

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION**Grave situation created by continuing violence in the State of Gujarat resulting in the loss of a large number of innocent lives and property**

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, with your permission, I beg to raise a discussion on the grave situation created by continuing violence in the State of Gujarat, resulting in the loss of a large number of innocent lives and properties. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when I get up to raise a discussion on this issue, I do so more with sadness than with anger because, some of the pictures which appeared in the newspapers are so traumatic that one is bound to lose his sleep, and the question comes to our mind, in which world we are living. This is the picture which appeared in the *Hindustan Times*. A four-year old Asif, who sustained 90 per cent burns, died a few hours after this picture was taken, in a civil hospital in Ahmedabad, on Monday. All the nine members of the boy's family were earlier killed in the riots, in Narora. Many of the Members have seen this picture. Many of the Members have seen the picture on the front page of a newspaper. A young man, with folded hands, with tears in his eyes, appealing to the security forces to protect his life. I must thank the security forces because, in today's newspapers, I find that, at least, the life of the man was saved, if not his house, because his house and property were burnt. The question which comes to our mind is that: "Is it just some sort of sporadic reaction to an action? Is it just the temporary insanity, which has taken over a group of people, and allowed them to indulge in this type of blood curdling atrocities, barbaric activities or an atmosphere which was built up over the weeks, over the months and over the year? When I wanted to raise a discussion on this issue, it is not with the objective of scoring a debating point, putting somebody in the dock, but with the objective to have an introspection, a deep introspection, searching into our soul, because we, the assembled representatives of the various States in the Council of States, which is the House of Elders, owe a responsibility to the nation, I hope that the debate in this House will bring back some sort of sanity in an otherwise maddening situation. Sir, I am really astonished to find out that some of the very preliminary precautions, which the Government of the day should have taken, were not been taken. Is it not a fact that the place Godhra where the incident took place first, had a track record of communal disturbances? It happened in 1980; it happened in 1986 and it happened in 1992. Was it not known to the State Administration? Were they not aware of it? And when a train bringing the *kar sevaks* from

Ayodhya is being brought in, was it not the responsibility of the Administration of the day to take precautionary steps to prevent such incidents? And when such incidents took place, was it not the responsibility of the Administration to see that it did not spread to other parts of the State? Instead of that, what did we find, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, from some of the utterances made by the person, having a very responsible position, who holds a Constitutional office, the Chief Minister of the State? He is alleged to have stated, after the incident at Godhra, "I am absolutely satisfied with how the police and the Government have handled the backlash! I am happy that the violence has been contained!" Violence is continuing till today, the ninth day! He said that with the entire population of Gujarat very angry at what happened in Godhra, much worse was expected! Assuming that the people of Gujarat are angry, assuming that a section of the population of Gujarat is infuriated, could the Chief Minister of the State speak in that language? Could the Chief Minister of the State add fuel to the fire, instead of putting a bucket of water to extinguish the fire? Therefore, this is the area where, I think, we should have some reflection over what has happened and why it has happened. Is it not a fact that, immediately after the incident, the Prime Minister appealed to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad to postpone their programme for the construction of a temple? If you look at the scenario in which these ghastly incidents took place, and are taking place till today, you will find that an atmosphere was created. And that atmosphere was not created in one day. Just on the 25th February, we were told by the President of the Republic--in para 6 of the President's Address, which he delivered to both the Houses of Parliament, he mentioned it, and expressed satisfaction, of course, the satisfaction of the Government, because every word is drafted by the Cabinet-- that the whole nation resolves to fight terrorism, cross-border terrorism, which is destroying this country. Satisfaction was expressed on the overall consensus of the nation's resolve to fight terrorism. That was delivered on 25th. And what happened after two days? A situation has been created; I do not know whether it is authentic, but, in Gujarat, some unsigned leaflet has been circulated -- I have got a copy of it-- wherein an appeal is being made: "Boycott Muslim goods. Boycott the services rendered by the Muslims." Somebody is saying, "I do not want the Muslim Votes! I do not want the support of a particular community!" And the persons, occupying the highest Constitutional offices are indulging, sometimes, in these types of rhetoric! That creates the atmosphere, and that atmosphere creates the Frankenstein where a man, after 55 years of

Independence, after 52 years of adopting a secular Constitution, with folded hands had to appeal to the security forces of this country, "Please protect me; I am a Muslim; I belong to a minority; I have been surrounded by persons belonging to the majority community!" Therefore, this is just not a communal incident or a mere communal holocaust. This reflects on the serious weakness of the system. I am not passing on the buck to any individual. We have to collectively own this responsibility. Those who are in authority just have not been able to create a situation where the State would be in a position to dispense justice, to discharge its normal Constitutional responsibility, dispassionately and impartially. In fact, in this whole sordid atmosphere, only yesterday I found a little satisfaction when I saw a newspaper picture, where a small girl, who came out of residence during the curfew, was being cradled in the arm of a security personnel. Naturally, the girl was scared seeing the arms and the uniformed person. But the security personnel tried his best to console the girl and to keep her happy. That should be the normal picture. But what is happening there is totally unnatural. Why has this unnatural atmosphere been created? I am not concerned with how the temple will be constructed or what is the disputed land. Just at this moment, we will have ample opportunity for discussion. But is it not a fact that the whole atmosphere was surcharged, the atmosphere was surcharged with emotion? Does it require any great scholar to invent that whenever the question of the temple construction comes, rightly or wrongly, emotion runs high and creates an atmosphere which leads to violence? Is it not the responsibility of the Government of the day, whether it is the provincial Government or the Government at the Centre, to defuse that type of tension? I understand that winning electoral battle is important for every political party. In a parliamentary democracy it is very important. One must have the majority. But is it more important than the security and safety of the nation? Is it more important than the integrity of the nation? Is it more important than the overall image of the nation? The Government of the day had sent all-party delegations to all over the world to convince the world that we, to whatever party we belong and to whatever political philosophy we subscribe, are all united in the fight against terrorism and to build up an international opinion against Pakistan. Pakistan was isolated. International opinion was built up. But what would be the picture now? What would be the image of the country? When that picture of a young man, seeking help from the security forces to protect his life just because he belongs to the minority, goes out, what type of image would be projected? Please don't forget that that photograph was taken

by the Reuteur and it was flashed all over the world. People living abroad would consider that in the largest functional democracy of the world, the minorities are not safe. Would it be the correct picture? Was it absolutely necessary? The Government of India was repeatedly requested, "Please deploy the Armed Forces, the security forces". It does not involve any major political decision. Whenever there is a communal conflict, whenever there is a serious break down in the maintenance of public order or deterioration in the law and order situation, the Magistrates have the power to call the Armed Forces. We were told that they are kept as stand-by. What do you mean by stand-by? You may take some time for deployment. You may take some time for their movement from one place to another place. Was there any doubt that the State administration in Gujarat totally failed to protect the lives and properties of the minorities or of the majority community -- let us not bring in the question of the minority communities or the majority community -- lives and properties of the people, lives and properties of the citizens of this country? Is it merely a question of State jurisdiction? Doesn't article 355 vest the responsibility with the Union Government not only to protect the State from external aggression but also to protect the State from internal disturbance? What does it mean by internal disturbance? I am not a lawyer. Great lawyers are present here. They can explain it. But, why is article 355 still there with the old phraseology? The expression 'internal disturbance' has been removed from article 356. But it is still there in article 355. Why is it there in article 355? If the Union Government feels that it is necessary to intervene to protect a State from the internal disturbance, article 355 provides an opportunity to the Union Government, to take appropriate measures. With due respect, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister: What action did he take? What advice did he give? What was the compulsive reason for delaying the deployment of armed forces? Surely, I am not interested in knowing about the classified information as to where the armed forces were stationed, as to where they were staying and what was their route of movement. But was there any compulsive hindrance in the deployment of the armed forces? Had the armed forces been deployed earlier, perhaps many lives could have been saved. How is it that even after the 9th day you are not in a position to prevent it? Even if it is a disinformation campaign, even if it is a rumour that no such attempts are being made to boycott the Muslims socially and economically, is it not the responsibility of the Government to build up a massive propaganda through the electronic and print media to ensure that the people are not carried away by this dis-information? Has anything been

done in this regard? Or, do you seriously believe that whipping up the feeling of one community against the other would give you a political dividend and that is why you have to indulge in these types of activities and keep your eyes shut when these types of developments take place? I do understand the inherent contradiction in you. But when you have assumed the office, when you have taken up the responsibility to rule this country, you have to rule and you have to govern. However difficult it may be for you to manage your inherent contradiction, the responsibility lies with you. The people of this country have given you the responsibility. Most respectfully, I would suggest to the Government of the day either govern or get out. Enough is enough. It is your responsibility. It is nobody else's responsibility. We are told so many times that you will have the opportunity for a discussion, on other occasions. But the Government of India cannot manage its own coalition partners. The ruling fleet cannot manage its own coalition partners and the help of the religious leaders ought to be sought. And, we have read in the newspapers that they managed the support of some political parties, managed the support of some contesting groups! You are abdicating your responsibility. You are giving up your responsibility. You cannot do that. You are accountable to the people of this country who have vested the authority in you, who have reposed faith and confidence in you. That is why they have given you the numbers which they have not given to others, and you are there. You ought to discharge your responsibility. There is no way out. And, discharging the responsibility is not indulging in whipping up of communal sentiments. A way must be found out. I do hope and I do sincerely believe that when the all-party delegation is visiting Gujarat tomorrow, they will convey a message to the people of that State, who are suffering, that the whole nation is behind them at this hour of crisis, at this hour of distress. Confidence in the administration must be brought back. And, how can this confidence be brought back? It is not merely by giving an order for a judicial probe, which will take weeks and months. Was it not necessary on the part of the Government to react and respond in an urgent manner, by making some swift changes in the administrative set-up, where the administrative machinery had palpably failed? At least the good intention of the Government could have been established. I do not know whether the Home Minister had visited his own constituency, the State, which he represents. But, apart from his own constituency, as the Union Home Minister, he is entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining internal security, to provide help to the State Governments, as and when they need

it. It is not unknown to him. They have been in Government for full four years. Each and every State's own capacity and ability to handle a crisis of this magnitude is well known to him. And, what measures were taken? Is it not their responsibility to inform the House, to inform the people of the measures taken by Government? Instead of passing a value-judgement saying it was a reaction to a particular action and that it was a revenge to particular atrocities they should have taken preventive measures. People may go frenzy. People may lose sanity. But can the administration afford to lose sanity? Can the Ministers afford to lose sanity? This is the question which has to be answered. And, I do hope, Sir, even though it is late, the Government will rise to the occasion, forgetting the reaction it will create in their own so-called constituencies. But their primary responsibility is to protect the integrity of the country, to protect the State from internal disturbances, to protect the country, to protect the lives and properties of the citizens. If you are unable to protect them, I am sorry, Mr. Home Minister, you have no moral responsibility, no moral authority, to be in office. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this discussion is taking place in the context of a particular heinous incident which took place at Godhra on 27th February morning. Before going into some aspects, including the constitutional aspects of it, I would like to give the background of Godhra city and the State of Gujarat at large. Gujarat is a State which believes in peace, and it has maintained communal harmony; the people of both the communities at some places are living together. At the same time, I would like to bring to the notice of the House the background of Godhra Station and Godhra City. There is communal tension in Godhra because, in 1947, there were riots, and a Collector was attacked. That was pre-planned. Then, in 1947, many people who had migrated to Pakistan, came back. Therefore, they have their relations there. Apart from this, I would also like to say that that is not the only incident when the law and order situation has been disturbed in the State. I do believe that the State must provide security to the people and ensure safety of its people.

On March 27, the Sabarmati Express was reportedly running late by four hours; it came around 7.30 and started leaving the station after five minutes; there was chain-pulling; and the whole thing was engineered; a crowd was found waiting at a distance of about 800 metres; the train was forced to stop; pelting of stones started and, immediately, there was arson; it was set on fire and the compartment was fully burnt. Compartment No.

S - 6 of the Sabarmati Express was attacked then and there by the miscreants. The fire brigade was also stopped by the President of the Municipal Council. It was not allowed to come; people were lying down on the road. Fifty-eight persons were scorched to death. Furthermore, I would like to inform the House that those who prevented the fire brigade from going to the spot, have been arrested, and they belong to the Congress.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश): ठीक है आप केवल अपनी बात कहिए ... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Goa) : It is not correct. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: It is true. ... (Interruptions)... All the five Councillors belong to the Congress. Here is an advertisement. I authenticate this advertisement; it was published on the 10th of May, 2001 -- not now -- expressing their gratitude that they will maintain the unity and integrity of the Congress; when they were elected to the municipality. I do not want to criticise. But I am saying that it was pre - planned, when the train was attacked. I would also like to say that they all belong to the minority community. Despite that, I do not want to criticise. In addition to that, I would also like to say that it was not an act by one community belonging to Godhra only; there seems to be some hand behind this heinous crime. So far as the maintenance of law and order in the State of Gujarat is concerned, it is not that our Chief Minister did not take any interest in maintaining law and order or in bringing back normalcy. The Chief Minister immediately visited Godhra. Paramilitary forces were also deployed. Four Ministers were deputed on a permanent basis for bringing back normalcy in Godhra town and in the district. At the same time, the hon. Home Minister has also visited Godhra. He has also appealed to the people to maintain peace throughout the State of Gujarat.

Here, I would like to go back to 1980, 1947, 1969, 1986, so far as communal riots are concerned.~ ... (Interruptions)... It has been referred to by the hon. Member also. ... (Interruptions)... 1980 has been referred to. ... (Interruptions)...

Sir, just 150 metres away from the present scene of offence, in 1980, a house was cordoned off, locked from outside, and a family, consisting of seven persons, was scorched to death by sprinkling petrol and diesel. Not only that; among the people who were scorched to death, there was a seven-year old boy and a 70-year old person. In 1991, there was Congress rule in the State of Gujarat -- they talk of maintenance of law and

order in the State -- when curfew remained in force in Godhra for 360 days, and the people were tortured like anything. In 1969 also... आप सुनिए तो सही। ...**(व्यवधान)**... This shows how the people were tortured during your rule.

श्री खान गुफ़रान जाहिदी (उत्तर प्रदेश): पहले हुआ है तो क्या आप अब भी करोगे? क्या बराबर करते चले जाओगे? ...**(व्यवधान)**... How are you justifying it?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): आप कृपया बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप बैठिए। आप बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: Sir, while comparing it with 1980, I would like to say that the hon. Chief Minister given shoot-at-sight orders, to control the situation.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): आप इनकी बात सुनिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: Within 72 hours, the military was deployed in the affected areas. Here, I would like to cite an example. In 1969, there were communal riots for days together. Ahmedabad city remained under curfew for 46 days. Was it a case of maintenance of law and order? Did you provide security to the people there? Furthermore, I would like to bring to the notice of the House the incidents of 1986, when Ahmedabad city remained under curfew for 60 days.

श्री अब्दुल गैयूर कुरैशी (मध्य प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले सालों में जो घटनाएं घटी हैं, वे चर्चा का विषय नहीं है। यह कैसा तर्क है कि पहले गलत हुआ है तो हम भी गलत करेंगे। आप ऐसा तर्क मत दीजिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... गलती हुई है तो मान लीजिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: It is about the maintenance of law and order. ...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री खान गुफ़रान जाहिदी : आज जो विषय है उस पर बोलिए। आप पहले के विषय पर मत जाइये। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

कुमारी मैबल रिबेलो (मध्य प्रदेश): गोधरा में जो हुआ है क्या वह सही है? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री खान गुफ़रान जाहिदी : क्या आपने कसम खाई है कि पहले जो हुआ है उससे आप चौगुणा करेंगे। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: Sir, I am comparing that particular rule of Congress with the rule of B.J.P. in Gujarat. How did they control the situation then? ...**(Interruptions)**... Sir, during the *Nav Nirman* agitation, curfew remained in force in almost all the towns and villages of Gujarat for 63 days. ...**(Interruptions)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : आप कृपया बैठिए। ...*(यवधान)*...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: That was a small village of about 500 people. Curfew remained in force for such a long time. I was an eye-witness to that. Sir, the Government of Gujarat brought the situation under control within 72 hours. Only sporadic incidents took place initially from 28th to 1st, for two days. I want to know where the Leader of the Opposition was when the Godhra incident took place on 27th. I would like to inform the House that in no editorial, was there a sentence of consoling the people and condemning the Godhra incident of 27th. No such thing was there in the newspapers and in the electronic media.

MISS MABEL REBELLO: That is why you want to create problem there. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: Sir, normalcy is being restored in Gujarat by taking very stern action. Very stern action has been taken against those who committed these crimes. They have been dealt with according to the law. I would like to submit one more thing, that it is the only Government which brought the situation under control in just 72 to 80 hours. The Government has taken every precautionary measure to bring the situation under control. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I may also bring another fact to the notice of the House that it is the only Government which shifted many people from the danger areas to safe areas. Therefore, the State Government is not at fault. I refute the argument put forward, for enforcing article 355 of the Constitution. It is not correct to say that the Government has failed there. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must concede that I am very sad, but I am doubly sad to suffer not only from what happened in Godhra and what happened thereafter, but also to suffer with the knowledge that it was because of the lack of protest on the part of the Opposition that all these things happened in Gujarat. I was hearing the BJP spokesperson addressing the press people. He said, "the aftermath of Godhra would not have happened had the Opposition protested over the Godhra killings."

I would like to place this on record that we condemned the Godhra incidence with all the strength at our command; and we did not do this after 72 hours or 108 hours; we have done it within 3 hours of our knowing it. Some pressmen, in fact, told me that our statement reached the press, even before the Prime Minister issued the condemnation statement on the Godhra killings. That is not the issue.

3.00 p.m.

For the sake of debating, let us accept that not to lack of action on the part of the Opposition, he could justify what happened over there. Unfortunately, Solankiji was making his statement here the other way; he does not understand what kind of damage, it is inflicting to the whole polity and to the whole country. I would like to put a question to the Government on the 27th February incident. We know that what happened was reprehensible. The Government of India, immediately issued a red alert to all the State Governments.

The question I put to the Government is: Are the Hindus, living elsewhere in the country are less Hindus, as compared to Gujarat? Why the incidence of the nature that happened in Gujarat didn't happen elsewhere?

Yesterday, the *Indian Express* came out with a report on what the Gujarat Administration had done on its own and after receiving the red alert from the hon. Home Minister's office. Did they have regular police drills in the rest of Gujarat? The answer is, no. Did they contact any religious leader, to make an appeal, for maintaining peace and tranquillity? No. Did they try to make preventive arrests, even after knowing that the VHP has given a call for the bandh? No, because the BJP itself was officially supporting the bandh on the 28th. The party which is in power in the State, is in power at the Centre too, and it has all the powers and the authority, at its command to rectify the mistakes and the planning which might have gone into the Godhra killings. They didn't take to any Constitutional avenues, in an effort to console the people, whose sentiments might have been legitimately hurt.

What did they do? They called for a *bandh*. The BJP, officially went out in support of the *bandh*. What were the pictures brought out by the TV channels and the print media? They were not of the general people. They were the people, sporting the saffron band, with *trishool*. Who were these people? These were the people in Godhra who indulged in this carnage. This was the calculated use of an organisational instrument. The VHP has done this. Have we heard, till now, a clear-cut condemnation from those, who are saying that what happened in Gujarat is in response to the non-protest by the Opposition? Have we heard from any important functionary of this Government that the VHP has done this? They tried to placate them. They cannot do it because the person who is in the Chief Minister's office and the person who is the Chief Minister of Gujarat are a part of the outfit, which has inflicted the body-blow on democracy. I know my friend, hon.

