होते तो शायद अयोध्या से पहले उस सोमनाथ को दिल्ली की गद्दी पाने के लिए यह लोग मनसूबा बनाते। आप सवाल करते हैं उस टाइम क्यों नहीं हुआ? उस टाइम इसलिए नहीं हुआ। अगर यह लोग नहीं होते, तो मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूं कि अयोध्या के अंदर, जहां हम स्टैंडर कर रहे हैं। मस्जिद कह रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान का मुसलमान उसको मन्दिर मानता और खुद अपने हाथों से देता, लेकिन इन लोगों ने जो धार्मिक उन्माद फैलाया, जिस तरह की संप्रदायिकता फैलाई, जिस तरह से हिन्दू और मुसलिम भवनाओं को भड़का कर दिल्ली के तख्त पर पहुंचने की योजना बनाई उसकी वजह से आज यह हालात हुए हैं। बरना सोमनाथ मन्दिर जिस तरह बन गया था, शायद वह मन्दिर भी उसी तरह से बन जाता।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से एक सवाल पूछता हूं इन लोगों से और वह यह कि जब 1947 में इस ढांचे के अंदर मूर्तिया रख दी गई थीं, इसके अंदर पूजा हो रही थी और उसको आप मन्दिर कहते थे, मैं भी उसको मन्दिर मानता हूं, तो फिर उसको क्यों तोड़ा? जब वहां मूर्ति थी, जब पूजा हो रही थी, जब उसको मन्दिर कह रहे थे तो क्या ऐसी जल्दी आ रही थी? अगर कोई कोर्ट दस साल या पांच साल ज्यादा लेता तो कौन सा पानी बरस रहा था? कौन सी उसमें नमाज चालू हो रही थी? कौन सरकार किसी और को दे रही थी? जब पूजा हो रही थी, मूर्ति थी, मन्दिर था, तो उसको क्यों तोड़ा? क्या वजह थी? क्यों वहां गए थे? क्या करने वहां गए थे? इस सवाल का आप जवाब दें। क्या तुम उसको मन्दिर नहीं मानते थे? क्या तुम उसके राम-लला को मूर्ति नहीं मानते थे? क्या तुम उस पूजा को पूजा नहीं मानते थे? यह मेरा सवाल इनके सामने है और मैं जानता हूं कि यह लोग इस सवाल का जवाब नहीं दे सकते। उस भगवान राम को, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मूर्ति-पूजा अलग चीज़ है लेकिन किसी भी अवतार को मानना अलग चीज़ है मैं मानता हूं भगवान राम को, मैं मानता हूं वे एक अवतार थे, उन्होंने सबको इसानियत का ज्ञान दिया, अच्छी बातें बताई उस आदमी को मानने में किसी को ऐतराज नहीं होना चाहिए, मैं मानता हूं वह भगवान राम, वह मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम राम जिन्होंने जो बाली अत्याचारी था, उस बाली अत्याचारी का सुप्रीम के साथ मिलकर खुद वध किया जिस भगवान राम का यह उपदेश है कि "रघुकुल रित सदा चलि आई, प्राण जाए पर वचन न जाई", यह उसके उम्मत हो सकते हैं? जिन्होंने सदन में कहा, सुप्रीम कोर्ट में कहा, दुनिया में कहा और उससे पलटकर जो आचरण दिखाया, जो भयानक चेहरा दिखाया, क्या वह राम के अनुयायी कहलाए जा सकते हैं?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सिकन्दर बख्त साहब ने रामराज्य की बात कही गांधी जी का हवाला देकर, उनके मुख से वह बात भी अच्छी नहीं लगती कल उस हाउस में गृह मंत्री जी ने बहुत अच्छी बात कही थी कि "मुख में राम और पेट में नत्थू राम" आज उन्होंने उस राम और राम-राज की बात कही अरे राम की बात तो, राम चरित मानस के अंदर जो तुलसीदास जी ने कही:—

"देहिक, दैविक भौतिक तापा, राम राज काहुहि नहि ब्यापा।"

शायद वह इस को जानते होंगे कि जहां अगर कोई देह का जहां अगर कोई प्राकृतिक या भौतिक दुख है तो

