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LOK SABHA DEBATES

LOK SABHA

Tuesday, December 8, 2009/ Agrahayana 17, 1931 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[MADAM SPEAKER in the Chair]

(Q. No. 261)

श्री विलास मुत्तेमवार : अध्यक्ष महोदया, कम वर्षा की स्थिति के कारण 13 राज्यों में सूखे जैसी स्थिति है और उसके लिए राष्ट्रीय आपदा आकस्मिक कोष से 4,073 करोड़ रूपए की धनराशि अनुमोदित की गयी है। ऐसा एक लंबा विवरण और कुछ सुझाव मंत्री महोदय ने अपने विवरण में दिये हैं। मैंने विशेषकर विदर्भ में क्या स्थिति है, इसका जिक्र किया था, लेकिन इस उत्तर में विदर्भ की स्थिति को कोई जगह नहीं मिली है? यह बार-बार हो रहा है और जो भी राहत यहां से दी जाती है, उसका क्रियान्वयन करने की जिम्मेदारी सुनिश्चित करने के लिए, यह राज्य सरकार की जिम्मेदारी होती है, ऐसा उत्तर में कहा गया है। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि वर्ष 2006 में विदर्भ में किसानों की आत्महत्याएं हो रही थीं और उसके मद्देनजर प्रधानमंत्री जी विदर्भ में गये और उन्होंने वहां के किसानों से बात करने के बाद करीब 3,750 करोड़ रूपए का एक पैकेज विदर्भ के किसानों के लिए घोषित किया। तीन साल में वे पैसे खर्च करने थे, लेकिन अभी महाराष्ट्र राज्य की लोक लेखा समिति की एक रिपोर्ट सादर हुई है और वह रिपोर्ट बहुत ही गंभीर है।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : कृपया प्रश्न पूछिए।

श्री विलास मुत्तेमवार : महोदया, 23 लाख 60 हजार किसानों को यह राहत मिलनी चाहिए थी, लेकिन केवल 60 हजार किसानों को ही इसका फायदा मिला। इसके क्या कारण हैं? जो सुविधाएं दी गयी थीं, जैसे कि साहूकारों के बोझ से किसानों को राहत देने की बात थी, उसका प्रचार नहीं किया गया।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप प्रश्न पूछिए।

श्री विलास मुत्तेमवार : महोदया, उन्हें जो सहूलियत दी गयी, उसका प्रचार नहीं किया गया। मेरा आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से प्रश्न है कि हमारे यहां से तो पैसे जाते हैं, लेकिन उनकी मानीटरिंग हम राज्य सरकार को सौंप देते हैं।

महोदया, उससे भी भयानक जो रिपोर्ट आयी है कि इसके क्रियान्वयन की जिम्मेदारी वहां वसंतराव नायक शेतकरी स्वाभिमानी मिशन को दी गयी थी, लेकिन उसे किसी प्रकार का सेक्रेट्रियल असिस्टेंस नहीं दिया गया और इसके फलस्वरूप जो चिंता हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने व्यक्त की, सोनिया जी ने व्यक्त की, वे वहां गये, आज भी आत्महत्याओं का सिलसिला जारी है। वर्ष 2006 में 1,448 आत्महत्याएं हुई थीं, उसके बाद वर्ष 2007 में 1,246, वर्ष 2008 में 1,147 और अभी 31 अक्टूबर तक 777 आत्महत्याएं हुई हैं।

महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि विदर्भ के जो केसेज़ हैं, जो आत्महत्याओं का सिलसिला जारी है, इस प्रकार के प्रयोजन करने से यह आपदा दूर होने वाली नहीं है। यह

हम सबके लिए लांछन है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से आग्रह करता हूँ कि इसको दूर करने के लिए कोई लॉग टर्म नीति बनाएँ।

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND MINISTER OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS, FOOD AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (SHRI SHARAD PAWAR):

Madam, this Question is relating to `Employment opportunities in the agriculture sector and whether there is any drought in that particular area. I have already replied that there are only three to four districts, which the State Government has reported, where there is a drought like situation and in the rest of the districts in the Vidarbha region there was no drought. That is the information which has been communicated to us by the State Government. But the particular belt which the hon. Member has referred to is comparatively less irrigated. Perennial irrigation facilities in that part, as compared to other parts of the State, are less. It is an area which is essentially rain fed. Now, because of the impact of climate change and many such other issues there is uncertainty in monsoon and that does affect the crop.

Madam, when the hon. Prime Minister visited the area after there were reports of suicide deaths by the farmers, which was referred to by the hon. Member, and the Government announced a package and money has been released to the State Government. The thrust of that package was for completion of irrigation schemes and to take up new irrigation schemes. As per the information, since this particular subject was not slated for discussion today I do not have the detailed information with me, and since I know the ground level situation, I would like to submit that 80 per cent of the money has been spent for irrigation purposes. There are other schemes where enough money was not spent and those types of complaints have been received. I, at my level, called a meeting of the concerned Ministers and also the officials of the State Government and told them that money has been provided and now it was the responsibility of the State Government to execute all the schemes and that money should be spent. I hope the State

Government will take it seriously and whatever complaints are being received from that particular belt from the farming community will disappear.

श्री विलास मुत्तेमवार : माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, मैं मंत्री जी का आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने उन क्षेत्रों का ज़िक्र किया, जहाँ कम वर्षा होती है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि अमरावती डिवीज़न में जहाँ छः जिले हैं, वहाँ 2,90,690 हैक्टेयर भूमि पर सिंचाई की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने खुद कहा है कि यहाँ इर्रिगेशन की फ़ैसिलिटीज़ नहीं होने की वजह से आत्महत्याएँ दिन पर दिन बढ़ रही हैं, ऐसा उनका ओपीनियन उन्होंने राज्य सरकार को भी दिया है। करीब 9000 करोड़ रुपये इस इर्रिगेशन प्रोज़ेक्ट को पूरा करने के लिए लगने वाले हैं। अगर यह नहीं होता तो इस प्रकार की आपदा हर साल होती है, उसका सामना हमारे विदर्भ के किसान करते रहेंगे। मैं कृषि मंत्री जी से यह आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो एडहॉक बेसिस पर बार-बार थोड़े पैसे देते हैं, जिसका खर्चा और क्रियान्वयन बराबर नहीं होता, एक बार विदर्भ की जो समस्या है इस पर ठीक से ध्यान दें। हमारा ग्रोथ रेट बढ़ गया, हम आगे जा रहे हैं, दुनिया पर राज करने की बात हम करते हैं, लेकिन विदर्भ के किसान आत्महत्या कर रहे हैं, यह किसी के लिए भी अच्छी बात नहीं है। एक बार कोई ऐसा सॉल्यूशन निकालें कि किसान आत्महत्या नहीं करें, ऐसा कोई सॉल्यूशन संसद से जाए, ऐसा मैं कृषि मंत्री जी से आग्रह करता हूँ। वे हमारे महाराष्ट्र के नेता हैं। इस प्रकार का कोई इनीशियेटिव यहाँ से होना चाहिए ताकि किसानों की आत्महत्याओं की इसके बाद इस सदन में चर्चा न हो, यह मैं बहुत नम्रता के साथ आपके माध्यम से सरकार से विनती करना चाहता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मंत्री महोदय, किसान आत्महत्या कर रहे हैं, यह निस्संदेह अत्यंत चिन्ता का विषय है। इसका शीघ्र समाधान ढूँढ़ा जाना चाहिए।

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: In fact, as I said, we have to lay thrust upon irrigation purposes in this particular area. Maharashtra is a State where 17 per cent of the total area is under irrigation, and 40 per cent of the country as a whole is under irrigation. So, this State has not even reached near the average figure at the national level. There are some reasons for it. It is a permanent drought prone area, rainfall is less and there are a number of other reasons as to why this particular situation is there. The State Government has definitely spent substantial money for irrigation for years together. But particularly as regards Vidarbha, after the hon. Prime Minister's visit, special fund was provided by the Government of India as Vidarbha package. In addition to this, there is a scheme under the Government

of India called the Accelerated Irrigation Programme. Under that scheme, practically, the Government of India has provided funds to complete most of the projects which were incomplete in the Vidarbha region for the last three years. Out of whatever funds provided to Maharashtra, I think, more than 60 to 65 per cent of the funds has been provided to this region only.

There is another major project, Gosikhurd where the Government of India has taken a decision for the first time to treat it as a national project where more than 90 per cent of the funds has been provided by the Government of India and substantial work of that project is also completed. The ultimate fruits of all these projects will not be borne in one or two days. But I am sure that the process has been started. In another two to three years time, the situation will definitely improve and this type of serious instances like the suicide of farmers which really affect each and every person of the country will definitely be reduced.

श्री दानवे रावसाहेब पाटील : अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैंने मराठवाड़ा और विदर्भ के लिए प्रश्न पूछा था, लेकिन उसमें मराठवाड़ा का नाम नहीं है। मराठवाड़ा, विदर्भ और देश के अन्य कई हिस्सों में वर्षा कम होने के कारण सूखे की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है तथा उसके कारण वहां रोजगार के अवसर भी कम हुए हैं। मराठवाड़ा में ज्यादातर ज्वार, गेहूं, गन्ने की खेती और विदर्भ में धान की खेती करीब-करीब खराब हो गई है। वहां मजदूर खाली बैठे हैं, इसलिए उन्हें ठीक से मजदूरी भी नहीं मिल रही है। सरकार ने रोजगार गारंटी के तहत नरेगा योजना लागू की है। विदर्भ और मराठवाड़ा में सबसे ज्यादा आत्महत्याएं हुई हैं। अगर खेती में रोजगार के अवसर कम हुए हैं तो जो नरेगा योजना है, उसके तहत जो छोटे तालाब, सिंचाई के क्षेत्र हैं, वहां किसान की तरफ से काम करके नहीं, बल्कि सरकार की तरफ से पैसे देकर, क्या यहां नरेगा योजना लागू की जाएगी, यह मेरा प्रश्न है?

अध्यक्ष महोदया: पाटील जी, आप बहुत अलग प्रश्न पूछ रहे हैं।

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Madam, as regards Marathwada Region about which the supplementary has been put, in fact, I do not want to compare it with other regions. But as per the information which has been provided by the Government of Maharashtra regarding suicide of farmers, the total number of suicides this year in Marathwada Region is 48. It is a serious situation. In the Vidarbha Region,

the number is 154. So, there is a difference between Marathwada Region and Vidarbha Region. The situation in Vidarbha Region is more serious than Marathwada Region. This is the first point.

Secondly, the percentage of irrigation in the Marathwada, as compared to Vidarbha, is better. In the last three or four years, a number of schemes have been introduced by the State Government with the support of the Government of India in that region. They are in the process of completion. The hon. Member has mentioned about *jowar* cultivation in that particular area. It is correct. But that particular region has the second highest cultivation of sugarcane. The hon. Member himself is Chairman of a sugar mill. He himself is running that sugar mill in that particular area. This year the average rainfall in that belt is less. The reservoir position is not comfortable. That has affected sugarcane and other crops, particularly in the Marathwada region. The State Government, with the support of the Government of India, has taken many steps which will ultimately help the people of that region.

NREGA is not that popular in the State of Maharashtra because practically in the last forty years, a popular scheme called Employment Guarantee Scheme, is in operation there. It was started by the State Government. So, the local people, particularly the labourers, prefer Employment Guarantee Scheme to NREGA. But since the introduction of NREGA, the Government of India is pushing for it. The Government of India has no objection if the State Government wants to implement both the schemes. That would provide employment opportunities to vulnerable sections of the society.

Our latest report is that, upto 4th December, 2009, the number of households who have joined NREGA has definitely improved. About 78.4 crore of man-days were created exclusively for women. The total man-days which was created was 155 crore in that particular belt. NREGA is getting acceptance day by day. Women are getting more opportunities. The issue essentially is providing opportunities for women in the rural areas. The situation is definitely improving.

DR. RATNA DE : There has been an increase of 11.11 per cent in the number of cultivators and agricultural workers between 1991 and 2001 population census. This shows the plight of agricultural workers without employment. There are many schemes to increase the production of rice and wheat. But it seems there is no scheme to reduce unemployment among agricultural workers.

Would the hon. Minister state the steps taken by the Government to bring down the unemployment among the agricultural workers, particularly among the agricultural graduates in the last five years?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: This particular scheme is mainly for the agricultural labourers. There is no specific scheme for the agricultural graduates in this country. One has to keep in mind that agriculture is essentially a State subject. The Government of India decides the policy and provides support to the State Governments. All these schemes are executed by the State Governments. In fact, NREGA has provided new opportunity and new avenue for the entire country. Our experience and our observation is that, in the last two years, day by day this is providing employment opportunities to rural India in a big way.

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष महोदया, यदि इजाजत हो, तो मैं मराठी में प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : इस समय नहीं। यदि आपको मराठी में बोलना था, तो इसके लिए पहले इजाजत लेनी चाहिए थी।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष महोदया, विदर्भ के किसान और वहां की जनता आमतौर पर खेती पर निर्भर है। खेती पर निर्भर होने के कारण पूरे विदर्भ में खेती के अलावा रोजगार का कोई और साधन नहीं है। यह जो विदर्भ की खेती है, वह भी वर्षा पर निर्भर करती है, प्रकृति पर निर्भर करती है। सारे विदर्भ में सिंचाई की कोई सुविधा आज भी नहीं है। मुझे पता है कि राज्य सरकार द्वारा निश्चित रूप से कुछ न कुछ प्रयास किये जाते हैं, लेकिन जो प्रयास हैं, वे पर्याप्त नहीं हैं। जो मंत्री जी ने अब लिखित जवाब में और यहां पर जानकारी दी है, उसके मुताबिक महाराष्ट्र में जो अधिकतर आत्महत्याएं हुई हैं, उनमें से सर्वाधिक आत्महत्याएं विदर्भ में हुई हैं। आज की लोकसत्ता में एक खबर आई है कि जो क्रॉप इन्श्योरेंस है, जिसके लिए मांग की गई थी, वह न मिलने के कारण चार किसानों ने आत्महत्या की। यह आज की लोकसत्ता में खबर है कि चार किसानों ने आत्महत्या की है।

मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से और सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि विदर्भ महाराष्ट्र का एक पिछड़ा भाग है, इस बात को राज्य सरकार भी स्वीकार करती है और देश की भारत सरकार भी इस बात को स्वीकार करती है तो इस पिछड़े भाग के विकास के लिए कोई विशेष समिति गठित करते हुए केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा इस पिछड़े भाग को राहत दिलाने के लिए प्रयास करेगी? जो भी हम राहत देते हैं, वह केवल आपातकालीन राहत होती है, उससे उस प्रदेश को राहत नहीं मिलती है तो भारत सरकार द्वारा कोई समिति गठित करके विदर्भ के पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिए प्रयास किये जाएंगे क्या?

श्री शरद पवार: भारत सरकार को, गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया द्वारा कमेटी एपाइण्ट करके निगरानी करने की बात ठीक नहीं होगी। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को उस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। जहां तक विदर्भ की पोजीशन है, विदर्भ पर स्पेशल ध्यान देने के लिए और बजटरी स्पेशल प्रोवीजन करने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान में एक ही राज्य ऐसा है कि जहां के लिए एक अलग प्रोवीजन संविधान में किया गया है। Under Article 371A, this is the only State where the Minister of Finance, Chief Minister or the Council of Ministers has no authority to provide money in the budget. The authority has been given to the Governor. It is the responsibility of the Governor to see that those areas which are lagging behind and which are below average, first he has to provide funds to these areas and after that he has to look after the other scheme. During the last ten years, that particular provision has been implemented and more money has been provided, but still it requires a substantial support. That is why the Government of India has also given Rs. 4,000 crore separate package. I am sure that in the course of time, the situation will definitely improve.

MADAM SPEAKER : Now Question No. 262.

(Q. No. 262)

SHRI N.S.V. CHITTHAN : Madam Speaker, I thank our hon. Minister for providing a very detailed statement on cold storage.

The Task Force on development of cold chain was set up in May, 2007 and it has submitted its report in August, 2008 with so many recommendations.

Madam, it is a known fact that in our country, agricultural community is feeding the entire 110 crore population of our country by providing food. But the pity is that farmers cannot get reasonable price of their produces. The buyers are fixing the prices. Hence, our farmers are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt. For example, at times, tomato is being sold at Rs. 1/- per kilo. If it is preserved for at least two months, it may be sold at Rs. 25/- per kilo. Likewise, if the produces are kept in cold storages at affordable rate towards rent, the farming community will be benefited to a large extent.

Madam, may I ask the hon. Minister, through you, what are the follow up works done by our Government to start and modernize cold chain in the public sector?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: This particular Task Force was appointed. The report has been submitted in August, 2008. Only three months back, we have got that report. In fact, most of the items where we have to take action have been given in the reply. Certain actions have definitely been taken. But the real problem is this: to set up cold storages, the responsibility has been given to many organisations. For instance, we have the Horticulture Development Board. The Horticulture Development Board has provided money to set up cold storage in pre-cooling stage in the entire country. Two, we have an organisation called the APEDA which takes the responsibility to export agricultural items. It is also providing money to set up these types of cold chains. Thirdly, the Ministry of Food Processing, which is the nodal Ministry that is supposed to look after this subject, is also providing financial support to set up the cold storages. With the help of

various Departments, it is done. Of course, the country requires much more cold storages.

Today, the total number of cold storages in the country is 1352 which are set up, whose installed capacity is about 21.7 million metric tonnes. But still, the country needs more. There are some problems. For instance, the cold storages are essentially set up somewhat in the rural areas. In many States, the availability of power itself is a serious. If you set up a cold storage, if there is no power, the cold storage will not be effective. A farmer may like to keep his perishable item in the cold storage but without power, the cold storage will not be effective. There are some States where similar problems are there. To run the cold storage with the diesel pump is absolutely expensive and that is not viable. So, these problems are definitely there. We are continuously asking the State Governments to try to provide more power easily to these cold storages, two, to provide land and third, the financial institutions have also been requested to provide more money for that. In the last Budget, the investment in cold storage has been treated as a capital investment and tax concession has been announced by the hon. Finance Minister. We hope the outcome of all these actions will be good.

SHRI N.S.V. CHITTHAN : In our Dindigul Parliamentary Constituency, Oddanchattiram has a very big perishable vegetable market. So also, there are so many such markets in our country. As we know, vegetables are perishable commodities and hence our farmers are not getting reasonable prices which I have said earlier also. In order to encourage the farming community, will our Government take initiatives to announce more concessions to start the cold storages of a small size by enhancing the subsidy amount to 50 per cent and also by providing power subsidy to cold storages?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: There is no provision of subsidy as on today, except as I said, that the Horticulture Board and the Horticulture Mission as also some organizations are providing some subsidy. So, the time has come when we have to propagate and create awareness among the farmers also that they should take

advantage of the cold storages. Whatever capacity is available in the country, out of that, 80 per cent capacity is used only for one product, potato. The rest of the 20 per cent is used for a number of other agricultural products. That is why, there is not sufficient response. As I said earlier, it is expensive; the question of power is there and a number of other issues are also there. But, after getting the report from the Task Force, the Government of India would like to introduce a new policy, provide more financial support and encourage to set up more cold storage chains because the loss in transit itself is a serious issue.

Up to 25 to 30 agricultural products get wasted because of non-availability of this facility which is very serious. That is why we would like to have certain more such facilities.

SHRI VARUN GANDHI : Madam Speaker, in the light of the staggering rise in the price of vegetables, my request to the Government is that the Government should revisit its policy on cold storages which is of greater relevance at the moment. There is a need to look beyond the policy of merely providing capital subsidy. My question is whether the Government has received a proposal to establish ultra modern grain storage facilities in 50 locations. Also, to what extent does the hon. Minister propose public private partnership in operating cold chain facilities in the country?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Madam, I have not received any specific proposal yet, but public private partnership concept has been definitely accepted. A cold chain does not mean just a cold storage. There are a number of other facilities one has to provide like, for example, the ripening station. Suppose raw bananas are brought by farmers and if we keep them in the ripening house, they will mature in two or three days. So, like that, there are a number of other facilities which we have to provide and for that purpose, the Government of India took a decision to encourage the setting up of terminal markets where marketing facility will be there along with cold storage, ripening house and a number of other facilities including packing facility.

Here, we do not want the entire thing to be run by the Government. The intention of the Government is to set up such facilities and run them efficiently. For that purpose, if the private sector is ready to come forward, the Government of India is willing to support public private partnership concept here. Not only that, we are also providing financial support to set up this type of markets. The Government of India is ready to provide financial support up to Rs. 50 crore for this purpose. For the time being, I would like to inform that some applications were received from State Governments. These applications were studied and approved. We are going to set up one such facility near Patna in Bihar, one in Thane in Maharashtra, one in Orissa and we are thinking of setting up two such facilities near Kolkata. This is the first set of projects which the Government of India is going to set up in association with State Governments and private participation.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : Madam Speaker, the hon. Minister has come forward with a usual answer. After 62 years of Independence, now only we have sought the help of the Task Force and the Task Force is yet to submit its report. We always say that more than 70 per cent population of this country is involved in farming and allied activities and the farming community has received a lot of sops from the Government during the last year and also in previous years. More than Rs. 70,000 crore worth loan has been waived of taking into account their help to the nation.

But, to my surprise, the hon. Minister has come forward with a reply that about 1,300 cold storages have been set up in all these years. Considering the problems faced by small and marginal farmers, who are growing green vegetables, onions, potatoes etc., which are perishable in nature because of the climatic conditions, I would like to know from the Minister as to how many cold storages have been set up for the past three years and how many cold storages are going to be set up in the near future. I would also like to know whether there is any proposal to set up cold storages under PPP mode. The hon. Minister should not

come forward by saying that diesel is not available, power is not available and all those things... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please ask your question.

SHRI T.R. BAALU : This is not the way. I want to have a categorical answer from my friend who is capable of answering everything. He should not come forward with a routine answer.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Madam, firstly, with regard to the total State-wise figure on cold storages in India, I think something was wrong from my side. The total figure is 5,101. The installed capacity is about 21.7 million MTs. I have said about that we are going to set up these and we have cleared some of the projects. For terminal market, as I said, the name of district in Orissa is Sambalpur. I gave a wrong name so I withdraw that. Another place is in district Erode in Tamil Nadu. The land is also taken and a project of Rs.110 crore has been approved with the recommendation of hon. Member, Shri T.R. Baalu.

As I said, we are seriously thinking to introduce a new policy here because wastage is on the quite high side. That is why, we will definitely consider the suggestion which the hon. Member has made and we will create such a scheme which will be practically accepted by investors.

श्री जयंत चौधरी : अध्यक्ष महोदया, मंत्री जी ने अपने लिखित उत्तर में बताया है कि दस कोल्ड चैन प्रोजेक्ट्स को विभिन्न प्रदेशों में आप मिनिस्ट्री ऑफ फूड प्रोसेसिंग के माध्यम से लाने वाले हैं। हिमाचल प्रदेश, नार्थ ईस्ट और उत्तर प्रदेश जैसे बड़े राज्य इस नीति से शायद वंचित रह गये हैं। यह काफी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है। मैं यह सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब टास्क फोर्स ने निश्चित तौर पर समीक्षा की होगी, तो राष्ट्र का अब तक का क्या अनुभव रहा है? कई कोल्ड चैन और कोल्ड स्टोरेज, जो उत्तर प्रदेश में पहले से सेटअप थे, वे पिछले कुछ वर्षों में सब बंद हो चुके हैं, ठप्प पड़े हैं। मंत्री जी ने बताया कि ऊर्जा भी एक मुख्य समस्या है। साथ ही ऐसा भी पाया गया है कि नैशनल हार्टिकल्चर मिशन और बोर्ड लगभग 50 लाख रुपये का अनुदान देता है। अगर मेरी जानकारी सही है तो वह राशि दो किस्तों में दी जाती है। क्या ऐसे कई केसेज पाये गये हैं जहां पहली किस्त लोगों ने ले ली? ...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Ask your question please.

श्री जयंत चौधरी : पहली किस्त लेने के बाद कागज में ही पूरा प्रोजेक्ट रह गया और नियोजन की कमियों के कारण एप्रूवल्स नहीं मिल पाये या ऊर्जा की समस्या के कारण आज वहां कोल्ड स्टोरेज का प्रोजेक्ट ठप्प पड़ा है। क्या ऐसा कोई केस सामने आया है, जब टास्क फोर्स ने राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर समीक्षा की हो?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Madam, I need a separate notice for this because I have to collect the information.

MADAM SPEAKER: I have received a request from Shri Rajiv Ranjan Singh to club his Q.No.270 with Q.No.263, which I have accepted. Now, Q. No.263 – Shri Sanjay Nirupam.

(Q.Nos. 263 & 270)

श्री संजय निरुपम : अध्यक्ष महोदया, हमारे देश में सेटेलाइट चैनल्स को आये हुए लगभग 17 साल हो गये हैं और टैरेस्ट्रियल टेलीविजन को तीन दशक से ज्यादा हो गये हैं। इस दरम्यान पूरा देश देख रहा है कि टेलीविजन जगत में बड़े पैमाने पर प्राइवेटाइजेशन और व्यावसायीकरण हुआ है। इस व्यावसायीकरण के कारण सारे चैनलों में एक प्रकार की होड़ लगी है जिसे हम टीआरपी होड़ कहते हैं। अब तो एक नया रियल्टी टेलीविजन आ गया है, जिसकी वजह से और भी कमर्शियलाइजेशन बढ़ गया है।

ऐसे में एक कंटेन्ट कोड की आवश्यकता थी, जिसके लिए एक कमेटी बनाई गयी थी। कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आ चुकी है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा यह कहते हुए कि मैं बहुत ज्यादा सेंसर के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ, भारत के संविधान में जो अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता दी गयी है, उसका मैं आदर करता हूँ, लेकिन इस फ्रीडम ऑफ स्पीच की मर्यादाओं का जो उल्लंघन हो रहा है, उसको टालने के लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है? दूसरी बात, बहुत सारे प्रोग्राम्स के बारे में मंत्री जी चिट्ठियां लिखती हैं कि यह गलत है, मर्यादा का उल्लंघन हो रहा है, उन चिट्ठियों की संख्या में नहीं जाकर, मुझे केवल यह जानना है कि जब प्राइवेटाइजेशन हो गया है, तो क्या कोई ब्रॉडकास्टिंग रेगुलेटरी अथारिटी बनाने का प्लान है?

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI: Madam, this is true that Indian media and entertainment industry has grown at a very fast pace, especially, in the last some years. It is a fact that today about 512 channels have been given permission. Every year, there is a different figure. I have the figures. Out of these, approximately half are news channels and half are general and entertainment channels.

It has been felt over the last 12 years, at least, that there should be some kind of a regulation of what the private channels broadcast to Indian audiences. We have a Cable Television Regulatory Act which very explicitly defines both a programme code and an advertising code. Every person who is given the permission to uplink and downlink private channels in India is a signatory to this Cable Television Regulatory Act and has to abide by the content and advertising code.

But having said that, it is true that very often civil society has had concerns about the content of some of the broadcasts on the various channels and it is because of this that various attempts have been made by successive Governments across the board since 1997 to bring some kind of a regulatory authority to control content. This desire to bring this Regulatory Act has not been able to keep pace with the advancement of technology, with the result the Bill which was brought in 1997 had to give way to a Convergence Bill in 2002-03, which again gave way to another attempt and in 2005, the Government of India constituted a Committee headed by the Secretary, I&B and comprising of representatives across the board, civil society and others. It gave a report in January 2008.

The Committee had mainly recommended two tiers of self-regulation; one at the level of broadcast service provider and another at the level of the industry itself. It had also recommended a broadcasting regulatory authority of India. This, in 2007, was put on the Ministry's website to elicit public opinion and comments. Thereafter, the Government received several representations from the broadcasting stakeholders which should be primarily be seen, as I said earlier, in two categories, the news broadcasts and the general entertainment.

Having seen the report of the Committee, they themselves formed two associations, the Indian Broadcasters Federation (IBF) and News Broadcasters Association (NBA) with their own code of content so much so that the NBA also formed a Grievance Redressal Committee with a defined code of content. This Committee is headed by a very eminent judge, former Chief Justice, Justice Verma. Its opinion is that we would give an opportunity of self-regulation and that we can abide by the code and general concerns of the civil society.

I must admit that in the five months that I have been in this Ministry, we have had several attempts with the private broadcasters, the Editors' Association, the Advertisers' Association, Women's Groups, NGOs, Council of Women, Ministry of Women and Child Development, and Children's Rights NGO. We are arriving at some kind of a resolution of this problem. I am not trying to pre-empt that



discussion; I had asked the hon. Members for some time to take this to its logical conclusion. I do feel that the news broadcasters, over the last couple of months that I have been watching them personally almost, have shown restraint. Each time without even issuing a notice or an advisory to the news channels, we have been able to talk to the editors and get the news corrected and not by censoring, not by influencing the content; I would not attempt to do that under the Constitution.... (*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : मंत्री महोदया आपको विस्तार से बता रही हैं, आप सुनिये।

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी: आप लोग दस-दस सवाल पूछेंगे, मैं उनका जवाब दे रही हूँ। इसके विपरीत आप मुझे अपनी राय देंगे तो मैं आपकी राय को भी स्वीकार करूंगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बीच में बाधा मत डालिये। आप शांत रहिये।

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI: The news broadcasters have shown restraint. I do not want to mention the exact incidence when NBA has shown restraint; but I am conscious of it and I can inform the hon. Members of such incidents. We just had on the 5th of December a whole-day Meeting of State Information Ministers. For the first time we had invited all the private stakeholders to this day-long meeting; and we have arrived at certain points of view which we are discussing.

श्री संजय निरुपम : मेरा दूसरा सप्लीमेंट्री प्रश्न यह है कि न्यूज चैनल्स पर जो कंटेंट आ रहा है, समझ में नहीं आता है कि न्यूज चैनल है या एंटरटेनमेंट चैनल है। कहीं न कहीं एक प्रकार का रेगुलेशन होना चाहिए कि न्यूज चैनल पर न्यूज ही दिखाओ, भूत-प्रेत का किस्सा कम करो। एक बड़ा सवाल मेरे सामने यह है कि हमारे देश में जैसे-जैसे मीडिया जगत में क्रांति हुई, एक ही व्यक्ति अखबार निकालता है, वही व्यक्ति चैनल निकालता है, वही व्यक्ति रेडियो-चैनल चला रहा है। इसे रोकने के लिए अमरीका में एक कानून है जिसे “क्रॉस मीडिया रिस्ट्रिक्शन” कहते हैं, एंटी ट्रस्ट लॉ बोलते हैं। मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदया से जानना चाहता हूँ कि डेमोक्रेसी की भावनाओं का ख्याल रखते हुए किसी एक व्यक्ति के पास इतनी ताकत न हो जाए कि लोगों पर वह बहुत बड़ा प्रभाव डाल सके। इस दृष्टिकोण से क्या इस प्रकार का कानून लाने का क्या कोई विचार है?

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी: मैं समझती हूँ कि यह प्रश्न माननीय सदस्य के प्रश्न से संबंधित नहीं है, लेकिन तब भी मैं बताना चाहती हूँ कि “ट्राई” जो टेलीकॉम रेगुलेटरी अथॉरिटी है, उसने कुछ गाइड-लाइन्स हमें “क्रॉस होल्डिंग” के मामले में दिये हैं और हम उन पर गौर कर रहे हैं और कोशिश यही कर रहे हैं कि जहां तक संभव हो, वहां तक क्रॉस-होल्डिंग न हो।

श्री महाबल मिश्रा : माननीय स्पीकर महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरीके से आज भारतीय संस्कृति और सभ्यता का हनन हो रहा है और छोटे-छोटे चैनलों द्वारा देहातों और गांवों में अश्लीलता का प्रस्तुतीकरण हो रहा है, मैं समझता हूँ कि आज आम आदमी टीवी पर अपने बच्चों के साथ प्रोग्राम देख नहीं सकता है। माननीय मंत्री महोदया को मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि अच्छे शब्दों में उन्होंने लोगों को सही रास्ते पर लाने की कोशिश की है और इसके लिए एक कमेटी भी बनी, एक्ट भी है। लेकिन ऐसे कितने छोटे-छोटे चैनल्स हैं जिनको आपने आइडेंटिफाई किया है और जो चैनल्स नग्नता का प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं, उन्हें रोकने के उपायों पर जो कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी है और अगर कुछ चैनलों को आइडेंटिफाई किया गया है तो ठोस नीति क्या बनाई गयी है?

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI: Madam, Speaker, I have already mentioned this in my initial reply that we have the Cable Regulatory Act to which everybody is a signatory. ... (*Interruptions*)

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव : उनको हिंदी में समझाइये। ... (*Interruptions*)

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी : महोदया, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि पिछले कुछ सालों से हमारे मंत्रालय ने तीन-चार बार प्रदेश सरकार के मुख्य सचिवों को पत्र लिख कर कहा है कि वे डिस्ट्रिक्ट मोनिटरिंग कमेटी और स्टेट मोनिटरिंग कमेटी गठित करें, जिससे लगातार उन चैनल्स पर, जो जिला स्तर पर या स्टेट लेवल पर ओपरेट करते हैं, निगरानी रखी जाए कि उनका कंटेंट हमारे केबल रेग्युलेटरी एक्ट का उल्लंघन करता है या नहीं। हमने कई बार उन्हें याद कराया है और ओथोराइज्ड ऑफिस को कानूनी तौर पर घोषित किया गया है, जैसे डिस्ट्रिक्ट कलेक्टर, सब-डिविजनल मैजिस्ट्रेट और पुलिस कमिशनर्स, लेकिन इसके बावजूद मुझे खेद है कि सिर्फ छह प्रदेशों ने प्रादेशिक स्तर पर मोनिटरिंग कमेटी का गठन किया है और 67 डिस्ट्रिक्ट कमेटियों का गठन हुआ है। अगर किसी प्रकार का उल्लंघन जिला स्तर पर होता है, पूरा कानून बनाया गया है कि उन चैनल्स के खिलाफ क्या कार्यवाही की जा सकती है। अगर डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल पर मोनिटरिंग कमेटियां गठित नहीं होंगी, केंद्र से हम कानून व्यवस्था या किसी के खिलाफ कानूनी कार्यवाही संविधान के तहत नहीं कर सकते हैं।

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह उर्फ ललन सिंह : महोदया, चैनल्स में 26 प्रतिशत फारेन डायरेक्ट इंवेस्टमेंट की अनुमति है। जैसा उत्तर में सरकार ने स्वीकार किया है कि ट्राई की इसे 49 परसेंट करने की अनुशंसा की है। सरकार ने उसे फिर से पुनर्विचार के लिए भेजा है। मंत्री महोदया ने स्वीकार किया है कि हमारे यहां प्रतिदिन चैनल्स की संख्या बढ़ रही है। हर 15-20 दिन बाद एक नया चैनल आ जाता है। ऐसी स्थिति में अगर आप फारेन डायरेक्ट इंवेस्टमेंट की खुली छूट देंगे, तो संभव है कि आज विश्व के कई ऐसे देश हैं, जिनकी नज़र हमारे देश की एकता, अखंडता और सुरक्षा पर है। आज इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया की नकारात्मक सोच है। 13वीं लोकसभा में इसके दो-तीन उदाहरण हैं। एक बार माननीय मंत्री के बारे में गलत समाचार आया और उन्होंने पीड़ा के साथ सदन में घोषणा की कि जब तक जांच नहीं होगी, तब तक हम सदन में नहीं आएंगे।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप कृपया प्रश्न पूछिए।

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह उर्फ ललन सिंह : महोदया, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी नकारात्मक सोच है और नकारात्मक सोच की दृष्टि में अगर हमारे देश में उनका प्रभाव है, ऐसी स्थिति में फारेन डायरेक्ट इंवेस्टमेंट पर प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से फारेन डायरेक्ट इंवेस्टमेंट न हो, जिससे हमारे देश की एकता, अखंडता और सुरक्षा पर खतरा पैदा करे, क्या ऐसा कोई मैकनिज्म सरकार ने बनाया है या नहीं?

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी : महोदया, फारेन डायरेक्ट इंवेस्टमेंट का सवाल सीधे तौर से मेरे मंत्रालय से संबंध नहीं रखता है, लेकिन जब हमारे मंत्रालय के ब्राड कास्टिंग मीडिया या प्रिंट मीडिया के बारे में TRAI की रिक्मेंडेशंस आती हैं, तो हम लोग इस विषय में जागरूक अवश्य हैं। जैसा माननीय सदस्य ने स्वीकार किया कि जब ट्राई के कुछ रिक्मेंडेशंस फारेन डायरेक्ट इंवेस्टमेंट्स को बढ़ाने के लिए आए और इसके अंतर्गत हमारी मिनिस्ट्री आफ कामर्स और इंडस्ट्री के कुछ प्रैस नोट्स वर्ष 2009 के शुरु में निकले थे, उनके बारे में ट्राई को ध्यान दिलाते हुए ये कागज वापिस भेजे कि उन सर्कुलर्स को ध्यान में रखते हुए क्या ट्राई अपनी अनुसंशाओं को बदलना चाहेगा। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि मेरा मंत्रालय इस विषय पर सेंसिटिव है। हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि बाहर की बहुत ज्यादा इंवेस्टमेंट हमारे ब्राडकास्टिंग सेक्टर, रेडियो, टेलीविजन या प्रिंट मीडिया में आए, लेकिन यह सरकार का एक सामूहिक निर्णय होगा। मैं अपने मंत्रालय की संवेदनशीलता आपको जरूर व्यक्त करना चाहती हूँ।



श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह उर्फ ललन सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदया, अभी माननीय मंत्री जी ने अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से यह स्वीकार किया कि यह एक सेंसिटिव मामला है और उसके साथ-साथ जैसा मैंने पहले भी कहा कि हमारे देश की एकता और अखंडता के साथ यह मामला जुड़ा हुआ है। अभी आपने पहले पूरक प्रश्न 263 के जवाब में सैल्फ रेगुलेट्री की बात कही। मुझे स्मरण है कि जब मुम्बई में 26-11-2008 को आतंकवादी घटना घट रही थी तो उस समय जो लोग भी टी.वी. देख रहे थे, हमारे पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्सों की जो भी पोजीशंस थीं, वे सारी पोजीशंस दिन-रात चलती रही। इसके कारण संभव है कि आतंकवादी अगर होटल के कमरों के अंदर हैं तो वे हमारी पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्सों के मूवमेंट को देख रहे हों और उसके कारण हमारा जो ऑपरेशन था, वह लम्बे समय तक चला। इस तरह की नकारात्मक सोच के बावजूद आप सैल्फ रेगुलेटरी कह रही हैं। दिल्ली की एक शिक्षिका को गलत समाचार के कारण अभिभावकों ने उसके साथ जो दुर्व्यवहार किया, वह सारी दुनिया के सामने है। हम चाहते हैं कि सैल्फ रेगुलेटरी की बात जो मंत्री महोदया कर रही हैं लेकिन क्या आपके मंत्रालय में जो टी.वी. चैनल्स हैं, इलैक्ट्रॉनिक और प्रिन्ट मीडिया दोनों की बात में कर रहा हूँ, उसकी स्वायत्ता पर बिना कोई प्रभाव डाले हुए उनके रेगुलेशंस की क्या आपकी कोई मंशा है या क्या कोई आप ऐसा रेगुलेटरी बनाना चाहते हैं जो उनकी स्वायत्ता पर प्रभाव नहीं डाले लेकिन रेगुलेट करे?

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी: मैडम, मैंने इस बात का जवाब तो सबसे पहले दिया था कि यह मैंने नहीं 1995 में कैबल रेगुलेटरी एक्ट इस पार्लियामेंट के जरिये पारित किया गया है जिसमें लिखा गया है कि एडवर्टाइजिंग कोड क्या होगा।...(व्यवधान)

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह उर्फ ललन सिंह : उस कोड का उल्लंघन हो रहा है।

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी : यह सच बात है कि उसका उल्लंघन कई बार हुआ है और यही कारण है कि पिछले 6 महीनों में 30 नोटिस अलग-अलग चैनल्स को भेजे गये हैं जब मंत्रालय को कोई शिकायत मिली या मंत्रालय ने महसूस किया कि उस कोड का उल्लंघन हुआ है और मैं अपने साथ तमाम वे चैनल्स लाई हूँ जिनके कार्यक्रम के बारे में हमने नोटिस भेजा था, जिनके बारे में माननीय सांसदों ने कुछ एतराज ज़ाहिर किये थे और मेरे पास तमाम चैनल्स के क्या रेस्पॉन्स रहे हैं, वे मेरे पास हैं। प्रश्नकाल के तुरंत बाद जिस भी माननीय सदस्य को कुछ और जानकारी चाहिए, किसी भी चैनल और प्रोग्राम के बारे में जानकारी चाहिए होगी जहां हमने नोटिस भेजा था, उसकी सूची मेरे पास है। जहां तक 26-11-2008 की बात है, कई बार हम लोगों ने चर्चा की। पूरे देश में इस पर बहुत ज्यादा आक्रोश था। जिस तरह से उस वक्त ब्रॉडकास्ट हुआ था और हम सब ने अपने-अपने घरों में देखा, पूरे देश ने देखा था, उससे पूरे देश में एक गुस्सा था। उसी के कारण हमारी न्यूज ब्रॉडकास्टर एसोसिएशन ने एक अनुरोध किया कि सरकार की तरफ से एक नोडल

एमपॉवर्ड ग्रुप होना चाहिए जिससे कभी भी देश के किसी भी कोने में यदि कोई हादसा हो या कोई आपत्ति आए, सुनामी हो या एपीडैमिक हो या किसी भी तरह की कोई क्राइसिस सिचुएशन हो, तो सरकार का एक एमपॉवर्ड नोडल ग्रुप होना चाहिए जिसको सही जानकारी लेने के लिए एक्सैस किया जाए ताकि 26-11-2008 का हादसा दुबारा न हो। मैं माननीय सदस्यों को बताना चाहती हूँ कि सरकार इस तरह के एक नोडल ग्रुप को बनाने के लिए तकरीबन-तकरीबन अंतिम स्टेज पर है।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : श्री उदय सिंह, अनुपस्थित।

श्री विजय बहादुर सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने रेगुलेशन और एक्ट तो बहुत बताये हैं लेकिन एक्शन क्या किया गया है, वह नहीं बताया है। अभी जो क्रिकेट मैच हुआ, उसमें ऐसी कमेंट्री आ रही है जैसे वॉर हो गया हो। महाभारत, रावण और जाने क्या बातें हो रही थी। सेंसर बोर्ड सेंसिटिव है तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बारे में क्या एक्शन लिया गया?

12.00 hrs.

श्रीमती अंबिका सोनी: महोदया, मुझे और मंत्रालय को देश के कानून के मुताबिक काम करने की इजाजत है। मैंने उदाहरण दिया है कि जो मैं कर सकती हूँ उसे मैं करने का प्रयास करती हूँ। अगर पॉलियामेंट की कंसीडर्ड ओपिनियन होगी कि कांस्टीटुएशन के सैक्शन 19 में परिवर्तन करना है और अगर माननीय सदस्य मौलिक अधिकारों में परिवर्तन करने की राय बनाते हैं तो मैं इसमें क्या कह सकती हूँ।

12.01 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शांत हो जाइए।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री विक्रमभाई अर्जनभाई मादम (जामनगर): अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं आपकी अनुमति से एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : नहीं। आप बैठ जाइए। शांत रहिए।

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Now Papers to be laid.