Law Minister, will speak. Let him explain this. It is not a question of Hindu-Muslim. All over the world wherever there are democracies, the maturity of a nation is known by the extent to which a nation or a state can really protect its minorities. That is the crux of democracy. Unfortunately, we find that when there are legitimate concerns expressed about the security and safety of the minorities, people say that this is majority bashing. I am very sorry to say this. We did not hear Solankiji condemning what happened in Ahmedabad and other places in Gujarat. Just now when we are having a discussion because of the situation which has overtaken Gujarat, he does not find it suitable to condemn it and really bring out the facts how organisations like the VHP, and the organisations like the Bajrang Dal behaved. How can they? Earlier, we had a discussion in this House on the Report of the Group of Ministers. The hon. Leader of the House would remember, because on behalf of the Government he was answering the debate on the internal security scenario. He and many other people talked about Madarsas. Some of the Opposition Members said, "Wherever there is any anti-national activity, we must check that." We had said that you should take those communities into confidence and you must take action. But, at the same time, what about the VHP and the Bajrang Dal? General Shankar Roy Chowdhury is sitting here. He said, "Why don't you act against all these people who in the name of religion are trying to destroy the integrity of this country?" Now, conveniently, the Leader of the House ...*(Interruptions)*... I have the proceedings of that day with me. If you want, I can quote them. A pointed question was put. "What about VHP and Bajrang Dal? What are you going to do with them?" He said, "I will express and communicate the concerns of some of the hon. Members to the hon. Home Minister." That is it. There were reports that they were distributing *trishuls*. You remember that. What follow-up action have you taken on all these things? These were the kind of weapons that have been reported by the electronic media and the print media to have been used during the carnage. There was no follow-up action. What was the responsibility of the Government? Has the Government no Constitutional responsibility and no accountability? The Gujarat Government allowed it for one full day, on the 28th. After so many people have been killed, this is a strange logic. Are we living in civilisation? The Chief Minister there says, "I have done very well. Why, because earlier riots could not be brought under control in lesser time. Now, I have done it very well." What is the casualty? Please tell us. The official records say, it is more than 600. The unofficial reports say, it is thousand. ...*(Interruptions)*... If somebody has

killed women and children in that train, do you have to respond in the same language? Irfan Jaffari -- Pranabda did not mention it -- an ex.MP of the Congress, was calling the administration from 9 o' clock in the morning. He was charred to death at 3.30 p.m. And the Chief Minister has the cheek to claim before the full glory of the television cameras that he has done very well. The hon. Home Minister also visited Gujarat and gave him a clean chit that he has done a very good work. You please tell us, where are we taking this country to? Why no other State has suffered the kind of blood bath that Gujarat has suffered? What is the difference? The only difference is that, in those States, there is no BJP Government. The only difference is that, at no other place, the VHP or the RSS is so strong. So, your claim that you are great patriots and great defenders of this nation's unity and integrity, and that nationalism is your birthright, is totally hollow. It has been proved by the Gujarat incidents. When we raised some issues regarding the CAG report, regarding the corruption which has taken place in the defence procurement, what did you say? You said, 'we cannot raise it because it is not conducive to national security. It will have an adverse impact on the Armed Forces of this country.' This was your logic. Now what happened? Who gave the 12th March deadline to the VHP fellows? Tell us. Who insisted? It is the VHP; they went to the Prime Minister and, he, all of a sudden, announced that by 12th March, we will have a solution to the Ayodhya issue. You gave legitimacy to VHP. What is the *locus standi* of the VHP? What are the *bona fides* of the VHP? Are they the elected leaders? How can they speak on behalf of the entire community? You tell us. What is the basis? This election has given a clear sign that Hindus are not accepting you. You did whatever you wanted to do, in Uttar Pradesh, but still you lost. You did whatever you wanted to do, in Uttaranchal, but you lost. You did whatever you wanted to do, in Punjab, but you lost there also. The Hindus are not with you because the Hindu religion is not fragile. It is not that certain anti-national elements will come and attack and kill some of the innocent citizens, and the Hindu religion will feel threatened. During the last few days, the Press in our country came out with quotations from Tagore and Swami Vivekananda, as to the strength of the Hindu religion. I think these VHP fellows do not have the birthright to claim that they are the only legitimate upholders of the Hindu religion. You are destroying the Hindu religion as well. You are taking this line because it suits you. Earlier, the hon. Home Minister had made a statement on the floor of this House. How can I say this? This was on 19th of November क्या बोलते हैं, कुछ लोग और भी कहते हैं बहुत अच्छी बात है लेकिन फंडामेंटलिज्म और कम्युनलिज्म

यह दोष हैं, बुराईयां हैं, but terrorism is something beyond that.' And Shri Narendra Modi takes the same line. He said, 'since some people are victims of terrorism, they will get Rs. 2 lakhs. And people who are victims of communal carnage, will get only Rs. 1 lakh.' This is the level to which you have brought down the governance of this country. But, do you think what happened in Gujarat and what happened subsequently was communal? In communal violence, some people become crazy, they become emotional. But this was an organised, pre-planned, genocide. *

I would like, through you, Sir, to ask the Home Minister, if Shri Narendra Modi had belonged to any other party, particularly, an Opposition Party, what would he have done. Now I find, Shri Thirunavukkarasu has come back. I don't find our other friend, Shri Virumbi. Oh! Mr. Virumbi is sitting there. So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the drop of a hat, under *section* 353, this Government sent many people to jail. What was their fault? In Bengal, under *section* 355, the Central officers were also sent to jail. Can a Chief Minister continue in his office after doing all this? Shri Jaswant Singhji is very much concerned about our international image. He talks of global concept of democracy. But I want to know "international coalition" against what? Have you seen the cover of the 'Time Magazine'? Bloody India. This is what is written on the cover of that magazine. Have you seen the CNN? It has termed those hordes of VHP's Karsevaks as Hindu terrorists. I want to know why the anti-criminal laws were not applied to all those people. Till 27th, only two arrests were made in Ahmedabad. Two Muslims were arrested because they were shouting some slogans. Do you want to say that it was a chance incident? No, it was not so. People have seen how two shops, on both sides, belonging to a particular community, were spared, and one shop in between, belonging to the minority community, was set ablaze. All the centres concerning Muslims, like the Wakf Board, the Minority Development Corporation office, etc. were destroyed. A senior police officer was chased by the mob. A judge had to take shelter in his brother's home. And, still, you are saying that everything is normal! Shri Solankiji would claim that things have been brought under control. It is a great achievement of the Gujarat

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Government!....(Interruptions)... Sir, I would like to say that for the last 3-4 months, things were allowed to drift. The VHP was allowed to create all these things. There are reports in the Press, stating what the Karsevaks were doing. I want to make it very clear; I am not doing this to justify what happened in Godhra; I am one with anyone of you, and those on the Treasury Benches in condemning what happened in Godhra; but the atmosphere was surcharged, and you were negotiating with them! You are legitimising them...(Interruptions)...

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, had it been connected with Ayodhya, besides Godhra, this trouble would have taken place in seven other places....(Interruptions)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक) : आप अपनी बात रखिएगा।

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: You are feeling sorry that it did not take place in seven other places...(Interruptions)... You are unhappy that this did not happen in seven other places. I understand your difficulty, but it will not happen anywhere else, because, there, you will not get the kind of * that you have got in Gujarat.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक): कृपया समाप्त करें।

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Therefore, Sir, we plead with the Government that Narendra Modi has to go. The Home Minister must explain to us as to what action he has taken against the VHP. They are acting in the name of religion, but they are *thugs*. They are criminals, and every criminal law of the land should apply to all those people who were involved in the carnage - what I called in the morning -- * genocide of helpless people. Thank you.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand to participate in the Short Duration Discussion on the Gujarat incident. Recently, Gujarat suffered from a natural calamity in Bhuj - an earthquake. And, today, we see Gujarat suffering from yet another earthquake - a man-made calamity.

Sir, my heart goes out to the victims of the violence perpetrated either at Godhra or subsequently. And, I pray to the hon. Members of this

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

House that it is not the time to blame one political party or the other. We, as Members of the polity of this country, have to do some introspection, and, you, Sir, in Government, when you claim to represent the national interest, must not only do introspection, but you must send out messages to the ordinary folk of this country that you do not stand for one community, one section of the people, but you stand for all Indians, no matter what creed, what religion, what class they belong to.

On the 27th of February, at 8.00 a.m. a train reached Godhra, and, I am sure, the inquiry that is being set up will tell us what happened. But it is extremely unfortunate that as it left the station, the chain was pulled and innocent people were massacred; 58 of them burnt alive. And whosoever did it, be it a Muslim, be it a Hindu, be it anybody, will not go by the colour of his religion, but we all together must stand up and say - no matter what community we belong to - 'he is a criminal and must be punished for what he has done.'

But, Sir, I was very pained to hear Mr. Solanki today. Pained, because he wanted us to congratulate, in a sense, by saying 'look what we have done in Ahmedabad, what the State Administration had done in Gujarat, is exemplary. Within seventy- two hours, we brought everything to order.' Sir, I beg of you and I beg of the Treasury Benches. For 53 years, we have tried to keep a Constitutional balance in this country, to keep this country together; and it is only in the last three years that we have seen such forces unleashed in this country, which, if not tethered, will create such violence that you and I, Sir, will not be saved. It can be that in any given place in India there is communal violence; it can be that individuals, because of the emotional situation that they are in, bring about violence. That is possible, Sir. But the violence in respect of a situation relating to communal frenzy is different from a violence which is allowed to be perpetrated by the State. That is the difference. Why is it that Afghanistan, as a nation, was said to be sponsoring terrorism? Because that was its State policy. Why is it that Nazi-Germany sponsored terrorism? That was its State policy. If, Nazi-Germany, allowed five million people to be killed, it is not as if that was not a crime against humanity; exactly the same thing is happening in Gujarat. Here is a Chief Minister of Gujarat who says, -- and he evokes the Law of Newton -- 'Every action must have an equal and opposite reaction. A physical law is being referred to by the Chief Minister of a State, after that horrendous tragedy at Godhra and what happened thereafter. Do you expect the Chief Minister of a State to do that? Here is

a Chief Minister of a State who said, and I quote what he had said. He said, "As far as the incident of Godhra is concerned, all those who perpetrated it will be dealt with under the POTO." That is what he said. Here is a Chief Minister of a State who has said that as far as the victims at Godhra are concerned, they will get Rs. 2 lakhs as compensation. But as far as the other victims are concerned, they will get Rs. One lakh as compensation.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) in the Chair]

Can we, in this country, as a responsible polity, allow such a Chief Minister to continue in office? And if he does continue in office, doesn't it reflect the collaboration of the Central Government? I will just give you a couple of instances. You say that the police was, in fact, active and was protecting the citizens. I will give you just one small incident. It is reported in the *Indian Express* of February 28. It says, "Several police officers told the *Indian Express* that they had been told 'not to be firm' with the rioters." No one in the Government had drawn the line. So it kept getting blurred. I quote further: "The most shocking case was evident at Hatkeshwar Circle. Three houses in a row were in flames and 100 feet away, policemen, including ACP rank officers, sat in chairs taken out from the nearby shop. When asked, one of them said, "Let them do something also. After all, so many people were killed in Godhra", said DCP, Zone-V, R.J. Sawani, under whom the area falls. Here are names of police officers, who turned a blind eye to the violence that occurred subsequently. And you congratulate the State Government and the Chief Minister of Gujarat! What a shame it is that you can have the courage to stand up in this august House and say a thing like that! ...*(Interruption)*...

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: And you could say a thing like that in 1984. This is what happened in 1984. Don't forget that, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Let Mr. Kapil Sibal continue, please.

SHRI C.M. IBRAHIM (Karnataka) : He is a retired police officer. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Ibrahim, please let him continue.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Let the Home Minister see what kind of Members he has got. Is this a justification? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please let Mr. Kapil Sibal continue.

श्री सी.एम. इब्राहीम : अहमदाबाद से रिटर्न होने के बाद वह यहीं आएंगे ।
...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप को मौका मिलेगा(व्यवधान)...

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी (पश्चिमी बंगाल): इसका मतलब है कि आप की मानसिकता क्या रही है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : सरलाजी, बैठिए । ...(व्यवधान)... आप भी बैठिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री ललितभाई मेहता (गुजरात): लोग पुलिस की गोली से शिकार हो रहे हैं, यह आप नहीं बता रहे हैं ।

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: I beg of you, please let me continue. ...*(Interruptions)*... I did not interrupt anybody. I request my learned friends. Sir, the hon. Member is very right. He talked of 1984. Let him talk of 1984 and let him show the true colours of his Party to the people of this country. I have no problems with that. You are only exposing yourselves further. Say more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please continue, Mr. Kapil Sibal. Do not enter into an argument with him.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: I am continuing. Let me quote another report. In the Bodhadev area, a mob targeted a tasty restaurant, broke its lock, dragged the furniture out on the road and set it on fire. "There were a few people who called up the police on their mobiles. But though the police said they would be soon there, they did not arrive well until the incident was over." I do not want to go on quoting newspaper after newspaper, incident after incident. What does this show? This shows that the machinery of the State Government collaborated with the mobs, who actually indulged in the killings that led to the death of more than 800 people. The issue is not whether a particular communal clash took place or not. We are talking about the governance here; we are talking about the State Government. The issue is, was the State Government a collaborator or did it turn a blind eye to what was happening in Gujarat? That is the issue. And the Central Government is directly responsible for this. My dear friend, Mr. Mukherjee, rightly pointed out that under Article 355 of the Constitution, it is the duty of the State Government to protect the citizens of the State from internal

disturbance. It is the duty of the State Government as well as the Central Government. Did the Central Government perform its duty? Even Mr. Fernandes, when he visited Gujarat, made a public statement, "I am not satisfied with the way in which the State Government has defended the people of Gujarat." Even he was not satisfied. Of course, the Home Minister chose not to go to Gujarat at this most crucial moment. He realised what was happening in Gujarat. So, Sir, the point that I am making is that, today, you have tried to fracture this polity to such an extent that you will not be able to remedy the polity unless you take strict action, and unless, by an example, you tell the people of this country that as a National Government, you will protect everybody, no matter to which religion he belongs to. Now, the problem is that you sent the Army. You have said that you sent the Army. The Army reached there only on the 1st March at 2 PM. Why did you send the Army? Why does the Army conduct a flag march? For the purpose of assisting the State Administration, and to control the situation, as it arises. But, if there is no State Administration, and if the State Administration itself is collaborating, what is the Army going to do? The moment the Army reaches, it has to be provided with maps, it has to be provided with sketches, where the problem is taking place. But if the State Administration is absent, and it is not giving a helping hand to the Army, what is the use of having the Army? There was no effective deployment. So, the State Administration failed. There was no effective deployment of the Army. In fact, it is a very interesting story. Some of our people went to Gujarat, and I will tell you a very interesting story of a senior person, who actually works in NDTV. After having conducted an interview of Mr. Narendra Modi, he was going back at 11.30 at night, and his car was stopped by a mob. They said: "please show us your Hindu identity. We want to know whether you are Hindu or not." Then, somehow, he managed to escape. I can give you the name, I do not want to disclose it in public. He went a k.m. further, and this was about 4 kms from the Chief Minister's residence, and I have myself confirmed the facts from him, where he was again stopped by a mob, and when he was stopped, this time he was not spared. People with trishuls, actually broke the windows of his car, with the cameras in it. They said: "Show your identity." Then he had to show his identity. Then they said: "Say, Jai Sri Ram." Then he had to say "Jai Sri Ram". Then, one of them said: "My day is not complete, because I wanted to do something, and I cannot find that person in this car." That has happened in this country under the eyes of your administration, and you want me to congratulate your Government. Certain persons were not

allowed to come into hospitals in the State, though they were burnt and they were seriously injured. Should we congratulate that Chief Minister? It is a shame on all of us, not just you. It is a shame that we, as a polity, have not risen to the occasion, and still we want to beat the drum of the Ram Mandir, to raise emotions to this level, so that these things can happen. What is the source of this conflict? The source of this conflict, ultimately, is the calling of the bandh, and the building of the temple in Ayodhya on 12th March. That is the source of the problem, and once that happens, there is a generation of emotions, and I can understand that. But we are living in the 21st century, not in the 15th and 16th century. Are we going to allow religion and politics to be intermixed for the purpose of taking some political advantage? Please remember, that ultimately, history is not going to forgive you for what you have done for the last three years. What kind of situations this country has had to face in the last three years. And Mr. Home Minister, what were you doing in Delhi at that point in time when Gujarat was burning, when people were making phone calls from a housing society at 9 A.M.? When there was a threat to S.R. Jaffri, he was making phone calls to everybody, including people in Delhi. The Police Commissioner, Mr. Pandey, knew that there was an attack, and he was burnt at 3.30 in the afternoon. Nobody came to his help. Why? For what purpose? What is your political objective? What do you want to do to India? Do you want to burn India? Do you want people in this country to start fighting on the streets, instead of fighting poverty, fighting hunger, asking for basic amenities of life? Is that your agenda just to be in power? And I do not say that, that we are not to blame. Certainly, all political parties are to blame. I am sure, at some point of time, all of us have done these things, but not to this scale, not to this magnitude, not with this kind of complexity, not with this kind of sponsorship. Never, never, never. And if somebody has done anything in the past, we suffer for it. I do not say 'no' to that. But that is no rationale for you saying "You did something at such and such time; so, we are going to do it today!" That is no rationale. That is certainly not a State policy. It can't be, because you are functioning according to the Constitution of the country. When you are in Government, you are not BJP; you are the Government of the day; you are above politics; you represent every Congressman as well, not just the BJP, because you have to protect the interests of every citizen of this country. So, why do you think in terms of BJP and Congress at this point of time? After all, when we are born, we are not Hindus and Muslims; we are human beings. We are given names. We are identified by our names given by our parents; that is how we

become Hindus and Muslims. We function in the same way, we think in the same way, we have the whole sane sense of humanity, and if some people have gone astray, please deal with them. Those in the VHP who have done wrong are common criminals of this country. They do not belong to either this religion or that religion. They are just ordinary criminals. And, please, rise to the occasion, to deal with them, as criminals. And they form a very small segment ...*(Interruptions)*... They form a very small segment of a society. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: Mr. Kapil, I think, you have forgotten 1984! ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal) : What do you mean by this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

डा. कुमकुम राय (बिहार): कितनी महिलाओं पर अत्याचार हुआ, बच्चों पर अत्याचार हुआ? ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : महिलाओं पर अत्याचार हुआ ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : सरला जी, सिबल साहब को बोलने दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...सिबल साहब को बोलने दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: You are only proving his point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Let Mr. Sibal continue. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: I am glad, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*... Solankiji, I am so happy that you mentioned to me '1984', and I tell you that I have not forgotten it. I have not forgotten it. I tell you how. I have a house in Maharani Bagh. There are three Sikh gentlemen living in Maharani Bagh. One of them was a very dear friend of mine. I saw a mob passing by, and I knew that they were going to attack his house. They were targeted just as, in Gujarat, shops were targeted. I called him up. His wife was almost on a deathbed. We removed those people from their house. We brought him to our house. And, then, this mob went to that Sikh gentleman's house. They burnt his house. We carried buckets. We carried buckets, and we doused those flames. And you talk to me about 1984! You douse the flames of the people of Gujarat, and I will salute you! But don't talk of 1984 to justify what happened today in Gujarat. Don't talk about that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री गोपाल सिंह जी सोलंकी : अहमदाबाद में राम-रहीम नगर है । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : सोलंकी जी, आप बैठिए ।
...(व्यवधान)...सिबल जी को बोलने दीजिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : आप नहीं चाहते कि वहां राम-रहीम नगर रहे ।
...(व्यवधान)...राम-रहीम नगर वहां रहे, आप नहीं चाहते । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : बैठिए । ...(व्यवधान)...प्लीज सिबल जी को बोलने दीजिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : 1984 रॉयट्स की इन्क्वायरी रिपोर्ट देख लीजिए ।
...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: Steps have been taken in Gujarat also.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Don't tell me about 1984. ...*(Interruptions)*... One second, one second, one second. ...*(Interruptions)*... My good friend, Mr. Jaitley, ...*(Interruptions)*... वह बात मत कीजिए आप आज के दिन । That is not the issue. The issue is that we, as the nation, have to rise. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is not the issue. Those who perpetrated the 1984 riots must be punished, brought to book and given the severest punishment. I want a statement from the Home Minister that a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court will conduct an inquiry and it will be an open-ended inquiry to punish those hoodlums, those goondas, those criminals, those who killed people in Godhra, those who killed people thereafter in Ahmedabad, Surat and other places. I want a statement from the Home Minister and I want that Chief Minister to be dismissed. Why? This is the statement that he made. He says, "We should be happy that curfew has been imposed only in 26 places, while there is anger and people are burning with revenge". I can see an ordinary VHP man making that statement. But when a Chief Minister makes that statement, he has no right to be the Chief Minister of that State. He says, "When the entire population of Gujarat was very angry at what happened in Godhra, much worse was expected". What is this? These are the words coming from the Chief Minister of a State. Mr. Jaitley may remember that I was a member of the delegation which went across the Yamuna in 1984 with Mr. Tharkunde. Mr. Nariman may remember that. We went there. We are also Hindus. Merely because you have some protagonists like the VHP and we think in a different way do not mean that we are not Hindus. We may think differently from you or we do think differently from you. We are bold to say so. We are happy that we think differently from you, because we don't want to destroy this country. We don't play this kind of politics. Even if we get two seats in the Parliament, this kind of politics will not be played by us. You got two seats

in the Parliament, in 1984. Please remember that. You are going back to that position very soon. But what I am surprised at is the NDA partners who are supporting this Government. It is those people that I am surprised at. I can understand their agenda because we cannot expect anything better from them. But, surely, those who are supporting this Government, at least, must think twice after this incident as to where they are taking India. We know where they are taking India. But, surely, the NDA partners must think twice. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU (Pondicherry): We are thinking about it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Very good. I am so happy. Therefore, make it very clear on the floor of the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Sibal, two more colleagues from your party are there to speak.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Sir, I end by saying that the blood bath in Gujarat has eclipsed the violence in the Middle-East, the Indo-Pakistan stand-off and even the Daniel Pearl murder in the Western media. Almost every newspaper and television network has been carrying wrenching pictures about the madness that has seized the normal placid patriotic country. Please let not the madness seize the administration of the State of Gujarat and if there is madness in the administration of that State, I expect the Home Minister to make a statement and nothing less than the dismissal of that Government will do. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Shri Mohd. Azam Khan. You have nine minutes.

