

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

with in a particular manner. All the departments have been given instructions as to how secret, top secret and all classified documents have to be dealt with. Security arrangements have also been tightened. But I do not think it will be in the interest of the country to disclose as to what instructions have been given. I can only assure the House that we have taken necessary steps in this matter.

**SHRI SURESH KALMADI:** Is the Army being put on alert? This is my major question.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The House will adjourn now and we will meet again at 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-eight minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty minutes past two of the clock. **The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Syed Rahmat Ali)** in the Chair.

**CLARIFICATIONS ON THE STATEMENT RE THE TRAGIC ACCIDENT WHICH OCCURRED IN THE PESTICIDE PLANT OF THE UNION CARBIDE (INDIA) LIMITED AT BHOPAL**  
contd.

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was putting across my view point on the role and functioning of all-India radio when I was interrupted and asked to take my seat. I will take half a minute to put across my view point about ineffective use of the All-India Radio in the context of the tragedy that occurred in Bhopal and I reiterate that had All-India Radio been used to broadcast essential information to the citizens of Bhopal on that day, perhaps the dimensions of the tragedy could have been reduced perhaps the harm that has been done to the

citizens of Bhopal mitigated to an extent.

I have three or four other questions and I would request the Minister to give me the courtesy of answering them because they are specific questions.

Is it true that the Union Carbide Corporation's Investment in 1976 was only Rs. 15 crores and that an R&D establishment costing Rs. 20 crores was allowed to be established in 1983? What were the objectives of this R&D centre, its programme of work and the factors which led to its acceptance by the Central Government? To what extent was income-tax relief given to the Union Carbide Corporation of the United States on the grounds that they had contributed to the setting up of an R&D centre in India?

My next clarification is, how was it that the UCIL was allowed to enter into a collaboration with the Union Carbide Corporation of USA to synthesize the new chemicals and test them on tropical pests at Bhopal? What were these chemicals, how many tests were carried out and was the data of chemicals and tests conducted made available to CSIR or to the Central Government? How much money was provided by Union Carbide Corporation of USA to UCIL for these tests? I would request, particularly, that the Minister does not sidetrack the next question and that is, what is the relevance of the chemicals so tested and made and the tests conducted by UCIL to chemical warfare? In this context one more question before I conclude, Sir, was the establishment of the R&D centre and the tests to be conducted approved firstly by the Committee of Secretaries of the Cabinet and secondly, were these tests conducted in consultation with CSIR and did that have the approval of the CSIR?

Now, Sir, I come to my final question on this tragedy but not my final word. In the wake of this grim tragedy that occurred in Bhopal, we witnessed what a leading Hindi newspaper was persuaded to call a situation in which हिन्दुस्तान की जग हसाई हुई। यह जग हसाई कैसे हुई ?

Following upon the tragedy at Bhopal, the Chairman of Union Carbide is arrested in Bhopal upon arrival. Then he is released on what was put across to us as "bail". I would like to know what were the reasons and grounds of his arrest, on what grounds he was granted bail, what consultations took place between the State Government and the Central Government what was the level for the drama of his arrest and for the absolute "jag hasai" of his release? Is it correct that the Prime Minister was consulted before his arrest and at the time of his release, or that he was not informed at all? Did the Ministry of External Affairs come into it at any stage, - or did it not come into it at any stage?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Mr. Jaswant Singh, please conclude now.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will conclude with just one final sentence. I would request the hon. Minister to inform the House whether there are other chemicals and other carcinogenic productions of similar nature and I would request him to take the House into confidence and inform the House that the following production units, the following factories, the following concerns are today producing chemicals which are potentially harmful to human lives, are today producing items which are carcinogenic in nature and this is what the Government is doing about it.

As I started by saying, this matter is so serious, the tragedy so unprece-

dented in its scale the world over that what would have suited the purpose of the House best is a full-fledged debate, but in the absence of that ideal, the least that we expect from the Treasury Benches is that the queries that we have asked and the clarifications that we have sought be honestly and explicitly answered.

PROF. (MRS.) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated): Mr. Vice Chairman, I am indeed grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on Bhopal gas tragedy.

What has happened in Bhopal last December is tragic beyond words. This is the world's worst industrial disaster. As reported, the massive discharge of Methyl-Isocyanate (MIC) from the multi-national Union Carbide pesticide plant has taken more than 2000 innocent lives and affected 20,000 people. Children have been orphaned and the population exposed to MIC have been suffering from extensive lung and respiratory tract damage, pulmonary oedema, eye troubles causing blindness in some cases and there has been an outbreak of a debilitating form of jaundice. Environmental conditions have also been affected. The effects of MIC are proving to be far more deleterious and extensive than doctors and toxicologists had earlier believed.

We are aware that MIC is used by the Union Carbide as an intermediate in the manufacture of pesticides like carbaryl, aldicarb and isopropyl phenyl-carbomate. We, the chemists, very often work with large quantities of MIC in our research laboratories and our research scholars also do the same. But nothing has happened so far, as you find I am alive and my students are also alive. No adverse effect has been encountered so far. Therefore it is difficult to understand how MIC could convert Bhopal into a gas chamber which caused mass casualties. The same view was ex-

[Prof. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee]

pressed by Director, Union Carbide factory in West Virginia, USA. He had said that their workers had been exposed to MIC for 17 years and no such disaster, like the Bhopal gas tragedy, had happened so far. It has been reported that water penetrated into MIC tanks which decomposed into toxic gases, causing explosion of the MIC tanks.

I can say from my experience that MIC is decomposed slowly by moisture and water into carbon-dioxide and methyl amine which has a very strong fishy smell. It is highly volatile and soluble in water. MIC is, however, readily decomposed by caustic soda and other alkalies into carbon-dioxide and methyl amine. It is, therefore, expected that the factory area, the atmosphere and the neighbouring places would be charged with fishy smell which is a positive indication that MIC is indeed the "Killer Gas." Surprisingly, no such observation has been recorded and reported. What is the reason for that?

MIC which boils at plus 39° C and a liquid at ordinary temperature, is stored in tanks. These tanks are enclosed in a double-walled structure with a cooling unit—a coolant circulating unit. The temperature rise is, therefore, unlikely, as expressed by some of the people there.

