

श्रीमती रेणुका चौधरी : कि मैं उस को फोन करते ही तुरंत ही दृक एक्शन।

He took action and the police started behaving themselves after that. Sir, if the police are like this, if this is the procedure they have adopted कि वी आई पो. का सैक्युरिटी बोर्डियो देप करके प्राइवेट एजेंसीज में दे रहे हैं और हम उसका विरोध करें और वह इलजाम लगा दें कि मैंने रिवाल्वर निकाल ली। अगर मैंने रिवाल्वर निकाली तो एक हजार पुलिस ने क्यों गिरफ्तार नहीं किया ? Why am I not arrested? Let them produce the notice. Let them establish the fact; otherwise, they have to give a public apology.

और अगर मैं राह बीच में बैठूंगी तो एक साल तक मरूंगी नहीं, मैं बता रही हूँ। अगर बैठे रहूंगी और फिर आग लग जाएगी मुल्क में। यह झूठा इलजाम लगाया और... (व्यवधान) मेरे कुलीन (व्यवधान) जरा धर्म करो, जरा धर्म करो। (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Upendra.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

..SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION—FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SECURITY TO SHRI RAJIV GANDHI AND TO PREVENT THE LARGE SCALE VIOLENCE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY FOLLOWING HIS ASSASSINATION

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, while paying glowing tributes to the memory of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi yesterday, who was killed in a very dastardly manner at Sriperumbudur on May, 21 we deliberately refrained from referring to the other aspects of the assass-

sination, particularly the security lapses which led to the assassination, and also the horrendous acts of violence, arson and looting indulged in by these fake followers of Mahatma Gandhi in various parts of the country taking the excuse of Rajivji's death. Today, the Chairman has been kind enough to give permission to discuss both these aspects. I would like to take the first one to start with—the security lapse which led to the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi: I charge this Government with criminal negligence in providing security to Shri Rajiv Gandhi because the Tamil Nadu administration is now directly under the control of the Centre and there were enough indications that something dangerous would happen during Shri Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Tamil Nadu. Now, the assassination has taken place and in any other civilised country, any Government under similar circumstances would have owned moral responsibility for such a lapse and would have quit. But, I do not expect Shri Chandra Shekhar to do that. Madam, I am also surprised that the Central Bureau of Investigation, the Director of Central Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Vijay Karan expressed satisfaction over the security arrangements, even before the inquiry has been completed. I quote from the "Hindustan Times" dated May 25, 1991. "The Director of Central Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Vijay Karan has expressed satisfaction over the security arrangements made by the police for the campaign meeting of the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who was killed in a blast at Sriperumbudur on Tuesday night." It is highly objectionable that the CBI Director should have gone on record giving a clean chit to the police and other authorities in the matter even before the inquiry has been completed.

Madam, I further said that there was enough indication of the impending danger to Shri Rajiv Gandhi. I quote from the "Hindu" dated May 28. "The TNCC President Shri K. Ramamurthy, who was upset over the visit as he

was not consulted, called on the Governor Shri Bhishma Naraiyan Singh around 3 PM on May 21 and expressed unhappiness over Shri Rajiv Gandhi being taken to out-of-the-way places like Sriperumbudur at that late hour. The Governor is understood to have suggested to Shri Ramamurthy to persuade the organisers to limit the visit to urban centres. According to one source, a delegation of the TNCC led by Shri Ramamurthy had met Shri Rajiv Gandhi even on April 18 and advised him not to undertake any election campaign in Tamil Nadu as they foresaw some danger to his life.'

There are other indications also of the Congress party itself being requested to cancel the visit and the High Command not agreeing to the same. These reports indicate that the Governor and the State administration of Tamil Nadu had the information earlier that there was some danger to the life of Shri Gandhi and I, therefore, charge this Government with neglecting this aspect and not making proper arrangements during his visit there.

The papers reported that at the time of the assassination no screening of people in the reception line with metal detectors was undertaken. I quote from the "Indian Express" dated 30th May, 1991: "The assassination of the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, at Sriperumbudur on May 21 could have been prevented had security men screened the people in the reception line with metal detectors, according to explosive experts." The experts told the UNI here on Wednesday that the high explosive RDX as it is called, used in the bomb could have been detected by metal detectors since it contained metallic parts such as the detonators and battery which had metal parts. The steel missile pellets mixed in the explosive said."

This is also a very serious lapse. There are standing rules that during the visits of the ex-Prime Minister, metal detectors should be used and

proper scanning of the people should also be done. There is also a report that there were no metal detectors at all at the site. I quote from the "Hindustan Times", issue dated the 28th May:—

"The Tamil Nadu Mahila Congress (I) President, Ms. Lakshmi Albert, and the General Secretary, Ms. Rama Devi, have alleged that the police officials present at the public site at Sriperumbudur did not have metal detectors. This shows the callous attitude adopted by the Tamil Nadu Government in dealing with the situation there."

Then, the most horrendous aspect of the police handling of the situation was that when the explosion took place, all the police officers ran away from the site excepting one, the DIG, Mr. Raghavan. All of them took their vehicles, removed their uniforms so that the people would not identify them and they ran away, everyone of them ran away, from the site without even looking at the dead and injured bodies or taking immediate action for their medical aid also. I was told by Mr. Jayanthi Natarajan yesterday that the PSO, the Security Officer, was alive when she first looked at the bodies there and probably, even if Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was not instantly dead, his body would have been left there for nothing would have been done there because of the way in which the police ran away from the scene. There was not even an ambulance there and that was also a serious lapse. The papers also have reported that because there was no ambulance, the body of Shri Rajiv Gandhi had to be brought in the police van all the way to the General Hospital in Madras.

There is a report that the site selected for the meeting itself was not suitable from the security angle and, in spite of the people pointing it out, ultimately, the meeting was held

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there—I do not know at whose instance and I do not know whether the candidate, Shrimati Maragatham Chandrasekhar herself insisted on it or the police had decided on it—but the fact is that the site itself was a security-risk area. This is what we have been told. Then, Sriperumbudur itself is a place where foolproof security could not be provided. I read the statement of the Minister of State for Home Affairs telling that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself was neglecting his own security during the last few months and they pointed out the fact to him in writing also. I do not know how far it is correct. The Prime Minister also has said somewhere that he himself wrote four times to the former Prime Minister about the security risk and his violation of the security rules. I do not know how far this is correct. But I hope they will clarify this point.

Now, a judicial inquiry has been ordered into the assassination and the terms of reference are quite incomplete and unsatisfactory. The terms of reference must be expanded so that all ramifications of this assassination could be brought out.

There is also a report that the material used, the explosive used, was of the American Army make and that also gives a new dimension to this assassination and whether any international agencies or organisations are involved in this assassination has also to be investigated and, if necessary, the help of the Interpol and other such organizations should also be taken.

There was an unnecessary controversy regarding not providing the SPG for the protection of the former Prime Minister. It is very unfortunate that allegations have been made against the previous Government, headed by Mr. V. P. Singh, that the security or the SPG was withdrawn. I would like to clarify, as a former member of the then Government,

that we took extreme care in providing security to Rajiv Gandhi.

And even this was discussed with Mr. Chidambaram who 12 NOON was looking after his security, both inside the Parliament and outside. Even in the Parliament House also, when he came and requested that some relaxation should be made so that armed people could be put in the Gallery beside his seat, where he was sitting, it was agreed to as a special case. It was never done in the history of Parliament. And we agreed to that also, knowing fully well that he was a security risk. In this case, even outside also, ample security was provided for him. I do not want to go into details. They know. A total of about 155 people were assigned duty to protect him in all respects, with about nine cars, including four bullet-proof cars, not only for him but for his wife and children also. Bullet-proof cars, escort cars, were also provided, not only for him but for Shrimati Sonia Gandhi and children also. Even in the school where his daughter was going, enough security was provided; even in the class room a security woman was sitting. I do not know whether she is still doing that. We took all the care to provide security to him. It is not correct to say that we ignored the security aspect.

But as regards the SGP, Madam, I would like to point out that when the Act was passed in 1988, on May 12 in the Rajya Sabha when the Bill was discussed, I myself pointed out that this Act was being brought specifically to protect the Prime Minister and contingencies might arise when ex-Prime Ministers would become security risks and therefore that aspect should also be covered. This was my specific question. Suppose you say that there are special reasons for a particular family or a particular individual and they are exposed to certain security risks, what will

happen after they relinquish the office? Suppose the Prime Minister who is today exposed to a big security risk, goes out of power or office tomorrow, then who will protect him? What will happen to him? I am posing this question to the Minister because these points will arise. You are concerned about the Prime Minister. And no Prime Minister is permanent." Madam, you were in the Chair at that time. You said: it is for the office, Mr. Upendra—not for an individual." I said: "I know it is only when he is in office. But when he goes out of office, what will happen? It does not say about it." Madam, you said: "This Bill is very limited, it has got very limited scope of discussion, it is not personally for Rajiv Gandhi but it is for the office of the Prime Minister." And Mr. Chidambaram, while replying, also said that this Bill was intended to set up a Group to protect the person whosoever he may be who occupies the office of Prime Minister. The office of the Prime Minister, in our Constitution, is a unique office; it is office of the Chief Executive. "And then he did not say," the paper says, "what the Government proposes to do if the Prime Minister who is exposed to security risks went out of office."

Therefore, Madam, this Act passed by the then Congress Government, specifically related to the Prime Ministers in office. And we foresaw certain circumstances and we wanted to enlarge the scope also. But the then Government did not agree. Probably they thought that security had to be provided to Mr. Morarji also. Probably, they created that Act and they did not want to extend the scope. In fact, I suggested that that kind of security should be provided not only to the Prime Minister but also to the President and the Vice-President. But that was also not agreed to at that time. Therefore, now their coming and telling that the SPG was withdrawn from Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is not correct. And in fact when this

question arose, we discussed with Mr. Chidambaram and told him that this Act, as passed by you, gives some special immunity to the persons of the SPG because they can shoot anybody and they are not liable to any action. That cannot be extended to the people who are not holding any office. That was specifically pointed out. The *via media* adopted was that the persons from SPG were transferred to the Delhi Police, and were again put on duty to protect Rajivji. Among these 150 people who were protecting him included those people he specifically picked up from the previous SPG.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR): May I request the hon. Member not to tell details of the security arrangement that the persons from the SPG were sent to the Delhi Police and they were again... (*Interruptions*). These are matters not to be discussed.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It came out in the papers. Madam, it is not a secret. Everybody knows about it. We have told this in the Parliament itself at that time. And we clarified this also. I am answering to the criticism of the Congress Party deliberately throwing the blame on our Government, on the Government headed by Mr. V. P. Singh that we withdrew SPG. Therefore, I had to explain this...

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, on a point of order. He is misleading the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, I am not yielding... (*Interruptions*) I am not yielding.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a point of order. Let me hear what he says.

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: There is always a question of quality and quantity. The question is, if the Government feels that a particular leader of any party, much less a

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former Prime Minister has security hazards, and a request is made to the Government of that day, namely the Vishwanath Pratap Singh Government, was the Government not requested for better security arrangement? And the reply was—that the former Minister will remember—that “we are spending one crore in terms of money on his security.” And now they are saying that we have not specifically raised the question of raising the quality of security. People of Delhi Police were put there. We are not saying about that. But the point is that your Government took the plea that SPG is meant for so and so. We are not on SPG. You are sending these Black Cats and whatever it is to several people. Could you not deploy a better force at that time at the specific request of the former Prime Minister? You ignored it. We are not blaming anybody. But we are saving that these are questions of national importance. Any Prime Minister who relinquishes office is entitled to it. But they said, ‘we are spending one crore of rupees.’ (Interruptions) They said one crore is being spent.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, this matter is being discussed. I have no right to request you to ask the Members not to speak unrestrained. But the times are very critical. While discussing security, we should maintain certain restraint because if they talk everything, from the Government side, I am not going to say a word about the security because that much right or privilege I must have. I shall request all Members from all sides that they may talk about security lapse. But on security arrangement, a Member who was in the Government, should not talk about the security arrangement in the past or even of today. This much request I shall make. (Interruptions).

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR (Bihar): On a point of order.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Then what is the point in discussing at all? (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Desai, somebody is on a point of order.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: Madam, the Prime Minister has just made a very serious and disturbing statement. He said that whatever you might discuss, the Government is not going to respond to the security aspect. Then the whole discussion collapses. (Interruptions) Let the Prime Minister revise his stand that he will kindly consider the sentiments of the House and respond to the security aspect rather than denying right in the beginning that he is not going to respond. This is very unfortunate. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, the matter is not clear. I make it much more clear. I did not say that you don't....

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: What words have you used?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am using the same word again. You discuss everything about security aspect. The Government is not going to say a word about security arrangements. That is what I say.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Why? (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Please hear me. (Interruptions) Why you are losing temper? I do not understand. (Interruptions) Will you please hear me? (Interruptions) I am not losing temper. You are making.... (Interruptions).

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: It is the privilege of the House that we can raise the question of absence of security and you are duty-bound to reply to every aspect.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, I said you discuss the lapses. I shall reply about the lapses. But about the security arrangement that has been made... (*Interruptions*).

कुमारी सईदा खानुम (मध्य प्रदेश):
चर्चा का विषय वही है... (*व्यवधान*)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुबालिया (बिहार): एक बात तो सच है कि जो भी षड्यंत्र हो, इस षड्यंत्र में सिक्योरिटी लैप्सेज भी एक हिस्सा थे और उनके कारण ही हमारे नेता की जवज्य हुया हुई और उसी पर विचार करने के लिए हम यहां बैठे हुए हैं। सरकार को इस बारे में तमाम सवालों का जवाब देना होगा... (*व्यवधान*)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Madam, I should like to be apprised of the precise scope of the debate because the Prime Minister says we can discuss the lapses but he is not going to say a word about the arrangement. The discussion, Madam, relates to the failure of the Government to provide adequate security to Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I was referring to only today's arrangement. I am sorry if you misunderstood. The hon. Member was referring to certain things which are not generally talked about. Suppose some officers are being deputed to some places, many things are not declared and arrangements are made secretly. But about Rajiv Gandhi, regarding arrangements made that day or earlier, all those details will be given to you. But the whole trouble is that you people don't hear. I am saying that we should not talk about security arrangements.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I hope Members are satisfied and we can continue the discussion.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I can only say that the Prime Minister is trying to be naive. Unless we know what arrangements

were made, how can we pinpoint the lapses? Only when you know that certain arrangements were to be made but there were no such arrangements made and there was a lapse, that you can discuss. But he says you can discuss here the lapses but not the arrangement. What is this? I can't understand. All these instructions were communicated all over the country. Every Sub-inspector and Circle-inspector all over the country has a copy of these instructions and nothing is secret in that. What he is doing today to protect Mrs. Sonia Gandhi and her children, we are not asking for those things. But we are going into the past and you have to tell us that these were the arrangements which were supposed to be made but which were not made. You cannot escape from the responsibility, being the Prime Minister and running the Government in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: You are talking about the SPG. An hon. Member has said, "You made a statement that you are spending more than a crore of rupees". Are you going to discuss this? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I never said this.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: What Mr. Bhardwaj said is not a correct thing? Madam Deputy Chairman, I took objection to only one sentence that certain SPG men were transferred to the Delhi Police and they were posted with Rajiv Gandhi. So I said you should not have said it. I am requesting you to have some restraint. If you don't restrain about the quantity. What the hon. the question that Mr. Bhardwaj has raised.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): The objection was not about the quantity. What the hon. Member said was about the quality of... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, please. We have got a very serious discussion before us. Assassination of the former Prime Minister and leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, is being discussed. Mr. Jaipal Reddy, your name is before me. I have also listed the number. I would request you to kindly speak whatever the matter you want to speak when your turn comes. If there is going to be interruption at every sentence, I don't think a meaningful discussion will take place. So please abide by it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: (Uttar Pradesh): I don't want to interrupt the proceedings at all. I only draw your attention to the fact that there was an allegation made by Congress friends against our Government saying that the help of the SPG people was not at all taken, and that is why, my friend was replying to that point. That is the specific thing... (Interruptions).

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: If there is a discussion on this point, they will not be able to stand for a minute in the House... (Interruptions). You have made every effort by making him the target.* (Interruptions)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He is a very responsible Member, and... (Interruptions). He is making an allegation.
* ... (Interruptions)

SHRI HANSRAJ BHARDWAJ: You discuss with me and I will convince you... (Interruptions).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: We are now discussing a very serious matter...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request the hon. Members... (Interruptions).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Let that not go on record.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will look into the record... (Interruptions). Let me look into the record.

In the light of the seriousness of the situation and the discussion before us, please speak when your time comes. And Mr. Upendra, you have taken enough time, and...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: No, I have not taken any time. What is the time prescribed? I am the opening speaker.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You might be the opening speaker but that does not mean that you have not to abide by the time.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: What about them?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am speaking for everybody.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Let them not play politics on this important and crucial issue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I said I will look into the record.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I would also like to raise another pertinent point, because when we talk of security for the ex-Prime Ministers, the present Prime Minister should be worried because after a few days he will be ex-Prime Minister. Now, we are only discussing about the lapse of security for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. But a similar threat is there for Mr. V. P. Singh also. A bomb was thrown at Sitamarhi on November 24, acid was thrown on December, 20. I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether security was strengthened after these incidents. And if Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's family has been provided security, his wife has been given security, his children have been given security which we do not grudge; we fully support it and in fact that should be strengthened, nothing has been provided for Mr. V. P. Singh's wife or his son, or even security pro-

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

vided to Mr. V. P. Singh's son was withdrawn when he went to Calcutta..... (Interruptions).

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: This is the attitude... (Interruptions).

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Are you grudging security for Mr. V. P. Singh? Is it your response?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Yesterday morning, I got information from Mr. V. P. Singh's household; a particular person who is a Member of this House approached me. Immediately a senior officer approached him and Mrs. V. P. Singh, and all arrangements have been made to his and to her satisfaction. If there is any complaint, he can send it to me. All other arrangements will be made. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, every life is precious and we have to make uniform arrangements. (Interruptions) The point that I am stressing is, every life is precious. Uniform arrangements have to be made to particular categories of persons who have security risk. This is all I wanted to say. There is nothing wrong in saying that. (Interruptions)

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे (महाराष्ट्र) :

* (व्यवधान)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, how can I continue when there is so much disturbance? Then, I will have to take more time. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Abrar Ahmed, your name is here. I will allow you.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: Madam, I am walking out in protest against Mr. Upendra's speech.

(At this stage, the hon. Member left the Chamber)

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, how can I go on?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Abrar Ahmed, your name is there. As I said, everyone will get a chance to speak. Let Mr. Upendra continue.

DR. ABRAR AHMED (Rajasthan): Madam, I am on a point of order

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

डा० अबरार अहमद : मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। बार-बार सबको बराबर सेक्योरिटी की बात कही जा रही है और वी०पी० सिंह का नाम भी लिया जा रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की जिस प्रकार हत्या हुई है और जिस प्रकार से वह परिवार एक निशाना बना हुआ है कोई भी सदन का सदस्य इस बात से इन्कार नहीं कर सकता कि राजीव गांधी के ऊपर हत्या के बादल मंडरा रहे थे। यह हरेक आदमी जानता है इसके बावजूद भी जब यहाँ आज उस हत्या के बारे में चर्चा हो रही है तो उसमें सेक्योरिटी लेप्सेज की बात हो रही है। इसमें दो सवाल पैदा होते हैं। एक तो यह कि उसमें सेक्योरिटी लेप्सेज जानबूझ कर किये गये या सेक्योरिटी लेप्सेज रह गये, यह एक महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा है। जिस प्रकार से उनकी हत्या हुई है उससे यह साफ जाहिर है कि सेक्योरिटी लेप्सेज जानबूझ कर किये गये क्योंकि वह देश को एक बनाये रखने के लिए लड़ रहे थे, वह देश को तोड़ने वालों के खिलाफ लड़ रहे थे। यही मुख्य मुद्दा है। (व्यवधान)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, how can I go on? There are so many interruptions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You conclude now.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I cannot conclude.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to conclude.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You control them, I would have finished in fifteen minutes. You are not controlling them. I cannot conclude. I will continue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Upendra, I am not taking it seriously. If I had taken it seriously, I would have asked you to sit down. You please conclude now.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I have not come even halfway. I have not come to the other aspect.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You go fast.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You control them.

Madam, the Minister of State for Home convened a meeting yesterday to discuss this aspect. It is good he discussed it with the party leaders. I hope he will come to an agreement with the parties to evolve foolproof security arrangements for the categories of people who have security risk. There is a proposal for a Central agency to monitor the movements of such VIPs. It is a good idea. I hope he will pursue that.

I will now come to the second aspect of the discussion today, namely, the violence, looting and arson which occurred in the wake of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. As we pointed out yesterday, all of us were deeply and sincerely disturbed by the death, the dastardly assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. But unfortunately, certain people, particularly, some sections of the Congress Party in various States....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): How can you say 'Congress Party'? How do you know? You cannot say 'Congress Party'.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I will give you evidence. Let them rebut it. I will give evidence. Let them rebut it.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: He is making allegations against the Congress(I) members of other States. They cannot come here and reply. (Interruptions). He cannot level allegations against the Congress (I) members of other States who cannot come here and reply.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): Hundreds of identities have been given. What else do you require? (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, I want to raise a point of order.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Before I expand my statement, I would like to quote a small news item from the *Deccan Chronicle* edited by the Congress (I) Member of the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Chandrasekhar Reddy. This is dated May 22. It says, "The irate mob, mostly supporters of Congress (I), set fire to more than dozen vehicles including 4 RTC buses in and around the city to express their anger at the killing of their beloved leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi." Of course, I can quote many other news items, but this has become a habit with the Congress (I)... (Interruptions). Madam, if you will not control... (Interruptions) Let them reply later. I cannot complete even one sentence if they go on interrupting me like this. How can I speak? (Interruptions).

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह कांग्रेस को बदनाम करने की एक साजिश है... (अवधान) ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, Satya Bahin. (Interruptions). What point of order do you want to raise?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: He is referring to most of the Congress(I) members who cannot come here and say something about the allegations being levelled against them. He cannot take the names of those who are not present in this House. Let him say about us, who are present in the House, so that we can reply to him.

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

Every moment you are replying on behalf of others, on behalf of those who are not present in this House. *(Interruptions)*. What is all this lecture during my speech? *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): Congress has incited violence.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: They are going to speak. Let them reply when their turn comes.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, take your seat. Even the senior Members are interrupting.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It has become a habit with the Congress party to try to exploit every personal and national targe dy into a vote catching device.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: No, no, he cannot say like this. He cannot utter these words. Be serious. Do not bring in politics here. We know what is happening in Hyderabad. *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, I have requested the Members time and again, do not level any allegations, try to speak about the security lapse. What is the use...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: There is the other part of it.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please ... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Vazhapadi Ramamurthy started allegations against each and everybody in Tamil Nadu. ... *(Interruptions)* ... Who is responsible? In Tamil Nadu, more than Rs. 100 crores worth of property has been reduced to ashes. ... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: They can reply later. Why do they disturb like this?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, let us remember that this is a debate. They have every opportunity to reply to the points raised here. ... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, the PCC Presidents of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh are on record. The PCC President of Andhra Pradesh said that the murder was committed following a conspiracy by Messrs. V. P. Singh, N. T. Ramarao and Karunanidhi. The PCC President of Tamil Nadu also made the same statement. This is how they instigated their followers.