† श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ईश्वर अल्लाह तेरे नाम, सबको सन्मति दे भगवान । बापू का गुजरात कई बार इम्तहानों से गुजरा है और वहाँ ऐसी दिल दहला देने वाली घटनाएं हुई हैं कि अगर इंसानों के पास आंखें हों और वे कुदरती निज़ाम को समझ सकते हों, कुदरत की नाराज़गी को समझ सकते हों तो गुजरात ने ऐसे दिन देखे हैं कि यह समझा जाने लगा था कि शायद गुजरात भटके हुए रास्ते से सही रास्ते पर आने की कोशिश करेगा लेकिन ऐसा हो नहीं सका । गोधरा के हादसे की सभी ने मज़मूमत की है, सभी ने उसकी निंदा की है ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ (Uttar Pradesh): On the first day, nobody

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

condemned it. ...*(Interruptions)*... On the first day, you have also kept quiet. ...*(Interruptions)*... On the first day, all the people have kept quiet. ...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आपका मौका आए, तब आप बोलिए । आपको बोलने दीजिए, जब आपका चांस आए, तब बोलिए ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : हमने मान लिया, आपका आरोप मान लिया ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : नीलोत्पल जी, प्लीज़ आपको बोलने दीजिए ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: I want to know whether he accepts that charge. ...*(Interruptions)*... If he is happy, we are happy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Khan, you please continue.

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : अगर यह मान भी लिया जाए कि पहले दिन निंदा नहीं हुई तो क्या उसका यह मतलब हुआ कि हम किसी गलत वाक्य का इंतकाम एक ऐसे अंदाज में लें जिससे हैवानियत का भी सिर झुक जाए। मान्यवर, मैंने इसी सदन में कुछ रोज पहले कहा था कि मुल्क में रहने वाली अकलियतें अपने आपको अपमानित, बेइज्जत और इंतहाई गैर महफूज महसूस करती हैं, यह मुल्क का बड़ा नुकसान है और जो लोग इस अहसास को महसूस करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: Sir, it is a wrong statement. ...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : बोलने दीजिए आपको।

श्रीमती सरला माहेम्वरी : कोई पैरामीटर है आपके पास? ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : सरला जी, वह अपने व्यूज कह रहे हैं। आजम साहब उसको खुद देख लेंगे आप जरा सा उनकी बोलने का मौका दीजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : जो लोग मुल्क की आबादी के 1/5 हिस्से के इस अहसास को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, मैं नहीं समझता कि वह देश के हितैषी हैं या वह देश के बारे में अच्छा सोचते हैं। हमें उन जुमलों की तरफ भी नजर ले जानी होगी जिनसे यह हालात हुए। 27 तारीख का वाक्या ही अकेला नहीं है, 27 तारीख को जो हुआ है उसकी निंदा पहले दिन कितनी हुई, दूसरे दिन कितनी हुई इसको तो आंकते रहिए लेकिन अगर कोई मस्जिद का इमाम या

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मंदिर का पुजारी अपनी जिम्मेदारी खत्म करने के बाद मंदिर या मस्जिद से निकलने के बाद रास्ते में किसी का घर लूटना शुरू कर दे, किसी की हत्या कर दे या बलात्कार करना चाहे या करे, तो वह व्यक्ति जो अभी थोड़ी देर पहले मंदिर का पुजारी था, और मस्जिद का इमाम था, यह काम करने के बाद न वह मंदिर का पुजारी रहेगा और न मस्जिद का इमाम रहेगा बल्कि वह सिर्फ क्रिमिनल, गुंडा, बदमाश, नीच और कमीना होगा, वह दरिद्र होगा। कारसेवा नाम तो हमने अपने बचपन में सिखों की जुबानी सुना था, गुरुद्वारों में कारसेवा का नाम सुना था। यह नाम घुरा लिया गया। बहुत अच्छी बात है अगर किसी अच्छे नाम को अच्छे मकसद के लिए घुरा लिया जाए। लेकिन हमें तो हैरत उस वक्त हुई मान्यवर, जब उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री ने चुनाव के दौरान ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : गुजरात के बारे में बोलिए।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : यह सारा रिफ्लेक्शन है उन हालात का जब एक मुख्य मंत्री यह कहे कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी को वोट न देने का मतलब यह होगा कि पाकिस्तान को खुश किया जाना। जब केन्द्र सरकार के एक मंत्री उत्तर प्रदेश में जाकर यह कहे कि ओसामा बिन लादेन और पाकिस्तान जिंदाबाद कहने वालों को हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं रहने दिया जाएगा। ...(व्यवधान)...

ऐसा किस मुसलमान ने कहा हिन्दुस्तान में? आप अपनी जुबान हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों के मुंह में डालना चाहते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... आप डालना चाहते हैं ...(व्यवधान)... आप गलत कहते हैं। ...(व्यवधान) ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मि. पुंज, देखिए उनको अपना वक्त इस्तेमाल करने दीजिए।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : आप अपनी जुबान मुसलमानों के मुंह में डालना चाहते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आजम साहब, आप इधर रुख करके अपनी बात कहें।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : आप मुसलमानों पर झूठा इल्जाम देकर देश के साथ कोई वफादारी नहीं कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... वह आपके लोग थे, विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के लोग थे, आरओएसओ के लोग थे, बजरंग दल के लोग थे, जिन्होंने ऐसा किया है। कोई मुसलमान नहीं था आपके लोग थे। आपके लोग थे जिन्होंने ऐसा किया। आपके लोगों ने ओसामा बिन लादेन का नारा लगाया, आपके लोगों ने पाकिस्तान जिंदाबाद का नारा लगाया। देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने उत्तर प्रदेश में कहा कि ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : पुंज साहब, आप तशरीफ रखिए।

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : आपने यह नारा लगाया, आरओएसओएसओ के लोगों ने लगाया, विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के लोगों ने लगाया, बजरंग दल के लोगों ने लगाया। क्यों? इसलिए कि आप देश चलाना चाहते हैं। देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने उत्तर प्रदेश में कहा कि मुसलमानों का वोट नहीं चाहिए, उनके बगैर भी सरकार बन सकती है। 55 साल की आजादी के बाद फिर दो कौमी नज़रिया पेश हुआ। यही पहले भी कहा गया था और इसी के कहने पर नारा लगा था कि "आधी रोटी खायेंगे, पाकिस्तान बनायेंगे" और मजहब के नाम पर हिन्दुस्तान तस्लीम हुआ था। 55 साल के बाद फिर एक व्यक्ति ने नहीं, किसी राजनीतिक सोच के व्यक्ति ने नहीं, साम्प्रदायिक सोच के व्यक्ति ने नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान की गद्दी पर बैठे हुए सबसे बड़े आदमी ने जो आबादी के सौ करोड़ लोगों का अगुवा है, नेता है, उसने 100 करोड़ इन्सानों का दिल तोड़ने का काम किया है। उसने 55 साल के बाद फिर दो कौमी नज़रिया पेश किया, दू नेशन थ्योरी। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री दीनानाथ मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश): इसका खंडन हो चुका है। ... (व्यवधान)... जिस मुद्दे पर बहस हो रही है आप उस पर बोलिए। ... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: He is putting words on the mouth of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has never said it.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप गुजरात के ऊपर कहिए। आप गुजरात के बारे में अपनी बात कहिए। ... (व्यवधान)... आप तशरीफ रखिए। ... (व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ... (व्यवधान)... जितनी फिरकापरस्त ताकतें थीं, वे इस इंतजार में थीं कि जो उनकी सोच और मानसिकता, उनके अगुवाओं की है उसको अमली-जामा कैसे पहनाया जाए और उसके बाद शैतान गुजरात की सड़कों पर नंगा होकर नाचने लगा।

मान्यवर, हम तो आज यह समझते हैं कि हमें कुछ कहने का शायद हक भी नहीं रह गया है, शायद हमें कराहने का भी अधिकार नहीं रह गया है। पहले छुरे से मारे जाते थे, गोली से मारे जाते थे, अब पेट्रोल बम फेंककर, जलते हुए टायर फेंककर आग से जलाये जाते हैं। कोई महफूज नहीं है, हमारी कोई बस्ती, कोई आबादी महफूज नहीं है। यह मादरेवतन है हमारा, इसलिए कि हम यहां पैदा हुये, इसलिए कि हम यहां पले-बढ़े। मादरेवतन है इसलिए कि हमारे सामने हमारे बच्चे काटकर आग में फेंक दिए गए, मादरेवतन है इसलिए कि जिंदा घरों के अंदर पूरे के पूरे गांव, पूरी की पूरी आबादियां जला दी गईं। मुबारक हो हमें मादरेवतन, मुबारक हो हमें अपनी जमीन, मुबारक हो हमें अपने जलते हुए घर, इसलिए कि हम यहां पैदा हुए हैं। यह हमारा गम है, हमारा यह अहसास है। इसे अगर हिन्दुस्तान एक सवालिया निशान के तौर पर महसूस नहीं करेगा - यह अहसास मेरे अकेले का नहीं है, करोड़ों उन लोगों का है जो अपने आपको गैर-महफूज समझते हैं, जिनका यकीन काबिल है कि होने वाली सुबह उनकी जिंदगी की सुबह होगी या नहीं। हम अपने बच्चों को स्कूल नहीं भेजते, इसलिए कि हमें मालूम है कि आज शहर का

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माहोल खराब है। हमारे बच्चों का इम्तहान फूट जाता है, इसलिए कि हमें मालूम है कि हमारा बच्चा, हमारा बच्चा होने की वजह से, इसलिए बस में जला दिया जायेगा क्योंकि वह हमारा बच्चा है और हमारे बच्चे की वजह से उस बस में बैठे हुए पचास बच्चे और जलकर मर जायेंगे। यह है मेरा भारत महान। इस भारत महान के लिए अशफ़ाक उल्ला खान ने अपनी मां को खत लिखा था कि मां जब यह खत तुझे मिलेगा तो तू अशफ़ाक उल्ला की नहीं एक शहीद औलाद की मां होगी। इसी के लिए मौलाना मोहम्मद अली जिन्ना ने राउंड टेबल कॉन्फ़्रेंस में कहा था कि मैं गुलाम हिन्दुस्तान में वापस नहीं जाना चाहता, मैं मर जाऊंगा तो मेरी लाश गुलाम हिन्दुस्तान में दफन न की जाये। तकरीबन 35 हजार हिन्दुस्तान के मुस्लिम उलेमा फ़ासी के तख्ते पर चढ़ा दिए गए थे हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए। क्या इस दिन के लिए कि पच्चीस-पच्चीस हजार की भीड़ में आठ-आठ साल, दस-दस साल और बारह-बारह साल के बच्चे हाथों में मशालें और तलवारें लेकर पूरी-पूरी बस्तियों को काटकर डाल देंगे, जला देंगे। यही है सभ्य हिन्दुस्तान? इसी पर हमें फ़क्र है? यह इसीलिए है, धुंकि दो कौमी नजरिया, दू नेशन थ्योरी का कॉन्सेप्ट पेश कर दिया गया था। क्या एक बार फिर देश बंटेगा? क्या एक बार फिर प्रधान मंत्री इस पर बहस करायेंगे? आरएसएस कहता है कि मुसलमानों के लिए समुन्दर है, गुजरात कहता है कि मुसलमानों के लिए आग का समुन्दर है, प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि मुसलमानों का वोट नहीं चाहिए, उनके बगैर भी सरकार बन सकती है। हम क्या फैसला करें, हम क्या सोचें? हमारे लिए देश की क्या राय है? इस देश के विचारकों की हमारे बारे में क्या राय है? हम चाहते हैं कि लोग बैठें और इस पर बात होनी चाहिए। अगर साथ नहीं रहा जा सकता...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आपका समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : अगर साथ नहीं रहा जा सकता तो रास्ता क्या है? मेरी बात का बुरा न माना जाए। आर.एस.एस. ने कहा समुद्र है, गुजरात ने कहा आग है और प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि मुसलमानों का वोट नहीं चाहिए। मुसलमान इस देश की इकाई नहीं रह गया है। ऐसे हालात में देश को यह सोचना होगा कि इतनी बड़ी आबादी का अंजाम क्या होगा? क्या कोई मुल्क हमें लेने के लिए तैयार है? हमारे यहां हिजरत सुन्नत है। हमारे नबी ने हिजरत की है। वतन छोड़ा है नबी ने। हम जानना चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान हमसे क्या चाहता है? हम जानना चाहते हैं कि हुकूमत क्या चाहती है? क्या हमारी हिजरत चाहती है? हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाले 18-20 करोड़ ईसानों को हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर निकालना चाहती है? आप दुनिया से बात करें कि कौन कौन सा देश हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों को लेना चाहता है। हो सकता है आपने यही मनसूबा तैयार किया हो और इसीलिए गृह मंत्री जी रोज इजराइल जाते हों कि स्पेन से मुसलमान कैसे बेदखल किया गया? हमें उस तरह मत मारिए। हमें तिल-तिल न मारिए। किसने मना किया था अयोध्या में मंदिर बनाने के लिए? साढ़े पांच बरस तक आपकी सरकार रही। किसने रोका था? कहां है सुप्रीम कोर्ट? मस्जिद टूटी, क्या हो गया किसी का? मंदिर बना। किस कानून ने अपना काम किया? 42 बटालियन फोर्स लगी होने के बावजूद अशोक सिंहल अंदर घुस गये। कहां है कानून? कानून भी वही है जो गुजरात में हो रहा है। ट्रेन में सफर करते हुए डर लगता है। हम अपने सरकारी मकान में इसलिए नहीं सोते कि हमें पुलिस वाला पूछने आता है कि यह मुसलमान की कोठी है, महफूज नहीं है। यह है हिन्दुस्तान....

[†] Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आपका समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

†श्री मौलाना आजम खान : यह है हिन्दुस्तान ? यह है हमारी हिफाजत ? इसलिए हमें यह जानकारी होनी चाहिए कि हमें अगर हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं रहना है तो कहां रहना है ? समुद्र में, आग में या किसी और देश में ? वह कौन सा देश है जो हमें लेने के लिए तैयार है और अगर कोई हमें लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं है तो यह जिम्मेदारी सरकार की है कि वह बताए कि 18-20 करोड़ हिन्दुस्तानी अखिलियों का घर कहां है, उनका वतन कौन सा है, उन्हें कहां रहना है । यह अगर आज आप नहीं बताएंगे तो मैं इस सदन में कहना चाहता हूँ कि 18-20 करोड़ लोगों को एक दिन अपने वतन के बारे में सोचना होगा । यह बहुत कड़वा सवाल है लेकिन इस सवाल पर बहस देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने की है । ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री संजय निरुपम (महाराष्ट्र) : क्या आप पार्टीशन की बात करने जा रहे हैं ? ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : खान साहब, आप समाप्त करिए । ... (व्यवधान) ... नहीं, आप बैठ जाइए । ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री संजय निरुपम : दूसरा पार्टीशन चाहिए क्या ? ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आप बैठिए । ... (व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : सच्चाइयों से इंकार मत करिए । आप हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों को वहां ले जाकर खड़ा कर देना चाहते हो । ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : प्लीज, आप बैठ जाइए । ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री संजय निरुपम : इस तरह की धमकी दी गयी है । ... (व्यवधान) ... इस देश के पार्लियामेंट में खड़े होकर इस तरह की धमकी दी गयी है । ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : आजम साहब, आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है । ... (व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : हमने 55 साल तक पाकिस्तान के ज़ख्म सहे हैं । ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मिश्र जी, आप बैठ जाइए ।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : किसी आदमी के दिल में दर्द हो ... (व्यवधान) ... तो उसको रोना कहते हैं, यह लोग धमकी मान रहे हैं । ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मिश्र जी, आप बैठ जाइए । वह दर्द ही

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

...(व्यवधान)...आप लोग बैठ जाइए । जब आपको मौका दिया जाए, तब आप बोलिएगा । अब आप समाप्त करें ।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : हमने 55 साल तक...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया (झारखंड) : महोदय, मेरा एक सबमिशन है । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मैं चाहूंगा कि आप भी जजबात में आकर ऐसी बात न कहें । ...(व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : हमने 55 साल तक हिन्दुस्तान की तकसीम का ज़ख्म सहा है । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मैं समझता हूँ लेकिन आप थोड़ा ध्यान रखिए । ...(व्यवधान)...प्लीज़ आप बैठिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : सदन में यह बहस न्याय के लिए की गयी है । इस तरह के भड़काऊ भाषण देकर लोगों को ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : प्लीज़, आप बैठ जाइए । ...(व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : यह भड़काऊ नहीं है । यह एक ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मैं वैसे ही उनसे अपील कर रहा हूँ कि आप जजबातों में ...(व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : यह एक कमज़ोर आदमी की आवाज़ है । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : मेहरबानी करके अब आप समाप्त करिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संजय निरुपम : वह दूसरे पार्टीशन की बात कर रहे हैं । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : जब आपका समय आए...(व्यवधान)...कोई जजबाती बात नहीं ...(व्यवधान)...आप तशरीफ रखिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : किसी को कोई शंका नहीं है, किसी को शुबहा नहीं है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : अहलुवालिया साहब, आप तशरीफ रखिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : पूरे देश को बदनाम करके पूरे देश की छवि को समाप्त करने की कोशिश की गयी है । यह गलत है । ...(व्यवधान)...

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : अहलुवालिया साहब, आप तशरीफ रखिए ।
 ...(व्यवधान)...आप उनको समाप्त करने दीजिए । ...(व्यवधान)...आप तशरीफ रखिए ।
 ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : यह जो बातें कह रहे हैं क्या वह हर मुसलमान की आवाज़ है ? क्या वह अकलियत के हर सदस्य की बात है ? वह अपनी बात कह रहे हैं और अपनी बात कहते हुए देश को बदनाम कर रहे हैं, कौम को बदनाम कर रहे हैं । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : जब आपको बोलने का समय दिया जाए, तब आप कहिए । ...(व्यवधान)...वह समाप्त कर रहे हैं । ...(व्यवधान)...अब आप समाप्त करिए । आपका समय कहीं ज्यादा हो गया है । ...(व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : बंटवारे का जितना ज़ख्म, जितनी तकलीफ हिन्दुस्तानी मुसलमानों ने सही है, किसी ने नहीं सही । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : हमने भी सही है । ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी) : अब आप समाप्त करिए । ...(व्यवधान)... अगर गुजरात के बारे में और कुछ कहना है तो कहिए । ...(व्यवधान)... आप दुगुना समय ले चुके हैं ।
 ...(व्यवधान)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : बंटवारे के लिए जो जिम्मेदार हैं...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : देखिए, आपका दुगुना समय हो गया है, मेहरबानी करके समाप्त करें ।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : मान्यवर, कहने तो दिया जाए । ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI JIBON ROY: He is expressing his feelings. ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : I fully appreciate you. You need not to tell me that. ...(Interruptions)... Please take your seat. ...(Interruptions)...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : मैं किस समय कहूँ ?...मैं किस समय कहूँ ?
 ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal) : He is expressing his feeling. You have done enough to create tension. That should not be there. ...(Interruptions)...