The symptoms of the population afflicted with the poisonous gas are very similar to those of phosgene gas poisoning. The possibility of phosgene gas poisoning in the Bhopal gas tragedy cannot be excluded totally as MIC is manufactured from the deadly poisonous gas phosgene and methyl amine. Both phosgene and MIC act by destroying proteins and liquids in the lungs and that leads to death. The extensive damage of plants and all vegetation in and around Bhopal is another indication that the killer gas could have been phosgene. It may so happen that

there might be some unreacted phosgene in the MIC tanks causing such a disaster.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Madam, instead of seeking clarifications you are delivering a speech.

PROF. (MRS.) ASIMA CHATTERJEE: I would like to ask the question whether there was any contamination. Phosgene is listed as "One of the most poisonous gases used in industry" in the manual of occupational health and safety of the International Labour Organisation. Although Union Carbide has officially identified MIC as the cause of the Bhopal gas tragedy, experts are divided in their opinion as some of them believe that it may be phosgene which is responsible for this tragedy. However, it must be admitted that there has been some lapse in the matter of operational safety measures, and I would like to know whether operational safety measures were strictly followed there. Why was not the alarm bell there to indicate temperature rise, if it is a fact? It has been mentioned that there was a temperature rise. If there has been an alarm bell, this tragedy could have been avoided. Secondly, why did not the water sprayers function when the accident took place? What happened to gas scrubbers? The flare tower itself according to informed sources, had been dismantled in the course of a certain maintenance operation—the most serious lapse that can be imagined. This gave opportunity to the gas for free escape. I would like to know whether this was a fact.

I strongly opine that the mass casualties in the Bhopal gas poisoning tragedy are due to negligence on the part of the Union Carbide management in operational safety matters. I would appeal to the honourable Minister that in future industrial licences should be issued only after approval of the Department of En-

vironment. Also, when the factories are in operation surprise visits by experts should be arranged by the Government at the State level to inspect whether security and operational safety measures therein are effective or not.

However, it is gratifying to note that the Government of India and the State Government took immediate action and provided medical aid, relief and compensation to the ailing population. The State Government have also set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate events and circumstances of the accident.

While concluding I would like to mention that the killer gas in Bhopal has a far remote effect on the bio-systems and environment and may disturb eco-balance. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to take care of this and to keep the ailing population under strict observation to know whether any further adverse effects are found in them. It is, therefore, imperative that all these measures should be taken. Also, in the perspective of the divided opinion of experts, it is necessary to pursue further investigation in order to identify the killer gas in Bhopal.

Thank you, Sir.

PROF. B. RAMACHANDRA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to put two questions to the Minister on the Bhopal tragedy, particularly the after-effects of the MIC gas in the human system.

First, whatever may be the official figures about the numbers of people who died, our main concern should be to cure the sick, the surviving patients, who have suffered to different degrees from the MIC gas during the process of exposure after the gas leaked. I understand that about 30,000 to 40,000 affected persons are still in Bhopal, and they are suffering

to different degrees. Every day about half a dozen deaths were taking place due to the long-term effects. I would like to know and have an answer to the extent possible for the following questions:

Is the Government gathering statistics of the persons who are affected by the MIC gas and finding out what the diseases are from which they are suffering? Has a team, a scientific and medical team under the ICMR, gone and examined the nature of the delayed, cumulative effects of this gas on the human system of the surviving persons by having examination of the blood, the urine and various other normal and special tests?

It is understood that the milk yield of the mothers of the newly born, children has become less, and therefore, this will have an after-effect on the children who are reared up in this manner. Even the yield of milk of the cows and buffalows who have given birth, they found, to have come down to half a litre or something like that instead of ten litres. This being the case, what is the after-effect of this on the children who are born to such patients? One has to examine.

Has the ICMR team studied and found out the cause for the continuing effect. Is it the chemical, MIC, or the breakdown products? Are they investigating how the adverse effects of this chemical or its breakdown products are to be cured? There are many cures. One of them is thiosulphate. I am told. And quite a few others will be effective. Has the ICMR team given a detailed recommendation on how to cure the surviving patients?

The second question I am going to ask is: It is well known that chemicals have a long-range, genetic

[Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao]

effect on the human system. Has this chemical, MIC, got any genetic effect which is carried from generation to generation? If so, a scientific team should go into the examination of the blood samples, haemoglobin, and find out whether any genetic distortions are likely to take place, and if it is so, proper genetic counselling should be given to the surviving patients who are likely to be affected and their children. This curse of the MIC should not be carried to the succeeding generations.

These are the two questions which I wanted to put.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :** उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मंत्री महोदय के बयान को पढ़ने के बाद मेरा यह इम्प्रेसन हुआ कि सरकार इस बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनी के पाप को छिपाना चाहती है। क्यों छिपाना चाहती है यह तो सरकार ही बता सकती है। लेकिन एक बात स्पष्ट है कि जिस तरह का अपराध इस विदेशी कम्पनी ने किया है और इनारमिटी आफ द ब्राइम जो है उसको भी छिपाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। जैसा भयानक कांड हुआ है, उसकी गम्भीरता को भी छिपाने की कोशिश की गई है। चूंकि बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने उसकी चर्चा की है, इसलिये मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। मैं इसे दुर्घटना नहीं समझता। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि कुछेक खास करके हमारी सरकार की जो नेग्लिजेंस रही है, उसके चलते तो यह घटना घटी ही है, साथ-साथ हमारी सरकार का अमेरिकन और बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनी की एफिशेंसी पर जो अटूट विश्वास है, जो कल्चरल एफिनिटी है, जिसको बढ़ाने की कोशिश हो रही है, उसके चलते यह नतीजा हुआ है।

मैं ऐसा क्यों कहता हूँ? इसलिये कि इस कम्पनी के आर० एण्ड डी० की लिस्ट में इस बात की चर्चा है कि वह एंटी-क्राप वारफेयर का सामान तैयार करे इस पवित्र भूमि में जिसकी सरकार रात-दिन विश्व-शांति के लिये और कैमिकल वार की बराबर निंदा करती है वह अपनी जमीन पर

इस तरह के काम होने देगी, यह तो बिल्कुल ही लज्जाजनक बात है और अगर इसकी आर० एण्ड डी० में यह था तो मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि सरकार ने उसके खिलाफ क्या कार्यवाही की थी कि हमारी इस पवित्र भूमि को इस नापाक काम के लिये इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जाए?