Madam, in Andhra Pradesh, cinema houses, business establishments, cars, buses, lorries, scooters, factories, medical shops and nursing homes were burnt. Shops were looted. They were particularly fond of looting liquor shops. Whenever they start this—it is uniform all over the country—they first attack the liquor shops, consume liquor first and do the other things afterwards. And this was not a spontaneous reaction, Madam, because within one to one-and-a-half hours they started this looting spree, arson and all that. Suppose there is a spontaneous reaction, people would go and attack everything. Generally they attack public institutions, public conveyances, Government offices, etc. But it was not like that. It was done selectively. The houses and properties and shops of activists of the Telugu Desam Party, the CPI, CPI(M), BJP and the Janata Dal were specifically selected and within a few hours valuable properties were gutted. In Andhra Pradesh itself, the loss is estimated at about Rs. 75 crores. The targets were specific and well chosen. In many places, senior Congress leaders—local leaders—directed and incited the rampaging crowds.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: It is* ... *(Interruptions)* ...

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You can say* You can, always, because you are accustomed to telling*

Madam, we have a list of 23 places where the MLAs, the Congress Party's Mandal Presidents, even some Ministers, organized and incited this arson and looting at several places. Their High Command did not condemn it, the Chief Minister did not condemn it for five days, and the PCC President encouraged this by throwing the blame on the Opposition parties.

Very horrible things were committed—and I don't want to go into the arson and looting part of it; that we all know. Even women were not spared; they were molested. Only two instances I will quote here. In the Khammam District, in the village of Marlapadu in the Vensuru Mandal, a young girl who was running a paan shop was dragged out of the shop and, in the presence of her mother, stripped and paraded her naked because she is supposed to be a supporter of the Telugu Desam Party. ... (Interruptions) ...

Madam, in Suryapet, where many of the houses of the Communist Party sympathizers were attacked, a pregnant woman was dragged out of her house. Her name is Kola Aruna. She was a pregnant woman. She was dragged out of her house and kicked in her stomach. In the same village, there was a woman who underwent a major operation. She was also dragged out of her house and assaulted. That means they did not even spare the women and, with whoever they had some personal scores to settle, they attacked them, looted their properties and burnt their properties. A team, an all-party team went there from Delhi. The victims came to Hyderabad and narrated very horrible stories which were very heart-rending.

The unfortunate part is that the

police remained inactive always at every place. It is not only that in some places they connived but that in other places they were inactive because of the involvement of the Congress leaders there. They themselves confess that because of the presence of the Congress MLAs they could not take action. I quote only one instance. *the Kurnool APSP Second Battalion Sub-Inspector, gave a statement to the public and to the police also in Hyderabad itself that two MLAs—I don't hesitate to name them* led an attack on some of the properties of the Telugu Desam leaders and other shops and that because they were leading the attack and they were accompanied by their gunmen, he could not take action. The DSP and the ACP were present there. He looked at them for instructions. They winked and said, "You don't take any action. Keep quiet." In fact, he went to the extent of telling them, "If we could not control such incidents happening in our presence, why should I remain in the force, and what is the sanctity of this uniform I am wearing?" He gave a very pathetic story. Then we have got evidence. Even the Director-General of Police gave a memo to the City Police Commissioner for not taking action against the MLAs. When complaints were made on telephone to the DGP, he gave instructions to the Police Commissioner to arrest them, but they were not arrested because the police itself was afraid. The police officers, the IPS officers have now come out with a statement that if this is the type of situation and involvement of the

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I have a point of order. The persons who cannot defend themselves here, their names should not be mentioned.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: How do you expect them to defend themselves?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I want a ruling, Madam. (Interruptions)

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: I am not making any allega-
tions. I am quoting from the news-
paper reports which were not contra-
dicted. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a
minute.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: He has
mentioned two names, Madam.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: Please don't disturb, Jayanthi.
Please listen to me. You reply to me
later.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Madam,
the names of those persons who cannot
defend themselves here, cannot be
mentioned. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.
Upendra, the procedure in this House
is that the names of persons who
cannot defend themselves are not
mentioned. The newspapers write
many things, but we do not discuss
everything written in the newspapers.
So, I will request you not to men-
tion their names.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: They are referring to so many
persons.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have
not allowed anybody to do so. Just
a minute, please.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: They are referring to NTR
every minute. Is NTR present in the
House?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just
a minute, please. (*Interruptions*)

Another thing is that the matter is
under investigation. You can talk
about those things, but please re-
strain yourself. Don't mention the
names.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: I am carefully putting it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am
just telling you. I have had previous
experience. Please be careful. Don't

mention the names of the officers
who are not present over here.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: Okay.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA
(Karnataka): The names should be
expunged.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And
the MLAs also. Let the commission
of inquiry go into it, and they will
punish the culprits.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: It has not yet been appointed.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Those
names should be expunged from the
record.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes,
I will look into the record. I assure
the House, please.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: Madam, I don't want to narrate
all the

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now
I think you better conclude.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: They are not allowing me to
speak. You are advising me only but
you are not stopping them.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: A point of
order.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPEND-
RA: What point of order? There is
no point of order in this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.
Upendra, how do you pre-empt?
When they speak, I might tell them
also to conclude. It is my duty to tell
everybody to conclude at some point
of time.

श्री शान्ति त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
क्या यह सच्ची बात बोल रहे हैं? सब
मनःकंट कहानी है (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : अब इनको खत्म करने
देजिये।

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
Madam, in Tamil Nadu the DMK's
newspaper "Murasoli" office was

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]
ransacked and set it on fire. The house of the General Secretary of the DMK was also ransacked. His car was burnt and about Rs. 100 crores worth of property was looted all over the State. All the DMK candidates who were going to the polls were attacked and their campaign material was burnt.

In Tripura seven CPM party workers were killed... (*Interruptions*)... What is this running commentary? It is very unfortunate. None of you speak freely like this... (*Interruptions*)... Please listen to us. Mrs. Jayanthi, you must have been shocked at the death of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Why are you still making noise here? ... (*Interruptions*)... Over a thousand establishments of the CPM, CPI and the Janata Dal were set on fire by the known Congress people. In fact, we demanded postponement of the elections in Tripura because in the prevailing atmosphere elections cannot be held there. In Tamil Nadu eleven lives were lost in the incidents.

In Andhra Pradesh as a protest against vandalism, arson and violence, Mr. N.T. Rama Rao went on fast from 30th of May, 1991, in a public place and the unfortunate part of it is that the Chief Minister did not react to the three demands raised by Mr. N. T. Rama Rao. They are: (a) a judicial inquiry by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court, (b) giving full compensation to the victims and also (c) giving punishment to those who are involved in the incidents. The Chief Minister after five days reacted to it and very formally condemned it. None of the Ministers visited any of the affected places in the fourteen districts involved in the disturbances. Only one Minister made a ceremony of visiting one or two places in Hyderabad. Even the Congress (I) High Command also did not condemn any of these incidents here. The atrocious part was that when Mr. N. T. Rama Rao was sitting on a fast in an open space, the Commissioner of Police had the

temerity to write "I cannot provide security to him. Shift him to some other place desired by him." You see that was very atrocious. The Police Commissioner did not visit the place. Thousands of people visited Shri N. T. R. and met him there. But the police never gave any protection to him. As a result, we had to come here to request the Prime Minister to deploy the Central para-military forces for the protection of Shri N. T. Rama Rao. Now after dithering for 5 to 6 days, the Chief Minister announced an inquiry by a Judge of the Supreme Court and appointed an official committee to assess the losses but so far none of the prominent legislators of the Congress party or their leaders, who have been named in the FIR and the police investigations have been arrested. The Chief Minister is behaving in the most dictatorial and insensitive manner. Even while conceding these two demands also, he did not refer to N. T. Rama Rao and his fast. In fact, when the Press asked about the fast and all that, he shouted at them "Don't refer to his name and all that."

The most atrocious action was taken against the fasting leader two days ago. They went to the place where N. T. Rama Rao was fasting. 1.45 A.M., as Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury was mentioning an unearthly hour, was selected. The Police were requested to wait until 3 A.M. because that was the normal time for Shri NTR to wake up. But they said, "we have to arrest him immediately." Some two thousand people came and ransacked everything including his water bottle, telephone and what not. The barricades were destroyed. All the workers, MLAs and MPs were beaten and his own personal staff were beaten. The journalists and Press photographers were beaten and he was dragged to the hospital. They said "His life was in danger." For two days he was in the hospital without any treatment, without any food or anything. If he was in such a danger two days ago, how could he survive? Today under Magisterial orders, they

forcibly gave him some food and injected saline. As a potest, he left the hospital and he has discontinued the fast. This is the type of treatment which they have given a man who went on a peaceful 'satyagraha' in Gandhian style demanding justice for those who are involved in the incidents. And they have charged him under section 309 IPC, attempt to commit suicide. This is a very funny thing. First they said he was not arrested and he was only moved to the hospital to safeguard his own life. But yesterday they said he had been released on bail. The police suddenly left the place. (*Interruption*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. You have taken one hour.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: This is the type of treatment they give. We demand action against the culprits there who have been named. And the remaining demands that N. T.R. put forward must also be conceded. We met the President also. We met the Prime Minister. And locally also, all the parties tried to convince the Chief Minister to concede the demands. He first refused to meet them. He said, "I do not want to meet them." Yesterday when all the parties went to the Chief Minister because reports came that N.T.R.'s health was deteriorating, though he was in the house, he refused to see them telling them that he was not in the House. This is how their own Chief Minister is behaving. While on the one side they are trying to evoke sympathy following the death of Rajiv Gandhiji, on the other, this is the type of incidents they are involving themselves in. This is the type of tribute they are paying to the memory of their leader. It is very atrocious. I condemn this type of incidents and the actions of the State Governments of Tripura, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. And there should be a judicial inquiry into the incidents in Tamil Nadu and Tripura also. We also demand that the elections in Tripura must be postponed until the situation improves.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam, as I rise to participate in this debate, I think it is necessary for me to spell out the precise scope of this discussion and the debate. Undoubtedly, the discussion refers to the security lapses and the security lapses, we certainly shall refer to. But the theme of the discussion is the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. And therefore, it is necessary to refer to the factors and causes which have hopelessly vitiated the atmosphere conducting violence as a result of which ultimately the precious life of Rajiv Gandhi was lost. So far as the security lapses are concerned, I can only submit that the security made there was at best simply comical.

Madam, like the whole nation, I have not been able to get out of the very dark shadow of gloom and agony which the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi has caused. In his assassination, Madam, I submit, the very light that illumined the path which could have taken this nation to success and out of the impasse that it has been extinguished untimely and the nation has been engulfed in a very serious crisis and pushed into a very grave peril. The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi was planned with impeccable meticulousness and it was executed with consummate skill. The ruthlessness and the extraordinary professional expertise clearly evident behind the diabolical conspiracy so successfully planned and so immaculately implemented leaves very little doubt about the hand of the agencies of powerful countries inimical to us, out to destabilise us and to destroy and dismantle the very foundation of our nascent Republic. The gruesome *modus operandi* of those who operated the gang of assassins. Madam, has opened an absolutely new and a fearful chapter in international terrorism. Particularly for democracies, it is of very great concern that suicide squads have come about who have easy access to the leaders because in democracies leaders have to be close to their people; they have to be close to their electorate; they have to be close to

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]
the masses; they cannot keep sitting in ivory towers surrounded by impregnable security. And with this kind of *modus operandi* developed, I think the democracies in the world, must be terribly disconcerted is it hereafter in democracies, the leaders would be going to the people without risking their own lives? What is worse, Madam, is openly now violence is being preached as a legitimate means to achieving political ends. That is the most unfortunate part of the matter.

Madam, before I proceed to referring to what I consider the security lapses, I will briefly deal with the points raised by Mr. Upendra. Madam, categorically and unequivocally, I want to state in this House on my own behalf and on behalf of my party that we condemn violence as an end to achieving political means. Very much more to us, violence is anathema to democracy to which we are pledged. Democracy to us is not merely a form of Government. It is the very way of our life, it is an article of our way. We condemn, therefore, wherever violence has taken place. We offer our apologies to all of them whose shops have been looted, whoever be the miscreants. Destruction of public and private properties is no way to show your indignation on the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. There are other ways. If we come to the path of rectitude, something else has to be done at some other end. At the same time, I submit with humility and respect to my Members of Telugu Desam, kindly in this hour of very grave distress in which all of us are emotionally surcharged, don't try to politicise any violence. (*Interruptions*). I heard Mr. Upendra in rapt attention without disturbing. May I crave the same indulgence of courtesy?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Mr. Salve, you have always been a wonderful man. I want to tell you, we are willing to listen to

you with rapt attention. But unfortunately, I was not accorded the same courtesy. That is a different matter. It doesn't matter. On one to one basis I would listen to you and I want to tell you, in my State people are being destroyed. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: It is not a debate. I am not yielding anymore. I want to submit that whereas the miscreants and culprits must be arrested, I have no doubt in my mind whatsoever, at the same time that the occasion must never be used to settle a political action and a political vendetta. Is it possible for anyone? Supposing something happens tomorrow in Maharashtra. Is it open for me to pick and choose and say "All right, you are extinct, you are extinct"? The law must be allowed to take its own course and the enforcing authorities cannot be unduly pressurised. Ultimately it is always open. If you feel that someone has been left out, you can always go out to a court of law and file a complaint against him. But to make that a political issue is unfortunate.

Madam, the second aspect of the matter I want to submit is the question of compensation. I am all for giving market compensation to those who are needy and who are poor. But, Madam, it has been laid down in cases out of number that people who have been affluent, who are rich, who own large commercial properties, cinema houses, to them, giving compensation at market value is just not tenable. Let not this kind of a selfish demand blur the real issue, the issue of the violence.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, I know what he is referring to Mr. NTR has made a categorical statement that he is not taking any compensation. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam, have I taken Mr. NTR's name? (*Interruptions*) I am postulating a proposition of compensation and it is my submission if at the market rate

compensation were to be paid at this kind of destruction of property, then I think the Government will go bankrupt. Let it be a reasonable compensation. Compensation has to be paid. I maintain that to the poor, entire market compensation should have been paid. There is only one more point I want to refer to. It was most unfortunate that some names should have been mentioned. If those people are guilty, let the police go and take them and let the law take its own course, but to refer to some names on the floor of the House, of people who are not here to defend themselves, to say the least is the total violation of the norms which we are to follow in this House.

Madam, I want to make one more point and I have done on this issue and it is this. We were told that forcibly he was asked to take *rasamosa* or something like that. We have been given to understand, Madam, and I want the Government to make this point clear whether forcibly he was fed or whether he on his own volition gave up the fast. It is a very serious matter...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: There was a magisterial order. They brought the magisterial order...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am asking this Government. I do not know what the facts are. You might be knowing the facts better than I do.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I do better.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Yes, I do concede, but at the same time I would want this Government to clarify whether the food was forcibly given to him or whether he gave up the fast on his own volition because we understand, and I submit emphatically we have been told, that he gave up his fast on his own volition and he went to address some meeting for one hours... (Interruptions)... I leave it at that, Madam. So far as the fast part is concerned, that is over now. But so far as the assassination is concerned, on the security of Rajivji there are various angles

which need to be really inquired into. Before I come to the security lapses for which this Government has to be squarely blamed, I want to refer to one or two points raised by Mr. Upendra. He was defending his own Government's attitude and his own Government's action and he stated that more than adequate security, according to him, had been provided to Rajiv Gandhi. And he also went further and said that SGP was created specifically for the Prime Minister whoever the Prime Minister may be. And for that purpose he has asked them some very valid questions. The security of a country has to be related to the quantum of risk involved to the life of the people and the family to whom you are providing security. Madam, do I have to tell him that number one security risk in this country for quite some time after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination has been Rajiv Gandhi? And if he was a number one security risk and if you could not under the law provide the same SGP, could you not have under your own executive authority provided identical security to Rajiv Gandhi? If you were not wanting to be petty about the whole matter, did you or did you not refer to the cost which was being incurred in providing security to him? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Why didn't you raise it with your puppet Government for four months?

... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: What I have to say about the security lapses is... (Interruptions)...

Yes, I am coming to that. I am coming to that, Gurupad. You please take it from me that we are not going to leave their own security lapses. It is our beloved leader whose life has been untimely taken away. Assassination is too serious, Rajiv

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

Gandhi's assassination is a matter in which you we emotionally involved. We are not going to leave them, whether this Government or any Government which could have behaved so negligently as they did behave. But I must deal with one or two points he has raised. It was not a question of one crore of rupees... (Interruptions)...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Why did you not do it? People were agitated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt him, Mr. Desai.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I raised it at the time of passing. Your Government did not do it... (Interruptions)... I raised it in 1988. Your Government did not raise it.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: If you had done it, Rajiv Gandhi could have been saved... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Salve, please continue... (Interruptions)... Please don't interrupt him. Let him speak.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam, I want to submit that the attitude and the treatment shown by V. P. Singh Government, so far as the security was concerned left much to be desired. They could have been far more maganimous and could have shown a real good taste about it but which I regret they did not show Madam, before I proceed to the security lapses at the spot where Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated...

I must submit one thing 1 P.M. that from whatever reports

I have from the papers. I have no doubt in my mind whatsoever that the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has shown an impeccable and exemplary attitude in the whole matter. He has appointed a Commission of Inquiry; he is agreeable to pay reasonable compensation

and he has said that he is not going to protect and shield anybody, however powerful and mighty; whatever may be his political contact, if he is found to be guilty he must get his own punishment. In this view of the matter. Madam, I only repeat that it is unfortunate that things should have been politicised. Madam, so far as the security of Rajivji is concerned. I do concede that in the preceding two months Rajivji was a little averse to excessive security standing between him and the people coming to garland him or shake hands with him or even to hug him. But that was all the more the reason that the security should have been far more fool-proof because Shri Rajiv Gandhi, everyone knew, was number one security risk. The total lack of any planning and the total lack of any seriousness in implementing the planning of the security was so manifest in the manner in which it has been dealt with. Actually, it appears that the security was wholly non-existent despite the presence of some police officers. Madam, the visit of Rajiv Gandhi to the place was determined in advance and it was well planned. They had all the time in the world to comb the entire area. They had all the time in the world to get rid of those people from the area where Rajivji was to get down from the car and go to the podium, clear the way excepting those who were officials allowed to be there by the party official. Instead, all and sundry were allowed to be there. These are elementary matters. Madam, if only care had been taken not to allow people on Rajivji's way to the podium excepting those who were officially permitted, perhaps this national tragedy could have been averted and avoided. This was not done. This is not a matter in which we become wise after the event. But it is manifestative and indicative of the fact that the entire security was invisible, the entire security had been misplaced, they were just watching the fun which, I think, was the situation there. It appears *prima facie* that the assassins had a field day and they could have killed

Rajivji twice over with impunity because it appears that effective security was wholly invisible, utterly irrelevant. In fact, as I submitted, no plan of security seems to have been evolved. Madam, the magnitude of the national tragedy casts a very onerous and heavy burden on those in charge of making security arrangements for Rajivji on the night of 21st May, including the Central Government. The Commission must fully inform us as to how our beloved leader could be liquidated with impunity, with such ease by the assassins who are identifiable. Madam, I submit that the assassins were people who did not belong to the common stock of the local people and by their features, by their demeanour, they could have been easily identified. If the security were alert and vigilant they would know the people who were likely to be there, some people who were not in the ordinary run of things, who they would not want anywhere near. But no such efforts seems to have been made. Madam, this appears to be the *prima facie* situation on studying the details of the assassination reported in 'The Week'. Indeed Government of India had appointed a Commission of Inquiry which is headed by a Supreme Court Judge, Mr. Justice Verma. Madam, we welcome the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry under the Chairmanship of Supreme Court Judge. But the terms of reference of the Commission, however, are highly unsatisfactory. The Government must realise that the nation is no mood to accept findings which do not go to the very root of the conspiracy of the assassination and clearly identify persons and interests, however mighty or powerful, behind Rajivji's assassination, and their motives and links in India must be identified. It is not assassination of an individual, but this is the beginning of an unholy plan to liquidate the Indian republic. What else can be the intention behind liquidating the only as Indian leader capable of saving the nation's honour, unity and integrity in the worst hour

of its peril? Therefore terms of reference of the Commission must be more comprehensive. Madam, my party President has already taken up the matter with the Government. We want the terms of inquiry to be fairly wide and comprehensive so that the report of the Commission is not some day considered as a hogwash. I do not want to cast any aspersions at all whatsoever on the Commission and its members. But, it does happen and it has been our experience that some Commissions' reports have only done the work of white-washing. This is not possible and that will not be done here and I want the Government to react to the stand taken by my party and to the letter which my Party President has written, so far as the terms of reference are concerned. Madam, I must submit that the whole approach towards security is extremely causal. It is so comical; it is difficult to decide in half a minute. Madam, I want to submit as to what happened to me. I ceased to be the Chairman of the Finance Commission, and the position I held had the rank of a Cabinet Minister. My security was withdrawn after I ceased to be the Chairman. My report was published. One of the recommendations was that Rs. 100 crores should be given to the Punjab Government to meet the threat of the terrorists. Madam, I received two telephone calls consecutively one after another. Then I received a card in which I was very badly condemned. I talked to one of the ministers of the erstwhile Government. Shri V. P. Singh's Government. He talked to Shri Mufti Mohammed Sayeed and he gave me three personal bodyguards. I thought that was good enough. Some time later some suspicious looking people were seen loitering around my bungalow. I approached the Minister of State for Home Affairs saying that sometimes I have to go away and my wife lives alone in the sprawling bungalow and requested that I be given minimum possible security for the sake of my wife who has to live alone while I am away for days and

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

days. The Home Minister very generously promised that the security personnel would reach the next day. The Minister of State working with the Prime Minister talked to some police official who promised that the security personnel would reach that evening. I did not want any elaborate security measures but only the minimum so that unauthorised people did not walk into my bungalow. But that tomorrow never came and that evening never came. What came is something which left me baffled. After about 30 days, some agency, some officials in Nagpur enquired from a family friend at my back to find out how genuine was the threat to the life of Mr. Salve in Nagpur. Madam, the whole approach is so casual, so callous; I just cannot understand. Isn't it the basic duty of the Government to provide security to the leaders who go to the people? Therefore, I hope the issue of money, the issue of expenses, is not brought in while considering the security of the leaders.

Madam, coming to the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, those who had the privilege of working with Shri Rajiv Gandhi loved him profoundly for his fearless qualities of head and heart. He exuded personal charm coupled with charismas so rare that it would be the envy of the tallest contemporary world leader. His qualities as a human being were simply adorable and matchless. His warmth, his graciousness, his dynamism, his flair for perfection endeared him to all and sundry who met him and dealt with him. Above all, his rodust personality and unparalleled gentlemanliness while dealing with public affairs earned for him love and respect and adulation as an angel among human beings. Yesterday, this House paid very great tributes. All the leaders of various political parties paid their homage in the highest terms to Shri Rajiv Gandhi. I was profoundly impressed by the unequivocal and categorical disapproval by the leaders of

violence. They condemned violence. They condemned violence in unequivocal terms and it was equally gratifying for me to hear from the leaders pledging themselves to adhere strictly to the cardinal norms of democracy.

Madam, it was really heartening to hear this kind of approach and attitude and sentiments by leaders of all the parties. But I have reservations about some of the utterances of some of the political parties because the profound precepts, the high-sounding precepts which were propounded yesterday, which were preached yesterday, are at considerable variance with their own practice at the ground level, at the political track level, and the precepts and practices of these leaders do not harmonise. After hearing the speeches, when I was hearing the speeches in this House, I thought that we were all living in the Gandhian democracy, but I realised later and I thought that I must pose some very important questions to myself.