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): देखिए, आप काफी बोल चुके हैं। You have done enough. Let him finish. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JIBON ROY: You are helping to create that feeling. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : You have done enough. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Azam Khan, please finish now. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री जीवन राय : *...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : आप उनको समाप्त करने दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...शांत बैठिए...प्लीज आप उनको समाप्त करने दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : आप सोचने के लिए विवश करते हो । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): नहीं सरला जी, प्लीज.....

SHRI JIBON ROY: It is an expression of feeling. Allow him to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): देखिए, आप मत खड़े होइए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...Let him finish now. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री संजय निरुपम : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इनको माफी मांगनी पड़ेगी । ...*(व्यवधान)*...यह इस देश का अपमान है । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): जो उन्होंने कहा, यह उनका अपना आकलन है । आप उनको बोलने दीजिए और समाप्त करने दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : महोदय, उनका आकलन सदन पर न थोपा जाए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): यह सही है या गलत है, यह तो ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : सदन का मिसयूज न किया जाए, सदन की भावना से खेला न जाए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): जनता का हर समझदार आदमी उसको उसी रूप में समझेगा । वह अपने ढंग से उसको समझेगा । आप उसमें मत पड़िए । आप हस्तक्षेप मत करिए। उनको समाप्त करने दीजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...आप प्लीज फिनिश कीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...सरला जी, आप बीच में अपनी राय ज़ाहिर मत कीजिए । ...समय बहुत हो गया है,

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

9 मिनट की जगह 20 मिनट हो गए हैं, आप कृपया समाप्त कीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...बोलने दीजिए । Mr. Jibon Roy, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Azam Khan, please finish your speech. ...*(Interruptions)*...

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : मान्यवर, मुझे याद है जब मुसलमान तेज़ी से पाकिस्तान भाग रहे थे तब दिल्ली शहर में मौलाना आज़ाद ने जामा मस्जिद के सामने उर्दू पार्क में तक्ररीर करते हुए कहा था कि मुसलमानों रुक जाओ । ये जामा मस्जिद का तक़दुस तुम्हें आवाज़ देता है, रुक जाओ । कुतुब मीनार की बुलन्दी तुम्हें पुकारती है, रुक जाओ । ताजमहल का हुस्न तुम्हें आवाज़ देता है, रुक जाओ और भागता हुआ मुसलमान रुक गया था और उस मुसलमान ने किसी के कहने से नहीं, किसी के दबाव में नहीं इसे अपना वतन माना था । आज उसी वतन में हज़ारों लोग गुजरात की सड़कों पर जलाए गए हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप समाप्त कीजिए ।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : इसलिए मैं उस ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): प्लीज़, आप समाप्त कीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...उन्हें बोलने दीजिए ।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : मान्यवर, मैंने गुजरात कहा है । मैंने इंसान और इंसान में फर्क नहीं किया है । मैंने इंसानों में फर्क नहीं किया है ।

श्री बलबीर के.पुंज : बिल्कुल फर्क किया है आपने ।

†श्री मोहम्मद आजम खान : नहीं किया हैनहीं किया है...*(व्यवधान)*...फर्क नहीं किया है ।...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : आप कहेंगे तो सारे भारतवासी आपके साथ खड़े हो जाएंगे लेकिन आपने कम्युनल डिवाइड किया है ।...*(व्यवधान)*...शर्म करो ।...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी) : देखिए, ये समाप्त कर रहे हैं, आप प्लीज़ उनको बोलने दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री जीवन राय : हम जब ऐज़ा कराएंगे तो पोलिटिक्स छोड़कर चले जाएंगे । हम जब ऐसी गंदी चीज़ कराएंगे तो पोलिटिक्स छोड़कर चले जाएंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष : आप एक मिनट में ख़त्म कीजिए ।

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

4.00 p.m.

†श्री मोहम्मद आज़म खान : इसलिए मान्यवर, इन हालात में गृह मंत्री जी को कोई हक नहीं है गृह मंत्री रहने का । गृह तो जल गया है । गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री को पद पर रहने का कोई हक नहीं है । मैंने तो मांग की थी राष्ट्रपति जी से कि उन्हें यह हक है कि पूरे देश में, in any part of the country, देश के किसी हिस्से में वे इमरजेंसी लगा सकते हैं और आज वहां इमरजेंसी के हालात हैं । उनको यह अधिकार है । मैं यह मांग करता हूँ और इसलिए यह मांग करता हूँ कि अभी व्यवस्था बाकी है और उस व्यवस्था में जितने लोग भी आज इस संस्था को चलाने वाले हैं उनके कंधों पर यह जिम्मेदारी आती है । मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जलता हुआ देश ठंडक महसूस करेगा और जो लोग देश को बांटना चाहते हैं ।

*...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N.CHATURVEDI) : Shri Azam Khan's last sentence will not go on record...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो.रामगोपाल वादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह बार बार खड़े हो जाते हैं । यह बेशर्मी की पराकाष्ठा है।...(व्यवधान)...एक तरफ लोगों को जिन्दा जलाया और यहां पर लोग अपनी बात भी न कह सकें, यह बेशर्मी की पराकाष्ठा है...(व्यवधान) इससे ज्यादा बेशर्मी की पराकाष्ठा हो नहीं सकती है...(व्यवधान)... कोई व्यक्ति अपनी बात नहीं कह सकता है ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): रामगोपाल जी आप तशरीफ रखिये प्लीज । बैठिये।...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो.रामगोपाल वादव : जिनकी कोई हेसियत नहीं है...(व्यवधान) वह भी आंख दिखाते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप बैठिये प्लीज।...(व्यवधान)... श्री अरुण जेटली प्लीज ।

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am extremely grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to participate in this debate, which was initiated by hon. Shri Pranab Mukherjee. I must straightaway start with a confession that the subject that we are discussing has really arisen out of unfortunate circumstances.

All of us are sad over the developments of various kinds that have taken place. The whole country should have been one, in condemning the

† Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

* Not recorded.

incidents, which don't augur well for our nation. But I must confess that the manner in which the debate was initiated and the direction it is taking, particularly with some of the recent comments which have been made, should sadden us all a lot more. The incidents which have taken place in Gujarat, which started in Godhra and then culminated in violence, in other parts of the State, raise several questions. Firstly, what are the real facts?

Even as I say what the real facts are, are we, all of us are going to put ourselves in a position where we can see only one colour or one religion of the same blood which is flowing through our veins, and then start tailoring our stances accordingly? How does a mature society react to events of this kind? More importantly, Sir, what are the lessons that we, all of us are going to learn from this so that we make sure that events of this kind don't repeat?

Sir, as citizens of this country, and, then subsequently, Members of different political parties, each one of us have certain responsibilities. The Government certainly has a responsibility and I certainly would place all the facts before you. When sad incidents of this kind happen, we must make sure that we perform our responsibility. As my learned friend, Mr. Kapil Sibal said, "let us go and try and calm the situation"--he claimed credit for having done something in 1984--how are we going to react to this? It is not only us; we have various other segments in our civilised society, we have the police, we have the security forces, we have the State machinery, and we have the media. Are we going to add to the creation of a frenzy, in a situation of this kind, or, are we going to see to it that the tempers are cooled down?

I can start with several illustrations. Let me just take the comment just now made by my hon. friend, Mr. Azam Khan.

He ostensibly made a very passionate speech. In his passionate speech, he said, the Prime Minister has said and the sentence he repeated several times - "I do not want votes of a particular community." The Prime Minister did not say so. When somebody erroneously reported, the Prime Minister's Office issued a detailed clarification. What is the kind of politics we are going to play? A wrong statement is attributed to the holder of the highest office in the country, his office clarifies it, the matter comes to an end. Are we now going to create provocation on the basis of something which erroneously appeared in a newspaper? ...*(Interruptions)*... Please show me ...*(Interruptions)*... You then go and say ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Let him have his say. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Then you come with a statement which says, "The RSS has said that one particular community should be thrown into the sea." Where does one get statements of this kind? Are statements of this kind merely to be manufactured and concocted in order to generate some form of tension in the society and create a sense of insecurity among some people? Are we by concocting these statements and then making an emotional plea on the basis of these statements, diluting tension in the society or are we trying to add to those tensions of the society? Now, one statement. When I say this, it is not only we here but every segment of the society has an important responsibility. Now, the statement I have been repeatedly seeing - very understandably because it appeared in the newspapers; Mr. Sibal referred to it; I think, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee also referred to the statement - not only merited reactions and comments in this House, but several editorial comments. A newspaper carried a story that the Gujarat Chief Minister has said that there is something called the Newton's Third Law and the Newton's Third Law is, every action has a very strong reaction. ...*(interruptions)*... An equal and opposite reaction. ...*(Interruptions)*... This statement appeared in a newspaper. That very day the Chief Minister's office writes to that newspaper, "How is that that the statement has appeared in your newspaper and no other newspaper? Please produce the gentleman, your correspondent to whom I am supposed to make this statement. I have not said anything of this kind. In fact, the statement that I have made is also in writing which is directly to the contrary." His statement directly to the contrary on that day is, "The violent instances which have been decreased speedily in Ahmedabad City from yesterday late evening up to now, and the peaceful atmosphere is building up in most parts of the city." He said, "Shri Modi categorically said that there would be no compromise on the law and order situation and, added that the Government would not allow any attempt of anti-social elements activated to disturb the social life in the name of people's feelings." In the name of people's feeling, you cannot now start creating tensions, as far as Ahmedabad is concerned. He made this statement. This was in writing. A newspaper carries it, the Chief Minister has said, there has to be an equal, strong reaction and opposite reaction. He said, your reporter has quoted the Chief Minister as saying that every action has an equal and opposite reaction, is not correct. The Chief Minister has never mentioned any such statement. No other

newspaper has carried this quotation. Please let us know to whom he has made it." ...*(Interruptions)*... Is it not the responsibility --in a tense situation where such a statement is capable of being misinterpreted, is capable of creating a sense of insecurity in the minds of some -- to be clarified? The fact is that the statement has persisted on the basis of the so-called statement. Then it is followed up with an editorial. The rejoinder or the contradiction that it has not been said and the reporter to whom it has been made, still nothing is brought to surface. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Either believe the Chief Minister or do not believe the Chief Minister*(Interruptions)*....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): He is an hon. Member of this House as you are ...*(Interruptions)*... So, both are to be believed.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Whether believe the Chief Minister or do not believe the Chief Minister, the people will decide at an appropriate time. Yes; yes, when the people get an opportunity, they will decide. ...*(Interruptions)*... We cannot be presumptuous about what the people are going to decide ...*(Interruptions)*... In fact, I have seen - after the first two-three days of the incident-- the statements and comments that one kind of violence was communal violence; the other was a terrorist violence and another was a secular violence.

I have the news report which uses these phrases. How is the Indian society going to react to a situation of this kind? Sir, may I just say this? Though it sounds very unfortunate - the first day's instances at Godhra - how are they going to deal with that instance? And I will later refer, after Godhra, to what appears to have been the aftermath of Godhra. It is very easy to make allegations. I have seen statements like this: 'What was the Government doing?' Godhra was a terrible instance. Godhra was the epicentre of the Gujarat problem. And the epicentre of the Gujarat problem was - there was no reaction, there were no instances of violence going on in Gujarat -here was a train coming, you stop that train at an unscheduled place; thousands of people collect around that train. And these thousands of people are not those who have been provoked. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, you said that an environment was created; a situation was created. When we use these phrases, we, wittingly or unwittingly, start subscribing to -

whoever authored it, I don't know whether some reporter authored it or somebody else authored it - what was described as the Newton's principle. At Godhra, there was no provocation. I would have loved to see my friend, Shri Nilotpal Basu, use the word 'genocide' for what had happened in Godhra. He is prepared to refer to the aftermath of Godhra as a genocide. But Godhra is something about which he says, 'I also condemn.' ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JIBON ROY: Godhra was also opposed. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Please, let him speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please don't pop up every time. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Godhra is an instance where there was no provocation. You stop a train. You have elected members of the Municipal Corporation. You have office-bearers of different cells of a political party. You have not hundreds, but thousands of people, and, therefore, to collect thousands of people - we all organise political programmes - is not very easy these days. To collect thousands of People ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा (राजस्थान): हम तो सोच रहे हैं कि लॉ मिनिस्टर बात कर रहे हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): मीणा जी, पहले सुनिए, फिर आप अपनी बात कहिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*... बैठिए-बैठिए । आपका अभी समय नहीं है । लॉ मिनिस्टर जो बोल रहे हैं उसके अलावा Nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing will go on record. *(Interruptions)* Nothing will go on record; so please don't waste the time of the House. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing is going on record, so please ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: I will not do it; so you will be disappointed. ...*(Interruptions)*... All that I am saying is, I would have welcomed if my friend, Shri Nilotpal Basu, had said, 'what happened at Godhra was a genocide.' I am one with him when he condemns whatever has happened at Godhra and thereafter. But when ...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आपका रेकॉर्ड में नहीं जा रहा है, इसलिए बोलने का कोई फायदा नहीं है। ...*(Interruptions)*... We are discussing a very serious matter. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*...

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Nothing is going on record ...*(Interruptions)*... Anyway, the matter is over. Shri Nilotpal Basu himself is here ...*(Interruptions)*... Let the hon. Minister continue.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, after the events at Godhra, sadly enough, there was tension in the whole State. But, I am not questioning the motives of anybody; I am not even attributing motives to anybody with regard to Godhra, but, finally, it is required of those political parties whose members - and my friend, Shri Solanki, produces an advertisement which appeared in the newspapers in May, 2001, with the names of those four elected corporators, expressing their solidarity and faith in the political party...

AN HON. MEMBER: Which political party?

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: They are the elected members of a political party ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : Nothing is going on record ...*(Interruptions)*... वह भी एक फोटो कॉपी दिखा रहे हैं, आप भी एक दिखा रहे हैं । ...*(व्यवधान)*... एक फोटो कॉपी वह दिखा रहे हैं । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI) : Nothing will go on record.*(Interruptions)*... आप के दो मिनट बचे हैं । अगर आप को कुछ कहना है, तो जब आप का समय आए तो उस वक्त आप उस का स्पष्टीकरण दे दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*... वह भी एक कॉपी दिखा रहे हैं । मैं यहां से कोई निर्णय नहीं कर सकता । ...*(व्यवधान)*... मैं निर्णय नहीं कर सकता ।*(व्यवधान)*... Please take your seats ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing will go on record except what the Law Minister says ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : *

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप का जब समय आएगा, आप उस का स्पष्टीकरण दीजिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : *

* Not recorded.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): देखिए, ये स्पष्टीकरण अभी तो रिकॉर्ड में जा नहीं रहा है। स्पष्टीकरण बाद में दे दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)... ये सब कोई रिकॉर्ड में नहीं जा रहा है। मेहरबानी कर के ... (व्यवधान)... प्लीज पचौरी जी ... (व्यवधान)... सीणा जी, आप बैठिए। दोनों में क्या लिखा हुआ है, वह वैरीफिकेशन चैयरमैन साहब से करवा लीजिए।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी :

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): किस की फोटो कॉपी सही है, वह बाद में वैरीफाइ करवा लीजिए। अभी तो प्रोसीडिंग्स चलने दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)... बैठिए, अब वह मुद्दा नहीं है। चलिए, समय आने पर आप सब बातें कहिए। Please continue.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, after the instance at Godhra, what followed in the rest of the State was unfortunate. The kind of violence instigated by anybody, indulged in by anybody, is something which each Member of the House has to condemn.

SHRI K. RAHMAN KHAN (Karnataka) : Who is that anybody?

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : May I put a question? Who is this 'anybody else' who has indulged in violence? When Mr. Sibal was discussing his glorious role during the 1984 riots, I was trying to recollect, as a citizen of Delhi, where the riots were taking place, that in just one day more than 3000 people were burnt alive in Delhi. He said, 'We condemn it; we all condemn it.' I was only trying to recollect what was the police doing on that day; what was the Army doing on that day. And how many people ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA : Kindly come to Gujarat.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : I will come to Gujarat. I would like to ask, on the 1st of November 1984 -- without repeating all the adjectives that he used like 'goons and goondas -- whatever he said -- how many people have died. All the rioters who indulged in the riots really also indulged in something else which was inhuman. Revenge for something which has happened elsewhere is no form of justice, and, in any case, in any civilised society, it is for the Police and the State machinery to proceed against those who have indulged in those heinous acts at Godhra. We cannot come down on the roads and then say, 'well, it is for us now to dispense

* Not recorded.

justice and take people to task, because, in that process, what we do is, we are not punishing a man who is actually responsible for that incident; it is some other innocent man who suffers for it, and, therefore, when we discuss these larger incidents, it is our responsibility to drive home this message to the Indian civil society that whatever be the kind of provocation, we need not justify it, by saying that an atmosphere or a situation was created after the Godhra incidence took place. Godhra was an instance and, therefore, other instances have also taken place. It is really for the police. When you ask what was the police doing, I tried to obtain information -- since I happen to represent that State in this hon. House -- as to what did the police do in Gujarat. Reports have also appeared that they did nothing in many places in the first five days, from 23rd onwards, when the violence started. Sir, 3895 people -- almost 4000 people -- have been arrested in these riots. Sir, 4000 people were arrested for participating in these riots, and you can carry on a campaign that the police did nothing! I put a question. Does anyone of us recollect as to how many people died in that one day of firing, during the riots in Delhi on the 1st of November, 1984?

श्री खान गुफरान ज़ाहिदी : आपने फिर वही दोहराया, आप यहां की बात करें ।

श्री अरुण जेटली : मैं यहां की बात करता हूँ । गुजरात में इस प्रकार की हिंसा को रोकने के लिए जो पुलिस ने गोलियां चलाई, उस पुलिस की गोलियों के सामने -- 98 people have died due to police firing itself, and then to come up and say, 'well, the police was a helpless spectator' is simply not acceptable. The Police, which is being accused of collaboration, arrested 4000 people; thousands of rounds were fired; 98 people have died in the police firing, and you still say this *...(Interruptions)...* Our experience has been *...(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Don't interrupt *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : Sir, our sad experience has been *...(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Both of you can discuss it outside. Both of you are standing and speaking at the same time. *...(Interruptions)...* Please sit down.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Please go back to 1984 and recollect that in one single day, 3000 people were burnt. And how many people were fired at by the police, and how many people were arrested by the police here? In

fact, those victims are struggling for justice. Here is a case. In the past five days ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Nothing is going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Shrimati Shabana Azmi, nothing is going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing is going on record except the speech of the person who has been recognised to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have not recognised you. You will have your time. ...*(Interruptions)*... Don't interrupt in between. ...*(Interruptions)*... Shabanaji, kindly take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... सरला जी, प्लीज । कुछ नहीं जा रहा है । ...*(व्यवधान)*... बैठिए, बैठ जाइए ।

श्री अरुण जेटली : शबाना जी, जो मैंने पहले कहा और अगर वह स्पष्ट नहीं हुआ तो मैं एक बार फिर रिपीट कर दूँ, एक बार फिर दोहरा दूँ कि गुजरात में ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Jibon Roy, please take your seat. A lot of time has been wasted. Please take your seat, Mr. Jibon Roy.

SHRI JIBON ROY:

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL:

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): It is your opinion. When your chance comes, you can say whatever you like. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, nothing will go on record except what Mr. Arun Jaitley says.

श्री अरुण जेटली : गुजरात में*(व्यवधान)*... केवल मैं दो ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): वे वही बता रहे हैं, आप सुनिए तो समझ में आएगा। वे वही बता रहे हैं, क्यों कह रहे हैं, आप सुनिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*... बहुत लोगों ने पहले भी पुरानी बातें कही हैं, बहुत से लोगों ने कही हैं । ...*(व्यवधान)*... मीणा जी, बैठिए । He is a Member of this House. He is speaking as a Member of this House. Please do not interrupt him. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please do not interrupt. Mr. Nilotpal Basu had interrupted. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please do not interrupt. Mr. Premachandran, please do not interrupt. Nothing is going on record except what Mr. Arun Jaitley says. ...*(Interruptions)*... You do not want to listen to anybody else. One will get up, the other will get up, he will sit down ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seat, Mr. Premachandran.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, at the cost of repetition ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Mr. Jibon Roy, please sit down. I think you need a cup of coffee. Mr. Jibon Roy, you need a cup of coffee. It will do you good. Let him continue, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : Sir, let me reiterate once again. I have not tried, and I shall not try, to play down the unfortunate incidents in the rest of the State from the 28th onwards. I clarified that in the very beginning. Neither have I made one effort, nor shall I do that, even to provide any rationale for it. On the contrary, I have criticised any attempt by any one of us to provide a rationale as to why incidents of this kind take place. I have gone to the extent of saying that it is for the police and the State machinery to deal with the people who are guilty of the incident at Godhra on the 27th. Mobs on the street cannot take revenge as a form of justice. I am not even comparing the incidents of 1984 with the incidents of 2002. What I have said is about making a wholesale condemnation of the police and saying that the police were silent spectators. There have been instances when the police were silent spectators. But, here, they have arrested 4000 people. They have killed, in police firing, 98 people. This figure, probably, may be more than in any other such tragedy that we can understand. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let me also say, Sir, the extent of the disturbance might be so immense that on the first day ...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): जीवन राय, आज बहुत दफा आ गया है 'पोटो' तुम्हारा, अब थोड़ा चाय पी आओ । Let the proceedings go on. A serious matter is being discussed.