दूसरी बात मैं इसलिये आप से कह रहा हूँ कि हमारी पार्टी के एम०एल०ए० ने विधान सभा में इस सवाल को उठाया कि इस कम्पनी का कारखाना यहां से हटा दिया जाए क्योंकि इसके पहले कुछ लोग मरे थे। उस समय वहां के श्रम मंत्री ने आश्वासन दिया था कि इस तरह का कोई खतरा वहां पर नहीं है। इसको छिपाया था कि इस तरह का खतरा है। अब मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि विधान सभा में इनके श्रम मंत्री ने क्यों इस तरह का गलत बयान दिया था कि इस तरह का कोई खतरा वहां पर नहीं है?

मैं यह भी आप से कहूंगा कि अखबारों ने इसको पहले से ही छपा था कि इस तरह की घटना होने वाली है। साप्ताहिक अखबार में 17 सितम्बर को छपा था—“बचाओ इस शहर को बचाओ भोपाल ज्वालामुखी के मुंह में”— इस शीर्षक से समाचार छपा था लेकिन हमारी सरकार को यह पता क्यों नहीं है यह आश्चर्य की बात है और क्या इस पर केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से कार्यवाही की गई?

इसी तरह का समाचार 16 जून, 1984 को “जनसत्ता” में राज कुमार केशवानी ने लिखा है। उसी तरह का समाचार ‘नई दुनिया’ में छपा था। फिर हमारी सरकार ने इस पर कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं की? यह कोई राज्य सरकार की ही बात नहीं है यहां की सरकार दिल्ली सरकार की भी बात है कि इस घटना के बारे में उन्होंने जांच नहीं की।

इसलिये मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी नेग्लिजेंस से

आप जो शागिर्द हैं उनके साथ उसके चलते इस तरह की बात हो रही है।

एक बात मैं और बताना चाहूंगा कि हमारे कारखाना निरीक्षक जो थे वह निगरानी नहीं करते थे, उनके पास साधन नहीं हैं। इस तरह की चीजों के लिये हमारे फॅक्ट्री एक्ट में प्रोवीजन नहीं है और हमारे फॅक्ट्री इंस्पेक्टरों में इसकी जानकारी भी नहीं है कि इसकी कैसे जानकारी कर सकते हैं यानी हमारी सरकार को इतना अटूट विश्वास था कि इस तरह कम्पनी एफिशेंसी पर और सुरक्षा के कदमों पर कोई आपकी तरफ से प्रयास ही नहीं किया कि अगर इस तरह की दुर्घटना घटी तो हम इसको कैसे बचायें।

मैं एक बात और जानना चाहता हूँ कि सेंट्रल इंस्टीट्यूट बोर्ड के पास जो 25 टाक्सिक पेस्टिसाइड्स को गैर-कानून करने का मामला विचाराधीन था—जिसमें यूनिवर्सल कारबाइड के मिक्स-बेस्ड पेस्टिसाइड का भी सवाल था—हम यह जानना चाहेंगे कि कब से यह पेंडिंग था और किसके दबाव के कारण सरकार इसको गैर-कानूनी घोषित नहीं कर रही थी? मैं यह सरकार से जानना चाहूंगा कि क्यों इसको छिपा करके रखा गया था?

मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगा कि जो वहाँ के प्लानिंग के अफसर थे (समय की घंटी) हम तो सिर्फ प्रश्न ही पूछ रहे हैं, भाषण ही कर रहे हैं। आपने तो अलाऊ किया है सबों को, हम तो सिर्फ लगातार प्रश्न ही पूछ रहे हैं। क्यों उस एक्सीक्यूटिव अफिसर बुच को ट्रांसफर किया गया जब उसने मान की कि इसको यहां से हटा दिया जाए, डेंसली पापुलेटेड शहर में इसको नहीं रहने दिया जाए?

क्यों जो डिजाइन बना वहाँ का, उसमें जब अमेरिकन एक्सपर्ट आए—मैं उनकी रिपोर्ट से उद्धरण देता हूँ जो 1982 में अमेरिकन विशेषज्ञों ने रिपोर्ट दी थी—

“The plant represent either higher potential for a serious accident or more serious consequences, if an accident could occur”.

यह रिपोर्ट जब 1982 में ही आ गई थी, तो हमारी सरकार ने इस ओर क्यों ध्यान नहीं दिया? इसलिये हम कहते हैं कि आपकी क्रिमिनल नेग्लिजेंस के चलते ऐसी बात हुई।

फिर मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इंडियन यूनिट जो है उसको अगर कम्प्यूटराइज अलॉय वॉनिंग सेफ सिस्टम जैसा कि अमरीका में था वह यहां नहीं था, तो हमारे लोगों ने अभी तक क्यों नहीं देखा, जब इस तरह का खतरनाक काम वहाँ पर हो रहा था? यह सबको मालूम था। मैं सरकार से यह भी कहूंगा कि कम्पनी ने हाल में इकनोमिक मेजर लिया था जिसमें मेटेनेल्स सुपरवाइजर रात में नहीं रखे जाते थे। क्या यह सच्ची बात है कि मेटेनेल्स सुपरवाइजर को हटा दिया गया था। रात को नहीं रखे जाते थे? इकनोमिक मेजर सेफ सुपरिटेण्डेंट का पद समाप्त किया गया था। यह सरकार को क्या मालूम नहीं था? क्या सरकार को यह मालूम नहीं था कि उस कारखाने के अन्दर में सेफ्टी मेजर के लिये 5 तरीके हैं जिसमें चार बिल्कुल फेल हो गए थे। उसमें से तीन मेटेनेल्स में थे। अब आप बताएं जहाँ पांच का हो वहाँ तीन का मेटेनेल्स था, तो हमारी सरकार को क्यों नहीं खबर थी कि उस कारखाने को बंद कर दिया जाता। मैं एक सवाल और पूछना चाहूंगा कि अगर ऐसी घटना घटी थी तो अमरीका वालों से तो बड़ी दोस्ती है आपकी और जो आये थे एण्डरसन साहब उसको तो आपने शौकियाना गिरफ्तार किया, बड़ा बी० आई० पी० ट्रीटमेंट किया, हवाई जहाज दिया तो उस हवाई जहाज से तुरन्त क्यों नहीं ले आये, एंटी डोज का काम जो 16 दिसंबर को लिया गया वह पहले करते तो कुछ लोगों की जानें तो बचाई जा सकती थीं। आपने इस काम को अपने अमरीकन दोस्त से क्यों नहीं करवाया? कौन सी ऐसी बात थी जिसके चलते उस काम को नहीं किया गया।