लिए नहीं है गीता में जो उपदेश दिया है, वह सिर्फ हिन्दू के लिए नहीं है, गुरुग्रंथ साहिब में जो बात कही है, वह सिर्फ सिक्खों के लिए नहीं है बाइबल में जो बात कही है, वह सिर्फ क्रिश्चियन्स के लिए नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा, उसमें जो उपदेश है, संदेश है, पैगाम है, वह तो इंसान के लिए है, जो इन्सानियत का पैगाम देता है, दूसरे के दुख-दर्द को बांटने की बात करता है एक गेटी है तो कैसे बांट कर खाए, एक गज़ कपड़ा है तो कैसे बांट कर तन डकें, वह तो उसकी बात कहता है यह तो इस दुनियादारी के अंदर अपने निहित स्वार्थों के लिए लोगों ने बना लिया है। तो मैं आपके माध्यम से एक सवाल करता हूँ कि जब हम धर्म की बात करते हैं तो फिर हम धर्म ग्रंथों में कही बात को क्यों भूल जाते हैं? जब हम भगवान की बात करते हैं तो भगवान के दिए उस संदेश को क्यों भूल जाते हैं? क्यों नहीं सच्चाई से और ईमानदारी से हम लोगों को वह बात बताएं कि वास्तव में हमारा धर्म क्या कहता है, धर्म ग्रंथ क्या कहता है, हमारे धर्म गुरु क्या कहते हैं और हमारा भगवान क्या कहता है। तो यह जिस प्रकार से लोगों को बहकाने की बात की जा रही है, अगर वास्तव में धार्मिक हों तो धर्म के माध्यम से लोगों को समझाओ, सारा राष्ट्र एक हो जाएगा, सारा राष्ट्र मजबूत हो जाएगा, सब में भाईचारा आ जाएगा, क्योंकि उनमें इतनी मिठास के साथ बात कही गई है कि उसके बाद किसी कानून की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी, किसी धौंस की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी, किसी डर की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी। तो इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ कि आपने जो वक्त दिया उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Tamil Nadu has been very peaceful after the Ayodhya incident and compared to the rest of the country Tamil Nadu was practically trouble-free and the situation was fully under control. But all of a sudden the army has been sent to Tamil Nadu. Neither was the Chief Secretary informed nor was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu consulted in this matter. On 15th morning at about 1.00 A.M. 500 army personnel landed in Trichy without any information and without any clearance. (Interruptions)....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Another Ayodhya will be committed in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: They

belonged to the 93 Field Regiment of Hyderabad. After their arrival, they had been contacting...

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I have given an assurance to you that I will enquire into the matter and let you know.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: My only point is that Tamil Nadu has been very peaceful. The army suddenly came there and they contacted the Collector and there was a lot of panic. What I want to say is that there was a lot of panic among the people. Even, I understand, some of the newspapers have written editorials that the Tamil Nadu Government is going to be dismissed. They have withdrawn their editorials only this morning. I don't know why the army personnel...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: You can inform her that we are not going to dismiss her.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Are you keeping your cards close to your chest?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Regarding Tamil Nadu and the observation made by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, I will conclude within a very short period of ten minutes. A point has been raised by my esteemed friend, Mr. Gopalsamy, that the *kar sevaks* have been supported by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister. I have made a speech some days ago in this same House and I have said...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The information is that you have sent people to perform *kar seva* there.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: That is totally wrong. On behalf of our Chief Minister and on behalf of our party, one of the General Secretaries of the party has refuted that and stated that we had not sent anybody for the *kar seva*. Some hon. Members say that they went there and they have not shouted 'Ram, Ram' but they shouted 'Puratchithalaivi, Puratchithalaivi'. I don't know how strange things are being said and we have never sent anybody. (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The VHP made a statement that the AIADMK had sent volunteers to perform *kar seva* at Ayodhya. This is the statement made by the VHP people.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No, Sir. It is a wrong statement. Somebody might have gone from Tamil Nadu. All the people who are coming from Tamil Nadu are not AIADMK people and it has been very strongly refuted. *(Interruptions)*...DMK people might have gone. Another hon. Member who neither likes the AIADMK nor the DMK has said that they went there and they shouted 'Kalaigñar vazhga' Kalaigñar vazhga' at that place. *(Interruptions)*... The point is that one of the secretaries of our party has very strongly refuted that and stated that nobody went there. Shri Govindacharya—he is the General Secretary of the BJP; he is stationed in Tamil Nadu—himself has stated... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He is close to you.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Everybody is close to us. Even you are close to me. Though in politics we belong to different parties, it doesn't mean that we should be inimical to each other. I don't agree with that point. We tell our views. We represent our points of view. That doesn't mean I should personally become inimical to you. I always feel that we should have amity in this House and outside and in politics also. May be, Shri Govindacharya is a friend of ours. He belongs to another party. He issued a statement that none from Tamil Nadu went for the *Kar Seva*. The only point that was made by our hon. Chief Minister at that place was: "The sentiments of the minorities have to be valued." I told the same thing the other day in the House also. I also said that the sentiments of the majority for building a Ram temple have to be considered if there is no dispute there and there are no court orders and legal hurdles...*(interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Why did she walk out of the NIC meeting... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: That is a wrong information. She did not walk out. She was there. In the evening some time around 6 O'clock the NIC meeting started. She was there up till 8.30. Thinking that the meeting would be over within 2½ hours she had given an appointment to some important people for 8.30. Therefore she went out to meet these people. Neither did she walk out nor did she support anybody. Unnecessary rumours are floated... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Did she not make a statement supporting the *Kar Seva* in the NIC meeting... *(interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): I request the hon. Members not to interrupt like this. Mr. Gopalsamy, you have already made your point...*(interruptions)*...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The court also allowed it. The *Kar Seva* has been allowed by the Government of India. *Kar Seva*, according to the courts, means singing of *kirthans* and *bhajans*. It was allowed by the Government of India. It was allowed by the Prime Minister and that is why all the people went there... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Does the Home Minister agree with this?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: It was the Supreme Court which gave this interpretation... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It was the Supreme Court which gave this ruling... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are also a culprit then, Mr. Minister... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I have a statement made by Mr. Gadgil. I will read it out. The hon. Member most