THE MINISTER OF MINES AND MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH EASTERN REGION (SHRI B.K. HANDIQUE): I beg to lay on the Table:-

- (1) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:-
 - (i) Review by the Government of the working of the Hindustan Copper Limited, Kolkata, for the year 2008-2009.
 - (ii) Annual Report of the Hindustan Copper Limited, Kolkata, for the year 2008-2009, along with Audited Accounts and comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1073/15/09)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF MICRO, SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES (SHRI DINSHA PATEL): I beg to lay on the Table:-

- (1) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the MSME-Technology Development Centre (Fragrance and Flavour Development Centre), Kannauj, for the year 2008-2009, alongwith Audited Accounts.

(ii) Statement regarding Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the MSME-Technology Development Centre (Fragrance and Flavour Development Centre), Kannauj, for the year 2008-2009.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1074/15/09)

(2) (i) A copy of the Annual Accounts (Hindi and English versions) of the Coir Board, Kochi, for the year 2008-2009, together with Audit Report thereon.

(ii) Statement regarding Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the Coir Board, Kochi, for the year 2008-2009.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1075/15/09)

(3) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:-

(i) Review by the Government of the working of the National Small Industries Corporation Limited, New Delhi, for the year 2008-2009.

(ii) Annual Report of the National Small Industries Corporation Limited, New Delhi, for the year 2008-2009, alongwith Audited Accounts and comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1076/15/09)

(4) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Mumbai, for the year 2008-2009.

(ii) A copy of the Annual Accounts (Hindi and English versions) of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Mumbai, for the year 2008-2009, together with Audit Report thereon.

(iii) Statement regarding Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Mumbai, for the year 2008-2009

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1077/15/09).

- (5) A copy of the Memorandum of Understanding (Hindi and English versions) between the National Small Industries Corporation Limited and the Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises for the year 2009-2010.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1078/15/09)

- (6) A copy of the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development (Furnishing of Information) Rules, 2009 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. G.S.R. 793(E) in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 under sub-section (3) of Section 29 of the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Act, 2006.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1079/15/09)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MULLAPPALLY RAMACHANDRAN): I beg to lay on the Table:-

- (1) A copy of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Election Commissioner's Conditions of Service) Amendment Rules, 2009 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. G.S.R. 74(E) in Gazette of India dated the 4th February, 2009 under Section 204 of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Panchayats) Regulation, 1994.
- (2) Statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (1) above.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1080/15/09)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI AJAY MAKEN): I beg to lay on the Table:-

- (1) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (3) of Section 22 of the Central Industrial Security Force Act, 1968:-
- (i) The Central Industrial Security Force (Group 'A' Executive Cadre) Amendment Recruitment Rules, 2009 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 715(E) Gazette of India dated the 1st October, 2009.

- (ii) The Central Industrial Security Force (Additional Director General and Additional Deputy Inspector General) Amendment Recruitment Rules, 2009 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 716(E) Gazette of India dated the 1st October, 2009.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1081/15/09)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND
MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF CONSUMER AFFAIRS, FOOD
AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION (PROF. K.V. THOMAS): I beg to lay on the
Table:-

- (1) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Voice Society, New Delhi, for the year 2007-2008, alongwith Audited Accounts.
- (ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the Voice Society, New Delhi, for the year 2007-2008.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1082/15/09)

- (2) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Council of Fair Business Practices, Mumbai, for the year 2008-2009, alongwith Audited Accounts.
- (ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the Council of Fair Business Practices, Mumbai, for the year 2008-2009.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1083/15/09)

- (3) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Consumer Coordination Council, Noida, for the year 2007-2008, alongwith Audited Accounts.

- (ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the Consumer Coordination Council, Noida, for the year 2007-2008.
- (Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1084/15/09)
- (4) (i) A copy of the Annual Reports (Hindi and English versions) of the National Law School of India University, Banglaore, for the years 2007-2008 and 2008-2009, alongwith Audited Accounts.
- (ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the National Law School of India University, Banglaore, for the years 2007-2008 and 2008-2009.
- (Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1085/15/09)
- (5) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the National Horticulture Board, Gurgaon, for the year 2008-2009, alongwith Audited Accounts.
- (ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the National Horticulture Board, Gurgaon, for the year 2008-2009.
- (Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1086/15/09)
- (6) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (4) of section 83 of the Standards of Weight and Measures Act, 1976:-
- (i) The Standards of Weight and Measures (Packaged Commodities) Amendment Rules, 2009 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 533(E) Gazette of India dated the 17th July, 2009.
- (ii) The Standards of Weight and Measures (Packaged Commodities) Second Amendment Rules, 2009 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 632(E) Gazette of India dated the 2nd September, 2009.
- (Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1087/15/09)

- (7) A copy of the Statement (Hindi and English versions) explaining reasons for not laying the Annual Reports and Audited Accounts of the Jammu and Kashmir Horticultural Produce Marketing and Processing Corporation Limited for the years from 1993-1994 to 2008-2009 within the stipulated period of nine months after the close of the respective accounting years.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1088/15/09)

- (8) A copy of the Notification No. S.O. 1874(E) (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd August, 2009 notifying the crops, mentioned therein, with their genera eligible for registration of varieties under the Protection of Plant Varieties and Farmers' Rights Act, 2001 issued under sub-section (2) of Section 29 of the said Act.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1089/15/09)

- (9) A copy of the General Grading and Marking (Amendment) Rules, 2009 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. G.S.R. 796(E) in Gazette of India dated the 5th November, 2009 under sub-section (3) of the Section 3 of the Agricultural Produce Grading and Marking Act, 1937.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1090/15/09)

- (10) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management, Hyderabad, for the year 2008-2009.

(ii) A copy of the Annual Accounts (Hindi and English versions) of the National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management, Hyderabad, for the year 2008-2009, together with Audit Report thereon.

(iii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management, Hyderabad, for the year 2008-2009.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1091/15/09)

(11) (i) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the FICCI Alliance for Consumer Care, New Delhi, for the year 2007-2008, alongwith Audited Accounts.

(ii) A copy of the Review (Hindi and English versions) by the Government of the working of the FICCI Alliance for Consumer Care, New Delhi, for the year 2007-2008.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1092/15/09)

(12) A copy of the Rice (Stock Declaration by Companies or Firms or Individuals) Order, 2009 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. S.O. 2878(E) in Gazette of India dated the 11th November, 2009 under sub-section (6) of Section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1093/15/09)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ROAD TRANSPORT AND HIGHWAYS (KUNWAR R.P.N. SINGH): I beg to lay on the Table:-

(1) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under section 10 of the National Highways Act, 1956 :-

(i) S.O. 2800(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 5 (Chilakaluripet-Vijayawada Section) in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

(ii) S.O. 2831(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 authorizing the Special District Revenue Officer, Kancheepuram, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 4 in the State of Tamil Nadu.

(iii) S.O. 2829(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 authorizing the Special District Revenue Officer, LANH-

Vellore-9, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 46 in the State of Tamil Nadu.

- (iv) S.O. 2677(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 23rd October, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 1635(E) dated 6th July, 2009.
- (v) S.O. 2792(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 67 (Trichy-Karur Section) (including bypasses) in the State of Tamil Nadu.
- (vi) S.O. 2735(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 authorizing the Special District Revenue Officer, Thiruvallur, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 4 in the State of Tamil Nadu.
- (vii) S.O. 2680(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 23rd October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 45 (Trichy-Dindigul Section) in the State of Tamil Nadu.
- (viii) S.O. 2830(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 67 (Trichy-Karur Section) in the State of Tamil Nadu.
- (ix) S.O. 2839(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 authorizing the Special District Revenue Officer, Salem-Krishnagiri District, as the competent authority to acquire land for

building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 7 in the State of Tamil Nadu.

- (x) S.O. 2828(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 authorizing the Special District Revenue Officer, Vellore, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 4 in the State of Tamil Nadu.
- (xi) S.O. 2833(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 1740(E) dated 10th October, 2006.
- (xii) S.O. 2456(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 24th September, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 9 (Vijayawada-Machilipatnam Section) in the State of Andhra Pradesh.
- (xiii) S.O. 2573(E) to S.O. 2574(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 9th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 18 (Kadapa-Kurnool Section) in the State of Andhra Pradesh.
- (xiv) S.O. 2944(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 18th November, 2009 authorizing the Revenue Divisional Officer, Kavali, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 5 (Rudrakota-Nellore Section) in the State of Andhra Pradesh.
- (xv) S.O. 2943(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 18th November, 2009 authorizing the Special Deputy Collector (LA), P.S.V.P., Unit-5, Ongole, as the competent authority to acquire land for building

(widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 5 (Chilakaluripet-Rudrakota Section) in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

- (xvi) S.O. 2502(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 1st October, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 1351(E) dated 26th May, 2009.
- (xvii) S.O. 2813(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 18 (Kadapa-Kurnool Section) in the State of Andhra Pradesh.
- (xviii) S.O. 2798(E) and S.O. 2799(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 2 in the State of Bihar.
- (xix) S.O. 2807(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 1466(E) dated 29th August, 2007.
- (xx) S.O. 2808(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 810(E) dated 3rd April, 2008.
- (xxi) S.O. 2809(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 1198(E) dated 23rd May, 2008.
- (xxii) S.O. 2817(E) and S.O. 2823(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and

operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 91 (Ghaziabad-Aligarh Section) in the State of Uttar Pradesh.

(xxiii) S.O. 2832(E) and S.O. 2837(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 24 (Moradabad-Bareilly Section) in the State of Uttar Pradesh.

(xxiv) S.O. 2644(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 21st October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 12 (Jaipur-Tonk-Deoli Section) in the State of Rajasthan.

(xxv) S.O. 2676(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 23rd October, 2009 regarding acquisition of for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 8 (Bharuch-Surat Section) in the State of Gujarat.

(xxvi) S.O. 2818(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 8 (Gurgaon-Kotputli-Jaipur Section) in the State of Rajasthan.

(xxvii) S.O. 2489(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th September, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 6 (Gujarat-Maharashtra Boarder) (including construction of Vyara and Bajipura bypass) in the State of Gujarat.

(xxviii) S.O. 2556(E) and S.O. 2557(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 8th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and

operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 8A (Extension) (Mundra Village-Chandroda Section) in the State of Gujarat.

- (xxix) S.O. 2747(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 12 (Jaipur-Tonk-Deoli Section) in the State of Rajasthan.
- (xxx) S.O. 2532(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 6th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 6 (Dhulia-Surat Section) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xxxi) S.O. 2698(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 27th October, 2009 authorizing the Special Land Acquisition Officer, Sabarkantha, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 8 (Ratanpur-Ahmedabad Section) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xxxii) S.O. 2257(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th September, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 1693(E) dated 10th July, 2009.
- (xxxiii) S.O. 752(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 17th March, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 6 (Gujarat/Maharashtra Border-Surat-Hazira Port Section) (including construction of Vyara and Bajipura bypass) in the State of Gujarat.

- (xxxiv) S.O. 2748(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 12 (Jaipur-Tonk-Deoli Section) in the State of Rajasthan.
- (xxxv) S.O. 1692(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 10th July, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 59 (Ahmedabad-Gujarat/MP Border Section) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xxxvi) S.O. 2127(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 17th August, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 12 in the State of Rajasthan.
- (xxxvii) S.O. 555(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 26th February, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 8A (Extension) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xxxviii) S.O. 2825(E) to S.O. 2827(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 8 (Udaipur-Ahmedbad Section) in the State of Rajasthan.
- (xxxix) S.O. 1693(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 10th July, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway

No. 6 (Gujarat-Maharashtra Border, including construction of Vyara and Bajipura bypass) in the State of Gujarat.

- (xl) S.O. 2815(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 3 (Dholpur-Morena Section) in the State of Rajasthan.
- (xli) S.O. 2821(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd November, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 8A (Samakhiyali-Gandhidham Section) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xlii) S.O. 1607(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 1st July, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 6 (Dhulia-Surat Section) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xliii) S.O. 2258(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 4th September, 2009 authorizing the Officers, mentioned therein, as the competent authority to acquire land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 8A (Extension) in the State of Gujarat.
- (xliv) S.O. 2488(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th September, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 2117(E) dated 17th August, 2009.
- (xlv) S.O. 1577(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th June, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 200 (Duburi-Bhuban Section) in the State of Orissa.

- (xlvi) S.O. 1731(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 14th July, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 215 (Panikoili-Rimuli Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (xlvii) S.O. 1680(E) and S.O. 1681(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 9th July, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 215 (Panikoili-Rimuli Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (xlviii) S.O. 2252(E) and S.O. 2233(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 3rd September, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of different stretches of National Highway No. 215 (Rimuli-Rajamunda Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (xlix) S.O. 1696(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 10th July, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 6 (Durg-Nagpur Section, including construction of the bypasses) in the State of Maharashtra.
- (l) S.O. 1817(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 24th July, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 9 (Pune-Solapur Section) in the State of Maharashtra.
- (li) S.O. 2119(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 13th August, 2009 making certain amendments in the Notification No. S.O. 2089(E) dated 22nd August, 2008.
- (lii) S.O. 2564(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 9th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four/six laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National

Highway No. 4 (Bangalore-Nelamangala Section) in the State of Karnataka.

- (liii) S.O. 2647(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 21st October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 31 (Bijni-Nalbari Section) in the State of Assam.
- (liv) S.O. 2641(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 21st October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 215 (Panikoili-Rimuli Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lv) S.O. 2490(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th September, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 200 (Duburi-Bhuban Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lvi) S.O. 2627(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 16th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 215 (Panikoili-Rimuli Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lvii) S.O. 2491(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th September, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 203 (Kabirajpur-Biragobindapur Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lviii) S.O. 2569(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 9th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 215 (Panikoili-Rimuli Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lix) S.O. 2648(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 21st October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four

laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 203 (Dolagobindapur-Malatipatpur Section) in the State of Orissa.

- (lx) S.O. 2653(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 21st October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 200 (Bhuban-Bhadaliapasi-Bhubanbethiapal Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lxi) S.O. 2668(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 23rd October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 203 (Uttarasasan-Patasahanipur Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lxii) S.O. 2670(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 23rd October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 200 (Pitiri-Bhuban Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lxiii) S.O. 2669(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 23rd October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 203 (Darada-Malibarahi Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lxiv) S.O. 2487(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th September, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/four laning, etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 203 (Bhubaneswar-Uttara Sasan Section) in the State of Orissa.
- (lxv) S.O. 2620(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 15th October, 2009 regarding acquisition of land for building (widening/six laning,

etc.), maintenance, management and operation of National Highway No. 4 (Nelamangala-Tumkur Section) in the State of Karnataka.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1094/15/09)

(2) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) issued under Sections 35 and 37 of the National Highways Authority of India Act, 1988 :-

- (i) S.O. 2737(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 entrusting stretches, mentioned therein, of National Highway No. 6 in the State of Gujarat to National Highways Authority of India.
- (ii) S.O. 2738(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 entrusting stretches, mentioned therein, of National Highway No. 7 in the State of Gujarat to National Highways Authority of India.
- (iii) S.O. 2739(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 entrusting stretches, mentioned therein, of National Highway No. 33 in the State of Jharkhand to National Highways Authority of India.
- (iv) S.O. 2740(E) published in Gazette of India dated the 30th October, 2009 entrusting stretches, mentioned therein, of National Highway No. 10 in the State of Jharkhand to National Highways Authority of India.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1095/15/09)

(3) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under Section 37 of the National Highways Authority of India Act, 1988:-

- (i) The National Highways Authority of India (Recruitment, Seniority and Promotion) Second Amendment Regulations, 2009 published in Notification No. NHAI/11011/09/2009-HR-I. in Gazette of India dated the 13th October, 2009.

- (ii) The National Highways Authority of India (Recruitment, Seniority and Promotion) Amendment Regulations, 2009 published in Notification No. NHAI/12011/1/95-Admn.(Pt.) in Gazette of India dated the 22nd January, 2009.
- (iii) The National Highways Authority of India (Transaction of Business) Amendment Regulations, 2009 published in Notification No. NHAI/BM-11041/98/2008-Admn. in Gazette of India dated the 2nd February, 2009.
- (iv) The National Highways Authority of India (Conduct, Discipline and Appeal) Amendment Regulations, 2009 published in Notification No. NHAI/BM-12011/13/95-Admn. (Pt.) in Gazette of India dated the 20th April, 2009.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT- 1096/15/09)

12.03 hrs.

MESSAGE FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Madam, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary-General of Rjaya Sabha:

“In accordance with the provisions of rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th December, 2009 agreed without any amendment to the Central Universities (Amendment) Bill, 2009 which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 1st December, 2009.”

12.03¼ hrs.

**COMMITTEE ON WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND
SCHEDULED TRIBES**

Statements

SHRI GOBINDA CHANDRA NASKAR (BANGAON): I beg to lay on the Table the following Statements (Hindi and English versions):-

- (1) Final Action Taken Statements of the Government on the recommendations/observations contained in Chapter - I of the Twenty-seventh Report (14th Lok Sabha) on the subject “Reservation for and Employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in United India Insurance Company Limited”.
- (2) Final Action Taken Statements of the Government on the recommendations/observations contained in Chapter - I of the Thirtieth Report (14th Lok Sabha) on the subject “Reservation for and Employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Airports Authority of India”.

12.03½ hrs.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON CHEMICALS AND FERTILIZERS

1st to 3rd Reports

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR (BANGALORE SOUTH): I beg to present the following Reports (Hindi and English versions) of the Standing Committee on Chemicals and Fertilizers:-

- (1) First Report of the Committee on Demands for Grants (2009-10) of the Ministry of Chemicals and Fertilizers (Department of Pharmaceuticals),
 - (2) Second Report of the Committee on Demands for Grants (2009-10) of the Ministry of Chemicals and Fertilizers (Department of Fertilizers), and
 - (3) Third Report of the Committee on Action Taken on Twenty-seventh Report of the Committee (2008-09) on the subject 'Performance of Fertilizer Industry in Public, Private and Cooperative Sectors'.
-

12.04 hrs.

**CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF
URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE**

**Situation arising out of Government's decision to disinvest shares in Public
Sector Enterprises and steps taken in this regard**

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (BANKURA): Madam, I call the attention of the Minister of Finance to the following matter of urgent public importance and request that he may make a statement thereon:-

“The situation arising out of Government's decision to disinvest shares in Public Sector Enterprises and steps taken in this regard.”

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Madam Speaker, through you, I would like to apprise the House of the following factual position:

The policy on disinvestment articulated in the President's Speech to Joint Session of Parliament on 4th June, 2009 and Finance Minister's Budget Speech on 6th July, 2009 requires the development of “people ownership” of Central Public Sector Undertakings (CPSUs) to share in their wealth and prosperity, with Government retaining majority shareholding and control. This objective is relevant to profit-earning CPSUs as it is only these that will sustain investor-interest for sharing in their prosperity.

In line with this policy announcement, Government has decided that :

“(i) already listed profitable CPSUs not meeting the mandatory public shareholding of 10 per cent are to be made compliant;

(ii) all CPSUs having positive networth, no accumulated losses and having earned net profit for three preceding consecutive years, are to be listed through public offerings out of Government shareholding or issue of fresh equity by the company or a combination of both; and

(iii) the proceeds from disinvestment would be channelised into National Investment Fund and during April, 2009 to March, 2012 would be available in full for meeting the capital expenditure requirements of selected social sector programmes decided by the Planning Commission/Department of Expenditure. The *status quo ante* will be restored from April, 2012.” ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER : Let us have order in the House, please.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : In pursuance of the above policy, the Department of Disinvestment is in dialogue with the administrative Ministries and the CPSUs to assess their capital expenditure requirements to be raised through issue of fresh equity. The composition of the ‘public offering’ will be based on this input and each case will be considered on merits and submitted to Government for approval.

Disinvestment of Government shareholding in NTPC Limited (5 per cent) and SJVN Limited (10 per cent) and Rural Electrification Corporation Limited (5 per cent) through Public Offering in domestic market, is under implementation. These Public Offerings are likely to be completed by 31st March, 2010.

MADAM SPEAKER : Thank you hon. Minister. Shri Basu Deb Acharia.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Madam, now new words have been coined like ‘people’s ownership’. It is nothing but creeping privatization. As it has been stated in the Congress Party’s manifesto that the BJP was following blind privatization, now the UPA-2 Government will pursue and will see that the people’s ownership is done by disinvesting public sector undertakings. Already one billion people of our country are the owners of public sector undertakings. All the shares are vested with the Government and the people of our country elect their representatives to the Parliament and Parliament elects the Government of our country.

When already there is a people’s ownership, why has the Government decided to give ownership to a few people diluting the Parliament’s control, Parliament’s ownership over the public sector undertakings? You will see, in the past, how a miniscule part of the shares disinvested has gone to the hands of

general public. In case of Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, out of 32.8 per cent shares disinvested, the public holds only 1.9 per cent. In case of Steel Authority of India Limited, the public holding is only 1.9 per cent out of 14.18 per cent disinvested. In case of ONGC, out of 25.86 per cent disinvested so far, the general public holds only 1.6 per cent. Similarly, in case of Gas Authority of India Limited, out of 42.66 per cent already disinvested or privatized, the general public holds only 1.6 per cent.

It is a very small and miniscule part that is owned by few private individuals. The justification that has been given by the Finance Minister in his statement and also in his Budget Speech is that the Government needs money to spend in the social sector.

As per the *Public Sector Survey Report*, in the last year 2007-08, our public sector undertakings have earned a profit of Rs. 79,803 crore after paying tax of Rs. 42,000 crore. In one year, these Central public sector undertakings have also given the dividends to the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 28 crore. Moreover, these public sector undertakings have a Reserve Fund of about Rs. 5,00,000 crore. In the last five years, it has increased from Rs. 2,25,000 crore to Rs. 5,00,000 crore. If the Government of India needs money to spend in the social sector and if there is a resource crunch, it can utilise the surplus funds which are lying with the Central public sector undertakings, for productive assets. Why has the Government decided to disinvest? Now the Government has announced a policy decision to disinvest 10 per cent of the shares and that the Government's share will not come down from 51 per cent and the Government would continue to hold the shares to the extent of 51 per cent. It means that public sector will remain as public sector and the Government will have the control over the public sector, but where is the guarantee? Today, the Government is saying that the Government's share will not be reduced from 51 per cent, but where is the guarantee? Tomorrow, they may decide to reduce it from 51 per cent.

This 'public ownership' is nothing but creeping privatisation. I would like to know from the Finance Minister where the need for privatisation is. We used to extend support from outside to the UPA's first Government and we did not allow a single profit-making public sector undertaking to be disinvested. Though the Government decided and the Cabinet took a decision to disinvest 10 per cent of the shares of BHEL, the Government had to reverse its decision. The same thing happened in the case of National Aluminium Corporation and Neyveli Lignite Corporation where the Government of India decided to disinvest 20 per cent of its shares.

If the Government is facing any problem, it can resort to other means. As per the Finance Minister's statement in the Budget Speech, the foregone tax revenue in one year, 2008-09, was Rs. 4.5 lakh crore and concessions worth thousands of crores of rupees were given to the corporate sector. So, the Government has no problem in reducing the foregone tax revenue, what the Finance Minister had stated in his Budget Speech. In one year, the Government can get sufficient funds to spend in the social sector.

Madam, in the past, National Renewal Fund was created for revival of sick public sector undertakings. The Government of India received the fund which was collected out of proceeds from disinvestment and the funds which were deposited. How much of the fund that the Government of India received has been spent on the revival of sick public sector undertakings? When there is no problem which the Government of India is facing in regard to availability of funds, why is there a need for disinvestment of public sector undertakings? I would like to know this from the Finance Minister.

Today all the Central trade unions from INTUC to BMS are opposing it. On 16th of December, thousands of workers belonging to all the Central trade unions will come on the streets to demonstrate and oppose this draconian policy of the Government of India. Corporate interest cannot prevail over public interest. It is

mentioned 'public ownership'. Who are these 'public' who will in future own these public sector undertakings?

We know that this Government is pursuing an economic policy which is the market economy policy where public sector has no place. There will be a change in the ownership of the public sector undertaking. Today, the shares are vested with the Government of India. By disinvesting the shares of the public sector undertaking, who will be the owner of our public sector undertaking? When the first Prime Minister of India inaugurated the first public sector undertaking, a unit of Fertiliser Corporation of India at Sindhri, he had said 'I am not inaugurating a factory, rather I am inaugurating the temple of modern India'. Now these temples of modern India are being demolished one after another.

We have seen during the NDA regime that 100 per cent was being disinvested and the ownership was changed from the Government, the public to the private. Now the same policy is being pursued and also the policy of privatisation of public sector undertaking. I would like to know from the Finance Minister whether by disinvesting in the name of 'public ownership', shares of public sector undertaking are being handed over to a few private people.

Is the share of the Public Sector Undertaking being handed over to the corporate sector? Where is the need for disinvestment of 10 per cent share? If 10 per cent share of BHEL is disinvested, then the share of the Government will come down to 51 per cent. ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Shri Acharia, please conclude now.

... (*Interruptions*)



SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : This is the only public sector company that supplies electrical equipment. If there is further disinvestment, then the Government will not have any control over this important and vital Public Sector Undertaking. ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please ask your clarificatory question and conclude.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : I would like to know this from the hon. Finance Minister. Why cannot the Government utilize the surplus funds or a percentage of the surplus funds for productive assets when there are enough reserve funds or surplus funds lying with these Public Sector Undertakings, that is, about Rs. 500,000 crore?

According to the statement of the hon. Finance Minister the foregone tax revenue in the last year was Rs. 4.5 lakh crore. Why cannot the Government reduce the foregone tax revenue? Then, the Government need not disinvest the Public Sector Undertakings. As a result of this, the creeping privatization will also not be there. ... *(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: Thank you so much. Please take your seat. Now, the hon. Minister to give his reply.

... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Will the Government review the policy with regard to creeping privatization by disinvesting 10 per cent of the share in the name of public interest? ... *(Interruptions)* Thank you. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : Thank you, Madam. I appreciate the anxiety of the hon. Member because he believes in a particular philosophy, and he goes on propagating that philosophy. There is nothing wrong in it as everyone is entitled to have it. The fact of the matter is that disinvestment is going on in this country not from today or from yesterday, but from 1991-1992 onwards. Rs. 57,000 and odd crore has been collected by various Governments, and during this period from 1991-1992 to 2009-2010, there have been several Governments including one where CPI was a participant in the Democratic Front Government and disinvestment took place then. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : We were opposed to it. ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : Disinvestment took place prior to it; disinvestment has taken place during NDA regime; and disinvestment has taken place even when they supported us. ... *(Interruptions)* It is true that they had

registered their strong views on some cases even when they supported us. ...
(*Interruptions*)


I am factually correcting the position, and I am not adding anything new. Yes, they had their reservations in certain cases, and we did not proceed. They were our valued colleagues and we respect their support. But it is not correct to say that simply because they supported the Government from outside, hence, they influenced the Government to such an extent that not a single disinvestment took place. As many as seven disinvestments took place between 2004 and 2007, and I am not taking into account from 8th July when they withdrew their support.

If you want to have the list, I can give you the list. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : You had to reverse your decision also.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: That is a different question. Please do not interrupt me. ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please sit down. Please take your seat.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: At the very beginning, I have admitted  that you ought to propagate your view, but unfortunately, as Finance Minister of the country, I shall have to explain and propound the views of the Government for which we have been voted; we have got a little more. They have rejected your thesis of withdrawing support from us.

The disinvestment which took place between 2004 and 2008 – NTPC, 5.2 per cent; Maruti, I am not taking into account; Power Grid Corporation; Rural Electrification Corporation (REC); NHPC Limited, and Oil India.

The second point which the hon. Member tried to build up and create an impression is this. Yes, the individuals have got very minor shares. There is no doubt in it, but it is not always correct to say ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUDIP BANDYOPADHYAY (KOLKATA UTTAR): Madam, he is not listening to the reply.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: That is a privilege of the Member.

MADAM SPEAKER: Shri Basu Deb Acharia, please take your seat. He is replying to your clarificatory questions.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: He will listen. Even if he wants, he can listen from outside because my voice is strong enough to reach outside.

This is not the question. The question is that sometimes it happens that these shares are taken by the banks, financial institutions, mutual funds, and in case of one oil company, three other public sector oil companies took the entire share. Therefore, it is not correct that always some corporate sector companies are coming and grabbing these shares. It is not correct. The question he has raised is that as a result of this decision of 10 per cent, it will come down to 51 per cent. At least, Shri Basu Deb Acharia, the senior-most Member of the Lok Sabha, he is a Member from 1980 onwards, should have taken note of the fact where it is 100 per cent shareholding, it will come down to 90 per cent; where it is 90 per cent, it will come down to 80 per cent; it need not necessarily come down to 80 per cent, it may be 85, 86 or 87 per cent. But under no circumstances, it will come down below 51 per cent. That is the floor limit and it will not come below that. But most of the public sector enterprises will have more than enough elbow room, even NTPC. We have earlier disinvested 5.2 per cent; and this time we are going to have disinvestment of 5 per cent; and the total will be 10.2 per cent.

Your question is whether somebody will do it again later or in future. Yes, every Parliament is sovereign, elected for five years. Every Government accountable to the Parliament is for five years. You will have every right to reverse the policy, if you come back to this side of the House with 272 Members with your followers and yourselves. There is no problem. Therefore, this is not the question. This is the parliamentary practice, and this parliamentary practice is being followed. We are not going for the strategic sale. Our predecessor had done the strategic sale. You have quoted what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said while laying the foundation-stone of Sindri Fertilizer Project.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA: That is closed now.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: It is unfortunate that it has become sick – sick to the extent of beyond redemption and revival.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : It is closed now.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Some efforts are being made, I do not know whether it will be possible. But equally, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid down ten guidelines for the public sector where he said that they should generate adequate surplus so that they can meet their future expansions; it can meet their future modernization and development programmes. No industry can remain stagnant. It will have to expand. It will have to upgrade its technology. Our commitment to the public sector is second to none. We have cherished that. But we do not believe in doing something else and preaching something else. What we are doing is, we are taking this decision consciously as to why it is necessary. It is necessary to have the valuation of the right pricing, proper evaluation and unlock the greater shareholders' value. When we expose it to the market, the recent ones which we have done, you have seen what has been the enhancement of the market value. Prices of the company with the remaining shareholding have increased three fold, two and a half fold from Rs.2700 crore to Rs.8000 crore. That has been the impact. Shares have been over-subscribed. That is the credibility which we have.

I agree that we should not spend the family silver to meet the consumption expenditure. That is why the concept of NIF has come – National Investment Fund. You have very correctly pointed out about the investment that we have done for the revival of the sick and public sector enterprises. It is one of the mandates. As per the NIF scheme, the disinvestment proceeds will be deposited. It will not be mixed with the Consolidated Fund of India. A separate fund will be created. That fund will be managed by the fund managers. Currently, there are three fund managers -- UTI Fund Managers, SBI Fund Managers and Insurance Fund Managers. These three Mutual Fund Managers are there to manage these funds. Proceeds of this, the corpus of this will be kept in tact. The corpus has been of Rs.84 crore that we got in the first year. In the second year we got Rs.249 and odd

crore. These are the two years' proceeds that we deposited in the NIF. I am sorry, the total is Rs.1800 plus crore that has been the corpus which has been deposited in the NIF. The interest that we have earned in the two years is as follows: In the first year it is Rs.84 and odd crore and in the second year it is Rs.250 and odd crore. Now if the capital requirement of a sick public sector enterprise can be revived on the basis of the recommendations of experts, then this fund will be utilised to the extent of 25 per cent. We are using the 75 per cent for the targeted social sector projects and thereto it is not for the revenue expenditure, it is for the capital expenditure. Health, education and employment are the three priority sectors which have been identified. Which priority sector will you not approve? For health, we have to construct the hospitals. We have to place the machineries and equipment. Those are the capital expenditure. This fund will be utilised for that. This fund will be utilised for the construction of the universities or research laboratories or for buying equipment for the research and development. And this fund will be utilised for the capital expenditure of the project which will generate employment. It is not adequate. It will be supplemented. The main resource must come from the Budget. It is obvious. But these are the unlocked assets. Second is, why we are going for the peoples' ownership. You have ridiculed it. But it is really the peoples' ownership because the actual valuation is taking place. It adds significantly to the enterprise value and the value of the Government's residual equity shares.

I will give you one example. Enterprise value of the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation post-listing, increased from Rs.18,280 crore to Rs.37,702 crore. That is a 125 per cent increase in the enterprise value. Enterprise value of Oil India had gone up from a pre-IPO figure of Rs.9,844 crore to Rs.27,219 crore. If we had not listed them, we would not have ascertained these figures. That is the difference between pre-IPO and post-IPO valuation of the shares of public sector enterprises.

Madam Speaker, what we are doing is absolutely in conformity with the policies which were earlier approved by the National Common Minimum

Programme, which the Left parties were also supporting at that point of time. If they want, I can quote from that but I do not want to waste the time of the House. Everybody knows it and those five years have passed. In that NCMP it was mentioned that privatisation resources will not be utilised for revenue expenditure but will be utilised for capital expenditure. We are strictly following that line. ...
(Interruptions)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : It was also mentioned that there would be no disinvestment of profit-making public sector undertakings.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please do not disturb.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: You have your own perception; you live with your perception. I do not want to change your perception. As long as you live politically you live with your perception. ... (Interruptions)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : You have forgotten that Common Minimum Programme.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: The world is moving. World is not stagnating in your place. The world is moving and we have to keep pace with the movement of the world, and we are keeping pace. That is why I give this example of 25 years ago more than often. Twenty-five years ago when I was the Finance Minister and speaking from here, I could not give debt relief to farmers even to the extent of Rs.500 crore. Today the Finance Minister of India can give debt relief to the extent of Rs.71,000 crore. ... (Interruptions)

श्री दारा सिंह चौहान (घोसी): गरीब लोगों को तो इससे कोई फायदा नहीं मिल रहा है। ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Farmers are committing suicides.

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए। आप क्यों खड़े हो गए? आप बैठ जाइए।

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: If we would have stuck to your position, our position would have been where you are today. Thank God we changed the policy and we changed the policy for the betterment of the country! That is why the country is moving ahead.

The last point which I would like to submit, Madam, is that we have taken the exception with the approval of the Cabinet for one year because we are passing through real difficult fiscal situation. Do not quote figures which are astronomically high and which have no relevance. The total value of the stimulus packages given - including the third one of mine and the earlier two of Prime Minister – in terms of money is Rs.1,86,000 crore. And you come out with a fancy figure and say that Rs.4 lakh crore of concessions have been given to the corporate sector! Where are these figures coming from? The total value of the stimulus packages given is of Rs.1,86,000 crore. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : That is tax forgone.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I am not yielding Mr. Acharia. These are budget figures. Rs.1,86,000 crore is the total value of the three stimulus packages which have been given in December, 2008; January, 2009; and February, 2009. There is no concession to the extent of Rs.4 lakh crore as tax concession. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Not tax concession, tax forgone.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: No concession. Please sit down.

अध्यक्ष महोदया : बसुदेव आचार्य जी, आप बैठ जाइए। आप दो दफा बोल चुके हैं, आप बैठ जाइए।

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Please understand these things. Try to study a little bit. ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record except what the Finance Minister is saying.

(*Interruptions*) ... *

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Therefore, the only limited point which we are making is that this year the situation is extremely difficult.

That is why, we have suggested that in three years, we will utilize it to meet our social commitments to the important segments like health, education,

* Not recorded



employment generation because I cannot afford to have the fiscal deficit to the extent which I left last year, that is, at 6.8 per cent. Fiscal prudence tells me, tells anyone sensible that you come back to the FRBM as quickly as possible. As I am advising all my colleagues in the State Government, I am equally following that practice that I shall have to come back to the FRBM to reduce the fiscal deficit. That is why one time exception that this money will be utilized in these three years up to 31st March, 2012. The disinvestment proceeds will be utilized for the capital expenditure of socially targeted projects. Thank you, Madam, Speaker.

...(व्यवधान)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (मैनपुरी): अध्यक्ष महोदया, मुझे इस बारे में बोलने का मौका दिया जाए।...(व्यवधान) आप हमें बोलने का मौका नहीं दे रही हैं, इसलिए इसके विरोध में हम सदन से वहिष्कार कर रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)

12.42 hrs.

Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, Shri Basudeb Acharya and some other hon. Members then left the House

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव (मधुबनी): अध्यक्ष महोदया, मुझे नियम के संबंध में आपत्ति है।...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : शून्य प्रहर में नियम आपत्ति नहीं रहती। आप कृपया अपना स्थान ग्रहण कीजिए।

...(व्यवधान)

(Placed in Library, See No LT-1098/15/09)

12.42¼ hrs.**DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS – (GENERAL), 2009-10**

MADAM SPEAKER: Now, Item No.12

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): I beg to present a Statement (Hindi and English versions) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget (General) for 2009-10.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT-1099/15/09)

12.42½ hrs.**DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS – (JHARKHAND), 2009-10**

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): On behalf of my colleague, Shri Namo Narain Meena, I beg to present a Statement (Hindi and English versions) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the State of Jharkhand for the year 2009-10.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT-1100/15/09)

MADAM SPEAKER: Now, matters of urgent public importance.

श्री महाबली सिंह (काराकाट): अध्यक्ष महोदया, आजादी के 62 साल गुजरने के बाद भी देश के पठारी इलाकों में रहने वाले अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति के लोगों की स्थिति में कोई खास सुधार नहीं हो पाया है। वे आज भी भूखे-प्यासे और नंगे पेड़ों के नीचे जीवन जीने को मजबूर हैं। खासकर बिहार, झारखंड तथा छत्तीसगढ़ राज्यों के पठारी इलाकों में रहने वाले लोगों की हालत बंद से बंदतर होती जा रही है, क्योंकि आज तक उन्हें शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य एवं परिवहन जैसी बुनियादी सुविधाएं उपलब्ध नहीं कराई गई हैं।

आज लोग वहां मरने के कगार पर खड़े हैं। भूख मिटाने के लिए कोई दूसरा साधन उपलब्ध नहीं है जिसके चलते उन राज्यों में नक्सली गतिविधियां दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़ती जा रही हैं और लोगों का विश्वास लोकतंत्र से उठता जा रहा है, जो देश हित में नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदया, अगर सरकार ने इस पर समय रहते ध्यान नहीं दिया, तो आज जो हम विदेशी आतंकवादियों से परेशान हैं और देश में जिस दिन लाखों उग्रवादी तैयार होंगे, यह देश के लिए बहुत बड़ी खतरे की घंटी होगी। इसलिए हम सदन से अनुरोध करना चाहते हैं कि आज देश में इस कारण उग्रवादी गतिविधियां बढ़ रही हैं। यदि समय रहते सरकार ने उन लोगों तक सभी सुविधाएं न पहुंचाई तो उग्रवाद को बढ़ने से रोक नहीं जा सकता। इसलिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा सुविधाएं उपलब्ध करवाकर सरकार उन्हें रोकने का काम करे।

SHRI KABINDRA PURKAYASTHA (SILCHAR): It is a disturbing matter that the Department of Posts has launched an attack on the Railway Mail Service by introducing several measures against the interest of the staff and the services. It is learnt that the measures which are being adopted by the Postal Department are mainly abolition of night sets, reducing the number of RMS Offices, abolition of RMS section within the circles and many others. If these measures are adopted automatically RMS and MMS will be going nearer to closer and if this happens the employees of the Department will be nowhere.

12.44 hrs.

(Shri P.C. Chacko *in the Chair*)

The Postal Joint Council of Action has already submitted a memorandum to the Secretary, Posts requesting her to intervene in this serious matter but uptill now nothing has been heard. This is a serious matter involving the livelihood of heavy number of employees throughout the country.

I, as a Member of Parliament, feel it absolutely necessary to bring it to the notice of the Government and to request the concerned authorities to desist from implementing the measures as decided, in the interest of the country and particularly the employees of the Department.

श्री जयवंत गंगाराम आवले (लातूर): सभापति महोदय, देश में नकली नोटों का कारोबार सरकार और सुरक्षा एजेंसियों के तमाम दावों के बाद भी लगातार बढ़ रहा है। खास तौर पर राजधानी दिल्ली में पिछले दो सालों में नकली नोटों का प्रचलन बड़े पैमाने पर बढ़ा है। हाल ही में दिल्ली में 1 करोड़ 34 लाख 58 हजार 80 रुपये की कीमत के 31 हजार 969 नकली नोट जब्त किये जा चुके हैं। दिल्ली में नकली नोटों के 16 और तमिलनाडु में 172 मामले दर्ज हैं। नकली नोटों के मामले में महाराष्ट्र सबसे आगे है। लगभग 150 करोड़ रुपये की कीमत के 33 हजार 567 नकली नोट जब्त हुए हैं और 154 मामले दर्ज हैं। इस तरह पूरे देश में नकली नोटों का कारोबार फैल गया है, जो चिन्ता का विषय है। देश को जितना गंभीर खतरा आतंकवाद और नक्सलवाद से है, उससे कहीं ज्यादा बड़ा खतरा नकली नोटों से है। नकली करेंसी आतंकी संगठनों के काम आ रही है और देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को खोखला कर रही है। आम आदमी का विश्वास अपनी करेंसी से उठ रहा है। दिल्ली, तमिलनाडु, पश्चिम बंगाल, आंध्र प्रदेश, कर्नाटक, उत्तर प्रदेश, राजस्थान, गुजरात आदि राज्यों में नकली नोटों का कारोबार बड़े पैमाने पर हो रहा है।

अतः हमारी सरकार से मांग है कि देश में नकली नोटों के कारोबारियों के खिलाफ सख्त कदम उठाये जायें।

SHRI K.C. VENUGOPAL (ALAPPUZHA): I wish to bring a significant issue to the attention of this august House. This is about the pathetic living condition of the fishermen, who are living in the coastal areas. Due to lack of sufficient drinking water, hospital amenities and educational institutions, they are suffering a lot. Setting up of a dwelling unit is a major hurdle for them.

I would like to mention a specific issue about the disparity in the allotment of funds for fishermen, for setting up housing facilities. A major housing scheme, implemented by the National Fishermen Welfare Fund is not sufficient to them to achieve the goal and most of the fishermen all over the country are not satisfied with the system of implementation of this scheme. The scheme is providing an amount of Rs.50,000 and at the same time, the other major schemes like the Tsunami Rehabilitation Schemes and the schemes run by the local bodies are giving Rs.2 lakh and Rs.1 lakh respectively for them.

Due to inadequate assistance to build dwelling units, most of them keep themselves away from the schemes and trying to avail assistance from other housing schemes because if one is provided assistance through one scheme, he is not eligible for another scheme.

So, the Government should review the scheme and revise the allocated amount to a minimum of Rs.2 lakh to one family.

Another major necessity of the fishermen community is unavailability of sufficient kerosene for fishing needs. Most of them are forced to buy kerosene from black-market at a higher price. So, an urgent action is needed to ensure sufficient supply of subsidized kerosene through PDS to each and every fisherman.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (BANKURA): Sir, today the construction workers of our country have gone on strike; there are lakhs of construction workers – largest number of workers – are engaged in construction sector. The Government of India passed a legislation in the year 1996.

Sir, today the construction workers of our country have gone on strike; there are lakhs of construction workers – largest number of workers – are engaged



in construction sector. The Government of India passed a legislation in the year 1996. This Act was called the Building and Other Construction Workers regulation and Conditions of Service Act 1996 but so far a larger number of States have not implemented this Act. Even after 13 years of enactment of this legislation, only six or seven States have implemented it so far. Now their demand is that the Government of India should withdraw the order to allow 100 per cent FDI in housing sector to protect the Indian construction companies and the Government of India should allocate more funds in its annual budget for infrastructural development work to ensure sustained development and continuous employment of construction workers. The Government of India must declare reduction of prices of construction materials. It should take steps to reduce the prices of construction material like steal, cement, bricks, stones, chips, etc.