अन्त में मैं यह कहूंगा कि सरकार का यह रवैया आम जनता के प्रति बहुत दुश्मनागत है और वह इसलिये कि अभी तक हमारे कानून में कोई ऐसा स्पेसिफिक ला नहीं है कि नागरिकों को इसके लिये कोई मुआवजा दिया

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र

जाये। ऐसा कोई स्पेसिफिक प्रावधान उसमें नहीं है। दूसरा लिमिटेड डैमेज की तो हमारे कानून में कोई व्यवस्था ही नहीं है। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इस बात की सफाई भी सबके सामने दे। दूसरी बात मैं यह चाहूंगा यह सारी चीजों की जांच आप करवा रहे हैं। अच्छी बात है आप जांच करवाइये। आम तौर पर इस देश में जिस काम को सरकार ने नहीं करना होता है उसके लिये कमीशन या कमेटी बैठा दी जाती है। अभी तक स्की-शिफ्ट एवीडेंस सरकार के पास थे जिससे इस कम्पनी के कारनामों को, इस अपराध का कम से कम भन्वी महोदय की रिपोर्ट में इसकी चर्चा आनी चाहिये थी कि इस कम्पनी ने इस तरह का काम किया है, उसके खिलाफ कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिये और अपने बयान में मंत्री महोदय ने कहीं नहीं लिखा रिलीज के लिये हमें करेंगे, इसके लिये हम करेंगे लेकिन यह कहीं नहीं कहा है कि इस कम्पनी का अगर साबित हो जायेगा तो उसके खिलाफ हम सख्त कार्यवाही करेंगे। इतना भी इस मल्टीनेशनल कम्पनी के खिलाफ आपके बयान में नहीं है। यह अत्यन्त ही दुःखद बात है, लज्जाजनक है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर यह बात छुट गई और आपके ध्यान में हो तो अभी भी आप साफ कर दें इस बात को और एनोरमिटी आफ द काइम कुछ छिपाने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दिनांक 2-3 दिसम्बर को मेरे शहर भोपाल में जो दुर्भाग्यजनक हादसा गैस रिसन होने से हुआ, वह अत्यन्त दर्दनाक है। मैं पीड़ित परिवारों के प्रति नमनपूर्वक संवेदना व्यक्त करते हुये आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि राज्य सरकार द्वारा गैस त्रासदी से प्रभावित लोगों को राहत पहुंचाने व पुनर्वासि व्यवस्था को दृष्टि से अनेक तत्कालिक और दीर्घकालिक प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं। जब राहत व्यापक स्तर पर चल रही है, स्वास्थ्य व चिकित्सा सुविधाएं प्रदान की जा रही हैं, राशन, दूध मुहैया करवाया जा रहा हो, अनाथ बच्चों की देखभाल की जा

रही हो, तब अनेक स्वार्थी और अवसरवादी तत्व जिन्हें हाल ही के चुनाव में महान जनता ने नकारा है, इन कार्यों से राजनीति प्रलोभन में आकर, आंदोलन आदि का सहारा लेकर व्यवधान उत्पन्न कर सारी मानवता के नाम पर कलंक लगा रहे हैं। इस मौके पर मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से आग्रह करना चाहूंगा कि सरकार ऐसे व्यवधान पैदा करने वाले अवरोधक तत्वों के खिलाफ कठोर से कठोर कार्यवाही करे। बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनी के वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों को प्रदेश सरकार ने गिरफ्तार करके कानूनी कर्तव्य की पूर्ति की है, क्योंकि यह सब "फ्लैग ऑफ कांफ़िडेंस मैनेजमेंट" के कारण हुआ है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं माननीय ला मिनिस्टर से भी मांग करना चाहूंगा कि गैस रिसन से क्षतिपूर्ति के लिये कांफ़िडेंस के विरुद्ध मुकदमा भारत में ही क्यों नहीं चलाया जा रहा है ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली) :

आप भाषण देने लग हैं, पचौरी साहब। भाषण नहीं, अगर आप सवाल करना चाहें तो कर लीजिए ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : मैं प्रश्न ही कर रहा हूँ। यह 'मिक' गैस जिसका कि फार्मला सी० एच०-3 एन० सी० ओ० है, यह 1849 में बर्ट्रेस ने पहली बार मैनूफैक्चर की थी। यह फासजीन से पांच गुनी ज्यादा विषैली है। यह हाइली टोक्सिक है और डेंसर देन एअर है, जिसके इल-इफेक्ट ह्यूमन और एनीमल लाइफ पर होना पक्का है। इस दृष्टि से कृपया मंत्री महोदय बताने का कष्ट करेंगे कि जो पोस्टमार्टम रिपोर्ट है, गैस से प्रभावित मृत व्यक्तियों की, उसमें क्या यह सारी बातें आई हैं, जिसमें यह सारी इन्जुरीज हैं,—

"रेस्पेटरी कंजेशन, निमोनिया आफ बेरिंग डिप्रिज इनलार्जमेंट आफ लिवर, आडीमेट्स लिफ ग्लेंड्स, पालमेनरी एन-गोर्जड सेलेब्रल वेसेस।" यदि ये इन्जुरीज पाई गई हैं, तो इनके दूरगामी प्रभावों को रोकने की दृष्टि से क्या कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह जानना चाहूंगा ? साथ ही मैं केंद्रीय सरकार से यह भी आश्वासन

चाहूंगा कि वह स्पष्ट घोषणा करे कि भोपाल में बनने वाली इस विषैली गैस के कारखाने को हमेशा के लिये बन्द किया जा रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सैयद रहमत अली) :  
मंत्री जी को लोक सभा में भी इसी इश्यू पर काम है। मैं जो मेम्बरान इस बारे में तकरीर करने वाले हैं, उनसे दरखास्त कहूंगा कि दो-दो मिनट में अपने सवालान करें।