probably would not know about it. Mr. Gadgil said, "Ms. Jayalalitha had not strained relations with the Congress party." He said in reply to a question that there was nothing significant in Ms. Jayalalitha's speech. Her stand on the temple was similar to that of the Congress. He said that she also stood for the construction of the temple and protection of the disputed structure. This is there even in the Congress manifesto... (interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Did she not support the BJP in the NIC? (interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: She has not supported the BJP. Unnecessarily they are floating rumours... (interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): Let him make his point. Let him clarify his position... (interruptions)...

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI (Tamil Nadu): Sir, this should not be allowed. He should not be allowed to interrupt... (interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Congress party does not need our support. All the parties are supporting them in the Lok Sabha except the BJP. No party is going to oppose the Government on this issue. That is the position as on date. They don't have to say anything because they need our support. She has said... (interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir... (interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I don't understand why the hon. Member gets impatient. He is not able to answer and that is why he becomes impatient. Mr. Gopalsamy, you please listen to what I have to say... (interruptions).... A statement has been issued by our hon. Chief Minister on the 6th December. The statement said: "I would like to convey my strong and unequivocal condemnation of all acts of desecration that are reported to have taken place in the Babri

Masjid complex. This is gross violation of the orders of the apex court. I strongly urge all parties to initiate a discussion immediately to prevent further damage to the communal understanding among the people of our country." This was the statement issued on December 6th. Again there was a *Bandh* in Tamil Nadu also. She again made a statement. She said in the statement that the *Bandh* was to condemn the Ayodhya incidents and express support to the Muslim brethren and promote unity among different religions. The savage destruction of the Babri Masjid was most regrettable and AIADMK condemn it strongly... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The Muslims in Tamil Nadu are against the Chief Minister... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, they want to take advantage of the situation. Some way or the other, they want to come to power. But, unfortunately, they are not going to come to power... (Interruptions)...

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: Sir, you don't allow them to interrupt... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): No such interruptions will go on record... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: They say that all the Muslims are against the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. I say that all the Muslims are against the election, every community was against the DMK. That is why they got only one seat in the Assembly. Not only the Hindus, even the Muslims are against them... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Will you contest alone?... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: They drew a cipher. That is the position now. And what happened before?... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: today if elections are held, you will be thrown out...(Interruptions) You will be thrown into the dustbin.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, you have to have an election. We are prepared for it...(Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Can you face an election today? Would you like to face the challenge?...(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEYRAZI): Please cooperate with the Chair.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: We are prepared for an election. If an election comes, we will face it.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Why are you fighting the Tamil Nadu battle here?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not fighting...(Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Let him go to Ayodhya leaving alone the Chief Minister and the party...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not fighting. The hon. Member sitting beside me is all the time fighting with me. What can I do on this matter? One more thing. An hon. Member here stated two days back that not only the BJP Governments of the four States should be dismissed but the Tamil Nadu Government also should be dismissed. That is what he said. And then he said that the Tamil Nadu Government is not supporting all those people and collaborating with them...(Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You will be dismissing yourself.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: My point is, Tamil Nadu has been implementing the orders of the court. And regarding the organisations which have been banned, the ISS—arrests made, 13 and prosecutions launched, 13, the RSS—arrests made, 33 and prosecutions launched, 33... (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Are we

discussing the law and order situation in Tamil Nadu here...(Interruptions)