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY : Let me also say that the extent of disturbance was very immense, and it was such that even if the police had been deployed in its full strength at various places, it would have been inadequate. A few policemen before a mob of thousand would have been inadequate, and therefore, a number of unfortunate instances have taken place. ...*(Interruptions)*... But I have a list. ...*(Interruptions)*... When we are dealing with the State, and we want to see the true picture, we have to analyse the situation carefully. I have a list of several instances where the police and security forces have gone into areas of high tension and then tried to rescue the citizens of India, members of various communities, particularly, the minority community, who were trapped inside. In

Panchmahal district, the policemen risked their own lives and rescued a group of 400 people belonging to the minority community, who were trapped before a mob. We have twenty such illustrations where the police tried to help the people in unfortunate instances of this kind. There were some instances in which they have not succeeded; there were some instances in which they have succeeded. What is our responsibility today, when we are debating this, when we are discussing this? Are we discussing this for the purpose of a blame-game, to demand resignations? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JIBON ROY: Yes.

श्री ब्रतीन सेनगुप्त (पश्चिमी बंगाल): यह आपका फैसला है ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): जीवन राय जी, कुछ रिकॉर्ड पर नहीं जा रहा है ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Then, I am glad that your motives are clear. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): मीणा जी, आप बैठ जाइए, आपका टाईम बाकी है, आपको बोलने का मौका मिलेगा ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री जीवन राय : धर्म के नाम पर रथचक्र ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI JIBON ROY: The Home Minister should go. The Chief Minister should go. ...*(Interruptions)*... The Home Minister should take the responsibility. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: Sir, I am glad at this confession of self-condemnation, that our object in raising this debate is political; our object is not human. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Jibon Roy, we must all remember that whether it is you who do it or it is somebody else who does it or it is my side which does it, history will not forgive those who want to generate tensions really for political motives, and it is for the people to decide ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, we must also make a serious introspection ourselves. What should be our role in this? As pointed out by Shri Pranab Mukherjee and Shri Kapil Sibal, are we there to try and cool down the tempers, or are we there to try and create a sense of security in the mind of every citizen, or are we trying to merely eye future votes, by just indulging in this blame-game which you have started? And according to your own confession, you want resignations. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JIBON ROY: You represent the majority community. The majority community should be with you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN JAITLEY: All of us were at Godhra. We were sad when we heard about other incidents, when we saw the visuals of the other incidents. It is not too late. Let us learn a lesson. The lesson is, the Godhra incident was a heinous offence. I have read news reports that the Godhra incident took place merely because somebody from the train did not pay the bill of a tea vendor at a railway station. We need not play down a genocide like Godhra by merely saying that it was a quarrel with a tea vendor over payment which led to the Godhra incident. When we do that, we are creating a further problem for our civil society. Let us remember this; and that is why an effort was made to play down the Godhra incident. We must similarly have no rational justification for the sad violence which took place subsequent to the Godhra incident. But, at the same time, let us remember that a majority of our society will be judged not by this blame- game that you are going to indulge in, but on the basis of how best we succeed in this, and as stated by Mr. Solanki, in three-four days, an effort was made by the State Government and the police authorities to take all measures to control the situation. They were not asking for congratulations. There were many feelings because the violence was so extensive. We have also to analyse where we have failed and, therefore, our society has to be mature enough to fight these instances. Well, let us all remember that our country has a tremendous amount of resilience to get out of this crisis, and I would conclude, Sir, by urging my friend, Mr. Azam Khan, who based his entire fear on something which was factually not correct. There have been instances where members of other communities also have been targeted. In Kashmir, the violence took place where members of the Sikh community in the entire village were wiped out. There were instances where members of a majority community, when the buses used to be stopped in Punjab, were killed, but, at the same time, the resilience of our society was such that, in Punjab, we overcame this. In other States, we are trying to overcome this. Let us not exaggerate the kind of threat that we have to our national unity. Let us work for a stronger country, rather than generate fears of this kind, particularly, on the basis of something which is imaginary and not factually correct.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Shri P.N. Siva. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please take your seats. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing is going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Siva is going to speak. Nothing else is going on record. Shri P.N. Siva. ...*(Interruptions)*... Shri P.N. Siva.

SHRI P.N. SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the soil of Gujarat, which gave birth to the Mahatma who had sacrificed his life for humanitarianism and religious harmony, who had preached love and peace, and who had struggled throughout his life for freedom, is soaked in blood! Women and children have been butchered and charred to death. In the stream of blood that is running in Gujarat, nobody is able to identify whose blood it is. Whether it is the blood of a Muslim or the blood of a Hindu, we consider that as the blood of an Indian, wiping out the tears rolling down on our cheeks. We are, here, discussing this issue, with utmost responsibility.

While expressing our grief for the thousands of people who have been killed in the recent incidents, our prime concern should be that such incidents are not repeated in this country.

Sir, we were accused by the Opposition parties, and they wanted to know what the NDA-partners were doing. I would like to bring to their kind notice the statement of our leader, which would make them understand our position:

"Since the day we joined the National Democratic alliance, we had been categorically reiterating that this Alliance and this Government will never compromise on the rights and safety of the minorities."

This is the statement of our leader, Dr. Karunanidhi.

"Our deeds will prove that we have not, under any circumstances, deviated from the stand which we had taken, despite whatever trials and tribulations confront us and whatever be the circumstances and compulsions.

The tragic killing of the kar sevaks when the Sabarmati Express was burnt at Godhra had prompted me to condemn the heinous crime. Likewise, the series of killings of more than thousand innocent people by revengeful fanatics also prompts me to condemn the brutality.

I am of the view that both the minorities and the majorities should not succumb to the instigation of the religious fanatics on either side and should not allow the political opportunists who plot to drive a wedge between them, and to work to preserve religious harmony and humanitarianism beyond the influence of political parties.

Contrarily, whoever attempts to disrupt peace will only be called as the enemy of humanitarianism."

Sir, violence can never be the means to achieve ideologies. When weapons replace the reasoning power of men, naturally, the outcome will be inhuman. What is happening in Gujarat is unfortunate, unbelievable, intolerable, and should not be repeated. Sir, I would like to emphasise it again that in NDA we are 24 partners but our voice is one, our goal is one, and our vision is one. I expect even the Opposition parties to be one, at least, on this issue. We don't want to see any more bloodshed in the country, in the name of communal tension. I would like to mention, just for the sake of reminding them, something from the National Democratic Alliance's agenda during the election time. We stick to that. *...(Interruptions)...* Kindly listen to it. You may recollect whatever you might have forgotten. All the partners are a party to this agenda. "We reach out to the minorities and, even at the cost of repetition, proclaim that we will safeguard the rights as enshrined in our Constitution. The NDA is the political arm of none other than the Indian people, as a whole. No one will be cast aside. Fairness and justice will be rendered to one and all and we assure you that there will not be any discrimination. We appeal to our brothers and sisters of the minorities that we whole-heartedly extend our hands of friendship in these fraternal words. Let us hold hands and walk together to build a resurgent modern India. Let us throw away our old prejudices. Let us put an end to divisiveness. Let us have a moratorium on contentious issues. Let us bind ourselves with bonds of trust and friendship". *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KHAN GHUFRAN ZAHIDI: These are sermons.
...(Interruptions)...

SHRI K. RAHMAN KHAN: Where is the moratorium?

SHRI P.N. SIVA: This is the National Democratic Alliance's agenda to which we stick on. We assure you that this Government has repeatedly said that it would stand by this agenda in letter and spirit. We stick to this agenda. As I have said, we may be 24 partners; but our voice is one; our aim is one. We consider those who died in Gujarat, whether they belonged to the minority community or the majority community, as Indians only. As far as we are concerned, they are Indians only. We don't want any more Indian lives to be butchered like this, by any section of the society of the country. We expect not only the religious leaders, on the one side, but also

the political leaders, on the other, to save the future generation. We saw a photograph, in the newspapers, of a small child, aged six or seven, with folded hands requesting somebody to spare his life. Such a scene should not recur in this country. Let us not be mute spectators to a bloody scene in this country. We have inherited an independent country from our great leaders, with a fantastic maxim 'unity in diversity'. Let us maintain that. Maintaining peace alone will protect the unity and integrity of the country. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Shri Eduardo Faleiro. We have one more speaker from your party.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. The thrust of my speech here will be the same that I used to say in similar debates, that this nation belongs to all of us, and all of us have an equal responsibility to protect and defend this nation. All the people, whether they are Muslims or those who have been or are being massacred in Gujarat, whether they are Kashmiri Pundits who have been massacred in Kashmir, whether they are Christians, Buddhists or whomsoever, are children of this country; all of us are equally valuable; and all of us must be protected. Therefore, the point is that when there is this type of a situation, the State must come with the maximum force, at the very inception in a manner that is not selective, but even-handed, independent of religion, caste, race, creed or whatever it is. When you have this type of a situation, there is no other way except coming with the maximum force at the very beginning, not in a selective manner, but in an even-handed manner. In the context of the events that we are discussing today, the thrust of what I am going to say is that we must have an impartial inquiry--I lay emphasis on "impartial inquiry" -- and all those who have been guilty of the massacre in Godhra, as well as of the subsequent massacres, must be punished in a manner that is exemplary and deterrent. It should deter others from committing such massacres. Sir, last Sunday, I visited the State of Gujarat as a Member of the Congress party delegation. We went there because the Congress President from the very moment the Godhra incident took place asked the Government for permission and clearance to go there. But the clearance was not forthcoming. Therefore, we went there. When we went there the State Administration said, "You can be there in Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar but you cannot go beyond that for security reasons". We did go around these two cities. We met a cross section of political and social workers. We also met a cross section of common people. We visited

different areas which were described as peaceful. But peace of the grave ruled there. We met the Governor, Shri S.S. Bhandari. The Government was saying that things were peaceful. While we were talking to the Governor on that day, one of us got a phone call from one of the MLAs who was surrounded and attacked by a mob, asked for our help to save him. We mentioned it to the Governor and the Governor immediately issued instructions to the police. Ultimately, the man was saved. On the previous night, i. e. on Saturday night, Mr. Rajdeep Sardesai of the Star TV was attacked by a mob who were carrying Trishuls when he was going on his vehicle. He and the other people told us that the mob broke the glasses of their vehicle and asked them to come out of the vehicle and give their identity and they wanted to know their religion. He also told us that they asked them to shout some slogans. Sir, I do not want to mention other things which they were asked to do because they are so inflammatory and it is not my purpose here to inflate the situation further in this House. Sir, while the Government is saying that the situation is peaceful, still these incidents are taking place. I would like to submit that there has been an absolute failure on the part of the intelligence agencies both of the Centre and of the State. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Government should have expected this kind of a situation. I have with me a paper called Jan Morcha which is from Ayodhya edited by Sheetla Prasad. The issue of Jan Morcha carried the following story on 25th February, i.e. two days before this ghastly incident took place at Godhra. The report is of 24th February, Bhelsar, Faizabad. The caption is in Hindi. But I have got it translated. It says, "The Bajrang Dal activists on the Sabarmati Express beat up Muslims forcing them to shout Jai Shri Ram slogans." My question to the Home Minister is this. Was the Government aware of this report? Was the Government aware of the situation? Were the intelligence agencies aware of the situation? If they were aware of the situation, what steps did they take? This was just three days before the incident. Obviously, in this type of a situation, you should have expected that something was going to happen. What steps did you take in this type of a situation? There was absolute failure on the part of the intelligence agencies. Mr. Home Minister, you have to take a substantial portion of the blame. It is not just that you are the Home Minister. You are also the Minister of Internal Security. You are a Member of Parliament from Gandhinagar. Mr. Home Minister, I have the pleasure and privilege of knowing that on the day we went to Gandhinagar you also went to Gandhinagar. Of course you went in a separate aircraft. You went in the morning like us and came back in the

evening like us. Does it suit an MP to do this who comes from that area? Our MPs who have nothing to do with Gandhinagar were already there. They have been there from the very beginning. They are not here in this House today because they are concerned. Now a Member of Parliament from Gandhinagar goes there three days later. He goes in the morning and comes back in the evening. He happens to be a Minister of Internal Security which is a key Ministry. Does it behove of him? This is the question I am posing to the Home Minister. We went around and saw this type of a situation. As has been mentioned here, this whole thing was done in a selective manner. We found out that many shops were looted. Indian Boot House, Edward Laundries, Mangal Bazaar shops and furniture shops in front of Laheripura Police Station and Panigate Police Station are a few examples. The Amin Stores, opposite Navjivan bus-stop at Ajwa road, was burnt four times, in the presence of police personnel, who were selecting stationery materials for themselves. The factories at the Sardar Estate were targeted on a selected basis. Now, we have also seen how metres away from police stations, Durgahs have been demolished and made into temples. Are you interested in this type of a situation? I am sure, you are not interested. No God will be interested in such a thing. Neither Lord Jesus nor anybody else would be interested in having this type of a situation. Now, the Commissioner of Police says on T.V., explaining the failure of the police, that they are not immune to their feelings; meaning thereby that they will act as per their own religious feelings. Is this not a contravention of the basic principles of social service and rules? The basic principle is, you keep your feelings apart and you deal with situations without considering any feelings whatsoever and in an impartial manner. If Mr. Pandey, the Police Commissioner, goes on T.V. and says this, then, what else is there? So, this has been the situation there. Sir, there are a lot of things which I could have related here. But I will be brief, as you have asked me to be so, and I will just make a few points.

I just want to mention that there have been exceptions to this situation; there are noble exceptions where the Hindus have protected the Muslims. Many of the Hindus themselves have been attacked by the mobs. And, the Muslims have protected the Hindus there. And a number of policemen did rise up and attend to their duties. But there were a number of police personnel who have been passive spectators to several incidents, including the one relating to the former colleague of mine, who was in the Lok Sabha in the 80s, Mr. Jaffrey. He was living in the Gurbad Society. Eye-witnesses said that he was on the phone for hours together trying to

get some sort of help. He then fired in the air; any of us would have done the same thing in that situation. He did not fire at any one; he simply fired in the air to escape from the mob. And, for this, Mr. Jaffrey, was stoned, stoned to death and his house was set on fire. And during this time, the police present there were passive spectators.

Now, the thing which is shocking to us is the manner in which the Chief Minister has been disbursing solatium to the families of those killed in the various incidents. He has announced Rs.2 lakhs to the kin of those people who have died in the Godhra incident and Rs.1 lakh to the kin of those who have been killed in the riots which followed that. Now, this is a shocking thing. One of the strongest indictments came from Shri B.J. Diwan, former Chief Justice of the Gujarat High Court who said, and I quote: "This is a blatant violation of article 14 of the Constitution which guarantees equal rights for all citizens. People have been wronged by the State Government in this case. Shri Nampoorthi, Special Representative of the National Human Rights Commission, said, he did not understand under what circumstances the State Government came to this decision...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI LALITBHAI MEHTA: Just to put the record straight, I would like to clarify that there is a rule prevailing in the State of Gujarat since 1964-65 that whenever riots occur, compensation to the victims would be to the tune of Rs.1 lakhs. It was only for the Godhra massacre that the Government had announced a compensation of Rs.2 lakhs...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI): Okay, you have made your point.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: My dear colleague, now that you have raised this issue, you must know how insane the situation was. You can always quote rules for everything. Please tell your Chief Minister and the Home Minister as to how inhuman and how barbaric this whole thing was; let us not try to be wise. Your own Chief Justice has pointed it out; of course, we don't require any Chief Justice to say that. Please change this and do the needful so that the people are treated equally. Now, I would also say that as per...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI): I thought you were going to wind up and leave some time for your colleague.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: Of course. Now, I must also mention here that the Police Sub Inspector, Solanki, and the Senior Police Inspector, at whatever Police Station, have filed specific FIRs against the VHP and the BJP workers, mentioning their names and things of that sort. I have all of them here. Therefore, my demand is, as I said, we must treat everybody equally. As you have banned SIMI, you must also ban the Bajrang Dal and the VHP. These are also organisations which are doing great damage to this country. All of us have religious feelings; some don't. But that does not matter. We must keep this country together and prosperous, but that cannot be done with any type of organisations, whether of this religion or the other, whether of this colour or the other, creating this type of enmity. There is also a need to remove all those partisan elements from the Police. Food, clothes and other relief must be sent immediately to the relief camps, where these have not reached; I have found it myself. Please see to it that this is done. Therefore, now decide, as I said, on the strategy to deal with the situation. Elections do not matter. Political parties will not exist if the country does not exist. Therefore, today, take a decision that if anybody, of whichever religious colour or whichever ethnic colour, takes to this communal divide and creates this type of a situation, he will be dealt with, at the very outset, with the maximum force. Let us maintain the unity of this country which belongs to all of us, which is good for us, whether it is the majority or the minority; let us protect it and let us strengthen it.

प्रो.रामदेव भंडारी (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सबसे पहले मैं गुजरात में सांप्रदायिक कट्टरपंथियों, धार्मिक उन्मादियों द्वारा की गई भारी हिंसा, लूटपाट, आगजनी की घटनाओं की अपनी ओर से, अपनी पार्टी की ओर से, पार्टी के नेता श्री लालू प्रसाद जी की ओर से और मुख्यमंत्री श्रीमती राबड़ी देवी जी की ओर से घोर निन्दा करता हूँ। महोदय, गुजरात की घटना ने पूरे देश को कलंकित किया है, देश की आत्मा को हिलाकर रख दिया है। हजारों बेगुनाह लोगों की हत्या, आग में जिन्दा जलाकर मार देना, हजारों घरों को आग में फूंक देना हैवानियत की ऐसी मिसाल है जो इस देश की आत्मा को बरसों तक टीसती रहेगी, दुख देती रहेगी। महोदय, राष्ट्रपिता गांधी का गुजरात आज सांप्रदायिकता, धार्मिक जुनून तथा हिंसा की आग में जल रहा है। कट्टरपंथियों द्वारा योजनाबद्ध तरीके से लगाई गई इस आग में हजारों लोगों की जान गई है, हजारों लोगों को जिंदा जलाया गया है। इंसानियत की हत्या हुई है, लोकतंत्र और संविधान की हत्या हुई है। एक पूर्व एम.पी. अपनी जान बचाने के लिए पुलिस को बार-बार टेलीफोन करते रहे मगर पुलिस टेलीफोन करने के बाद भी वहां नहीं आई और दंगाइयों ने, कट्टरपंथियों ने पूरे परिवार सहित उन्हें आग में जला दिया। यह पहली घटना नहीं है। इसके अलावा भी राज्य के कई भागों में, जहां कर्फ्यू लगा हुआ था, कर्फ्यू के बावजूद भी दंगाई सड़क पर आए, हत्याएं की, घरों में आग लगाई और लोगों को

5.00 p.m.

जिन्दा जलाया । महोदय, गुजरात सरकार ने कट्टरपंथियों को, दंगाइयों को, हत्या, लूटपाट, आगजनी की एक प्रकार से खुली छूट दे रखी थी। पुलिस मूकदर्शक एवं तमाशबीन बनी हुई थी और लुटेरे, हत्यारे, सैकड़ों की संख्या में सामूहिक लूटपाट और हत्या कर रहे थे, बेगुनाहों को जिंदा जला रहे थे । हम सभी ने टी.वी. चैनल पर देखा है कि किस प्रकार से लूट का माल लेने के लिए लोग सैकड़ों की संख्या में दुकानों पर दूट पड़े थे । इतना ही नहीं जिन्हें मनपसंद सामान नहीं मिला वे उसे बदलने के लिए दुकान में फिर जाते थे ताकि अपना मनपसंद सामान लेकर आएँ । कितने शर्म की बात है । इस प्रकार से लूट-पाट हो रही है, लोगों को जिन्दा जलाया जा रहा है और पुलिस मूकदर्शक बनी हुई है । अभी जेटली साहब कह रहे थे कि 98 लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है । उन्होंने भी टी.वी. देखा होगा। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल : चार हजार लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है...**(व्यवधान)**...