The Inter-State Migration of Workmen Regulation of Employment and Condition of Service Act, 1979 to protect lacks of inter-State migrant workers has not been fully implemented in many States. As a result of this, the exploitation of migrant workers takes place in many States. About 3846 migrant workers were arrested while working in different countries. Their demand is that the Government of India should try to get them released.

The Social Security Act was passed by this House last year. At the time of consideration of the Bill, the Labour Minister assured this House that the Government would consider amending certain provisions of the Social Security Act so that a larger number of workers who are excluded from the social security, those workers could also be included. Therefore, the Government should bring an amending legislation to amend the Social Security Act which was passed by Parliament.

SHRI B. MAHTAB (CUTTACK): Sir, the Black Rose, a Mongolia based vessel, has sunk off Paradip Port. It was carrying iron ore from Haldia and was re-loading at Paradip when it tilted and sunk, thereby restricting the traffic to Paradip Port. Though 26 of the crew members were saved, a Ukrainian engineer's body was later recovered. Leaking of oil from the vessel and its movement towards the shore has caused panic in the area. The sinking of this vessel has caused doubts on the sincerity of the officials of the Traffic Department of Paradip Port as well as cargo shippers and stevedores. The officials, cargo shippers and stevedores should carefully handle the iron ore for safe transportation but no measures and supervisions were taken by the concerned officials to measure content of the iron ore loaded in that ill-fated vessel. The shippers and the stevedores did not verify the quality of the cargo and as they loaded it for commercial purposes they ignored the safety aspect. There is an urgent need to conduct a high level probe to ascertain the cause of the sinking of this vessel. Though a Mongolian ship was carrying iron ore from Haldia, why was it being re-loaded at Paradeep port? Where was this ship destined to travel? Was it to go to China? Is there any safety and security lapse in Paradip port by allowing private surveyors to certify a vessel after their arrival and not engaging Government certified surveyors? I would not say that sinking of this Mongolian ship was deliberate but this incident has occurred due to official negligence. They should be taken to task. The debris of the ill-fated vessel should be cleared from the sea as the owner of the vessel is yet to contact the Port Trust Authorities. I would like to get a categorical answer from the Government in this regard.

श्री पकौड़ी लाल (रॉबर्ट्सगंज): सभापति महोदय, मैं जनपद सोनभद्र, उत्तर प्रदेश के सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी कंपनियों द्वारा फैलाए जा रहे प्रदूषण के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ।

मेरे संसदीय क्षेत्र के अंतर्गत जनपद सोनभद्र, उत्तर प्रदेश में आदिवासी-वनवासियों को विस्थापित कर उनकी जमीन पर अनेक प्रकार की सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी परियोजनाएं जैसे हिंडालको इंडस्ट्रीज लिमिटेड, कनौडिया कैमिकल्स फैक्ट्री, रेणु सागर पावर प्लांट, एनटीपीसी, कार्बन प्लांट, कोयला प्लांट,

सीमेंट फैक्ट्री, क्रैशर इत्यादि प्लांट स्थापित हैं जिनसे अत्याधिक मात्रा में गंदी राख, धुआं, धुंध, विषैला पानी निकलता है जो रिहंद जलाशय में छोड़ा जाता है, जिसके कारण स्थानीय जनता का स्वास्थ्य खराब हो रहा है। दूषित जल से रिहंद जलाशय के किनारे बसे पड़री गांव के लगभग 12 से अधिक लोगों की मृत्यु हो गई है लेकिन सरकार या फैक्ट्रियों द्वारा कोई मुआवजा नहीं मिला। कृषि योग्य भूमि उसर बनती जा रही है। वन तथा वन संपदा, जीव जन्तु इससे प्रभावित हो रहे हैं। विस्थापित हुए आदिवासी, वनवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति खराब है। इनको पर्याप्त मुआवजा एवं नौकरी नहीं मिली है। पर्यावरण प्रदूषण के कारण इनका जीवन खतरे में पड़ गया है। जनप्रतिनिधियों एवं प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड द्वारा सुझाव व निर्देश का परियोजनाओं के अधिकारियों पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ रहा है। अंधाधुंध प्रदूषण से पर्यावरण के प्रति खतरा उत्पन्न हो गया है। आवंटित जमीन के अलावा वन भूमि पर फैक्ट्रियों द्वारा अवैध कब्जा किया जा रहा है। इनके द्वारा जलवायु हितेषी प्रौद्योगिकी का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जा रहा है, जिसके कारण कार्बन उत्सर्जित हो रहा है।

अतः आपके माध्यम से केन्द्र सरकार से निवेदन है कि जनपद सोनभद्र, उत्तर प्रदेश के सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी परियोजनाओं द्वारा फैलाए जा रहे प्रदूषण को रुकवाने हेतु शीघ्र कार्यवाही करने का कष्ट करें ताकि आदिवासियों का स्वास्थ्य सुरक्षित रह सके।

SHRI P. KARUNAKARAN (KASARGOD): Sir, the Public Distribution System in the State of Kerala has been functioning well. They have been able to intervene in the market and also control the rise of prices to some extent. There is a big demand for foodgrains and other materials especially during the festival season. The festivals of Christmas, Bakri-Eid and Onam are celebrated in the State on a very large scale and which also serves as a symbol of national integration. As you would know that Christmas is nearing and the Government of Kerala has requested for additional food grains and also additional quota of 10,000 MTs of sugar.

So, it is essential that the Government distributes them through the PDS during festival seasons so that common people may enjoy the benefits. I would like to urge the Government to take necessary steps in this regard.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned for lunch to meet again at 2 p.m.

13.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till
Fourteen of the Clock.*

14.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

(Madam Speaker *in the Chair*)

MATTERS UNDER RULE 377 *

MADAM SPEAKER: Now, the House will take up item no. 14. Matters under Rule 377 shall be laid on the Table of the House.

Members who have been permitted to raise matters under Rule 377 today and are desirous of laying them, may personally hand over the slips at the Table of the House within twenty minutes. Only those matters shall be treated as laid for which slips have been received at the Table within the stipulated time, the rest will be treated as lapsed.

(i) Need to set up a Polytechnic college in Hoshiarpur Parliamentary Constituency, Punjab

SHRIMATI SANTOSH CHOWDHARY (HOSHIARPUR): There is no Polytechnic College in Sub tehsil Dhilwan situated on the G.T. road in Bholath Vidhan Sabha area which is in my Parliamentary constituency Hoshiarpur. There is no educational institution in an area spread over 50 KM in radius. The people of village Jalika has agreed to donate 8 acres of land required for Polytechnic college free of cost. The City of Kapurthala is only 14 km from the proposed site at village Jalika. There is no professional institution beyond school level in the entire area.

I therefore, urge upon the Union Government to release funds for the proposed Polytechnic College to be built at village Jalika in Hoshiarpur Parliamentary Constituency.

* Treated as laid on the Table

(ii) Need for implementation of Mega Power Projects in Orissa

SHRI AMARNATH PRADHAN (SAMBALPUR): Energy is the driving force for any economic development. Orissa has vast reserves of coal which can be exploited by setting up Power projects in the state.

I request the Central Government to set up mega power projects in Orissa at the earliest.

(iii) Need to set up an Avian Research Centre in Thattekkadu, Kerala

SHRI P.T. THOMAS (IDUKKI): The world famous bird sanctuary at Thattekkadu - Kothamagulam is in my constituency in Idukki - which requires more attention. This is a tropical Birds Sanctuary. More than 320 different variety of birds are there. Also, 40% birds are migratory birds out of which 17% are international migrants. The rest are rare birds like Frogmouth and 'Ripley Owl' are there in this Sanctuary. Last Year more than 75000 tourists visited there. I request the Union Government to consider setting up of an Avian Research Centre in Thattekkadu. I request Tourism and Environment Ministries to take necessary initiative in this regard.

(iv) Need to include Piparhawa (Kapilvastu), a pilgrims place in district Siddharthnagar, Uttar Pradesh, in the World Heritage list

श्री जगदम्बिका पाल (डुमरियागंज): महोदय, गौतम बुद्ध की जन्मस्थली पिपरहवा (कपिलवस्तु) जनपद सिद्धार्थनगर उत्तर प्रदेश में दुनिया के बौद्ध धर्म के मानने वाले प्रतिवर्ष लाखों की संख्या में आते हैं। क्योंकि यहां उनके आस्था एवं विश्वास का केन्द्र बौद्ध की जन्मस्थली है। उक्त स्थल की ऐतिहासिकता एवं वास्तविकता भारत सरकार के पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण विभाग एवं कोलकाता विश्वविद्यालय के इतिहास विभाग की संयुक्त खुदाई में मिले भग्नावशेष से सिद्ध हो गया है कि छठी शताब्दी में गौतमबुद्ध का जन्म राजा शुद्धोधन की राजधानी शाक्य के कपिलवस्तु, सिद्धार्थनगर में हुआ था। लेकिन अभी तक उक्त स्थल का सम्यक विकास न होने के कारण वहां आने वाले राष्ट्रीय एवं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय पर्यटकों को काफी निराशा होती है जबकि उसे विश्व धरोहर की सूची में शामिल किया जाना चाहिए। भारत सरकार को पिपरहवा कपिलवस्तु को वर्ल्ड हेरीटेज की सूची में शामिल कराने का प्रयास करना चाहिए।

(v) Need for financial assistance to ‘Rajiv Aarogyasri’ a Community Health Insurance Scheme implemented by the Government of Andhra Pradesh

SHRI RAYAPATI SAMBASIVA RAO (GUNTUR): The Government of Andhra Pradesh has implemented a unique Community Health Insurance Scheme called ‘Rajiv Aarogyasri’. It was started on a pilot basis in the backward districts of the State, namely, Mahaboobnagar, Ananthapur and Srikakulam from 1st April, 2007 and now it has covered all the district of Andhra Pradesh.

The scheme extends financial protection up to a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs in a year to families living below poverty line for the treatment of serious ailments which require hospitalization and surgery. Its ambit covers almost 163 surgical procedures.

This scheme is under implementation and the entire expenditure is funded by the State Government of Andhra Pradesh. The request of the State Government pertains to sharing of the expenditure in 70:30 ratio and to extend Central assistance. A request for clearance of the proposal and sanction of a sum of Rs. 300 crore is pending with the Government of India.

The Scheme needs the support of the Government of India. The State alone cannot cater to such a huge expenditure. Hence, I would request the Hon’ble Union Minister to extend financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 300 crore as sought by the Andhra Pradesh Government to make ‘Rajiv Aarogyasri’ a grand success, which is aimed at extending financial protection to children aged up to 12 years of the families living below poverty line in Andhra Pradesh. I would also request the Central Government to reimburse whatever has been spent by the State Government on this scheme so far, since the commencement of this scheme from 1 April, 2007.

(vi) Need to upgrade Liquid Propulsion Systems Centre (LPSC), Mahendragiri in district Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu as a separate unit with its Headquarters at Mahendragiri

SHRI S.S. RAMASUBBU (TIRUNELVELI): The Liquid Propulsion Systems Centre (LPSC) situated at Mahendragiri in my Tirunelveli District, Tamil Nadu is a constituent unit of Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) which was started in 1984. It is one of the important units of the Indian Space activity because it contributes in a major way for systems development, assembly, integration and testing of Liquid and Cryogenic Rocket Stages and High Altitude Testing of Satellite Propulsion Systems and various other activities.

The present man-power strength of LPSC, Mahendragiri is about 550 which include senior scientists, technicians, administrative and supporting staffs. Though it was established 25 years ago and major developmental activities are being carried out here, its Head Office and control is still lying with Valiamala which is located near Trivandrum in Kerala. Trivandrum in Kerala is already having VSSC and other small units viz., TERLS, IISU besides APP in Alwaye. Another neighbouring State of Karnataka is having ISAC, ISTRAC Units in Bangalore and Master Control in Hassan.

LPSC, Mahendragiri is the only unit established under ISRO in Tamil Nadu. There are various units under ISRO having even 250 employees or less than that which have been made a separate centre. However, the LPSC, Mahendragiri is not yet considered which has enough reason to be upgraded into a separate centre.

I, therefore, request the Union Government to upgrade Liquid Propulsion Systems Center (LPSC), Mahendragiri into a separate centre with its Headquarters at Mahendragiri in Tamil Nadu.

(vii) Need to set up a railway station for stoppage of trains either at Neema or Gopalur on Varanasi-Lucknow railway line in Partapgarh Parliamentary Constituency, Uttar Pradesh

राजकुमारी रत्ना सिंह (प्रतापगढ़): महोदय, वाराणसी एवं लखनऊ वाया जौनपुर-सुल्तानपुर के बीच जो रेलवे लाइन है इस रेलवे लाइन में मेरे संसदीय क्षेत्र प्रतापगढ़ के उत्तरी हिस्सा का 18 किलोमीटर मार्ग पड़ता है, परंतु इस रेलवे लाइन पर से गुजरने वाली कोई भी रेलवे सेवा मेरे संसदीय क्षेत्र में नहीं रुकती है जिसके कारण वाराणसी एवं लखनऊ से आने-जाने वाले, मेरे संसदीय क्षेत्र प्रतापगढ़ के उत्तरी क्षेत्र के लोगों को कोई फायदा नहीं है जबकि इस रेलवे लाइन पर प्रतापगढ़ में स्थित नीमा या गोपालपुर पर रेलवे स्टेशन या हॉल्ट बनाकर इस रेलवे लाइन से गुजरने वाली रेल गाड़ियों को रोका जा सकता है। नीमा एवं गोपालपुर मेरे प्रतापगढ़ शहर से लगभग 30 किलोमीटर दूर है अतः गोपालपुर या नीमा पर हॉल्ट या रेलवे स्टेशन बनाकर मेरे प्रतापगढ़ जिले के उत्तरी क्षेत्र में रहने वाले लोगों को इस कार्य से फायदा हो सकता है। नीमा या गोपालपुर में हॉल्ट बनाने के कार्य पर मैं अपने संसदीय क्षेत्र विकास कोष से मदद करने के लिए तैयार हूँ।

अतः सदन के माध्यम से अनुरोध है कि वाराणसी एवं लखनऊ वाया जौनपुर-सुल्तानपुर के बीच रेलवे लाइन पर मेरे संसदीय क्षेत्र प्रतापगढ़ के उत्तरी क्षेत्र में स्थित नीमा या गोपालपुर में एक रेलवे स्टेशन या रेलवे हॉल्ट बनाकर यहां पर इस रेलमार्ग पर चलने वाली रेल सेवा का उहाराव किया जाए।

(viii) Need to follow up the proposed tripartite talks among Government of India, Government of West Bengal and representatives of Gorkha Jana-Mukti Morcha vigorously for grant of statehood to Gorkhaland

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (DARJEELING): The tripartite talks between the Governemt of India, Government of West Bengal and representatives of the Gorkha Jana-mukti Morcha on the issue of grant of Statehood to Gorkhaland, later this month, should be followed up sympathetically and vigorously as it is an issue of national impotence

(ix) Need to set up a new fertilizer unit in place of closed factory of Fertilizer Corporation of India Limited in Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh

योगी आदित्यनाथ (गोरखपुर): महोदय, देश में हरित क्रान्ति की सफलता में भारतीय उर्वरक निगम लिमिटेड का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। किसानों को समय पर उर्वरक प्राप्त हो इसके लिए आजादी के बाद देश के विभिन्न भागों में उर्वरक संयंत्र स्थापित किए गए थे। इसी क्रम में भारतीय उर्वरक निगम लिमिटेड की एक इकाई सन् 1969 ई. में गोरखपुर में स्थापित की गई थी। इस उर्वरक संयंत्र ने पूर्वी उ.प्र. तथा बिहार के अंदर हरित क्रान्ति की सफलता में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका का निर्वाह किया था। एक साधारण दुर्घटना के चलते गोरखपुर का उर्वरक संयंत्र जून, 1990 ई. में बंद कर दिया गया और तब से लगातार यह इकाई बंद चल रही है। इसे प्रारंभ करने के लिए लगातार आन्दोलन हुए। देश के तीन पूर्व प्रधानमंत्रियों ने गोरखपुर जाकर बंद इकाई को पुनः प्रारंभ करने अथवा नया उर्वरक संयंत्र लगाने का आश्वासन पूर्वी उ.प्र. की जनता को दिया था लेकिन आज तक वह आश्वासन घोषणा तक ही सीमित रहा। गोरखपुर स्थित उर्वरक संयंत्र के पास पर्याप्त मात्रा में (1400 एकड़) भूमि उपलब्ध है जो वर्तमान में भी है। नया उर्वरक संयंत्र लगाना ही वर्तमान में एकमात्र समाधान है।

कृपया व्यापक जनहित में भारतीय उर्वरक निगम लिमिटेड के गोरखपुर स्थित बंद इकाई के स्थान पर नया संयंत्र लगाया जाए।

(x) Need to release adequate funds under Calamity Relief Fund/National Calamity Contingency Fund to undertake relief measures in drought affected areas of Rajasthan and provide insurance benefit to the drought affected farmers from National Agriculture Insurance Corporation

श्री अर्जुन राम मेघवाल (बीकानेर): महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से भारत सरकार का ध्यान राजस्थान राज्य में पड़े सूखे की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ, राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राज्य के 33 जिलों में से 26 जिलों में आकाल घोषित किया है। आकाल के कारण कृषि उत्पादन के साथ-साथ पशु-धन की स्थिति पर भी विपरीत असर पड़ा है। अकाल के कारण कृषि उत्पादन के साथ-साथ पशु-धन की स्थिति पर भी विपरीत असर पड़ा है। राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा 26 जिलों के 32,833 गांवों में लोगों को रोजगार देने, वैकल्पिक कृषि की व्यवस्था करने, पशुओं के लिए चारा उपलब्ध करवाने एवं अनुग्रह सहायता हेतु भारत सरकार से पैकेज के रूप में 12,690.99 करोड़ रुपये की मांग की थी, लेकिन भारत सरकार ने 1034.84 करोड़ रुपये ही स्वीकृत किये हैं, जो कि अत्यन्त ही कम है।

2 सितम्बर, 2009 को भारत सरकार के केन्द्रीय दल ने भी राजस्थान राज्य का दौरा किया एवं आकाल की विभीषिका को नजदीक से देखा, लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा पर्याप्त सहायता राशि नहीं दिये जाने से राज्यों में आवश्यकता के अनुसार पर्याप्त आकाल राहत कार्य संचालित नहीं हो रहे हैं।

मैं आपके माध्यम से भारत सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि राजस्थान राज्य को सी.आर.एफ/एन.सी.सी.एफ. में वांछित राशि राजस्थान राज्य के लिए तुरन्त रिलीज करें एवं नेशनल एग्रीकल्चर इन्शोरेंस कार्पोरेशन को निर्देशित करें कि सूखे के कारण चौपट हुई फसल के लिए अविलंब प्रिमियम के अनुसार बीमा राशि स्वीकृत करें, जिससे किसानों को तत्काल राहत मिल सके।

(xi) Need to provide multipurpose Unique Identification Number after updation of National Register of citizens based on 1951 Census/1952 Electorates' List

श्री राधा मोहन सिंह (पूर्वी चम्पारण): महोदय, मैं केन्द्र सरकार का ध्यान महत्वपूर्ण विषय की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा बहुउद्देशीय विशेष पहचान पत्र जारी करने की योजना सराहनीय कार्य है, परंतु इस कार्ड योजना में बहुत सारे ऐसे बिन्दु विषय हैं जो अस्पष्ट हैं और इनको स्पष्ट करने का संतोषजनक प्रयास भी नहीं किया गया है। जिसमें सबसे पहला यह है कि यह विशिष्ट पहचान पत्र केवल भारत के वैध नागरिकों को दिया जायेगा अथवा उन सभी को जो भारत में किसी भी तरह (घुसपैठ) से रह रहे हैं। प्राधिकरण के अध्यक्ष ने इस आपत्ति के निराकरण में अपनी असमर्थता जताई है।

मेरा भारत सरकार से अनुरोध है कि 1951 की जनगणना अथवा 1952 की मतदाता सूची के आधार पर राष्ट्रीय नागरिक पंजिका अद्यतन करने के बाद ही यह योजना लागू किया जाये ताकि इसका लाभ किसी भी स्थिति में विकास, एकता एवं अखंडता के शत्रु घुसपैठिये न उठा सके।

(xii) Need to open a Kendriya Vidyalaya in Sambhalpur Parliamentary Constituency, Uttar Pradesh

डॉ. शफ़ीकुर्रहमान बर्क (सम्भल): महोदय, मेरे संसदीय क्षेत्र "संभल" में लगभग 2 साल पहले सैन्ट्रल स्कूल मंजूर हुआ था लेकिन आज तक भी इस स्कूल से मुताल्लिक कोई कार्यवाही सरकार ने न करके इसे ठण्डे बस्ते में डाल दिया है। सम्भल जिला मुरादाबाद का एक बड़ा औद्योगिक शहर है और हैन्डीक्राफ्ट का बड़ा सेन्टर है। यहां पर एक सैन्ट्रल स्कूल खोले जाने की मांग यहां की जनता सालों से करती आ रही है। वैसे भी सम्भल एक बड़ा अल्पसंख्यक लोक सभा क्षेत्र है। यहां सैन्ट्रल स्कूल का खोला जाना बेहद जरूरी है।

आपसे गुजारिश है कि आप मेरे सम्भल लोक सभा क्षेत्र में 2 साल पहले मंजूर हुए सैन्ट्रल स्कूल को जल्द से जल्द खुलवाने की मेहरबानी करें।

(xiii) Need to provide adequate quantity of fertilizers to farmers in Bihar

श्री विश्व मोहन कुमार (सुपौल): महोदय, सदन के माध्यम से माननीय रसायनिक एवं उर्वरक मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकृष्ट करते हुए कहना है कि बिहार में उर्वरकों की काफी किल्लत है। किसानों को अधिक मूल्य में खाद खरीदना पड़ता है। इस महत्वपूर्ण समस्या के बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी बिहार में विभिन्न खाद कम्पनियों को अधिक से अधिक खाद के रैक उपलब्ध कराने का निर्देश देने का कष्ट करें, जिससे कि समस्या का निदान हो सके। अभी गेहूं की खेती का पीक पोजीशन है। मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार खाद का आबंटन, जो राज्यों को मिला है, वह पहले के वर्षों से आधी है। इसलिए खासकर बिहार में उर्वरकों का आबंटन बढ़ाया जाये और रैक की व्यवस्था करवा कर विभिन्न कम्पनियों को निदेश दिया जाये कि इसे उपलब्ध करवायें।

(xiv) Need to introduce Micro Irrigation Techniques in Tamil Nadu instead of major irrigation schemes

SHRI R. THAMARAISELVAN (DHARMAPURI): Many of the river systems in Tamil Nadu are becoming over stressed with increasing demand of waters and it becomes virtually impossible to stick to 75 yield for the purpose of sharing among the basin States.

The Rivers in Tamil Nadu receive water mainly during monsoon period and most of the rivers which originate within the State lie in the rain shadow areas during South West Monsoon of Western Ghats. They are mainly influenced by North East Monsoon which occur in short heavy spells due to cyclonic depressions and the time period is also restricted to the months of October, November and December.

Due to this phenomenon, the flows in the rivers are often sporadic and last for a few days only. Hence, it becomes imperative to store these flood flows by Micro Irrigation Techniques instead of Major Irrigation Schemes.

The detailed analysis of the surplus run off in the rivers of the State undertaken by the Water Resources Department of the State reveals that the most of the river basins have surplus only at 50% dependability.

Further, the rainfall during North East Monsoon is not uniform throughout the State and is concentrated only in a few pockets within the basin. This results in a situation where huge inflows occur in a particular river or basin while the adjoining or the nearby basins are bone-dry. There is scope for transfer of water from one basin to the adjacent basin and nearby basins. It also often creates the need for transfer of water within the basin from one tributary to the other tributaries. Such transfer may perhaps be possible at 50% dependability only. Therefore, the dependability consideration for all schemes may be relaxed to 50% and above instead of the present level of 75% as demanded by the Government of Tamil Nadu.

(xv) Need to establish a separate High Court in Tripura

SHRI KHAGEN DAS (TRIPURA WEST): Tripura was a princely state having its own High Court with an independent administration of justice. After its merger with India, when Tripura became a Union Territory, it had a court of judicial commissioner equivalent to a High Court. When Tripura became a state, then the long tradition of separate High Court was discontinued and it became a part of Guwahati High Court. Geographically, Tripura is in the remotest corner of North East and access to Guwahati is extremely difficult for common people. The people of Tripura have been consistently demanding for a separate High Court for the last three decades. The High Court Bar Association, Agartala submitted a representation to the Prime Minister on this issue. The Tripura Legislative Assembly passed unanimous resolutions demanding separate High Court for Tripura. The Chief Minister of Tripura wrote letters to Prime Minister and Union Law Minister in this matter. Tripura has now got a full-fledged infrastructure for a separate High Court. The geographical and socio-economic condition, number of pending cases and all other factors justify establishment of a separate High Court in Tripura. I would, therefore, strongly urge upon the Government of India for establishment of a separate High Court in the state of Tripura at the earliest.

(xvi) Need to release the amount of insurance compensation to the Potato growers in West Bengal

SHRI PRABODH PANDA (MIDNAPORE): During the last financial year the production of Potato and Boro harvest in the country was less than normal and the same was in West Bengal too.

The farmers, particularly the small and marginal, who took loans from Co-operative banks and Garmin banks and deposited the premium for Potato produce insurance with the competent authority, are facing great difficulty to get their compensation for the production loss. The total number of farmers to receive compensation stands at 5,09,516 in West Bengal alone involving an amount of Rs 381.59 crores.

Their compensation has to be borne by the Central Government, State Government and Insurance Companies together. Till date the West Bengal State has already released its share of Rs. 168.94 crores, but the Central Government's share of Rs. 134.83 Crore has not been released yet along with the amounts due from Insurance Companies, which has caused great difficulty for the farmers.

I, therefore, urge upon the Central Government to release its share for compensation immediately and save the poor, small and marginal farmers of the region.

14.01 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Report of Liberhan Ayodhya Commission of Inquiry and Memorandum of Action taken by the Government on the Report – Contd.

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Members, now the House will take up item no. 19.

Shri Basu Deb Acharia.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (BANKURA): Madam Speaker, since yesterday we have been discussing the Report of Liberhan Ayodhya Commission of Inquiry. The Babri Masjid was demolished on 6th of December, 1992, which was a Sunday. Millions and millions of people of our country saw how the vandalism and the demolition took place. It was a calculated and pre-planned action on the part of the Sangh Parivar. The Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute was a local dispute.

Let me quote what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, when an idol of Ram was surreptitiously placed on the night of 23rd December, 1949. Disapproving the action of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated in his telegram:

“I am disturbed at the developments at Ayodhya. I earnestly hope that you will personally entrust yourself in this matter. A dangerous example is being set there, which will have bad consequences.”

That was what Pandit Nehru said in 1949. I have with me also copies of the letters sent by the then Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He also did not approve the placement of idol surreptitiously in Babri Masjid.

One day before, *Namaz* was performed there. It does not mean that never *Namaz* was performed in the Babri Masjid. Why has this been brought to the national level from the localised problem?

Madam, I can remember that I was the Leader of my Party in 1986 when late Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the hon. Prime Minister of India. He called the



meeting of Leaders of all the political parties. When the Faizabad Court ordered for unlocking of the gate of Babri Masjid, he wanted to consult with us. We categorically told him that the gate of the Babri Masjid should not be opened. The Government should prefer an appeal at the Allahabad High Court, but that was not done. The gate was unlocked and that ignited the *Ram Janmabhoomi Andolan*. It was the *Andolan* of Sangha Parivar, RSS, Bajrang Dal and the BJP.

Madam, in 1986, the BJP had only two Members in this House. One Member was elected from Gujarat and another Member was elected from Andhra Pradesh. They utilized this issue to increase their number and they utilized this issue in the elections. To get the support of the people we can see as to how the religion was misused for political purposes. They got the result. In 1989 from two its tally increased to 88.

Madam, as you are kindly aware, the National Front Government was formed under the leadership of late Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh. We, the Left Parties, decided to extend support from outside; and the BJP, though they wanted to come to power, but because of our opposition, they also extended support from outside. Before they got the result, there was the Palampur resolution and an issue was identified, the issue of Ram Mandir. It was not a religious movement rather hundred per cent political movement to come to power, to get the support of the people and to get votes.

Now, after 1989, we have seen how the entire society and the entire country were communalised. We have seen that in 1990 the *Rath Yatra* was started from Somnath under the leadership of Shri L. K. Advani and the BJP's election symbol was prominently displayed in the *Rath*. What we have seen that the day the *Rath Yatra* was started, there was bloodshed and there were communal rights everywhere.

Madam, my district, which is a small district, was known as a peaceful district 'Purulia'. Shri L.K. Advani's Rath only touched the border, 'Jhalda'. The moment it crossed the border to erstwhile Bihar, there were communal riots.

14 persons belonging to the minority community were killed in Jalda. Shri Advani was arrested because, in Bihar, Shri Lalu Prasad was the Chief Minister and he arrested Advani ji. The BJP decided to withdraw the support at the Centre. What did the Congress do even at that time? Please remember 7th November, 1990. When there was a debate on the Confidence Motion moved by the then Prime Minister Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh in this House, when there was a communal tension throughout the country, what did the Congress do? The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh was Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav. The State Government and the Central Government, the National Front Government, both took a firm stand not to compromise with the communal forces; if the Prime Minister had to sacrifice the Government, he would sacrifice it. There was a debate. At that point of time also, there was an attempt to demolish the Babri Masjid. The Babri Masjid could be saved because the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav took a strong stand that the Babri Masjid should be saved. The police had to fire and 16 *karsevaks* were killed and the Babri Masjid was saved. Not only was the Babri Masjid but also the entire country was saved. What had we seen about the role of the Congress? When it was necessary to support a secular Government, when there was communal frenzy everywhere in the country, when communal riots were taking place, blood-shed, frenzy and trail of riots, killings were taking place throughout the country, the Congress at that point of time also compromised with the communal forces; joined hands with the BJP to pull down the Government.... (*Interruptions*) Please remember 7th of November, 1990. Both the Congress and the BJP joined hands to pull down that Government. ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Members, please sit down.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : In 1986, by opening the locks of the Babri Masjid, they appeased the Hindu fundamentalists.... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Shri Basu Deb Acharia, your time is coming to a close. Please conclude in the next two minutes.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : How can I conclude in two minutes?

MADAM SPEAKER: Your Party's time is only 14 minutes.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Please give me another 8-10 minutes.

MADAM SPEAKER: All right, I will give you a few minutes more. Please try to conclude.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Definitely, in 10 minutes, I will conclude.

MADAM SPEAKER: I will not give you 10 minutes. I will give you five minutes.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : In eight minutes, I will conclude. I will compromise!... (*Interruptions*)

Coming to my point, I would like to say that in 1986, by opening the locks of the Babri Masjid, they appeased the Hindu fundamentalist forces and by amending the law of the land in the case of Shah Bano – I was in this House at that time also. We opposed it tooth and nail - they appeased the Muslim fundamentalist forces. So, the Congress always compromises with the communal forces.... (*Interruptions*) It always compromises. We know that it was a calculated move. There was a well-planned preparation and lakhs of *karsevaks* were mobilized for seven days.

The other day, while speaking about article 356, Advaniji had referred to our support to the imposition of President's rule in four States. For the first time we supported it at that time because not only Uttar Pradesh, but also the other three States ruled by the BJP, those State Governments helped, assisted and arranged shelter for *kar sevaks* for the vandalism, for the demolition of the Babri Masjid. It was not only the demolition of Babri Masjid, but the secular fabric of our country was also demolished on 6th December, 1992.

But I am surprised to see that Justice Liberhan, in his report, is quite silent on the role of Shri Narasimha Rao, who was the Prime Minister at that time. He was sleeping throughout the day and suddenly woke up when he came to know that the entire mosque was demolished. Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet telephoned him from London. Comrade Jyoti Basu told him on 5th November,

1992 that all preparations are there to demolish Babri Masjid and urged him to take steps to protect Babri Masjid. How could he rely on the assurances given by three leaders of the Bharatiya Janata Party when he could not rely on the report of the Home Ministry of his Government? The Home Secretary, at that time, Shri Madhav Godbole said, “We felt the only way the structure could be saved was to take it over and impose President’s Rule. In fact, the Home Ministry had made all preparations, the Law Ministry was consulted, they had concurred, the Cabinet Note was ready on 20th November, 16 days before, the question was getting clearance from the top”. It never came. ‘Top’ means from the Prime Minister.

The Government of India could have taken its own decision. Why? I would like to know whether there was a meeting of sadhus and saints, few days before, with Shri Narasimha Rao. What transpired in that meeting? On 23rd November, 1992, a meeting of the National Integration Council was held and it was boycotted by the BJP as well as the AIADMK. In that meeting, a Resolution moved by Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet was unanimously accepted by all. What was there in that Resolution? It said:

“The National Integration Council meeting, after considering all aspects of Babri Masjid-Ram Janma Bhoomi dispute and the report of the Government, authorizes the Prime Minister to take whatever steps he considers essential to uphold the Constitution and rule of law and for implementing the court orders and ensure that no violation takes place.”

The National Integration Council assured him of its wholehearted support. Except BJP and AIADMK, all the Parties, including Samajwadi Party headed by Mulayam Singh Ji was also present... (*Interruptions*) मुलायम सिंह जी भी वहाँ मौजूद थे। He assured him of his whole-hearted support and cooperation in any steps which were essential... (*Interruptions*)



श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (मैनपुरी): यह मद्रास में हुई थी। तब मद्रास था, अब चेन्नई हो गया है।

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Why was he a silent spectator?

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Why did he not take action? Why Liberhan did not find that he had any role in regard to demolition of Babri Masjid?

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अब समाप्त करिये। आपको जो एक्स्ट्रा टाइम दिया, वह भी समाप्त हो गया।

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Whether a Prime Minister could have taken steps? What he did after demolition? After it was demolished then he woke up, sent Army and the State Government was removed. But the Babri Masjid was demolished, the secular fabric was demolished.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude quickly.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Madam, I am concluding. I was surprised listening to my friend, Shri Rajnath Singh, yesterday justifying the action of Sangh Parivar, the Saffron Brigade. He has justified it. There was no repentance, no remorse. Thousands of people belonging to minority community were killed.

What happened on the streets of Mumbai? Mr. Sanjay Nirupam was there in December 1992 and January 1993 when thousands of people belonging to minority community were butchered, killed and vandalized. Where was he at that point of time when hundreds were killed?... (*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों खड़े हो गए? संजय निरुपम जी, आप बैठिये।

...(व्यवधान)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Who was responsible? The responsibility should be fixed. The ATR does not contain any measure of punitive action neither prosecution... (*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है। आपके वे दो मिनट भी समाप्त हो गए हैं। अब बैठ जाइए। बसुदेव आचार्य जी, समाप्त करिये।

...(व्यवधान)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : This is being defended by stating that many legal cases pending in various courts on this matter and hence due process of law should be allowed to take its course... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SANJAY NIRUPAM (MUMBAI NORTH): Madam, I have nothing to do with the Ayodhya Movement nor I have anything to do with the Mumbai Riots... (*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों खड़े हो रहे हैं? आप बैठ जाइए।

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Nothing, however, stopped this Government through its legal officers to intervene in the judicial process for ensuring clubbing all such cases and refer all cases to the Supreme Court for expeditious trial... (*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : बसुदेव आचार्य जी, अब आप समाप्त करिये। अब आप अपना स्थान ग्रहण कीजिए।

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : The perpetrator of crime should be punished. They should not go scot-free. In order to unite our people, to strengthen the secular fabric of our country, there is a need for such action against the perpetrator of crime.

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Members, before I call the next hon. Member, I have to tell you that the time left for this discussion is approximately 3 hours and 15 minutes. According to that, the reply of the hon. Home Minister shall be at 5.30 p.m. Now, there is a statement by hon. Minister Shri Prithviraj Chavan.

14.24 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Sequencing of the First Human Genome in India*

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF EARTH SCIENCES; MINISTER OF STATE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE; MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS; AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI PRITHVIRAJ CHAVAN):

Madam, I am very happy to inform the august House that the scientists of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) working at Institute of Genomics and Integrative Biology (IGIB) for the first time have successfully decoded the Human Genome in India.

The first human genome sequence in the world was a result of the International Human Genome Project comprising of scientists from six countries. This large international collaborate Project began in 1990 and the sequencing was completed in 2003 after 13 years. This spectacular feat at that time was hailed equivalent to the man landing on the moon. India could not be a part of this initiative in the early nineties because of the resource constraints.

With the completion of the first human genome sequence in India, we are now in the league of few select countries like United States, United Kingdom, China, Canada, and Korea. Scientists of CSIR could achieve this feat by adopting new technologies and by effectively integrating complex computational and bioinformatics tools with high throughput analytical capabilities using super computers.

The sequencing of the first human genome in India, therefore, sets the stage for India's entry into the elite club which will open up new possibilities in diagnostics, treatment and low-cost affordable healthcare in future for the masses.

(Placed in Library, See No. LT 1097/15/09)

14.26 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE- 193

Report of Liberhan Ayodhya Commission of Inquiry and Memorandum of Action taken by the Government – Contd.

SHRI PINAKI MISRA (PURI): Madam Speaker, I am deeply grateful to you for having given me this opportunity on behalf of the Biju Janata Dal to address this august House on a very seminal issue.

Biju Janata Dal is a regional party named after Shri Biju Patnaik. I think it is truism that the secular credentials of both Biju babu as well as our leader Shri Naveen Patnaik both nationally and internationally are unimpeachable and unexceptionable. Therefore, I think, since we as a regional party, are far removed from the hurly-burly of the UP, Bihar, and West Bengal type of politics, I hope on behalf of my party to be able to say something to this House which would be a little more objective than what has been said so far from both sections of the House.

The first issue is relating to the Report itself. The Report is a rather shabby piece of document; 999 pages. I have had the dubious pleasure of having read this Report cover to cover. I have never seen a report which has been trashed so uniformly. I have not heard a single word in its defence outside this House, and, I think one or two Members of this House, who have spoken in its defence, or who have tried to extract portions of it to make a point or two, are out of sync with the general public perception outside and the media perception outside. It is riddled with errors; it is repetitive. There are many factual inaccuracies which have been elaborated by some of the other Members.

I have to basically address three issues which I find very important here. One of them is of course a legal issue, where we know that certain people who have been called ‘culpable persons’ within the Commissions of Inquiry Act have been so held without even a Section 8B notice having been issued to them. From

a legal standpoint, I cannot understand how a retired Chief Justice of a High Court could do this when even ordinary law students would know that under the Commissions of Inquiry Act this is an absolute, basic prerequisite. Therefore this is a horrible legal howler which seems to be bewildering as to how a retired Chief Justice could have done this.

But, on the moral aspect – and this has been touched upon by some of our esteemed colleagues here – two issues stand out. One of them is the clean chit given to two Congress Governments between 1985 and 1989 and between 1991 and 1996. Some Members have alluded to this fact and we are all aware that this was an issue which had been lying in cold storage for the last 40 or 45 or 50 years. There were locks put on the disputed premises. What happened between 1987 and 1989 was that an honourable man, a gentleman, the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, was, I think, ill-advised by certain people around him to ensure that a favourable court order was passed, to ensure that thereafter a *sarkari shilanyas* was done, to thereafter ensure that, in fact, the 1989 election campaign was kicked off from Ayodhya by the Congress Party. I cannot understand how in Chapter 4, which is a sequence of events, which runs into voluminous 226 pages, this entire history of 1987, 1988, 1989 where the Congress Party was completely culpable of horrible misjudgment which led to this catastrophe in 1992, this has been completely glossed over by this Commission. And I say that it is a fundamental error on the part of the Commission. More than that, I think, it is a moral outrage.

Thereafter, the period 1991-1996, certain Members have mentioned that Shri Narasimha Rao has been given a complete clean chit as the Prime Minister; and Shri S.B. Chavan as the Home Minister, and indeed the entire Cabinet at that point of time has been given a complete clean chit.

Madam Speaker, I wish to bring to the notice of this House that a magazine, *The Outlook*, in fact, has recently brought out comprehensive details on how in December 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th, various high level officers of the level of Joint Director, Additional Director of the Intelligence Bureau were sending out reports

from Ayodhya which were showing there was disaster impending. There were reports that explosives had been smuggled into Ayodhya. There were reports, in fact, that four graves had already been desecrated and had been taken over; and a tea stall had been placed by and for the *kar sevaks*; hundreds and thousands of people were being assembled there; and the Kalyan Singh Government clearly was completely doing away with any security measures there. I cannot understand why in the teeth of these kinds of intelligence reports, the then Government took no action, and the Commission, not only, does not censure the then Government, and the then Cabinet, but the Commission, in fact, makes bold to compliment Shri Narasimha Rao for his constitutional correctness because his friend from Andhra Pradesh, who was the then Governor, did not give a report and, therefore, the Prime Minister here could not act. Madam Speaker, this is completely incomprehensible how a Commission of Inquiry could have given this kind of a clean chit.

But Madam, having said that these were the howlers on the part of the Commission itself, I also would like to place the other point of view. There is a word to be said in his defence. We set up a Commission of Inquiry. In fact, in the afterword, which is Chapter XVI, which actually reads more like a lament on the part of the Commission, the Commission says how having been set up, what was the attitude of the various shades of political opinion to this Commission of Inquiry. Madam, we are all aware that every shade of political opinion in this House, barring the Congress Party has ruled Uttar Pradesh since 1992, not once, not twice, even thrice, as Shri Mulayam Singh ji has yesterday said: “मैं तीन-तीन बार उत्तर प्रदेश का मुख्य मंत्री रहा हूँ”.

Madam, I would like to quote from the Commission of Inquiry Report, in fact, to just show what the Commission of Inquiry has stated about these very august gentlemen and how they dealt with this Commission of Inquiry, which has been set up by the consensus of all.

Now, I would just like to turn the attention of this House to page 998 – para 178.19. It says:

“In spite of the arduous job undertaken by the Commission and despite the many sittings and the stay orders issued by various High Courts, the Central Government and the UP Government could not be persuaded to produce evidence in accordance of Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952. The State did not produce even a single witness nor examine any witness produced in spite of the fact that the highest law officer of the State, that is, the Advocate General appeared before the Commission from time to time. Not a single theory was either propounded or put forth by the State during the course of the Commission’s sittings either in the form of affidavit or in the form of examination, cross-examination or even a suggestion.

During the whole course of proceedings, the Commission had yet to see the State’s Counsel ever opening his mouth

This is the successive UP Governments, whether it is headed by the Samajwadi Party or BSP or BJP.

It goes on further in page 995. I would urge Shri Mulayam Singh ji to kindly pay attention here because the Commission at page 996 of its Report clearly says: (Interruptions)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (मैनपुरी): अध्यक्ष महोदया, एक मिनट को माननीय सदस्य को रुकने के लिए कहें, क्योंकि मेरा नाम लिया गया है। इसलिए मैं स्पष्टीकरण देना चाहता हूँ कि जो बात माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं, वह गलत है। मैंने अपना बयान दिया है। दिल्ली में आकर, आयोग के दफ्तर में मैंने अपने बयान दिए हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री पिनाकी मिश्रा : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं वही पढ़ने जा रहा हूँ। मुलायम सिंह जी पहले मेरी बात सुन लीजिए। मैं वही पढ़ने जा रहा हूँ। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : माननीय मुलायम सिंह जी, पहले उनकी बात सुन लीजिए।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री पिनाकी मिश्रा : पेज 995 पर 178.42 में कहा गया है :

“It was expected that all organizations to assist the Commission with their knowledge but none came forward except raising questions in Parliament or in other forums or issuing press statements. Even when the witnesses were examined and the premises of their press statements issued by them, they backtracked from the statement issued to the press. They thought it expedient not to take the Commission into confidence and tell the truth. The leading instances are Mulayam Singh, Kalyan Singh and many others who stated in press about their knowledge of the conspiracy for the demolition but on oath before the Commission denied any such knowledge.”