3 P.M.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the terrible tragedy that has happened in Bhopal is beyond words. The leakage of methyl isocyanate gas from the multinational Union Carbide plant has taken more than 2000 lives; in addition, 20,000 people have been made disabled and blind, their life has become useless. Small children have become blind. Arising out of the statement of the Minister I would like to ask what adequate compensation has been arranged to the victims; secondly, what adequate measures are being taken to prevent such incidents taking place in future; thirdly, what the policy is of the Government of India in regard to multinationals who are establishing such concerns in this country ignoring the interests of the country but looking for their own interests. These are the three points on which I would like the Minister to enlighten us. In para 11 on page 5 of the statement the Minister said, "The Government of India, in consultation with the State Government, is considering various options available for obtaining adequate compensation to the victims of the tragedy and recovery of expenses incurred by the Government in this regard." I would like to know whether the Minister is aware of the fact that the American firm holds 51 per cent of shares and whether he is going to file the cases in India or in America. It is reported—I do not

know whether he is aware of this—that two American lawyers have made arrangements for filing a 15 billion dollar suit for damages in the US courts against the multinational firm on behalf of the families of Bhopal. I do not know the position according to the American law. If they lose the case; the American lawyers do not get anything but if they win the case, I am told, they get a share from out of that compensation. How much are they going to get for themselves? In *India Today* of 15th January it has been reported, "Legal Damage"; "Already damage has been done; another damage is that a number of lawyers from America have flown to Bhopal . . ." They are taking signatures of the innocent people. The people there are forced to sign papers which they do not know. People have signed documents without knowing what they have signed. I would like the Minister to tell us what steps the Government is going to take to save the innocent people from these terrible things.

Then there is one more important thing. Thousands of people have been rendered jobless. I want to know whether the Government is going to take steps in consultation with the foreign multinational firm to provide employment because I was told that due to the closure of the factory thousands of people have been rendered jobless. What is the Government's policy regarding those who have been rendered jobless? The most important thing is what is the lesson to be learnt from this tragedy? What steps are being taken to see that this kind of situation does not recur in future? What should be the policy of the country towards multinational investment in this country? Numerous studies on the operation of multinational corporations have revealed that in pursuit of huge profits they show little regard



[Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy]  
for the environment of the third-world countries. The Bhopal tragedy has attracted the attention of the world. These multinationals are investing huge amounts in this country. What is the policy of the Government towards these multinationals which ignore the interests of the country?

Some of the most dangerous chemicals and drugs that have been discarded in foreign countries are being dumped in this country. Is the Government of India going to take adequate measures to prevent these multinationals from playing with the lives of people in this country? These are some of the questions to which I expect answers.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): Is it a fact that workers of the Union Carbide plant, Bhopal, had written to the Government about the lack of safety measures because of repeated incidents there? Is it a fact that Mr. Anil Sadagopan, a scientist, has written an open letter to Dr. Varadarajan in which he has pointed out that Union Carbide, according to the patent under which it manufactures Carbaryl brand name Savin—does not produce Methyl-Isocyanate (MIC)? Is it a fact that Rockefeller Foundation set up laboratories in India for research in viruses to discover medicines to fight them and whether this was a field station for the Pentagon to test bacteria war in India? I want to know whether the Government has enough proof to believe that the USA has selected India as a field laboratory for experiments in biological and chemical weapons. Is it a fact that the Indian scientists of the Indian Institute of Sciences, Bangalore, have asserted that the gas responsible for Bhopal tragedy was not MIC alone, but also Phosgene. Is it a fact that the tank which stored 45 tonnes of MIC gas entirely

evaporated and the remnants of the tank had still not been analysed? Tanks are of stainless steel. How can water leak into them and that also a small quantity of half a kilogram? Is it a fact that the record of the Union Carbide has shown that the MIC gas in the 2nd tank was only 15 tonnes? But, Dr. Varadarajan has confirmed that the gas stored therein was more than 23 tonnes. What action is the Government going to take against the company for this? Is it a fact that the two Judges of Madhya Pradesh High Court have directed the State Government and other agencies that the remnants of the killer tank should be analysed? I would like to know whether Dr. Harish Chandra, Head of the Department of Forensic Medicine, Gandhi Medical College, Bhopal, who had performed the post-mortem on the gas victims, claimed to have found that the deadly cyanide in excess quantity was found in the tissues recovered from the corpses. Is it a fact that Dr. Bipin Awastia of Union Carbide, West Virginia, USA sent a telex to Dr. Loya to give intravenous injections of sodium thiosulphate in cases of cyanide poisoning? How many persons were treated with this injection? Is it a fact that one West German Doctor, Dr. Dennderer, with a team of doctors, rushed to India simultaneously with so many injections, intravenous injections, of sodium thiosulphate, to be given to the victims of MIC poisoning? Who had authorised these doctors to use the victims as guineapigs for experiments to find out whether sodium thiosulphate could be an antidote for MIC poisoning? Was it a part of the Pentagon to test the bacteriological warfare here also? Does it not confirm the allegation of their doubtable Shri P. N. Haksar that the Union Carbide factory in Bhopal had been the Pentagon gas war experiment centre?

I would like to know whether any serious research is being conducted about the after-effects of the killer gas and also about the components of the killer gas. What is the relief that has been given to the families of the killed and the affected? Has the State Government filed a case against Union Carbide in a law court of the USA for compensation to the victims?

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Sir, Union Carbide Corporation sold chemical products worth 9.2 billion dollars in 1980 and is the seventh largest chemical manufacturer in the world and they also produce some drugs. The Indian subsidiary of Union Carbide set up this plant in Bhopal following two contracts with the Government on November 13, 1973 against payment of twenty million dollars. But it actually went into production in 1980. The total installed capacity was 55,000 tonnes. Two years later its installed capacity came to 46 per cent. I would like to know from the honourable Minister who gave them permission not to install the computerised safety gadgets which are very necessary for safety and start production. It seems that the factory was running without these computerised safety gadgets.

I would like to know whether there is only one such toxic chemical factory in India or whether there are many and how many plants of this type are working in different parts of the country. Paragraph 13 of the Minister's statement says that they are going to set up a special cell to make a detailed study of the practices in vogue in the developed countries for dealing with hazardous substances and the institutional controls in use. I would like to know whether up till now any research has been made by the Ministry into the hazardous effects of running such plants in the country. It seems

that this cell is going to be set up for the first time to find out the hazardous effects. I would like to know whether the R & D Department concerned was looking into these matters or not.