प्रो. रामदेव भंडारी : 98 लोगों को मारा गया है ...**(व्यवधान)**... पुलिस ने 98 लोगों को मारा है और हजारों को गिरफ्तार किया है । आपने भी टी.वी. चैनल देखा होगा । सभी लोगों ने देखा होगा । आज कल कई चैनल टी.वी. पर आ रहे हैं । जिस प्रकार की घटना हो रही है, वहां जा कर के कोरेसपोंडेंट्स डायरेक्ट टी.वी. पर दिखाते हैं । आपने देखा होगा कि किस प्रकार से मोब एक जगह से दूसरी जगह हथियार लिए हुए दौड़ रहा था, हमला कर रहा था, लूट-पाट कर रहा था । ऐसा लग रहा था कि 28 तारीख से गुजरात में कोई सरकार नहीं थी । वहां लगातार हत्या और लूट-पाट की घटनाएं हो रही थी, लाशें गिर रही थी, लाशें मिल रही थीं । सरकार पर दरअसल आतंकियों ने, दंगाइयों ने और खूनीयों ने अपना कब्जा जमा रखा था । जेटली साहब कह रहे थे कि वहां सरकार थी, पुलिस वहां थी, मगर जब हत्या हो रही थी, लूटपाट हो रही थी, जब जिन्दा जलाया जा रहा था, उस समय पुलिस कहां सोई हुई थी ? महोदय, जब गोधरा में साबरमती एक्सप्रेस में आग लगाई गई जिसमें कोच के अन्दर सफर कर रहे लोगों को जिन्दा जलाया गया, मैंने भी अपनी पार्टी की ओर से उस घटना की घोर निन्दा की थी । दूसरे दलों के लोगों ने भी, विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों ने भी उस घटना की निन्दा की थी । कहा गया कि इसमें पाकिस्तान का हाथ है, इसमें आई.एस.आई. का हाथ है, इसमें साजिश की गई है । इससे इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है कि इसके पीछे कोई योजना थी क्योंकि एकाएक इतना बड़ा कांड नहीं हो सकता है । मगर मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूं कि जब इस प्रकार की घटना को अंजाम देने की कोशिश की जा रही थी, साजिश की जा रही थी तो सरकार कहां सोई हुई थी ? राज्य सरकार के पास भी इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज़ हैं, केन्द्र सरकार के पास भी इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज़ हैं, पुलिस भी है । इतनी बड़ी घटना को अंजाम देने का प्रयास किया जा रहा था तब यह इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसीज़ क्या कर रही थी ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है ।

प्रो. रामदेव भंडारी : क्या राज्य सरकार की कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है ? क्या केन्द्र सरकार की जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि ऐसे लोगों को पहले ही पकड़ ले जो इस प्रकार की घटना को

अंजाम देने जा रहे हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि राज्य सरकार और केन्द्र सरकार अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करने में पूरी तरह से विफल रही हैं। ऐसी सरकार को एक क्षण भी सत्ता में रहने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। जब देश में कोई बड़ी घटना होती है चाहे आतंकवाद से जुड़ी हो या साम्प्रदायिक उन्माद से, हिंसा से, सरकार जब घटना को रोकने में विफल होती है तो आई.एस.आई. और पाकिस्तान का नाम लेती है। हमारे देश में आई.एस.आई. और पाकिस्तान की एक्टीविटीज़ होती हैं, मैं यह मानता हूँ, मगर उसको कौन कंट्रोल करेगा? जो सरकार यहां है, दिल्ली में है या जो राज्य सरकारें हैं, उनका दायित्व बनता है कि उसको कंट्रोल करें। महोदय, देश की एकता, अखण्डता, साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव, आतंकवाद जैसे मसलों पर सारा देश, सभी राजनीतिक पार्टियां सरकार के समर्थन में मजबूती से खड़ी होती हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): अब आप समाप्त करिये।

प्रो. रामदेव भंडारी : मगर सरकार की दुलमुल नीतियों के चलते, कमजोर कार्यवाहियों के चलते गुजरात जैसी हिंसक घटनाएं हो रही हैं। अगर सरकार विपक्षी दलों के सुझाव को मान लेती, जिस दिन यह घटना हुई, उस दिन के बाद से ही विपक्षी दलों ने कहना शुरू किया कि स्थिति गुजरात सरकार के हाथ से बाहर जा रही है, इसलिए यहां फौज को लगाया जाए। मगर केन्द्रीय सरकार पता नहीं किस बात का इंतज़ार कर रही थी। एक के बाद दूसरा दिन, दूसरे के बाद तीसरा दिन निरंतर घटनायें बढ़ती गईं और आज भी घटनाएं वहां हो रही हैं। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने वहां फौज नहीं लगाई है। कौन दोषी है इसके लिए?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): समाप्त करिये।

प्रो. रामदेव भंडारी : महोदय, मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। यह जो कुछ संस्थाएं हैं जैसे विश्व हिन्दू परिषद, बजरंग दल, यह इस देश में धार्मिक उन्माद फैला रही हैं। मैं जानता हूँ सरकार अभी दुखी है, कई राज्यों में इनकी सरकार चली गई है। फिर से सरकार में आने के लिए यह रास्ता नहीं है कि आप मजहब के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर लोगों को बांटिये, देश को बांटिये। आप ऐसा खतरनाक खेल खेल रहे हैं, ये अपने लिए ही नहीं पूरे देश के लिए खेल रहे हैं और देश को गलत दिशा में ले जा रहे हैं। इसलिए महोदय, मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा..

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): अब आप समाप्त करिए।

प्रो. रामदेव भंडारी : मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। वे अभी कह रहे थे कि जार्ज फर्नान्डीज जी गए थे, उन्होंने कहा कि किसी भी गांव में जब घटना होती है ..

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): आप अपनी बात कहकर समाप्त करिए।

प्रो. रामदेव भंडारी : किसी गांव में जब घटना होती है तो उस गांव पर सामूहिक जुर्माना करना चाहिए। अगर पूरे राज्य में घटना होती है तो यह जुर्माना किस पर किया जाएगा? महोदय, गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री को एक मिनट भी रहने का अधिकार नहीं है। गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री को बर्खास्त करना चाहिए। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि बजरंग दल और विश्व हिन्दू परिषद जैसी संस्थाओं पर बैन लगाना चाहिए क्योंकि इनकी कार्यवाहियों के चलते देश में दंगे फसाद होते हैं। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज से इसकी जांच करानी चाहिए और जो अपराधी हैं चाहे वे बीजेपी के हों,

विश्व हिंदू परिषद के हों या किसी भी ऐसे दल के हों, जो सरकार का समर्थन कर रहे हों उनके खिलाफ कठोर से कठोर कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए, उन्हें जेल में बंद करना चाहिए। बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI P.G. NARAYANAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Gujarat problem started from Godhra incident. The carnage in Godhra is highly reprehensible and no civilised society would tolerate it. Most of the persons killed in that incident were women and children. This is crime against the humanity. Those who are responsible for this heinous crime should be brought to book and punished. Sir, the incident in Godhra could have been averted only if the wireless message sent by the Guard of the Sabarmati Express to the Station Master was acted upon. The fire engineers were rushed to the carnage spot based on the wireless message. These fire engineers could not perform their job because of pelting of stones by the miscreants.

Had the Administration sent the police force along with the fire engineers, the rescue job could have been accomplished fully. In Gujarat, several hundred people have been killed in various parts. A number of properties have been destroyed, both public and private. Still there is tension. The State Government should take steps to deploy Army in vulnerable places to control the situation.

Sir, whether the Godhra massacre incident or the Gujarat riots incident which followed after that massacre, deserve to be condemned strongly. The rescue operations and relief measures provided to the victims by the Government should not give any room for complaints, from any quarter. All the victims have to be treated equally.

Sir, the demand of resignation of the Chief Minister or the Central functionaries alone would not solve the problem. Instead, everyone should do something to restore the communal harmony. This being a sensitive issue, the situation should not be allowed to escalate in the interest of peace. So, I urge upon the Government of India, to take all possible steps to see to ensure that the communal harmony is safeguarded and maintained fully in the country.

Thank you.

SHRI YADLAPATI VENKAT RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I will be very brief and succinct. It is sad that atrocities were committed on innocent people. I condemn the violence that took place in the State of Gujarat. I only urge upon the Government to see to it that such incidents do not take place in future. That is all. Thank you, Sir.

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सर्वप्रथम मैं गोधरा और उसके बाद गुजरात में जो भी हिंसा की घटनाएं हुई हैं, उन घटनाओं की अपनी और अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से कड़ी निंदा करता हूँ। मेरे दो-तीन प्रश्न हैं जो मैं गृह मंत्री जी से करना चाहूंगा। पहली बात तो यह कि कहा जा रहा है कि गुजरात में सामान्य स्थिति हो रही है। यह आज के अखबार में है कि सामान्य स्थिति हो रही है, लेकिन दो घटनाओं में 9 लोगों को घुरा घोंप कर मार दिया गया और अभी भी बच्चे स्कूल नहीं जा रहे हैं। क्या गृह मंत्री जी यह कबूल करते हैं या यह मानते हैं कि वहां पर अब स्थिति सामान्य हो गयी है और जन-जीवन सामान्य हो रहा है, जबकि दो घटनाओं में ही 9 लोगों की हत्या कर दी जा रही हो और बच्चे स्कूल नहीं जा रहे हों? दूसरा मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि कानून मंत्री जी भी जब बोल रहे थे तो उनका भी कहना यही था कि हिंसा अत्यन्त ही व्यापक पैमाने पर थी या हिंसा के आगोश में पूरा गुजरात बड़े व्यापक ढंग से था। वह बता रहे थे कि चार हजार लोग गिरफ्तार हुए और 98 लोग पुलिस की गोली से मारे गए। पुलिस ने अपना कर्तव्य निभाया। लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि हिंसा बड़े व्यापक पैमाने पर थी। तो मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि जब सात दिन तक लगातार इतने बड़े पैमाने पर हिंसा चल रही हो, हिंसा के आगोश में पूरा राज्य हो तो इसके मूल में क्या है? यह कौन सा जहर है जो हमारे जहन में घुस गया है, जिसके कारण एक घटना इतने बड़े पैमाने पर हिंसा के आगोश में पूरे राज्य को धकेल देती है और पुलिस व पूरा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन लाचार हो जाता है? लेकिन मेरे दिमाग में जो है और मेरी समझ में जो है वह यह है कि सांप्रदायिक उन्माद की राजनीति, धर्म के नाम पर राजनीति ही उस जहर को हमारे जहन में घोल रही है जिसके कारण हमारे देश और इसके विभिन्न राज्यों में समय-समय पर इस तरह की वारदातें हो रही हैं और इसके लिए नाम उन संगठनों के लिए जा रहे हैं जो यह जहर घोलने का काम कर रहे हैं। मेरी समझ में यह है कि गुजरात में एक ऐसी ही सरकार बैठी हुई है, एक ऐसी ही पार्टी की सरकार बैठी हुई है जिस सरकार का मनोबल इसलिए भी ऊंचा है, सांप्रदायिक राजनीति करने वालों का मनोबल इसलिए भी ऊंचा है कि केन्द्र में भी उसी के प्रभाव वाली एक सरकार है और इसीलिए इतने बड़े पैमाने पर हिंसा की घटनाएं घटती हैं। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, जो स्थायी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है, कल बीजेपी की सरकार जा सकती है और दूसरे दल की सरकार आ सकती है लेकिन एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मशीनरी स्थायी है, एक मायने में वह लाचार रहती है। प्रश्न यह है कि क्या सांप्रदायिक उन्माद की राजनीति छोड़ी जाएगी? अगर सांप्रदायिक उन्माद की राजनीति, चाहे गुजरात की सरकार में बैठे हुए लोग हों या केन्द्र में बैठे हुए लोग हों, अगर वे सांप्रदायिक उन्माद की राजनीति छोड़ने को तैयार नहीं हैं तो अवश्य ही वे गद्दी छोड़ दें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): ओझा जी, अब आप समाप्त करिए।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : गृह मंत्री जी को यह आश्वासन देना होगा कि या तो सांप्रदायिक उन्माद की राजनीति नहीं चलेगी या फिर हम गद्दी छोड़ेंगे, यह स्पष्ट बताना होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): धन्यवाद।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : नहीं, तीसरा मेरा प्रश्न सुन लिया जाए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): पहले ही टाइम से काफी आगे हो गया है और आज ही समाप्त होना है तथा अभी बोलने वाले भी बहुत से लोग हैं।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : तीसरा, अंतिम है ... (व्यवधान)... जब 9 मिनट वाले को 20 मिनट मिला है तो 4 मिनट वाले को 6 मिनट का समय मिलना चाहिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): नहीं, आपका 6 का पहले ही 9 हो गया है ।

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो लोग मारे गए हैं, कहा जा रहा है कि मारने वाले मुस्लिम थे, हिंदू थे, लेकिन एक और तरह के लोग भी थे जो लोगों की जान बचा रहे थे। उन की भी कहानियां अखबारों में छप रही हैं जो अपनी जान जोखिम में डालकर मौत से घिरे हुए लोगों की रक्षा कर रहे थे । ऐसे लोगों ने कई जगह रक्षा की है, मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि हमारे गृह मंत्री जी या सरकार उन को किस श्रेणी में रखेगी ? क्या वह हिंदू थे, मुसलमान थे, कौन से लोग थे ? महोदय, ऐसे लोगों की भी हमारे समाज में कमी नहीं है । मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसे लोग पहले इंसान थे और बाद में हिंदू या मुसलमान थे । उन का धार्मिक उन्माद से कोई मतलब नहीं था । अनेक जगहों पर अपनी जान पर खेलकर उन लोगों ने दूसरे लोगों के प्राणों की रक्षा की ।

महोदय, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करते हुए ऐसे लोगों को साधुवाद देता हूँ, ऐसे लोगों की तारीफ करता हूँ । ऐसे लोगों ने समय-समय पर हुए दंगों में इस तरह का साहस दिखलाया है, लेकिन गृह मंत्री जी और धर्म की बात करने वालों से मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि ऐसे लोग कौन सी कोटि में आते हैं जो अपनी जान पर खेलकर सांप्रदायिक उन्मादियों का सामना करते हैं ? धन्यवाद ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी): धन्यवाद । श्री संजय निरुपम ।

श्री संजय निरुपम : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, गुजरात में पिछले हफ्ते जो कुछ हुआ, उस की निन्दा होनी चाहिए । किसी भी तरह का दंगा हो, किसी भी तरह की हिंसा हो, उस का समर्थन नहीं किया जा सकता । मैं भी उस का समर्थन करने के लिए यहां पर खड़ा नहीं हुआ हूँ, लेकिन जो दंगा हुआ और जो हिंसा भड़की, उस के कारणों के ऊपर संदन में चर्चा हो रही है और मैं भी उसी चर्चा में हिस्सा लेने के लिए आप के समक्ष उपस्थित हूँ ।

महोदय, अहमदाबाद में, बड़ोदा में, और सूरत में जो भयंकर किस्म के दंगे भड़के, उस के पीछे सब से बड़ा जिम्मेदार कारण कौन सा था, उसे बूढ़ने की जरूरत है । महोदय, गोधरा में हुए बहुत बड़े हत्याकाण्ड में 57 लोग मारे गए जिन में बच्चे और महिलाएं भी थीं । कांग्रेस के एक पूर्व सांसद की हत्या के बारे में बार-बार कहा जाता है कि 6 घंटे तक वह पुलिस को फोन करते रहे और पुलिस नहीं आई । लेकिन जो बेघारे, गरीब राममक्त ट्रेन में जलकर मारे गए, उन के पास तो फोन भी उपलब्ध नहीं था । वह तो किसी से गुहार भी नहीं कर सकते थे । महोदय, यह समझने की जरूरत है कि गोधरा में जो हत्याकाण्ड हुआ, वह कोई दुर्घटना जैसी बात नहीं थी, वह कोई अघानक हुई घटना नहीं थी । दो हजार लोग वहां एक साथ इकट्ठा होते हैं और महोदय, गोधरा एक ऐसी जगह है जहां लगभग 40 हजार के आसपास अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग के लोग रहते हैं । गोधरा से 500 मीटर आगे जब ट्रेन गयी तो उस को चैन पुल कर के रोका गया । वह एक ऐसी जगह है जहां सिर्फ अल्पसंख्यक वर्ग के लोग रहते हैं । वह एक प्लांड कार्यक्रम था, एक सुनियोजित कार्यक्रम था और उस प्लान की जानकारी राज्य सरकार की इंटेलीजेंस को नहीं थी । इस का मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हो रहा है और दुख भी हो रहा है क्योंकि ऐसी जानकारी उन्हें होनी चाहिए थी । महोदय, अब मुझे सिर्फ यह पूछना था कि आखिर ये 2

हजार लोग कौन थे, उस भीड़ का नेतृत्व करने वाले लोग कौन थे ? जब यहां से अरुण जेटली जी ने बताया कि कांग्रेस के कुछ कॉर्पोरेटर थे तो उस तरफ से बहुत शोर मचाया गया, लेकिन सारे साक्ष्य उपलब्ध हैं कि किस तरीके से कांग्रेस के लोग इस में इनवॉल्व थे, किस तरह से एक पक्ष से जुड़े हुए लोग इनवॉल्व थे। महोदय, मुझे ज्यादा पार्टी पॉलिटिक्स की बात नहीं करनी है। मुझे तो यह पूछना है कि जो बेचारे जलाए गए उन का आखिर गुनाह क्या था ? वह तो अयोध्या से लौट रहे थे। वह राम की पूजा कर के, पूर्णाहुति यज्ञ में शामिल होकर लौट रहे थे। महोदय, वहां उन के द्वारा पूजा करना तो कोई गुनाह नहीं था। कोर्ट के ऑर्डर से गर्भगृह में वहां सालों से पूजा चल रही है। वे उस पूजा में शामिल होने गए थे। महोदय, जब उन लोगों की हत्या की खबर अखबारों में छपी और जैसा मैंने देखा तो जिस दुख व तकलीफ के साथ और जिस पैशन के साथ अहमदाबाद के दंगों के बारे में बोला जा रहा है, उस पैशन के साथ और उस दर्द के साथ लोगों ने गोधरा हत्याकाण्ड की आलोचना नहीं की। अगर कुछ लोगों ने की तो सिर्फ इतना कहा कि वे राम भक्त थे, कार सेवक थे और अयोध्या से लौट रहे थे। महोदय, उड़ीसा में जब ग्राहम स्टेंस को जलाया गया था तो मैं उस की भी निन्दा कर चुका हूँ। मेरी पार्टी ने भी उस की निन्दा की थी और स्वयं शिव सेना प्रमुख ने भी उस घटना की निन्दा की थी। महोदय, जब ग्राहम स्टेंस को जलाया गया तो उस के लिए कारण नहीं ढूँढा गया। उस का कोई कारण होगा कि वह जबरन धर्मान्तरण या कुछ और कर रहे थे, लेकिन वह इस देश के सेकुलरिज्म के ऊपर, धर्म-निरपेक्षता के ऊपर और सम्य सम्राज की जो एक व्यवस्था है, उस के ऊपर कलंक है। लेकिन जब गोधरा हत्याकांड हुआ तब किसी ने खुलकर इस तरह की बातें नहीं की। सब उसमें कारण ढूँढने लगे। इसलिए हमें दुख हुआ। ... (व्यवधान) ... नीलोत्पल जी, हंसने की बात नहीं है। दुख इस बात का है कि जब हिन्दू समाज के लोग जलाए जाते हैं, जब मेजोरिटी क्लास के लोग जलाए जाते हैं तो उसके कारण नहीं ढूँढे जाते हैं और जब अहमदाबाद में या देश में कहीं भी माइनोरिटी क्लास के लोग जलाए जाते हैं तो उसके कारण ढूँढे जाते हैं। यह अगर सेकुलरिज्म है, यह अगर धर्मनिरपेक्षता है तो मेरे ख्याल में यह हमारे देश में नहीं चल सकती। हमको धर्मनिरपेक्षता को नए सिरे से समझना पड़ेगा, उसके नए अर्थों को ढूँढना पड़ेगा और तब कहीं जाकर इस देश में एकता का एक वातावरण उपस्थित हो सकता है।