This is what the Commission says about leaders’ participating in it. It is not as if the Congress is free from blame. I can see some smug faces.... (*Interruptions*)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : यह बिलकुल गलत बयान है। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : माननीय मुलायम सिंह जी, मैं आपको स्पटीकरण देने के लिए टाइम दूंगी। आप कृपया बैठ जाइए।

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : Very well, it is for the people to judge. I can see certain Congress Members looking a little happier.

MADAM SPEAKER: Shri Pinaki Misra, your Party have three more minutes.

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : Madam, Mr. Acharia spoke for 25 minutes. I have seen the latitude the Chair has given. I am not wasting the time of the House. I do not intend to waste the time of the House.

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : हमारे बयान एक-दो घंटे नहीं, दो दिन हुए हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये। हम आपको स्पटीकरण के लिए बुलाएंगे। आप बीच में खड़े मत होइये।

... (व्यवधान)

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : Madam, I do not intend to waste the time of this House. Therefore, I am not going to take too much of time. I am not going to repeat.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please be brief.

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : Kindly see, the Congress Party was in power at the Centre from 1992 to 1996 and thereafter, it piloted a Government from 1996 to 1998 and thereafter from 2004 till 2009 it has been in the Government.

Kindly see page 986, 178.16.1.

“After much persuasion, the Central Government had started examining its witnesses.... The Central Government took a number of years to examine a handful of witnesses.....No attempt was made by the Central Government to examine anybody with respect to their role, facts, circumstances, environment or ambience generated, conspiracy or a joint common enterprise..”

So, everybody has been guilty in this issue, Madam Speaker.

The question, of course, then to ask is, if the hon. judge felt this way, why did he not resign, instead converted this into a 17 years pension fund? Some journalists have called it a 17 years pension fund. There, I agree there is no defence at all. If the learned judge felt that this was the level of non-cooperation from all shades of political opinion, he should have resigned much earlier, rather than take 17 years and Rs.8 crore to give us this dud of a document.

Madam Speaker, here I wish to draw the attention of this House to a very fundamental issue, the error that we are all falling in. Repeatedly, after a national catastrophe or a national calamity of gargantuan proportions, what is the automatic recourse and the easiest recourse that any Government, regardless of political shade, every Government resorts to? Straightaway go for a Commission of Inquiry. I do not know how the Opposition gets satisfied. They come into power. They keep extending their tenures. This becomes a cushy sinecure for some retired judges. I do not understand if we are not going to cooperate with these Commissions of Inquiry, and if ultimately these kinds of dud reports are going to come, which are going to be thrashed all around, why there is a need for any Commission of Inquiry.

I would like to just remind this hon. House of some of these dud Commissions which have produced nothing. This is a young House. So, I am not

even going to go back before the 80s'. Starting from the 80s', in the case of the Kanishka air crash, Justice B.N. Kripal Commission travelled the world and nothing came out of it. Regarding the Indira Gandhi Assassination Commission, what did the Justice Thakkar Commission say? "There is a needle of suspicion against a particular individual". That particular individual till today continues, and rightly so to be a member of the Congress Working Committee. He continues to be a Member of Parliament. In the case of anti-Sikh riots, not one name was mentioned by the Ranganath Misra Commission as a guilty person and not one Sikh has been given his reparation till date. In the Godhra case, it is absolutely laughable spectacle of two judges. Justice Nanavati Commission appointed by the Gujarat Government said that the Godhra burning was a conspiracy, and the Justice Banerji Commission appointed by the Central Government for the same accident, says it is an accident. How do people react to these sort of goof ups?

Kindly see the Rajiv Gandhi Assassination Commission, Justice Milap Chand Commission. It took seven years to say that the needle of suspicion is on the DMK. The DMK, since 2004, has been a member of this UPA Government. They are sitting happily in the Cabinet and the Congress Party is happily consorting with them. So, what is the point? Justice Ramaswamy Commission, which looked into Tehelka, wound up mid way because nothing came about. The Home Minister is here. I ask him. In the case of Justice Eradi Commission, there must be a Guinness Book of records entry for this. From 1986 till now, the Justice Eradi Commission continues to hold forth. He is the Chairperson of the Commission on Rabi-Beas Water Dispute among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan.

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Member, would you come back to this Commission please?

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : Therefore, Commission of Inquiry, if I may say, is a complete waste of time. The Government of the day, which should otherwise be acting with alacrity, instead wishes to sweep the dirt under the carpet, and the Opposition, unfortunately, became equally culpable in this regard.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : Madam Speaker, I am winding up in the next two minutes.

On two other issues, I wish to address this House. One, we come from Orissa. Therefore, we are unable to understand this fundamental problem. Why this Commission was set up was Muslim feelings had to be assuaged. They have a right to find out why this has happened. This was a dastardly act, this was an act of vandalism. To the question as to why such an act of vandalism should have been allowed to obtain in a civilized society such as us, I think the entire Muslim community in India deserved an answer; they have got no answer. Our point is, we cannot understand as to how they have now really become mere mathematical calculations in these populous States of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, etc., where there are MB, MD, MY, MJ. They have all become either Muslim Dalit, Muslim Brahmin or Muslim Yadav. They seem to have become some kind of a complex mathematical calculation. That is what they have been reduced to.

That is not so in Orissa and I am happy about it. That is the cheerful bit I can tell you and the hon. House here that in Orissa we have some of the most extraordinary inclusivity as far as the minority community is concerned. I come from Puri, in fact, the entire coastal Orissa. In Lord Jagannath's own temple, every year we have the venerable Rath Yatra. The yatra pauses at the grave of a gentleman by the name Saal Beg. Who was Saal Beg? We talk about Babri Masjid, we talk about Babar and we talk about the destruction of his mosque. Lal Beg was a Muslim General. His son was called Saal Beg. He was one of Lord Jagannath's closest and most devout Bhakts. Every year the Rath Yatra actually halts at his grave for a moment to pay obeisance to him.

Madam Speaker, I have to read this for the attention of this august House. Sheikh Abdul Rahim said in Odiya:

“Rahim the poet pleads with Lord Jagannath to permit him to live close to his soul so that he can see his sinople eyes and live in contentment.”

Madam Speaker, that is the kind of inclusivity we have in Orissa.

MADAM SPEAKER: Please conclude with that note.

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : I just need one more minute. It is something which is very important.

MADAM SPEAKER: I think now you should take your seat.

SHRI PINAKI MISRA : At page 999 of this Report, para 178.55, he has concluded. That is the last passage I want to read out. It says:

“Lastly, I am thankful to Harpreet Singh Giani, who has wholeheartedly spent days and nights over the last one year in helping me analyse the evidence, coming to conclusions and finally not only editing the Report, but also helping in adding and modifying language and ideas wherever needed. I believe this Herculean task would not have been possible without his devotion and the time he spent to clear the mess created by his predecessors.”

I hope the hon. Home Minister has read this and he is hearing me out. We do not know who this gentleman Harpreet Singh Giani is. But I think he seems to have ghost-written this report. I would request the Home Minister that since a very important leak has taken place, Mr. Giani should now head a Commission of Enquiry to see as to how this report has leaked.

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : महोदया, मेरा नाम लिया गया है, इसलिए मैं एक मिनट लूंगा। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : मुलायम सिंह जी, आप एक मिनट में अपना स्पष्टीकरण दे दीजिए।

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदया, माननीय मिश्रा जी ने जो कुछ कहा है, जो कुछ पढ़ा है और लिब्रहान कमीशन की जो रिपोर्ट है, मैंने पहले ही कहा था कि यह अधूरी है। हमें दो दिन का तो पता है, हो सकता है कि तीन दिन बयान भी हुए हों। लिब्रहान कमीशन के सामने और जज साहब ने हमें दो दिन का तो मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है कि दो दिन हमने लगातार बयान दिए। बयान में सारी जिम्मेदारियां हमने दोनों तरफ से रखी हैं। सबसे जघन्य अपराध हमने बीजेपी के लिए कहा है। उनकी ओर से तो गैर-जिम्मेदारी का काम हो गया, वह सावधान नहीं हुए। हम आपको बता सकते हैं, जो 4 दिसंबर को हुआ, हमारे किसी माननीय सदस्य को 5 मिनट भी दे देंगी, तो स्पष्ट हो जाएगा कि कौन जिम्मेदार था और क्यों यह मस्जिद गिरी? हमने बाकायदा बयान दिए हैं और सब कुछ बताया है कि कैसे-कैसे षड़यंत्र थे? मैंने यह भी बताया और उनको पत्र भी दिया है। हमने 4 दिसंबर को एक पत्र लिखा था कि मस्जिद ढहा दी जाएगी, लेकिन कोई भी, किसी तरह की कार्रवाई नहीं की गयी। मैंने यह बता दिया था। माननीय मिश्रा जी उसके आधार पर बोले, इसीलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ कि यह रिपोर्ट है। ऐसा लगता है कि रिपोर्ट कांग्रेस पार्टी ने लिखी है।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते (रायगढ़): अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं अपनी बात सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मराठी में एक कहावत है - मड उकर्ण - इसका अर्थ यह होता है कि गढ़े हुए मुर्दे को फिर से उखाड़ना। लिब्रहान कमीशन की रिपोर्ट गढ़े हुए मुर्दे को 17 साल बाद फिर से उखाड़ने का काम आज इस सदन में हो रहा है। 17 साल के बाद हम इस रिपोर्ट पर बहस कर रहे हैं। जो राम मंदिर बाबरी ढांचे और अयोध्या से जुड़ा हुआ मामला है, 17 साल के बाद अयोध्यावासी इस बात को भूल गए, सारा देश भूल गया, हिन्दू-मुस्लिम अयोध्या में भाईचारे से रह रहे हैं। वहां शांति है और आज हम यहां उस बारे में बहस कर रहे हैं। मुझे सबसे पहले इस बात पर अचरज हो रहा है कि कल जब इस रिपोर्ट पर राजनाथ सिंह जी बोल रहे थे, तब उन्होंने रिपोर्ट का उदाहरण देते हुए कई बार कहा कि कई बातें हैं जिन्हें लिब्रहान कमीशन ने नजरअंदाज किया है। पूरी तरह प्रिजुडिस माइंड से, पूर्वाग्रह से दूषित होकर, उन्हें किसी को अपराधी करार करना ही है। ऐसा लगता है कि उन्हें सरकार ने ही आदेश दिया हो कि आपको किन लोगो को अपराधी करार करना है। इस ढंग से इस रिपोर्ट को बनाया गया है। इसीलिए कल मैंने गृह मंत्री जी से कहा था कि आप इसकी जांच करवाएं कि लिब्रहान कमीशन ने जो लिखा है, क्या उन्होंने इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ा है? जब सदस्यों ने यहां इस बात को उठाया तो वे कई बार मुकर गए। जैसे श्री जगदम्बिका पाल का नाम आ गया तो बोला कि मिसटेक है, कोई त्रुटि है। श्री राजनाथ सिंह ने कोई दूसरी बात बताई तो कहा कि त्रुटि है। उसी रिपोर्ट के पेज नम्बर 743 के पैरा 124.23 में उन्होंने जो लिखा है, मैं उसे अंग्रेजी में पढ़कर सुनाता हूँ -

“The prominent leaders or champions of the movement and others present on the spot on the 6th December, 1992 include Acharya Dharmender Dev, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Ashok Singhal, Badri Nath Toshniwal, Baikunth Lal Sharma, Bala Sahib Thakray, BB Toshniwal and Brahm Dutt Dwiwedi....”

लिब्रहान कमीशन अपनी रिपोर्ट में कह रहा है कि 6 दिसम्बर को बाला साहेब ठाकरे बाबरी मस्जिद गिराने के लिए वहां उपस्थित थे। कल जब मुलायम सिंह यादव जी यहां बोल रहे थे, वे नेता हैं, हम उनका आदर करते हैं, सम्मान करते हैं, बहादुर नेता हैं, जो करते हैं वह बोलते हैं और जो बोलते हैं वह भी करते हैं। कार सेवकों पर जो गोली चली, कल उन्होंने भी यहां उसका जिक्र किया और फिर उसका समर्थन किया कि मैंने सही कदम उठाए। हमने कार सेवकों पर गोली चलाई। जब बाबरी मस्जिद का ढांचा गिर गया और पूरे देश में हड़कम्प हो गया, कोई इसकी जिम्मेदारी लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं था, तब एक ही नेता निकला जो इस देश का बहादुर नेता कहा जा सकता है, शिवसेना प्रमुख बाला साहेब ठाकरे ने कहा कि यदि हमारे शिव सैनिक हैं तो मुझे उन पर गर्व है।...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER : Nothing else will go on record.

*(Interruptions) ... **

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शान्त रहिए।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : आज देश में बहुसंख्यक हिन्दू हैं जो 80 करोड़ हैं। यहां सैकुलरिज़्म की बात की जाती है।... (व्यवधान) आप सुनने का साहस रखिए।... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER : Shri Geete, please address the Chair.

... *(Interruptions)*


अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप हर चीज में प्रतिक्रिया क्यों व्यक्त करते हैं।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये। आप शांत हो जाइये।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : हमें इस बात का कोई अफसोस नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान) बाबरी का ढांचा एक विवादास्पद ढांचा था। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते की बात के  कुछ भी रिकार्ड में नहीं जायेगा।

... (व्यवधान) *

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष महोदया, बाबरी का ढांचा विवादास्पद ढांचा था। ... (व्यवधान)

बाबर जो इस देश में आक्रामक के रूप में आया था, यदि उस ढांचे को गिराया गया है, तो इसमें कोई गलत कदम इस देश के नागरिकों ने नहीं उठाया है। ... (व्यवधान) हम उसका समर्थन करते हैं। यह कोई गलत कदम नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप सब बैठ जाइये।

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions) ... **

* Not recorded

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष महोदया, राम जन्म भूमि के समर्थन में जिन लोगों ने, जिन महान विभूतियों ने माना कि वहीं राम जन्म भूमि है, उसका जिक्र करते हुए राजनाथ सिंह जी ने कल जब अली मियां का जिक्र किया ...(व्यवधान) जब अली मियां का उन्होंने नाम लिया ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शांत हो जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : आप शांति से हमारी बात सुनिये। ...(व्यवधान) आप हमारी बात को सुनिये। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शांत हो जाइये। आप बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग क्यों बोल रहे हैं? आप बैठ जाइये। गीते जी, आप बोलिये।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष महोदया, राजनाथ सिंह जी ने राम जन्म भूमि के संदर्भ में जब मौलवी अली मियां जी का नाम यहां लिया, तो इस सदन ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये, शांत हो जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions) ... **

अध्यक्ष महोदया : गीते जी, आपका समय भी समाप्त हो रहा है इसलिए आप जल्दी कीजिए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी, वह बोलने देंगे, तब तो मैं बोलूंगा। मुझे बोलने नहीं दिया जा रहा। ...(व्यवधान) मुझे बार-बार टोका जा रहा है। ...(व्यवधान)

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बोलिये। आप चुप क्यों हो जाते हैं। आप प्रतिक्रिया क्यों व्यक्त करते हैं?

...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Why do you always react?

* Not recorded

... (Interruptions)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप मुझे एड्रेस करके बोलिये और अपनी बात समाप्त कीजिए।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों खड़े हो गये हैं? आप उन्हें क्यों डिस्टर्ब कर रहे हैं?

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी, जब राजनाथ सिंह जी ने यहां पर राम जन्म भूमि के संदर्भ में मौलवी अली मियां जी का जिक्र किया, तब सदन में उनके विरोध में जो सांसद यहां पर खड़े हुए थे, वे चाहे किसी भी दल के हों, सारे मुस्लिम समाज के सांसद यहां पर उसके विरोध में खड़े हुए थे। ... (व्यवधान) हमने उस समय गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित किया था। ... (व्यवधान) यदि ये सांसद अपने आपको मुसलमान मानते हैं ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : कृपया आप शांत हो जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : वे अपने धर्म की हिफाजत के लिए यदि यहां पर खड़े होते हैं, तो वे सेक्युलर हैं और हम हिन्दुत्व की बात करें, तो हम कम्युनल हैं। यह कौन सा तरीका है? हम इस सदन से क्या संदेश दे रहे हैं? ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया, आज हम इस सदन से क्या संदेश दे रहे हैं? ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी, 1942 का चले जा (भारत छोड़ो) आंदोलन हुआ ... (व्यवधान) देश की आजादी में वर्ष 1942 का भारत छोड़ो आंदोलन अहमियत तो रखता है, लेकिन उस समय जो आक्रोश था, उससे ज्यादा आक्रोश कारसेवा के समय राम जन्म भूमि मुक्ति के लिए देश के तमाम हिन्दुओं का आक्रोश था। इस देश में 80 करोड़ हिन्दू हैं। जब इस देश का विभाजन हुआ ... (व्यवधान) आप 80 करोड़ में हैं। हम तो आपको मानते हैं इसलिए आपको बहादुर कहा। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : मुलायम सिंह जी, आप बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शांत हो जाइये। मदन लाल शर्मा जी, आप बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : गीते जी, आप बोलिये।

...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Please also conclude.

... (Interruptions)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये। आप इतना उत्तेजित मत होइये। आप सब बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : कृपया करके आप बैठ जाइये।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : कश्मीर में क्या गलत किया है? ... (व्यवधान) आज कश्मीर में क्या हालत है?

आज कश्मीर में क्या हालत है? वहां एक भी पंडित नहीं रह गया है। हजारों-लाखों पंडितों को बेघर कर दिया गया। वहां हजारों मंदिर धवस्त हो गए। क्या हुआ कश्मीर में, वहां हजारों मंदिर धवस्त हो गए।...

... (व्यवधान) बांग्लादेश में कितने मंदिर तोड़े गए, पाकिस्तान में कितने मंदिर तोड़े गए।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग बैठ जाइए। इतना उत्तेजित मत होइए।

...(व्यवधान)



अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप फिर खड़े हो गए। आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : महोदया, एक ढांचा, केवल एक ढांचा नष्ट होने से... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों खड़े हो रहे हैं। आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : मैंने कल शुरू में ही कहा था, यह विषय ही बहुत संवेदनशील है, इसलिए थोड़ा धैर्य तो रखना पड़ेगा। यह संवेदनशील मामला है। अगर इधर से कोई बोले तो उधर के लोगों को धैर्य रखना चाहिए और उधर से कोई बोले तो इधर के लोगों को धैर्य रखना चाहिए। यह विषय ही ऐसा है।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए। आप क्यों खड़े हो रहे हैं।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अगर आप लोग एक दूसरे को सुनेंगे नहीं, तो यह डिबेट चल नहीं पाएगी। हमें माननी गृहमंत्री जी को सुनना है 5.30 बजे। इसलिए मुझे इस बहस को समाप्त करना है। सभी को बोलने दीजिए। जब आपकी बारी आएगी, आप भी बोल लीजिएगा। अभी उनकी बात सुन लीजिए। अगर माननीय सदस्य कुछ भी ऐसा बोलेंगे जो नहीं बोलना चाहिए, तो उसके लिए हम यहां पर हैं।

श्री अनंत गीते जी, आप बोलिए।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : महोदया, एक मिट्टी का ढांचा गिरने पर या गिराने पर पूरे देश में मातम मनाया गया। सारे सदन में आज सभी रो रहे हैं एक मिट्टी के ढांचे के लिए।... (व्यवधान) पत्थर का ढांचा था।... (व्यवधान)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND
MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS
(SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Madam, why is he making a provocative
speech? ... (*Interruptions*) Why is he making a communal speech? ...
(*Interruptions*) He is a senior Member of this House, and he is making a
provocative and communal speech. ... (*Interruptions*)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग बैठ जाइए।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : श्री अनंत गीते जी, यह ऐसा संवेदनशील विषय है जिसके बारे में आपको बहुत ही सोचकर शब्दों का चयन करना है। शब्दों का चयन इस ढंग से कीजिए कि आप सदन में फालतू उतेजना न फैलाएं। आप जो भी कहना चाहते हैं, उसकी अभिव्यक्ति बहुत ही संयम से करें, यह आपसे अनुरोध है।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए। आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं, जब मैं बोल रही हूँ।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बहुत संयम बरतते हुए अपनी बात कहें और शब्दों का चयन भी बहुत संभल कर करें।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : महोदया, मैं आपकी राय से बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ।... (व्यवधान)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : You kindly speak on the discussion on the Liberhan Commission Report. ... (*Interruptions*)

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Minister, just confine yourself.

... (*Interruptions*)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : महोदया, एक विवादास्पद ढांचा गिरने पर या गिराने पर पूरे देश में मातम मनाया गया, लेकिन कश्मीर घाटी से 3.5 लाख हिन्दू-पण्डितों को घर से बाहर निकाला गया, बेघर कर दिया गया, तब क्या कर रहे थे आप लोग?... (व्यवधान) क्या आप रोए थे उस समय? उनके लिए कौन रो रहा है? आज भी वे 3.5 लाख पण्डित अपने घर से बेघर हैं।

15.00 hrs.

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये। आपका समय कब का समाप्त हो गया है। आप इस तरह से बोलेंगे तो बहुत लम्बा भाषण हो जाएगा। आप रिपोर्ट पर बोलिये।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं रिपोर्ट पर ही बोल रहा हूँ। मैं अपनी बात रख रहा हूँ। सदन में हमारी जो आलोचना की गयी, शिव सेना की आलोचना की गयी, माननीय बाला साहेब ठाकरे जी की आलोचना की गयी, उसका जवाब देना मेरी नैतिक जिम्मेदारी है और मैं जवाब दूंगा। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग क्यों खड़े हो गये हैं। आप उनको बार-बार टोकेंगे तो यह बात लम्बी चलेगी। उनका समय समाप्त हो रहा है। आप लोग बैठ जाइये।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी, मुझे बोलने नहीं दिया जा रहा है।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप काफी बोल चुके हैं, अब समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी,

MADAM SPEAKER: This will not help, if you go on like this.

*(Interruptions) ...**

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record, except what Shri Anant Gangaram Geete is saying.

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष जी, जब 1984 के दंगे देश में हुए थे और खासतौर पर दिल्ली में हुए थे। जिस हादसे को लेकर हुए, उसका समर्थन कोई नहीं करेगा, हम लोग भी उस समय दुखी थे। जब देश की प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या उनके अपने घर में हुई थी तो सबने उसका विरोध किया था और सब लोग दुखी थे। लेकिन उसके बाद 7 हजार से ज्यादा सिखों का कत्लेआम इस दंगे में हुआ। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये। इन्हें बोल लेने दीजिए।

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : पिनाकी मिश्रा जी ने उस कमीशन का जिक्र किया। उस कमीशन में किसी को भी आरोपित नहीं ठहराया गया। जहां 7 हजार एक ही कम्युनिटी के लोगों का कत्लेआम किया गया और किसी को भी दोषी नहीं ठहराया गया और यहां एक ढांचा गिर गया है तो मातम इस देश में मनाया जाता है। जितना महत्व आप ढांचे को दे रहे हैं, सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कि इस देश में रहने वाले हर इंसान की रक्षा की जाए और यह सरकार की नैतिक जिम्मेदारी है। ...(व्यवधान) जब मुम्बई में बम-ब्लास्ट हो गये और एक ही दिन में 12 ब्लास्ट किये गये। उन ब्लास्ट्स में सैंकड़ों लोगों की मौत और करोड़ों रुपयों की हानि हो गई है। मुझे दुख होता है, क्योंकि देश के कई नेताओं ने कहा कि यह बाबरी का बदला लिया गया है।...(व्यवधान) कई नेताओं ने इस सदन में भी कहा है कि यह बाबरी का बदला लिया गया है।...(व्यवधान) आप धर्मनिरपेक्षता के नाम पर क्या करना चाहते हैं? यह कौन-सी धर्मनिरपेक्षता है? महोदया, महाराष्ट्र के एक मुस्लिम लेखक मुजफ्फर हुसैन हैं, जो अलग-अलग अखबारों में लिखा करते हैं। सामना अखबार में उनका एक आर्टिकल आया था...(व्यवधान) वे शिव सेना के नहीं हैं, उन्होंने देश के सामने जो खतरे की घंटी है, जो खतरा है, उसका जिक्र किया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि जो देश के अल्पसंख्यक हैं, खास कर मुसलमान अल्पसंख्यक हैं, उन्हें इस बात की तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिए कि देश के जो बहुसंख्यक हैं, वे अपने आपको इस देश में असुरक्षित न समझें। यदि आपकी वजह से देश का बहुसंख्यक अपने आपको असुरक्षित मानता है, तो यह देश के लिए भी खतरा है और मुसलमानों के लिए भी खतरा है।...(व्यवधान) आप कर क्या रहे हैं, कौन-सी धर्मनिरपेक्षता है?

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप अपनी बात समाप्त कीजिए।

* Not recorded

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : देश के बहुसंख्यक हिंदू हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आपको बोलने के लिए बहुत समय दे दिया है, अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : हिंदुओं की बातों का मजाक उड़ाया जाता है।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप काफी देर से बोल रहे हैं, अपनी बात समाप्त कीजिए।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाएं।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : हिंदू देवी-देवताओं का अपमान किया जाता है।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप गीते जी बैठ जाएं और अपना भाषण समाप्त कीजिए।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं केवल दो मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप काफी देर से बोल रहे हैं, आपका दो मिनट का समय भी समाप्त हो गया है।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाएं, आप केवल अपनी बातों को दोहरा रहे हैं।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : महोदया, जब इस सदन में बहस होती है और धर्मनिरपेक्षता की बात होती है, तो इस सदन को इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि इस देश के जो बहुसंख्यक लोग हैं, उन्हीं की वजह से हम आज इस सदन में इस बहस को कर पा रहे हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : धन्यवाद, अब आप बैठ जाएं।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनंत गंगाराम गीते : महोदया, क्या पाकिस्तान की संसद में इस प्रकार की बातें कर सकते हैं, क्या बंगलादेश की संसद में इस प्रकार की बातें कर सकते हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : गीते जी, अब आप बैठ जाएं।

गीते जी जो बोल रहे हैं, वह रिकार्ड में नहीं जाएगा।

*(Interruptions) ...**

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग बैठ जाएं, आप क्यों खड़े हो गए हैं।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप कृपया बैठ जाएं। मैं दूसरे माननीय सदस्य को बोलने के लिए आमंत्रित कर रही हूँ।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : श्री समीर भुजबल।

SHRI SAMEER BHUJBAL (NASHIK): Madam, I would like to bring to your notice that in yesterday's discussion, our senior leader Shri Mulayam Singhji has quoted some names regarding the demolition of the Babri Masjid. उन्होंने कहा था कि "क्या छगन भुजबल इसमें शामिल नहीं थे।" मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि श्री छगन भुजबल जी ने, यह हादसा होने के दो साल पहले ही शिवसेना पार्टी छोड़ी थी और..... उस समय छगन भुजबल कांग्रेस के नेता थे और रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से उन्होंने नागपुर सेशन में भाग लिया था। मैं मुलायम सिंह जी को यह कहना चाहता हूं कि किसी का नाम लेने से पहले आप पूरी तैयारी से अगर पढ़ कर आते, तो यह नाम आप न लेते।

अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं आपसे दर्खास्त करना चाहता हूं कि आप कृपया श्री छगन भुजबल नाम को रिकार्ड से निकालें।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (विदिशा): अध्यक्ष महोदया, कल दोपहर से लिब्रहान रिपोर्ट पर चल रही यह चर्चा पहले दौर की समाप्ति के बाद मुझ तक पहुंची है। पहले दौर में हमारी पार्टी की ओर से राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष ने हमारा दृष्टिकोण सदन में प्रस्तुत किया था। मैं उनकी बातों से स्वयं को सम्बद्ध करते हुए उन्हें नहीं दोहराऊंगी। केवल उनके द्वारा अनछुए पहलुओं पर अपनी प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त करूंगी। 6 दिसम्बर 1992 को अयोध्या में यह विवादित ढांचा गिरा, यह एक हकीकत है। यह एक जगज़ाहिरा हकीकत है। लेकिन क्या यह ढांचा एक साजिश के तहत गिराया गया था? क्या यह ढांचा गिराने के लिए कोई षडयंत्र रचा गया था या कोई पूर्व योजना बनी थी?...(व्यवधान)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदया, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का सवाल है।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : नियम बताइए। आप क्यों खड़े हो गये? किस नियम के तहत आप व्यवस्था का सवाल उठा रहे हैं। कृपया बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : इसे ढांचा बार-बार कहा जाता है। मंदिर मस्जिद की बात होती है, तो मंदिर को फिर क्या कहेंगे?

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : वहां डिस्प्यूटेड स्ट्रक्चर है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट का निर्देश है कि इसे विवादित ढांचा कहा जाए या इसे राम जन्मभूमि बाबरी मस्जिद परिसर कहा जाए, नहीं तो डिस्प्यूटेड स्ट्रक्चर कहा जाए, यह सुप्रीम कोर्ट का निर्देश है और बार-बार लिब्रहान आयोग ने भी इसी शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। इसलिए कृपा करके मुलायम सिंह जी, आप बैठ जाएं और मुझे अपनी बात कहने दें। मैं अभी केवल इतना कह रही थी कि इन बातों की जांच करने के लिए आयोग का गठन किया गया था। 16 दिसम्बर 1992 को इस आयोग के गठन की अधिसूचना जारी की गई थी।...(व्यवधान) क्या 14 दिसम्बर? मैं जो बात कह रही हूँ, मेरे पूरे वाक्य को सुन तो लीजिए।...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप लोग टिप्पणी न करें। आप बैठ जाइए। योगी आदित्यनाथ जी, आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं?

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, 16 दिसम्बर 1992 को इसकी अधिसूचना जारी की गई थी और अधिसूचना में 5 काम उन्हें सौंपे गये जो बहुत साथियों ने बताए, मैं उन्हें पढ़ूंगी नहीं लेकिन तीन महीने का समय इस आयोग को दिया गया था। इस अधिसूचना की प्रति मेरे पास है।

“The Commission shall submit its report to the Central Government as soon as possible but not later than three months.”

कानूनी भाषा में इसे मॅडेटरी कहते हैं, यहां चिदम्बरम जी बैठे हैं। भाषा यह भी हो सकती थी कि

“The Commission will submit its report within three months.”

अगर यह कहा गया था कि तीन महीने के भीतर दी जाए तो समयावधि बढ़ाने की गुंजाइश बनी रहती है। लेकिन अगर भाषा यह बन जाए कि **not later than three months**. यानी किसी भी कीमत में तीन महीने से ज्यादा देर न की जाए और इसकी रिपोर्ट दे दी जाए, यह मॅडेटरी होता है लेकिन तीन महीने की जगह 17 वर्ष लगे, 48 बार समयावधि बढ़ाई गई।...(व्यवधान)

श्री असादुद्दीन ओवेसी (हैदराबाद): एनडीए ने कितनी बार बढ़ायी?...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अब आप बीच में मत बोलिए।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : एनडीए ने जो बढ़ाया, वह एनडीए की मजबूरी थी क्योंकि एनडीए अगर इस आयोग को खत्म करता तो...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : सुषमा जी, आप चेयर को एड्रेस करके बोलिए। प्रतिक्रिया मत करिए।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं केवल आपसे एक दरखास्त करना चाहूंगी कि मेरा निर्धारित समय 34 मिनट है लेकिन अगर इस तरह से बेवजह, मैं कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कह रही हूँ, अगर बेवजह रोकटोक होगी तो उस समय को आप मेरे समय में जोड़ती जाइए। मैं आपसे इतना संरक्षण चाहूंगी। समय बढ़ाने की बात मैं नहीं कर रही हूँ लेकिन वह समय जोड़ती जाइए जो मुलायम सिंह जी, ओवेसी जी बेवजह खड़े हो रहे हैं। अभी मैंने कहा क्या है? मैं यह कह रही हूँ कि तीन महीने से ज्यादा इसकी अवधि न बढ़ाई जाए, यह अधिसूचना में लिखा था।

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अब आप लोग टीका-टिप्पणी न करें।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि आज हम रिपोर्ट के बाद वहीं खड़े हैं जहां 6 दिसंबर, 1992 को खड़े थे। यह तो सबको मालूम है कि ढांचा गिरा था लेकिन हम पहले दिन से कह रहे थे कि इसके लिए कोई षडयंत्र नहीं रचा गया, कोई पूर्व योजना नहीं बनी। अगर सब इसके विपरीत था तो आयोग से यह अपेक्षा थी कि वह उस सत्य को उद्घाटित करे। आयोग से यह अपेक्षा थी कि सबूतों के साथ जनता के सामने सच्चाई पेश करे। यह काम करने के लिए आयोग को तीन तरफ से मदद मिल सकती थी- एक; सीबीआई की टीम जो जांच कर रही थी, तथ्य जुटा रही थी; दूसरा, राज्य और केंद्र सरकार की खुफिया और गुप्तचर एजेंसियां जो जांच कर रही थी, जिनके पास खुफिया सूचनाएं होती हैं; तीसरा, वे मुस्लिम संगठन जो इसे कांस्पिरेसी बता रहे थे और कह रहे थे कि साजिश के तहत गिराया गया है। इन तीनों के

बारे में लिब्रहान की रिपोर्ट में जो टिप्पणी की गई है, मैं आपको पढ़कर सुनाती हूँ कि सीबीआई के बारे में लिब्रहान क्या कहते हैं -

“A sincere endeavour has been made to lay the bare facts before the people. The team consisting of officers drawn from the CBI made an effort to find out the facts and collecting evidence in support of the facts but they have not come to any conclusion relating to them.”

यह सीबीआई के बारे में लिब्रहान की टिप्पणी है कि उन्होंने तथ्य जुटाने की बहुत कोशिश की, भरपूर कोशिश की लेकिन कांस्पिरेसी का कोई भी तथ्य जुटा नहीं पाए। यह रिपोर्ट सीबीआई के बारे में है। अब इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसी की बात करते हैं।

“Given the scope of the enquiry, the Commission was heavily dependant on the cooperation of the State Government, the Central Government and private individuals. The State and Central Intelligence Agencies were both over optimistic in their assessments and guilty of gross failure. Or in the alternative, they withheld the crucial records and analysis from the Commission. ”

वे जो कह रहे हैं कि उन्होंने विदहोल्ड किया, उनके पास कुछ था ही नहीं, तो वे देते क्या? इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसी के बारे में लिब्रहान का यह कहना है। अब मैं मुस्लिम संगठनों की बात कहती हूँ। मुस्लिम पर्सनल लॉ बोर्ड की तरफ से युसूफ मुछैला एक एडवोकेट थे, जो लिब्रहान कमीशन को असिस्ट कर रहे थे।

“Yusuf Muchela representing the Muslim Personal Law Board had cross-examined some key witnesses like L.K. Advani in part. No evidence was led or information provided to the Commission with respect to the conspiracy or the pre-planning or the joint common enterprise by any of these counsels.”

मुझे अच्छा लग रहा है कि हमारे देश के गृह मंत्री एक वरिष्ठ एडवोकेट हैं। चिदंबरम जी, कम से कम आप तो एविडेंस को एप्रिशिएट कर पाएंगे। आप मुझे बताइए कि तीनों चीजें, जो ये तथ्य जुटा सकती थीं, साक्ष्य ला सकती थीं, जो सबूत पेश कर सकती थीं लेकिन लिब्रहान कमीशन रिपोर्ट कहती है कि न सीबीआई तथ्य जुटा पाई, न इंटेलीजेंस एजेंसियां मदद कर पाई और न मुस्लिम पर्सनल लॉ बोर्ड के वकील हमारे सामने कोई सबूत पेश कर पाए कि यह कोई योजना थी, कोई षडयंत्र था या साजिश थी। लेकिन इन तीनों के बावजूद लिब्रहान रिपोर्ट किस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचती है, मैं वह निष्कर्ष पढ़कर सुनाना चाहती हूँ -

“The utilization of such huge monies is a categorical pointer to the planning and pre-planning carried out for the entire process of the movement commencing with mobilization onwards right uptill the very demolition itself.”

यह कैसा एप्रिसिएशन ऑफ एविडेंस है? कोई तथ्य नहीं, कोई साक्ष्य नहीं, कोई सबूत नहीं। चूंकि पैसा है, वे भी वे कह रहे हैं कि पैसे का यूटिलाइजेशन हुआ और यह अपने आप में प्वाइंटर है कि प्रिप्लानिंग थी, कांस्पिरेसी थी, केवल मूवमेंट की नहीं बल्कि डिमालिशन की। मैंने प्राथमिक टिप्पणी की थी जिस समय यह रिपोर्ट आई थी -

“That findings of this Report are perverse, ill-founded and against the evidence placed before the Commission.”

यानी इस रिपोर्ट के निष्कर्ष विकृत हैं। इस रिपोर्ट के निष्कर्ष निराधार हैं और उपलब्ध सबूतों के विपरीत हैं। मैंने यह पहला तर्क इस बात को पुष्ट करने के लिए रखा है और जो कि मेरी प्राथमिक टिप्पणी थी। मैंने तब तक पूरी रिपोर्ट नहीं पढ़ी थी, सरसरी पढ़ी थी। लेकिन जैसे मैं पन्ना दर पन्ना पढ़ती गई वैसे मेरी धारणा पुष्ट होती गई।

अपने उसी तर्क को पुष्ट करने के लिए दूसरी बात मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूं। इस पूरी रिपोर्ट में उस समय की केन्द्र सरकार पर पहले भी और बाद में भी बहुत तल्ख टिप्पणियां की गई हैं। मैं एक टिप्पणी आपको पढ़कर सुनाती हूं। “The Central Government was crippled ...” यह उस सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की बात है, जिस समय श्री नरसिम्हाराव जी प्रधान मंत्री थे।

“The Central Government was crippled by the failure of the Intelligence Agencies to provide an analysis of the situation; it stayed its hand, deferring to the hon. Supreme Court, which had taken up the matter and was dealing with them in appropriate directions.”

यहां पर जस्टिस लिब्रहान कह रहे हैं कि उस समय की केन्द्र सरकार अपाहिज हो गई थी। वह सारे मामले को सुप्रीम कोर्ट को सौंपकर हाथ पर हाथ धरे बैठी थी। यह एक टिप्पणी है। दूसरी टिप्पणी जो मैं पढ़ना चाहती थी, वह श्री पिनाकी मिश्रा जी ने पढ़ दी है, इसलिए मैं सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहती, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि केन्द्र सरकार ने कोई सहयोग नहीं किया। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि आप जिस केन्द्र सरकार को अपाहिज बता रहे हैं, असहयोगी बता रहे हैं, उस केन्द्र सरकार के मुखिया कौन थे - स्व.श्री

पी.वी.नरसिम्हाराव। कमीशन ने उन्हें तलब किया था। कमीशन के काउंसिल ने उनसे सवाल-जवाब किये थे। श्री पी.वी.नरसिम्हाराव के खिलाफ गवाहियां आई थीं और एक गवाह श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव इस सदन में मौजूद हैं, इन्होंने एफिडेविट दिया था, जिसमें गवाही दी थी। लेकिन पूरी की पूरी रिपोर्ट में एक शब्द भी प्रतिकूल टिप्पणी का श्री नरसिम्हाराव के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। एक जगह उनका नाम आता है, वह भी धन्यवाद देने के लिए आता है कि मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि श्री नरसिम्हाराव मेरे सामने पेश हुए। बाकी एक भी टिप्पणी उनके खिलाफ नहीं है। मगर इसके विपरीत श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी, जिन्हें कमीशन ने कभी तलब नहीं किया। तलब करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी। जिनसे किसी ने सवाल-जवाब नहीं किये, जिनके खिलाफ एक भी गवाही नहीं है।

“Not an iota of evidence was placed before the Commission.”

22 जगह उनका नाम लिया गया, उनका नाम अपराधियों की सूची में डाला *those who are culpable* और उनके माथे अपराध भी क्या मढ़ा, देश में साम्प्रदायिक सौहार्द बिगाड़ने का। कल राजनाथ जी ने 8बी के नोटिस की बात की थी। जब श्री सलमान खुर्शीद बोल रहे थे तो वह कह रहे थे कि 8बी के पीछे छिपने की बात क्यों कर रहे हो। क्यों भाई, यह अच्छा है, जब आपको सूट करे तो आप कानून और विधान की बात ले आओ और जब हम कानून और विधान की बात कहें तो आप कहें कि आप 8बी के नोटिस के पीछे क्यों छिप रहे हैं? सलामन खुर्शीद साहब मैं केवल कानून की धारा की बात नहीं कर रही हूँ। मैं देश के लॉ आफ दि लैंड की बात कर रही हूँ। इस देश के सुप्रीम कोर्ट के निर्णय की बात कर रही हूँ। सैक्शन 8बी तो स्पष्ट है ही कि आप जरूर दर जरूर अगर किसी के खिलाफ टिप्पणी करना चाहते हैं तो 8बी का नोटिस दीजिए। लेकिन इस देश में सुप्रीम कोर्ट का एक जजमेंट भी आया है। भागलपुर के दंगों में जब कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आई तो आदरणीय आडवाणी जी का नाम उन्हें 8बी का नोटिस दिये बिना दे दिया गया। आडवाणी जी उनके नाम को शामिल करने के खिलाफ हाई कोर्ट में गये और उन्होंने एक याचिका दायर की। उन्हें वहां से राहत मिली, उनकी याचिका मंजूर हो गई। लेकिन स्टेट ऑफ बिहार उस याचिका के खिलाफ सुप्रीम कोर्ट में गई। मैं सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जजमेंट पढ़कर सुनाना चाहती हूँ।

“It is thus incumbent upon the Commission ...”


चिदम्बरम जी, आप ध्यान से सुनेंगे, आप बहुत अच्छे से जजमेंट्स को एप्रिशिएट कर सकते हैं।

“It is thus incumbent upon the Commission to give an opportunity to a person before any comment is made or opinion is expressed which is likely to prejudicially affect that person. Needless to emphasize that failure to comply with the principles of natural

justice renders the action non-est as well as the consequences thereof.”

मैं यहां एक बात और बता दूँ कि 8बी का नोटिस नहीं दिया गया, केवल इतना ही नहीं है, 8बी का नोटिस देने की दरखास्त एक व्यक्ति ने कमीशन को दी थी। उसका नाम असलम भूरे है। उसने लिब्रहान कमीशन से कहा था कि आप अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी को भी तलब करिये। श्री ओ.पी.शर्मा वकील के तौर पर पेश हुए। जस्टिस लिब्रहान ने वह एप्लीकेशन सुनी थी और 18 पेज का एक ऑर्डर उन्होंने सुनाया था, जिसमें उन्होंने लिखा था, मैं वह ऑर्डर पढ़कर सुनाती हूँ।

“I am satisfied that no useful purpose would be served in summoning the Prime Minister at this stage of inquiry on the advice by the Counsel for the Commission.”

महोदया, कमीशन के काउंसिल ने कहा था कि उन्हें बुलाने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है, उनके खिलाफ किसी तरह का कोई सबूत ही नहीं है। सलमान खुर्शीद साहब, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ, यह नहीं है कि 8बी का नोटिस नहीं दिया गया, 8बी के स की एप्लीकेशन जस्टिस लिब्रहान ने खारिज की और कहा कि उन्हें बुलाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। आप हमें कहते हैं कि आप 8बी के नोटिस के पीछे छिप क्यों रहे हैं?