Lastly, I would like to know only one thing more. The serious tragedy has occurred. But many different versions are given by many people. It has been mentioned by Shri Vasant Sathe, at the time of his election campaign, that the gas leaked at 1 o'clock at night while Dr. Varadaraajan has put it at 11-30 p.m. whereas some others have quoted any time between 11-00 P.M. and 2-00 A.M. When was the leakage commenced and stopped? Now, Sir, they have appointed an Inquiry Commission. I would like to know whether it is going to be a time-bound affair. I would like to know whether the Commission would be called upon to submit the report within three months or so so that safety action can be taken on the basis of an interim report at least. It should not take years and years as it happens in some cases because then it loses all its importance. This being a matter of national concern, I hope the Minister will reply to the questions raised.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, many people has warned about this danger, particularly the journalists, and one Mr. Raj Kumar Keshwani had written a series of articles about this danger and he had mentioned that the entire city would be wiped out and Bhopal would become a dead city because of this danger. But those warnings were totally ignored. Or the floor of the State Assembly when this matter was raised twice, the concerned Labour Minister, Mr. Niyogi, gave an indifferent and callous reply. The Madhya Pradesh Government is responsible for this catastrophe. Mr. Jaswant Singh asked whether the State Government was responsible for this disaster. I would

[Shri V. Gopalswamy]

like to say that the Minister had stated that phosgene was not a poisonous gas. But, Sir, this is a banned war gas. But the Minister had stated that this was not a poison gas. So, the Government is responsible. They are trying to shift the responsibility to some others for their callous and indifferent attitude even though there were warnings.

I would like to know from the Government why the deadly gas was permitted to be stored in a thickly populated area. Why was the licence given for this? Is it not a fact that the service of Mr. Keshab Mohindra the Chairman, were needed for some people since he would be able to supply any number of jeeps from M/s Mahindra and Mahindra? Why was the licence given to Mr. Mahindra? Because he became the Chairman? So, Sir, the Government has been totally indifferent and callous in this matter and it is very clear. And it is very clear from the reply of the Minister. The Factory has its ties in the entire country. It is not a fact that the plant is posing a major danger to Bhopal or there is any such possibility. This is the answer of the Minister of State on the floor of the House. He was very much concerned about building the factory, about the establishment. But he was not concerned about the lives. More than 2500 lives have perished. They were responsible. So I would like to know from the Minister. Mr. Ramanand Yadav also put that question. Was this field testing cleared by the screening committee, in which the Defence experts are also members? I asked the same question during the Question Hour also. I would like to get the clarification from the hon. Minister. Was this cleared by the Screening Committee—this field testing by this multi-national which is not permitted in western countries or even in U.S. or anywhere else?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would not have taken the time of the House but for one sentence which occurs in the statement in paragraph 3 at page 2 which says: "All plants and equipments were got tested for reliability and necessary modifications made." I presume that these modifications were made in the equipment to carry out safely the "Operation Faith". And I have been struck by this sentence for two reasons, namely, neither in the paragraph relating to the establishment of the legal cell nor in the statement describing the visit of the hon. Minister to Bhopal there is an indication that steps were taken to ensure that the evidence which would be necessary to establish a case against the American company, i.e. that the American company supplied the defective equipment, has not been adversely affected when the modifications were carried out in order to carry out the "Operation Faith". I want just two minutes because this case is almost parallel to the case which has already been pending in the American courts. This hon. House will recollect that on the 1st of January 1978 an Air India Boeing crashed in the Arabian Sea. If the victims' representatives or the legal heirs case was that there had been negligence on the part of the pilots of Air India, they would have had the case only against Air India. But they reached the Boeing Company in the United States and they were able to reach the Boeing Company in the United States for damages because they put up the case that the equipment which was supplied by the Boeing Company in plane to indicate the directions of the plane was defective. That equipment was known as 'Black Box'. That 'Black Box' was retrieved by the Indian Navy from the Arabian Sea and that is the most material piece of evidence in that case. The Indian company is an independent legal entity. Legally, it has no connection

with the American company. If our case is going to be merely negligence in the operation of the equipment, then we have no case against the American company. We can reach the American company only if we seek to establish and we succeed in establishing that the equipment supplied by the American company to the Indian company at Bhopal was defective material. Therefore, Sir, I would like to have an assurance from the hon. Minister that the Government of India has taken all possible steps to preserve the evidence of supply of defective equipment by the American company. If no such steps have been taken, will the hon. Minister assure this hon. House that the Government of India and particularly the legal cell with the help of experts will make sure that such evidence is not, in any manner, tampered with or adversely affected or was not affected when the modifications were made?

**SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT** (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, the statement while expressing anguish and concern of the Government throws light on the various humanitarian steps taken by the Central and State Governments to give relief to the victims of the tragedy by immediate medical aid, free distribution of food packets and milk, analysis of water for toxicity and declaring it safe, removal of caracasses of dead animals by scavenging teams to avoid spread of epidemics, etc. There is, however, no mention about the chain of representations since 1981 by the Union Carbide Workers' Union, Bhopal, on behalf of the workers and the callous indifference and criminal negligence of the management. There is also no mention of the indifference of the Factory Inspectorate to the repeated representations of the agitated workers to the possible danger. Sir, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has set guidelines in such matters. I would like to know

from the hon. Minister whether any attempt was made at any time to introduce the same in the larger interest of the workers, the industry and the community. Sir, the factory's licence has not been renewed beyond 31st December, 1984 and the same is lying closed. I would like the hon. Minister to let us know as to what steps have been taken to rehabilitate the unemployed workers of the Union Carbide factory at Bhopal considering the family and other liabilities, especially of their school-going children.

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO** (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I have only to ask an off-beat question. Of course, the Bhopal tragedy is a very tragic event that took place in 1984. But I would like to tell the hon. Minister that in this thing we should not forget that insecticides play a very important role in our agricultural economy. Insecticides have created the green revolution. And in the case of Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh, they have played a very important part in bringing about horticultural revolution or the fruit revolution as we call it. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether he would ensure that the quantity of insecticides to the general agricultural and horticultural sector is provided in adequate quantities and we are not led away by not providing that quantity of insecticides. I want this assurance from him.

**THE MINISTER OF CHEMICALS AND FERTILIZERS AND INDUSTRY AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, many hon. Members have asked so many questions and they have tried to elicit information. Sir, with the limited time at my disposal, I will try to give briefly the clarifications and the information sought by the hon. Members.

Sir, at the outset, I would like to make one thing clear. Some hon.

[Shri Veerendra Patil]

Members, while eliciting information, spoke in such a way that our Government is interested in suppressing the information in safeguarding the interests of this Multinational. Sir I refute this allegation. And I must say that there is absolutely no basis for such an allegation. And I do not know why they came to such a conclusion. Sir, as I said in the beginning during the Question Hour, this is the worst tragedy that occurred...