If all the political parties are so sincere and committed to the norms of secularism, norms of non-violence and norms of democracy, then who was responsible for the unprecedented venomous and scurrilous communal propaganda in the recent election campaign? The second question that came to my mind was this: who was responsible for the large-scale poll violence during the election campaign? The third question which came to my mind was this: Who was responsible for the killing of the innocent men, women and children belonging to the minorities in UP and Bihar particularly? Let the political parties and their leaders put their hands on their hearts and answer these questions. Have the political parties no links with the violence or the killings or for all the malpractices in the election campaign? Are not the political leaders responsible for engaging goons, for capturing booths, for bogus voting, and for impersonations? Every conceivable

electoral and criminal offence is committed in the quest for more and more votes. What has happened in the preceding one-and-a-half years during which the roots of our democracy were badly shaken and the Indian republic was severely mauled by repeated communal violence despite the universal commitment of all the political parties to democracy, to non-violence and to secularism? Naked communalism has been preached. Religion is being cheaply used and communal propaganda is being unleashed without any consideration for the norms of India's democracy and in violation of the electoral and criminal law of the land. Has not communal frenzy, has not muscle-and-money-power, overtaken Indian politics? If we continue to praise Rajivji and if we continue to pay lip-service to his commitment to secularism and democracy and, at the first possible opportunity, indulge in inciting communal passions for political ends, in working to divide the nation in the name of religion, caste, language and region, the world will recognise India's political leaders as the topmost hypocrites.

Madam, I do not want to refer to any controversial matter. I know my leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and particularly after his death, I did feel reluctant to refer to one matter. But I have to refer to it if true ideals of democracy are to be adhered to in this country.

I would like to ask whether this was fair at all. Why back in 1989 the late Rajiv Gandhi's was accused of corruption and bribery without any iota of evidence, without any basis whatsoever. Was it fair? Can democracy ever survive if the leader of a validity elected Government by a massive mandate is sought to be maligned, is sought to be accused of corruption without any basis, without any evidence, without any warrant whatsoever?

Madam, democracy survives on moral authority, and this is a very important matter. I submit that

democracy survives on moral authority and if the moral authority is sought to be destroyed by a systematic vicious and false propaganda about corruption against persons in public life, it is an unforgivable sin committed against democracy... (Interruptions)...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Kindly confine yourself to this subject only... (Interruptions)...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: There are various things that have taken place in this country as a whole and there has been a great erosion of the norms and values of democracy and I am referring to what is leading to this kind of an erosion of the norms and values of democracy. Those very people who are promising to adhere and stand by the cardinal norms of democracy, I submit, have violated the very norms of democracy in wanting to oust a validity elected Government on the basis of a very vicious, systematic propaganda of corruption without any basis whatsoever, without any evidence whatsoever. (Interruptions) I did not want to refer to... (Interruptions) Is it not a violation of norms of democracy? (Interruptions) I am speaking this not in anger. I am speaking this... (Interruptions)

Madam... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Balaram, please. ... (Interruptions) Don't interrupt.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I do not want to go into controversial matters. Madam. Let us decide amongst ourselves that we will give up this strategy. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is making his points, and he has a right to speak within his stipulated time what he likes. You cannot put words in his mouth. (Interruptions) Please allow him to speak.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: We are discussing the security, not the performance of Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Let us accept it that even now we will not go ahead with the *modus operandi* of character assassination against any political leaders without any basis, without any evidence. That is the only point I want to make. (*Interruptions*) Madam, I leave this topic. (*Interruptions*)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त (कच्छ प्रदेश) : महोदया, मेरी साहेब से सिर्फ इतनी दरखास्त है कि हमें मुश्किल में न डालें। हम उन तमाम चीजों को अपनी तरकीब में नहीं लाना चाहते। हम जानते हैं कि यह एक दुखद मौका है, अफसोस का मौका है। हमें कहीं घसीट रहे हैं आप : हम सब अगर उन पर बीतना शुरू करेंगे तो आपके सीने फट जाएंगे।

†شری سکندر بخت : میری

سانولے صاحب سے صرف اتنی درخواست ہے کہ ہمیں مشکل میں نہ ڈالیں - ہم ان تمام چیزوں کو اپنی تقریر میں نہیں لانا چاہتے - ہم جانتے ہیں کہ یہ ایک دکھد موقع ہے - افسوس کا موقع ہے - ہمیں کہاں گھسیٹ رہے آپ - ہم سب اگر اس پر بولنا شروع کریں گے تو آپ کے سینے پھٹ جائیں گے -

श्री एन०के०पी० साल्वे : महोदया, मैं आन्तरेबल मेंबर की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ। वे अपने बारे में ऊँचे ख्यालात न करें तो बड़ा अच्छा होगा। आप ह्यूमिलिटी से चलिए, मैं भी उसी ह्यूमिलिटी से चलूंगा। ..

... (*Interruptions*)

Madam, violence cannot be justified. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Madam, I never wanted to intervene. But it hurts everyone, and I am sure it will pain all the Members sitting here, including my friends on the other side, that one of the Members of this House has gone on re-

cord that "a corrupt Prime Minister has been awarded thirty acres near Shakti Sthal for the purposes of his funeral." (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Who has said that? (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Ram Jethmalani. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: This is the worst thing that has appeared in the papers. And I am sure all of us will hang our heads in shame. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): We are entitled to know who... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I did not name the gentleman because he is not here. If he were to be here, I would certainly have named him. He is a Member of this House. He is not here today. That is why I have not named... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I share your agony. We do not... (*Interruptions*) It is a matter of pain for all of us. It is equally paining every one sitting here. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam, it was not my intention to cause any offence to any of the Members. If inadvertently that has been caused, I apologise. But, Madam, I must submit that violence is even today being sought to be justified as a means to achieving political end. A leader in Bombay of a regional party, who is in alliance with a national party in Maharashtra, the other day eulogized... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): Why does he refer to my party indirectly?

AN HON. MEMBERS: We dissociated... (*Interruptions*)

उपस्थायित : उनका समय है, वह बोल रहे हैं, आपका समय आएगा तो आप खंडन कर दीजिएगा।

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MA-
THUR: Why does he indirectly refer
to my Party? He should have said
one party... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Madam,
violence was sought to be eulogized,
sought to be legitimised as a means
to achieving political end. Now this
particular leader eulogized the as-
sassin of Mahatma Gandhi and said
that this man was a great patriot and
a nationalist. And this leader said
that if it was not for the assassina-
tion of Mahatma Gandhi, there would
have been a second partition. (*In-
terruptions*) Madam, is it enough that
a person does it and carry on him-
self merrily in the public life? Isn't
there moral authority and strength in
public life, in democracy in this
country that a person who has in-
flicted such a sacrilege, who has in-
flicted such an insult on the Indian
nationalism and who has uttered this
word in respect of a person who is
being described as the Father of the
Nation, that he should have been out
of the political life by now, he should
have been out of the public life by
now? What has been done? We dis-
sociate ourselves so far as this is con-
cerned and merrily we are together
again for purposes of elections! Ma-
dam, this is sanctimonious humbug.
This is not done. If you are really
opposed to this kind of a thing and
you do not approve of violence as a
legitimate means to achieving politi-
cal end, something more is to be done
than merely dissociating from the
statement. Madam, for purposes of
electioneering, tapes are being played
which are tapes of a supposed Sadh-
vi. Madam, I heard those tapes. And
it is an affront to one's sense of de-
cency to hear the content and the le-
vel of language used to create com-
munal disharmony, rancour and bit-
terness with a view to provoking
communal violence and lawlessness.
Madam, a saint or a Sadhvi is like a
mother full of compassion and love,
oozing with milk of kindness. But
instead of that filth and muck she
is breathing into it for purposes of
elections. She says that this is an
election between the Ramjadas and

the haramjadas, that the candidates
of a particular political party are
sons of Gods and the candidates of
the other political parties are all
bastards. And this is being done with
absolute impunity. (*Interruptions*) I
do not know what has happened to
our Criminal Law.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHU-
RY: It is unparliamentary...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I have
heard it, Madam. I am willing to take
a challenge. I will resign or let him
resign. ... (*Interruption*) I am sor-
ry, Madam. Much worse things have
been said. And I hold this House
with sanctity. The sanctity of the
House prevents me from uttering
those. But, Madam, what has happen-
ed? What is more important is: What
is the law of the land doing? Is our
IPC so weak that it allows this kind
of sedition, this kind of inflammatory
and this kind of provocative speeches
so that there is to be dissension, there
is to be tension between two com-
munal entities, that two religious
groups are subjected to this kind of
divisive, this kind of malicious and
utterly untenable propaganda for
purposes of elections? What are we
talking? We are talking about norms
of democracy and allowing this kind
of things to go on. And if, our Crimi-
nal Law is so weak as not to put the
lady behind the bar or to stop play-
ing this kind of tapes, then, Madam,
I may submit that this constitutes
the gravest threat to our democracy.
This is licentiousness.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Will
you allow me? I appreciate some of
the points that Salveji has raised
regarding communalism. But in the
State of Kerala, the party of Salveji
has gone in alliance with BJP.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): It
is an old story. He is misleading the
House.

SHRI M. A. BABY: It has been
established beyond doubt... (*Interrup-
tions*). In two constituencies in the
State of Kerala Congress—I is having

[Shri M. A. Baby]

an open alliance, with the BJP. It is beyond doubt. At least after having experienced the trouble of communalism provoked in our country. ... (Interruptions).

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Madam... (Interruptions).

SHRI M. A. BABY: Madam, I am on a point of order.

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : यह बोल रहे हैं ।
गलत बयानी क रहे हैं । (व्यवधान)

SHRI M. A. BABY: Madam, an unparliamentary word has been used by the hon. Member and that should be removed from the record. An hon. Member has said that I am telling a*. That should be removed from the record. (Interruptions). Madam, in Badagara Parliamentary constituency and Meypore Assembly constituency the Congress-I is supporting the BJP candidate. (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: The electoral records in Kerala may be checked up where the BJP, Muslim League and Congress-I, all are in alliance against the Left and the National Front candidates. (Interruptions). ..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are discussing... (Interruptions).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I want to submit in reply.... (Interruptions). That our commitment to secularism... (Interruptions).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It has been published in all the newspapers. We are to discuss here the cult of violence created by communal forces. It is your party also has made alliance with the BJP in the current elections.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: On behalf of my party I refute and categorically deny that we have any alliance or any understanding with the BJP. Neither we had such alliance nor do we have such an alliance nor shall we ever have an alliance. We are pledged to secularism and our leader Rajiv Gandhi has died. He lived all his life for secularism; he has died for

secularism. We can never have any tow whatsoever, or any league whatsoever with any such political party.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): But you have this alliance with BJP.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I deny that we have any association whatsoever with them.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: You cannot deny; it is a fact.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please. We are going to adjourn for lunch. Please take your seat. Mathur Sahib, please sit down. Everybody should be quiet. We have to adjourn for lunch. Mr. Salve, are you going to conclude or speak afterwards?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Give me two minutes and I will conclude. I submit with great anguish that the situation in the country is very grave. We must realise that the situation in the country is exceedingly serious to which all of us referred yesterday. But it is to be realised that in reality, some of us are working overtime to convert our largest and the greatest democracy into a banana republic. What was stated yesterday on the floor of the House by some of the party leaders paying tributes to the revered memory of Shri Rajiv Gandhi must be translated into reality if we want to save India as a nation, if we want to save our republic, if we want to save our future. Let us do some introspection and assess as to what extent we are responsible for vitiating the whole atmosphere which conduces violence and ultimately the nation had to pay dearly by assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. So, I submit that if we are sincere about saving our democracy the need of the hour is to return to the path of rectitude and sanity, the path of maturity, tolerance and restraint. We have to instil a sense of human charity, of brotherhood and return to human dignity with total commitment to Indian nationalism.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

The perspective of history will record one day that in Rajiv Gandhi we had an Indian who was amongst his contemporaries the greatest leader of India and the Third World, as tall as that of the tallest contemporary world class leader. He was true and great a visionary, proud of his country's glorious past and confident about its future, a patriot, a nationalist, a secularist, a democrat and a gentleman out and out wholly unafraid and forthright. He was a dauntless and mighty champion of the cause of the Third World. He dreamt of building an India morally strong, economically prosperous, politically stable, enshrined in a sound and unshakable secular democracy, forging ahead in its struggle for the emancipation of its people in a scientific temper.

I cannot do better than quote one of the greatest statesman—philosophers; Dr. Radhakrishnan, about what he said about the moral basis of a democratic society:

"The whole history of human progress centres round those prophets and heroes, those poets and artists, those pioneers and explorers who dared to take responsibility for their insights into goodness, truth or beauty, who made their own choices and decisions even at the peril of their lives..."

like Rajiv Gandhi—

"...for they felt that if they did not do so, they would betray the spirit in them. Respect for the individual is the moral basis of a democratic society. In it no one should be slave and no one a master."

May the ideas by which Rajiv Gandhi lived and for which he died, ever guide us to our cherished goal. And, therefore, I say: Rajiv Gandhi amar rahe, amar rahe, amar rahe.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House adjourns for lunch till 2.30.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-five minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock,, the Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): We will continue with the Short Duration Discussion. Shri Ish Dutt Yadav.

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, 21 मई इस देश के इतिहास में एक काला दिवस है और बहुत दुख का दिन है। इस दिन इस देश के ही नहीं, बल्कि विश्व के एक महान नेता स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी जी की निर्मम हत्या की गई। यह निर्मम हत्या उस स्थान पर की गई जहाँ पर हम देश के एक महान संत रामानुज जी ने जन्म लिया था। राजीव जी इस देश के बड़े नेता थे। वे इस देश को आगे ले जाना चाहते थे। वे इस देश के करोड़ों शोषित, पीड़ित और गरिब लोगों के लिये आशा के प्रतीक थे। उनका कुल राजनीतिक जीवन लगभग दस वर्षों का था और इन दस वर्षों में उन्होंने इस देश में शांति स्थापित करने के लिये मुल्क को आगे ले जाने के लिये कार्य किया। उनका देश को इक्कासवीं शताब्दी में ले जाने की तमन्ना थी। इसके लिये हमेशा हमेशा उन्हें इस देश में याद किया जायेगा। उनकी जो निर्मम हत्या हुई, उनकी जो दुखद मृत्यु हुई, वे जो आज हमारे बीच में नहीं है, इसकी भविष्य में क्षतिपूर्ति नहीं हो सकती। उपसभापति महोदया, आज यह अल्पकालिक चर्चा दो विषयों पर हो रही है। एक तो स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी जी की सुरक्षा के लिए सरकार का और से पर्याप्त व्यवस्था थी या नहीं और इसी से संबंधित दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि उनका हत्या के बाद देश के दक्षिणी भाग में कुछ उपद्रव और उत्पात हुए उनको सरकार रोक सकती थी या नहीं रोक सकती थी और क्या सरकार ने रोकने में कोई कमी की। महोदया, मैं समझता हूँ और जो मेरी जानकारी है स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी की सुरक्षा के लिए सरकार की ओर से बहुत अच्छी व्यवस्था थी। मैं तो यहाँ तक कहने के लिए

[श्री ईश दत्त यादव]

भी तैयार हूँ कि यह व्यवस्था देश के प्रधानमंत्री की जो सुरक्षा है लगभग उसके बराबर थी।

श्री कतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार): आगे ऐसी अच्छी व्यवस्था मत रखिये। जो रखी है सो रखी है।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : 10, जनपथ जहाँ उनका निवास था, जहाँ आज भी उनके परिवार के लोग रह रहे हैं। सम्भवतः स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी जी की इच्छा के अनुसार वर्तमान प्रधानमंत्री जी ने उन्हें आवंटित किया था क्योंकि सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से उन्होंने उसको अच्छा समझा था। दूसरी चीज, जो जांच अधिकारी, सब से बड़े जांच अधिकारी मौके पर गये हैं जो इस घटना के बारे में नहीं सुरक्षा के संबंध में जांच कर रहे हैं उन्होंने भी राजीव गांधी जी की सुरक्षा की पर्याप्त माना है। अखबारों में भी इस तरह का बयान आया है। तमिलनाडु के चीफ मेक्रेटरी का भी बयान मैंने आज पढ़ा है। उन्होंने भी कहा है कि जहाँ राजीव गांधी जी की हत्या हुई वहाँ पर पर्याप्त सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था थी। गृह मंत्रालय ने और आई.बी. के लोगों ने न केवल तमिलनाडु के लिए बल्कि जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है किभी भी प्रदेश में किसी भी स्थान पर राजीव जी के दौरे के लिए समुचित सुरक्षा व्यवस्था के लिए आदेश दे दिये थे कि इस तरह की सुरक्षा व्यवस्था उनकी की जाए कि उनके जीवन को कोई खतरा न रहे। श्री परम्बदूर में जो घटना हुई, इस बात का सबूत है कि वहाँ सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था थी, पुलिस के लोग वहाँ थे क्योंकि स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी के साथ जो अन्य 17 लोग मरे हैं उनमें 8 पुलिस के अधिकारी हैं। वहाँ एक आई.पी.एस. अधिकारी भी मरे हैं। ऐसा नहीं है कि जहाँ पर यह घटना हुई पुलिस के अधिकारी वहाँ से दूरी पर रहे हों या कोई लापरवाही करते रहे हो। घायलों में भी ज्यादा संख्या उनकी रही है। महोदया, समाचारपत्रों और टेलीविजन में मैंने जो देखा था सुना था और पढ़ा था, आप तो स्वयं, साक्षी हैं, आप तो घटना स्थल पर

मौजूद थीं, किस तरह से सरकार की ओर से राजीव जी की सुरक्षा के लिए हर सम्भव व्यवस्था की गई थी (व्यवधान)

प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर : इस बात की साक्ष्य वह नहीं है (व्यवधान)

कुमारी सईदा खातून : अखबार में जो स्टेटमेंट आया है, एस.पी. ने बोला था (व्यवधान)

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: He is putting words into your mouth, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I will reply when my turn comes.

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है, पूरे देश के लिए दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि पर्याप्त सुरक्षा व्यवस्था होने के बाद भी राजीव जी को नहीं बचाया जा सका। तमिलनाडु के अपराध विज्ञान विशेषज्ञ जिनका बयान आज ही अखबारों में निकला है कि जिस तरह का विस्फोटक प्रयोग किया गया था, सेकंड बल्टेड वार में शायद इस तरह का विस्फोटक इस्तेमाल किया गया था। राजीव जी की हत्या, उस विस्फोटक से जो छड़े निकलीं या तत्व निकले उनसे हुई थी लेकिन वाकी की मृत्यु जलने और झलसने से हो गयी। यह गम्भीर विषय है। इसकी जांच होनी चाहिए और सरकार इसकी जांच करा रही है कि किन परिस्थितियों में पर्याप्त सुरक्षा व्यवस्था होने के बाद भी राजीव जी की हत्या हो गयी।

एक चीज मैं कांग्रेस के लोगों से कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं राजीव जी के प्रति बहुत श्रद्धा रखता हूँ यद्यपि मैं उनकी पार्टी में कभी नहीं था लेकिन जब से उन्होंने देश का नेतृत्व संभाला था मैंने दिल में हमेशा उनके काम और व्यवहार के प्रति श्रद्धा रखी। एक चीज 2 तारीख के हिंदुस्तान टाइम्स में छपी है। एक लम्बा लेख है, कई पृष्ठों में है, मैं सब नहीं पढ़ंगा। इसमें एक चीज लिखी गयी है कि जिस जगह पर राजीव की सभा

हो रही थी, जहाँ उनकी हत्या हुई, पुलिस के लोगों ने और वहाँ के तामिलनाडु के लोकल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ने मना किया था कि इस जगह पर सभा नहीं होनी चाहिए थी क्योंकि यहाँ पर रस्क है। लेकिन कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोगो ने चाहा, कि नहीं सभा उसी जगह पर हो जाए। मैं केवल तीन-चार लाइनें इसकी पढ़कर मुना देना चाहता हूँ।

"As soon as the Congress-I decided about the venue, the police authorities were understood to have expressed their views not to hold it there since the DMK had already announced its decision to hold its public meeting at Sriperumbudur to be addressed by Mr. Karunanidhi on that day.

Secondly, the tank bed with its uneven surface was not considered a safe place for the meeting to be addressed by a high risk personality such as the late former Prime Minister, Mr. Gandhi."

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Subsequently they cancelled that meeting.

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI (Tamil Nadu): It is not that place ... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Let him finish.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It is wrong quoting. The newspaper cutting which you are reading is wrong.