महोदया, यह विकृति केवल वहीं तक नहीं रही, यह विकृति रिपोर्ट के आने के बाद भी जारी रही। यह रिपोर्ट 24 तारीख को सदन में पेश हुई। 24 तारीख को ही टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया के एक कोरेस्पॉण्डेंट ने जस्टिस लिब्रहान से बात की। उन्होंने उनसे पूछा कि अटल जी को बिना सम्मन किए, आपने उनके खिलाफ टिप्पणी कैसे कर दी? आप सुनिए, मैं पढ़कर सुनाती हूँ कि जस्टिस लिब्रहान ने क्या कहा?

“Asked how he could have indicted Vajpayee who was never summoned to appear before the Commission in breach of Section 8(b) of the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, Justice Liberhan told Times of India from Chandigarh that ‘he never indicted the former PM. Please read the report in its context and show me a single reference to Vajpayee which can be construed as an indictment, Justice Liberhan said, pleading that no irresponsible reference be manufactured from his report’.”

No irresponsible reference be manufactured from his report.

महोदया, यह उनका 25 तारीख को दिया हुआ इंटरव्यू है। यह 25 को छपा और 24 की शाम को दिया, लेकिन चार दिन के बाद जस्टिस लिबरहान बदलते हैं और हिन्दू को एक इंटरव्यू देते हैं और उस इंटरव्यू में क्या कहते हैं-

“Speaking to this correspondent from his Chandigarh home Justice Liberhan said that the Commission issued notice to the BJP and many of its leaders were examined as witness. He said: ‘Nobody can dispute that Mr. Vajpayee is a tall leader in that party which is a legal entity. Just like a Managing Director is responsible for the misdeeds of a company, a leader is equally responsible for the misdeeds of a party.’”

महोदया, 25 तारीख की यह रिपोर्ट पढ़ने के बाद मैं मुलायम सिंह जी और पिनाकी मिश्रा जी से सहमत हूँ कि जस्टिस लिबरहान ने यह रिपोर्ट पढ़ी ही नहीं थी। यह अपने आप में खोज का विषय है कि यह रिपोर्ट किसने लिखी है और यह रिपोर्ट किसने लिखायी है? 25 तारीख के टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया में जस्टिस लिबरहान कहते हैं कि मेरी पूरी रिपोर्ट में कहीं अटल जी का नाम तो दिखाओ। वह कहते हैं कि “**Read the report in its context.**”

महोदया, उन्होंने रिपोर्ट पढ़ी ही नहीं, लेकिन उसके बाद उन्हें लोगों ने जाकर दिखाया कि साहब, आप रिपोर्ट पढ़कर तो देखिए, इसमें तो 22 जगह अटल जी का नाम है और उनका नाम अपराधियों की सूची में है। उन्होंने यह तर्क गढ़ा कि मैंने तो बीजेपी को नोटिस दे दिया था, जरूरत क्या थी। एक कंपनी का मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर रेस्पॉसिबल होता है, उसी तरह से वे रेस्पॉसिबल हैं।

महोदया, मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि अगर इस कंपनी के मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर रेस्पॉसिबल हैं तो वह कंपनी जो उस समय शासन कर रही थी, उसके मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर बरी कैसे हो सकते हैं? उनके मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर पाक-साफ घोषित कर दिए जाएं, उन्हें सारी जिम्मेदारियों से बरी कर दिया जाए। यह एक संयोग है कि उस समय के उस कंपनी के एक डायरेक्टर आज इस कंपनी के मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर बनकर बैठे हैं। सरदार मनमोहन सिंह उस समय वित्त मंत्री थे। यह कोई छोटा-मोटा ओहदा नहीं होता है। वे उस सरकार के वित्त मंत्री थे, वे उस समय डायरेक्टर भी थे और आज वे इस कंपनी के मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर हैं। अगर हमारे मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर जिम्मेदार हैं तो उनके मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर बरी नहीं हो सकते। राव साहब को खुली छुट्टी, नरसिम्हा राव को क्लीन चिट और अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी अपराधी, यह विकृति नहीं तो और क्या है। मैंने कहा था कि मैं अपने इस आरोप को पुष्ट करूंगी कि यह विकृत भी है, सबूतों के खिलाफ भी है और यह निराधार भी है। अपनी बात को पुष्ट करने के लिए ये दो तर्क मैंने दिए और अब मैं तीसरी बात कहना

चाहती हूँ। लिब्रहान कमीशन को पांच काम सौंपे गये थे। तीन काम किये, सीक्वेस ऑफ इवेंट्स पर बोले, सरकारमंटंसिस पर बोले, मुख्यमंत्री और वहां के अधिकारियों की भूमिका पर बोले, अब कोई भी रिपोर्ट दी, सही दी, गलत दी, सच दी, झूठ दी, सत्य दी, असत्य दी मगर दी। यह काम उन्हें किसने सौंपा था? सेक्युलरिज्म के ऊपर 26 पेज का एक निबंध लिख डाला। आर.एस.एस., बीजेपी के संबंधों पर पूरा थीसिस जड़ दिया। मुस्लिम संगठनों की आलोचना में एक पूरा लेख लिख डाला। अध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह एक न्यायाधीश द्वारा दी गई न्यायिक रिपोर्ट नहीं है, बल्कि एक अवसरवादी द्वारा दी गई एक राजनैतिक रिपोर्ट है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ चिदम्बरम जी से कि कौन सी ख्वाहिश पूरी की है आपने जज साहब की? विश लिस्ट बहुत लंबी थी, मुझे जानकारी है। ...(व्यवधान) सुप्रीम कोर्ट में नियुक्ति से लेकर राज्यपाल से होती हुई वह विशलिस्ट राजदूत तक पहुँचती थी। लेकिन अब तो उन्होंने अपने रिकमंडेशंस के चैप्टर में ही अपने लिए तीन नौकरियाँ खोज दी हैं। किस पर सहमति हुई है ज़रा बता दीजिए। आज नहीं बताएँगे तो महीनों बाद पता चल जाएगा, क्योंकि मैं जानती हूँ कि यह रिपोर्ट पूरे तोल-माप कर समय नियत होने के बाद दी गई है, जब सारी अनिश्चितताएँ समाप्त हो गईं। जब नई सरकार आ गई और पता लग गया कि अब कोई अनसर्टेनिटी नहीं बची, तब यह रिपोर्ट ठंडे बस्ते में से निकली है। अध्यक्ष जी, आप जानती हैं कि 17 साल कितने होते हैं? एक किताब मेरे हाथ लगी थी जिसका शीर्षक था 6000 डेज़/ बहुत आकर्षक सा शीर्षक लगा। मैंने उठाकर देखी। अमिया राव की लिखी हुई किताब है। अमिया राव को आडवाणी जी जानते हैं। यह स्टर्लिंग पब्लिकेशन की किताब है 6000 डेज़। मैंने पलटकर देखा कि देखूँ तो किसके बारे में लिखा है 6000 दिन। अध्यक्ष जी, पंडित नेहरू के कार्यकाल की वह किताब है। इस देश में 6000 दिन उन्होंने राज किया - वह 17 साल बनते हैं। 1947 में प्रधान मंत्री बने और 1964 में देहान्त हुआ। 1952 का चुनाव जीते, 1957 का चुनाव जीते, 1962 का चुनाव जीते, तब जाकर 17 साल पूरे हुए। लेकिन जब मैं इन दिनों का हिसाब लगा रही थी कि 16 दिसंबर 1992 को अधिसूचना जारी हुई और 30 जून, 2009 को यह रिपोर्ट पेश की गई, तो जानती हूँ, कितने दिन बनते हैं - 6036 दिन। यानी एक प्रधान मंत्री का पूरा कार्यकाल निकल गया और वह कार्यकाल जिन्होंने सबसे ज्यादा देर इस देश में राज किया। एक प्रधान मंत्री का पूरा कार्यकाल निकल गया और यह रिपोर्ट उसके भी 36 दिन बाद आई है। 6036 दिन के बाद यह रिपोर्ट आई है। ...(व्यवधान) मैं इसलिए कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह रिपोर्ट कैसे कैसे निष्कर्ष लेकर आई है। इसीलिए 17 साल के बाद जो टिप्पणियाँ छपी हैं अखबार में - "17 years, 48 extensions, eight crores and a dead Report." दूसरी टिप्पणी छपी - "17 वर्ष और 1700 पेज की रद्दी।" तीसरी टिप्पणी छपी - "खोदा पहाड़ और निकली चुहिया, वह भी मरी हुई!" कैसे कैसे निष्कर्ष निकाले

हैं इन्होंने। एक निष्कर्ष है इनका कि अयोध्या तो कोई मूवमेंट ही नहीं है, आंदोलन ही नहीं था। मैं पढ़कर सुनाती हूँ। इसमें इन्होंने कहा - “Though the Report uses the verbiage ‘movement’ frequently”, हम बार बार इसमें आंदोलन शब्द का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं, यह रिपोर्ट कह रही है, “The demand for a temple at Ayodhya never really became a public movement in the true sense of the word. While traditionally the word movement has been used to denote a collective desire of the public to secure a particular result, the Ayodhya temple never achieved the proportion more close to this level. The use of the word ‘movement’ notwithstanding the Ayodhya episode was never accompanied by a public movement.”

मैं आज इस सदन में खड़े होकर कहना चाहती हूँ जस्टिस लिब्रहान को, कि जन-आंदोलन के दृश्य एयर-कंडीशंड कमरों में बैठकर नहीं देखे जा सकते। जन-आंदोलन के दृश्य अगर देखने हैं, तो तपती दुपहरी और ठिठुरती रातों में, धूल-धक्कड़ भरी सड़कों पर खड़े होना पड़ता है, तब जन-आंदोलन के दृश्य दिखाई पड़ते हैं। अध्यक्ष जी, मैं उस मूवमेंट की साक्षी रही हूँ। जब आडवाणी जी रथ-यात्रा लेकर निकले थे तो हरियाणा के खंड में ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : शांत हो जाइए। आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं? मदन लाल शर्मा जी, आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैंने क्या कह दिया जिस पर ये कह रहे हैं कि शर्म करो। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए। आप शांत रहिये।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष महोदया, आडवाणी जी की राम रथ यात्रा में हरियाणा खंड में मैं उनके साथ थी। वे दृश्य आज तक मेरी आंखों में जस के तस जिन्दा हैं। महिलाएं हाथ में आरती की थाली लेकर आती थीं, रथ के सामने खड़े होकर बोनट पर स्वास्तिक बनाती थीं और फिर रथ की आरती उतारने के बाद उसके पहियों की धूल अपने माथे से लगा कर अपने आपको धन्य समझा करती थीं। वे दृश्य मैंने देखे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया, कारसेवकों की वह कहानियां अभी तक मेरे कानों में गूंजती हैं।...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष महोदया, जब मुलायम सिंह जी ने अयोध्या पहुंचने पर प्रतिबंध लगा दिया था और यह ऐलान किया था कि वहां एक परिन्दा भी पर नहीं मार सकता। उस समय तमाम कारसेवक वाहन छोड़ कर पगडंडियों के रास्ते गांवों से होते हुए अयोध्या जा रहे थे। जहां भी गांव में रात हो जाती थी तो वहां के लोग आकर आग्रह करते थे कि आप हमारे घर में रुको, विश्राम करो। उस समय उन घरों की गृहणियां गर्म पानी में नमक डाल कर उन कारसेवकों के चरण धोती थीं। सरसों का तेल लगा कर उनके पैर के तलवों की मालिश करती थीं और आंखों में आंसू भर कर उन कारसेवकों से अपनी भोजपुरी में कहती थीं कि भैया, हम तो वहां न जाय सकत, पर तुम्हार चरण पथार कर हम पुण्य कमा लें। वे कहती थीं कि हम वहां नहीं जा पाएंगे, लेकिन तुम्हारे चरण पथार कर जितना थोड़ा पुण्य मिलता है, वह हम ले सकते हैं। मध्यम वर्ग की महिलाएं घर से आलू-पूरी बना कर कारसेवकों के लिए भेजा करती थीं। मुलायम सिंह यादव जी गवाह हैं, अधिकारियों की पत्नियां अपने बच्चों को लेकर सामने खड़ी हो गई थीं कि पहले गोली हम पर चलाओ, बाद में कारसेवकों पर चलाना।...(व्यवधान) ये कहते हैं कि वह आंदोलन नहीं था, जनआंदोलन नहीं था। चंडीगढ़ में बैठ कर आपने निष्कर्ष निकाल लिया कि वह जनआंदोलन नहीं था। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप बार-बार क्यों खड़े हो जाते हैं, बैठ जाइए। इतना उत्तेजित नहीं होते हैं, इतना उत्तेजित नहीं होइए। आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष महोदया, स्वतंत्र भारत का वह सबसे बड़ा जनआंदोलन था और उसी आंदोलन ने आडवाणी जी को जननायक बनाया था। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया, ऐसे-ऐसे विकृत निष्कर्ष इस रिपोर्ट ने निकाले हैं, आप सुन कर हैरान होंगी। मैं एक जगह पढ़ कर आश्चर्यचकित रह गई। यहां कहा गया कि दीनदयाल उपाध्याय जी दो राष्ट्र के सिद्धांत को मानने वाले थे, उन्हें कोट किया है। मैं पढ़ कर सुनाती हूँ - Paragraph 85.14 in page 566 of Chapter 8 says: Deen Dayal Upadhyaya had stated that:

“The problem of India is not inter-caste, it is international. If peace is to reign here, the major communities must be given their own separate chunks of land. It is nothing but mere dream to imagine that Hindus and Muslims can stay together in India as members of composite nationality. The Muslims are not a minority community, they are a nation. They must have their own independent land and their own state.”

यह दीनदयाल जी ने कहा, जब हमने यह पढ़ा तो हमें लगा कि यह तो मोहम्मद अली जिन्ना का बहुचर्चित कोट है। ये कहां से दीनदयाल जी के मुंह में डाल दिया। फिर हमने सोर्स देखा और कहा कि यह आया कहां से?...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया, ये मुझे बोलने ही नहीं दे रहे, मैं क्या कह रही हूं...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप शांत रहिए। आप क्यों बार-बार खड़े हो जाते हैं?

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : मदन लाल शर्मा जी, आप बैठ जाइए और शान्त रहिए।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष जी, या तो मैं कोई ऐसी बात कह रही हूं जिससे ये प्रवोक हों। मैं रिपोर्ट में दीन दयाल जी के नाम पर गढ़ा गया एक कोट पढ़कर सुना रही हूं जिसके अनुसार दीन दयाल जी ने ऐसा कहा था, यह रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है, लेकिन चूंकि यह मोहम्मद अली जिन्नाह का बहुत पॉपुलर कोट है, इसलिए हमें लगा कि यह आया कहां से? हमने इसी रिपोर्ट में सोर्स देखा, तो सोर्स है, **Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya's "Ideology and Perception", Part 5, Concept of Hindu Rashtra**, तो हमने कहा कि यह कौन सी किताब है, इसे निकालो तो सही, क्योंकि हम लोगों ने यह किताब कभी देखी नहीं। इसके लिए हमने दीन दयाल शोध संस्थान में फोन किया कि क्या ऐसी कोई किताब है, तो उन्होंने कहा कि हां, किताब तो है। हमने कहा कि जब इस नाम की किताब है, तो हमारे पास उसे भेजो। उन्होंने पूछा कि क्यों चाहिए, हमने कहा कि जस्टिस लिबरहान जी ने दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जी को कोट करते हुए यह बात कही है। मैं उस किताब का, जिसमें यह कोट था, उसका पन्ना फोटोकॉपी कर के लाई हूं। यह किताब है- पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्यायज "आइडियोलॉजी एंड परसेप्शन" अगर किसी को किताब चाहिए तो वह जाकर पढ़ ले। ...(व्यवधान) इसका नाम है- "Concept of Rashtra" कॉन्सेप्ट ऑफ हिन्दू राष्ट्र नहीं। इसे श्री यशवन्तराव केलकर ने ट्रांसलेट किया है। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं। अभी उनकी बारी है, उन्हें बोलने दीजिए। जब आपकी बारी आए, तब आप बोलिएगा।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष जी, यह वह किताब है, जिससे कोट किया है। उसमें वे कहते हैं कि -

“Jinnah advocated the theory that Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations with propagandist zeal. He said – means Jinnah said – “The problem of India is not inter-caste, it is international. If peace is to reign here, the major communities must be given their own separate chunks of land. It is nothing but mere dream to imagine that Hindus and Muslims can stay together in India as members of composite nationality. The Muslims are not a minority community, they are a nation. They must have their own independent land and their own state.”

जिन्नाह का कोट, इनवर्टेड कॉमाज लगाकर दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जी के मुंह से कहलवा दिया गया। इतनी विकृतियां हैं। हम तो हैरान हो गए। जब हम पूरी की पूरी रिपोर्ट पढ़ रहे थे, तो हमें लगा कि दीन दयाल जी ने यह कब कहा, दीन दयाल जी की सोच ऐसी कब हो गई? तो पता चला कि मोहम्मद जिन्नाह का कोट दीन दयाल जी के मुंह से रिपोर्ट में कोट कर दिया गया।

महोदया, मैं कितनी विकृतियां बताऊं? एक जगह कहते हैं राम को हिन्दू गौड, एक जगह कहते हैं कि वे अवतार जैसे थे—considered incarnation of God. अब मैं पूछना चाहती हूं, कल जिस समय राजनाथ सिंह जी ने कहा कि अलामा इकबाल ने उन्हें इमामे हिन्द कहा था, बाद में मैंने सलमान खुर्शीद साहब को सुना, उन्होंने कहा कि हां, उन्हें इमामे हिन्द क्या, अगर उन्हें इमामे दुनिया भी कहा जाए, तो हम मानेंगे, क्योंकि उसमें हम निजामे मुस्तफा देखते हैं। यह सोच सही है। यही सोच चाहिए, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि आप उन्हें हिन्दू गौड कह कर संकीर्ण कर रहे हैं। अगर इस्लाम को मानने वाले, अलामा इकबाल, उन्हें इमामे हिन्द कहते हैं, तो गुरु ग्रंथ साहब में 2533 बार राम का नाम आता है। अजनाला साहब बैठे हैं। गुरु ग्रंथ साहब, जो सिखों का धार्मिक ग्रंथ है, जिसके लिए कहा गया कि गुरु मानियो ग्रंथ, ग्रंथ को ही गुरु मानो। यह बात मैं अंदाज या अटकलों के आधार पर नहीं कह रही हूं। लक्ष्मण चेला राम जी ने एक शोध किया है कि गुरुग्रंथ साहब में परमात्मा के नाम, किस-किस रूप में कितनी बार आए हैं। उसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि 2533 बार राम का नाम, गुरुग्रंथ साहब में आया है।

महोदया, अभी श्री पिनाकी मिश्रा जी, श्री हरप्रीत सिंह ज्ञानी का नाम कोट कर रहे थे, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि उन्होंने बड़ी मदद की। यह रिपोर्ट ज्ञानी जी ने लिखी है। इस बारे में मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि वे तो सिख धर्म को मानने वाले हैं। वैसे भी जस्टिस लिबरहान चंडीगढ़ में रहते हैं, जो पंजाब और हरियाणा की साझी संस्कृति का केन्द्र है। वे भूल गए गुरुवाणी को, गुरु नानकदेव ने दो ऐसे शब्द कहे हैं,

जो हर हिन्दू और सिख वहां अपने-अपने घरों में बोलता है। उन्होंने कहा है: 'संग सखा सब तजि गये, कोय न निभयो साथ, कह नानक की विपति में, टेक एक रघुनाथ।' उनका दूसरा शब्द है: 'राम नाम उर में गयो, जाके सम नहीं कोय, जे सिमरत संकट मिटे, दरश तुम्हारो होय।' यह जस्टिस लिब्रहान को मालूम नहीं, वे चंडीगढ़ में बैठे हुए हैं। वे कहते हैं कि हिन्दू गॉड हैं। वे हिन्दू देव या देवता नहीं, राम भारत की आत्मा हैं। इसीलिए जन्म से लेकर मरण तक लोग राम नाम जपते हैं। बच्चा पैदा होता है तो मां अपनी अंगुली से उसकी जुबान पर राम लिखती है और मरने के बाद एक मृत व्यक्ति की अर्थां राम नाम सत्य कहते हुए उठती है। मैं कहना चाहती हूं, मैं कितनी विसंगतियां बताऊं, कितनी विकृतियां बताऊं? मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूं...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शान्त हो जाइये। आप क्यों खड़े हो गये, बैठ जाइये। काकोली घोष दस्तीदार जी, आप बैठ जाइये। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव जी, आप क्यों खड़े हो गये? आप बैठिये। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : ठीक है, हम बैठा रहे हैं या आप बैठाएंगे। हम बैठाएंगे न। अब आप खड़े हो जाएंगे, क्या बैठाना आपका काम है।

आप बोलिये। आपका समय अब समाप्ति पर है।

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: This will not go on record.

*(Interruptions) ... **

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये और उनको बोलने दीजिए। आपका समय समाप्ति पर है, आप कुछ और समय लेकर अब अपनी बात समाप्त करिये।

... (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैं कन्क्लूड कर रही हूं। मैंने कहा था, पर मेरे समय में वे रोक-टोक कर रहे हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : हां, वह ध्यान में रखकर ही मैं कह रही हूं। आप बोलने दीजिए। लाल सिंह जी, आपको क्या हो गया? उधर से सबसे ज्यादा डिस्टर्बेंस हो रहा है।

* Not recorded

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइये। देखिये, गृह मंत्री जी को उत्तर देना है, आप बैठ जाइये। हां, आप बोलिये।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष जी, मैंने कहा था कि यह न्यायिक रिपोर्ट नहीं, विसंगतियों की भरमार है यह रिपोर्ट, विसंगतियों का पुलिन्दा है यह रिपोर्ट और पूर्वाग्रह से ग्रस्त है यह रिपोर्ट और साम्प्रदायिक दुर्भावना का दस्तावेज़ है यह रिपोर्ट। मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूँ कि उसने मुस्लिम संगठनों पर जो एक अध्याय लिखा है, आप पढ़िये, एक-एक शब्द में से साम्प्रदायिकता की गन्ध आती है। यहां ओवेसी साहब खड़े हो रहे थे, मैं उनसे कहना चाहती हूँ, आपने यह रिपोर्ट पढ़ी है? सारे हिन्दू संगठनों को उन्मादी और तमाम संस्थाओं को नाकारा बताते हुए एक दूसरे के सामने खड़े होने की बात की है। अध्यक्ष जी, उसने पूरे मुस्लिम अवाम का आह्वान किया है कि अपने मुस्लिम नेताओं के खिलाफ खड़े हो जाओ। कल आप अपील कर रही थीं, जिस समय यह चर्चा प्रारम्भ हो रही थी कि मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि धैर्य रखिये, संयम रखिये, किसी तरह का साम्प्रदायिक सौहार्द्र खराब मत होने दीजिए। मैं कहती हूँ, अगर यह रिपोर्ट आप लोगों के पढ़ने के लिए रख देंगे तो यह तो दंगों का अंकुर है, यह रिपोर्ट तो दंगों का बीज बोने वाली है। जस्टिस लिब्रहान कहते हैं, मेरे पास मुस्लिम कम्युनिटी आई ही नहीं... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप फिर खड़े हो गये। आप बैठिये और चुप रहिये।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : लिब्रहान यह कह रहे हैं कि एक तरफ तो हिन्दू संगठन खड़े थे, आर.एस.एस., बी.जे.पी., वी.एच.पी., बजरंग दल और दूसरी तरफ मुस्लिम संस्थाएं सो रही थीं, आप खड़े ही नहीं हुए। उन्होंने मुस्लिम अवाम को इनके प्रति भड़काया है और ओवेसी साहब, आपके तो अब्बाजान लिब्रहान कमीशन में पेश हुए थे, इसलिए तमाम के तमाम लोगों के ऊपर उन्होंने यह टिप्पणी की है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूँ और गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहती हूँ, खुदा के वास्ते इस रिपोर्ट को खारिज कर दीजिए, इस रिपोर्ट को खत्म कर दीजिए। यह रिपोर्ट अगर रहेगी तो देश में दंगे भड़काने का काम करेगी। अगर आपको उत्तर चाहिए तो हम उत्तर दे रहे हैं। उत्तर हम आज भी दे सकते हैं। आप क्या ढूँढ रहे हैं, कौन से सवाल का जवाब आपको चाहिए? 6 दिसम्बर, 1992 का जवाब चाहिए, इसका कि 6 दिसम्बर, 1992 को ढांचा गिराया, हां मैं कहती हूँ गिराया।... (व्यवधान)

* Not recorded

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शान्त रहिये।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : कारसेवकों ने गिराया-जी गिराया। षडयंत्र के तहत गिराया-नहीं, षडयंत्र के तहत नहीं गिराया। गिराने की सजा भुगतने को तैयार हो? अगर आपका प्रश्न यह है कि क्या गिराने की सजा भुगतने को तैयार हो तो मैं सदन में खड़े होकर कहना चाहती हूँ कि तैयार हैं, बिलकुल तैयार हैं। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि वह भी तैयार हैं, जो वहां थे, वह भी तैयार हैं जो वहां नहीं थे, वह भी तैयार हैं जो सदन में बैठे हैं और वह भी तैयार हैं जो सदन के बाहर हैं। अगर आपको सजा देनी हो तो हम भुगतने के लिए तैयार हैं, लेकिन किंतु-परंतु करके, अगर-मगर करके, इधर-उधर करके समस्या को टालो मत। पचास साल तक अदालतें जिस बात का फैसला नहीं कर सकीं, उसका हल केवल संवाद से निकलेगा, संवाद करो। दोनों कम्युनिटीज को एक साथ बैठाओ। समुदायों के प्रमुख लोगों के साथ बात करो।

मैं हैरान हुयी जब गुरुदास दासगुप्त जी बोल रहे थे। वह कह रहे थे कि मैं प्यूनिटिव एक्शन तो नहीं चाहता, पोलिटिकल आइसोलेशन इसकी सजा है। गुरुदास दा, अभी चार दिन पहले आपने मुझे न्यौता दिया था कि आप आकर ऐटेक की रैली को एड्रेस करो और कल आप पोलिटिकल आइसोलेशन की बात कर रहे थे। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

SHRI GURUDAS DASGUPTA (GHATAL): Madam, I have to give a personal explanation... *(Interruptions)*

MADAM SPEAKER: You please sit down now. I will give you a minute after she has finished.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष जी, आप बाद में इन्हें समय दे दीजिए। जो यह कहना चाह रहे हैं, वही मैं बता रही हूँ। हमारे कामरेड्स को दो फेस बहुत सूट करते हैं। जब इन्हें कांग्रेस से हाथ मिलाना होता है, तो यह कहते हैं कि सेक्युलर फोर्सिज को इकट्ठा हो जाना चाहिए, इसलिए हम कांग्रेस के साथ हैं और जब इन्हें बीजेपी का साथ चाहिए, तो यह कहते हैं कि इकॉनामिक ईश्यूज पर हम सब को साथ हो जाना चाहिए, इसलिए बीजेपी हमारे साथ रहे। ये यह कहना चाह रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान) इन्होंने उस दिन कहा था। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप शांत रहिए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : अध्यक्ष जी, इन्होंने उस दिन कहा था, “This is a very significant move.” हम इकॉनामिक ईश्यूज पर इकट्ठे हो जाएं। आप आइए, हमारे यहां की रैली को एड्रेस करिए। उस दिन मुझे सुविधा नहीं थी, इसलिए मैं नहीं जा सकी। अगर चार दिन बाद आप पोलिटिकल आइसोलेशन की बात करने वाले थे, तो आपने मुझे उस दिन न्यौता क्यों दिया था? इसलिए मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूँ कि पोलिटिकल आइसोलेशन इसका जवाब नहीं है, इसका समाधान नहीं है। इसका समाधान है - इकट्ठे बैठना। मगर किस मानसिकता से बैठना? इस मानसिकता से बैठो कि हमलावरों के विजयचिन्ह गर्व के नहीं, शर्म के स्मारक होते हैं। इस मानसिकता से बैठो तो जरूर-दर-जरूर हल निकलेगा। कोई जगह बंद नहीं होती, इतिहास में ऐसे बहुत से पड़ाव आए हैं, जहां लगता है कि सब कुछ समाप्त हो गया, लेकिन उसी अंधेरे में से राह निकला करती है। इस रिपोर्ट को खारिज करो। कम से कम मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से इस रिपोर्ट को पूरी तरह खारिज करती हूँ। **We dismiss this Report lock, stock and barrel.**

MADAM SPEAKER: Shri Gurudas Dasgupta. एक मिनट में आप अपनी बात समाप्त करिए।

SHRI GURUDAS DASGUPTA : Madam, I am on a point of personal explanation. The point is there is an all-trade union unity in the country. Trade unions are there. The INTUC is there. The BMS is there. The CITU is there. The AITUC is there. There was a rally of the bank employees in Delhi. We had invited the leaders of all the political parties.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : Including the BJP.

SHRI GURUDAS DASGUPTA : The Congress leader came and spoke there. Since the BJP's union was there, they wanted us to invite the BJP....
(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : No.... (Interruptions)

SHRI GURUDAS DASGUPTA : Please listen to me. I will tell you that Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress MP was there. The Vice-President of the BMS was there. The leaders of other trade unions were there.... (Interruptions) Therefore, I hate the ideology of the BJP.... (Interruptions) I hate the BJP as a Party. ...
(Interruptions)

MADAM SPEAKER: Thank you very much. You gave your explanation. Please sit down.

... (Interruptions)

SHRI HUKMADEO NARAYAN YADAV (MADHUBANI): I hate communism!... (Interruptions)



SHRI NAMA NAGESWARA RAO (KHAMMAM): Madam Speaker, the Liberhan Commission Report is actually full of mistakes. The incident of 6th December, 1992 was a historical blunder. The demolition of the structure was the demolition of the faith of the people of this country.

इस रिपोर्ट को दो पार्ट में किया गया है। दोनों भागों में कुल 999 पेज बनाए गए हैं। इसके पहले भाग में कांग्रेस की पूरी पिक्चर लगानी चाहिए और दूसरे भाग में बीजेपी की पिक्चर लगा देनी चाहिए। कांग्रेस के समय जो हुआ, उसके बारे में इस रिपोर्ट में कुछ भी नहीं दिया गया है। यदि इस रिपोर्ट को देखें, अभी सुषमा जी ने जो बोला है, सिर्फ उतनी ही बात रिपोर्ट में केवल एक जगह, पेज नम्बर 923, पैरा 160.9 में उस समय की सरकार के बारे में कही गई है। उस समय की केन्द्र सरकार सब कुछ जानते हुए भी इसे रोक नहीं पाई।

15.56 hrs.

(Shri Francisco Cosme Sardinha *in the Chair*)

चेयरमैन साहब, दिसम्बर 6 को जो स्ट्रक्चर गिराया गया, उसके बारे में आप देखें। नवम्बर 28 को सीक्रेट एजेंसी, what about the possible demolition at Ayodhya? उसके बारे में यह सरकार कुछ भी नहीं कर पाई। दिसम्बर एक को श्री बी.सी. पंत, ज्वाइंट डायरेक्टर ने क्लीयरली बोला कि सुसाइड वाले लोग आ रहे हैं, बम ब्लास्ट होने वाला है, उस बारे में भी कुछ नहीं कर पाए। दिसम्बर 2 को वहां एक लाख कार सेवक पहुंचेंगे, इसकी पूरी इन्फोर्मेशन उस समय की सरकार के पास होने के बावजूद भी वह कुछ नहीं कर पाई। इसमें काफी कुछ लिखा गया है। दिसम्बर 3 को यूनियन मिनिस्टर, यूनियन सैक्रेटरी को आईबी ने पूरी डिटेल दी। उस समय भी कुछ नहीं किया गया। दिसम्बर 4 को यूनियन मिनिस्टर को वहां की पूरी डैवलपमेंट मिलने के बाद भी वे भी कुछ नहीं कर पाए। दिसम्बर 5 को वहां दो लाख से ज्यादा कार सेवक चले गए। उस समय भी यह सरकार कुछ नहीं कर पाई। दिसम्बर 6 को स्ट्रक्चर गिरने के समय यहां पार्लियामेंट चल रही थी। पार्लियामेंट में कई लीडर्स द्वारा इस बारे में बात करने पर भी केन्द्र सरकार कुछ नहीं कर पाई। इस बारे में लिब्रहान कमीशन में कहीं भी कुछ नहीं लिखा है। इसके लिए केन्द्र सरकार पूरी तरह जिम्मेदार है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उस समय आडवाणी जी की रथ यात्रा को लालू जी ने रोका, मुलायम सिंह जी ने रोका। उस समय केन्द्र में कांग्रेस की सरकार और राज्य में बीजेपी की सरकार होते हुए यह

कांड हुआ। यदि सैंटर या स्टेट में कोई भी दूसरी सैकुलर सरकार होती तो यह कांड नहीं होता। इसके लिए ये दोनों जिम्मेदार हैं। उस समय सब लीडर्स ने हल्ला किया। पार्लियामेंट में हर लीडर ने बोला। अयोध्या में जो हुआ, उस पर कल यहां डिसकशन हुई। यह सरकार कुछ नहीं कर पाई। इस पर 17 साल बाद रिपोर्ट आई है। इस बीच देश में टैरोरिज़्म काफी बढ़ गया, वॉयलेंस बढ़ गई है। देश में कई जगह मस्जिद में बम मिले, मंदिर में बम मिले। मुम्बई में कांड हुआ, हैदराबाद में कांड हुआ, लखनऊ में कांड हुआ। इस सबके लिए यह दोनों जिम्मेदार हैं। उस समय बीजेपी सरकार ने सुप्रीम कोर्ट को एक ऐफीडेविट दिया जिसमें कहा गया कि हम देश की सुरक्षा करेंगे। इसके बाद भी इसे नहीं रोक पाए।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rao, kindly wind up in one minute.

16.00 hrs.

श्री नामा नागेश्वर राव (खम्माम): सभापति महोदय, आप हमें अपनी बात समाप्त करने के लिए कह रहे हैं, लेकिन जिसे आप टाइम देना चाहते हैं, उसे आप टाइम दे देते हैं। हम नये मैम्बर हैं तब भी आप हमें बोलने के लिए समय नहीं देते हैं। जब आप ही हमें प्रोटेक्ट नहीं करेंगे, तो और कौन हमें प्रोटेक्ट करेगा ?...(व्यवधान)

यह सारी जिम्मेदारी दोनों गवर्नमेंट की है। यदि हम उस समय देखें, तो श्री वी. पी. सिंह ने गवर्नमेंट लूस करने के लिए छोड़ दिया, लेकिन इस इश्यू को रोक दिया। हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि आज उसका पोस्टमार्टम करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। आज देश में जो बहुत सारे इम्पोर्टेंट इश्यूज हैं, जिनको साइलेंट करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। हम अपना पूरा कंसनट्रेशन फूड सिक्योरिटी, फार्मर्स इश्यूज, प्राइज राइस और फार्मर्स सूसाइड आदि पर दें। हम देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए सोचें। अभी 17 साल बाद इस रिपोर्ट पर बहस करना बेकार है। जैसे डेड बॉडी का पोस्टमार्टम करते हैं, उस तरह से इसका पोस्टमार्टम करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है।

मैं तेलगू देशम पार्टी की तरफ से कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दू-मुस्लिम सब एक हैं। चाहे माइनोरिटी हो या मेजोरिटी हो, दोनों दो आंखें हैं। देश में सबको एक साथ रहना चाहिए।

इन्हीं बातों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, please maintain silence.

*DR. RATTAN SINGH AJNALA (KHADOOR SAHIB) :Mr. Chairman Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this important subject of Liberhan Commission Enquiry Report.

Sir, for more than 650 years, India was under the yoke of Mughals. For over 150 years, the British enslaved India. Today, in this august House, we should not hold a brief for invaders. Who was Babur? He was a foreign invader. He occupied India. His army committed innumerable atrocities against Indians. He plundered India. His forces killed the natives and raped their womenfolk. Why are we supporting a foreign invader? Our first Sikh Guru Nanak Dev ji had raised his voice against the tyranny of Babur. He had condemned Babur as a tyrant. He took up the cause of the common man and was imprisoned by Babur. The invading Mughal army wreaked havoc on the people of India and carried away our wives and daughters. How can we forget this? One must have a sense of honour and dignity. How can we support those marauders and tyrants?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Guru Nanak Dev ji has clearly mentioned about Babur's misdeeds :-

He wreaked havoc in Khurasan,
 He invaded and plundered India
 And bullied its people,
 He unleashed tyranny on the poor,
 Innocent people of India,
 O God, when such atrocities were
 Being committed on human beings
 Did you not feel any pain and agony?

Those were trying times. Guru Nanak Dev ji also said :

If a powerful person fights against
 Another powerful person,
 Nobody feels enraged or agonized.
 However, if the mighty bullies a
 Weak person, the weak and the
 Defenceless must be helped.

* English translation of the speech originally delivered in Punjabi

Sir, the Sikhs fought against Babur. They also fought against the British imperialists. Chairman sir, the ninth Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur ji sacrificed his life for protecting the lives and honour of our Hindu brothers. But for his ultimate sacrifice, the Hindus and Sikhs of this country would have been annihilated. The history of India is replete with innumerable sacrifices by Sikhs to protect the honour and dignity of the country. Even since independence, we have fought against the wrong policies of the Congress party. The Sikhs have been discriminated against by successive Congress Governments. In 1984, Blue Star operation was launched against our holiest shrine. After Smt. Indira Gandhi's death, Sikhs were butchered. When someone asked Shri Rajiv Gandhi about these incidents, he had replied – “Whenever a huge tree falls, the earth shakes.” Sir, this was a callous reply. Thousands of Sikhs had been killed in cold blood. Not a single guilty person was convicted.

Sir, Advani ji is present here. Let us all resolve that we should move forward unitedly. All Commissions have failed to provide justice to those who have suffered. The 1984 riot-victims are still crying for justice. People have lost faith in Commissions.

Sir, whether it is Nanavati Commission or Liberhan Commission, these Commissions have miserably failed to provide relief and succour to the people who have suffered. ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Ajnala, please speak on Liberhan Commission only.

DR. RATTAN SINGH AJNALA : Sir, I am talking only about Liberhan Commission. During this entire period, Mr. Liberhan did not move out of Chandigarh at all. He does not even know what has been written in the report. Sir, Shri Narsimha Rao was the Prime Minister of the country at that time. But he has been given a clean chit. His name should have been there in the list of culpable persons. The Congress party is responsible for what happened in 1992. The Congress party is also responsible for various ills like poverty and

unemployment that plague our country, because it has ruled over India for more than 50 years. Sir, the British looted this country. Now, others are doing the same.

Sir, people are suffering. Injustice is being meted out to them. Corruption is rampant. Corrupt people have stashed their illegal money in Swiss bank-accounts. There is no accountability.

Sir, these Commissions are of no use. The Congress party has always meted out injustice to the people of India. I appeal to all segments of this august House to unitedly work for the welfare of the poor, the deprived and the downtrodden sections of society.

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा (गोंडा): महोदय, लिब्रहान आयोग की रिपोर्ट पर...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No cross-talks please.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not disturb.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Address the Chair.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : महोदय, लिब्रहान आयोग की रिपोर्ट पर सभी वक्ताओं के विचार मैंने सुने हैं।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Maintain the decorum in the House.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: No running commentary, please.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : महोदय, यह देश हजारों हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों की कुर्बानी से आजाद हुआ है। इस देश की सम्प्रभुता, लोकतंत्र और इस देश के लोगों को ठीक से सुरक्षित रखना, हम सभी की जिम्मेदारी है। जो चुने हुए लोग यहां बैठे हैं, उन सभी की ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी है। लिब्रहान आयोग की रिपोर्ट जो आई है, तथ्य कुछ गलत हो सकते हैं लेकिन निष्कर्ष बिल्कुल सही है। किसी भी वक्ता ने यहां पर यह नहीं कहा कि 6 दिसम्बर को जो अपराध हुआ है, लोकतंत्र को कलंकित करने वाला गुनाह हुआ, उसकी सजा क्या हो? सजा की तरफ सिर्फ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता ने जो सुझाव दिया है, उससे मैं सहमत हूँ। कट्टरपंथियों को जेल में डालकर सजा नहीं दे सकते हो, उनकी हरकतों पर लगाम नहीं लगा सकते हो। इनको फांसी दे दोगे, तब भी ये अपनी औलादें छोड़ जाएंगे। इनकी सबसे बड़ी सजा जो माननीय गुरुदास दास गुप्ता ने कहा था “ पॉलिटिकल आइसोलेशन” । इनको सदन में आने से वंचित करने का कानून बनना चाहिए। आप हिंदू और राम के ठेकेदार कहां से हो गये। क्या ये कट्टरपंथी ही हिंदुओं और राम के ठेकेदार हैं? माननीय राजनाथ सिंह जी की हमने सारी बातें सुनीं। ...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, please do not disturb him.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing should go on record except the speech of Shri Beni Prasad Verma.

*(Interruptions) ... **

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : अयोध्या के सबसे नजदीक रहने वाला मैं हूँ। हमारा क्षेत्र अयोध्या से मिला हुआ है। उसके बारे में जितनी जानकारी हमें है, शायद किसी को नहीं है। अयोध्या एक बड़ी नदी के किनारे बसा है। हर साल वहां बाढ़ आती थी। राम के जन्म-स्थान पर मुसलमान कैसे पहुंच गये? कट्टरपंथियों की वजह से वहां के दलित हिंदुओं ने इस्लाम धर्म को कभी स्वीकार किया। उनकी नमाज पढ़ने की जगह नहीं थी, वहां मस्जिद बनाई गयी, उसी को बाबरी मस्जिद कहा गया। अब ये रामभक्त कहते हैं कि वहीं राम पैदा हुए। माननीय आडवाणी जी कहां पैदा हुए, क्या आप लोग जानते हैं? वे तो यहां मुसलमानों से डर कर भाग आये और देश को बर्बाद कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान) आप कहां पैदा हुए? आप तो नेपाल में पैदा हुए...(व्यवधान) किसी को अपने जन्मस्थान का पता नहीं है और राम के जन्मस्थान का पता लगाने के ठेकेदार हैं ये। ...(व्यवधान) माननीय मुलायम सिंह जी हमारे नेता रहे हैं और हम आज भी उनका आदर करते हैं।...(व्यवधान) अब नहीं हैं। ...(व्यवधान) भाई हैं हमारे, नेता नहीं रहे।...(व्यवधान) ये भाई-भाई का झगड़ा है और आगे भी रहेगा।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Beni Prasad Verma, please address the Chair.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Noting should go on record except the speech of Shri Beni Prasad Verma.


*(Interruptions) ... **

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not disturb him.