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: Sir, it is related.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is a related subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): Tamil Nadu is a part of India and he is letting the House know as to what happened there after the Ayodhya incident...(Interruptions) No. Please don't interrupt like this. Please cooperate.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: They were allowed to speak...(Interruptions)

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: Sir, without your permission, they cannot interevene.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Mr. Gopalsamy spoke for about 40 minutes...(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): When your turn comes, you speak whatever you like...(Interruptions)

SHRI S. MUTHU MANI: We were very calm at that time.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Hon. Member Gopalsamy, talked about Aryans, he talked about Khyber Pass and he talked about Dravidians. It was nothing to do with the situation. But we sat quiet...(Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The whole issue...(interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: He was talking irrelevantly for 20 minutes and I was keeping quiet. I talk about relevant matters, regarding the banned organisations. He was talking about the Aryan-Dravidian conflict...(Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is the crux of the problem today... (Interruptions) The Hindutva theory is the crux of the problem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): Mr. Gopalsamy, please...(Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is not that all the Hindus are Aryans and all the Muslims are Dravidians. It is not so...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): You please address the Chair. Mr. Gopalsamy...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Now the cat is out of the bag. He is defending the BJP.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not defending anybody. I am only talking sense here. Why are you shouting and not allowing me to speak?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am surprised that you talk such a thing.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Is he afraid of or surprised about my talking sense? I don't know, Sir. He is afraid that I am saying such things. In Tamil Nadu, total arrests made were 135 and prosecutions launched were 153. And in Tamil Nadu, there has been no violent incident except in one place, Mellappalayam in Tirunelveli. Two persons died...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I was the first person to visit those areas.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): Mr. Gopalsamy, if you want to say anything, raise a point of order. I request you now... *(Interruptions)* Please sit down.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: If he interrupts like this, how can I speak? There were other incidents. And these two deaths were due to police firing and not because of the Hindu-Muslim fight. So, Tamil Nadu has been mostly a peaceful State. Apart from this, there has been communal amity in Tamil Nadu. This is what I want to tell the hon. Home Minister and most probably he should be happy about this thing.

I now come to the next point regarding responsibility. I am also very sorry to say,

as Mr. Yashwant Sinha has a responsibility cannot be placed others. I also feel that there is responsibility on the Government of India because the Government of India, the Prime Minister are also responsible for protecting the Constitution. If something goes wrong somewhere, we cannot simply say that it is because of the BJP or because somebody betrayed us. I think the responsibility has also to be taken by the Government of India and by the Prime Minister whenever something good or bad happens in this country. Our hon. Finance Minister is doing very good work regarding the economy of this country. Supposing the economy of our country improves tomorrow—both the Finance Minister and Minister of State for Finance are here and we hope that our economy will improve and the companies get very good profits with the economic improvement, naturally we all will say that it is the Congress Government, naturally we all will say that it is the Congress Government and the Prime Minister who have been responsible for bringing in these good things in this country. So also when something goes wrong in this country, people will say that the Government and the Prime Minister are primarily responsible. Somewhere the buck has to stop, as it is said in a proverb. In a business, the profit or loss always goes to the proprietor or to the Managing Director of a company. We cannot tomorrow accuse the manager, saying "This manager misled me, another man has betrayed me and that is why I have incurred the loss"! The Board of Directors will not accept. The shareholders will not accept. They will only say that the man at the helm of affairs, in the normal parlance, is responsible. Tomorrow there is a fight and a General goes, fights and loses. Naturally, everybody will garland the General who won and would find fault with the General who lost the war. So also, in my normal common sense, I personally feel that the Government and

the Prime Minister are also responsible or primarily responsible for what has happened. Even though we are an alliance party, I am sorry we have to tell this.

Another thing is about betrayal which I do not understand because as it has been said and as I have read in the papers also, enough information has gone from the Home Ministry. I have read in the papers that the Home Minister himself has been warning the Government. There were a series of discussions going on within the Ministry and within the Cabinet. I am not.....(Interruptions)

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Please do not try to confuse.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: That is what I read in the papers. You are not expected to disclose what has happened in a Cabinet meeting. It is a combined responsibility. I do not say somebody has said it or somebody has not said it. But this is what I read in the papers. Maybe, you might have done it or you might not have done it. That is a different matter altogether. But information has gone from the people concerned to the hon. Government and the Prime Minister and it is the duty of the Prime Minister to see all the information and come to a conclusion. What is being told outside is that the difficulty for this position was not due to lack of information, but lack of decision because sometimes we may have all the information, but the man at the top position may not take a decision. That will spoil the whole show. I personally feel that the Prime Minister and the Government of India are also responsible and they should also own up that they are responsible for the matter and should try to remedy the situation.