श्री ईश दत्त पादव : मैं दो तारीख के हिंदुस्तान टाइम्स को उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ, अपनी बात कोई नहीं कह रहा हूँ। वहाँ के तामिलनाडु कांग्रेस "आई" कमेटो के जो अध्यक्ष थे जब हवाई अड्डे राजीव जी को रिसीव करने गये तो उन्होंने राजीव जी से रिक्वेस्ट की कि जिस जगह पर आप चल रहे हैं वहाँ की मीटिंग कैंसिल हो जानी चाहिए।

"Even after the arrival of Mr. Gandhi at the Meenambakkam air-

port on Tuesday evening, Mr. Ramamurthy who had gone to the airport to give him a rousing welcome suggested to Mr. Gandhi to skip Sriperumbudur. But Mr. Gandhi wanted to keep his promise to address an election meeting in that constituency"

(Time bell rings)

मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ। इस तरह से लगता है कि वह स्थान सुरक्षित नहीं था। लेकिन हम सब लोग जो गजनेति में काम करते हैं चाहे कांग्रेस "आई" के लोग हो, वकस हों सबका इच्छा रहती है कि हमारे नेता हर जगह पर पहुँच जाएं ताकि लोग उनके दर्शन कर सकें, उनकी बात को सुन लें और स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी जी के मन में यह रहा होगा कि जब एक स्थान पर घोषित कर दिया गया है एनाउंस कर दिया गया है तो उस स्थान पर हमारी सभा जरूर हो जाए लेकिन नियति को कोई टाल नहीं सकता और इन परिस्थितियों में राजीव जी की जघन्य हत्या हो गयी। सरकार विजिलेंट है और गृह राज्य मंत्री तथा प्रधान मंत्री जी उच्च स्तरीय जांच करा रहे हैं और जांच होनी चाहिए वो. आई.पी.जी. की सुरक्षा के लिए।

एस.पी.जी. का बहुत बयान है। सन् 1988 में इसी सदन और दूसरे सदन में स्पेशल प्रोटेक्शन ग्रुप एक्ट पास किया गया था। जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है इसमें केवल प्राइम मिनिस्टर की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था है। इस देश का ब्लू बुक है। ब्लू बुक में प्रेजिडेंट वाइस प्रेजिडेंट और प्राइम मिनिस्टर के लिए व्यवस्था है। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब ब्लू बुक का, एस.पी.जी. का एक्ट बना उस समय और आज की परिस्थितियाँ भिन्न हैं। अतः सरकार को इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए कि देश के जब बड़े नेता हैं उनके भी उसकी परिधि में लाया जाए। ताकि इन लोगो की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाए।

दूसरी चीज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी व्यावहारिक जानकारी और - आप

[श्री ईश दत्त यादव]

सब की व्यावहारिक जानकारी है कि जब बड़े लीडर किसी सभा में पंचते हैं, तो जब वह सभा मंच पर चढ़ने वाले होते हैं, उस समय भीड़ घेर लेती है और जब सभा मंच से उतरते हैं, उस वक्त भी भीड़ घेर लेती है। मेरे राय में यह दोनों समय खतरनाक होते हैं।

सरकार को इस तरह की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि जब से जो बी०आई० पी. हमारे जाते हैं—अभी चुनावों के बचे हैं और सारे बी०आई०पीज का दौरा हो रहा है, इस तरह की व्यवस्था हो कि सभा मंच पर चढ़ते समय और सभा मंच से उतरते समय बी०आई० पीज की सुरक्षा के लिए विशेष व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की ओर से कोई कमी राजीव जी की सुरक्षा के लिए नहीं दिखाई गई और न की गई थी। पर्याप्त सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की गई थी।

दूसरी चीज जो इसी संबंध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि राजीव जी की हत्या के बाद दक्षिण भारत में कुछ राज्यों में आंध्र प्रदेश, तमिल नाडु और त्रिपुरा में घटनाएँ हुईं और यह घटनाएँ जो हैं, वह सडन एंड ग्रेव प्रोबोकेशन में हो जाती हैं इस तरह की, लेकिन केंद्र सरकार, प्रदेश सरकारें और मैं यहां तक कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि जिला का प्रशासन सारा तैयार था, सारी व्यवस्था थी कि कहीं पर कोई अप्रिय घटना न होने पाये, लेकिन ग्रेव एंड सडन प्रोबोकेशन में दक्षिण भारत में अगर कुछ घटनाएँ हो गईं, तो हमारे मित्रों से आप माध्यम से आग्रह है कि उसका कोई राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की कोशिश मत करिए। उसकी एफ०आई०आर० हुई होगी, वहां की सरकारें उसकी जांच करा रही हैं, उसके संबंध में कार्यवाही हो रही है और जिनको क्षति हुई है, उनकी क्षतिपूर्ति की जाएगी। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है, सरकारें इसके बारे में चैतन्य हैं और प्रयास कर रही हैं। इसका राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने का

कोई प्रयास दूसरे पक्ष की तरफ से नहीं होना चाहिए।

महोदया, श्री उपेन्द्र जी ने जो श्री एन.टी. रामाराव जी के अनुशन के बारे में कहा, थोड़ी समस्या वहां शंभीर हो गई है उनके अनुशन से। मैं तो चाहता हूँ इस सभा के माध्यम से, मेरा व्यक्तिगत अनुरोध है कि रामाराव जी को जो देश के बड़े नेता हैं, उनको इस तरह की छोटी राजनीति में आकर के देश में तनाव का कोई वातावरण पैदा नहीं करना चाहिए।

अंत में, महोदया, आपकी घंटी बड़ी बार बज चुकी है—मैं अपनी बात समाप्त ही करने वाला हूँ। एक चीज थोड़ा सा हम विषय से हट कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में चुनाव का एक चरण समाप्त है और जो पहले चरण का चुनाव समाप्त हुआ है, उसमें जगह-जगह दंगे हुए हैं, फिसाद हुए हैं, झगड़े हुए हैं, कहीं-कहीं हत्याएँ हो गई हैं, लेकिन केवल एक पक्ष के लोगों के द्वारा किया गया है।

मैं तो आपके माध्यम से सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि चाहे इटावा या बुलंद शहर या देश का दूसरा हिस्सा हो, एक ही पार्टी के लोगों से, जिनके पास कोई सिद्धांत नहीं है, सिद्धांतविहीन पार्टी के लोग केवल राम मंदिर बनवायेंगे वह लोग—सारे दंगे चुनाव के जमाने में करवाये। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि अभी इस देश में दो चरण के चुनाव 12 और 15 को हैं इन चुनावों के लिए सरकार की ओर से..... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनुरागन मिश्र : आप जरा बताइये तो वह कौन पार्टी है। ऐसा कहने से तो.... (व्यवधान)

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : आप राम मंदिर बनवाने वाले हैं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : कह दीजिए साफ-साफ ।

श्री ईश बल यादव : मैंने तो कह दिया ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : संदिर बनवाने के पक्ष में तो हम हैं । आपने यह कह कर सब को फ्रेम दे दिया । या तो बोलिये कि कौन है, नहीं तो मत कहिए । हम लोगों का क्या सम्बन्ध है ।

श्री ईश बल यादव : मैं अब उसके विवाद में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : तब और को भी मरवाइये ।

श्री ईश बल यादव : महोदया, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करते हुए आपके प्रति आभार प्रकट करता हूँ ।

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): Madam Vice-Chairman, it is a very sad moment in the history of our Parliament that we have to consider whether enough security was provided to the former Prime Minister of this country and leader of the biggest group in Parliament. He was the Congress President, and it was all the more necessary that adequate security should have been provided to him by the Government. My friend who spoke just now was pleased to state that enough security was provided. Some of the police officers were against holding the meeting at a particular place. In spite of that the former Prime Minister insisted that he would like to have the meeting there. I am reminded of an incident when I was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra State. I was to hold a meeting at a particular place. The Police Commissioner came and told me. "Sir don't go to that area because that area is affected by the disturbances created by anti-social elements." Now they are the allies of one of our national parties. They

were threatening that if the Chief Minister were to come over here, we will see how safely he goes back. The Police Commissioner advised me "You better not go there." I said "it is none of your business to advise me as to where I should go and where I should not go." I told him "it is your duty to make arrangements for me wherever I go. You better understand the role of the police." In this respect it is none of their business to advise us where we should go and where we should not go. They can merely say that that area is a dangerous area. They cannot possibly force and say that you should not go to that particular place and if you are going there then we are not responsible for it. The police officers are exceeding their limits. That is why it becomes all the more necessary that more precautionary measures should be taken by them. Whether they have taken any precautionary measures is the point which we are debating today. Merely by saying that adequate security was provided. I do not think the Government can possibly absolve itself of the responsibility. In a section of the Press it was reported—I do not know how far it is correct—that on the 17th May, the intelligence agencies seem to have alerted all the State Governments particularly about the safety of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. In spite of that adequate arrangements were not made to screen the people, metal detectors were not provided. Even those people who were supposed to come for garlanding the dignitary were not screened. Other people also could get entry into it. Of course, a plea can be taken saying that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had himself said in a lady constable, "Go aside. Don't unnecessarily get worked up. Let the other lady come near me." I think if any dignitary, for that matter, were to say that does it absolve the responsibility on the part of the security officers who were supposed to take care of the life of the person? I was equally disturbed when I read in today's *Times of India* newspaper about the reports of some intelligence officers saying that VIPs

[Shri S. B. Chavan]
do not observe the code prescribed for them. They said, "VIPs violate the code. That is why it becomes very difficult for us to manage things." That makes us most skeptical about the intentions of the Government to which, in fact, I am going to come in the latter part of my speech. But I may respectfully submit that intelligence officers have to take much more care of VIPs.

I read in yesterday's newspapers that police officers posted at Ten Janpath were attacked in a particular area. You have to find out why those people were attacked and what exactly was the reason behind this attack. You owe an explanation to this House. Was there any enmity between the police officers posted at Ten Janpath and the other party? What exactly is the significance of this event should also come out when they reply to the debate. My own feeling is that even their own friends have said thus. In 1989, Mr. V. P. Singh, taking shelter under the provisions of the particular statute, said that actually those provisions were meant only for the Prime Minister and not for other VIPs. Almost Rs. 1 crore has to be spent on this. And what have their colleagues said? They have said that it is the politics of vengeance which we are practising. This is what their colleagues have said, not I. So you have to understand the implications, the motives behind the whole thing. Mr. Arun Nehru and others have said this. And it is a public statement which has appeared in a section of the Press. If it is not so, you had better issued a clarification. You have been the spokesman of the party and talking about a number of other things. But on this important issue, why is it that you have not been pleased to state anything clarifying your position? We have very serious doubts because of this politics of vengeance. Unfortunately, this is the position of our recent politics. Political parties are, in fact, supposed

to fight the elections on their manifestoes and on ideological basis. But
... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Will you please yield for a moment? You are a very senior leader of your party and the country. I do not think you should keep indulging in such facile insinuations.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: No. No. I am sorry that you have not correctly appreciated what I have stated. You may or may not agree with what I have stated. But this is the view that I had; and again, I tell you, the view I am holding even today. In fact, we political parties have become enemies of each other.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: That is true.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: We are not doing politics on correct lines. We are even going to the extent of eliminating each other.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Yes.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: If that be the spirit in which politics is looked at, I think it is the last day when people of good character and good standing will have to go out of politics and leave it for others. That is the kind of situation in which we are. When it comes to making a speech, all say they believe in secularism. If you believe in secularism, then what is the quarrel? You say that this is pseudo-secularism and yours is the real secularism. We have not been able to understand what exactly it is. If that be the position, certainly we would like to know, we are entitled to know, what exactly the connotation and the meaning of the kind of take record that you have played all over the country. Nothing but hatred. There are some posters which my friends have brought to my notice wherein Rajiv Gandhi has been shown, with bows and arrows pointed towards

Rajiv Gandhi. What exactly is the position? Are you or are you not prepared to owe responsibility that you have done in this? It might be that your lower grade workers have done it. Even then you cannot run away from the fact that your worker, though a very small functionary, has done it. That cannot satisfy anyone. That shows how the mind is working.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Which party are you referring to?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mishraji is showing great innocence today as if he is not aware. I am trying to avoid kind of bitterness unnecessarily by naming any particular party. Everybody knows.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Are you accusing every party?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am not. You also know as to which party I am mentioning. If you want, I am prepared to *(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: The country must know why an eminent person was so vague.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: No, I am not vague. I am trying to avoid bitterness and that is why I am not mentioning the name.

My only point is, this is the situation in which we are living. Rajiv Gandhi's assassination is a matter of great concern to all of us. We will have to enlarge the scope of the inquiry commission because I have my own doubts whether any outside power is also involved in this. They were not very happy with us that we were carrying on this non-aligned movement all the newly independent countries by their collective action not allowing the kind of situation that some Super Power wanted to create. A new dimension has now been added that in USSR because of certain reforms

that they had undertaken they had become rather ineffective. Number of these newly freed countries were dependent on them. We were surprised, inspite of the attack by Iraq on Kuwait everybody passed a Resolution and made a Super Power as the policeman of the entire world. Never it happened in the history of the United Nations! For the first time this kind of action was taken. And everybody agreed to it. Why did they agree? It is because of the fact that they were in a particular condition. They were having financial difficulties. That is why they had to keep quiet. Not just keeping quite; rather they had to support them. That is the condition. I believe it was China which had abstained from voting, but USSR had to support. So this is the condition in which they are and that is why the entire non-aligned movement is at cross roads and a new horizon they were looking for. Are we going to leave them at the mercy of the big Super Powers or are we going to continue our policy? I am sorry to say that the Super Power is very happy the way the present Government and the previous Government of V. P. Singh had supported them in a number of measures directly or indirect. After these opinion polls, everybody is unanimous that the Congress Party is going to form the Government and that Rajiv Gandhi is going to be the Prime Minister. And that is why they thought that if Rajiv Gandhi were to come again, then again the non-aligned movement might get impetus, strength, and that is why the best course was to eliminate him. This is just a suspicion. I don't have any evidence at my disposal, but this is my political reading. Is it a fact or not? *(Interruptions)*. That is why I said in the beginning that the trmes of reference of the Commission will have to be enlarged to cover all these aspects; otherwise...

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Is Mr. Subramanian Swamy there?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I think you are diluting the seriousness of the issue. I am sorry to say that...

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: No, I am sorry.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: My only point is I have my own apprehensions. Tamil Nadu Government has to be taken over because of certain links with the militant groups, Tamil militants having links with ULFA, having links with Punjab militants. And if that is being taken over,—might be, that some people are very unhappy—is this also one of the factors... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, I am on a point of order. Madam, the Home Minister, Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay visited Tamil Nadu and he said that camps were there, not in the usual sense, not in the hideouts or in the forests, because some people were gathered from outside in a state or medical treatment can't be termed as camps. He himself withdrew his statement issued previously... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The DMK has openly supported the militant organisations...

... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: *No. No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please let him continue. Mr. Virumbi, please sit down. You have made your point of order. Now I can't allow you. It will not go on record. You have your turn and when your turn comes, you can place everything on record and kindly don't interrupt him. *(Interruptions)*. No, it will not go on record.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Whosoever might have said this, my only request is while indulging in mud-slinging against each other we are unneces-

sarily conceding a thing which normally we would not accept that we were running the camps. Is it a statement of a responsible person, that we are saying this in order to blame one party or the other who were governing them but as a country? In the context in which it has been stated. Is it correct or not? Anyway, that is a point on which I would not like to speak. I have a large number of other things. I will only take the last point and I will finish. The last point on which I have my own apprehension is that the Prime Minister was pleased to state—I do not know because of various things—that after the assassination of Rajivji elections were inordinately delayed. I can understand extending the time by about 5 days or, at best, one week. He extended it by 12 days. I am sorry, from 21st May to 12th and 15th June. That has created one more suspicion where people began to feel whether the Government is sincere about having the elections at all. You know very well that monsoon has started in Kerala and in the first few days it is the fury of the monsoon that is to be experienced. You cannot possibly understand whether the candidates will be able to go in their constituency and campaign for election. So that is the first aspect. The second aspect is about the reported version of the VIPs and the security part of it. A number of VIPs are violating the code which has been prescribed for them. I have my own doubts. A number of rumours are there in the market and people are openly saying that, in spite of the fact that the Prime Minister has denied it, they would like him again to come on record and state here categorically that there is no intention of imposing internal emergency in this country. God forbid, if a similar kind of incident is to take place and with the postponing of elections, these two combined together, people are openly saying that there is a possibility of elections being postponed and inter-

*Not recorded.

nal emergency being clamped down in this country and that is why it has become all the more necessary for the Government to come out categorically denying this and stating that there is no such intention. Though outside, I am aware of the fact, he has made a statement, in the House he has to make a categorical statement in order to remove any kind of doubt or suspicion that people might be having. My only request will be that after the loss of such a big personality if we do not understand the problems of the country, do not try to modernise ourselves and try to see that we get a place, for which, in fact, we have been striving, in the comity of nations, if we go on fighting each other in the name of religion or caste and other similar things, I am sure our posterity is not going to forgive us for this kind of things in which we are indulging today and that is why it becomes all the more necessary that we do really have some kind of heart-searching and try to see that we really eschew violence in our political life. Madam, thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN):
Mr. Jaipal Reddy.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Madam, Vice-Chairman, it is regrettable to note that the solemnity that characterised the proceedings in the House yesterday is sadly missing today. Every section of the people, every shade of opinion in the country was shocked and grieved beyond words by the tragedy that befell not only Mr. Raiv Gandhi but Indian democratic polity. The tragedy is all the greater because he was snatched away in the prime of his life. One is tempted to quote the words of a poet who said:

"Cut is the branch that would have grown full straight, Burned is Apollo's laurel bough."

We had important political differences with him but in spite of those differences, we were among those capti-

vated by his immense personal charm. In our country, as mentioned by others before me, we find the cult of violence is taking deep roots. We have to fight this cult of violence, this cult of violence which can strike a mortal blow to our democracy. To fight this cult of violence, we have to concentrate on tackling and reducing the climate of political confrontation in the country. There are many areas of disagreement. But, we must also remember that there is a large multi-partisan consensual area in the country. There are many issues on which most of us have agreed and this is the occasion on which we need to emphasise those areas of agreement rather than the areas of disagreement. As for the security lapses my colleague, Shri Upendra, gave an exhaustive and meticulous exposition of this aspect. He referred to the absence of metal detectors. He referred to the absence of an ambulance. I must add that even the Congress (I) machinery around the meeting place failed. Every person reaching the podium should have been properly screened not only by metal detectors but also by the political wing of the party. Mr. Chidambaram made an important statement which I think is quite valid. He said that the Tamil Nadu Government, even after the assassination, has not taken action against any police officer. I do not understand the attitude of Tamil Nadu Government. Well, we do not want to prejudge the findings of the Special Investigation Team. But, we find the terms of the Commission of Justice Verma inadequate. Our friends have been talking about the possibility of a foreign plot. This aspect may be best gone into by the Commission assisted by the Special Investigation Team. This important aspect has been left to the Special Investigation Team. We, as a party, do not consider this tenable at all. While the country was reeling under the great tragedy, certain elements were on the rampage. Incidents have occurred in Andhra Pradesh, in Tripura and in Tamil Nadu on a large scale. The house of Shri

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Ram Vilas Paswan was burnt. I am not intending to refer to isolated incidents. What is significant to note is that these incidents took place mostly in States governed by the Congress (I). The inevitable and inescapable inference is that these incidents could take place in those States because the administrative machinery was a privy to these incidents. Let me draw the attention of the House to what happened in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI (Madhya Pradesh): Delhi is not governed by the Congress (I).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Who is ruling then here? (Interruptions)...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I do not want to engage myself in any partisan debate on this occasion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Kindly let him conclude. He is not saying anything unparliamentary. Please let him complete.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: In Andhra Pradesh, in Hyderabad in particular, the disturbances were started within two hours of the death of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They started around 12-30. Rajivji died perhaps at 10.30 P.M. Within two hours the masses could not have organised themselves on such a scale as to commit these atrocities. It was not a of spontaneous expression of mob fury. It was an orchestrated operation against pre-selected targets. Who could have done this? We keep on blaming the anti-social elements. Are not the Congress (I) friends blaming the anti-social elements? Don't let the people draw the inference that the Congress (I) and the anti-social elements are synonymous. But I am not saying that. The people will be driven to draw this inference if we keep on blaming them for everything. In Andhra Pradesh, these incidents kept taking place the whole night and the police is also equipped with these modern gadgets like the

walkie-talkie etc. and they were present at certain places. The police was conspicuous in Hyderabad, not by their absence, but by their presence! The law and order machinery collapsed in the presence of the police. If they were not there when the incidents had occurred, it would have been perfectly understandable. And what was more? The Chief Minister and his Ministers, the Congress (I) leaders, failed to condemn these incidents for five days and it was only after Mr. N. T. Rama Rao announced that he would go on a fast that the Chief Minister woke up from his deep slumber and indulged in a very informal condemnation of unnamed incidents. What do these things show? We are all talking of the serious dangers emanating from this situation. But are we really alive to them? If we are really alive to them, then who would be a privy to the incidents that were staged? I have gone through this booklet which has been brought out on Tripura. Look at this: This is a systematic documentation of the incidents that took place in Tripura. Could any anti-social elements have staged all these incidents? Should we not hang our heads in shame for what happened? On the one hand, we keep on blaming the unnamed foreign elements and, on the other, we keep on indulging in facile insinuations and innuendos about internal political rivals.

[The Vice-Chairman (M. A. BABY) in the Chair].

The Congress (I) leaders, both the senior leaders, Salveji and Chavanji, for whom I have high personal regard, referred to the SPG. This is not the time to discuss the merits of this issue.

But I would like to tell one thing. When this Act was being discussed, I was there in the Lok Sabha and I made a suggestion that the office of President and the office of Vice-President should be covered as a part of this. But, the Government did not even agree to this. Some friends were saying that money is not the

most important thing and what is important for security is expertise. I agree. It is not one crore of rupees which is so important. It is the expertise which is important. I agree with that formulation of Congress(I). But I would like to state, in all humility, that the expertise of the SGP was readily available. The Prime Minister of course cautioned us against revealing some of these things. All the SGP expertise was made available for the security of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi through the Delhi Police.

Secondly, I would like to tell you that the primary responsibility for the security of a VVIP would devolve on the State Government during the visit of that VVIP. Even when the Prime Minister visits a State, with the SGP guarding him, the primary responsibility for the safety of the Prime Minister would devolve squarely on the State Government. It is not the SPG which can take care of the Prime Minister in places other than Delhi. If the Congress(I) was not satisfied with the adequacy or the quality of the security, they could have got the SGP law amended during the regime of SJP. After all, they could get the Tamil Nadu Government dismissed. They could get the Assam Government dismissed. For four months the SJP was dancing to their tune. Why could not they get this law amended? Should we not indulge in all kinds of imponderable formulations?

Mr. Upendra did refer to what happened to Mr. V. P. Singh. Mr. V. P. Singh was exposed to a bomb attack in Bihar. No doubt the Government in Bihar belongs to Janata Dal. The Government of Bihar failed. I will not hesitate to acknowledge this failure. One person was killed and many persons were injured. Did anyone voice his concern at this growing evidence of violence in politics? In Bhopal when Mr. V. P. Singh visited, he was subjected to an attack

by acid. You may think that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was more important than Mr. V. P. Singh. You are entitled to your view. (*Interruptions*) You can take that view. (*Interruptions*).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: Can you compare V. P. Singh with Rajiv Gandhi? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I am not comparing... (*Interruptions*).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: I warn you again today. Mr. Upendra, if you behave like this, I will see you in the corridor. Come out. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I do not fight with people like you. (*Interruptions*)

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: I am the last person to talk to you. (*Interruptions*) You are making mockery of... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: ~~Mr.~~ Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am not pleading for a higher level of security for Mr. V. P. Singh, I am only drawing attention to the dangers lurking in the present situation. Anybody can fall a prey to this growing phenomenon of violence. In the case of Mr. Gandhi's death one does not know whether internal elements were involved or external elements were involved. I do not know whether it is a part of the mushrooming phenomenon of national violence. But quite apart from the possible involvement of foreign elements, this canker of violence is striking at every part of our polity. So, should we not alert ourselves against this? Should we not at least on such an occasion refrain from making allegations against one another? Should we even suspect that we could think of getting one another killed? Have we really so degenerated as to think of these things? Now, let me revert to the violence that broke out in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, I can tell

[Shri S. Jaipal Reddy]

you that there is not a single poster or a banner left belonging to any party other than Congress(I) in any part of Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu. Did any single leader of the Congress(I) express genuine regret over this? So, I urge that this tragedy should induce us to a great degree of self-introspection and to self-introspection as a nation.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, yesterday the entire House had paid homage to the departed leader and condemned the dastardly murder of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Today we are discussing on the failure of the Government to provide adequate security and prevent acts of violence that followed the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

In the meantime, my attention was drawn to a very widely circulated article written by one of the close aides of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri Mani Shankar Aiyer. I quote: "He—meaning Shri Rajiv Gandhi—also spoke to me of the security arrangements. He said none of these elaborate apparatus was really going to protect him. The only protection was up there, he said, pointing to the sky. When the time came, he added, the time would come. Till then there was somebody up there protecting him." I wonder whether this piece of information which he gathered from Shri Rajiv Gandhi was passed on to the present Government so that they failed or they did not arrange for adequate protection because they thought that somebody up in the sky would protect him. Sir, anyway, I do not believe in somebody up in the sky who would protect us or the leaders. I do not believe in it. There must have been some security lapse. Otherwise, why had this present Government instituted the Verma Commission? What are the terms of reference of the Verma Commission? It was only to find out whether there was security lapse and nothing else. Who is the assassin? What was his motive? Who the forces are behind the assassination? There is nothing of the sort. And I feel, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,

even if the Verma Commission comes to a conclusion that there was security lapse, even if the SIT or the CBI say who the assassin was, but will that lead to what was the motive behind the assassination? Who were the forces? Have we forgotten? We are discussing security lapse today, when Rajiv Gandhi has been assassinated. But have we forgotten that Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by none else than the personnel belonging to the security? We have not learnt anything from the past. The Thakkar Commission's report did try to say something about the forces behind this assassination. I am grateful that at least the senior leader of Congress-I, Mr. S. B. Chavan, had tried to say it. At least he had spoken something. The past few years, everybody knows, have been witness to the menacing rise of divisive, separatist, communal and fissiparous forces in our country. Mr. Chavan himself was the Home Minister. It was not to the liking of the US imperialists—Mr. Chavan did not mention the name, I mention—that India remains united, independent and self-reliant. US wanted India to disintegrate and to be coerced into submission. Even the notorious Super 301 threat has been held against India. Who does not know? Mr. Vice-Chairman, the leaders will agree with me that particularly in this election, when the election process was on, the US administration and, for that matter, the US imperialists, had shown much interest. Was it a sheer co-incidence, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that US Ambassador to Pakistan had visited India only a few weeks ago during the election process and held meetings with certain leaders of certain parties? What for? Should we not ponder? We are sitting here to discuss the aftermath of assassination. But should we not ponder over this question?? So the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi has to be viewed in this background. Even on the eve of the first phase of this election somebody has pointed out how these separatist and communal forces have encouraged the cult of violence. Not

only Rajiv Gandhi has been assassinated; more than two dozen persons were killed in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and in certain other parts of the country. So, Sir, we must try to understand the problem and its magnitude. It is not simple, at least to me, that there was some lapse in the security and Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated. There were attempts earlier also, Shri Jaipal Reddy has correctly stated that there was an accusation that SPG was withdrawn. Even in Calcutta there was an accusation by a former Minister in a public meeting that V. P. Singh was responsible because he had withdrawn the SPG. All right; for argument sake I agree. I am not entering into a debate on this issue that SPG was withdrawn or there was some lacuna in the law. What Mr. Chavan pointed out was that somebody has taken advantage of that lacuna. But what prevented the Congress-I party to provide SPG or to amend the SPG Act? What is Chandra Shekhar Government? Chandra Shekhar Government did not come from heaven. Chandra Shekhar Government had come up on support of your party. If it was a failure of the Chandra Shekhar Government, it was at the same time failure of your party which propped up the Chandra Shekhar Government. You are living in a glass house Try to understand.