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : लिब्राहन आयोग ने धर्म और राजनीति के घालमेल को भी दोषी बताया है। डा. लोहिया इस बात को चार दशक पहले कहते थे। इन खतरों से उन्होंने हमें आगाह किया था। धर्म और राजनीति के अविवेकी मिलन और उसके दुष्परिणामों के प्रति उन्होंने हमें आगाह किया था। डा. लोहिया ने यह भी कहा था कि धर्म अल्प-समय की राजनीति होती है और राजनीति दीर्घ-कालीन धर्म। यह अल्पकालीन राजनीति है।


* Not recorded

श्री शरद यादव (मधेपुरा): माननीय बेनी प्रसाद जी। आपने जो लोहिया जी को उद्धृत किया, उन्होंने बड़ी दार्शनिक बात कही थी। उन्होंने कहा था कि “जो राजनीति है वह अल्पकालीन धर्म है और जो धर्म है वह दीर्घकालीन है,” इसलिए आपसे उनका उद्धरण उल्टा हो गया।

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : महोदय, मैं सुधार कर रहा हूँ - राजनीति अल्पकालीन धर्म।...(व्यवधान) राजनीति करने वाले लोगों को हमेशा ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि अल्प समय की राजनीति दीर्घकालीन धर्म हो जाता है। आप धर्म के नाम पर राजनीति करते हैं। इन्होंने अल्पकालीन राजनीति इतनी गंदी की कि देश के लिए दीर्घकालिक अभिशाप बन गई है। राजनाथ सिंह जी ने राम जन्म भूमि की कल खूब व्याख्या की थी। राजनाथ सिंह जी 300 किलोमीटर दूर मिर्जापुर के हैं और हम  तथा बाराबंकी के हैं, जो अयोध्या के साथ है।...(व्यवधान) हम कभी नहीं हारे हैं। एमएलए का चुनाव हम हारने के लिए ही लड़े थे।...(व्यवधान) आप स्वयं बताएं कि किस पार्टी के नेता की जमानत जब्त नहीं होती है।...(व्यवधान) राजनाथ जी, आप कह रहे थे कि राम मंदिर था, राम मंदिर है और राम मंदिर रहेगा। देश का कानून इतना कमजोर है कि गुनाहगार सीना तान कर चलते हैं और जिनके ऊपर गुनाह किया जाता है, वे सिर झुका कर बैठते हैं।...(व्यवधान) इस देश की लोकसभा सबसे बड़ी पंचायत है। क्या सरकार में या संसद सदस्यों में इच्छा शक्ति है कि इस बहस के बाद लिब्राहन आयोग ने जिन लोगों को गुनाहगार बताया है, उनके प्रति कठोर कानून बना कर सदन में आने से वंचित कर दिया जाए। कानून बनाया जाए कि ऐसे अपराधी जो कानून को तोड़ते हैं, देश को तोड़ने का काम करते हैं और देश को आजादी दिलाने वाले महापुरुषों का अपमान करते हैं, ऐसे लोगों को चुनाव लड़ने से डिबार किया जाए।...(व्यवधान) आप लोगों का भावनात्मक शोषण करके जीत कर आए हो।...(व्यवधान) आप लोग ही दोषी हैं। राम कहां पैदा हुए हैं, क्या आपने ढूंढ लिया है? आडवाणी जी पाकिस्तान से यहां क्यों आए हैं? अपने जन्म स्थान की वे रक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं और यहां राम जन्म भूमि की रक्षा करने के लिए आए हैं। धर्म से राजनीति के मेल का परिणाम बाबरी मस्जिद डेमोलिशन है। बाबरी मस्जिद एक साजिश के तहत तोड़ी गई है और साजिश के तहत वहां हमला किया गया। मुलायम सिंह जी हमारे मित्र हैं, इन्होंने भी गलती की है। पहले वहां पुलिस चौकी थी, वर्ष 1990 में आपके समय में थाना राम जन्म भूमि क्यों हो गया?...(व्यवधान) इसका मतलब इनके अफसरों ने इन्हें धोखा दिया। तीस अक्टूबर को मुलायम सिंह जी ने उन्हें फोन किया था कि बाबरी मस्जिद गिर गई। 15 मिनट के बाद चीफ सैक्रेटरी का फोन आया कि बाबरी मस्जिद बच गई है। दो लोग गुम्बद पर चढ़े थे, पुलिस ने फायरिंग कर दी और वे नीचे उतर गए हैं।...(व्यवधान) बाबरी मस्जिद परिसर में परिंदे घुस कैसे गए? अशोक सिंघल वहां कैसे पहुंच गए? आपकी पुलिस मिली हुई थी और बाबरी मस्जिद को दूसरे प्रांत की पुलिस प्रोटेक्ट कर रही थी। पुलिस

में भी आरएसएस के लोग थे, उन्होंने ही फायर किया था।... (व्यवधान) उस दिन संघ परिवार मस्जिद गिराना नहीं चाहता था, बल्कि देश में तनाव पैदा करना चाहता था और छह दिसम्बर 1992 को मस्जिद गिराना चाहता था और गिरा भी दी। अब धर्म शांत हो गया है और आयोध्या के आस-पास भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोगों का नाम नहीं है। सब हार गये। यह सरकार कानून बनाती है लेकिन जनता जनादेश से आपको जीवन भर सत्ता से वंचित रखेगी। आपने अपराध किया है। आपने देश के साथ मजाक किया है। देश बड़ा होता है, धर्म बड़ा नहीं होता है। देश ही नहीं रहेगा तो धर्म कहीं नहीं रहेगा। आपने देश से बड़ा धर्म को साबित किया है।

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन (भागलपुर): अब क्या कांग्रेस आपके लिए बड़ी हो गई?

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा :  हमारे लिए न कभी बड़ी थी और न आज बड़ी है। हमारे लिए आज भी देश बड़ा है, पहले भी देश बड़ा था। कांग्रेस में कुछ कारणों से आए हैं, हम भाजपा में भी जा सकते थे। हम बसपा में भी जा सकते थे। कांग्रेस में आए हैं, कांग्रेस उत्तर प्रदेश में सबसे कमज़ोर पार्टी थी। कांग्रेस में विश्वास के लिए नहीं आए हैं। विश्वास में जाना होता तो भाजपा में जाते, बसपा में जाते। जब मुलायम सिंह जी से दोस्ती थी, लेकिन मतभेद हो गये तो कांग्रेस को चुना जो उत्तर प्रदेश में सबसे कमज़ोर पार्टी है लेकिन आपका सफाया हो गया। भाजपा कहां है? अजीत सिंह से तालमेल किया तब भी 10 और अबकी बार किसी की जमानत नहीं बचेगी। इस देश में पंथनिरपेक्ष लोग ही लम्बे समय तक हुकुमत करेंगे, साम्प्रदायिक लोग सत्ता से दूर रहेंगे चाहे कितना धर्म का नाटक कर लें।... (व्यवधान)

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन : आपको मंत्री बनाना पड़ेगा।

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : मंत्री बनने का शौक होता तो मुलायम सिंह जी जानते हैं, कई बार हम मुख्य मंत्री भी बन सकते थे। हम दोस्ती निभाने वाले लोग हैं, हम अपना ईमान कुर्सी के लिए नहीं बेच सकते। हम भी राम को मानते हैं लेकिन आप राम के नाम पर वोट मांगते हैं। हम राम के आदेशों पर चलते हैं। आप कितने राम भक्त हैं? आपको भी सपने में राम याद आते होंगे? राम के नाम पर आप वोट लेते हैं। अल्लाह की नवाज़ पढ़ते हो, मुसलमान आपको कितनी इज़्जत की नज़र से देखते हैं? राजनाथ सिंह जी, आप कितने रामभक्त हैं? राम को जब काल ने बताया कि आपका समय पूरा हो गया तो जल समाधि ले ली थी।

... (व्यवधान) ... *

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन : आप संसदीय भाषा में बोलिए।... (व्यवधान)

* Not recorded as ordered by the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You continue. You refer to the Chair.

... (Interruptions)

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन : सर, जो असंसदीय भाषा है, उसे निकालना चाहिए।... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing should go on record, please.

(Interruptions) ... *

MR. CHAIRMAN: You refer to the Chair.

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : हम कांग्रेस में क्यों आए हैं, हमने बता दिया है। हम किसी लोभ से नहीं आए हैं। आप भाजपा में लोभ से आए हैं। राजनीति करनी थी, कहीं रहना था। कांग्रेस भाजपा से अच्छी है। इसलिए कांग्रेस में आए हैं।... (व्यवधान) कल्याण सिंह जी और मुलायम सिंह जी की बहुत दोस्ती थी। अब टूट गई। मुलायम सिंह जी मजबूत समाजवादी नेता थे, सिद्धान्तों के लिए लड़ते थे और जब ये सिद्धान्तों से डिगे, ये पछता रहे हैं। क्या जरूरत थी कल्याण सिंह से दोस्ती करने की? कल्याण सिंह से दोस्ती की कि हमारे बहुत पुराने मित्र हैं और जब लिब्रहान कमीशन की रिपोर्ट लीक हो गई, कल्याण सिंह को निकाल कर बाहर कर दिया। मुसलमान इसे माफ नहीं करेगा। कल्याण सिंह को आपने निकाल दिया और बृजभूषण सिंह, आरोपी नं. 10 पर मुकदमा चल रहा है। आरएसएस का सम्मेलन लखनऊ में हुआ। हमारे मित्र मुख्य मंत्री थे, हम उन्हीं के साथ थे।... (व्यवधान) मुख्य मंत्री की शपथ आपने वर्ष 2003 में ले ली और आपके पास 403 के सदन में 125 एमएलए की संख्या थी। उस समय विष्णुकांत शास्त्री, गवर्नर थे। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी, प्रधान मंत्री जी थे और मुलायम सिंह जी की शपथ हो रही है। आप अपने सिद्धान्तों पर अडिग रहिए, जिन सिद्धान्तों को पहले शुरू किया था, उन्हीं पर अडिग रहिए। अगर फिसलोगे तो जनता माफ नहीं करेगी। हम फिसले नहीं, हर एक को संभालते हैं।... (व्यवधान) हम तो मजबूरन मतभेद के कारण यहां आए हैं।... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Member, please refer to the Chair. Do not reply to their questions. Nothing else will go on record.

... (Interruptions) ... *



* Not recorded

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : हम विषय पर नहीं बोल रहे हैं? अभी आपके यहां से वकील महिला खड़ी हुई थीं, वे कितना विषय पर बोली हैं? ...(व्यवधान) यह इससे संबंधित है।...(व्यवधान) मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि तब कल्याण सिंह जी मुख्यमंत्री थे, जब स्ट्रक्चर गिरा, बाबरी मस्जिद गिरी स्ट्रक्चर नहीं। बाबरी मस्जिद थी जिसे आपने गिराया है। राजनाथ सिंह जी, आपने कुतर्क किया।...(व्यवधान)

SHRI BISHNU PADA RAY (ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS): It is *sub judice*. He cannot say Babri Masjid.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions) ... **

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : हिन्दू कट्टरपंथियों की वजह से वहां के दलित हिंदू मुसलमान हुए।...(व्यवधान) उनकी इबादत के लिए वहां मस्जिद बनी। आपने कहा कि राम यहीं पैदा हुए। आप हमसे ज्यादा जानते हैं? हम पड़ोस के रहने वाले हैं हम नहीं जानते कि राम कहां पैदा हुए? ...(व्यवधान) आडवाणी जी पाकिस्तान से आए और समझ गए कि राम यहीं पैदा हुए। बड़े रामभक्त हैं। ...(व्यवधान) धर्म की राजनीति में घोल-मेल करके सिर्फ वोट की राजनीति करने के लिए।...(व्यवधान) जुलाई में ही कार सेवा हुई थी और कल्याण सिंह जी मुख्यमंत्री थे। मोहम्मद असलम भूरे जी का नाम सुषमा जी ने लिया था, उन्होंने कंटेंट उठाई थी। उस कंटेंट में कल्याण सिंह जी को एक दिन की सजा हुई है। दूसरी कंटेंट तो अभी कोर्ट में चली ही नहीं है। यह रिपोर्ट 17 साल बाद आई है। इसमें विलंब हुआ है। सुषमा जी कह रही थी कि नरसिम्हा राव का इसमें जिक्र है।...(व्यवधान) नरसिम्हा राव का कोई पक्षधर नहीं है, उनके खिलाफ हमने भी भाषण दिया है।...(व्यवधान) लेकिन अगर किसी के घर में डकैती होती है तो डकैत अपराधी हुआ या घर में बैठा हुआ, बंदूक लेकर सोया हुआ आदमी अपराधी हुआ? लापरवाही उसकी भी है कि बंदूक रखकर क्यों सोते रहे? असली मुल्जिम डकैत है।नरसिम्हा राव जी ने लापरवाही की है।...(व्यवधान) धारा 356 का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया।...(व्यवधान)

SHRI BISHNU PADA RAY : It is an unparliamentary word.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : धारा 356 की बंदूक का इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए था और अगर वे इस्तेमाल करते तो आप भीगी बिल्ली बनकर वहां से निकल जाते।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Member, do not try to run the House. Please sit down. Nothing will go on record.

... *(Interruptions)* ... *

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : संघ परिवार के लोग इस देश में नफरत फैला रहे हैं। बाबरी मस्जिद को तोड़कर देश को तोड़ने के मुहाने पर खड़ा किया है। इनके खिलाफ घृणित से घृणित शब्दों का इस्तेमाल किया जाए तो गुनाह नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान) श्रीमन्, कल राजनाथ सिंह लिटिल मैन् कह रहे थे, आडवाणी जी लिटिल मैन्, अटल जी लिटिल मैन्। अंग्रेजी बड़ी सरल भाषा है लेकिन हिंदी भावनाओं को ठीक से उजागर करती है और हिंदी में कहा जाता कि बाबरी मस्जिद की साजिश रचने वाले निम्न व्यक्ति थे, तो गलत नहीं होता, और आपकी भोजपुरी भाषा में कहा जाता कि ...** तो और अच्छा होता। ...**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

MR. CHAIRMAN: If any word is unparliamentary, we will see that it does not form part of the record.

(Interruptions) ... *

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : श्रीमान, ...* जिन लोगों ने देश के लोगों के दिल तोड़ने की बात की।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: If it is unparliamentary, it will not be recorded.

(Interruptions) ... *

MR. CHAIRMAN : If it is unparliamentary, it will not go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

SHRI BISHNU PADA RAY : Sir, the whole speech is unparliamentary. It should be withdrawn. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Verma, have you finished your speech? I am calling the next speaker. Please wind up in one minute.

... *(Interruptions)*

* Not recorded

**Not recorded as ordered by the Chair..

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : सर, हाउस ऑर्डर में हो तो बोलूं। ...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : इनसे यहां भी निपटेंगे और मैदान में भी निपटेंगे। ...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Verma, please wind up now.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री विष्णु पद राय : पहले यह माफी मांगे, उसके बाद आगे बोलें।* शब्द कैसे बोल सकते हैं।...(व्यवधान) He should apologise first. ... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already announced that if it is unparliamentary, it will not go on record.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down now.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : देश का संविधान, देश की संप्रभुता, राम की मर्यादा, बाबरी मस्जिद को तोड़ने वाले इस देश के ... * व्यक्ति ही हो सकते हैं।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. Vermaji, please wind up. Otherwise, I am calling the next speaker.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : मैं आपका हर आदेश मानूंगा। लेकिन हाउस ऑर्डर में तो हो।...(व्यवधान) सच्ची बात कड़वी बहुत लगती है। यह इन्हें अपराध बोध हो रहा है। ...(व्यवधान) इनका विरोध अपराध बोध है। ...(व्यवधान)

श्री विष्णु पद राय : यह हाउस में माफी मांगे।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Shafiqur Rahman Barq to speak now.

... *(Interruptions)*

* Not recorded as ordered by the Chair.

16.33 hrs.

At this stage, Shri Bishnu Pada Ray and some other hon. Members came and stood on the floor near the Table

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Barq, I have already called your name. Please start.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : If it is unparliamentary, it will not go on record.

SHRI SANJAY NIRUPAM (MUMBAI NORTH): Sir, let him complete his speech. ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI J.M. AARON RASHID (THENI): Sir, please allow him to complete. ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dr. Barq, I have already called you.

... (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Sir, you may see the record and if anything is unparliamentary it may be deleted. ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will request him.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please go to your seats.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, I have already deleted it. Please go to your seats.

... (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Chairman, Sir, let me speak. ... (*Interruptions*) Just wait a minute, do not shout. ... (*Interruptions*) Sir, I was not here. ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please go to your seats. Hon. Minister is on his legs. Let him finish.

... (*Interruptions*)

16.35 hrs.

At this stage, Shri Bishnu Pada Ray and some other hon. Members went back to their seats.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I was not here. I am not aware of exactly what was said, but if something that was said has hurt anyone – I do not even know what was said – I am sorry for that.

You can look into the record and expunge. ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already deleted it.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Shafiqur Rahman Barq.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

योगी आदित्यनाथ (गोरखपुर): पहले मॉफी मांगिये।...(व्यवधान)

डॉ. शफ़ीक़ुर्रहमान बर्क (सम्भल): महोदय, इन्हें बिठाइए, हाउस ऑर्डर में कीजिए तो मैं बोलूँ।...(व्यवधान)

श्री दारा सिंह चौहान (घोसी): महोदय, हाउस ऑर्डर में नहीं है, वे कैसे बोलेंगे?...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, hon. Minister has already apologized.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Verma, please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

श्री शरद यादव (मधेपुरा): महोदय, मैं वर्मा जी से कहूंगा कि उन्होंने दो ऐसी बातें कह दी हैं, जो इस सदन की मर्यादा के विपरीत हैं। एक बात तो उन्होंने कही कि पाकिस्तान से हमारे दो प्रधानमंत्री रहे हैं, एक गुजराल साहब हैं।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : वे कहां से आये थे?

श्री शरद यादव वे पाकिस्तान से आये थे।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Verma, please sit down.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री शरद यादव : आप बैठिए, आपको जानकारी नहीं है, मैं बता रहा हूँ। मेरा निवेदन है कि आड़वाणी जी के बारे में उन्होंने कहा कि वे पाकिस्तान से आये, बहुत लोग आये। हम जिस बात का यहां समाधान कर रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान) बेनी प्रसाद जी हम आपको बहुत दिन से जानते हैं, आप हमें जानते हैं। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम साम्प्रदायिकता, आदमी और आदमी के भेद में चर्चा कर रहे हैं और आप उस पक्ष के लिए बहुत सी बातें बोल रहे हैं। इसी के साथ आप बहुत बड़ा भेद पैदा कर रहे हैं। इंसान और इंसान के बीच भेद करना ठीक नहीं है।...(व्यवधान) आप बैठिए, आप सुन लीजिए...(व्यवधान) आप मेरी बात सुनिए, आप मान जाएंगे।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Member, please address the Chair.

... *(Interruptions)*

श्री शरद यादव : महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि इन्होंने अपनी बात कहते-कहते अटल जी के बारे में* शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया, यह ठीक नहीं है। अटल जी के बारे में आपका मतभेद हो सकता है, और चीजें हो सकती हैं, लेकिन आपकी पार्टी के मिनिस्टर सलमान खुर्शीद साहब ने खुद कहा कि इसमें अटल जी का जो नाम आया है, वह वाजिब नहीं है, मुलायम सिंह जी का अलग विचार है। आपने जो बात कही है, वह मर्यादा और संसदीय परंपरा के बिल्कुल विपरीत है। इसलिए इस पर खेद व्यक्त करना चाहिए।...(व्यवधान)

योगी आदित्यनाथ : मॉफी मांगिए।...(व्यवधान)

श्री राजेन्द्र अग्रवाल (मेरठ): महोदय, यह शर्म की बात है।...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not allow.

... *(Interruptions)*

* Not recorded as ordered by the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Shafiqur Rahman Barq.

... (*Interruptions*)

डॉ. शफ़ीकुर्रहमान बर्क : महोदय, कैसे बोलें?...(व्यवधान)

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन : पहले वे माँफी मांगें, तभी हाउस चलेगा।...(व्यवधान)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Hon. Home Minister also gave a clarification.

What more do you want? ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am on my feet. Please sit down.

... (*Interruptions*)

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन : पहले वे माफी मांगें। ...(व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please no cross-talks in the House.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister has already said that he is sorry if anything that was said is unparliamentary. Therefore, it is already off-the-record.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR (BANGALORE SOUTH): No, we will not allow this.

What is this? ... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing should go on the record except the speech of the hon. Member.

(*Interruptions*) ... *

16.42 hrs.

At this stage, Dr. Kirit Premjibhai Solanki and some other hon. Members came and stood on the floor near the Table.

... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is already expunged.

... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 5 o'clock.

16.42 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Seventeen of the Clock.

17.01 hrs.

(The Lok Sabha reassembled at One minute past seventeen of the Clock)

(Madam Speaker in the Chair)

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Report of Liberhan Ayodhya Commission of Inquiry and Memorandum of Action Taken by the Government on the Report— contd.

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: श्री शरद यादव जी, आप बोलिए।

श्री शरद यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदया, यहां एक गंभीर सवाल पर बहस हो रही है और मैं मानता हूं कि अटल जी सदन के बहुत वरिष्ठ सदस्य हैं। वे अपने आपको यहां इस बहस में शिरकत भी नहीं कर रहे और अपने को यहां डिफेंड भी नहीं कर सकते। मुझे बाकी चीजों पर कुछ नहीं कहना है, मैं आपके माध्यम से बेनी प्रसाद जी से इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि वे इस देश के कई दिनों तक सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य और प्रधान मंत्री जी भी रहे हैं। आपकी पार्टी के सलमान खुर्शीद जी हमारे मित्र हैं, वे कल सदन में ट्रेजरी बेंच से बोल रहे थे और उन्होंने बड़प्पन दिखाया था। उन्होंने इस सदन और देश में इतने वर्षों तक सेवा की है। आज आपने कोई इंटेंशन से नहीं, लेकिन कहते-कहते आपकी जो भाषा थी, उसमें जो शब्द इस्तेमाल हो गया, उन सब को देख कर, वह निश्चित तौर पर सब के मन में चोट पहुंचाता है, चाहे इस पक्ष के लोग हों या उस पक्ष के हों। मैं आपकी किसी बात पर खड़ा नहीं हुआ।

अध्यक्ष महोदया, इस सदन में एक बार नहीं, कई बार होता है, यह समापन होना चाहिए। गृह मंत्री जी इसका जवाब देंगे और आज इसका समापन होना जरूरी भी है। इसलिए मैं आपसे एक पुराने साथी होने के नाते निवेदन करना चाहता हूं, हम लोग वर्षों तक साथ रहे हैं। आज आप वहां हैं और हम यहां हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा जी, आप बोलिए, आप बोल रहे थे।

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : मुलायम सिंह जी बोल रहे हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: मुलायम सिंह जी, आप बोलिए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदया, अभी सदन में जो कुछ हुआ, माननीय बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा जी मुझे नेता, दोस्त और साथी भी मानते हैं। ये बहुत दिनों तक हमारे साथ रहे हैं। हमारे मंत्रिमंडल में संसदीय कार्य मंत्री भी रहे हैं। अटल जी कोई एक दम नेता नहीं बने हैं। भले ही हमारे और उनके विचार न मिले हैं, न मिलेंगे, राजनाथ सिंह जी से भी हमारे विचार नहीं मिल सकते।

सभापति महोदय, आखिर वे देश के नेता माने जाते हैं। वे प्रधान मंत्री रहे हैं। यह भी सही है जो उन्होंने कहा कि आपकी सरकार में भी वे विदेश मंत्री रहे हैं। यह तब की बात है, जब सबसे पहले जनता पार्टी बनी थी। श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी, देश के प्रबल वक्ता, बहुत संजीदगी, धैर्य और गरिमामय नेता माने जाते हैं। आप किसी तरह से कह गए, तो आपका बड़प्पन यही है कि आप माफी मांगें। मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि गांधी जी ने कहा है कि जो अपनी गलती को स्वीकार करता है, वह बड़े दिल वाला है और जो गलती स्वीकार नहीं करता वह तंग दिल होता है, वह कभी अपनी गलती स्वीकार नहीं करता। आप हमारे मित्र और साथी रहे हैं। हमने बहुत दिनों तक साथ काम किया है। हम 31-32 साल तक साथ रहे हैं। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि वे सदन में खड़े होकर जो शब्द कहे हैं, उन्हें वापस लेकर, खेद व्यक्त कर दें। इसमें आपको क्या आपत्ति है, आप बड़ा दिल दिखाइए।

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : शरद जी भी हमारे मित्र रहे हैं। मुलायम सिंह जी ने भी हमें बहुत दिनों तक बेवकूफ बनाया, लेकिन मैं उन्हें अब भी अपना मित्र मानता हूँ। मुलायम सिंह जी की बातों से मैं अपने आपको सम्बद्ध करता हूँ। अटल जी का हम भी सम्मान करते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : मैं माननीय सदस्य से कह रही हूँ कि आपके पूर्व साथियों ने, जो अभी भी आपके साथी हैं, श्री शरद यादव जी और श्री मुलायम सिंह जी ने आपसे कुछ अनुरोध किया है और सबकी भावनाएं आहत हैं। इसलिए आप कृपा कर के खड़े हो जाइए और इनकी भावनाओं के अनुरूप उत्तर दीजिए।

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : अध्यक्ष महोदया, सदन बड़ा होता है। विपक्ष का सम्मान करना चाहिए। अगर हमारे शब्दों से उन्हें कहीं ठेस लगी है, तो हमें खेद है। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप इतना क्यों बोल रहे हैं। रिकॉर्ड पर कुछ नहीं जाएगा। आप कृपया बैठ जाइए। राजनाथ सिंह जी, आप बोलिए।

श्री राजनाथ सिंह : मैडम स्पीकर, श्री बेनी प्रसाद जी वर्मा, हम लोगों के बड़े पुराने मित्र हैं। उनसे हम लोगों के भी अच्छे सम्बन्ध हैं। ...(व्यवधान)

मैडम स्पीकर, आप भी भोजपुरी क्षेत्र की रहने वाली हैं। आप जानती हैं कि ... शब्द का क्या अर्थ होता है। यह बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। यदि ... शब्द का प्रयोग, कोई संसद में करता है और वह कह

दे कि हमें खेद है, हमें कष्ट है, यही अपने में पर्याप्त नहीं होता है। ... जैसे शब्द का जब उन्होंने प्रयोग किया है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि सीधे खड़े होकर, भोजपुरी भाषा में जैसे क्षमा मांगी जाती है, जैसे माफी मांगी जाती है, वैसे मांगें। इसलिए मैं अनुरोध करना चाहूँगा कि श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा जी ने जिस प्रकार के शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है, उसी प्रकार से उन्हें क्षमा भी मांगनी चाहिए, माफी मांगनी चाहिए, नहीं, तो कोई सांसद यदि इस प्रकार की अनपार्लियामेंट्री लैंग्वेज का प्रयोग करता है, तो वह सांसद का सदस्य रहने के योग्य नहीं है। उस सांसद सदस्य की सदस्यता समाप्त की जानी चाहिए। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री अनुराग सिंह ठाकुर (हमीरपुर): अध्यक्ष महोदया, जब देश के गृह मंत्री माफी मांग सकते हैं, तो सदस्य माफी क्यों नहीं मांग सकते हैं? ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप बैठ जाइये। आप शान्त रहें तो हम कुछ बोलें।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप शान्त हो जाइये, तब तो बात आगे बढ़ेगी। आप शान्त हो जाइये।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप क्यों खड़े हो गये, बैठ जाइये। देखिये, अभी जो भी हुआ, वह दुखद था और उस शब्द का भोजपुरी में ही क्यों, मैं समझती हूँ, भोजपुरी के अलावा भी, हिन्दी में भी वह उचित शब्द नहीं है, असंसदीय है और उसका प्रयोग आपको नहीं करना चाहिए था। उसके लिए गृह मंत्री जी ने माफी मांगी है। वह शब्द रिकार्ड में से मिटा दिया गया है। बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा जी ने अफसोस और रिग्रेट उसके लिए जाहिर कर दिया है, ये तीनों बातें हो चुकी हैं, सिर्फ एक ही बात नहीं हुई। गृह मंत्री जी की माफी में उन्होंने अपोलोजाइज़ शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया। वह शब्द एक्सपंज हो चुका है और उन्होंने खेद शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया है। ये तीनों बातें अब हो चुकी हैं। अब मेरा अनुरोध होगा कि अब हम लोग कार्यवाही आगे बढ़ायें।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : तीनों बातें हो चुकी हैं। अगर गृह मंत्री जी की माफी नहीं आई होती तो हम जरूर उनसे इन्सिस्ट करते, लेकिन वह आ चुकी है।

... (व्यवधान)

श्री सैयद शाहनवाज़ हुसैन : वाजपेयी जी देश के सबसे सम्मानित नेता हैं।... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि अटल जी के प्रति हम सब को बहुत सम्मान है।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया: आप बैठ जाइये।

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

अध्यक्ष महोदया: राज बब्बर जी, आप बैठ जाइये।

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing else will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

अध्यक्ष महोदया : जो भी माननीय सदस्य अपना लिखित भाषण देना चाहते हैं, वे कृपया सभापटल पर दे दें।

... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (विदिशा): अध्यक्ष महोदया, माफी अगर मगर से नहीं मांगी जाती, माफी मन से मांगी जाती है, इसलिए हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि कोई दूसरी बात नहीं, ये एक वाक्य में कह दें कि मेरे मुंह से अनुचित शब्द निकल गया, मैं उसके लिए क्षमा प्रार्थी हूँ तो सदन चल जायेगा। ये बस इतना कह दें।... (व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions) ... *

अध्यक्ष महोदया : अटल जी के लिए सबको सम्मान है।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए।

... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए। आप क्यों खड़े हो गए?

... (व्यवधान)

* Not recorded

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्या बोल रहे हैं? आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record.

*(Interruptions) ... **

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्या बोलते जा रहे हैं? आप समझ रहे हैं कि आप क्या बोल रहे हैं?

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप क्यों खड़े हो गए? आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : तूफानी सरोज जी, आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : 20 सेकेंड में सदन चल सकता है, सब लोग शांत हो कर बैठ सकते हैं और हम गृहमंत्री जी को सुनना चाहते हैं। मैंने आपसे कहा कि केवल एक वाक्य में वह कह दें। वह यह भी न कहें कि जानबूझकर कहा। ...(व्यवधान) अनुचित शब्द मेरे मुंह से निकल गया और क्षमा प्रार्थी हूं। सब बैठ जाएंगे। ...(व्यवधान) एक अनुचित शब्द मेरे मुंह से निकल गया, मैं क्षमा प्रार्थी हूं, इतना कह दें। बीस सेकेंड में सदन चल जाएगा। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : विजया चक्रवर्ती जी, आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए। आप भी बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठेंगे, तभी तो आगे बात होगी। आप क्यों खड़े हैं?

...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप खड़े हो जाइए। आप ही पर सारा दारोमदार है।

...(व्यवधान)

* Not recorded

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप कुछ कह रहे थे, आप खड़े थे।

...(व्यवधान)

श्री बेनी प्रसाद वर्मा : महोदया, मैं यह कह रहा था कि मेरा भाषण खत्म नहीं हुआ था। बीच में शोरगुल हो गया, हमें बीच में बैठना पड़ा। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप इतना उत्तेजित हो रहे हैं। शाहनवाज जी, आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : वह कह रहे थे कि उनका भाषण खत्म नहीं हुआ था। इसका मतलब वे ऐसी बातें और कहना चाहते थे। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप बैठ जाइए।

...(व्यवधान)

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : उन्होंने यही कहा कि मेरा भाषण खत्म नहीं हुआ था। ...(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदया : आप मुझे कुछ कहने दीजिए।

...(व्यवधान)

MADAM SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned to meet again at 5.30 p.m.

17.20 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Thirty Minutes past Seventeen of the Clock.

17.31 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled at thirty one minutes past Seventeen of the Clock.

(Shri P.C. Chacko. *in the Chair*)

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE -193**Report of Liberhan Ayodhya Commission of Inquiry and Memorandum of Action Taken by The Government on the Report – Contd.**

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will come to that. Please take your seats.

Hon. Members, those who want to lay their speeches, kindly give them at the Table; and the speeches will be treated as laid on the Table of the House.

There are many hon. Members who want to participate in this discussion. As we all know, this is a very important discussion. So, I am allowing all those hon. Members who want to lay their speeches on the Table of the House, to do so.

I am appealing to all the hon. Members.

... (*Interruptions*)

डॉ. शफीकुर्रहमान बर्क : सभापति महोदय, मुझे बोलने के लिए बुलाया जा चुका है।... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your speech will be on record.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will come to that.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are coming to that.

... (*Interruptions*)

17.33 hrs.

(At this stage, Shri Nishikant Dubey and some other hon. Members came and stood near the Table.)

... (*Interruptions*)

***श्री रमाशंकर राजभर (सलेमपुर):** माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदया, लिब्रहान अयोध्या जाँच आयोग की चर्चा सभी प्रमुख दल एवं नेताओं द्वारा की जा चुकी है। एक बात पूरी तरह स्पष्ट है कि 6 दिसम्बर 1992 के घटना में राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ बजरंग दल, विश्व हिन्दू परिषद, भा.ज.पा., शिव सेना, उपदेशक, साधू सन्त के उपस्थिति में हुआ यह आयोग ने भी माना है। देश के बड़े भाग के समाज द्वारा विवादित ढांचे का विध्वंस राष्ट्र शासन, धर्म निरपेक्षता, विधि द्वारा शासित समाज के लिए घोर अनर्थ माना है। इस घटना के बाद लोगो का ध्यान विदेशी अथवा देश के अन्दर हुए उथल, पुथल रही जिस समय यह ढांचा ठहा उस समय देश में कांग्रेस एवं प्रदेश में भाजपा का शासन था इस लिए दोनों जिम्मेदार है। मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि आयोग की जाँच प्रदेश एवम् देश की सरकार के सहयोग पर निर्भर था। चूँकि इस घटना के लिए दोनों बराबर के दोषी हैं इसमें कितना सहयोग हुआ होगा यह आयोग ही जानता होगा। आयोग ने माना सन् 1857 में दोना ही समुदाय क्रमशः पूरब एवं उत्तर से विवादित मंदिर, मस्जिद पर जाते थें। सन् 1949 में मूर्तियों की स्थापना हुई जिस समय पूजा की गति बहुत कम थी यह साबित करता है कि इसके पहले उस स्थान पर मूर्तिया नही थी जो कांग्रेस के शासन में लगाई गई। सन् 1986 में पूजा को गति पकड़ाया गया। यह संयोग ही है कि हमारे संविधान में किसी भी राजनितिक शरारत के लिए कोई ठोस व्यवस्था नहीं किया गया है। आयोग ने धर्म को राजनीति से अलग रखने, धर्म जाति क्षेत्रवाद को बढ़ने से पूरी तरह नहीं रोकने में शासन सफल नहीं रहा कि बात कही गई है। आयोग द्वारा राष्ट्रीय एकता परिषद को शक्ति देने, सिविल सेवा को संविधान के प्रति सचेत करने एवं दंगा नियंत्रण हेतु कर्मियों को पर्याप्त साधन मुहैया कराने तथा सूचना एजेन्सी को सक्रिय करने और सही सूचना न देने पर जिम्मेदार ठहराने आदि पर ही सम्पूर्ण रिपोर्ट आयोग ने लगा दिया भाजपा गठबंधन यह कह रहा है कि कार सेवकों की अचानक की गई कार्यवाही से यह हुआ। परिवार विगड़ जाये तो उसके मुखिया को जिम्मेदारी से मुकरना नहीं चाहिए। यह तो कार सेवकों को ऐसा करने की पूरी छूट दे रखी थी। इसलिए ऐसा किया गया। कार सेवकों के किए कृत को शीर्ष संगठन को आगे आकर जिम्मेदारी लेनी चाहिए। क्योंकि इन नेताओं के बुलाने पर कारसेवक अयोध्या आये थे। यह कैसी विडम्बना है कि भाजपा संगठन पूरी जिम्मेदारी कार सेवकों पर मढ़ रहे हैं जो किशोरावस्था के नौजवान थे। जिनमें भड़काऊ भाषण देकर उत्तेजना पैदा किया गया था।

महोदय, एक कहावत है कि " गोद में बच्चा और शहर में दिढ़ोरा " विवादित ढाँचा के विध्वंस कर्ता के बारे में पूरा देश का हर आदमी, राजनीतिक दल, सरकारी मिशनरी एवं प्रेस मिडिया कोई ऐसा नहीं जो नहीं जानता है। फिर भी सदन का महत्वपूर्ण समय बर्बाद किया जा रहा है। 17 वर्ष की

* Speech was laid on the Table

लिब्रहान रिपोर्ट हमने पढ़ा है कहीं भी जनता के क्षतिपूर्ति धन एवं विध्वंस की क्षतिपूर्ति जो दंगा नियंत्रण में हुई उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है किससे बसूल किया जाय यहा तय नहीं कर पाया है ।

महोदय, सही मानिए देश के लोग धीरे-धीरे उस घटना को भूल कर देश की एकता, अखंडता, एवं संप्रभुता को बरकरार रखने के लिए दृढ़ संकल्पित हो गये हैं जिससे देश विकसित हो सकें। ऐसी परिस्थिति में एक ऐसे विषय पर चर्चा किया जाना निश्चित रूप से ठीक नहीं होगा जिससे देश में सम्प्रदायिक शक्तियों को बढ़ावा मिलेगा एवं आम जन भावना पर गहरी ठेस पहुंचेगा । यह चर्चा जितना होगा वह देश के लिए ठीक नहीं होगा । यह चर्चा कर पुराने जख्मों को ताजा किया जा रहा है। जो जनहित में ठीक नहीं है । सदन सहमत बनाये चाहे वह हिन्दू हो या मुसलमान उक्त प्रकरण पर उनके धर्म गुरु आम सहमति बनाये नहीं तो न्यायालय के आदेशों का मानने के लिए दोनों समुदायों को बाध्य किया जाय, नहीं तो धार्मिक उन्मादों के चुनावी घोषणा पत्र जारी करने वाले दलों की मान्यता रद्द की जानी चाहिए। जब आजादी के बाद सभी समुदाय यह संकल्प कर चुके हैं कि जिस स्थान पर जिस धर्म का मंदिर, मस्जिद, गुरुद्वारा और चर्च जहां है वही रहेगा तो फिर ऐसा विवाद क्यों ? इस रिपोर्ट को आने के बाद कहा जा सकता है खोदा पहाड़ निकली चुहिया ।

*SHRI J.M. AARON RASHID (THENI): The United Progressive Alliance Government which believes in hailing the healing touch to any social problem is at a loss now to go about with a sad yet necessary duty to table in this House the Liberhan Commission Report on its findings about the conspiratorial angle that led to the demolition of Babri Masji structure at Ayodhya. It is an unpleasant duty on my part too to take part in this discussion which is made use of by the rabble rousers to the hilt.

Having taken the solemn assurance before our Constitution, I cannot afford to demean myself by way of talking about issues that are still pending before our courts of law. I was pained to watch in silence the high-pitched presentation made by certain senior leaders from the other side about the title issue which is still a vexing issue, so vexatious that it is still a cause of vexation that divides our body polity causing concern to those who believe in social and communal harmony.

When certain miscreants pulled down the Babri Masjid, the whole world knew who were behind it. For the purposes of establishing logical and legal arguments that could help to book the culprits, various inquiries were resorted to for many years. Justice Liberhan Commission is one among them. Considering the huge loss of life and property that had occurred in the aftermath of the demolition of Babri Masjid, the amount that have been spent on these findings are, in my opinion, can not be considered very high.

Whatever happened on 6th December, 1992 at Ayodhya is a blot on the fabric called Indian pride, a pride that has always permeated down the centuries natural for a tolerant society that has always believed in peaceful coexistence. Search for peace is always the life mission of this nation. Instead of carrying in their heart the spirit of oneness and inclusiveness, some of the extremist elements have shattered peace to pieces. We need to bring the pieces together to forge and nurture national integration. The so-called ultra nationalists swore at national

* Speech was laid on the Table

integration though they were swearing by nationalism proving a point that their myopic view of nationalism was a potent threat to our national life.

The moot point is that we must identify and keep off thoughts and actions of hot headed among us. We need to be cool headed and level headed to enable our country to hold its head high among the Comity of Nations. We had hung our head in shame that day. Some leaders who said they felt so have been saying different things now. Who is to take pride in what is a moot point still.

What was razed to the ground that day was civility in politics and ethics in its entirety. Some believed in some promises by some leaders and administrative heads before the Supreme Court of the country. Those who believed and those who promised, both put together, belied the hopes and expectations of the country leading to series of violent incidents thereafter.

Even the night before the surreptitious placing of the disputed idols in the palce of worship of the minorities at Ayodhya in 1949, the majority community knew what was the truth. In the independent India that opted to have rule of law replacing the monarchic, anarchic and colonial rules, all of us decided to treat each other as equals. But who divided the people as majority and minority communities? It is fear psychosis and mutual distrust that had led to this. It is ironic that in a free country like ours some parties choose to divide people on retrograde divisive arguments dividing people from people. It is further more paining that they have been resorting to this rheotorics always. We have to rise above to sift the truth from the lies that come with the epic grandeur. It is unfortunate that we still consider that the truth is still evading us. Justice Liberhan Commission's Report that attempts at touching the truth touches not the whole truth but some layers of truth to prove beyond doubt who lied before one of the pillars of our democracy. My ardent prayer to Almighty Allah would be that let these pillars of our democracy be protected by Him from those who seek to demolish everything that comes in their way, including law, logic, reasoning and self-respect.

Liberhan Commission illustrates the unsanctimonious way in which the idols in that structure were supposed to have been removed during the destruction and raises a question as to who could have replaced intact those idols in the open, removing the rubbles, after that precision attack was carried out. This one question is there for all believers of all the faiths to introspect and come out to contribute their might to the country. I hope this is one use I find from the Liberhan Commission Report.

I would like to recall the deliberations that took place in the National Integration Council meeting that was held before December 6, 1992. People from several walks of life stated that their faith in the unity of the country was shattered by certain hands of fanatics. Incidentally, all the three of them are fondly remembered and revered by this country. They are the father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi and our former Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and the young and dynamic visionary Rajiv Gandhi. Even after the slaying of our leaders, we remain steadfast to uphold unity and integrity of this country.

I wish this is the last time this House is debating this kind of a contentious issue. Let us take a vow that we will stand by our Constitution and go by our adherence to the faith we have reposed in our Judiciary. I come from Tamil Nadu, the land of communal harmony which is also being tested by the machinations of the ultranationalists from the North who try to whip up the communal passions in the minds of gullible masses. Reposing strong faith in the Government led by Dr. Manmohan Singh and ably guided by our leader Smt. Sonia Gandhi the Chairperson of the UPA and the seasoned statesman of the country, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi who is going on constructing Samathuvapurams (Communal Harmony Colonies) all over Tamil Nadu at a time when destructions of the destroyers of peace are being kept at bay.

With these words, I conclude.

*SHRI VIJAY BAHUGUNA (TEHRI GARHWAL): I am grateful to you for having giving me an opportunity to express my views on the Librehan Commission Report.

We are one of the oldest civilizations of the world which blossomed due to the philosophy of tolerance, peace, harmony and justice spread by our saints and religious preachings. We grew into a multi religious and multi linguistic nation bound together with the spirit of patriotism and brotherhood.

The Hindu religion spread not by sword or violence but by discourses and convictions. Buddhism spread in many countries of Asia and Islam and Christianity entered our country in 14th & 17th century.

The two great emperors of India were Ashok and Akbar. The Mughal empire was golden era of our history and Babar and his descendants made this land their motherland and brought about unique blending of Islam and Hindu synthesis in art, culture and governance. The Taj Mahal is a light house spreading the eternal message of love and peace to the world.

The fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression and religion is the cardinal principal of our sacred constituion and all the member of this house take oath to honour and abide by the letter and spirit of our constitution.

Our Muslim brothers who did not go to Pakistan after partition and continued to live here are no less loved sons of mother India than others. It was the solemn duty of Hindus who are a majority to embrace the Muslim brotherhood and provide then with a feeling of security with equal opportunity of growth and development with respect.

When the history of this generation will be written the ugly incident of 6 December 1992 will be referred to as the day of the murder of our constitution, rule of law, and all the great preachings of our saints and scholars.