We do not agree on the dismissal of the three Governments under Article 356. We strongly feel that these Governments should not have been dismissed. The point that has been put forth is that they have been supporting these people. Another point is that a

Chief Minister of a particular State is an RSS person. As it has been spoken here also, many Members who contested the elections belong to this RSS. The RSS was not a banned organisation when they contested the last elections either to Parliament or to the State Assemblies. Then there was no embargo that by belonging to these parties, you should not assume the position of Chief Minister or you should not assume the position of an MLA or an MP. Tomorrow, if the same logic is applied that a Chief Minister cannot be there because he happens to be a member of the RSS, many of our Members here belonging to the BJP also belong to RSS and even, I think, our revered leader, Shri Vajpayee himself is a member of the RSS.

I do not know. Then most of the people have to be asked to go home. We may not be able to...(Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (UTTAR PRADESH): There are persons in the Congress also. There are members in the ISS from the CPM also... (interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Maybe because the RSS by itself cannot do that. Another thing, at that particular point of time...(interruptions)...and then the Government should go. Government does not consist of the Chief Minister of a State alone. There is an Assembly there. Most probably, there are about 450 Members in the Assembly of Uttar Pradesh. There may be about 200 and odd Members in Rajasthan. And those Members, all of them, do not belong to the RSS. They are not belonging to the BJP. What happens when you are dismissing a Government? You are dismissing everybody wholesale. I may be a Member of that Assembly. I may not be an RSS man. And because the Chief Minister happens to be an RSS man, you dismiss the Government. Then what happens to those other MLAs? What right you have got to ask them to go away from the State? Sir, it is wrong to dismiss because of the presumption that

somebody is an RSS man, because of the presumption that they may not avert this thing. Sir, as it has been rightly said, this communal carnage has happened, apart from those States, in many other States. It happened in Gujarat, it happened in Maharashtra. There were statistics in the newspapers. Almost there was no incident in Himachal Pradesh, as also in Tamil Nadu. Still the HP Government has been dismissed. Sir, I do not understand this. If any State Government does not obey the instructions of the Centre, you have got every right to dismiss them. but then you have to prove to the people before dismissing them that "I gave them these instructions? they have not obeyed these instructions, and because they have not obeyed these instructions, I am dismissing them." You have to make the people understand. Otherwise, they feel that you have unnecessarily dismissed them. So, any State Government can be threatened tomorrow. The State and the Centre are all under the Constitution. And you want to protect the Constitution. And the State Government, under the Constitution also has to be protected. You don't protect a part of the Constitution. Then how can you say that everybody has to protect the Constitution? Personally, Sir, I don't agree with this sort of a doubletalk.

Finally, Sir, we personally feel that the present state of affairs of the country does not warrant a mid-term poll. It is nearly one and a half years now that the elections were held...

AN HON. MEMBER: Who said about the mid-term poll?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Maybe from this side or that side...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Swaminathan is obsessed...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not obsessed with anything. Most probably, Mr. Gopalsamy may be obsessed with something. I am not obsessed. I am only saying that somebody is talking about the

mid-term poll. Mr. Gopalsamy is always obsessed with power, with Government, but I am not. Personally I am not obsessed because I happen to be in Rajya Sabha. Even if the Lok Sabha goes to the polls tomorrow, I continue for another six years here. I came here only two months back.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What about Palani by-election?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: That is a small matter. Why do you bring Palani here? Palani God, Lord Muruga is saving, Tamil Nadu, Sir.

Sir, the hon. Members from the BJP have been saying about the mid-term poll. We, belonging to the AIADMK and myself, personally feel that the country is not ready now for a mid-term poll. We have to be very clear about that. We had elections one and a half years back. Crores of rupees cannot be spent at this particular moment. Even if we have a mid-term poll, we are not very definite that we are going to have a majority Government in this country. Maybe we will have again this kind of a situation and we may have to go in for another mid-term poll. I don't think. Sir, the situation will warrant this. Anybody who has got the interest of the country in his heart, who has got the present state of economy of the country in his mind, will never say that we should have a mid-term poll. We should have political stability at this moment. We need a political stability at this moment. (Interruptions) Unless we have political stability, I personally feel that everything will be in chaos. And I do not agree about the No-Confidence Motion against the Government and the Prime Minister and the dismissal of the Government or a mid-term poll. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI): The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. on Monday, the 21st December, 1992.

The House then adjourned at thirty-four minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 21st December, 1992.