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI: SPG was withdrawn by your Government.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is time to ponder. This is simply not the time to score a point in the debate. Unfortunately, the future of Congress (I) party lies with you; it is unfortunate.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: It is uncharitable to make such remarks.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I would like to say that the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to be viewed in the correct perspective, in the correct background, both national and international. So, for that matter terms of reference of the Verma Commission have to be expanded. We have seen

what happened in the case of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. The killers were hanged but the forces behind the killers still remain unidentified. So, this Verma, Commission can find out. Even Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay Minister of State for Home Affairs met yesterday with all the political leaders to ensure security for the VVIPs. And today, while I entered the Rajya Sabha lobby, I saw some senior security personnel, not belonging to Parliament security, with sniper dogs moving around this House. I do not know whether it was the outcome of yesterday's meeting. But at least it betrays the foolishness on the part of the Government. If maintenance of security or ensuring security lies in the hands of these types of people, then at least I may have to agree for debate sake with Mr. Mani Shankar Iyer.

I think there is a deep-rooted conspiracy behind this assassination. India being the leader of NAM, India being the leader of the world peace movement, the U.S. imperialists did not want India to remain united, independent and self-reliance. At every point of time, they have tried to wreck from inside and they are bent upon aiding and abetting these forces. So, you must beware of these forces. We must try to find out these forces and identify them and take appropriate steps. But unfortunately—I would say unfortunately—a section of Congress-I supporters or rather friends, some irresponsible elements inside the Party, the Congress Party, were not at all conscious of the gravity of the situation. Otherwise, what happened in Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and certain other parts of the country in the aftermath of the assassination would not have happened. When the need of the hour is to unite the countrymen against such forces, these irresponsible sections in the Congress (I) Party indulged in acts of violence against their immediate political adversaries to gain some narrow political mileage in the last two phases of elections.

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

I am completely in agreement with Mr. Salve. He was making all of us aware that just to gain some political mileage, one should not indulge in acts of violence. But what happened in Tripura? I had gone there. My colleague, Mr. Sikander Bakht, had gone there. Mr. Mohd. Amin had gone there. They will be speaking. We are talking of security lapse. When Mr. Sikander Bakht was going to Tripura, even on asking, he was not provided with any armed guards or any kind of security to move around. The State Administration was completely hand-in-glove with these elements. Mr. Salve concluded his speech by saying 'Rajiv Gandhi Amar Rahe'. I wish Rajiv Gandhi were alive to see what his supporters were doing in Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu while chanting 'Rajiv Gandhi Amar Rahe'. While chanting the slogan 'Rajiv Gandhi Amar Rahe', they set fire to houses, shops, offices....

AN HON. MEMBER: Printing presses.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ...of their opponents and their supporters in Tripura, in Andhra Pradesh, in Kerala. They looted even the belongings of the farmers.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): In the name of Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: They looted the year's toil of the farmers. I have seen, I have the photographs. I had shown it to the President of India. I had shown it to the Prime Minister of India. I had shown it to the Chief Election Commissioner. Only seeing is believing. The houses of the poor farmers, mud houses, burnt; mud walls with burnt doors and windows with the belongings looted, standing like ghosts. Even pregnant women with children in their arms had to flee to the jungles because they had no place to live; they did not have any roof over their heads. Is it the way of paying homage to the departed leader? Is it the way of paying

homage to the slain leader? Is this the way of paying tributes to him? If this is the method, if this is the way, of paying tributes to the slain leader, I would say God had saved him from seeing such things, what his supporters were doing in Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and certain other parts of the country.

We are discussing this in all solemnity here. We pay homage. I am completely in agreement with Mr. Salve. And they wanted the name. I can give you the name but I cannot utter the name now because he is not present in the House. I can say that the PCC(I) president of West Bengal, having alighted at Calcutta airport, wanted three leaders to apologise publicly. He wanted their public apology because it is they who killed. This PCC(I) president of West Bengal had organised a silent procession. You cannot imagine, senior leaders. They had organised a silent procession. The PCC(I) president of West Bengal and other leaders of the party had organised a silent procession with the banner, naming three important national leaders as killers of Rajiv Gandhi.

An HON. MEMBER: Mention the names.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: V. P. Singh, Jyoti Basu and Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In Bengali they said:

"Rajiv hatyar teen dayee

V. P. Singh, Jyoti Basu and Vajpayee."

They had written in rhymes. But is this the way of paying homage to slain leaders? Is it the awareness in the Congress(I) party at all levels of the gravity of the situation? (*Time Bell rings*).

I would only like to make an appeal to the Congress (I) party. I do not know what the result or the outcome of the election will be. Yesterday Shri Shiv Shanker had stated, while paying tributes, that Rajiv Gandhi was reaching the office of Prime Minister. Today Mr. Chavan

has stated that they would win. I am not going to comment anything on it. Whether Rajiv Gandhi was reaching the office of Prime Minister or not, even if he had not reached the office of Prime Minister, the assassination would have been as grave as when he would have reached the office of Prime Minister. To me there is little difference between a Prime Minister in office or a Prime Minister out of office, ex-Prime Minister or former Prime Minister. But as Chavan has stated, his party is the largest party, the biggest national party, his party has a greater responsibility too. I would hope that his party played a role of being a national party. He will give instructions to his party-men because not a single Congress (I) leader at the national level has condemned as yet what is happening and what is being perpetrated in Tripura or Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu or Kerala or other parts of the country. Not a single condemnation was gone. On the contrary the State level leaders had commended. In Tripura I have met the Governor. In Delhi I have met the President, the Prime Minister, the Chief Election Commissioner. Let them condemn at least these acts of violence perpetrated by their own supporters throughout the country, particularly in Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

Also I would ask the Government to expand the terms of reference of the Verma Commission. It is not a question of simply identifying the assassin or the security lapse or the motive behind the assassination. The forces behind the assassination should also be identified.

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद (महाराष्ट्र) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं दिवंगत नेता को अलामा इकबाल के शेर से शुरू करता हूँ—

हजारों साल नरगिस अपनी बेनूरो
के रोती है,
बड़ी मुश्किल से होता है चसन में
दीवार पैंदा।

कुछ दिन पहले हम यह सोच भी नहीं सकते थे कि आज वह दिन आया कि हम उस महान नेता के कत्ल के बारे में, उनकी हत्या के बारे में इस सदन में चर्चा करेंगे।

जब हम राजीव जी की हत्या के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं, तो इस बात को हम भूल नहीं सकते कि वह सिर्फ भारत के ही नेता नहीं थे, बल्कि विश्व के उन-तमाम कमजोर गरीब देशों के नेता भी थे, जिनकी आर्थिक हालत कमजोर थी, जिनके देशों में रंग और भेद था जो अपनी आजादी के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे थे। वह भी एक महान नेता से आज महारूम, वंचित हो गये हैं।

राजीव जी भारत की नई पीढ़ी और पुरानी पीढ़ी के बीच में पुल थे और वह पुल आज नई पीढ़ी और पुरानी पीढ़ी के बीच में इस कठिन समय में टूट गया है। उन्होंने एक सच्चे भारतीय के नाते अपने थोड़े से ही समय में प्रधान मंत्री बनते ही भारत को जोड़ने का जो प्रयास किया, विशेष रूप से बिहार, असम, कश्मीर, पंजाब और गोरखालैंड जैसे कठिन काम जो कई वर्षों से पड़े थे, उनको ठीक करने में जो उन्होंने मदद दी, भारत हमेशा और भारत की जनता हमेशा उनको उसके लिए याद रखेगी।

भारत के निर्माण के लिए उद्योग, शिक्षा, कृषि, फ़ूड इंडस्ट्री और विशेष रूप से पाइनइंड्रेशन के लिए उनका सब से बड़ा सपना जो था भारत को इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में ले जाने का, एक ऐसी शताब्दी जहाँ न भूख हो, न कोई गरीब हो, न जातिवाद हो और न धर्म की लड़ाई हो—मुझे अफ़सोस है कि हमें और पूरे देश को वह इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी तक वह नहीं पहुँचा सके, नहीं ले जा सके।

उन्होंने अपने आपको पूरे देश की जनता के साथ, चाहे वह उत्तर में रहते हों, दक्षिण में रहते हों, पूर्व में रहते हों, पश्चिम में रहते हों, अपने आपको उनके साथ आईडेंटिफ़ाई किया था और किसी

[श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद]

भी देश के व्यक्ति को यह अहसास नहीं था कि राजीव गांधी उसके साथ नहीं हैं या उनके साथ उसका राबता नहीं है।

अफसोस है कि आज वह हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं। लेकिन आज सब से बड़ा सवाल जिसके बारे में चर्चा हो रही है कि उनकी हत्या कैसे हुई, क्यों हुई। मेरे ब्याल में इससे पहले ज्यादा सोचने की जरूरत है, क्यों हमेशा कांग्रेस के ही महान नेताओं की हत्या होती आ रही है। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि दूसरे लोगों की हत्या हो। मेरे ऐसा कहने की बिल्कुल मंशा नहीं है, लेकिन क्या कारण है कि आजादी के बाद महात्मा गांधी जी की हत्या हुई (व्यवधान)

पेट्रोलियम और रसायन मंत्री तथा संसदीय कार्य मंत्री (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय): तब वह कांग्रेस में नहीं थे। उसके पहले ही उन्होंने कह दिया था कि कांग्रेस को डिस्बैंड कर दिया जाए।

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): He was the Father of the Nation. He led the Congress movement. ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: Mahatma Gandhi was not a member of the Congress Party then. Rather he had written that the Congress should be disbanded.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: He was the Father of the Nation. He was not a BJP leader, he was not a CPI(M) leader, also he was not a Janata leader nor a Samajwadi leader. ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: You have described him as a Congress leader.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: He was part and parcel of the Congress. You cannot distort history. ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALA-VIYA: On Friday the 29th January

he said that the Congress had outlived its utility and, therefore, it should be disbanded. Pearey Lal described it as the last will and testament of Bapu to the nation.

SHRI PARAVATHANENI UPENDRA: He was not even a member of the Congress. ... (Interruptions).

श्री कपिल वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह बच्चा भी जानता है कि कांग्रेस वही चलाते थे। ... (व्यवधान) आप बहुत छोटे हैं, इसलिए आपको बता देते हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Azad, please continue.

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : उसके बाद इंदिरा गांधी जी की हत्या हुई और उसके बाद आज राजीव गांधी जी की हत्या हुई। क्यों हुई? क्योंकि इन सब ने चाहे महात्मा गांधी जी हों, चाहे इंदिरा गांधी जी हों, चाहे राजीव जी हों, लोकतंत्र को बचाने के लिए, धर्म-निरपेक्षता को कायम रखने के लिए उन्होंने न अन्दरूनी शक्तियों के साथ और न बैरूनी शक्तियों के साथ कभी कम्प्रोमाइज नहीं किया। जो लोग देश को बेचना चाहते थे, देश को तोड़ना चाहते थे, देश के टुकड़े करना चाहते थे, देश का सौदा करना चाहते थे, उन्होंने देश का सौदा होने नहीं दिया। यही कारण है कि आज इंदिरा गांधी हों या राजीव गांधी हों उनकी हत्या की जा रही है। हमें अफसोस से कहना पड़ता है कि इन महान नेताओं को हमेशा गलत समझा गया जब भी वह सत्ता में रहे, चाहे वह इंदिरा जी हों, चाहे वह राजीव जी हों, आज मगरमच्छ के आंसू जो बहाए जा रहे हैं.... (व्यवधान)

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): You have no right to call "magarmach."

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Whatever you have said, you have said. Why should you take it that you are a "magarmach?" Whosoever

is a "magarmach" will feel it. Why should you be that conscious? लेकिन उनके जीते जी, चाहे इंदिरा गांधी जी हों, उनको हटाने का पुरा-पुरा प्रयास किया जा रहा है। जब तक राजीव गांधी जी थे, जब वह प्रधान मंत्री थे प्रधान मंत्री पद से हटाने का कौन सा प्रयास नहीं किया गया ?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: That is a democratic right.

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : जब उसके बाद वह प्रधान मंत्री नहीं रहे उसके बाद श्री आज सैक्योरिटी के बारे में कहा जाता है। जब उनको सैक्योरिटी होती थी प्रधान मंत्री जी के रूप में तब हमारे ही भाई देश में प्रचार करते थे कि राजीव गांधी जनता से ही नहीं मिलता है, वह लोगों से ही नहीं मिलता है। वह सैक्योरिटी के अंदर बंद कमरे में बैठता है। तब ऐसा प्रचार किया जाता था, आपकी सभाओं में, पोलिटिकल पार्टीज की बैठकों में... (व्यवधान) तब यह चर्चा की जाती थी उनके बारे में ताकि और उसके पीछे भी पोलिटिकल पालिसी की राजीव गांधी अंदर रहें ताकि वह जनता से नहीं मिल पाएं, लोगों से नहीं मिल पाएं। वह लोगों से मिलते थे उसके लिए उनको बदनाम किया जाता था। वह लोगों से नहीं मिलते थे उसके लिए भी उनको बदनाम किया जाता था। लेकिन राजीव गांधी जनता के नेता थे, अग्रिम के नेता थे, उन्होंने कभी परवाह नहीं की। आज जब सुरक्षा के बारे में चर्चा की जा रही है नेशनल फ्रंट गवर्नमेंट जिसके नेता जनाब बी. पी. सिंह साहब थे वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी से कभी भी हट नहीं सकते। उनको मालूम है कि प्रधान मंत्री के रूप में दो दफा राजीव गांधी जी पर हमला हुआ। राजघाट पर हमला हुआ, श्रीलंका में हमला हुआ था। वह "जैड" कैटेगरी में थे। उसके बाद भी उन्होंने एस.पी.जी. विद्वड़ा की ओर आज बताया जाता है कि कांग्रेस ने प्रोटेस्ट नहीं किया था। 6 फरवरी, 1990 का है।

"Tripathi warns on Rajiv's security"

—The Times of India

The Hindustan Times of 6th February, 1990—"Tripathi cautions VP on Rajiv's security."

Then the Hindustan Times again—"PM warned against Rajiv's security."

कौन सा वक्त नहीं था और इसमें लिखा गया है साफ़ शब्दों में लिखा गया है कि जब त्रिपाठी जी ने उस वक्त के प्रधान मंत्री को कहा कि यह हमारी पार्टी कभी इस चीज को बर्दास्त नहीं करेगी अगर आप राजीव गांधी की सैक्योरिटी के साथ कंप्रोमाइज करते हैं। त्रिपाठी जी ने कहा कि 4 P.M. आपने 1/4 सैक्योरिटी की है, वह किस बिना परकी है ? इस बाबत जब श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी का लेटर उस वक्त के प्रधान मंत्री बी.पी. सिंह को गया और उस पर टाइम्स ऑफ़ इंडिया 6 फरवरी 1990 को जो अपने कमेंट्स लिखता है, वह है—

"Disturbing Aspects—A disturbing aspect revealed by the source was that the National Security Guards were basically trained for anti-terrorists operations and not for providing VVIP security cover which was mainly the task of the SPG. The SPG men were specially trained in all aspects of security. They were also especially trained in the use of the advanced weaponry and telecommunications. Mr. V. P. Singh who did not"—this is the point to be noted, the Times of India it itself has mentioned—"face any grave security threat was now saddled with as many as 36 bullet proof cars, 900 SPG men, 600 NSG men and about 1400 Delhi Police security men. In addition to this, there are about 400 men of the PM's security." ... (Interruptions)... As Prime Minister he knew and when your Government knew that he was in the 'Z' category, why were SPG men withdrawn?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I will come to that if you yield.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: It is the intelligence department of the Government who were supposed to ... (Interruptions). ...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Will you yield for a minute?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I am sorry, I will not yield.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I would like to give you some information.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Let me complete. Later on you can give it.

Mr. V. P. Singh cannot escape from his responsibility. The Janata Dal Government cannot escape from its responsibility. Mr. V. P. Singh, who had served as Defence Minister under Mr. Rajiv Gandhi knew that he was under a threat and he knew the magnitude of the threat; in spite of that ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: If the Member yields, I would like to read out from the letter.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I am not quoting the figures. I am stating the facts.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I am also intending to read out from the text of a letter written by Mr. V. P. Singh to Mr. Kamlapati Tripathi. You referred to the letter of Mr. Kamlapati Tripathi but let me read out from the reply given by Mr. V.P. Singh. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: No.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Do you want to shut your eyes to facts? ... (Interruptions) ... Okay. You remain blind for ever?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: You know that in the press it has been said that Rajiv Gandhi was asked to choose the police of his choice. He wanted some SPG men to be transferred to Delhi Police and then put

them in his security. It was agreed upon by the then Janata Dal Government but they did not do it. Till now they did not do it. They did not transfer any SPG men to the Delhi Police.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Now let the Government clarify. I am saying "it was done." You are saying "it was not done."

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Let the Government clarify. When we talked of security we were told that this much amount was being spent on Rajiv Gandhi. We were not concerned about money. We wanted quality but not quantity. We did not want 10,000 people for his security. We wanted well-trained people with sophisticated arms and ammunition and those who were trained to combat anti-terrorist activities and not the traffic police of our Delhi Administration.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Traffic police were posted at Rajivji's house.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: That was in addition to...

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: My dear friend, let me tell you another aspect. There was a requirement by the security police that there should be barbed wires on all the four walls of Gandhi's house. One wall was between the house of one of your Cabinet Ministers and that of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. And your Cabinet Minister did not allow barbed wire between the two houses. What are you talking?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: What did you do afterwards?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: This was the attitude of your Cabinet Minister. We can well know what the attitude of the Government was. ... (Interruptions). ...

सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न आज, जैसे मैं पहले कह रहा था, यह पुरानी गवर्नमेंट हो या नई गवर्नमेंट हो, दोनों पर जिम्मेदारी (व्यवधान) ...

श्री एस० जयपाल रेड्डी : नई गवर्नमेंट को पूछते क्यों नहीं ?

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : मैं आ रहा हूँ, उस पर। ... (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: What was the new Government doing? You must reply. You reply now. (Interruptions).*

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Have patience, I will come to the new Government also.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Not new Government, your Government. It was your Government.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: They are your cousins, They might be our friends. But they are your first cousins.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: It was your Government.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I will come to your first cousins also.

श्री एस० जयपाल रेड्डी : नहीं, यह आपकी गवर्नमेंट है। ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: You had got elected on one mandate. I will come to your first cousins also.

इस डेढ़ साल में राजीव गांधी जी को ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री एस० जयपाल रेड्डी : डेढ़ साल की बात आप क्यों करते हैं ? ... (व्यवधान)

Why don't you talk about the last six months? Why have you failed?

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: You will be taking my time. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: You are escaping your responsibility.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please continue.

श्री एस० जयपाल रेड्डी :
जवाब दो।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : आप बोलने तो देते नहीं। जयपाल जी, आप आफि-सियली स्पोकसमेन हैं अपनी पार्टी के। ... (व्यवधान) ...

Please be the official spokesman of only your party, not of Parliament.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I am against one in my party of ten. So don't bother.

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : इन पिछले डेढ़-दो वर्ष में, मुझे अफसोस से कहना पड़ता है ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री एस० जयपाल रेड्डी : छह महीने के बारे में बोलो, बाबा। ... (व्यवधान)
क्यों रिक्वेस्ट न पड़े।

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: What is wrong with you?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Why did you not get the SPG law amended so as to protect... (Interruptions)... retrospectively realising the need... (Interruptions).