* Speech was laid on the Table

For narrow political gains the leaders of BJP, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and RSS committed a heinous crime of fanning communalism by demolishing the Babri Masjid in a preplanned strategy. The Masjid was demolished in broad day light by Kar Sewaks in the presence of top leadership of BJP, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and RSS.

The former Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narshimha Rao committed a Himalayan blunder by looking at the constitutional provisions rather than initiating pre-emptive steps to scuttle the nefarious Plan of BJP, RSS and Vishwa Hindu Parishad to bring down the Babri Masjid. His trust on the U.P. Government was totally misplaced.

It is extremely unfortunate that the Liberahan Commission took 17 years to record findings of guilt and misconduct of leaders and organizations responsible for this deplorable incident. The inordinate delay in the submission of the report is very unfortunate. But I complement the commission for the correct findings of fact recorded by him. The salient features of the findings in nutshell are :

- The Ayodhya episode was never accompanied by a public movement.
- Various Sangh Parivar organization collected several tens of crores of rupees which was ultimately utilized for effecting the events of December 6th.
- In a planned manner Kar Sewaks and members of the Sangh Parivar Organisation entered Ayodha with a determined intent to demolish the Babri Masjid. The demolition was carried out with great painstaking preparation and preplanning.
- The Babri Masjid was demolished by the Kar Sewaks in presence of the senior leaders of the Sangh Parivar and BJP.
- The then CM Mr. Kalyan Singh facilitated the destruction and did not allow the administration and police to maintain law and order.

- The Central forces which had been sent by the Central Government were not posted in the vicinity of the Masjid so that the Kar Sewaks and Sangh Pariwar in connivance with the Kar Sewaks could bring down the structure.
- The administration was supporting the RSS agenda.
- The version of secularism of BJP is neither benign nor tolerant nor in consonance with the ideas inshrined in our constitution.

The great people of this country have rejected the communal and fascist forces and have entrusted governance to the UPA led by the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and Smt. Sonia Gandhi, Chairpersons UPA.

I also congratulate them for initiating steps for amending the Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2009 which would enable the Centre to intervene in a situation of communal violence without waiting for orders from the unified command, district magistrate or State Government. The State Government will no longer have authority to set of unified command in situation of communal violence.

The Central Government should take all necessary steps to give effect to the recommendations of the Liberahan Commission.

It is high time that necessary amendments are made in the Representation of the People Act empowering the Election Commission to debate and disqualify leaders and parties who in blatant disregard to our constitution and laws preach and spread communal harted amongst our people. From my personal experience as a lawer I would like to inform the House that no election petition is decided within the term of that house as such it is desirable that powers are conferred on the election commission to disqualify candidates who commit corrupt practice stated in the Representation of People Act.

My humbler suggestion to the government is that by special law all the cases pertaining to Babri Masji be transferred to Hon'ble Supreme Court which may set up a special bench for an early disposal of the cases.

We must live and die for the honour and respect of our nation rather than resorting to petty and divisive policy, programmes and actions to grab political power. The nation cannot be strong and united if there are tensions in the society on the ground of religion, caste or regions. With these words I conclude my speech.

***श्री राधा मोहन सिंह (पूर्वी चम्पारण):** लिब्राहन आयोग की रिपोर्ट का अध्ययन करने के बाद यही लगता है कि यह रिपोर्ट पूर्वाग्रहों के साथ प्रस्तुत किया गया है। प्रस्तुत रिपोर्ट एक प्रपंच ही लग रही है। ऐसा लग रहा है कि निहित उद्देश्यों को सामने रखकर सत्ता प्रतिष्ठान के प्रभाव में तथ्यों को शामिल किया गया है।

आयोग ने अपने रिपोर्ट के प्रारम्भ में यह दर्ज किया है। जिस ढांचे को आमतौर पर राम जन्म भूमि-बाबरी मस्जिद के रूप में जाना जाता है उसे मीर बाकी ने 1528 ई0 में एक मस्जिद के रूप में बनवाया था। आगे की पंक्ति में लिखते हैं कुछ वर्गों द्वारा यह दावा किया जाता है कि इसे उस स्थान पर बनवाया गया था - जहां श्री राम का जन्म-स्थान था।

महोदय, क्या 17 साल की जांच में विद्वान न्यायाधीश ने यह जानने की कोशिश नहीं कि क्या वह स्थान राम जन्म-भूमि है - ऐसा कुछ वर्गों का कहना है या यह ऐतिहासिक सत्य है, जिसे सभी वर्गों के लोगों ने स्वीकार किया है? कनिंघम, जो अंग्रेज थे, ने दर्ज किया - लखनऊ गजेटियर अंक 36 में -

" अयोध्या में श्री राम जन्म-भूमि मंदिर तोड़े जाते समय हिन्दुओं ने जान की बाजी लगा दी। इस लड़ाई में 1 लाख 74 हजार हिन्दुओं को लार्शें गिर जाने के बाद ही मीर बाकी तोपों के जरिए मन्दिर को क्षति पहुंचा सकें।" यह लड़ाई लगातार चली। आईने अकबरी कहती है कि " अयोध्या में श्री राम जन्म-भूमि की वापसी के लिए हिन्दुओं ने 20 हमले किए। आलमगीरनामा में जिक्र है, " रमजान की सातवीं तारीख को शाही फौज ने फिर अयोध्या की जन्म-भूमि पर हमला किया। 10 हजार हिन्दू मारे गए।"

महोदय, आयोग ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह तथ्य अंकित नहीं किया। शायद वे किसी दबाव में यह भूल गए कि भारतीय इतिहास की शुरुआत बाबरी मस्जिद से नहीं होती।

* Speech was laid on the Table

आयोग ने 6 दिसम्बर की घटना को पूर्व नियोजित बताया है । आयोग ने अयोध्या में 30 अक्टूबर, 1990 में जो कार सेवा हुई थी - उसका विवरण नहीं दिया है । उस वक्त के माननीय मुख्यमंत्री श्री मुलायम सिंह जी जो आज इस सदन के मा0 सदस्य हैं - ने कहा था कि ढांचे पर परिन्दा पर नहीं मार सकता । इस प्रकार के बयान देकर हिन्दू समाज की भावनाओं के साथ जो खिलवाड़ किया गया, इसका कोई विवरण आयोग ने नहीं दिया है । 6 दिसम्बर की घटना पूर्व नियोजित नहीं है । सत्ता द्वारा हिन्दुस्तान के जनमानस की भावनाओं को नहीं समझ पाने का नतीजा है । न्यायपालिका द्वारा की जा रही अनावश्यक विलम्ब ने भी लोगों के मन में आक्रोश भरने का काम किया । सुनवाई की तारीख 2 दिसम्बर से बढ़ाकर 11 दिसम्बर कर दी गई । तथ्यों से परिचित हर व्यक्ति यह स्वीकार कर सकता है कि 6 दिसम्बर की घटना सत्ता व्यवस्था द्वारा दवाई गई भावनाओं के उभार का नतीजा था ।

महोदय, सवाल है कि आखिर आयोग ने खोजा क्या इन 17 सालों में ? जिस आयोग के अध्यक्ष 17 सालों में 8 करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के बावजूद एक बार भी अयोध्या नहीं गए जिन्होंने 1989 एवं 1991 की घटनाओं का संज्ञान भी नहीं लिया कि देश में क्या वातावरण था, उन्होंने बिना ठोस सबूतों के उस घंसे को पूर्व नियोजित कैसे सिद्ध कर दिया ।

रिपोर्ट में तथ्यों से परे कई अनर्गल बातें दर्ज की गई हैं । पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी, पर उंगली उठाई गई है । जिसके कारण पूरे देश में रिपोर्ट पर प्रश्नचिन्ह खड़ा हो गया है । यह रिपोर्ट मजाक बन गया है । रिपोर्ट में सबसे चौंकाने वाला तथ्य तो यह है कि जिन 68 लोगों की भूमिका में देवराहा बाबा का भी नाम है जिनकी मृत्यु घटना के ढाई वर्ष पूर्व को ही हो गया था और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी तक उनसे आर्शीवाद लेने गई थी । महोदय, आखिर आयोग की जांच का आधार क्या रहा ? करोड़ों रुपये की राशि खर्च करने के बाद जो रपट दी वह इतनी सही और गलत तथ्यों पर आधारित क्यों है ?

महोदय, पूरा देश आज यह जानना चाहता है कि माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी, पूज्य देवराहा बाबा दोषी हे तो उनका नाम इस आयोग ने क्यों नहीं दिया जिन्होंने 1991 में चुनाव प्रचार की

शुरूआत अयोध्या से की थी और ताला भी उन्होंने ही खुलवाया था जिनका नाम स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी है । दोषी तो उन्हें मानना चाहिए । रपट में भाजपा पर राजनीति करने का आरोप लगाया गया है । यह बेबुनियाद और मनगढ़ंत है । राजनीति तो स्व० राजीव गांधी ने की, श्री मुलायम सिंह जी ने की और नरसिम्हा राव ने की और अब रिपोर्ट के प्रपंचों को आधार बनाकर मुस्लिम भावनाओं को भड़काने का काम कांग्रेस पार्टी और माननीया सोनिया गांधी जी कर रही हैं ।

महोदय, अन्त में मैं एक बात की चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ कि यह घटना उस समय घटी जब माननीय नरसिम्हा राव जी देश के प्रधानमंत्री थे । श्री नरसिम्हा राव जी के समय एक कानून बना था - धार्मिक स्थल संरक्षण कानून । इसमें था कि राज जन्म भूमि को छोड़ सभी स्थल जस के तस रहेंगे । क्या इसलिए कि ढांचे का ताला राजीव गांधी जी ने खुलवाया था । पूजा स्व० राजीव गांधी जी ने 1986 में शुरू करवायी थी । रपट में लिब्राहन साहब कहते हैं " राव क्या करते गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट नहीं थी । " रपट में लिब्राहन साहब भूल गए उन्हें किसी का बचाव करने की जिम्मेवारी नहीं थी । वे आयोग के अध्यक्ष थे तो उनहोंने राव साहब का बचाव क्यों किया ? क्या इसलिए कि राव साहब ने ही उन्हें 17 साल की आलीशान नौकरी दी जिसमें 8 करोड़ का खर्चा हुआ । रिपोर्ट में केन्द्र राज्य संबंधी घिसेपिटे मुद्दे जो कई आयोग पहले ही कह चुका है, संविधान समीक्षा आयोग बनाने की बात, खुफिया एजेंसियों के समन्वय की सिफारिश, धर्म निरपेक्षता का पाठ ये सारी बातें देश में पहले से विभिन्न आयोगों के माध्यम से आ चुकी है । साम्प्रदायिक हिंसा पर भी उन्होंने जो कहा है बिल पहले से संसद में पेंडिंग है । महोदय मेरी तो यह मांग होगी कि व्यर्थ में 17 सालों तक ऐशो आराम में मा० लिब्राहन साहब ने जो 8 करोड़ रूपए उड़ाये हैं - रिकवरी का पोटिस जाना चाहिए । क्योंकि आयोग ने तथ्यों में समय न लगा कर राजनीति की है ।

महोदय, अयोध्या में राम जन्म-भूमि पर राम मंदिर तो पहले भी था , बाज भी है और भविष्य में भी रहेगा । आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि राष्ट्रीय स्वाभिमान की रक्षा हेतु सारा राष्ट्र एकजुट हो - सदन एकजुट हो और जितना जल्दी हो राम जन्म-भूमि पर भव्य राम मंदिर का निर्माण किया जाए ।

*SHRI P. KARUNAKARAN (KASARGOD):

Liberahan Commission report submitted after seventeen years.

Undue delay for the submission of the report.

Not only the question of a Muslim mosque but the demolition of secular values of India either Muslim mosque or Hindu temple or Christian church.

They all contribute much to the Indian culture.

Report reveals the forces behind the destruction of mosque.

We have a federal setup having 29 states 1618 languages, 6400 castes 6 religion, 6 ethnic groups 29 major festivals. We see the complexity & diversity of the nature of relation when we have to unite.

Unfortunately the forces have exploited the feelings of the people on the religious basis.

The Liberahan Commission has focused the names of leaders who are responsible?

The BJP leader Rajnath Singh stated the demolition is due to the emotional feelings of local people.....

Even if we discussed the issue without any report of the General discussion would be the same.

17 years back we saw the TV channel what is happened in Ayodhya? It showed who were present there with BJP leaders alongwith Karsevakhs and others.

The campaign started through out the country and Karsevakhs came by trains and buses to Ayodhya.

It shows a pre-planning that led to the demolition of the mosque.

The role of Congress Government in power? What was the intelligence report. Why there was no action?

* Speech was laid on the Table

This is not a single instance. We have the report of Bombay riots no action taken.

We have the reports of attack on Sikhs.

We have the sad instances of murder of late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

We witnessed the brutal killing of Father of Nationa Mahatmaji.

When we analyse we see a systematic agenda of communal force.

We don't support majority communalism or minority communalisms both are dangerous to the nation.

Government in power should act in time. Congress Government failed to do their duty. This is not an excuse for the BJP to win in the case.

Late Prime Minister V.P. Singh lost his Government just because he fought for the secular values. Nation witnessed Congress & BJP vote against the Government there we see that Congress compromise with communal forces for narrow political gains. We can't forget these facts when we analyze the past history.

Before the demolition of mosque, leaders including V.P. Singh, Jyoti Basu, Inderjeet Gupta, Mulayam Singh Yadavji, Lalu Prasad, Sharad Yadav and others met Prime Minister and has given blank cheque to take any action.

Congress Government fully trusted UP Government told nothing would happen to the mosque. Next day we saw not even an inch of sand in the place of mosque. So the inaction of the Central Government would be recorded in the history.

Nation needs communal harmony, we have the food problems and employment problems. Communal forces are always against all progressive values. That shows the history of the world. This is the time to re-think and introspection and show justice to the nation.

*DR. TARUN MANDAL (JAYNAGAR):

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the Report of Liberhan Commission and memorandum on Action Taken Report by Government of India. Very briefly I like to submit before you and before the hon'ble members of the house the following observations:-

Taking long years and perhaps doing vigorous exercises the Commission has submitted the report on issues relating to invasion and damage of Babri Masjid on 6th December, 1992, the blackest of black days in Indian history. The Union Government itself set up the Commission on public demand and to honour national sentiment. Now the recommendations it has made should be implemented without delay and as per the provisions of the law of the land.

The Commission has unequivocally implicated the entire 'Sangh Parivar' for the demolition of the historical monument and has clearly mentioned the names of leaders of the constituent parties like BJP, VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal etc. including the leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha. Shri Kalyan Singh who was the then Chief Minister of UP and directly supported the miscreants to dismantle the nearly 500 yrs old shrine is still boasting, only on the other day, for his action during that time. It's a shame. Any person of whatever rank he or she might be who have been fixed for the most shameful act of the nation by the Commission requires to be treated with penal measures according to the law of the land.

Babri Masjid, a historically and architecturally wonderful monument was a pride of the country, no less important than other world famous heritages like Taj Mahal, Kutub Minar, Humayun Tomb etc. It was not simply a place of worship of the minority Muslim People but a property of the whole nation, of its whole people. Unless the then Cental Government under the premiership of Shri Narashima Rao did shut eyes to the chain of events before, on and after 6th

* Speech was laid on the Table

December 1992 and practically indulged in the misdeeds to happen, the 'symbol of communal harmony of the country' could have been saved. I hold, the crime by this act of blatant indulgence the Central Government did, is no less in any measure of jurisprudence than the cruelty of the then UP Chief Minister and his administration. I wonder how this act of omission has not been mentioned in the report of the Commission.

We cannot also lose sight, in this connection, into the fact that long back in 1989 the gate of this controversial shrine was allowed to be opened by no other than Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi to satisfy the wild will of the VHP to hold 'Shilanyas for the Ram Temple'. This act, inter-alia, was also a major factor to encourage the vested interests in course of their conspiracy for demolition of Babri Masjid and the subsequent events of establishing 'Ramlala' in the 'chabutara' to divide India into religious line.

It's an obligation of a majority religion of a country to protect its minority population. It is the essence of democracy and secularism. Secularism does not mean encouragement of all religions by the state. True secular state neither indulges nor interferes in religion. It puts it to individual belief and faith. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, litterateur Saratchandra, rebellion poet Nazrul Islam also had belief in this and promulgated the idea. I appreciate the observation of the Commission in this regard citing references from our Constitution that separate religion from politics. If Pakistan is called a theocratic state due to acceptance of Islam as its religion then India can be called a multi-theocratic state due to encouragement of multiple religions, as pronounced by a leading Marxist thinker of this era Com. Shibdas Ghosh, much before. Unless and until this true sense of secularism is inculcated in India we shall never be free from this evil of communalism and division of our citizen on the lines of caste and religion. The seeds of religious frenzy and communal divide, indeed, remain in this false sense of secularism.

All the events of religious, casteist, regional or parochial strifes which are happening in the country are not simply due to religious, casteist emotions of the respective sections of people but for inculcation of 'Vote Bank' politics by different parliamentary parties. To create 'Vote Banks', only to reach to power.

I hope this august house will also think over these observations and act accordingly.

*SHRI NARAHARI MAHATO (PURULIA): In fact, I would like to say that this incident entails a long history of events. Sir, this is highly unfortunate incident which should be condemned as far as possible. No responsibility has also been fixed in this regard. Sir, it is a conspiracy of both the BJP and the Congress Party to divert the attention of the masses from the real issues of price rise, starvation, helplessness in the country.

The demolition of the mosque has also severely jolted the national integration. This destruction is dangerous for the unity of our country. Sir, secularism is being asked, it enhances we can believe in any faith but we cannot hurt the religious sentiments of other people.

Both the BJP and the Congress Party have ruled this country by flaring up the sentiments of caste and religion.

Justice delayed means justice denied. After 17 years, it has emerged and is superficial.

Sir, two factors should also be taken into consideration. The District Court of Faizabad gave the ruling that the door should be unlocked so that pooja can be done on 1st February 1986. Then shilanayas was held and Congress Party initiated the issue. Dhrama Sansad drew up a plan for Shila Pooja in January 1986. I believe political isolation is the only remedy. It is time to take the lesson for all the secular forces in the country to unite. The Congress Party has a responsibility if it believed that it is one the largest parties in the country. The danger of fundamentalism is not dead. It is a living menace. Therefore, there is a need for unity in action of the secular forces. Our party, All India Forward Blok, seek to abolish the social disparities, be it economic or social, abolish the caste system where justice and humanity would prevail. In this country no one has the right to play with the sentiments of any section of the society.

* Speech was laid on the Table

***श्री प्रेमदास (इटवा):** महोदय, आज लिब्राहन आयोग पर चर्चा चल रही है। 6 दिसम्बर, 1992 में जो घटना घटित हुई, उस घटना ने लोकतंत्र को कलंकित किया है। हमारा देश लोकतंत्र एवं संघीय प्रणाली का देश है जो कानून से चलाया जाता है, भावनाओं से नहीं। बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि 17 साल के बाद अब लिब्राहन आयोग की रिपोर्ट प्रेषित की गई है। आम आदमी अगर गलती करता है तो उसे कानून के तहत न्यायालय के द्वारा सजा मिलती है, लेकिन अगर बड़े रसूख वाला गलती करता है तो वह अपने धन, बल, बाहुबल और राजनैतिक पैठ के माध्यम से उस गलती पर पर्दा डाल देता है जिससे न्यायालय की न्याय प्रक्रिया में परेशानियां उत्पन्न होती हैं, जबकि कानून सभी के लिए बराबर माना जाता है। भविष्य में कानून चाहे, आम आदमी हो या रसूख वाले लोग हों, सबको एक दृष्टि से देखकर कार्यवाही की जाये। आज लिब्राहन आयोग एवं अयोध्या जांच की रिपोर्ट उस समय आई जब देश महंगाई, बेरोजगारी एवं भ्रष्टाचार के दौर से गुजर रहा है। यह अध्याय एक या दो साल के अन्दर खत्म होना चाहिए था और तभी दोषियों को सजा मिलनी चाहिए थी।

मेरा आपसे व्यक्तिगत सुझाव है। जब भी किसी जांच के लिए कोई आयोग बनाया जाये, तो रिटायर्ड जजों, आई.पी.एस., आई.ए.एस., आई.एफ. एस. अफसरों के द्वारा जांच न करायी जाए। जो वर्तमान में कार्यरत हैं, इनके द्वारा हो। जांच कराकर कार्यवाही की जाये जिससे कि सरकारी धन का दुरुपयोग न हो सके एवं किसी भी सरकार के दबाव में काम नहीं किया जाए एवं निष्पक्ष जांच की जाये।

* Speech was laid on the Table.

***SHRI MOHAMMED E.T. BASHEER (PONNANI):** Sir, Liberhan Commission has presented its report after a delay of 17 years with 42 extensions. I wish no committee or commission will have this ill fate.

Commission pinpointed—who are all intellectually ideologically, and physically responsible for the demolition of Babri Masjid.

Commission says that the demolition of mosque was well orchestrated with long preparation, pre-planning and not as spontaneous action out of anger.

Commission has fixed the culpability on 68 persons such as A.B. Vajpeyi, K.S. Sunderson, L. K Advani, Kalyan Singh, Murli Manohar Joshi etc and it has also pin pointed the organizations behind this heinous crime.

It also says that how the executive abused their power. Report says that even Supreme Court observer has not done the duty.

Whatever may be the claim and counter claim. It was a darkest day in the history of secular India. It was not a mere demolition of a mosque on the other hand demolition of ethos of this country and this heinous crime which was done, was not only against Islamic believers but against the entire peace loving and tolerant Indians.

It goes without saying that even if the BJP and allied parties take deep bathing in 1000 times in the Ganga waters they cannot clear the stain of sin from their political body.

Those days were of confusion and threat to democratic secular India. It was a proper time to measure the integrity and truthfulness of the political parties.

My party, IUML within our maximum possible limit, it was spreading the message of peace and communal harmony.

We were very particular that our brothers and sisters should not be put into hardship and spoil the cordiality prevailing in this country. When there was a move to make capital out of the situation and there was calculated effort to fish from the troubled waters we stood with the Nation and we are proud of it. We still believe that we should not be guided by the emotions, in such critical juncture.

* Speech was laid on the Table

Yesterday's speech made by Shri Rajnath Singh shows that they do not have even an iota of guilty conscious. Some of the leaders were proudly claiming that they are responsible for demolition. It is really shameful.

One Relief and Ray of Hope.

There is a positive signal in the national politics. Indian soil is of that secularism and the poisonous political agenda will not have existence in this great land.

In the parliament democracy, ballot is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the people. It is not sword or trishul.

Thank God. We have witnessed in the last election how wisely Indian electorate has used this weapon against the communal forces. BJP and their political partners were able to destroy Babri Masjid within hours. But their leadership find no way to save their party from the destruction inspite of their restless efforts of days together. One thing also, they must realize that they are talking about Hindu Dharma Lord Sri Ram. What is the moral right? They have got to talk about Hinduism and Lord Sri Ram. They treat all these thing to cover up their ugly faces.

Sri Rajnath Singh was distorting the history on Babri Masjid. Many historians have stated the fact that Babri Masjid was constructed at a place where there was no temple before.

Action taken report is ok but what about action which is going to be taken.

Strict punitive action should be taken against all the culprits irrespective of their political position.

And that action should be a new Indian model against criminals using politics as a mask to cover their ugly faces.

The communal violence (prevention, control and the rehabilitation of victim) bill is mentioned. I would urge that it should be enacted without further delay.

As reported, step may be taken to study the desirability of forming criminal justice commission.

Justice delayed is justice denied – we have to keep in mind this thing – I wish to state that this Government should act upon this report on war footing level and ensure justice to victims.

* डॉ. निर्मल खत्री (फ़ैजाबाद): महोदय, अयोध्या विवाद पर लिब्राहन आयोग की रिपोर्ट पर चर्चा में भाग लेने के लिए आपने मुझे जो अयोध्या से ही वर्तमान में इस सम्मानित सदन का सदस्य हूँ, को मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं यह भी चाहूँगा कि समय सीमा मेरे लिए उदार रखी जाये।

मेरी अयोध्या जिसके नाम " अयोध्या " से स्पष्ट होता है, " जहां युद्ध न हो " लेकिन अयोध्या 6 दिसम्बर, 1992 को युद्ध के मैदान में तब्दील हो गई, जहां पर बाहर से पहुंची सेना स्थानीय लोगों का, स्थानीय सम्पत्ति का, स्थानीय धार्मिक स्थानों, धरोहरों को खत्म कर रही थी। मुझे गर्व है उस प्रभावित स्थल अयोध्या-फ़ैजाबाद का नागरिक उस समय भी युद्ध में भूमिका निभाने, खून का प्यासा होने के बजाय हिन्दू, मुसलमान भाई को अपने घरों में शरण देकर उनको बचाने का प्रयास कर रहा था, परागी यादव राजघाट का उदाहरण हमारे सामने है।

तमाम मुस्लिमों के घर पर हमला, उन्हें मारना आदि किया गया। यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति इसलिए पैदा हुई। राजा अपने महल की सुरक्षा के तमाम प्रयास करता है, महल के चारों ओर ऊंची दीवारें, खाई बनाता है, परंतु यहां के मुख्यमंत्री सुरक्षा व्यवस्था को खत्म करने का प्रबंध अपने कार्यकाल में करते रहे। लिब्राहन आयोग ने कई जगह कहा है कि सुरक्षा संबंधी तमाम प्रावधानों में बीजेपी व वीएचपी नेताओं के दबाव में समय समय पर ढील दी जाती रही और पेज 103/30.2 एवं अंत में पेज 160/41.1 में आयोग ने कहा "नवम्बर 1992 में मुख्यमंत्री ने सी आर पी एफ व "रॉ" को सुरक्षा की समीक्षा से जुड़ने से मना कर दिया और सुरक्षा में स्वयं सक्षम होने का दावा किया। जबकि रॉ ने बहत पहले विवादित स्थल की सुरक्षा की योजना सरकार।एसएसपी को भेजी, जिसे लागू नहीं किया गया।

मेरी अयोध्या जो प्रसिद्ध तीर्थस्थली, मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम भगवान राम की जन्मस्थली होने के साथ ही इस पावन धरती पर लगभग सभी धर्मों ने अपना परचम लहराया और इसने सभी को अपनी हृदयस्थली में समयोजित किया, प्रमाण स्वरूप यहां मुस्लिम सम्प्रदाय के पैगम्बर हजरत नूह, हजरत शीश और हजरत इब्राहिम शाह ने अपना ठिकाना बनाया जिसकी गवाह यहां पर इनकी मजारें हैं। जैन समाज के 5 तीर्थकर जिसमें प्रथम तीर्थकर श्रषभदेव भी से यही के थे सिख समाज के गुरु गोविन्द सिंह, गुरु नानकदेव, गुरु तेग बहादुर ने अयोध्या आकर प्रवास किया। महात्मा बुद्ध भी अयोध्या आये व उनके वर्षामास बिताने का प्रसंग मिलता है।

* Speech was laid on the Table

साकेतवासी महात्मा युगलानन्द शरण जी महाराज ने लिखा है -

" बंदरू अवधपुरी के तुरका

जे मुयेहु न छाड़हि पुरका "

अर्थात् उन्होंने कहा कि "मैं तो अयोध्या पुरी के मुसलमानों का वंदन करता हूँ क्योंकि वह भी मरने पर अयोध्या को नहीं छोड़ते हैं लेकिन आर एस एस , वीएचपी, बीजेपी की निगाह में, उद्देश्य में, कार्यवाही में ऐसा नहीं।

सुषमा स्वराज जी के भाषण के संदर्भ में उन्होंने बताया गुरुवाणी में राम नाम कई बार आया। इसी संदर्भ में मेरे राम ...

गुरुनानक देव महाराज ने कहा - एक राम दशरथ का बेटा, एक राम घर घर में बैठा, एक राम का सकल पसारा, एक राम नगहू से प्यारा।

मेरा राम सिर्फ राजा ही नहीं थे, वह दशरथ का बेटा था, केवट का मित्र था, शबरी का अतिथि था, वानरों व गिद्धों का नेता था। लेकिन बीजेपी का राम यह नहीं थे, वह सिर्फ राजा थे।

मेरे रामराज्य । महात्मा गांधी के रामराज्य और बीजेपी के रामराज्य में अंतर है। बीजेपी के राम आंदोलन में राज्य सत्ता की राजनीति है जबकि गांधी के रामराज्य के पीछे धर्म ही है।

कबीर, नानक, गांधी के राम और गोलवलकर, सावरकर, गोडसे के राम में बहुत अंतर है। पहले का राम समन्वय, अहिंसा प्रेम चाहता है तो दूसरे का राम हिंसा चाहता है।

मेरा धर्म का अर्थ। परिभाषा यह है - मोटे तौर पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि धर्म वह है जो धारण करने योग्य हो। धार्मिक होना गलत नहीं धर्मांध होना गलत है।

गांधी जी ने कहा था कि " मुझे इस बात पर गर्व है कि मैं हिंदू हूँ, मैं ईसाइयों की कद्र करता हूँ। मैं अपने धर्म की पूरी तरह से इज्जत करता हूँ। साथ ही दूसरे धर्मों की भी।"

सुषमा जी ने भगवान राम का जिक्र विस्तार से किया। यदि बीजेपी को राम चरित मानस में विश्वास, आस्था है तो इन लाईनों को वे जरूर आत्मसात करें।

राम चरित मानस के रचयिता संत गोस्वामी तुलसीदास जी ने लिखा है -

" परम धर्म श्रुति विदित अहिंसा

पर निन्दा सम अध न गरीसा "

अर्थात् वेद के हिसाब से सबसे बड़ा धर्म अहिंसा है। दूसरों की बुराई से बड़ा कोई पाप नहीं। लेकिन आरएसएस, बीजेपी, वीएचपी, शिवसेना ने इन पंक्तियों को नहीं अपनाया व अहिंसा का मार्ग चुना। ऐसा लिब्राहन आयोग कहता है।

मेरी धर्म निरपेक्षता - माननीय बीजेपी अध्यक्ष जी ने इसकी व्याख्या अपने भाषण में की है। मैं भी मानता हूँ कि धर्म निरपेक्षता का मतलब धर्मविहीन राज्य की स्थापना नहीं वरन् राज्य सरकार का धर्म के प्रति पक्षपात न रखना है, सभी धर्मों का आदर करना है। सभी धर्मों को अपने अपने धर्म को मानने की आजादी देना है। लेकिन बीजेपी ने क्या किया। लिब्राहन आयोग की रिपोर्ट पेज 470/93.3 में कहा गया है और सही कहा गया है कि "एक राजनीतिक दल (बीजेपी) द्वारा अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में मंदिर निर्माण के प्रति समर्थन को राज्य की तटस्थता नहीं कहा जा सकता।"

हमें यह समझना होगा कि लोकतंत्र और धर्मनिरपेक्षता सिर्फ अल्पसंख्यकों का कवच नहीं है वरन् वह एक अरब भारतीयों के बहुलतावाद और धर्मों के सहअस्तित्व की आत्मा है।

"परिदों में कभी फिरका परस्ती क्यों नहीं होती। कभी मंदिर में जा बैठे, कभी मस्जिद में जा बैठे।" आयोग ने धर्मनिरपेक्षतावाद की परिभाषा के चैप्टर में पेज 147.1 में कहा है - "बीजेपी ने अनपढ़ लोगों की कुंठा का प्रयोग विनाशकारी दिशा में किया। अपने राजनीतिक प्रभाव को बढ़ाने के लिए उन्माद को भड़काया।"

सन्यास- उमा भारती अपने को सन्यासी कहती हैं। असली सन्यासी महावीर बुद्ध व राम थे, जिन्होंने सन्यास की खातिर राज्य का त्याग किया और सन्यासी वस्त्र पहन कर वन गये थे। दूसरी तरफ बीजेपी, शिवसेना के नेता सन्यासी वस्त्र पहन कर सत्ता हथियान में लगे व सत्ता में भी बैठे।

लिब्राहन आयोग की रिपोर्ट पेज 552/144.20 में वीएचपी के नेता आचार्य गिरिराज किशोर ने बताया कि आंदोलन का उद्देश्य दिल्ली में सरकार की स्थापना करना था।

मंदिर निर्माण का ऐलान- एक तरफ बीजेपी, आरएसएस, वीएचपी ने मंदिर निर्माण व कार सेवा की बात समय समय पर कही। बीजेपी 1989 में पालमपुर में प्रस्ताव पारित कर इस मामले में शामिल हुई। अपने चुनावी घोषणा पत्र में मंदिर निर्माण का संकल्प लिया। लेकिन किया क्या - अयोध्या में पहले से मौजूद मंदिर शेषावतार मंदिर, साक्षी गोपाल मंदिर, संकट मोचन मंदिर, सुमित्रा भवन को तोड़ा गया भूमि समतलीकरण के लिए ताकि आने वाले दिनों में इस विवादित परिसर से सटकर भारी भीड़ एकत्रित की जा सके।

आयोग की रिपोर्ट पेज 106/30.14 में यह कहा गया है कि न्यायालय की निषेधाज्ञा के बावजूद भी मंदिरों को (साक्षी गोपाल मंदिर) को सितम्बर 1991 में तोड़ दिया गया।

पेज 107/30.18 में मुख्यमंत्री कल्याण सिंह का राष्ट्रीय एकता परिषद में आश्वासन विवादित परिसर की सुरक्षा का, न्यायालय में आश्वासन न्यायालय के आदेशों के अनुपालन का दिया गया। यह सारे धरे के धरे रह गये। यह संविधान, कानून के शासन, न्यायपालिका सभी को नेस्तनाबूद करने जैसा था।

संविधान का उल्लंघन - धर्मनिरपेक्ष राज्य की नीति के प्रति भेदभाव देखा गया। चुनाव घोषणा पत्र तक में दिखा।

कानून के शासन की नीति का उल्लंघन - कानून का शासन सबके जान माल की हिफाजत की बात करता है, लेकिन अयोध्या में ऐसा जानबूझकर नहीं किया गया।

न्यायपालिका का अपमान, अवमानना - सुप्रीम कोर्ट में आश्वासन लेकिन पालन नहीं।

लोकतंत्र के चौथे स्तम्भ मीडिया - 6 दिसम्बर, 1992 को मीडियाकर्मी पर हमला, उपकरणों के साथ तोड़फोड़।

उ0प्र0 की बीजेपी की सरकार व दिल्ली की एनडीए सरकार के समय इस मामलों के महत्वपूर्ण कागजात जिसमें पंडित नेहरू जी का लिखा मुख्यमंत्री को पत्र भी था, गायब हो गया, जो अधिकारी यह कागजात दिल्ली लेकर आया उसकी संदेहास्पद परिस्थितियों में मृत्यु हो गई, यह दिखाता है कि प्रकरण में संलिप्तता किस हद तक थी। दिल्ली में सरकार वाजपेयी जी व आडवाणी जी की थी ।

बीजेपी के नेता श्री राजनाथ सिंह ने कहा कि 6 दिसम्बर की घटना स्वतः स्फूर्त थी, योजना नहीं जबकि लिब्राहन आयोग के पेज 585/119.1 में कहा गया है कि "विनय कटियार ने स्वीकार किया कि बीजेपी और बजरंग दल का संबंध राम लक्ष्मण जैसा है। इन्होंने कहा कि ढांचा को ढहाना एक योजना के तहत किया गया।

आयोग ने पेज 592/121.5 में यह निष्कर्ष भी निकला है कि यह घटना स्वतः स्फूर्त नहीं थी। यह एक संगठित, सुनियोजित योजना की अति का परिणाम थी, जिसमें धार्मिक, राजनीतिक नेता शामिल थे।

बीजेपी नेताओं का इस बारे में क्या जवाब है जबकि विनय कटियार उन्हीं की पार्टी के सांसद व पदाधिकारी हैं।

पेज 783/158.6 में कहा गया इस अभियान में धन संघ परिवार संघटनों की तिजोरी से आया।

158.8 में कहा गया यह राशि अरबों रूपयों में थी।

श्री राजनाथ सिंह जी ने इतिहास की बात की मीरबाकी की , मस्जिद निर्माण की। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि इतिहास की बात छोड़ हम वर्तमान में दुनिया ने देखा कि आपने मस्जिद को गिराया। क्या आप अपनी थ्योरी से यह कहना चाहते हैं कि यदि किसी व्यक्ति के परिवार के किसी सदस्य ने पूर्व में कोई हत्या की तो उस हत्या का बदला आज कानून के शासन की व्यवस्था में वह व्यक्ति लेवे।

माननीय मुलायम सिंह यादव ने कहा - इन्होंने कांग्रेस नेताओं, शंकर सिंह बाघेला, राणे, संजय निरूपम आदि का जिक्र किया। इन्हें अपने पीछे बैठे कल्याण सिंह याद नहीं आये जो मुख्य अभियुक्त हैं व जिनसे इन्होंने दोस्ती की। इन्हें साक्षी महाराज, पवन पांडेय याद नहीं आये जो इनकी पार्टी के समय समय

पर चुनाव लड़े। ज्ञातव्य हो कि पवन पांडेय का नाम आयोग की लिस्ट में है। मुलायम सिंह एक तरफ तो कहते हैं कि मैंने एकता परिषद में कल्याण सिंह सरकार को भंग करने की मांग की यानि वे जानते थे वह सी.एम ऐसा करेंगे तो फिर दूसरी तरफ वह दोस्ती भी उन्हीं से करते हैं।

माननीय शरद यादव जी ने- इन्होंने अपनी वी.पी.सिंह सरकार के त्याग की बात की। संविधान की रक्षा के लिए लेकिन वे यह भूल गये यही वी.पी.सिंह बीजेपी के साथ मिलकर 1989 का चुनाव लड़े, जिससे बीजेपी की ताकत संसद में बढ़ी।

वासुदेव आचार्य/गुरुदास गुप्ता ने केन्द्र सरकार की लापरवाही की बात की - आयोग के पेज 703/138.13 में कहा गया है कि कम्युनिस्ट नेता इंद्रजीत गुप्ता ने राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाये जाने के विरोध की बात कही थी ।

इस तरह लिब्राहन आयोग की रिपोर्ट से यह सिद्ध होता है कि आरएसएस, बीजेपी, वीएचपी, शिवसेना 6 दिसम्बर की घटना के लिए जिम्मेदार है। यह पूर्णतया स्थापित सत्य है। ऐसी घटनाएं भविष्य में न हो इसका पुख्ता प्रबंध हो, ऐसी लोगों को देशद्रोह के आरोप से दंडित करने की व्यवस्था बनाई जाये। संत महात्मा तो गुमराह किये गये लेकिन नेताओं, षडयंत्रकार्यों का राजनीतिक वनवास कैसे हो इस पर कानून बने। लगातार 2 बार से बन रही केन्द्र की कांग्रेस सरकार यह साबित करती है कि देश की जनता सेकुलर है व बी.जे.पी. को नकार चुकी है ।

और सभी के लिए यह चार लाईने -

यह सफर चंद मीलों में मत बांटिये
 कौम को अब कबीलों में मत काटिये
 एक सागर है अपना यह प्यारा वतन
 इसको तालाबों, झीलों में मत बांटिये।

*SHRI THOL THIRUMAAVALAVAN (CHIDAMBARAM): Madam Speaker, entire nation is watching closely both yesterday and today the discussion on Liberhan Commission Report that is taking place in this House. Apolitical observers and abjective political watchers are keenly looking forward to the outcome of this Report and they are eager to see what kind of action would be taken by this Government after these deliberations. I would also like to point out that the general public have a lingering doubts in their minds that this Report may also meet with the same fate as that of other Reports that have been virtually thrown to the dustbins or rather the dustbins of the history. Hence I would urge upon this Government to take appropriate action against those who have been indicted in this Report as those who have contributed to the demolition of the Babri structure.

Liberhan Commission in its Report submitted after 17 years has not brought out anything new that is known to this Nation or to the whole world. It is true that no new shocking facts or new revelations pertaining to conspiracy has been stated in this Report. I have my own critical views aplenty about this Report. But, still I would like to point out that certain facts have been boldly recorded in this Report. Hence, I would like to appreciate Justice Liberhan for this effort.

This Report has enlisted leaders of various hues like former Prime Minister Vajpayee, Shri L.K. Advani, Shri Murli Manohar Joshi as those who are responsible for the demolition of Babri Masjid structure. Justice Liberhan has also stated that suitable action should be taken against certain leaders who belong to the RSS, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena and Bharatiya Janata Party who have brought down the structure and razed it to the ground as a premeditated move. I urge upon the Government especially the Indian National Congress to take appropriate action at least as a measure of expressing their gratitude to the minority Muslim community that expresses its confidence to them. Otherwise this will be a betrayal on the part of Congress.

* English translation of the speech laid originally in Tamil

In this land, over the centuries it has been witnessed and it is not new to find violent attacks on Buddhist and Jain Maths. This tradition continues unabated by those who swear by Hindutva and in the name of Ram, Babri Masjid has been destroyed. Through the epic Ramayana we know that Ravana, a great Bhakta of Lord Shiva was done away with by those who uphold the name of Ram. From this information we can infer that in the name of Ram violence bordering on terrorism has been let loose. Hence, those who claim that they are the inheritors of Ram's legacy and act like Vajpayee, Advani, Joshi must be put behind bars by this Government in order to ensure that there is no threat to communal peace and harmony.

If we call those who have brought down the twin towers in the US are terrorists, then we cannot consider those who have demolished Babri Masjid structure to be moderates. That is why Justice Liberhan in his Report has referred Shri Vajpayee, Shri Advani and the likes as pseudo-moderates. It can be inferred that they are terrorists according to him.

Hence, I urge upon the Government to arrest and take appropriate action against all the 68 Hindutva terrorists referred to in this Report. Only then the communal fanatics can learn a lesson. Emphasising the need to take this stern action, let me conclude.

*SHRI BADRUDDIN AJMAL (DHUBRI): The 16th century Babri Masjid was demolished on 6th December 1992 by Hindu radicals who gathered in Ayodhya after a campaign led by BJP's L.K. Advani to build a temple at the site.

Mr. Advani & others were made responsible in the report, but this is not new and each and every Indians knows that they are the culprits. They not only threaten national integrity but also caused the death of innocent people.

The Consolation is that at last it's official – the names of those guilty of the Babri Masjid demolition has been officially acknowledged.

The report proved that leaders can't escape responsibility for acts done under their instigation, and even for their acts of omission. Vajpayee, Advani, Joshi and others will forever remain guilty of the Babri Masjid demolition; this will be their albatross.

At the same time I would like to say that Congress Government of the day lead by PV Narshim Rao was equally responsible.

- Till 1949 there were no problems
- In 1949 when Congress was in Power the Muslims were barred from entering the Babri Masjid.
- It was Congress which has opened the lock of the Babri Masjid for performing Puja in 1986.
- It was Congress which has allowed Shilyanyas inside the Masjid in 1989.
- It was Congress which remained mute spectator till the complete demolition on 6th December, 1992.

The Report has confirmed certain points which need to be looked into. I wish to pinpoint those:

* Speech was laid on the Table

As told by BJP and its armed wings that demolition was spontaneous reactions of the situation proved to wrong. This is confirmed that it was pre-planned and well organized.

It was proved that there was no security plan as such. Whatsoever security measures were there, these were for making the work of Karsevaks smooth and trouble free.

The security apparatus was nonexistent in Ayodhya on the 6th of December, 1992. The police and other personnel deployed had been bound down into an ineffective role.

The state administration as well as the bureaucracy intentionally, consciously and in order to please the government and the political executive, concealing the intentions from the record. The bureaucracy committed acts of deceit and not that of transparency in governance.