उपसमाध्यक्ष जी, जब मुहम्मद कालूटा को पकड़ा गया, जो गोधरा नगर पालिका के अध्यक्ष है, जिनका बकायदा एक विज्ञापन है तो पाया गया कि जिस समय गोधरा में हत्याकांड हुआ, उस दिन हत्याकांड से पहले उन्होंने कम से कम तीस फोन पाकिस्तान किए थे। जब हम कहते हैं कि मुस्लिम का और आईएसआई का कनेक्शन है, तो कहा जाता है कि सारे मुसलमान आईएसआई के एजेंट नहीं हैं। सचमुच में नहीं हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण यह है कि आईएसआई के ज्यादातर एजेंट मुसलमान हैं। यह एक सच है इस देश का, जिसे इस समाज को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा और इस समाज के लिए ज्यादा जरूरी है कि मुस्लिम समाज के लोग ऐसे लोगों का बायकाट करें, उन्हें बहिष्कृत करें क्योंकि इनका पूरा समाज बदनाम हो रहा है, जो बहुत अच्छी बात नहीं है। आज जो इस देश के 18-20 करोड़ लोगों की बात करते हैं तो उनसे मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों उन कुछ लोगों की वजह से यह पूरा समाज बदनाम हो रहा है ? जब तक यह समाज खुलकर उनके खिलाफ नहीं आता, तब तक बात नहीं बनेगी, तब तक कुछ संभाला नहीं जा सकता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कालूटा और कांग्रेस का रिश्ता जाहिर है। इसके बावजूद कांग्रेस के लोग तरह-तरह की बातें करते हैं। अहमदाबाद के बारे में यह एक लोकप्रिय धारणा बन गई है कि वहां के मुख्यमंत्री जी ने यह कहा कि यह तो होना ही था, यह एक प्रतिक्रिया थी। उन सारे बयानों को अरुण जी ने अपने ढंग से यहां दिखाया। इसमें सबसे ज्यादा जो खतरनाक भूमिका निभाई गई, वह टीवी मीडिया की तरफ से निभाई गई। जिस तरीके से टेलीविजन मीडिया ने इन सब चीजों को जिस नंगे रूप में दिखाया, उसको छुपाया जा सकता था, उसको रोका जा सकता था। आखिर कितनी लार्शें यह लोग दिखाएंगे, कब तक लार्शें दिखाएंगे? जिन क्षेत्रों में दंगे हुए वहां जाकर टीवी रिपोर्टर ने हाथ में माइक लेकर कैमरे के सामने खड़े होकर जिस तरीके से कहा कि यह स्थान मुस्लिम का है, यह हिन्दुओं का है, यहां लोग जलाए गए, यहां पत्थर फेंके जा रहे हैं, यहां ऐसा हो रहा है, मुझे लगता है कि इससे दंगे और भी ज्यादा भड़के हैं। जो यह तीन चार दिनों तक चला, उसमें टीवी मीडिया का भी अपना एक रोल था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बार-बार पुलिस को दोष दिया जाता है। अब अगर हजारों लोग एक साथ मैदान में उतर जाएं, एक दूसरे पर पत्थर फेंकने लगें, एक दूसरे पर चाकू चलाने लगें, एक दूसरे पर गोलियां बरसाने लगें तो हमारी पुलिस इतनी सक्षम या इतनी साधन संपन्न नहीं है कि दो मिनट के अंदर सब कुछ अपने कंट्रोल में कर ले। यह हुआ है, इससे पहले भी हुआ है। जब यहां 1984 की चर्चा की गई तो उधर से शबाना आजमी जी ने कहा - Don't compare it..., ठीक है, हम कम्पेयर नहीं कर रहे हैं। दोनों की निन्दा की गई, लेकिन वर्ष 1984 में यह सब कुछ हुआ है, हमारी आंखों के सामने हुआ है। उसमें किस-किस को हटाया गया? कौन-कौन सी सरकारें हटाई गई? कौन-कौन से मुख्यमंत्री हटाए गए? कौनसे प्रधान मंत्री ने इस्तीफा दिया? ऐसा कुछ भी नहीं हुआ। इसलिए गुजरात में जो कुछ हुआ, उसकी हम निन्दा करते हैं। हम इससे बहुत ज्यादा खुश नहीं हैं, लेकिन बात-बात पर यह कहना कि मुख्यमंत्री को हटा दो, गृहमंत्री जी आप रिजाइन करो। यह सारे जो तर्क हैं, यह सारी जो बातें हैं, इन बातों में जाने के बजाय उनके मूल में जाना चाहिए। अगर उसके मूल में जाने की बात करें तो मुझे अयोध्या पर बात करनी पड़ेगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कोशिश कर रहा हूँ कि मैं इरिलेवेण्ट बात न करूँ, मैं पूरे विषय से अलग न हटूँ। सुप्रीम कोर्ट का इस तरह का बयान है कि सारे दंगे-फसाद की जड़ अयोध्या-विवाद है। मैंने आज ही एक पत्र इस बारे में प्रधानमंत्री जी को लिखा है, जिसकी मैं यहां चर्चा करूंगा, पूरा पत्र पढ़कर नहीं सुनाऊंगा। मेरी अपनी व्यक्तिगत इच्छा है कि अयोध्या-विवाद का हल जितनी जल्दी हो, किया जाए। अयोध्या-विवाद के हल की दिशा में सरकार को गंभीरतापूर्वक प्रयास करना चाहिए। पिछले तीन साल में हमारी सरकार यहां केन्द्र में है, इस सरकार ने कोई भी गंभीरतापूर्वक प्रयास इस दिशा में नहीं किया है। अगर दो, चार, छह महीने में जयललिता का विवाद हल किया जा सकता है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट का एक अंतिम फैसला हो सकता है तो तीन साल के अंदर अयोध्या-विवाद का भी समाधान हो सकता था। इसके लिए सरकार की तरफ से सुप्रीम कोर्ट से एक निवेदन किया जाना चाहिए कि यह एक समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम बनाया जाए कि तीन महीने के अंदर, छह महीने के अंदर इस पर एक फैसला हो, चाहे जिसके पक्ष में हो। गर्भगृह के ऊपर दोनों तरफ से दावेदारी है, जिसको भी देना है, दे दिया जाए, लेकिन हमेशा के लिए अयोध्या-विवाद को हल किया जाए। अयोध्या-विवाद का जो दूसरा पहलू है, जिसकी वजह से यह सारी बात हो रही है, 67 एकड़ या 71 एकड़ का जो भूखंड है उस पर बकायदा अदालत का

फैसला है कि यह अविवादित भूखंड है और इस पर सिर्फ रामजन्म-भूमि न्यास की अपनी दावेदारी है। इसलिए इसे राम जन्म-भूमि न्यास को दे दिया जाना चाहिए। राम जन्म-भूमि न्यास को दिए जाने के संबंध में विश्व हिन्दू परिषद की यह एक मांग है और इसी आधार पर विश्व हिन्दू परिषद वहां पर पूर्णाहुति यज्ञ कर रहा है, जो सौ दिनों तक चलने वाला है। माननीय गृह मंत्री जी यहां उपस्थित हैं, मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि तत्काल राष्ट्रीय जनतांत्रिक गठबंधन की बैठक हो या पूरे विरोधी दल के नेतागण को लेकर एक बैठक हो, जिसमें अयोध्या के इस विवाद का समाधान ढूंढा जाए और तत्काल यह 67 एकड़ या 71 एकड़ का जो भूखंड है वह राम जन्म-भूमि न्यास को दिया जाए ताकि वह मंदिर के निर्माण का काम शुरू करें। एक बार मंदिर निर्माण का काम शुरू हो गया तो मुझे लगता है कि जो एक तनाव है, जो एक विभेद बना हुआ है समाज में, वह विभेद खत्म हो सकता है। आप बार-बार कहते हैं कि मुस्लिम समाज बहुत हर्ट हो जाएगा, वहां एक मस्जिद थी। अगर 18-20 करोड़ मुस्लिम समाज की भावनाओं की चिंता आप कर रहे हैं तो 80 करोड़ हिन्दुओं की भावनाओं की भी चिंता की जानी चाहिए। आखिर हमारा भी कोई मन है, हमारी भी अपनी भावना है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) पीठासीन हुए

इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस दंगे से कुछ सीख लेते हुए अयोध्या विवाद पर तत्काल ध्यान दिया जाए। प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय में एक अयोध्या सेल है, वह क्या कर रहा है समझ में नहीं आता। उस अयोध्या सेल को एक समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम देकर अयोध्या विवाद के समाधान की दिशा में गंभीरता पूर्वक प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए। अयोध्या विवाद मूल में हैं, यह सभी मानते हैं, मेरे ख्याल से सदन के सारे सदस्य मानते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि दंगों में एक दूसरे पर दोषारोपण करने के बजाए जो रूट काज है, जो उसके जड़ में एक कारण है, उसको समझते हुए, उस कारण को दूर किया जाए। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों तबके के लोगों का एक बहुत बड़ा वर्ग ऐसा है जो साथ में रहता है, रहना चाहता है, जिसकी एक सांझी संस्कृति है और जो सांझी संस्कृति में विश्वास करते हैं, उसी विश्वास के आधार पर हमें साथ-साथ रहना है। बात सिर्फ अहमदाबाद की नहीं होनी चाहिए। इससे पहले मैं और शबाना जी टी.वी. पर थे, मैंने उनसे पूछा कि दंगा हुआ अहमदाबाद में आप सीधे अहमदाबाद चली गईं, लेकिन उससे दो दिन पहले गोधरा में इतना बड़ा हत्याकांड हुआ, गोधरा में क्यों नहीं गईं? कुछ लोग हमारे देश में दंगों के विशेषज्ञ हैं। जहां भी दंगा हुआ, जहां भी मुस्लिम मारे जाते हैं, वहां चले जाते हैं और उनकी भावनाएं भड़काकर आ जाते हैं। उनको बहुत तकलीफ हुई, मुख्य मंत्री ने उनको दंगा प्रभावित क्षेत्रों में नहीं जाने दिया। उन्होंने मुझे भी कहा कि मुख्य मंत्री ने नहीं अलाऊ किया। मैंने कहा कि अच्छा किया है। कौन-कौन लोग थे? ये थे - समाजवादी पार्टी के दो सांसद और एक सी0पी0एम के नेता। मैंने कहा आप चार लोग ही क्यों गए, मेरे जैसे लोगों को क्यों नहीं लेकर गए? जब भी दंगा होता है यही चार लोग वहां जाएंगे, और भी भावनाएं भड़काएंगे। दंगों के समय भावनाएं भड़काने की जगह उन पर थोड़ा भरहम लगाने का काम होना चाहिए, भरहम लगाने का कार्यक्रम नहीं हो रहा। और जो सैकुलरिज्म के नाम पर एक ध्यौरी बनी हुई है, सैकुलरिज्म के नाम पर जो लोगों ने अपनी एक इमेज बना रखी है, वह सैकुलरिज्म कम है बल्कि एक खास समुदाय को खुश करने के लिए, उनकी भावनाओं को भड़काने के लिए राजनीति हो रही है। आज हिन्दुस्तान के हित में यह है कि किसी भी तरह से दो समुदायों को टकराने की राजनीति करने की बजाए पूरे देश को साथ

लेकर चलने पर विचार किया जाए। उसी विचार का सबसे बड़ा मूल अयोध्या है। मैं भगवान के लिए सबसे अनुरोध करूंगा कि अयोध्या विवाद का जल्दी समाधान ढूंढा जाए। अयोध्या विवाद ही पूरे दंगे-फसाद की एक जड़ है। धन्यवाद।

SHRIMATI SHABANA AZMI (Nominated): Sir, I rise to express my deep anguish at the heinous massacre of innocent women, children and men in Godhra, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat, and other areas in Gujarat. What we witnessed in the past few days was inhuman, barbaric and ought to be condemned in the strongest possible terms. Fifty-seven innocent people were killed during the attack on the Sabarmati Express; 500 people were killed in the communal carnage that followed afterwards, say official estimates. The NGOs working in that area have placed the figure closer to 2,000. There has been large-scale destruction of life and property. Would these wounds ever be healed is a question that each one of us needs to ask and need to be pondered over with sobriety? It causes me deep anguish that we are discussing such a serious issue, in the House, and the attendance is so thin. What signal are we sending to the people of Gujarat? That their lives have been ruined; their properties have been destroyed, and when we are discussing this most important issue, the attendance in the House is so thin. It is indeed very sad. As somebody who worked very actively during the Bombay riots in 1992-93, I could see clearly, Sir, that the pattern that erupted in the Gujarat carnage was identical to that of what happened in Bombay; was identical indeed to that of what happened during the anti-sikh riots in Delhi. Do we learn any lessons from history? Obviously not. In fact, we choose not to, because it really does not hurt us that innocent lives are lost each time. In fact, very cynically, off the record, a Member of Parliament was telling me the other day, "Oh, this is a way to consolidate the Hindu vote bank." In U.P., the B.J.P. has lost so badly; it was slipping and so it had to allow something to happen that was going to consolidate the vote bank. And I said why do you think this would happen? He said, "Well, after the Bombay riots, what happened in Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena won; after the Sikh riots in Delhi, what happened, the Congress won; and, so, obviously, after this we are hoping that the Hindu votes will be consolidated." I think it is cold-blooded argument of this kind that is completely and totally chilling, and what the people of India need to do is, to defeat this design and this line of thinking. It is very important that the people of India wake up and say 'they refuse to be used as cannon-fodder in the hands of politicians who want to manipulate them'. I find it very strange that my friend, Shri Sanjay Nirupam says that when the Godhra massacre occurred, it was not condemned in as

strong terms as when the Gujarat carnage happened. I wonder what is the yardstick he uses for expressing 'as strong'. As far as I remember, all sections of society, all religious leaders, all political leaders, all academicians, intellectuals, artists, etc., condemned it in the strongest terms possible. I do not believe that the kind of heinous massacre that Godhra was where innocent children, women and men were set to fire that there is a single person in India, or, indeed anywhere else in the world who would not have been completely shocked with that, and has not expressed it in the strongest terms possible. This, Sir, is an extremely weak argument. Because you do not have a strong argument for saying that what happened in Ahmedabad and other places of Gujarat was reprehensible, so, you try to put the Opposition on the defensive. You try and create what is an even more weak argument. I do not think there is a single person, a right-minded individual in this country, who has not expressed shock and horror at the Godhra incident. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Please Singhalji, let her continue. You will get a chance.

SHRIMATI SHABANA AZMI: Sir, I will permit him.

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: Sir, for the information of hon. Member, I would like to say that on that day in this very House, condemnation was done by one or two Members, and then it was flying off the handle. You would also remember, Sir, that Madam Deputy Chairman, herself rose from the Chair and said that 'We will be diluting it, if The horror is tremendous.' She herself condemned the incident on behalf of the whole House, lest any bad blood or any politics creeps into that condemnation. I wonder whether the hon. Member was here on that day. Had the hon. Member been present in the House on that day, she would have known how the condemnation was, not as unequivocal as it has been and as it ought to be. Nobody can stop it. But here in this very House, I had witnessed it on that day. Madam Najma Heptulla herself said it.

SHRIMATI SHABANA AZMI: All right. Still I think that it is an extremely weak argument and it is an argument that seems to suggest that 'all right because this did not happen, that is why the Ahmedabad thing happened.' Is this an argument that you have to give? This is a weak defensive argument. Anyway, as somebody who has worked actively in riots, let me tell you that riots do not occur spontaneously. They are engineered and they are engineered by first creating an atmosphere of suspicion, hostility, emotions surcharged in which violence occurs. This

surcharged atmosphere has been systematically built for the last one year, starting from the Kumbh Mela onwards, and then every now and then, you have been having reactions and statements from the Sangh Parivar. The VHP is saying "we are going to carry forward with the construction of the Mandir". The Prime Minister is saying that 'we will see that some way this dispute is resolved.' After that, the VHP is saying so on and so forth. Let us see what has happened in the last few months. When Shri Ashok Singhal and company stormed into the disputed site, it is no less than the Home Minister of this country, who gives them a clean chit and said that they were merely singing Bhajans peacefully. When the Home Minister of this country gives them a clean chit, obviously they get even more emboldened and they feel that this is something which is close to achieving their aim now.

I really find it totally baffling that somebody like hon. Shri Arun Jaitley should say that nobody should be discussing about the atmosphere that was created before this violence and we should just stick to what is it that the police did or what is it that it did not do. Does not everybody present here know that communal violence does not occur like that? It occurs because of actions that have preceded before that. Such incidents of violence do not appear in a vacuum. They are inextricably linked to the incidents that precede them. And this is why certain questions need to be raised to which we would like answers. Yes, Godhra was a heinous crime. It was committed by criminals. But what happened in Ahmedabad and other places of Gujarat was because the State did not bring the situation under control with the kind of firmness that it needed. It was the State's lack of action in restoring law and order that was responsible for the situation. A recent report by the National Police Commission states clearly that if the worst communal riot is not controlled within 48 hours--this is the National Police Commission saying it--it means that there is political interference, it means that there are clear orders from the top saying that it should not be controlled. I will give you an example. When, after the Babri Masjid incident, riots happened in Bombay, three months after that, we had a heinous bomb blast on March 12. That was a time when one could have expected that communal riots of an even worse order would erupt. And yet, not a single riot happened! Why? Because there were very clear orders from the top saying that they would not be tolerated. It was the same police force, the same police force that had acted in a partisan manner three months before that. Because there were clear orders from the

top, there was not a single incident after such a heinous crime as the bomb blast. Now, what was the action that the police took? Sir, I will take just five minutes more. Why did not they anticipate, after something like Godhra happened, what would happen? How come the police did not anticipate it? This is the same thing as the Bombay police saying after the Bombay riots, "After the Babri Masjid, we were not anticipating that there would be such a carnage". Why? Why was there such an intelligence failure? In fact, even Mr. Swami said that it was intelligence failure of the State. I refer to this report in the *Indian Express*. It says:

"Full 18 hours after Godhra:

Gujarat police has an action-not-taken report

Nobody passed on Gujarat's worst kept secret -- that bloody reprisal would follow the killings of kar sevaks at Godhra--to the State police force. That, perhaps, is why the police's action-taken report in the crucial 18 hours before Ahmedabad broke out in violence is a big, bloody blank:

- Did they conduct the mandatory police drill? No.
- Did they carry out enough preventive arrests though the Special Branch, Crime Branch and police stations had all the information on potential trouble-makers? No.
- Did they contact religious leaders to make appeals for peace? No.
- Did they make any arrests at all in Ahmedabad's 30 police station areas? Yes, two: Mohammed Ismail Jalaluddin and Fateh Mohammed were picked up at Astodia on the night of February 27 for shouting slogans."

And so on and so forth. I have this report with me. I will be happy to give it to you. Now, what happens? Obviously, we do not want to play the blame-game. But we have to carefully look at what happened. The Police Commissioner goes up on the television and when he is asked why was it that the police did not deal with the situation as firmly as it should have, the Police Commissioner says, "Maybe the police were expressing the sentiments of the people". This, to my mind, is totally shocking. And the Police Commissioner has not been suspended after this! I mean, the police in this country are there to bring order and to make certain that they swear allegiance to the Constitution of India and do not behave in this kind of

partisan manner. It is a very, very shocking incident. And, on top of it, it is repeatedly told that the Press is responsible.