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: The 'ded sal' of your rule was the 'ded sal' of ruin for India. The 'ded sal' has ruined the fabric of the country. You should acknowledge it. India is acknowledging, the world is acknowledging that you have betrayed the whole country, you have sold the whole country. The whole country is not worth anything today. (Interruption). This is because of the casteism, communalism, pursued by the pleaders of that party. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: We know that your Government was dominated by the upper castes. You belonged to the rich.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Let me tell you, the Janata Dal Government was installed to destabilise India and it has been destabilised. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I take objection. I am on a point of order.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): It is a point of order.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Sir, the National Front Government was installed by the people, but the Chandra Shekhar Government was installed by this party. That is the difference... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please continue, Mr. Azad.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: The facts are, India was totally destabilised and it was Rajiv Gandhi who wanted it again to stabilise; that is why a conspiracy was hatched. I won't say by the internal forces, but I can't rule out the internal and external forces both. Those who wanted to destabilise India, first they had to neutralise Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to eliminate Mr. Rajiv Gandhi; then only they could be successful in destabilising India thoroughly, completely and ultimately माई डियर फ्रेंड्स, मैं आखिर में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले दो साल में जो नंगम नाच नाचा गया ... (*व्यवधान*) ... दो साल में जो नंगम नाच नाचा गया अरस्तु को तोड़ने का—कुरान के नाम पर, गीता के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर, मंदिर-मस्जिद के नाम पर, मजहब का इतना दुरुपयोग और इस्तेमाल कभी हुआ नहीं था; इन दो सालों में हुआ। जिस किछपों का; जिस मंदिर और मस्जिद का; जिस कुरान और गीता का नाम हमारे विभाग में होना चाहिए था, उसका राजनीति में इस्तेमाल किया जाता था। इस धर्म की लड़ाई में एक ही रोकनी की किरण थी, वे राजीव गांधी थे जो हिन्दुस्तान को 21वीं शताब्दी में ले

जा सकते थे। आज वे हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि राजीव गांधी जी के कार्यक्रम राजीव गांधी जी की नीतियां, राजीव गांधी का जो विश्वास था, उस विश्वास को लेकर आज भी इस अंधेरे में अगर कोई इंसान है, अगर कोई पार्टी है, तो वह सिरु कांघ्रेस ही है जो इस अंधेरे में भी रास्ता निकाल सकती है और देश को आगे बढ़ा सकती है।

आखिर में "फैज" के एक शेर से मैं राजीव गांधी जी को श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ :-

ना उम्मीद तो नहीं, नाकाम ही तो है
लम्बी है गम की शाम, मगर शाम ही तो है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now, the Minister Mr. Subramanian Swamy, would like to make an intervention.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): Sir, the discussion initiated today was to centre around two issues, the issue of security and the issue of violence that followed after Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. But as is natural, wider issues are also involved and they have also been referred to in this discussion today. At this juncture it would be a fitting tribute, I feel, to the memory of Shri Rajiv Gandhi if the debate is kept high without bringing in unsubstantial charges or getting emotional because never has our nation been under such multi-dimensional stress as it is today or have we witnessed such viciousness or violence in the election campaign that has taken place so far. While we should be concerned about security, it is time for our country to take stock and ponder as to how we reached this stage today. The nation, of course, is on severe test. Our capacity to stay together is being doubted in

certain circles. In fact, Sir, a large number of foreign correspondents landed here within hours of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination and many of them went back disappointed because they had been given to understand that there would be enormous violence following his assassination and the country, in fact, may fall apart and they came here to witness that! Many of them told me so. But they were disappointed because of the people's resilience which has seen us through in the past. They have proved almost all the Cassandras of the world wrong and this time too, they have proved these pessimists wrong. It is a matter of relief while there has been violence here and there, by and large the country has remained peaceful and law and order has been maintained. But let us not be complacent because as the old saying goes the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. The most disturbing aspect of today's situation is, as many speakers referred to, the climate of violence. It is time for us to change because Mahatma Gandhi, who is known as the Father of the Nation, was a great apostle of non-violence. It is, therefore, time to focus people's attention on the rancorous atmosphere of hate, division and mutual suspicion that is there today. Assassins and enemies of the country thrive on this atmosphere and, therefore, we need to look at our security, strengthen it and not to have the kind of situation that has taken place. I think it is equally important that the polluted atmosphere be cleared. It is in that our country's unity rests, in clearing of this polluted atmosphere; and learning to talk in terms of harmony, conciliation and resolving our political differences through dialogue. Sir, no security agency, no matter how efficient it is, can unerringly deliver the goods unless the climate is such that the gun is not glorified. In today's atmosphere increasingly taking to gun is being glorified. During the freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the nation was based on the principle of consensus and dialogue. We have been dissipating

this capital that Mahatma Gandhi left with his blessings and we are exhausting it. The forces of hate were there even during Mahatma Gandhi's time. They used religion to divide the people. Therefore, as a consequence the nation got divided, but Mahatma Gandhi himself was slain by these forces of hate. At that time the nation reacted with sorrow and secular democratic forces rallied and while we worried about the security lapses at his stage, the nation focussed its attention on keeping the country together. That is what we need today. After decades of suppression of these divisive forces, the late eighties have now seen the ascendancy of these forces of hate and the rising legitimacy that is being accorded to them. We have witnessed today, for example a leader openly speaking and glorifying the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. This is where the country has come to, newspapers repeating and publishing the statement of a leader who is extolling the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, calling him a courageous man. This is what religion and casteist fundamentalism has done to the country. Divisive forces are there for all to see, what they are. This is what they have led us to. I would also like to say that the country is aware of the machination of forces of destabilisation on which my friend, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad, focused his attention. There are very few countries in the world which relish India being strong; there is no one particular country, including, may be, the favourite of Mr. Dipen Ghosh a large number of countries say that, large number of countries in the world do not want India to be strong. Indeed I could say that, knowing Mr. Rajiv Gandhi a little, these countries would not have relished Mr Rajiv Gandhi either, because during his tenure there were two attempts on his life of which we know very little even today. One was in Rajghat where a gentleman stood 48 hours without detection and fortunately for all of us at that time he could not afford a good gun and that is why he could not

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]
 carry out his target. There was another attempt on Mr. Gandhi in Columbo when a soldier or navy personnel tried to use his rifle but to grievously hurt or fatally hurt Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi's policies are well known. They were to make India politically stronger. Whether he politically agreed to those policies as correct or not, but that was his motivation. To day what is disturbing us is that there is evidence, a very strong evidence that forces of destabilisation have found an ally in the forces of fundamentalism. The nexus between fundamentalism and destabilisation poses the greatest threat to our nation today and we have seen this in Punjab, we have seen this in Kashmir. Even during the freedom struggle the forces of destabilisation used the forces of fundamentalism. One has to just go and see the archives and see the Government files and one can see how much there was this nexus. So at this hour to meet this challenge we should all pledge to foster national unity by affirming our faith in secular democratic politics and declare that we shall not resort to caste and religious beliefs. This is how we can pay our best tributes to Shri Gandhi at this hour. Sir, I now come to the question of security lapses. I do not want to say much because there is a Commission inquiring into it. The newspapers are full of wild stories. Many of them are not true. There is a story that all policemen ran away from that site. That is not correct... (Interruptions) ... You may have seen it ... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That is correct and I have seen it ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You may have seen it. You may present your point of view before the Commission of Inquiry... (Interruptions) ... I beg to state that the entire police force of 1400... (Interruptions) ... We have a right to defend them if you attack them... (Interruptions) ... Do they have no right for defence? There were 1400 police-

men in that entire area... (Interruptions) ...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: All of them disappeared ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI MISA R. GANESAN (Tamil Nadu): Nobody disappeared. ... (Interruptions) ... It is the quality not the number, that matters...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Eight policemen died on the spot ... (Interruptions) ... The Superintendent of Police of the area also died on the spot... (Interruptions) ... The personal bodyguard, Mr. Gupta also died on the spot and I think it would be unfair to characterise the entire police as having run away from there ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: How many were there apart from the two? Please tell us... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am only commenting on the point that all the policemen ran away... (Interruptions) ...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Can he name one other policeman who stood there apart from Shri Ragahavan and Shri Ramakrishnan whom I saw? Name one and I will sit down. I challenge you ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The second thing is... (Interruptions) ... I do not have to answer every remark that is made here... (Interruptions) ... I said that the remark that all the policemen ran away was wrong and now she says that I should defend the point that no policeman ran away from the site. I cannot vouch for all. I do not want to name all of them who ran away from there. So let us not go into it. But, to conclude that all of them ran away, specially when eight of them died, is totally wrong. It is also wrong to say that no security precautions were taken. In fact, three garlands which were to be presented were actually cleared. The people who

were to stand in the line, 20 of them, it was the organisers who had provided the list. The rose petals which were to be strewn ahead of Mr. Gandhi's walk on the carpet were also cleared. Yet it is a fact that one person or more did turn up in the line and Mr. Gandhi died on the spot there. So, this has to be inquired into and I think it would be much better for the country if the inquiry is allowed to proceed without all these sensational and false stories coming in the papers from time to time... (Interruptions)...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Eye-witnesses are there.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: But eye-witnesses are, as you know, are not the final word on this... (Interruptions)....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: This Government is only doing a cover-up job... (Interruptions)...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Your report is already prepared... (Interruptions)....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You are covering up... (Interruptions)... You are covering up your lapses... (Interruptions)....

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Sir, with all respect for my friend, Shri Swamy, may I ask him a question? He has himself issued a statement that there has not been any security lapse and as a Minister he has said that. Then what is the purpose of appointing a Commission?... (Interruptions)... What is the point in appointing a Commission of Inquiry with only two terms of reference which also deal only with the security aspect? Why should this be said by him. All sorts of things are coming in the papers and he himself issued a statement on this aspect?...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Let him name at least one person... (Interruptions)....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I have only said that it is wrong to say that all of them ran away... (Interruptions)... I was responding

to the statements made by some politicians that the Government should resign because no security was provided, because there was no security and I had said that in fact, the maximum security protection was given and all steps were taken. But there was something which went wrong obviously and there was this assassination. We have to perfect the security system and that is why the Commission of Inquiry is being set up. That is supposed to go into this aspect. We cannot go by individual allegations of any kind. It has to be through a Commission of Inquiry and it has to be well established in law.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That is why you are covering it up... (Interruptions)....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: We also have our opinion as to what happened, as to the circumstances in which this happened. I shall not be answering every point of every Members and I will not be bowing down to everyone. After all, the nation has a right to know the truth and to know the truth through an inquiry, and not from the version of one person who happened to be an eye-witness. I do not think that anywhere in the world, where rule of law is there, one person as eye-witness can be the final word on what happened.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: This Government will never find out the truth... (Interruptions)... They do not want to find out the truth. They want to protect some people... (Interruptions)....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The Minister is trying to protect the police officers... (Interruptions)... and the State Government... (Interruptions)....

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: It is a shame... (Interruptions)....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: It is said that no police officer ran away. It is being blatantly said. It is not true... (Interruptions)... This should not come from the mouth of the

[Shri V. Narayanasamy] Minister ... (Interruptions) ... Immediately after the incident, all the police officers ran away except two... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): I think I have to give security protection to the Minister!

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Though he has not provided security to others including my leader ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the honourable Prime Minister is here. He may say something on this. We would like to hear the Prime Minister on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): He is intervening later on.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, I do not have to add very much more as the Central Bureau of Investigation is fully seized of the investigation. The technology used, the *modus operandi* and the local logistics—all these aspects have already been highlighted through the Press. We do not need to go into all those things. What needs to be done at this juncture is to resolve to frustrate the nefarious designs of those who wanted to create chaos in the country and failed. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now, Mr. Skinder Bakht.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: सदर साहब, तिरुवञ्चे अहंतितात से घुटने लगा है दम, अरसा हुआ है चाक करीबां किए हुए।

जब मुझे इस मोशन पर बोलने के लिए कहा गया तो यह एक्शन था कि यह मोशन नहीं आता तो अच्छा था क्योंकि हमने कल ही राजीव गांधी साहब को याद किया, कंडोलेंसज पास किए और हर तरह से एक कर्व और अर्थों का आलम था। जब, मुझसे बोलने के लिए कहा गया तो मैंने तय किया कि मैं मामूली तौर पर बोल्गा और मौत के एतराम को सामने रखकर बोल्गा। मुझे बड़ा अमसोस हुआ आज जब हमारे बहुत संजीदा

साथियो ने और उन साथियों ने भी जिनका रिश्ता राजीव गांधी साहब से मेरी निसबत बहुत गहरा था उस मोके की संजीदगी को बहुत सारी बातें करके हलका कर दिया। मुझे ज्यादा अफसोस हुआ साल्वे साहब की बात सुनकर जब उन्होंने यह तय किया कि स्कोप क्या है आज के डिस्कशन का। स्कोप तो जैसा सुब्रहमण्यम स्वामी साहब ने कहा कि बहुत सीधा है, दो ही लफ्जों में है—एक सेक्यूलरिज्म की बात है और दूसरी वेंडाजिज्म की। बहुत सारी बातें की साल्वे साहब ने लेकिन वेंडाजिज्म के हिस्से को छुआ नहीं और वहां से निकल कर न मालूम कहां-कहां चले गए। राजीव गांधी साहब द्वारा याद किए जाएं अच्छा है, किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन राजीव गांधी साहब के अलावा जो आज मोशन के डिस्कशन के बुनियादी मुद्दे थे उनके बारे में भी जिक्र होना चाहिए था।

मैं सुबह के वक्त बहुत जोर से रिएक्ट कर गया साल्वे साहब के सामने, अब मैं अपने को काबू में रखकर सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ :

इतनी न बड़ा पाकीय दामा की हिकायत को, दामन को जरा देख जरा बदे कवा देख।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मास्कर मशानी मातो-बकर) पीटसीन हुए]

सेक्यूलरिज्म का सवाल, कम्युनलिज्म का सवाल, कौन-कौन से आधरण और किस-किस का जिक्र करूँ ? तमिलनाडु में मुस्लिम लीग से मिलकर चुनाव सज्जे की बात करूँ, कर्नाटक में मुस्लिम लीग से मिलकर चुनाव की बात करूँ, मिजोरम में मैनफैस्टो को लेकर जाना और मैनफैस्टों में यह-यह एलान करना :

We have come to set up a Christian Government based on the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

किस से सबक लेते जाएं आज सेक्यूलरिज्म का ? मैंने सुबह काफ़ी बात सुनी आप

आज की बहस के दायरे से बहुत बाहर चले गए। सुबह जिस वक्त आपकी तकरीर हो रही थी मैं उलझा हुआ था ज्यादा लेकिन मैं फिर अपने आप को काबू में रख सका, मैं वापस वहीं आया हूँ। मैं एतराम करना चाहता था मौत का। राजीव गांधी साहब का संबंध आप से ज्यादा था यह ठीक है लेकिन हल्की बातें करना, मौत के सामने हल्की बातें करके सियासी फायदा उठाने की कोशिश करना बहुत कमजोरी की बात है। मैं कहा करता हूँ हमनी शिव शंकर साहब के भाषणों की। वड़े बड़े एहतिथात से लफ्जों को चुनते हैं। मैं बहुत एहतिथात से चुन भी रहा हूँ और कदर भी करता रहा हूँ। शिव शंकर साहब का कल का बयान बहुत सज्जदा बयान था। लेकिन कुछ न कुछ कहे बिना दर्दनाक, जब हम मौत के सामने ज़रूरत से ज्यादा एहतिथात होकर सियासी फायदा उठाने की कोशिश करें तो ठीक नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

कल श्री शिव शंकर जी ने फरमाया ... (व्यवधान)। मैं बहुत एतराम से राजीव गांधी का जिक्र कर रहा हूँ और राजीव गांधी के गुजर जाने का भी जिक्र कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन बदकिस्मती यह है कि आप अपनी वफादारी साबित करने के लिए इतने बेताब रहते हैं कि जिसका कोई हिसाब नहीं है।

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : आप लोगों ने तो मिठाइयां बांटीं, इसको पूरा हिंदुस्तान जानता है।

श्री कपिल वर्मा : आपके साथी तो गोडसे की बात करते हैं, आप क्या बात करते हैं ?

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : श्री शिव शंकर जी ने कहा है--

"While historians and political thinkers will continue to assess ... many often feel that he did not get a fair deal at the hands of his opponents and was forced to undergo trials before the bar of the people on unsubstantial charges with

practically to credible evidence against him."

मैं इसको रिबट नहीं करूँगा और इसलिए नहीं करूँगा कि यह उसका मौका नहीं है। सियासी मौका था जहाँ तो मैं उसका जिक्र करूँगा। लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि आप जैसे संज्ञका भाषमों को यह सियासी पहलू इस मौके पर नहीं कहना चाहिए।

श्री पी० शिव शंकर : मैं बड़े अदब से धर्म करना चाहता हूँ कि आपको मेरे इस जुमले से कार्फि कुछ गलतफहमी हुई है। मैं बहुत ही दिली-बकलाक से यह जुमला बोलता हूँ। लेकिन आपसे साफ भ्रज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि इस जुमले के बोलने में किसी किस्म का सियासी फायदा उठाने की मेरी मंशा नहीं थी। लेकिन अगर आप यह मंशा समझते हैं तो मैं बहुत अदब से आपसे माफ़ी माँगना। बहुत तकलीफ में मैंने यह बात कही है।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : जो कुछ आपने कहा है उसको मैं तस्लीम करता हूँ। एक अपसोसनाक बात यह हुई कि हमारे अजीज साथी श्री गुलाम नबी अजाद अभी यहाँ पर तक्ररीफ नहीं रखते हैं। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम किसी सभ में शरीक होने हैं तब क्या यह कहा जाता है कि मगरमच्छ के आंसू बहा रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : अगर सच्ची हमदर्दी थी तो मिठाइयां क्यों बाँट रहे थे ?

कुमारी सईदा खतून : आपको मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने तो छुट्टी तक वहीं की।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : सदा साहब मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जिन्दगी जब जिसमें छोड़ती है तो उसका अपसोस सबको होता है। ऐसे मौकों पर संजीदगी से चीजों को लेना चाहिए। यह वक्त सियासी हिसाब किताब करने का नहीं होता है। उसके दूसरे मौके आएँगे। मैं ऐसा मानकर चलता हूँ कि राजीव गांधी जी के साथ

[...मारी सईदा खातून]

जो हादसा हुआ है उसको हम हल्केपन से नहीं ले सकते हैं। यह सिर पकड़कर बैठने का वक़्त है; सिपासी हिसाब-किताब करने का वक़्त नहीं है। बदकिस्मती यह है कि इस किस्म के हादसे पहले भी हो चुके हैं। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का हादसा पूरे मुल्क और पूरी कौम के लिए अफसोसनाक और दर्दनाक हादसा था। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के इंतकाल के बाद जो हजारों बेगुनाह मारे गये उनके लिए पूरे हिन्दुस्तान को आंसू बहाने चाहिए। अफ़्ज उतना बड़ा दरख़्त तो नहीं; लेकिन थोड़ा बहुत बड़ा दरख़्त जरूर ढहा है। क्या जरूरत थी कि मौत की कहानी उस दरख़्त के गिर जाने के बाद उसी तरह दोहराई जाती? क्या यह अहतराम करने का तरीका है? मौत का अहतराम करने का या जो गुजर गया हो उसको याद करने का? मेरी यह बात बिल्कुल सभ्रम में नहीं आई कि अचानक यह हादसा तमिलनाडु में, आंध्र प्रदेश में, त्रिपुरा में होना कैसे शुरू हुआ? मैं त्रिपुरा गया थी। मैं सफ़ाई के साथ भर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि त्रिपुरा में कोई सरकार नहीं है। पूरा त्रिपुरा गुप्त के हाथ में है। कोई दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टी का झंडा लेकर बाज़ार में निकल नहीं सका। मेरी पार्टी के लोगों ने वहाँ की सरकार से दरख़ास्त की कि मैं आया हूँ मुझे सैक्योरिटी दी जाये। लेकिन मुझे कोई सैक्योरिटी नहीं मिली और मुझे बाहर कोई मीटिंग किये हुए वापस आना पड़ा। त्रिपुरा के अंदर यह हादसा क्यों हुआ? त्रिपुरा में.....

(व्यवधान)... मैं क्या कहूँ।

श्री सीताराम केसरी : (बिहार)
वही कहिये जो आपके दिल में है।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं निहायत रंज और अफसोस के आलम में हूँ।

यह आगज़नी बहुत ही अफसोसनाक है। सप्ताह है त्रिपुरा में और मैं यह इंतज़ाम लगाने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि वहाँ की सरकार गुप्त के साथ मिलकर दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टी को एग्जिस्ट करना नामुमकिन कर रही है। मैं यह

कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सुरतेहाल में वहाँ पर फेयर और फ्री इलेक्शन होने का कोई सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता। ऐसी हालत में वहाँ पर क्यों हो रहे हैं चुनाव? देश भर में मांग होती है कि वहाँ चुनाव में गड़बड़ हुई इसलिये चुनाव अभी न किये जाय और चुनाव की कोई दूसरी तारीख़ मूकरें की जाय। या तो यहाँ पर आप इस किस्म का इंतज़ाम करें ताकि दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टी भी वहाँ अपनी बात कह सकें; अपनी बात कर सकें। मुझे बहुत रंज है।...

(व्यवधान)... जिन प्रांतों में यह वाकया हुआ: यह बात सोचने से ताल्लुक रखती है कि इस किस्म की हिंसा जो आंध्र में हुई, त्रिपुरा में हुई तो वहाँ की सरकारें क्या कर रही थी? तमिलनाडु में हुई वहाँ की सरकार क्या कर रही थी?....

(व्यवधान)... आप अपना नतीजा निकाल सकते हैं.... (व्यवधान)... कुछ गड़बड़ी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में भी हुई लेकिन

... (व्यवधान)... मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मध्य प्रदेश में नहीं हुई, राजस्थान में नहीं हुई हिमाचल प्रदेश में नहीं हुई। यह फर्क क्यों है? आखिर वहाँ पर क्यों नहीं हुआ और इन जगहों पर क्यों हुआ? मैं.... (व्यवधान)....

श्री सीताराम केसरी : हम लोग गुनहमार हैं क्योंकि हमारे नेता की हत्या हुई। आप जो कहना चाहते हैं कह लें।... (व्यवधान)....

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं इस मौत की वजह बताना चाहता हूँ। बजाय इसके कि हम अहतराम करें कि हमने क्या क्या काम किया है.... (व्यवधान)... तस्वीर देख लीजिये कि वह क्या है। राजीव गांधी साहब के इंतकाल की खबर सुनकर.... (व्यवधान)... जहाज में एन० टी० रामाराव साहब भी हैं। कांग्रेस के नेता भी हैं रामाराव साहब कॅबिनेट के लिये उन तक जाते हैं। लेकिन उनके साथ जो सलूक होता है वह मोअज्जम सभा के साथ ताल्लुक रखने वाला सलूक नहीं है। जहाज से उतरने के बाद उनको बेहद हिफ़ाज़त के साथ ले जाया जाता है। नतीजा यह होता है कि वहाँ भी

और क्या क्या तोड़े जाते हैं। यह जिन्हें जेष्ठ साहब ने किया। यह मेरी गंभीर हुई बात नहीं है। उस जगह का नाम है वमशुक्ल क्लेज है खम्म में। एक पान वाली औरत है पान की दुकान है। उस लड़की को दुकान से खींच लिया जाता है: उसके कपड़े उतार लिये जाते हैं। क्या यह तरीका है अपना रंज, गम, तकलीफ और असोस का इजहार करने का? क्या यह तरीका है अपने डिपार्टमेंट लीडर से अपनी मोहब्बत का इजहार करने का (व्यवधान) कोई बात नहीं (व्यवधान) मैं आपको यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि राजीव गांधी साहब (व्यवधान) में खिलाड़ी रहा हूँ। मेरा राजनीति के खेल को खिलाड़ी के तौर पर देखना चाहता हूँ। मेरे लिए इससे बड़ा धक्का कोई हो ही नहीं सकता (व्यवधान) मेरे लिए इससे बड़ा धक्का कोई हो नहीं सकता कि मैं जिस खिलाड़ी को सामने देख कर सिबासत का खेल खेल रहा हूँ वह खिलाड़ी मैदान से ही हट जाए तो मुझ को लगता है कि मेरा खेल खत्म हो गया। मैं जम नजर से देख रहा हूँ (व्यवधान) यह लोग आज जो (व्यवधान) करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं यह लोग अपने नेता की मौत का एहतराम करना भी नहीं जानते (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० सल्वे : यह बात नहीं हो सकती (व्यवधान)

श्री सीताराम केसरी : गांधी जी के हत्यारे हो (व्यवधान)

श्री एन० के० पी० सल्वे : हम अपने नेता की मौत का एहतराम करना नहीं जानते, आपके मुंह से यह बात शोभा नहीं देती है (व्यवधान) आपके मुंह से यह बात शोभा नहीं देती (व्यवधान) खुशामदखोर पोलिटिशियन हो (व्यवधान) हम अपने नेता की मौत का एहतराम करना नहीं जानते, चूल्हू भर पानी में डुब भरी सिकन्दर बख्त साहब। खुशामदखोर पोलिटिशियन इतिहास लिख रहा है बी०जे०पी० का (व्यवधान) बी०जे०पी० का इतिहास आप जैसे लोग बनाने वाले हैं (व्यवधान) आप इतिहास नहीं बना सकते (व्यवधान)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ गांधी जी के हत्यारे जामू राम गौडसे के भाई गोपाल गौडसे बिहार से चुनाव लड़ रहे हैं विप्लव हिन्दू परिवर्धन की तरफ से और बी०जे०पी० उसका समर्थन कर रही है (व्यवधान) यह भी गांधी जी के हत्यारे हैं (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Let everybody sit down; I am on my legs. Mr. Bakht, if it is going to hurt the feelings, it will not go on record.