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: After Hiroshima.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: ...not only in India but also in the entire world. Nobody had anticipated that such a tragedy would occur in this Plant. Sir, so far as the State Government is concerned, they have made one thing clear. I had an occasion to discuss this with the Chief Minister. He had come to me. He met me here in Delhi. Not only he does not want the activities of this Company or the Undertaking to be continued or to be resumed but he also does not want any sort of activity so far as this company is concerned, in his State and in Bhopal. That is why, he has already made a request to the Central Government to nationalise this undertaking and to take over the entire factory and all the properties which they are owning in Bhopal. Of course, such a request has to be examined from the legal and other points of view. This is being examined.

As I said, this is the worst tragedy and it has opened the eyes not only of our Government, but it has opened the eyes of other countries also, wherever such health-hazardous chemical or pesticide industries are working. Again, it is not correct to say that these multinationals are starting such industries, pesticide industries, insecticide industries or chemical in-

dustries only in developing countries. In the developed countries also, such industries are there. After all, the Union Carbide is producing MIC here. Out of the MIC, they are manufacturing Carbaryl. This is a pesticide. It is not that Union Carbide is manufacturing Carbaryl only in India and in other developing countries. They are manufacturing Carbaryl in USA out of MIC produced there also.

As I said, this accident has opened the eyes of the Government and they have taken all possible steps. I would like to mention a few of these. Government have already decided to set up a special cell, to make a detailed study of the practices in vogue in developed countries for dealing with hazardous substances and the institutional controls in force to ensure safety for men and environment. In regard to the long-term effects also—Prof. Ramachandra Rao was asking about this—Government is considering the setting up of a National Scientific and Medical Committee to study all the aspects arising out of this accident and to give an authoritative opinion about the likely after-effects and the appropriate steps which need to be taken at the medical and scientific levels.

Similarly, Sir, their departments have also taken action. For instance, the Department of Environment have taken action to evolve steps for avoiding industrial accidents of this type in future from the pollution control angle and the Central Pollution Control Board have constituted a Committee very recently, this month, in 1985, and they have taken on this committee representatives of five State Pollution Control Boards. The terms of reference of this Committee are: To define a hazardous chemical precisely and to list the varieties of hazardous chemicals which are either used as raw materials or produced as intermediaries and also the final products in relation to these materials.

Their job is also to identify these industries which are to be recognised as hazardous industries and to prepare an inventory State-wise and also to cull out from that the total inventory of those units which are located in the crowded areas. They have also to examine the existing safety procedure and safety controls along with the contingency plans of those units located in the crowded areas in case of any such untoward thing happening as happened in the case of Bhopal.

Sir, many hon. Members referred to the R&D section in this Union Carbide unit at Bhopal. I do not know from what source hon. Members got the information that in this research centre, research is going on about chemical warfare and all that. So far as my information goes, the unit at Bhopal has got a research and development centre where research activities are carried out including testing of pesticides on insects under tropical conditions. No collaboration with foreign company is approved.

Many members wanted to know why this unit was allowed in Bhopal. As I have already said, this Union Carbide company started its activities in our country in 1967 and the Union Carbide USA has got majority shares in this Indian company. I think they are holding 50.9 per cent equity. In 1972 Union Carbide India Ltd. were granted a letter of intent for manufacturing this pesticide. I want to make it clear that when they made an application for letter of intent and later on in the year 1975 for conversion of letter of intent into a licence, at that time CSIR, DGTD, State Government with regard to location and others concerned were consulted. After consultation and after taking into consideration the opinion that was furnished by them the Government of India ultimately decided to give a licence to them. That is how they started their activities.

Hon. Mr. Jaswant Singh wanted to know why the foreign collaboration was renewed in 1982. The reasons for this are: While applying for renewal of foreign collaboration in 1982 UCIL specifically mentioned that one of the reasons for extension was that manufacture of MIC involved extremely hazardous process, with complexity in areas of efficiency, material balance corrosion and safety and they have to work closely with foreign experts for assimilating the technology input. This would show that the foreign collaboration agreement entered into by UCIL with Union Carbide USA provided that parent company would ensure adequate safety provisions for the plants in Bhopal. That is why it was extended in 1982.

Mr. Gurupadaswamy wanted to know about DDT. So far as DDT is concerned it is being used primarily for eradication of malaria. An expert committee in the Ministry of Agriculture is reviewing the question of phasing out the pesticides, including DDT. So, that is under consideration.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : लाइसेंस देने वालों पर एक्शन लेंगे या नहीं ? इतनी घनी आबादी में लाइसेंस दिया गया इसके लिए कोई एक्शन लेंगे या नहीं ?

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: About casualty figures, hon. Mr. Jaswant Singh wanted to know about casualty figures. I have already given the figure, but in the statement I have made it clear....

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : क्लीयर नहीं है; वह तो पुराना है। आप सिर्फ अस्पताल का रिपोर्ट दे रहे हैं। अब जिन्दा लोगों को बचाइये, तभी बात होगी।  
... (व्यवधान)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आप लोग मल्टी-नेशनल्ज के दोस्त हैं तीन दिन तक आपने मुंह नहीं खोला।

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: I have already made it clear in my statement

[Shri Veerendra Patil]

that according to the figures collected by the State Government from the hospital mortuaries, cremation grounds and burial grounds, the number of dead persons is about 1408. I have made it clear that this is the information that the State Government has been able to collect so far and after collecting this information they have notified the list of these 1408 dead persons to all the police stations and in all the municipal wards in Bhopal and they have given publicity in the local papers that this is the list we have prepared and if any addition is to be made to the list. They sought the cooperation of the people. In addition to that the State Government have engaged the Tata Institute of Social Sciences along with a few other institutions of social work to do a house-to-house survey for assessing casualties, details of those affected, consequent effect on the household on account of death or disablement. So this institute—the Tata Institute of Social Sciences—is also doing house-to-house survey work and I hope by the end of this month they will be able to complete the survey work and submit a report. Sir, it is very easy for anybody to say that according to their estimate the casualty figure is 5000 or 10,000. But as a State Government they cannot say, "it is our estimate". They have to give the details of the casualties, they have to give details of the people who have died, what is their name, what is their parentage, what is their address and all that. That is why so far as figure of 1,408 is concerned, I have made it very clear that is what the State Government has been able to collect so far. But the collection of information is still going on and even now we invite information and will be grateful to the people and society if they come forward with adequate information with regard to casualties. It will be certainly scrutinised and will be taken into considera-

tion at the time of preparing the final figure about casualties.