In fact, when I went to Ahmedabad, I was denied permission to go into any of the riot affected areas. The Chief Minister, while talking to me on the phone, informed me that everything is under control. I said to him, 'even when you were saying this to me, the phone lines are ringing, and there are people ringing up and crying, saying that they do not even know whether they are going to live through the night or not,' and he said, 'छुटपुट तो होता ही रहेगा।' His exact words were, छुटपुट तो होता ही रहेगा। इन्क्यायरी बैठा दी गई है। Then he told me that it was the Star TV that was singularly responsible for what was happening. I should salute the Press, particularly, the electronic media, which deserves my salutation for the wonderful work done by it, and it is because, they spared no words to define that this was Hindu and this was Muslim, and a very clear design was made available to all the people of this country, and it was because the facts were brought out without innuendoes, that the rest of the country did not go up in flames, and the media deserves total and complete credit for this. Now, what do you want to do? We need to give two-three very clear signals. Firstly, the Narendra Modi Government should be dismissed because of its complicity in these riots. So, without doubt, the Narendra Modi's Government should be dismissed. Secondly, after every riot, the guilty never get punished. It is imperative that the guilty, both in the Godhra killings and in the Ahmedabad killings must immediately be punished, because riot after riot, the guilty go scot-free, and the feeling in the community that has been brutalised is that there are two types of laws in this country. If you kill one person, maybe, you will be punished. But if you indulge in mass murders, an amnesty of sorts will be granted to you, and it is in this atmosphere of total insecurity, that the community feels further brutalised. So, it is extremely important to take care of this thing. We also have to think very seriously that every time when there is a riot, you say that a Commission of Inquiry has been appointed. That is just a way of whitewashing, because nothing happens thereafter. Unless we redefine this and say that the recommendations of the Inquiry Commission shall be mandatory for the Government to follow, nothing will happen. Unless and until we make that provision, nothing will happen, and these Inquiry Commissions are a way of just delaying justice from being given. Further, I would say that, at the moment, it is extremely important to restore peace, to make certain that people in the riot-affected areas are given relief and rehabilitation. The signals that we are getting still from the NGOs working over there, is that there is a lot of confusion. Small

things like milk, tea etc. are not available. In this process, it is extremely important that we persuade the civil society to participate in this process and see that peace is restored in those beleaguered areas. Thank you very much.

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना है। जो कुछ 27 फरवरी को साबरमती एक्सप्रेस के पैसेंजरों के साथ हुआ, निरीह, निस्सहाय, निरुपाय, निहत्थे, महिलाओं, बच्चों, बुजुर्गों के ऊपर पहले एसिड डाला गया, फिर पेट्रोल डाला गया और उसके बाद भाचिस की तीली लगा दी गई। उन दोनों डिब्बों को हजारों लोगों की भीड़ ने घेर कर रखा कि अगर कोई जान बचाने के लिए उतरता है तो फरसा, गंडासे, तलवार से उसके टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर दिये जायेंगे। निरीह, निरुपाय लोग जलते रहे और मौत की आगोस में सो गये। मैंने उस दिन भी सदन में बड़े भारी मन से यह बात उठाई थी और सदन से यह गुजारिश की थी कि पूरे सदन को एक आवाज के साथ इसकी भर्त्सना करनी चाहिए और दोषियों को ऐसा दंड देना चाहिए जिससे आने वाले दिनों में कोई आदमी सपने में भी ऐसी घटना घटित करने की कोशिश न कर सके। और सदन चलते वक्त हमारी उपसभापति महोदया ने घेयर से उसका रैफरेंस किया था। यह बहुत दुर्भाग्य की बात है। उस घटना के बाद सारे गुजरात में जो कुछ हुआ, वह भी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है। बड़ा अफसोस होता है कि इन जली हुई लाशों में हम यह दूँद रहे हैं कि कितने हिन्दू मरे हैं और कितने मुसलमान मरे हैं। हम यह नहीं देखते कि कितने भारतवासी मर रहे हैं। मानवता का खून हो रहा है, हम उसको नहीं देखते। हम अभी भी खड़े होकर देश को मजहब के नाम पर बांट रहे हैं। मैं इस मामले में दुखी हूँ क्योंकि हम भुक्तभोगी हैं। सुबह बात करते वक्त यह चर्चा चल रही थी। कभी किसी ने 84 का उल्लेख किया, किसी ने 59 का किया, किसी ने 88 का किया, किसी ने 96 का किया, किसी ने 92 का किया। जीवन दादा, 47 का महत्व आप क्या बूझोगे? मेरा सब कुछ था सियालकोट में, वह उजड़ गया और निहत्थे होकर खाली हाथ आना पड़ा था। क्या बूझोगे आप? इन चीजों को सोचते वक्त रूह कांप जाती है, शरीर के रींगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं। 84 की तुलना हो रही थी। आप सब लोग आपस में लड़ रहे थे। दोनों पक्ष चिल्ला रहे थे पर जो 84 के दंगों से इफैक्टिड हैं, वे तो चुप बैठे थे। 84 की तुलना बार-बार सदन में क्यों की जाती है? उसका कारण यह है कि 47 के बाद एक बार ऐसा महसूस किया गया - अभी हमारी माननीय सदस्या पत्रकारों को और टी.वी. को बधाई दे रही थीं। मैं मानता हूँ कि वे बहुत सारे कामों के लिए बधाई के पात्र हैं। जब कारगिल की लड़ाई में जाकर उन्होंने उसको कवर किया था तो उसके लिए वे बधाई के पात्र हैं किन्तु जब 84 में इंदिरा जी की लाश घर में पड़ी हुई थी और दूरदर्शन में यह प्रदर्शन हो रहा था कि खून का बदला खून होगा, उसने दंगे भड़काए थे। आज 84 के बाद ठीक 2002 में इन इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया में जब यह कहा जा रहा था कि यह हिन्दू का मकान है, यह मुसलमान का मकान है, यह जली हुई मुसलमान की लाश है, तो जो नहीं भी भड़क रहा था, वह भी उन शोलों को देखकर भड़क उठा। ऐसा बार-बार क्यों होता है? ... (व्यवधान)... ऐसा बार-बार क्यों होता है? पुलिस के बारे में बात हो रही थी कि पुलिस ने कार्यवाही नहीं की। 84 में नहीं की, 2002 में क्यों नहीं की? क्या हुआ दोनों का? मैं मिसाल देता हूँ। मैं कांग्रेस में था। राजीव गांधी जी ने एक कमेटी बनायी थी - रिलीफ ऐंड रीहैबिलिटेशन कमेटी। मैं उस समय सांसद नहीं था। मैं उस वक्त एंज़ ए सोशल वर्कर उस कमेटी का सदस्य था। गुरुदयाल सिंह ढिल्लो सीनियर लीडर, पंजाब कांग्रेस के फॉर्मर स्पीकर, फॉर्मर कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर - क्या-क्या नहीं थे वह पर उनकी भी हिम्मत नहीं होती थी,

जनता के सामने जाने की । तारिक अनवर, मैनबर पार्लियामेंट भी उस समिति के सदस्य थे । होम मिनिस्टरी के ज्वाइंट सैक्रेटरी, ऐडिशनल कैबिनेट सैक्रेटरी उसके मैनबर थे और मैं भी मैनबर था । किसी की हिम्मत नहीं होती थी लोगों से बात करने की । मैं सब जगह जाता था और देखता था । पुलिस ने 1984 के दंगों में कार्यवाही जरूर की थी । कौन कहता है कि नहीं की थी ? खुब की थी । क्या कार्यवाही की थी ? उन्होंने यह कार्यवाही की कि पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में 15 ऐसे सिख थे...(व्यवधान)...

श्री के.रहमान खान : गुजरात पर डिसकशन हो रही है ।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : गुजरात का ही जवाब देता हूँ ।...(व्यवधान).... इसीलिए कहीं न कहीं बैरोमीटर लगाकर ...

श्री के.रहमान खान : बैरोमीटर लगाइए ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : कहीं न कहीं बैरोमीटर लगाकर शासन का क्या रोल है, वह प्ले करना चाहिए ।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री के.रहमान खान : आप इसकी तरफ आइए ।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : मैं अभी बता रहा हूँ । वह भी बता रहा हूँ । ... (व्यवधान).... मैं उसकी तरफ आ रहा हूँ । ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री के.रहमान खान : आपने ही कहा था कि 84 की बात को क्यों उठा रहे हैं ? ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैं वही बोल रहा हूँ...(व्यवधान)....आप लोग सुबह से बोल रहे थे ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री के.रहमान खान : सर, ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैं तो अभी खड़ा हुआ हूँ। कपिल साहब ने सवेरे कहा था कि....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पच्चौरी): अहलुवालिया जी, ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैं कनक्लूड कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पच्चौरी): आप मेरी बात सुनिए। देखिए, डिसकसन गुजरात पर है। मेरी आप से गुजारिश यह है कि आपकी पार्टी के केवल तीन मिनट बचे हैं। क्योंकि यह महत्वपूर्ण विषय है इसलिए आप इस पर और बोल सकते हैं। लेकिन अच्छा यह होगा कि जिस विषय पर चर्चा है आप उसी पर केन्द्रित होकर बोलें।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं उसी विषय पर बोल रहा हूँ। सवेरे से मैं इस चर्चा को सुन रहा हूँ, 84 का बार-बार उल्लेख हुआ है। मैं बोल रहा हूँ, आप सुन लीजिए। मैं इसको रिकार्ड पर लाना चाहता हूँ। 15 ऐसे परिवार थे जिनकी बहू-बेटियों की इज्जत लुटेरे लूट रहे थे। उनकी इज्जत-आबरू की रक्षा करने के लिए सैफ डिफेंस में उन्होंने लाइसेंस

आर्म्स से गोली चलाई थी, उनको गिरफ्तार किया गया था ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री के.रहमान खान : आप वही कर रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : रहमान साहब, आप बात सुन लीजिए। मैं कह रहा हूँ कि हमें इस बहस में न पड़कर एक पैरामीटर बनाना चाहिए कि शासन राज्य का हो, केन्द्र का हो, ऐसे दंगों में उनका रोल क्या होना चाहिए? ...(व्यवधान)...आप कहीं डिफाइन करते हैं? ...(व्यवधान)...जब आप बैठते हो तो क्या कोई ऐसी नसीर बनाते हो, ऐसे प्रिंसिपल्स बनाते हो जिसको लोग फोलो करें? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री खान गुफरान जाहिदी : आप यह कहना चाहते हैं कि 84 में पुलिस इनिफेक्टिव थी...(व्यवधान)... गुजरात में भी वह इनिफेक्टिव थी...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : सुबह बताया गया कि पुलिस की एक हजार राउन्ड गोलियों से 98 लोग मारे गए। आर्मी की बात करते हैं, आर्मी को बुलाने की बात करते हैं। मैं इस विवाद में पड़ना नहीं चाहता। मैं कहता हूँ कि यहां सुबह से शाम तक जिस तरह के भाषण हुए हैं, आजम खान जी जो भाषण देकर गए हैं, आप अपनी आत्मा पर हाथ रखकर देखिए कि किसी भारतवासी को वह भाषण बर्दाश्त है? जो भाषण वे देकर गए हैं, क्या वह मुसलमानों की आवाज है? क्यों उनको इस सदन में खड़े होकर बोलने का हक दिया गया? क्यों उन्होंने इस तरह भड़काऊ भाषण दिया? उसका प्रचार करके क्यों हम अपने बीच अपनी दीवार खड़ी करना चाहते हैं, क्यों बांट रहे हैं हम अपनी जमीन को ...(व्यवधान)... वाह-वाह बोलना आसान है। मनोज बाबू आपके सिर के ऊपर से बात निकल गई, लेकिन आपको समझ नहीं आई है। ...(व्यवधान)... महोदय, मैं तो गृह मंत्री जी से सिर्फ इतना जानना चाहूंगा कि गोधरा में जब साबरमती एक्सप्रेस चली तो दो हजार लोगों का हुजूम था। मैंने सुना है कि मैरिज में वीडियो कैसेट कवर करने वाले ने उसको कवर किया है, वे कौन लोग थे? या तो वे म्युनिसिपल काउंसलर थे या किसी राजनीतिक दल के सदस्य थे। वे वहां के लोकल नहीं हैं, वे कौन थे? क्या वे पाकिस्तानी एजेन्ट थे, आईएसआई के एजेन्ट थे? मेरे घर में बच्चे को इन्जेक्शन लगाना था। मेरी लड़की डाक्टर है। उसने पूछा कि क्या घर में स्प्रिट मिल जाएगी, लेकिन घर में स्प्रिट नहीं थी। किसी के घर में ऐसी चीजें नहीं मिलेंगी लेकिन पेट्रोल बम और एसिड बल्ब इनको कौन रखता है, कोई सभ्य आदमी रखता है? क्यों रखते हैं, किसलिए रखते हैं? क्या इनसे दीप जलता है, इनसे कोई आरती उतारी जाती है, शाम को तुलसी पूजन करना होता है या उज्जु करने के लिए इनकी जरूरत पड़ती है? क्यों रखते हैं ये चीजें? ये ये लोग हैं जो इस देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर देना चाहते हैं और हम उसी को लेकर धर्म के नाम पर, भाषा के नाम पर आरोप और प्रत्यारोप लगा रहे हैं। कपिल साहब ने बड़ी अच्छी बात कही पर उसके साथ जो जवाब मांगा तो मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ। इतने बड़े बैरिस्टर हैं, अच्छा बोलते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि गुजरात को दो वर्षों से त्रासदी लगी हुई है, भूमि कम्प हुआ है और दूसरी बार यह घटना घट गई। आश्चर्य की बात है विपक्ष ने दोनों बार यह नहीं कहा कि गुजरात में यह जो भूमि कम्प हुआ है, इससे निपटने के लिए लाखों की तादाद में लोगों को, स्वयंसेवकों को वहां भेजो। जो वहां जाकर काम करें, लंगर लगाएं और लोगों के मकान बनाएं। मुख्यमंत्री हटा दो। किसी ने यह बात नहीं कही कि साहब, वहां जो लोग रिलीफ कैम्प में रह रहे हैं, उनकी मदद के लिए, रिलीफ के लिए कोई आवाज उठा दो। नरेन्द्र मोदी को हटा दो, मुख्यमंत्री को हटा दो। मैं आज सुबह अखबार में पढ़ रहा था ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री के. रहमान खान : कोई एकाउंटेबिलिटी नहीं है ...(व्यवधान)....

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : एकाउंटेबिलिटी यही है क्या ...(व्यवधान)...क्या है एकाउंटेबिलिटी...(व्यवधान)...आप क्यों पूछ रहे हैं एकाउंटेबिलिटी...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संजय निरुपम : पूरे देश को तबाह किया है आपने...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : एकाउंटेबिलिटी क्या है ...(व्यवधान)...अगर मैं एकाउंटेबिलिटी बताऊं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री के. रहमान खान : मैं कहता हूँ कि आपने किया है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : सुनिए, आज सुबह के अखबार में किसी एक महत्वपूर्ण सज्जन का, जिनका मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, हमारी एक माननीय सदस्या के पति हैं, उनकी स्टेटमेंट छपी है, उन्होंने लिखा है कि हमने चीफ सेक्रेटरी को फोन किया कि साहब, हमने कुछ रिलीफ मैटीरियल भेजा था, वह लोगों तक नहीं पहुंचा है उसका क्या रीजन है बताइए । वे खुद उस पर लिखते हैं, बयान देते हैं कि "तीस मिनट के अंदर A senior official of the Gujarat Government responded and contacted me and gave me the phone numbers and fax numbers and they were organising things."

आप किसकी एकाउंटेबिलिटी की बात करते हैं ? अगर वह तीस मिनट के अंदर रिस्पोंड नहीं करता, यहां तो कई साल बीत गए न्याय के लिए, चौरासी के दंगे के बाद बारह कमेटियां बैठीं, एक कमीशन बैठा, बारह कमेटियां बैठीं उसके बाद फिर कमीशन बैठा, नानावती कमीशन बैठा, मुझे दुख हो रहा था, आंखों में आंसू थे, जब कपिल सिब्बल जी कह रहे थे कि उन बसों को रोका जा रहा था जिन बसों में जलते हुए लोगों को इलाज के लिए अस्पताल ले जाया जा रहा था । नानावती कमीशन के सामने लोगों ने एफिडेविट दिए कि अस्पताल की बात छोड़िए, प्राइवेट क्लिनिक में भी एक पार्टिकुलर पार्टी के लोगों ने जाने नहीं दिया । जख्मी सिक्खों का इलाज करने के लिए घुसने तक नहीं दिया गया । अगर यही मानवता है और मानसिकता है तो हम क्या न्याय देंगे और हम किसके सामने गुहार कर रहे हैं ? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री जीवन राय : जो कुछ हुआ है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : आप चुप बैठिए, वट इज दिस ...(व्यवधान)...मैं उसी दल का सदस्य था । जो फायर ब्रिगेड को करना होता है वही कर रहा था और इन चीजों को ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : उसी पार्टी का टिकट लेकर ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : आपको समय लगेगा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : हमें समय नहीं लगेगा, समय बता देता कि कौन कहाँ पर है ...(व्यवधान)... उसी पार्टी का टिकट लेकर बार-बार आए और अब यह सब कह रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैंने कहा न कि मैं रिलीफ एंड रिहैबिलिटेशन कमेटी का सदस्य था ...(व्यवधान)... मैंने सारे भारत में घूमकर यह महसूस किया और जो चीजें आपके सामने रखी हैं और आज जब आप ये बातें उठाते हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Why are you justifying it?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I have never justified 1984. ...(Interruptions)... I have never justified the Operation Blue Star. I have always condemned it. ...(Interruptions)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : प्लीज टेक योर सीट, अहलुवालिया जी, जल्दी समाप्त कीजिए ।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : ये सारी बातें आज यह समझने की हैं कि हम किसके ट्रैप पर पड़ रहे हैं । आज कौन सा ट्रैप है, मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : आपको ऐसा बोलना शोभा नहीं देता ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : आप चुप रहिएगा...(व्यवधान)...मैं कभी भी सी.पी.एम. का सदस्य नहीं था और कांग्रेस में सिर्फ इसलिए था क्योंकि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का विरोधी था ...(व्यवधान)...आज कांग्रेस छोड़ी भी इसलिए है कि आज कांग्रेस तुम्हारी गोदी में बैठी है ...(व्यवधान)...ये कांग्रेस के एजेंट हैं इसीलिए उसकी वकालत कर रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : अहलुवालिया जी प्लीज कन्क्लुड ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैं कन्क्लुड ही कर रहा हूँ लेकिन इंटरैक्शन बंद नहीं होगा तो ऐसे ही चलता रहेगा रात भर ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : आप जो लेक्चर दोगे वह हमको सुनना पड़ेगा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मत सुनो, बाहर चले जाओ ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : क्यों चले जाएं ...(व्यवधान)...हमको बोलने नहीं दे रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : आप बोलेंगे तो क्या मैं नहीं बोलूंगा ...(व्यवधान)...मैं बार-बार बोलूंगा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : बोलने का हक है ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैं बार-बार बोलूंगा ...(व्यवधान)...ये मेरा हक छीनने वाले कौन होते हैं ? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल : आप जिस पार्टी के हैं ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : मेहरबानी करके अपने विषय पर ही बोलिए और समाप्त कीजिए ...(व्यवधान)...

6.00 p.m.

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैं अपने विषय पर ही बोल रहा हूँ पर अगर इस तरह टोका-टाकी चलेगी तो यह ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : देखते हैं क्या क्रेडिबिलिटी है आपकी ? ... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, should I need a certificate from him?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : यह तय हुआ था कि यह सदन 6 बजे तक चलेगा। मैं पहले सदन का मतव्य लेना चाहूँगा कि यह डिसकशन हम कांटीन्यू करें या फिर इसको कल के लिए जारी रखें ? ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री के. रहमान खान : कल करिये । ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : आज खत्म कीजिये इस डिबेट को ।

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Let him complete and then, may be, we can adjourn.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am just concluding. मेरी गृह मंत्री जी से मांग है कि आपके पास क्या इनफॉर्मेशन है ? यह कौन सी ताकतें हैं जिन्होंने कब्रों में छिपा कर रखे हुए हैं एसिड बम और पेट्रोल बम । उसका क्या कारण है ? यह कौन सी ताकतें हैं जो इस काम में जुड़ी हुई थीं ? मैं यह भी जानना चाहूँगा कि हरकत-उल-जेहाद का जो आदमी 28 तारीख को या एक तारीख बंगाल में बार्डर क्रॉस कर के बंगलादेश भागने की कोशिश कर रहा था और गिरफ्तार हुआ उसका इन षडयंत्रों से क्या संबंध है ? ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : हमने सब को गिरफ्तार किया है, कोई बचेगा नहीं । ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया : दूसरा जो कौंसिलर के सेलुलर फोन पकड़े गये वह पाकिस्तान में किस-किस से संबंध स्थापित कर रहे थे और कहां-कहां से आदेश ले रहे थे, यह इस सदन को बताएं और सदन के माध्यम से राष्ट्र को बताने की कृपा करें ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा कल जारी रहेगी । इससे पहले कि मैं सदन की कार्यवाही के स्थगन के लिए घोषणा करूं । I have to make an announcement.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held on the 7th March, 2002, allotted Half-an-hour for consideration and return of the Salaries and Allowances of Officers of Parliament and Leaders of Opposition in Parliament (Amendment) Bill, 2002, after it has been passed by the Lok Sabha.