श्री सावनलाल फौजदार : बैठो तुम्हें शर्म आनी चाहिये (व्यवधान) शर्म नहीं आती है तुम को (व्यवधान)

श्री पी० शिवशंकर : आपकी हस्ती को मैं बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। यह आपको शोभा नहीं देता। इससे हमारे जज्ञात को धक्का पहुंचता है। हमारे अहसासों को धक्का पहुंचता है। हमारे मूलक के बहुत से लोगों के जज्ञात को धक्का पहुंचता है। आपने जो भी कहा है: मैं आपसे गुजारिश करता हूँ कि मेहरबानी करवाएं और इन अलफाज को वापिस ले लें। हमारे जज्ञात को बहुत धक्का पहुंच रहा है (व्यवधान)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं इन अलफाज को वापिस लेता हूँ (व्यवधान) शिव शंकर साहब मैं एक बात पूछना जरूर चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान) मैंने अपने अलफाज वापस ले लिए हैं। मैं बचकानी बातों में उसने पर ज्यादा यकीन नहीं रखता हूँ और पूछना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान) जरा तशरीफ रखिए...

श्री सीताराम केसरी : यह असंसदीय है। "बचकानी" शब्द अच्छा नहीं है।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : शिव शंकर साहब मैंने गुस्ताखी क्या की वह सम्मति चाहता हूँ जानना चाहता हूँ। बताइये...

श्री पी० शिव शंकर : मैंने इतना ही कहा कि हमारे हसासात और जज्बात को धक्का पहुंच रहा है इस वास्ते... (व्यवधान)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब राजीव गांधीजी का जिक्र हो तो मैं नर्म लफ्जों में बोलूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राजीव गांधी का जिक्र कलुं सुना जाए। मैं अगर कोई गूस्ताखी का लपज इस्तेमाल करूँ... (व्यवधान)

श्री पी० शिव शंकर : गुजारा यह है कि राजीव गांधी के इतना काल का असर न सिर्फ यहाँ पर है, सब लोगों पर है बल्कि सारे दुनिया, सारे हिंदुस्तान पर है। इसी वास्ते मैंने आपसे गुजारा की (व्यवधान)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं गुजारा यह कर रहा हूँ कि मैंने संजीवा रहने की गुजारा की है... (व्यवधान) केसरी जी, एक बात सुनिये, मैंने आपके दल के नेता जी की बात कही है। मैंने सिर्फ इतना कहा कि हम इस मौत के हादसे पर संजीवा हैं... (व्यवधान) जरा फोतेदार साहब, मैंने अपने लपज वापस ले लिए हैं और 10 भरतबा आप कहेंगे तो वापस ले लूंगा क्योंकि उसमें उलझकर मैं अपनी बात उलझाता नहीं चाहता हूँ लेकिन चाहता हूँ कि सब खामोशी से सुने। वह तरीका है एहताराम करने का... (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नजी मासोवकर) :

Mr. Bakht, please address the Chair.

श्री खुरानन मिश्र : केसरी जी को बचकाना नहीं कहना चाहिए।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : इस आज के डिसकशन में सिक्योरिटी के दो पहलू हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भास्कर अन्नजी मासोवकर) : Please conclude now.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : आज के डिसकशन में जो दो पहलू हैं उनमें सिक्योरिटी का जिक्र आया है। कुछ सरकार की

तरफ से आया है। मेरा कहना यह है कि सिक्योरिटी की बात बहुत सीधी सी है। अगर सिक्योरिटी परफेक्ट होती तो राजीव गांधी साहब के साथ जो हादसा हुआ है वह न होता। अब सिक्योरिटी में कमिबिशी निकालने का तरीका क्या होना चाहिए, वगैरह वगैरह उसको देखें। लेकिन राजीव गांधी का हादसा गुजर जाने का ताल्लुक इससे है कि सिक्योरिटी ठीक नहीं थी। आप उसकी तफसील में जाएं कि कितनी थी, कितनी नहीं थी लेकिन आइदा खंदाल किया जाए। मैं आपकी बात से बिल्कुल इतिफाक करता हूँ कि अगर सिक्योरिटी ठीक नहीं थी तो यह बयान नहीं देना चाहिए था कि सिक्योरिटी मुकम्मल है। यह कहना चाहिए था कि हमको देखना है कि कहां कहां सिक्योरिटी में कमियां हैं और आइदा उन कमियों को दूर करने का कोई तरीका ही। दूसरी बात जो आज के डिसकशन में है —

to prevent large-scale violence in various part of the country

इसके ऊपर और होना चाहिए। इतने जान और माल का नुकसान हुआ है, इतनी अनप्रेसफुल और दलर हरवत हुई हैं कि अगर कोई कंडोलेंस के लिए जाता है तो उसके साथ भद्दा सलूक होता है पान वाली औरतों को... (व्यवधान) नंगा करके नचाया जाता है।

श्री सीताराम केसरी : आप ठीक बोल रहे हैं। जो आपके दल और आपके विचार हैं आप वे बोल रहे हैं। यही हम सुनना चाहते हैं। आप बोलें जाइये... (व्यवधान) आप समझिए, इसके दल के जो विचार हैं ये प्रोजेक्ट कर रहे हैं। इसलिए आप मत बोलिए।

श्री अजीत जोगी : आपके दल ने क्या किया है वह भी बताइये।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस वैडलिज्म में जो जानें जाया हुई है उन जानों के जाया होने का जिक्र होना चाहिए था और अफसोस की बात यह है कि कांग्रेस के... (व्यवधान)

श्री सीताराम केसरी : बोलिए, बोलिए।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं यह कहना चाह रहा हूँ कि ये जो मासूम, बेगुनाह जानें जाया हुई हैं क्या उन जानों के जाया होने का रिएक्शन किसी कांग्रेस के नेता पर होना चाहिए था या नहीं? कितने बोले? हमारे नये सदर साहब तशरीफ लाये हैं मेरे भी मोहतरिम रहे हैं, मेरे सीनियर भी हैं, मैं उनको आज भी मोहतरिम मानता हूँ लेकिन कांग्रेस की बागडोर संभालने के बाद जहाँ राजीव गांधी के हादसे के गुजर जाने के अफसोस का इजहार होना चाहिए था, वहाँ मासूम और बेगुनाह लोगों की जानें वैडलिज्म की नजर हुई हैं। उनका मैंने नाम नहीं लिया है। एक एक अखबार ने लिखा है कि किस पार्टी के सपोर्ट्स ने वह वैडलिज्म किया है, किस पार्टी के लोगों ने किया है। उसका भी जिक्र करना चाहिए था। यह जो नाबराबर तरीका है मौत का, यह जाहिर करता है कि हमने सिर्फ अपने खून को खून समझा है और दूसरे के खून को हम पानी समझते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) हमने इतने नामनासिब, छोटे स्टैंडर्ड मैन और ज़िंदगी बना दिये हैं, जिसका कोई हद और हिसाब नहीं है।

अखिरी एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ—त्रिपुरा के बारे में मृतालंबा करना चाहता हूँ कि त्रिपुरा के इलेक्शन को रोका जाए और वहाँ कारगर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का इंतजाम किया जाए और उसके बाद त्रिपुरा के अंदर चुनाव कराने की बात की जाए। आपका धन्यवाद।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहा) :
बाकी के लोग नहीं बोलेंगे।

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman the country is facing critical times. We are faced with a tragedy unprecedented in the life of any nation. I agree with my friend Mr. Sikander Bakht, that we could not protect Rajiv Gandhi. It means that there was a lapse of security; but what does it mean, whether this was because of negligence on the part of the people who were present there, whether there was any dereliction of duty on the part of the officer

present there, whether adequate arrangements were not made for the security of the persons whom we try to save or whether there was something beyond the ingenuity of the security forces that came in the way. This is just for information, because I shall not enter into any controversy, that more than 1,400 people, police and security officials, were deployed from the Madras Airport to the meeting place. One I.G. who is a very reputed officer, who has served for a long time in the IB, was present there. Two DIGs were there. Many S.Ps and other senior officials were there. Some of my friends have said that there were no metal detectors or frisking facilities. According to the report that we have received from the Tamil Nadu Government, there were metal detectors. Frisking was done. Even the garlands that were to be presented were checked. This is the information we have got. But, Sir, I want to make one thing clear. This incident is of its own type in the whole world. Never before in the history of the whole world was a human bomb used to kill a VIP. Security manuals provide for all types of explosives that can be used. There are methods and methodology, how to check it, how to prevent it. Security forces are equipped and trained to look into these things so that these security lapses do not occur. This assassination of its own type and that is why perhaps this security apse was there. I am using the word 'perhaps' because the matter is under investigation.

I want to make it clear that before Rajiv Gandhi went to Tamil Nadu we knew about the security risk. It was conveyed to him. It was conveyed to the officials of the Tamil Nadu Government. The Governor of Tamil Nadu was in constant touch with the Government of India and, if I may say so, also with the AICC and he was pretty sure... (Interruptions). This is my information, Fotedarji, and you can check it up.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
अर्रेंजमेंट आपने क्या किया कि घंजी

[श्री रत्नाकर बाण्डेकर]

उदा को है दिया राजीव गांधी का ।
... (व्यवधान)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not accustomed to this and I am not obliged to speak like this. (*Interruptions*).

श्री सीताराम केसरी : जरा सुनने कीजिए ।

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: May I clarify that the Governor of Tamil Nadu was not at all in touch with the AICC or with any functionary of the AICC there?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I think Shrimati Margaret Alva is a functionary of the AICC. She was in touch with the Governor. She had a discussion with him and he said that all security arrangements had been made. You check up with her. I do not say things without checking. And I got it checked up with Mrs Margaret Alva. So I say that all precautions were taken.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Sir, may I have a minute? I would just like to make one submission to the honourable Prime Minister. Because anything that he would say might prejudice the inquiry, I would request him to say it in a manner which does not prejudice the inquiry. That is all my submission.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Since you have mentioned about Mrs. Margaret Alva, if I remember it correctly, the Governor had desired that Rajivji should not stay for that night at a particular place.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: That is right.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: It was not about the meeting or about the security arrangement or anything. There was nothing about this case.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: But I only said that even the Governor was in touch with the AICC about the security arrangement.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Not about the security arrangement but only about the staying arrangement.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Because that was part of the security arrangement, the Governor said that Rajiv Gandhi should not stay in a private place and he should stay only in the Governor's House. That was a part of the security arrangement, that was not a part of hospitality. That is the only thing I say.

I agree with my friend, Mr. Shiv Shanker, and that is why I said in the morning that I would not like to say anything. That is why I am saying, in a very guarded way, and I shall not speak beyond a point where it might prejudice the inquiry.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there are many possibilities and we are having all possibilities looked into. I know that there may be ramifications within the country outside the country. I assure the honourable House that everything will be taken into consideration. Already all aspects are being covered. I am at a disadvantage, Mr. Vice-Chairman. As my friend, Mr. Shiv Shanker, came to my rescue, what little I know about it, I am not able to share it with the House. But I surely agree that there was some lapse, but this lapse was not because of negligence.

An honourable Member said that all the police officials fled away from there. The matter is being investigated. We don't want to contest anybody's statement, but we have been provided with the pictures of the police officials trying to control...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: On a point of information.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not yielding.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I want one information from the Prime Minister.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not yielding.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: He is talking about the security arrangement. Then where was the ambulance? An ambulance is required as part of the security arrangement... (Interruptions)... Where was that ambulance? Why was Rajiv Gandhi's body taken in a police van and why not in an ambulance? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR Mr. Shiv Shanker, should I answer this? ... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please sit down.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Please reply to this.

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : प्रधान मंत्री जी इसके बारे में बताइये ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : मुझे पता है जिस दिन लोक सभा भंग की गई उस दिन इसी प्रधान मंत्री ने मुझे सेंट्रल हाल में धमकी दी... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Ahluwalia, the Prime Minister is not yielding.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : कहा इस चुनाव में न तुम्हारे नेता का पता लगेगा और न तुम्हारी पार्टी का पता लगेगा और बीस साल तक तुम्हारी पार्टी यहाँ नहीं जा सकती और तुम्हारे नेता खतम हैं। ... (व्यवधान) यह धमकी इसने दी थी और आज यह सैक्युरिटी की बात करते हैं यह बताइये कि उसे दिन एम्बुलेंस कहाँ थी? ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is not yielding. Please sit down.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : यह सैक्युरिटी प्ररेंजमेंट की बात करते हैं, वह बताइये कि वहाँ पर क्या सैक्युरिटी थी? यह सैक्युरिटी प्ररेंजमेंट की बात करते हैं तो

उस दिन एम्बुलेंस कहाँ थी? घाड़िनरी जिसको सैक्युरिटी दी जाती है वह जहाँ मीटिंग करता है वहाँ एक एम्बुलेंस जाती है, नहीं जाती है, एक डाक्टर जाता है, तो उस दिन कहाँ थी? इसका पहले जवाब दीजिए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Ahluwalia, please sit down.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I don't know. This is a new information that I have got and it will be looked into whether an ambulance was there or not. I shall not go into the details as to why his body was taken in a police van and not in an ambulance, because many things I am not entitled to say. So, what little I know, only that I can share with the House.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Press reports say that the PCC did not want the ambulance because they had to pay for it. That was the newspaper report.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: No, that is not correct.

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI: The PCC never pays for the ambulance. It is your duty to provide for it.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I only quoted from the press.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Why say... (Interruptions)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : एन० टी० रामराव ने म्यूकड इस्त्रिय अस्पताल में नहीं लिया क्योंकि उसका पैसा देना पड़ता था। ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please sit down, Mr. Yadav.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: This shows how serious Mr. Upendra is.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I quoted from the Press reports.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: It shows how mean he is (*Interruptions*).

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is not a fact. I do not know what the reason was; why the ambulance was not there. But surely money part should not have been a reason for this. This is what I believe because an ambulance does not require much money, and the local ambulance is always present for VIP's security. It should have been there. If it was not there, I do not know the reason for it.

About the terms of reference, many friends have made this suggestion. That suggestion has been made by the Congress President to me. I have received a letter from him. I sent the terms of reference for his suggestion. He has sent some suggestions to me. They are being discussed at the official level. When he comes back, we shall amend the terms of reference getting the advice of the legal luminary, Mr. Shiv Shanker. I just talked to the former Law Minister, Mr. Bhardwaj. There are certain complications about it. I do not like to discuss them now. But I assure you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the terms of reference will be changed to the satisfaction of the Congress Party because we do not want to conceal anything. That is another thing.

The third question which was raised by my friend, Mr. Sikander Bakht, is about the repercussions. After the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, all possible precautions were taken. I know that something happened in Tripura, something happened in Andhra Pradesh, something happened in Tamil Nadu. The situation was brought under control within hours, as soon as I got the news from my friend, Mr. Upendra, and Smt. Renuka Chowdhury. If Smt. Renuka Chowdhury is here, she will vouchsafe that she got all the protection within half an hour. In Tamil Nadu also...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, one second, if you can

give me. After visiting Tripura, coming back to Delhi I met the Prime Minister at 7 Race Course Road. He telephoned the Home Department, and he confided to me that the Central Government had not received from the State Government any report. The State Government did not send any report to the Central Government about the vandalism.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): They will not.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I told him. (*Interruptions*) They did not send any report to him.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, all the State Governments think that they deal with the security problem and the law and order problem. Generally the State Governments do not inform anything to the Centre unless and until it goes beyond their scope. Even in the case of Andhra and Tamil Nadu, it was not that the State Governments informed. It was the individuals who were affected by that, Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury, Mr. Upendra, Mr. NTR, Advaniji and others who might have informed about it. Unfortunately we did not get any message from Tripura. In Tripura, in the initial stages that was a bad thing. But subsequently, my dear friend, you also played some role which is not very laudatory. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What is that? Tell me. It is not a question of laughing away.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not laughing. I am sad about it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I have shown that photograph to you.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Why do you not hear me? First there was reaction. Some CPM leaders and workers were attacked. After two days, the CPM workers also retaliated. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: No, it is a parent*, I say. It is not a fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It should not come from the mouth of the Prime Minister. I had met the Chief Secretary (Personnel). Your Chief Secretary did not utter this thing.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: No loud speech from any side is going to change my views. (Interruptions)

I said that in the initial stages your party workers were attacked, but after two, three days you also attacked. This is unfortunate whether it is from this side or that side.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: No. The villagers fled to the jungle. They could not retaliate. (Interruptions) I have shown you the photograph. Why don't you trust me?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: You know that after getting the photograph,...

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): This is Prime Minister's partisan attitude openly and clearly.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If my attitude had been partisan, there would not have been peace. (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: When did you get the report from the Tripura Government?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I myself said that I did not have the report. Otherwise I would have acted on it. Only when I came to know about it, I tried to find out the report, and the report that I found was not a very happy one.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is a tailored report. I say that the Chief Secretary was a Joint Secretary in the Home Ministry when Mr. Santosh Dev was the Minister of State for Home Affairs.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I don't discuss individuals here.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Prime Minister, you may proceed.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we took all the precautions after that.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं सिर्फ एक मिनट लूंगा, आपका। मैं त्रिपुरा से अभी दो-तीन दिन पहले लौट कर आया हूँ। त्रिपुरा जंगल है। वहाँ कोई दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टी मूव ही नहीं कर सकती और वहाँ की सरकार प्रेतरोके से... (व्यवधान)... उनका साथ दे रही है। (व्यवधान)... यह इसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। मैं सिर्फ यह बताना चाह रहा हूँ कि त्रिपुरा में रत्ती बराबर भी किसी किसम का... (व्यवधान)... यह नहीं है।

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is his assessment but unfortunately the Government of India will go by the assessment of the Governor who has to report about the situation there. There is a legally elected Government and my friend from the other side has been objecting all the time that the Government was interfering too much in the State affairs.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: What about Bihar?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Have you received the report from the Governor of Tripura? Ten IAS officers have submitted a memorandum to the Chief Election Commissioner. Ten senior IAS officers posted in Tripura have said that unless the administration is hauled up, there would not be any free and fair polls.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If that report is with the Chief Election Commissioner, he is a Constitutional authority, he will take a decision. He need not take my advice on that point. But I have not received anything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Prime Minister, you can make your point. You don't interfere.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not. They are intervening. Mr. Vice-Chairman, as soon as reports came from Andhra, I took action on my part. I tried to contact the Chief Minister or Andhra Pradesh who was not available for some time; I was searching for him in Hyderabad but he was in New Delhi. No sooner did I contact him than he took action and he reported to me every two hours about the developments in Andhra Pradesh. So if any lapses did occur, at least I have no report of that but in the initial stages there were losses and I think those losses were quite enormous. My friend, Mr. Upendra, has made some report. Shrimati Renukaji has made some report. But that is an unfortunate incident. When they wanted that these incidents should be inquired into, the Chief Minister agreed for a judicial inquiry and also for an assessment of the losses. As soon as Mr. Upendra met me, within an hour, I responded in a written letter that the Chief Minister had agreed to a judicial inquiry and also to go into the compensation part of it. But unfortunately, perhaps, my letter was not enough and they waited for something more for ending the hunger strike by Mr. N. T. Rama Rao. I am very sorry to say that a great leader of his stature had to suffer this agony for two days which was not necessary according to me. After having the assurance, not the assurance of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, a written reply to Mr. Upendra that their demands are being conceded...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: But the culprits were not apprehended. That is the main thing.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I have answered every thing. Those culprits who were named in the FIR were all apprehended. But some cul-

prits were named because of political controversies and they could not be apprehended. But those whose names were in the FIR, they were arrested according to the information that I received from the State Government. But we are all culprits in the eyes of each other. My friend, Mr. Shiv Shanker was just now telling me I should be under strain. Perhaps he should have asked Ahluwalia for the things, as to who is responsible for the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. But I am big enough to tolerate such gimmicks from such small people in this matter. But there should be same limit... (Interruptions)...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: What are you taking about? What did you say? ... (Interruptions)...

यहाँ पर एसी बात करते हो। मैं करता हूँ क्या? आप होम-मिनिस्टर होकर बमबाजारी करते हो।... (व्यवधान)...

कह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री तथा सुचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री : (श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने कहा... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I would request Mr. Shiv Shanker as the Leader of the Congress party to search their own hearts. Mr. Subodh, please sit down. (Interruptions). Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are in the Chair. Mr. Shiv Shanker is the leader of the Congress party. Is it going to be the level of the debate where a Member of the Congress Party can rise from his seat and accuse the Prime Minister, howsoever small he may be, of the murder of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi? If you think that it is going to add to the prestige of the Congress party, you be satisfied with it. I have nothing to say. And it has gone on record and Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you did not consider it fit to expunge it from the proceedings. Is this the level at which we are going to discuss this matter? I knew what situation I am dealing with. We are dealing with a grave situation. I

am Prime Minister for a few days, for 11 days or 15 days. But the nation is to survive. The nation is to survive many Prime Ministers, howsoever important and great they may be. This nation has survived Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This nation has survived Indira Gandhi. This nation has survived... (Interruptions)... many a great people.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): While totally agreeing with the Prime Minister, I implore upon the leader of the Congress party to kindly tell us whether this is the future that that party shows to the nation.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: The people of this country will decide the future. (Interruptions) Who are you to interfere in a party matter?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Ahluwalia, please sit down. He is responding.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Is this the decorum of the House, Mr. Vice-Chairman?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is responding.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Nobody can be allowed to behave in this way as has been done. We are reeling under the shadow of a great tragedy and instead of being alive to the situation, instead of being responsible, we are behaving in a most irresponsible way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is responding.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): The Prime Minister has said some thing. Now he is responding. Kindly listen to it.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I can well understand the agony that has been expressed by the hon. Prime Minister. It is unfortunate—in fact, I referred even yesterday with a very heavy heart—that we have been, for the last couple of years, downgrading the position of Prime Minister. What has been said by my colleague, I would like to make the position absolutely clear, cannot be the views of my party in any form.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir... (Interruptions) I do not go into whatever he has said. (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Let it be expunged from the records.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It is all right. Let it be on record. People should be known by... (Interruptions)

श्री राम बलदेव सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर। मैं आपके माध्यम से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कोई सदस्य बिना किसी प्रमाण के जब चाहे किसी सदस्य पर कोई आरोप लगा सकता है क्या? जैसे सवेरे रिवास्टर का आरोप एक सदस्या पर लगाया गया, अनी प्रधान मंत्री पर हत्या का आरोप लगाया गया। तो क्या इस तरह की इजाजत दी जाएगी या नहीं दी जाएगी? यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भस्कर अन्नाजी मासोदकर): नहीं, ऐसी कोई इजाजत नहीं दी जाती।

The Prime Minister is explaining what the position is.

श्री राम बलदेव सिंह : मैं आपके वह व्यक्तित्व चाहता हूँ। आपके व्यक्तित्व का यह है कि जब कोई मेम्बर चाहे बिना किसी प्रमाण के किसी के ऊपर भी आरोप लगा दे और यह हेविच्युअल ही जब चाहे ठग लगा दे? इसकी इजाजत हो तो कम से कम लोग भी समायेंगे। जिस पर हम चाहें आरोप लगा सकते हैं।

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Let us hear the point of order.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, I am also saying the same thing....