Hon. Members wanted to know about the casualties in the past. I know some incidents took place in the past. But I can say that whenever an incident took place—an incident of this nature never took place, neither there nor in any of the industries manufacturing pesticides or chemicals in our country, but some minor incidents have taken place—the State Government had ordered an enquiry. Apart from enquiry in respect of the accident criminal cases were launched against the company in respect of some of them and some of the cases are still pending in the courts. It is not as if the State Government is keeping quiet with regard to the accidents that took place in the factory.

Then, Sir, Prof. Ramachandra Rao wanted to know whether any effort is being made to study the after-effects. I can tell him that to study the symptoms and to determine the long-term effects, three teams had been sent from the Indian Council of Medical Research. They are studying it. Similarly, one hon. Member wanted to know whether the water, vegetables, air etc. were analysed or tested. The State Government, on 3rd December itself, got its city water supply tested. The report indicated that it was not contaminated. Tests were carried out regularly and intensively during the operation when MIC was being processed.

So far as environment is concerned, it remained free of any toxic material. Announcement to that effect was made to allay any apprehension in the minds of the people. Further tests on air and water samples were done by a team of six scientists sent from the Department of Environment on 5th and 6th December and the fact of its being free from toxic chemicals was announced to the public.

Then I come to Mr. Ramanand Yadav. He wanted to know about the quantity of MIC which was actually neutralised. The quantity actually neutralised was about 22 tonnes as against the estimated quantity of 15 tonnes. The affected tank is still to be opened up. The investigating agency will take appropriate action in this regard for analysing the contents under technical supervision. The sample taken from the safety valve section indicated polymerisation. Fuller samples and analysis of the same is yet to be done.

Sir, lastly I come to the point about the legal aspect. I have already made it clear that a legal cell has been created in the Law Ministry to go into the question of suing the company. Sir, I will just read out a portion of the note that I have received from the Law Ministry because this question is being examined and the hon. Members are aware of the fact that our Attorney-General is in the United States and he is expected here within a day or two. Sir, the question agitating the minds of many people is—who should file a suit and where? The tentative thinking of the Ministry of Law and Justice is that it will not be advantageous to sue the Union Carbide in India for various reasons, two main reasons being—(1) Until the law in India is changed, it will not be possible for the Government of India to take group action or *parens patriae* action in Indian courts under Order 1 Rule 8 of the Code of Civil Procedure. The law as it stands may be helpful in obtaining only injunctive relief and not in recovery of damages in a class action. (2) There being numerous claims, the question of execution of individual decrees may create problems apart from the difficulty of having Indian decrees executed in the United States. While Government is considering various options available to it for obtaining adequate compensation—damages for

itself as well as the victims of the gas tragedy—one of the options is to file a suit for damages. It is the tentative view of the Ministry of Law and Justice that the Union Carbide Corporation can be sued in a US court in a *parens patriae* action by the Union of India as the guardian and protector of interests of its citizens. Group action by individuals also might proceed separately, without prejudice to the *parens patriae* action by the Union of India. I can only add that the final decision will be taken on the return of the Attorney-General.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Two US lawyers have already filed a suit in the United States.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: So many may file suits. That is a different matter. So far as the Government of India is concerned and the State Government is concerned, I have stated just now what the position is. We are going to take a decision, and a final decision will be taken very shortly on the return of the Attorney-General from the United States. This is already engaging the attention of the Law Ministry. There, a separate cell has been created; they are going into this question and they will take a final decision shortly.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: What protection are you going to give to those people whose signatures have been taken by those US lawyers?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Don't you think the dimensions of the event call for an all-party effort to provide succour to the suffering? Why don't you agree to form an all-party committee? There was a question also on this. Why are you not responding positively?

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: For what purpose do you want an all-party committee?



**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:** Forty thousand or a lakh of people are affected. Now you are giving publicity about payment. Many of the people are not literate, as you all know. In order to reach all these people, to find them out, why don't you seek the co-operation of the Opposition and other parties and form an all-party committee to help them? (Interruptions)

**SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL:** Sir, I want to make it clear that there is no question of not seeking the co-operation of the opposition parties. The Government of Madhya Pradesh has already constituted a relief committee consisting of all representatives and the relief committee is considering all these aspects, how to give relief, how much relief has to be given; all matters are being considered there. So far as the casualties are concerned, the State Government has tried its best to collect the information, and I made it very clear that if any information is available with anybody, they can pass on that information to the State Government and the Government will be too happy to receive that information and take a final decision after scrutinizing any information that is received.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ):** Sir, with your kind permission, just to put the record straight so far as the Government of India is concerned and the legal aspect of this case is concerned, we have not yet decided that we would go only in the American courts. My first preference would be to file cases in India, and cases are being filed in India and we are prepared to amend the law drastically for the benefit of the victims.

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO:** What about availability to consumers?

**SHRI S. W. DHABE:** Sir, ....

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI):** Please resume your seats Mr. Matto and Mr. Dhabe.

### MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

**SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab):** Sir, I move that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th January, 1985."

Sir, I would like to take some time to express in detail.

वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मुझे खुशी है इस बात की कि आज इस हाउस में हम वह एड्रेस जो प्रेसीडेंट आफ इंडिया ने हमारे मुश्तरीका इजलास में पढ़ा, उसके बारे में उसके लिए कुछ कहें। आज हमारे दरम्यान हमारी वह लीडर नहीं हैं जिन्होंने इस देश को बनाने के लिए लगातार 16-17 साल लगाये। यह कोई छोटी बात नहीं है। बहुत बड़ा हादसा हुआ है और यह हादसा के पीछे कोई मामूली हाथ नहीं मालूम होता। आप किसी को टूल के तौर पर इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं, किसी को लालच में फंसा कर उससे काम ले सकते हैं, लेकिन कौन है इसके पीछे हाथ? मैं उसके बारे में पुरानी हिस्ट्री को दोहराना चाहता हूँ। महात्मा गांधी का कत्ल कब हुआ? उन्होंने पंडित जवाहरलाल ने 1930 में कस्म खाई थी सारे देश को लेकर और इस तिरंगे झंडे के नीचे यह कहा था कि हम देश की आजादी को लेकर रहेंगे। 17 साल के बाद वह देश आजाद हुआ। आजाद देश में उसकी तरक्की के लिए उसको कायम करने के लिए जितनी पंडित जवाहरलाल ने देन दी है शायद ही दुनियां