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, even at this stage I fully agree with my friend, Mr. Shiv Shanker that we should not indulge in this type of acrimony because times are quite difficult and I do not know what the future has in store for us. Let us try to forget the differences for some time on some issues and the tragedy of death is one on which we should try to forget about the political differences. I agree with many of my friends that it is too great a tragedy to be taken in such a frivolous manner. I think that the whole House should cooperate in finding out the forces that are responsible for this assassination and I assure you, Sir, and the House that Government will spare nothing to see that all those forces who are responsible for this type of a heinous crime are exposed. I am also grateful to the people of this country that though the shock was serious and they were stunned yet they responded in a very mature manner, in a very calm and orderly manner. Some small incidents did take place, That is unfortunate, that should not have happened. But even in those matters inquiry is being held and if something comes out, the guilty persons will be punished. If compensation is necessary, compensation will be given to those people. About the SPG and all those things, I do not want to go into all those details because it is true that the Act is such that the SPG cannot be posted without amending it because we are under a rule of law. But there are equally competent security forces which can take charge of it and they have taken change of it. And I can assure you no sooner than did we get any information about any individual, whether he is a member of a political party

or an official and anybody else, we tried to provide, all security to him...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: What about the threat to Rajiv Gandhi and what steps did you take?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: We got the reports about Rajiv Gandhi from time to time it had been a changing situation and all the time we had been alerting the State Governments, alerting Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, trying to take precautions according to the security risk involved in particular areas. Earlier there were risks in other areas. Tamil Nadu was not one of those areas but only a month or two back we got that report. We alerted the Tamil Nadu Administration. We alerted all the agencies...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: What type of alert was given? I think it was only a general alert.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I can't answer what type of alert was given; it is not possible for me but it was not a general alert. A general alert is a security threat. Those who have dealt with the police and security matters, they know better. They are made in a specific manner that these are the forces from which we fear, we have some apprehension, and we should take all the precautions. But these are matters which cannot be shared in the House because security arrangements are made by the Intelligence Officers on information. For that, all the time we do not get evidence, but only information. Information is one thing, evidence is altogether different. If I say something, all the hon. Members get up and say, "What is the evidence?" I have no evidence for this, but "information" may be more correct even without having any evidence for that purpose and there comes the delicacy of making arrangements of security and that is why I was saying that we should have some restraint about this matter. I was saying about the leaders

of various political parties — my friend Upendra said—the day this incident took place, I was in touch with Mr. V. P. Singh and V. P. Singh rang me up and at that time I told him that I had heard that some slogans could be raised against him and that he should be cautious. If he comes or moves somewhere, he should inform either my office or the security forces and all the security was provided. Yesterday, someone came to me and he said that the security was not adequate. An officer of Joint Director's rank went to his house and he got all the information. It has not happened about only V. P. Singh, but about all the persons who according to the Intelligence Services are under security risk. We have taken all precautions because, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are certain forces in the country which are not only targetting individuals, but they are also trying to create a chaotic situation, a situation of uncertainty. They target certain individuals so that they could create some confusion in the democratic system of the country. Therefore, we have to be very alert till the elections are over.

The day Shri Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated, the next morning, in various countries of the world, news was spread on the television and the radio that India was ablaze, that it was falling apart. The first question which the delegations, which came to Delhi to participate in the funeral of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, asked me was: 'How was it that we got this news, but here things are going on peacefully?' They were thinking that there would be turmoil and trouble in the Capital, Delhi. I salute the people of the country. I congratulate and thank all of you for whatever co-operation you have extended.

I would appeal to the leaders of all the political parties. Please have some self-restraint because the coming days are one of ordeal and difficulties. I assure you nothing would

be left undone in order to see that these forces are found out. I assure you. I can understand the agony of my friends in the Congress Party. Some friends say that I want to conceal something. Nothing like that. The day I had a letter from the President of the Congress Party, within one hour, I replied back. I got his suggestions, but these are to be discussed at the level of legal luminaries like Shri Shiv Shanker and Shri Bhardwaj and officials of the Government of India. Whatever suggestions are there would be accepted without any comma or fullstop; nothing will be changed. But all of us know the implications. Certain implications are there. As you know, a Supreme Court Judge has already been appointed as the Inquiry Commission. The Government on its own, *suo motu* cannot take a decision. We shall discuss it with Justice Verma and then whatever changes are necessary will be made.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I once again appeal to this House and to the people of the country. At this trying time for the nation, we should forget our petty differences and try to fight the forces, the divisive forces, the forces of destabilisation, which are at work in the country. Thank you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have nothing much to add now after all this discussion. But I would only make three points.

Mr. Sikander Bakht was talking about the permissive atmosphere of violence. But I would ask, who is responsible for this? I squarely blame the Rath Yatra and the Ayodhya agitation. This is what had created the atmosphere of violence which ultimately culminated in such a drastic happening.

Sir, in Maharashtra, the B.J.P. has an ally. Though, Mr. Chavan has not named, in Pune, the B.J.P.'s ally, the Shiv Sena, said that there

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

was nothing wrong in Mahatma Gandhi's assassination and that a statue should be erected for Nathuram Godse. I would appeal to the Prime Minister such mischievous people who have really done the maximum harm to the country should be jailed immediately. The B.P.J. has Ram on the lip and Nathuram Godse, in its heart.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is one point. The Prime Minister was pleased to make a statement outside that internal Emergency was not going to be imposed. I want him to bring it on record here. I would like him to say whether he confirms this statement which he made outside.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Sir, I do not know how this idea came into some fertile minds. The day Shri Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated or the next day, somebody could have thought of Emergency. But after seven days, when things were calm and quiet, somebody thought of this. For the first time I read this word emergency in a statement made by the President of BJP, Mr. -Murli Manohar Joshi. The next day this statement was again made by Shri Pranab Mukherjee, the spokesman of the Congress party. Except for these two luminaries, I have not heard this word from any other responsible person, nor has this word entered into my imagination. It was only these two great people who reminded me of emergency which is not a very plausible one for me... (Interruptions)...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: श्रीमान, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मेरे प्रधान का नाम लिया है। जब मैंने उन के बयान किए थे तब भी उन्होंने यह बात कही थी। उस समय मैंने कह था कि यह रिपोर्ट गलत है उसके बाद मुरली मनोहर जोशी जी ने भी कहा कि यह रिपोर्ट गलत है। उसी वक्त मैंने यकीन दिला दिया था, आडवाणी जी ने भी बात साफ कर दी थी; यह आपको याद होगा।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर: आडवाणी जी ने मुझे से यह बात कही थी उस समय जब आप गए थे तो अखबार मेरे सामने नहीं था। आडवाणी जी को मैंने बताया कि बंबई के एक अखबार में, वह छोटा अखबार नहीं है, बड़ा अखबार है, उसमें यह खबर छपी थी, पी०टी०आई० की न्यूज थी। दिल्ली के अखबारों ने भी उसे छापा। हम नहीं कहते कि यह गलत थी या नहीं, लेकिन इमरजेंसी का जो शब्द 1975 के बाद आया वह मुरली मनोहर जोशी से और प्रणब कुमार मुखर्जी से आया।... (अवधान)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: So also about the elections. Are the elections going to be held in time? ... (Interruptions). ...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: All that I wanted to say is the BJP have Ram on their lips and Nathuram Godse in their heart ... (Interruptions)...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: श्रीमान, आपको यह भी याद दिला दूँ कि पहला आर्टिकल पेट्रियट में छपा था, उसके बाद कांग्रेस आई के एक पत्रकार ने, बर्मा नाम के एक सज्जन हैं, उन्होंने एक आर्टिकल लिखा, पेट्रियट में यह छपा था ये कांग्रेस आई के थे... (अवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री वास्कर अन्नाजी मातोवकर): आप बैठ जाइए, हो गया... (अवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to draw the attention of the Prime Minister that action should be taken against political parties like the BJP who have Ram on their lips and Nathuram Godse in their heart. What action is the Home Ministry taking? The second point is I fully agree with the Prime Minister that internal and external forces are trying to destabilise this country and we are going through a great

crisis and for that purpose these rumours of emergency should be cleared at the earliest ... (*Interruptions*)... These rumours of emergency came because of the time gap in the announcement of elections by the Election Commission. This created confusion in the minds of the people. I am happy that you have categorically rejected these rumours. But you should have done that earlier. It has been pointed out that elections would be sabotaged between today and 12th June ... (*Interruptions*) ... For that purpose I again request the Prime Minister that security arrangements should be beefed up for the leaders of all political parties. The country is going through a great crisis and elections must be held on Schedule. These magazines have written that this country is going to break and this country will be fragmented. I think that the Prime Minister should take steps with all the powers he has as Prime Minister to see that such rumours are scotched outright. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what ought not to have happened unfortunately happened in India, taking the life of the late Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and also the lives of other innocent persons and police officers who lost their lives in the bomb blast on the night of May 21, 1991. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today we came to know through the Press media that the State Intelligence Wing did receive a message from the Centre on May 17 or 18 alerting the Government of Tamil Nadu on a possible threat to Mr. Gandhi's life. In spite of it, the required security arrangements had not been provided. Everybody knows that merely surrounding a VVIP by the police officials and constables only is not sufficient to protect the person.

Sir, we condemn violence in any form in all aspects of life. We hope that the Government would find

out the culprits and punish them accordingly.

When Tamil Nadu was under the leadership of Dr. Kalaignar, the late lamented Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited Tamil Nadu eight times, both as Prime Minister and as the Opposition leader. He was safely protected by tight security arrangements even to the extent that even his own partymen not holding valid passes could not reach him. This strict vigilance was only to protect the former Prime Minister. But now I am informed that a police official's daughter, who is in a foreign country, at about 11-00 P.M. on that day gave out the news about the bomb blast on Rajiv Gandhi which he himself did not know till he was informed. Such was the calibre of the high officials working in Tamil Nadu.

Following the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, there was an unprecedented outbreak of violence in Tamil Nadu. The culprits singled out the persons and properties of the DMK and the other National Front constituents and Left parties and their supporters and their sympathisers, and indulged in murder, arson, looting and destruction of their properties, vehicles, election offices and other election-related materials to maim our election campaign and to gain an unfair electoral advantage. For example, the Murasoli Press, where the party organ of the DMK, "Murasoli", is published, has been destroyed, and even backpapers and newsprint paper were set on fire. The loss incurred is still being estimated. Even yesterday morning, on Dr. Kalaignar's birthday, that is, on the 3rd June, in the early morning, the election van and the car used by our leader, Dr. Kalaignar, parked inside the party headquarters, "Anna Arivalayam", were set on fire by anti-social elements by pouring petrol. Like this, the party's General Secretary's house was also ransacked and the cars parked in the house were also set on fire. The Deputy General Secretary, Shri Nanjil Manoharan, also

[Shri S. Viduthalai Virumbi]

met with the same fate. Nobody has been spared. Candidates, cadres and even innocent people were assaulted. Even lady candidates were not spared and they also became victims.

One lady candidate, contesting in the Anthiyur constituency, which is a reserved constituency, was assaulted physically and admitted in the hospital. When she was in the hospital, she was again attacked! Not being satisfied, the hooligans went to the house of the candidate again and plundered cash and jewels and also destroyed the structure of the house. More than a hundred crores of rupees' worth of properties have been destroyed. Such things happened throughout Tamil Nadu without any check by the Police Department.

In this connection, I would like to quote from the "Indian Express":

"Madras, May 31: The death or assassination of a political VVIP is taken here as a licence to loot and indulge in rowdyism. The trend was set with the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1984. For instance, a lady secretary, working for a multinational company in the City, lost an eye when some anti-socials stoned trains. They also indulged in arson. But the culprits were never arrested. Urchins, armed with sticks, ruled the streets; ordering two-wheeler riders to dismount and shopkeepers to down shutters. They looted and destroyed property.

"There was no prosecution, and nothing happened to the miscreants. The same archins, older by three years, indulged in wider looting and vandalism after the death of MGR in 1987. But then City Police Commissioner W.I. Dawaram ordered the police to shoot any one setting fire to public transport for looting property and the violence stopped.

"Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the violence and looting after the assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on May 21 night. The whole world knew of it by midnight.

The police had atleast six hours to take steps against likely vandalism. Not only was such a precaution not taken, the vandalism and looting were allowed to continue even on the third day after the assassination."

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : When the DMK Government was there, what were they... (Interruptions). How many buses were burn? (Interruptions)

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Please find out as to who is responsible for all this. I urge this Government of India to institute an Inquiry Commission to look into this aspect and make suitable compensation to the victims killed in Sriperumbudur and in violence thereafter. In fact, I am told that the oral instruction was given to the Police Department not to take any action against vandalism and to be passive spectators whatever be the offence committed by the unruly and anti-social elements.

AN. HON. MEMBER: When DMK was there, how many ... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHINATARAJAN: How many Congress workers were ... (Interruptions)

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: When a tragedy takes place in a country, people may come down to streets and request the shop owners to pull down the shutters. But it was reversed this time by the anti-social elements. Closed shops were opened by breaking the shutters with all tools available at their disposal and were looted and businessmen are unable to carry on their business. Seven people, all belonging to DMK Party, were brutally killed: (1) In Thiruvarambur, Mohamed Haneefa, (2) in Tiruvarambur, Noor Mohamed, (3) in Salem District, Chokkanur, Ramasamy, (4) in Kangeyam constituency, Natha Kadayur Ponusami, (5) in Salem District, Kondalampatti, Kandasami's mother Kuppai. (6) In

Salem district, Attyampatti, Periasami, and (7) in Kadayannallur, Krishnapuram, Pandaram.

Sir, seven persons belonging to the DMK Party were murdered. This is the information so far.

Even yesterday morning, I was told that a word was given to the Police Department not to take any action against vandalism and to act as spectators whenever an offence was committed by unruly and anti-social elements as I told you just now.

It is widely known that this organized orgy of violence was let loose at the instance of the AIMDK and Congress Party...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: This is the notice actually published by the Congress Party organisation, Dharampuri. This is the notice put up by the Congress organisation, City Youth Congress, Ariyalur, and one other. These are all published by the Congress Party. (Interruptions)

Now I come to the observation by the 'Hindu' editorial.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Virumbi, now please conclude.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Please allow me three more minutes. Sir, the 'Hindu editorial' observed and I quote: "What happened ... during the three or four days that followed the tragedy had all the ingredients of a politically inspired and target-specific attack. Looting, arson and wanton destruction of property belonging to the non-Congress (I) leaders and activists were the order of the day, with the election propaganda materials like huge cutouts coming for the vandals' special attention."

Sir, all these atrocities were committed against DMK party members and their allies only to maim our

election campaign and to gain unfair electoral advantage. The Government of Tamil Nadu added insult to the injury. The Government of Tamil Nadu had arrested about 6000, most of them miscreants, very lately. Out of them, 2000 were arrested against specific offences like looting, arson and all sorts of vandalism. (Interruptions) Unfortunately, the Government of Tamil Nadu released all 6,000 people including those 2,000 who ought to have been kept in remand for non-bailable offences. In this way, the Government of Tamil Nadu helped the anti-social elements. Sir, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Tamil Nadu called a meeting of the representatives of all political parties on 23rd May, 1991 to discuss the unprecedented outbreak of violence. In that meeting, it was unanimously resolved that the State Government should constitute a Commission of Inquiry with a sitting High Court Judge to inquire into the said extensive violence and culprits should be brought to book, and adequate compensation should be given to the victims. Being the decision of all political parties, the moral duty of the Governor of Tamil Nadu is to abide by the decision. But the Governor refused to institute the Inquiry Commission giving some lame excuses. Even though he is legally entitled to institute the Inquiry Commission, he has not done so far reasons best known to him. I once again urge upon the Government of India to constitute an Inquiry Commission for above.

Sir, before concluding my speech, I would like to place on record that the security lapse which has taken away the life of late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the Governor of Tamil Nadu is fully and wholly responsible for this tragedy, and in all fairness, on behalf of my party and the people of Tamil Nadu, I hereby call upon the hon Governor of Tamil Nadu to resign forthwith taking moral responsibility for the security lapse, failing which the Government of India should dismiss him from the post. Sir, we fear

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that his continuance in office as Governor of Tamil Nadu will mar fair and free election in Tamil Nadu.

With these words, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when India was going to sleep, there was one man who was up and above. He was in a hurry. He had always been in a hurry because he had always felt that he had much to do for his country and the time was not enough. He had an appointment to keep. He had a message to deliver to a section of his countrymen. He arrived at his place of appointment, and the crowd surged forward. Many of them touched him by the hand and broke into a frenzy of joy. To one exasperated constable, he said, "don't worry, relax." These were his last words. Then there was an explosion and the smoke. And the whole thing was up in the air. Rajiv Gandhi had been assassinated. It was through cruel quirks of fate that he emerged on the Indian political scene. It was through a cruel quirk of fate that he was snatched away from the hands of his countrymen. During the short intervening period he almost snatched a pen from the hands of his destiny to write his immortal story. He was a pilot by profession. But it was the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, the values and the ideals of the Indian National Congress which had moulded him which had nourished him, nurtured him and had left an indelible imprint upon his sensitive mind. It is because of this that when the tragedy of his mother cast a mantle upon him to shoulder the responsibility of this great country he was not found lacking. All other political leaders and political parties have their sectarian constituencies. He was the only political leader whose constituency was India, who by history of the Congress and by heritage was best equipped to speak the voice of the soul of India, the voice of the unity of India, the voice of oneness of Indian nationhood, the voice of secu-

larism, the voice of restoration of the pristine glory to this country in the comity of nations, the voice for the upliftment of the poor and the down-trodden. That was Rajiv Gandhi. He was a man of science. He had inquisitiveness of mind, precision of thought and courage to challenge established notions and conventions and subject them to close scrutiny. He brought these qualities to bear upon his struggle to secure for India a new place in accordance with his vision an advancing nation, a self-reliant nation, a nation which is defensively impregnable, a nation which is technologically one of the most advanced and the most prosperous nations in the world. In that way he emerged as India's man of destiny but not quite. His own destiny overtook him. Sir, I have said these words because I am filled with pain and anguish at the loss of my leader. But when I look and come to the discussion which is the subject matter of today's agenda, I submit, Sir, that the scope of the terms of reference of the Commission of Inquiry which has been appointed by the Government and the scope of the discussion which has been mentioned in the agenda are tantamount to reducing the political assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to mere administrative triviality. The lapse of security facilitated to political assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. But that was not the cause of the political assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. The terms of reference and the manner in which this discussion is sought to be raised cover up the forces which are really responsible for the extinction of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated because forces of violence and hatred were injected into the body politic of India. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was blasted in cold blood because there had been a consistent and concerted campaign of vilification, of character assassination against him almost from 1987 onwards. Never before in the history of Parliamentary democracy, has a Prime Minister of a country been subjected to so much

vilification, so much character assassination as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was, from 1987 onwards, with the exception of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Political forces which found it difficult and impossible to fight him on the ideological instrument of character assassination and vilification of Rajiv Gandhi. This was the very weapon which had been used against his mother. From 1977 onwards, it was Mrs. Gandhi who was subjected to vicious character assassination through the instrumentality of the Shah Commission. It was Mrs. Gandhi who was subjected to a number of fabricated cases in order to destroy her politically. It was Mrs. Gandhi who was expelled from Parliament and was sent to imprisonment although she had been elected through the democratic process. The same game was indulged in, in order to destroy Rajiv Gandhi politically from 1987 onwards. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated because those whom he trusted and placed on the pedestal of high office, betrayed him. They were hollow men. They got too much too soon, too easily and their ambitions were high, and they unleashed a campaign of personal hatred against Rajiv Gandhi, and the pity is that all the political forces in this country hugged them to their bosom and lifted them up as if they were the messiah of the new political moral virtues. This was the atmosphere which was created against Rajiv Gandhi. They unleashed the campaign of personal hatred against Rajiv Gandhi. The things came to such a pass that even the assassins of Mrs. Gandhi were glorified as martyrs to judicial murder in order to instigate the forces of violence and terrorism against Rajiv Gandhi. What is it that they did not do in order to denigrate him. They used Thakkar Commission report and used it as a pretext to obstruct the proceedings of this House and the entire Parliament on the pretext that the whole report has not been placed on the Table of the House. What did they do when they came to power? They got all about the Thakkar Commission report. But did any one of them—the Government or

the parties which were supporting the Government—seek to place the entire report on the Table of the House? This was not the game. They used another document in order to destroy the whole Parliamentary system in this country and used it as a pretext not only to resign from Parliament but for the purpose of creating a political atmosphere in this country, the result of which was simply to create hatred and a sense of violence against Rajiv Gandhi. Now, Rajiv Gandhi was killed because he took a bold and independent stand over West Asia and put the external forces on notice that India and, in fact, the whole Asian region and all the Third World countries would not tolerate the hegemony of an emerging Super Power.

6 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Bhatia, how much more time will you take?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Five or six minutes.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Sir, it was decided in the morning that Haryana would be taken up at 6 p.m., and then this discussion can be continued.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): That is why I am asking him. Mr. Bhatia, will you be concluding now?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I have been given ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): There are a number of speakers.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am concluding.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE (West Bengal): He has reached Rajiv Gandhi now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Let us have some patience.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, Rajiv Gandhi was killed because it became obvious to the internal forces of hat-

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

ed, violence, communalism and secessionism, and their abettors and instigators abroad, that it was impossible to defeat Rajiv Gandhi through the ballot box. Rajiv Gandhi was going to become the Prime Minister of India. When this became obvious, it also became obvious what the rise of Shri Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India would have meant. If Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has become the Prime it would have been the final death-blow to the emergence of the communal forces in the country, forces of fundamentalism in the country. It would have sounded the death-knell of the forces of secession which had been gathering strength over the period of last sixteen months when he ceased to be the Prime Minister. It would have meant the rise of one rallying force, one rallying point, for the Asian and the Third World countries and would have meant that one single Super Power would not be allowed to exercise hegemony over the rest of the world. It would have meant a fierce independence on the part of India and an exercise of her sovereign rights as the leader of the Asian countries, as against the hegemony of one Super Power. It would have meant India forging ahead economically and industrially, a self-reliant country, and a country impregnable in defence. This is exactly what the external forces, the abettors and instigators of the internal forces of hatred and violence, did not want. This is exactly the internal forces of hatred and violence did not want and they plunged this country into a whirlpool of caste conflict, communal conflict and religious conflict. The result was, the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. These are the forces. We are concentrating ourselves on the security aspect. By concentrating ourselves on the security lapse, we are giving a go-by to the task of identifying the forces which have been really responsible for the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

Sir, the Indian National Congress

has a very long history spread over a period of one hundred years. The history of the Indian National Congress is hallowed by the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Indians. The inherent strength of the Indian National Congress is in the ideals on which it has lived, the ideals of secularism, the ideals of oneness of India, the ideals of self-reliant India, the ideals and values of advancing nation, a nation which will occupy its proper position in the comity of nations. India will march ahead. Indian National Congress has faced many trials, many tribulations, many challenges. Indian National Congress will rise to the occasion and will meet this challenge. On the blood and sacrifice of Rajiv Gandhi Indian National Congress will rise to the occasion and pick up the gauntlet which has been thrown to this great nation by the internal forces of communalism, casteism, hatred and violence and the external forces which are bent upon disintegrating India.

But, Sir, for centuries and millennia to come India will weep for Rajiv Gandhi. When history writes a chapter on the contribution made by Rajiv Gandhi to the making of new India time will almost come to a stop. For those of us who knew him so well in flesh and blood, a feeling comes: was it a vision or a waking dream; flood is the music, do I wake or sleep?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): The House will now take up the Statutory Resolution and thereafter we will continue with the Short Duration Discussion.

- I. STATUTORY RESOLUTION
SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE
PROCLAMATION ISSUED ON
6TH APRIL, 1991, UNDER ARTICLE 354 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE
STATE OF HARYANA
- II. MOTION SEEKING REVOCATION OF THE PROCLAMATION