Post 1949, the District Magistrate and his wife and even his employee contested election on the ticket of Hindu organisations indicates the hollowness of the bureaucratic actions and decisions concerning the safety measures of the Babri Masjid.

The post-independence polity and the constitutional executive had surrendered to the bureaucracy.

The then Central Government lead by Congress which has constituted the commission within 10 days of the demolition has made it clear that the role of Central Government is not proved and as such enquiry to the role of commission was made outside the purview of the Commission.

If the Liberhan Commission has completely absolved anyone of responsibility for the Babri Masjid demolition, it is P.V. Narasimha Rao, the then Prime Minister, and the central government. In his 100-page conclusion, justice Liberhan has devoted just one paragraph (160.9) to the role of the Centre which he says was crippled by the failure of the intelligence agencies in providing an analysis of the situation. The kid glove treatment given to the former Prime

Minister Narashima Rao is shocking. Was the Narasimha Rao government really that uninformed about the ground realities at Ayodhya in the days leading up to the Babri demolition? The late PM was waiting for that no matter what happens unless the State government makes a request the Centre would not act? This is a rather dangerous proposition. The Centre can intervene when it sees activities of destruction with 'military precision' on-when it sees that the State government is unmindful of the consequences. The reality is that the Congress government waited-because the demolition work must become a fact so that it would use it to garner votes.

I would like to quote from the book written by Madhav Godbole, the then Union home secretary who says, "We felt the only way the structure could be saved was to take it over and impose President's rule. In fact, the home ministry had made all preparations. the law ministry was consulted and they'd concurred. The cabinet note was ready on November 20. The question was of getting clearance from the top. It never came." He adds that, constitutionally, the governor's report was neither required nor binding on the government: "The government of India could have taken its own decision and though the commission has cleared his name, history may not be so kind.

Though justice Liberhan abstained from discussing the role of the Central Governemnt taking the excuse of the terms of reference but he has not abstained from explaining at length the compulsion of PV Narshimha Rao for not taking any action.

Instead of the need of the presidential rule Justice Liberhan went out of way to justify reasons beind non-imposition of the Presidential Rule for saving the Babri Masjid.

Demand

Congress to take moral responsibility and apologise to the nation.

Out of 68 accused 16 have already died. Additional Charge sheet must be submitted for 52 alive accused and ensure time bound speedy trial.

10 senior police officers and bureaucrats who have been accused in the report should be immediately dismissed and put behind bar if they are alive.

All those who have been accused should voluntarily retire from active politics till they are cleared of the charges. If voluntary action is not initiated, Election Commission must ban them from participating in any sort of election.

Reconstruction of Babri Masjid in its original place/site.

Finally

The Action Taken Report of the Government can be termed as Action not to be taken Report. The ATR makes no reference to the indictment of top BJP leaders, including L.K.Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi, Kalyan Singh and leaders of various Sangh Parivar outfits made in the report. It is obvious morally Congress is bound to protect these culprits as they have materialized the internal wishes of the Congress.

However, I agree with the view of the Commission that debate about policing, controlling of the bureaucrats by political executive, and communalism transformed by this enquiry and thus ignited must be carried forward constructively and with imagination into action.

* DR. MIRZA MEHBOOB BEG (ANANTNAG): 6th December is the blackest day in Indian History. It is more so far me as Muslim as Kashmiri and of course as Indian. As Muslim, my sacred place of worship was razed to the ground. As Kashmiri, I choose to go with liberal, free, tolerant, democratic India and choose not to go with Muslim Pakistan. As Indian, my concept of nationhood was dashed to the ground.

It is strange that Shri L.K.Advani worked hard to generate an emotional frenzy in the entire country to build a Ram Temple at Ayodhya. Its natural culmination was what happened in December 6. Rathyatra had already created bad blood and hatred enough to happen what happened on the fateful day. His successful mission makes him to say, "it was the saddest day of my life". Some of his political clan call it the proud moment for this saddest moment. BJP day in a day out denounce Babar & Jinnah and do preach just the same. If Babar and Jinnah are wrong, how come BJP is just right, if it does the same. Two wrongs are wrongs, two negatives are two negatives and never make one positive.

If commission take 17 years and don't even recommend supplementary charge sheet against the crime doers, unlike Nanavati Commission, Librahan is silent. Justice delayed is justice denied, Liberhan has suppressed all records of sorts for delaying a report. To restore the credibility of commission, immediate action against culprits should be taken without delay.

Once Prime Minister of the country, once Home Minister and once Human Resource Development Minister after taking an oath of up-holding the Constitution gave it a burial on December 6 at Ayodhya.

Even the Supreme Court had ordered status quo which was also buried by BJP leadership on 6th December 1992

* Speech was laid on the Table

***SHRI M.I. SHANAVAS (WAYANAD):** The demolition of Babri Mashed was the gravest challenge to democracy and secularism in independent India. After independence, Pakistan was formed on the basis of religion, but India proudly chose herself to be a democratic republic built on the foundations of Gandhian ideologies.

Indian secularism was founded on the principles of truth in all religions. Congress the torchbearer of freedom movement, sought inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi and Gandhian model of secularism, which propounds respect and love to all religions.

We cannot live in this nation by fighting in the name of religion and it is not what we have been taught through our great civilization.

Pakistan, an Islamic republic could not hold up to democracy and even religion based on which that nation was formed, couldn't unify Pakistan. Pakistan within years of its formation was subjected to a bifurcation, but we the largest and only secular democracy in the world goes from strength to strength with every passing day, which is also derived from the ideals of the Indian National Congress.

India is united even while being diverse and we still survive as a functioning polity as we are guided by the Gandhian and Nehruvian ideals and history will vouch for the significant contributions by the congress in inculcating such an accommodative and tolerant temperament in the Indian society.

Ours is not a theocratic state....

India has a national anthem

India has a national flag

India has a national language

India has a father of nation

India has a national animal

India has a national bird....

* Speech was laid on the Table

But what we don't have is a national religion and it is the greatest contribution that congress has given to this nation...

Sonia Ji is the President of the Congress and in the history of 124 years, our forefathers who led the freedom movement, had the vision of a strong and independent India, and with the theme of unity interspersed in diversity, we are continuing the march towards progress and development.

In 1947, Congress was the only political entity, but Congress was open to all ideologies to take a part in the democratic deliberations. As a result of this inclusive approach, all ideological postulations began to mark their presence here. However, Congress never gave up the idea of secularism.

Gandhi Ji's assassination in 1948 was the first great threat the concept of secularism faced in independent India.

The Indian perception of secularism is never meant to renounce religion; we give paramount importance to the values, morals, discourse, and tolerance. We believe that religion provides peace, solace and eternal love. At the outset secularism was embedded in our constitutional philosophy.

In Keshavananda Bharathi case secularism was described as a basic structure of the Constitution. 42nd amendment in 1976, the term secular was added to the preamble. Till then secularism was implicit, but now it has become explicit and India lives because of these secular principles...

We are unlike communists who reject god and religion from their discourse, yet go to temples and places for worship covertly.

Mahatma, the prophet of peace, the one who loved the entire humanity and lived to practice what he preached, breathed his last on this altar of secularism. He fought a battle never before seen or experienced by the colonial rulers as it fundamentally changed the concept of hostility with its notion of ahimsa. Friends, here in this hallowed hall of democracy and freedom, we can feel his spirit, feel his words and ideas resonate.

It is no secret that Godse Narayan Apte followed an ideology, the ideology of intolerance, suspicion and perpetual hatred among fellow countrymen. The same ideology had extinguished the light of this nation, the manifestation of dreams and aspirations of countless souls. By assassinating the Mahatma, they had wiped out a human being whose demise made Einstein say that **it would be difficult to comprehend for the coming generations to believe that there lived a man like Gandhi.**

The same forces are instrumental in the demolition of Babri Mashed, which they saw as a mere structure. The very existence of a civilized society depends upon the rule of law. India as a nation survives because the rule of law prevails in its zenith here.

We have a written Constitution which is unparalleled in the whole world for its sheer comprehensiveness and profusion of liberalist, idealist notions enshrined therein. The charter on fundamental rights can be termed as the foundation of India's cultural traditions and heritage which dates back to the very beginning of civilization.

Our Constitution exercises great caution not to accord supremacy and ascendancy to any branches of government and so the judiciary, legislature and executive are bound by oath to uphold the rule of law.

In 1950, January 28, two days after the constitution was born, the first sitting of the Supreme Court, where six Supreme Court judges were present, took place.

It was history being made here and Chief justice was H.J. Kania and the stellar attendees included Nehru Ji, Maulana Azad, and Sardar Patel, to name a few. The Chief Justice in his first sitting heard the greatest legal luminary of that time, Mr. Setalwad made a submission and said that country and the government expect the judiciary to uphold the rule of law.

Justice Kania replied “ we will uphold the rule of law”.

42 years after the first sitting of the Supreme Court, the rule of law and the basic law was besmirched, abused and vandalized by a group of individuals who has not repentance at all; not even in this moment.

The Liberhan Commission whose term of office was unusually protracted for 17 years has come out with his 1029 page report, certain facts which the world knows as facts, cast in iron.

Liberhan Commission's findings are not astonishing or shocking as everybody knows that these are the facts which speak for themselves. However, I will be failing in my duty, if I don't pay complements to justice liberhan as his finding are unequivocal, bold and true and holds the stillness of truth.

The demolition of Babri Masjid was a well thought " joint common enterprise", a phrase often used by justice Liberhan in his report. Plotted by the top leadership of the RSS, VHP,SHIV SENA and the BJP, the frontal organization of the RSS.

And I do feel that the terming of BJP as the frontal organization of RSS is apt and hard hitting.

The notion of joint common enterprise assumes significance here as this notion draws parallel to the 1999 tadic judgement of international criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia as the pracie of ascribing liability for mass crimes to those who might not have been direct participants, but who willingly facilitated the commission of criminal acts through the positions they occupied in the hierarchy of the organization involved.

Taking a similar line, justice Liberhan observed that – I quote "some leaders were consciously kept out of the operational area or planning in order to protect them and preserve their secular credentials for later political use" unquote.

In the Gujarat carnage and Bombay riots and serial blasts thousands perished and all these horrible incidents occurred after the Babri Masjid demolition which set a perilious precedent of sorts.

The very act of Babri Masjid demolition is a heinous crime which is bound to last in the minds of millions of people for centuries to come.

So those who participated and those who could have prevented this crime from being commissioned cannot wash their hands off and escape the scrutiny of the law of the land.

After the assassination of Mahatma, the RSS was banned and even today there are irrefutable evidences that highlight the links of RSS in his assassination.

Justice Liberhan is being condemned and so do his report by the Sangh Parivar elements. The apex court in the famous SR BOMMAI case (1994) where seven of the nine benches considered the issue in Ayodhya and held that Secularism is the part of the unamendable part of the basic structure of the Constitution.

UP CM Kalyan Singh resigned and on December 15, 1992 under article 356 the Governments of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh were dismissed. I quote from the judgement in S R BOMMAI CASE by justice Jeevan Reddy and Agarwal “ Shri Parasaran is right in his submission that what happned on December 6, 1992 was no ordinary event, that it was the outcome of a sustained campaign carried out over a number of years throughout the countryand that it was the result of the speeches, acts and deeds of several leaders of BJP and other organizations. The event had serious ropercussions not only within the country but outside as well. It put in doubt the very secular credentials of this nation and its Government and those credentials had to be redeemed.” The situation had many dimensions, social, religious, political and international. Rarely do such occasions arise in the life of a nation. The situation was an extraordinary one; its repercussions could not be foretold at that time. Nobody could say with definiteness what would happen and where? The situation was not only unpredictable, it was a fast evolving one. The communal situation was tense. It could explode anywhere at any time. On the material placed before us, including the reports of the Governors.

“We cannot say that the President had not relevant material before him on the basis of which he could form the satisfaction that the BJP Government of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh cannot dissociate themselves from the action and its consequences and that these Governments, controlled by one and the same party, whose leading lights were actively campaigning for the demolition of the disputed structure, cannot be dissociated from the acts and deeds of the leaders of BJP. In the then prevailing situation, the Union of India thought it necessary to ban certain organizations including RSS and here were Governments which were headed by persons who “swore by the values and traditions of the RSS” and were giving “overt and covert support to the associate communal Organisation” (vide report of the Governor of Madhya Pradesh). The Governor of Himachal Pradesh reported that “the Chief Minister himself is a member of RSS”. The Governor of Rajasthan reported that the ban on RSS and other organizations was not being implemented because of the intimate connection between the members of the Government and those organizations. The three Governors also spoke of the part played by the members of the Government in sending and welcoming back the kar sevaks. They also expressed the opinion that these Governments cannot be expected, in the circumstances, to function objectively and impartially in dealing with the emerging law and order situation, which had all the ominous makings of a communal conflagration. If the President was satisfied that the faith of these BJP Governments in the concept of secularism was suspect in view of the acts and conduct of the party controlling these Governments and that in the volatile situation that developed pursuant to the demolition, the Government of these States cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, we are not able to say that there was no relevant material upon which he could be so satisfied. The several facts stated in the counter-affidavits and the material placed before us by the Union of India cannot be said to be irrelevant or extraneous to the purpose for which the power under Article 356 is to be exercised.

This means that even though Liberhan took 17 years to complete and present the report in 2009, the Supreme Court held the same views in 1994, which is barely two years after the razing of Babri Masjid. The law of the land, even before 15 years. The Supreme Court has held the same view akin to justice Liberhan's findings. So, secularism by SR BOMMAI case is the basic structure of our constitution.

BJP, quite meticulously planned with its fox like cunningness after 1984 to reverse its poll debacle and electoral fortunes. In 1984, the BJP secured 2 seats and 7.5% of popular votes. LK Advani's Rathyathra in 1990, which commenced from Somnath Temple in Gujarat to Ayodhya gave the BJP the boost it required to stoke up communal passions. Congress is a secular party and that too a national secular party and it too has its limits.

It is very easy to engage in politics on communal lines, but a secular party cannot practice it. So, whenever a single act of ours is misinterpreted, both parties tend to disbelieve Congress but we are confident that the all sections of the society will repose its faith in Congress and the truth of Congress will prevail always.

For those organizations banking on communal lines, their task is easy albeit convoluted. All they need is to raise the pitch in communal frenzy and lie low, but the Congress activist cannot do so and we will not do as our ideals are not built upon hatred and rabble rousing.

For the growth of the BJP, CPIM and the LEFT WING, especially the CPIM have played a pivotal role in 1977, when the erstwhile Jansangh camouflaged as Janta Party came to the forefront of national scene.

In 1977, Bhartiya Lok Dal or the Janta Party secured seats and AB Vajpyaee, LK Advani and Brij Lal Verma became Union Ministers.

In the guise of raising anti emergency platform Basudeb Acharya's party held and supported the Janta Government, knowing fully well that Jan Sangh was behind the façade of this so called alliance for democracy.

The only politically wise decision that the CPI took was in opposing the Janta Party in 1977 and you were with us.

So, after Mahatma's assassination, the Jan Sangh was given a label and the left except the CPI was there endorsing Vajpayee in 1977.

In 1984, CPM was envious and uncomfortable with the huge popularity of Rajiv Ji and in 1989, you played a sleight of hand tactic and divided the secular votes to curry advantage for BJP.

In 1991 the BJP grew from 2 seats to 120 and BJP owes its fortunes to its ultra virulent campaign and also to the opportunistic and covert support it received from the Marxists of AKG Bhavan.

What credentials does the CPM possess by aligning itself with the BJP? What moral rights are they claiming when they had not qualms in aligning with a political ideology that incite hatred? In a way your organization too has been engaging in the same albeit in a different manner through forced collectivization drives and oppressing the voices that chose to speak free.

Are you not ashamed of the fact that your leaders and their BJP counterparts regularly held meetings? Are you not ashamed of this blatant hypocrisy and opportunistic politics that you play in the name of Marxism, the rejected ideology of coercion and suppression?

I choose to say that the Congress is the only part which had, had and will not be having any collusive trek with the BJP.

Now, my dear friends the CPM has been shedding crocodile tears over Babri Masjid masquerading as champions of the affected, but in 1987, even before the shilanyas EMS Namboothiripad, the then General Secretary of the CPM stated that Babri Masjid be demolished in order to settle the issue. Comrades, can you deny this statement by your apex ideologue?

Even before the actual demolition of Babri Mashed, carried out by the Sangh Parivar and BJP, the CPM leadership of this country deemed it fit to raze down a Masjid and we all know that the CPIM would be glad if its gets a chance

to tear down every other temple and mosque so that its godless, pseudo-atheist ideology which they wear upon convenience be maintained.

However, it is common knowledge that the communists share such apathy towards religion and fundamental virtues such as tolerance and harmony. One of the cold blooded proponents of Marxism was Josef Stalin, the de-facto dictator of former USSR, who liquidated the peasants, and razed hundreds of churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, sacred monuments, monasteries and other religious buildings. But we as a nation will prevail forever, fighting the odds bravely.....

In Page 219 of the report, “Kalyan Singh stated that center is creating a civil war like situation by sending the central forces, do they want a clash between central and state forces”? Everything was meticulously planned. Lakhs converged in Ayodhya. All leaders if the BJP except Vajpayee were present to witness the destruction of Babri Masjid i.e. the collapse of the symbol of secularism. On the night of 5th December L.K. Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and others reached Ayodhya waiting for the inevitable to happen. They were viewing this gory incident with the ease of watching a cricket match. Tempers were raising as lakhs converged and emotional slogans were filling the atmosphere and so did provocative speeches.

Nathuram Vinayak Godse owned responsibility of Gandhiji’s assassination, but here BJP simultaneously acknowledges and denies. They are running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. The demolition of the babri masjid took place in the presence of then BJP president Murli Manohar Joshi, L.K. Advani, and others and they are all thus culpable. The ramifications of this act are twofold. One is the butchering of secularism and secondly the rule of law, you thwarted the rule of law. When the rule of law is massacred, the rule of the jungle steps in. This vandalism of the Sangh Parivar was nothing but the rule of the jungle. The police were made impotent at 01.55 p.m.... national shame occurred as the first

dome fell down. Kalyan Singh said, “I do not have any regrets and repentance for the events in ayodhya on December 6th and the disturbances that followed”.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you not listen to me?

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Members are not prepared to participate in the discussion, then, I will call the hon. Home Minister to reply.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please go back to your seats.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please go back to your seats.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you please go back to your seats?

Now, the discussion is over; I am going to call the hon. Home Minister to reply.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take yours eats.

... (*Interruptions*)


MR. CHAIRMAN : Now I ask the Home Minister to reply to the discussion.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Take your seats.

... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only the Home Minister's speech will go on record.

(*Interruptions*) ... 

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Mr. Chairperson, Sir, the Liberhan Commission of Inquiry was constituted in December, 1992... (*Interruptions*). The Commission was appointed to go into the circumstances leading to the destruction of Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid structure... (*Interruptions*). The Commission has taken 17 years to give its report... (*Interruptions*)

17.38 hrs.

(Madam Speaker *in the Chair*)

I am not here to defend why the Commission was allowed to take 17 years... (*Interruptions*). The then Congress Government ... (*Interruptions*). The NDA Government assumed office thereafter... (*Interruptions*). The NDA Government was there for six years and it also gave extensions.... (*Interruptions*) The UPA Government gave the remaining extensions for about nine years and three months... (*Interruptions*). In a sense everyone is responsible for the extensions given to Justice Liberhan Commission. When I took over, the Commission was given extension up to 31st March, 2009... (*Interruptions*). I gave extension to the Commission for two months and I insisted that the Report should be given to the Government of India within two months... (*Interruptions*). The Commission gave its report on 20th of June, 2009... (*Interruptions*). The Government of the day had told the Commission that the report is long overdue and it should have been given much earlier... (*Interruptions*)

Be that as it may, we now have a report. The report gives in great detail the sequence of events... (*Interruptions*) The Report gives the minutest details of what happened on each day leading to 6th December, 1992... (*Interruptions*) talked about the horrendous events that took place on the 6th of December, 1992. This Report ... (*Interruptions*) those who are found to be responsible for the destruction ... (*Interruptions*) the source of ... (*Interruptions*) But unfortunately it is not so. This is one of the rare occasions when I rise to reply to a debate with



sadness in my heart... *(Interruptions)* The way this debate has unwinded itself is a ... *(Interruptions)* on the Parliament of India. Someone must take the responsibility ... *(Interruptions)* The only issue before the House is not whether there was a temple there; not whether there was a mosque there; not whether a mosque was built over a temple; not whether a Hindu community owned a piece of land there; not whether a Muslim community owned a piece of land there; not whether any injustice has been done to any one community. The only issue before the House is, who has demolished the mosque? ... *(Interruptions)*

17.42 hrs.

(At this stage, Shri Shafiqur Rehman Burq came and sat on the floor near the Table.)

Pending cases in the courts, the demolition as ... *(Interruptions)* is the *Sangh Parivar*, the RSS an organization which is held responsible for the black day in the history of India... *(Interruptions)* The Commission is aware of this. The Commission says, "I was called upon to enquire into the sequence of events and the circumstances relating to the occurrence in the Ramjanma Bhoomi Babri Masjid complex on the 6th of December, 1992 involving the destruction of the Ramjanmabhoomi Babri Masjid structure"... *(Interruptions)* The Commission says, as evident from the Terms of Reference given to me, I have not been called upon, and therefore do not wish to comment upon whether the structures as they existed in Ayodhya on the 6th of December 1992 constituted a Hindu temple or a Muslim mosque or any other type of structure... *(Interruptions)* I have been charged with the responsibility only to find out the sequence of events, facts and circumstances leading up to the demolition of the structures at Ayodhya and certain connected matters that took place. It is not within my purview to enquire into a dispute whether it was ever a temple or a mosque built over a temple."

Sir, in the days leading to 6th December, 1992, the Government of India issued directives to two players... *(Interruptions)* One was the Government of

Uttar Pradesh headed by Shri Kalyan Singh and the other constitutional authority was the Home Minister of Government of India under the late P V Narasimha Rao and ... (*Interruptions*) these were the two constitutional authorities. How was one more responsible... (*Interruptions*) How did one communicate to the other?... (*Interruptions*)

Shri S.B. Chavan wrote three letters to Shri Kalyan Singh. The first letter was on 3rd December, 1992 in which he said: "Forces are being stationed at suitable locations in Uttar Pradesh so as to be available at a short notice if and when required by the State Government." No one can accuse the Congress Government of that day that adequate forces were not deployed.... (*Interruptions*) On the same day, Shri S.B. Chavan wrote another letter to Shri Kalyan Singh on 3rd December, 1992 in which he said: "It is understood that by 4th /5th December, 1992, the number of Karsevaks at Ayodhya would have crossed one lakh. However, it appears that infrastructural arrangements made for the Kar Sewaks are becoming increasingly stretched and insufficient for the assembled Karsevaks." ... (*Interruptions*) On 5th December, 1992, Shri S.B. Chavan wrote a letter in which he used a rather stern language. "In your last letter dated 2nd December, 1992, you once again reiterated the State Government's commitment to protect the structure." Shri Kalyan Singh, in his letter of 2nd December reiterated the State Government's commitment to protect the structure. ... (*Interruptions*) Drawing his attention to his promise, the Home Minister said: "There are reports that the Karsevaks are in a restive and even in belligerent mood and that many of them are resorting to extensive purchases of Trishuls which can even be used for offensive purposes. The security arrangements made by the State Governmetn may not be adequate for the occasion especially if any violence breaks out. ...(*Interruptions*) Further, it is reported that massive crowds are gathering freely and unchecked in that the Sankeertan area. ... (*Interruptions*) It is necessary to upgrade security arrangements substantially to prevent the possibility of any attempt being made to damage the disputed structure..... (*Interruptions*) Shri S.B. Chavan said that the

possibility of some mischievous elements using explosives to damage the RJBBM structure cannot be ruled out. ... *(Interruptions)* As you are aware, contingents of the central paramilitary forces have already been stationed at various places in UP so as to make them available at short notice; if required by the State Government for the security of the disputed structure and maintenance of law and order in view of the call given for the Kar Seva.... *(Interruptions)* I understand that only about 23 companies including four companies of CRPF are currently deployed for the security arrangements in and around the RJBBM complex. It is felt that this strength may not be sufficient to meet the security arrangements especially if any untoward development takes place... *(Interruptions)*

Madam, it is absolutely clear that the Chief Minister had made a solemn promise that it is the State Government's responsibility to protect the structure. 185 companies of paramilitary forces had been placed and they had been placed at crucial locations but they deployed only four companies in order to protect the RJBBM structure. ... *(Interruptions)* It was the first big untruth uttered by the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. It was an unadulterated untruth. He had no intention to protect the Babri Masjid structure. ... *(Interruptions)* He uttered untruth to the Government of India. He uttered untruth to the Supreme Court. He uttered untruth to the National Integration Council. He uttered untruth on affidavit and that was the genesis of the destruction of the Babri Masjid complex.... *(Interruptions)* There was another occasion when he made a promise before the National Integration Council on 2nd November, 1991... *(Interruptions)* I have got what he had said.

He said: All efforts will be made to find an amicable resolution of the issue; Pending a final solution, the Government of Uttar Pradesh will hold itself fully responsible for the protection of the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid structure; Order of the Court in regard to the land acquisition proceedings will be fully implemented; and the judgment of the Allahabad High Court in the cases pending before it will not be violated. ... *(Interruptions)*

Then, a promise was made to the National Integration Council, a Council in which all the leaders of all the political parties were present; civil society is represented; and leaders of the political parties in Parliament were present. ... *(Interruptions)* He made a solemn promise which was endorsed by the BJP and all other parties that were present. ... *(Interruptions)*

This promise was made in the Supreme Court of India. ... *(Interruptions)* I have got a copy of the order passed by the Supreme Court on 15th November, 1991. ... *(Interruptions)* An affidavit was filed and the Supreme Court then passed an order. I think this order makes a very interesting reading. ... *(Interruptions)* Anyone who is interested in the history of this country of that period would read this order. ... *(Interruptions)*

This order says: “We have heard Mr. Jaitley”. I hope you know who Mr. Jaitley is. Mr. Jaitley was not only a Counsel. Mr. Jaitley is today the Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha. The order says: “We have heard Mr. Jaitley, the learned counsel of the respondent State. ... *(Interruptions)* On the instructions of an officer present in the court, it has been gathered and told to us ... *(Interruptions)* It is not denied that there are some old constructions in-between the main construction and the outer wall ... *(Interruptions)* It can certainly be done as permitted by the High Court, but full care and attention should be devoted to ensure that the constructions, including the outer wall, which are old in character ... *(Interruptions)* part of the disputed structure may not be ... *(Interruptions)* This must be the total responsibility of the State of Uttar Pradesh to ensure compliance. ... *(Interruptions)* There was a meeting of the National Integration Council and the Chief Minister of the State ... *(Interruptions)* He made certain statements to the Council. These were extracted from the paragraph of the affidavit ... *(Interruptions)*

Then the Supreme Court says: ... *(Interruptions)* Mr. Jaitley has no objection ... *(Interruptions)* What has been stated in this paragraph. ... after taking

into account the stand of State of Uttar Pradesh It may, therefore, be taken as a representation to the court on which


Madam, a promise was made to the National Integration Council; a promise was made to the Supreme Court; and a promise was made to the Government of India. But every single promise was broken by the leader of the BJP, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, and the black day occurred in the history of India. ...

(Interruptions)

Now, why does the Commission have to go into who the Sangh Parivar is? We know who the Sangh Parivar is. ... *(Interruptions)* It was led to believe that the RSS is a non-political organization; that the BJP is an independent organization; that the VHP is purely a religious organization; and that the Bajrang Dal is an organization of young people.... *(Interruptions)*


These are the canards which are spread everyday. Everyday people spread the canards. The Commission went into the matter and asked, 'who are these people, how did they get-together, how did they work together? So, this is the conclusion.

I am quoting from paragraph 120.9

“There cannot be any dispute that the RSS is the major single largest important constituent of the Sangh Parivar. It is  accepted that the Bajrang Dal is the youth wing of VHP and Dharam Sansad and the Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal sponsored by VHP though were portrayed as independent bodies. Similarly, Paramhans Ramchander Dass and Mulayam Singh Yadav accepted that all the members of the Sangh Parivar contested elections on the BJP tickets and become legislators of BJP party.”

... *(Interruptions)* I know the conclusion. ... *(Interruptions)* It is obvious that promises held out by the BJP were completely false and made with the sole intention of misleading the Central Government and the entire country. ... *(Interruptions)* Let the House know that the promises held out by the BJP were completely false and made with the sole intention of misleading the Central Government and the entire country. ... *(Interruptions)* The promises were made

to secure the inaction of the Central Government and to induce it into a state of over optimistic slumber. The only other explanation possible is that the BJP itself was ineffective and inconsequential part of the larger picture. ... *(Interruptions)* It neither has the means nor the authority nor even the influence within the Sangh Parivar to alter the course ordained. ... *(Interruptions)* If accepted, this would further strengthen the impression that the BJP was a frontal organization and the convenient false face projected to address the more moderate sections within society and the Government. ... *(Interruptions)* This is about your Party. ... *(Interruptions)* I have not completed my speech yet. ... *(Interruptions)* Some more things are coming. ... *(Interruptions)*

Madam, what is the situation? What position lies with the Supreme Court, lies with the Central Government than to create a situation in which, unfortunately, the Government of the day made a strong political judgment? Looking back I could say that it is a non-political judgment. Late Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao paid price for making that judgment and the Congress Party paid a price for that political judgment. But the fact is that  non-political judgment induced byand false promises were made by the BJP. ... *(Interruptions)*

Now, what were the organizations that were there were doing? ... *(Interruptions)* I quote from paragraph 41.68:

“Intelligence agencies reported that the Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena were vying with each other for the “fame” of blowing up the disputed structure and this fact was within the knowledge of the VHP. The Shiv Sainiks and VHP cadres were practicing archery under the tutelage of Krishna Kumar Pandey. The Shiv Sena cadres swore on oath at Saryu River to demolish the disputed structure in the presence of local leaders and Vinay Katiyar etc.”



18.00 hrs.

MADAM SPEAKER: Hon. Members, please do not throw papers.

... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Is it not a fact that the Bajrang Dal cadres, the VHP cadres were practising archery, doing rehearsals to demolish the disputed structure in the presence of the local leaders?... (*Interruptions*) Intelligence agencies reported that the Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena were vying with each other for the “fame” of blowing up the disputed structure and this fact was within the knowledge of the VHP. ... (*Interruptions*) The Shiv Sainiks and the VHP cadres were practicing archery under the tutelage of Krishna Kumar Pandey.... (*Interruptions*) The Shiv Sena cadres swore an oath at Saryu river to demolish the disputed structure in the presence of local leaders and Vijay Katiyar, etc..... (*Interruptions*) Can you deny that they were practising archery?... (*Interruptions*) Can you deny the VHP cadres were practicing archery under the tutelage of Krishna Kumar Pandey?... (*Interruptions*)

The Governor of Uttar Pradesh sent his assessment about the prevailing situation in Ayodhya.... (*Interruptions*) He sent the report saying that the prevailing situation was pregnant with threat to the disputed structure. However, the Governor is right that he advised against the imposition of President’s Rule. ... Slogans were raised against the Muslim population. (*Interruptions*) A small selection of the slogans which became extremely popular and were regularly heard during the campaign at Ayodhya during Karseva, especially in December were these. ... (*Interruptions*) Slogans were raised against the Muslim population. ... (*Interruptions*) Please listen to the slogans. What were the slogans used? These were the slogans used... (*Interruptions*)

I want to quote the slogans. These slogans were raised. ... (*Interruptions*) These were the slogans raised which slogans you are raising now. ... (*Interruptions*)

These were the slogans:

मिट्टी नहीं खिसकाएंगे, ढांचा तोड़कर जाएंगे।
 बड़ी कुर्सी की बात है, पुलिस हमारे साथ है।
 जब-जब हिन्दू जागे, तब-तब मुल्ला भागे।
 जो रोके मंदिर निर्माण, उसको भेजो पाकिस्तान।
 जिस हिन्दू का खून न खौले, वो खून नहीं पानी है।

Are you a responsible political party? Will these slogans do justice to the Founding Fathers of India? Do these slogans raise India's esteem?...

(Interruptions)

The Chief Minister Shri Kalyan Singh, once again and in writing ordered against use of any firearms specifically on the 6th of December, 1992....

(Interruptions)

This is the conclusion in the Report. The Liberhan Commission concludes thus:

“The Commission is of the considered opinion that the security apparatus was non-existent in Ayodhya on the 6th of December, 1992. The police and other personnel deployed had been bound down into an ineffective role and had specific instructions against any substantive action. They were to ensure that the Government achieved its electoral manifesto. The State administration was there to appease the political executive by helping it in consolidating their hold on the general public.”

This was what happened.... *(Interruptions)*

I would now come to the role of the BJP leaders. I have great respect for Shri Vajpayee.... *(Interruptions)* He was not there on that day.... *(Interruptions)* He was there on the previous day.... *(Interruptions)* He made a speech on the 5th December.... *(Interruptions)* I have got a copy of that speech.... *(Interruptions)* I have an English translation of it.... *(Interruptions)* As usual, he delivered the speech and after that, he left Ayodhya.... *(Interruptions)* That was what happened on the 6th of December? Shri L.K. Advani and Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi reached Ayodhya at midnight on the 5th Decmber, 1992, escorted by Anju Gupta and stayed at

Janki Mahal Trust.... (*Interruptions*) The Commissioner, the DIG Faizabad, the District Magistrate and the SSP, Faizabad, all the four top officers called upon them and were assured by Shri L.K. Advani and Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi that a peaceful *Karseva* would be carried out.... (*Interruptions*) Then, Shri L.K. Advani and Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi assured that they would ensure that things happened peacefully – a promise made by Shri L.K. Advani and Dr. Murli Manohar Josh..

Shri L.K. Advani and others met at the residence of Shri Vinay Katiyar before proceeding to the disputed structure. Sarvashri Vinay Katiyar, L.K. Advani, M.M. Joshi. Ashok Singhal, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Uma Bharti, Sadhvi Ritambara and others were also present there and there is nothing on record to indicate whether it was a formal meeting or otherwise. I will ask Shri Advani and Shri Murli Manohar Joshi to tell us what happened in that breakfast meeting on the 6th December, 1992. What did you talk? What did you discuss? Tell us. Why are you not telling the House? What did you discuss on the morning of 6th December, 1992 when you met in the house of Shri Vinay Katiyar? (*Interruptions*) You had breakfast there and you went to that place. What did you discuss there and what did you decide? ... (*Interruptions*)

The previous day, you promised the police officers, you promised the Additional Magistrate that you will ensure that everything goes off peacefully. ... (*Interruptions*) Finally, what did you discuss there? Let the nation know it, you tell us. Paramhans Ramchander Dass admitted in his statement and have sworn that provocative slogans were raised on the 6th of December. I admire Paramhans Ramchander Dass. At least, even if his convictions are wrong, he had the courage of conviction to admit it. ... (*Interruptions*) Even if his views are wrong, he had the courage to own up. Even if his slogans are dangerous, he had the courage to admit that he raised those slogans. What are the slogans? I quote: “एक धक्का और दो, मस्जिद तोड़ दो!” He had said it. He said this before the Commission. We studied it. All of us studied it. How can you deny this? Here is your own man, the *Sangh*

Parivar man who says, he said, “एक घक्का और दो, मस्जिद तोड़ दो!” ... (*Interruptions*)
 What does it mean? Does it mean ‘building of a temple’? Does it mean ‘protect the structure’? ... (*Interruptions*) There is only one thing. They went there with the sole intention of destroying the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid structure. ... (*Interruptions*)

Madam, the Commission comes to the conclusion in paragraph 126.12 which says:

“There is sufficient and believable evidence on the record including the statements of Ram Kirpal and Mark Tully etc. that provocative speeches were delivered by Uma Bharti, Sadhvi Ritambra, Paramhans Ramchander Dass, Acharya Dharmendra Dev, B.L. Sharma, Ashok Singhal and Vinay Katiyar, Vamdev, Swami Chinmayanand, Mahant Avaidyanath etc.”

There is enormous evidence on record. If you do not want to read the evidence, God only can save you. ... (*Interruptions*) But there is enormous evidence on record that provocative statements were made there. Recording of those speeches were freely made available and used to be played in most of the shops. *Karsevaks* were drawing pleasure in making the journalists say, “*Jai Shri Ram*”. Militancy was writ large among the *Karsevaks*. Paramhans Ramchander Dass admitted having announced on the public address system, “demolish the structure, you will not get such an opportunity”. This is the finding. Can you deny this? ... (*Interruptions*)

Ms. Anju Gupta was the Personal Security Officer to Shri Lal Krishna Advani. ... (*Interruptions*) Ms. Anju Gupta, a lady officer, was appointed as the Personal Security Officer to Shri Advani in Ayodhya. ... (*Interruptions*)

Anju Gupta stated that entry of the Police Control Room was quite open, there was crowd pressure from both sides of the barricade... (*Interruptions*) The crowd present on the *pandal* at the construction site near Shesh Avtar Mandir needed to be regulated... (*Interruptions*) There was no physical barricading between Ram Dewar... (*Interruptions*) and outside of it, which provided...



(*Interruptions*) easy scaling of the walls *en masse*, and entry to the premises. There was no streamlining of the crowd towards the *Chabutra* and from there to the exit on the western side gate, which made the entire ground open and available, for thousands of peoples to come in suddenly and occupy... (*Interruptions*) There were no security personnel on the roof of the domes of the structure preventing the Kar Sewaks from demolishing it. There was no crowd examination challenging the facts stated by Anju Gupta, the Security Officer of Shri L.K. Advani, on the fateful day.

There is no reason to disbelieve her on these facts since she had unrestricted access... (*Interruptions*) as the Security Officer attached to Shri L.K. Advani... (*Interruptions*) to all the happenings and overall scenario in the Ram Janam Bhoomi- Babri Masjid Complex. N.C. Padhi stated that the police allowed the public meeting in the vicinity of the vulnerable object, with their hands tied and... (*Interruptions*) in view of the order not to fire on the Kar Sewaks by the order of the Chief Minister... (*Interruptions*)

Sushma Ji wanted evidence. This is evidence. Anju Gupta is evidence... (*Interruptions*) N.C. Padhi is evidence... (*Interruptions*) Ram Chandra Paramhans is evidence. This evidence is... (*Interruptions*)

What was happening that day? This is the most important part, Madam. At about noon, 12 o'clock, a teenage Kar Sewak vaulted onto the dome and thereby signaled the breaking of the outer cordon. Other Kar Sewaks wielding pickaxes, hammers, iron-rods and shovels started scaling the Ram Dewar and over the barriers of the outer, inner and isolation cordons, from the east, west and south directions.

Madam, I ask where do the pick-axes come from? Where do the hammers come from? Where do the iron-rods come from? Where do the shovels come from? In a tremendous team-work they carried them... (*Interruptions*) I will show later, they helped them carried them. They paid them money to get this and carried to the place.

They stormed the disputed structure. The police deployed at the spot... (*Interruptions*) Please listen to this. The police deployed at the spot gave their canes and shields to the Kar Sewaks who brandished them openly. The police lathis and the police shields were given to the Kar Sewaks and the Kar Sewaks started marching towards... (*Interruptions*) This is very important.

The Kar Sewaks' assault on the disputed structure started at 12.15 p.m. They first entered the *Garba Griha*, carefully took away the idols and cash box, etc. to a safe place. The idols and the cash box were taken to a safe place. Then they started breaking the dome and started breaking the upper plaster of the dome with hammers.

In fact the demolition was accomplished by smashing holes inside the walls. Ropes were inserted through these holes in the walls under the domes, the walls were pulled down with these ropes bringing down the domes as well... (*Interruptions*) It is very important. The structure was not brought down by the Kar Sewaks on the domes, the structure was brought down by digging a hole in the dome, putting the ropes to the hole and pulling the dome down with the ropes... (*Interruptions*) It was shameful, pre-planned, conspiratorial, wanton, cold-blooded destruction of the property which they promised they would protect... (*Interruptions*)

L.K. Advani, M.M. Joshi, Ashok Singhal, Vijayaraje Scindia, H.V. Sheshadri who were present at the Ram Katha Kunj made feeble requests to the Kar Sewaks to come down from the disputed structure either in an earnest or for the media's benefit. ... (*Interruptions*) One could have reasonably perceived that the demolition of the disputed structure was not possible from the top of the domes. No request was made to *Karsevaks*, not to enter the *Garb Grah* or not to demolish from inside under the domes. No request was made. The selected act of the leaders itself speaks about the hidden intention of one and all being to accomplish the demolition of the disputed structure.




What does the Commission conclude? This charade by these leaders at the instance of L.K. Advani is in stark contradiction to their own prior conduct and their public posture, incitement and exhortations to the crowd to build a temple in place of the disputed structure. The demolition of the structure was unavoidable for the construction of a temple. They had to demolish the structure to construct the temple. Therefore, they demolished the structure. The idols and cash box removed to safe places were brought back to their original place at 7 p.m. The construction of a temporary makeshift temple commenced at 7.30 p.m.. A close examination of the evidence shows that the enthusiastic chanting of inflammatory slogans including: “एक धक्का और दो, बाबरी मस्जिद तोड़ दो” acted like a proverbial war cry and these were raised to encourage the *Karsevaks* in their dastardy deeds. Slogans against Muslims were also raised. Sarcastic remarks were made against the High Court and the Supreme Court. Mulayam Singh *ji* was mocked by the *Karsevaks*. Even though the Chief Minister was informed about this, he gave a written order not to resort to firing under any circumstances and to take any other measure. The Magistrate ordered in writing for the forces to turn back at 2.25 p.m. The Magistrate told the forces to go back at 2.25 p.m. The police and the administration was a mute spectator. Their loyalty to the political masters was writ large.

Listen to Shri Kalyan Singh’s reaction: “It was like a badly inflated balloon that burst.” Babri Masjid structure, according to Shri Kalyan Singh, was a badly inflated balloon which burst. He further says: “All other political parties are to be blamed for frustration of *Karsevaks*. They should arrest me because after all I fulfilled one of the major objectives of our Party and have redeemed the Party’s election manifesto.” This is what Shri Kalyan Singh said.

Where is Sushma ji? There is no doubt at all, from the evidence and testimony before the Commission that the *Sangh Parivar*, especially the Bajrang Dal, RSS, VHP, BJP and Shiv Sena cadres created circumstances consistently over a period of a decade which ultimately resulted in the events of December 6th, 1992. Sushma ji, there is an evidence. Where is she? I want her to read the evidence.

It stood established before me beyond reasonable doubt that the Joint Common Enterprise was a pre-planned act for demolition under the immediate leadership of Vinay Katiyar, Paramhans Ramchander Dass, Ashok Singhal, Champat Rai, Swami Chinmayanand, S.C. Dixit, B.P. Singhal and Acharya Giriraj. They were the local leaders on the spot and the executors of the plan conceived by the RSS. The plan was conceived by the RSS. The other leaders cannot be absolved of their vicarious liability and were willing collaborators playing the roles assigned to them by the RSS. Their informed support for the Ayodhya campaign, fortified by their physical presence during the *grand finale* of the prolonged campaign is irrefutably established.

I conclude that the BJP, VHP, Shiv Sena and their office bearers as named in this report, in connivance with Kalyan Singh, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh entered into a Joint Common Enterprise for the purpose of demolition of the disputed structure and the construction of temple in its place ... (*Interruptions*)

Friends, what is your answer to this conclusion? Let us debate it. Come along. I will give you another opportunity to  debate it. What is your answer to this conclusion? ... (*Interruptions*)

It was openly asserted and commonly accepted that the pre-partition Jan Sangh was the political wing of RSS. The Jan Sangh, later, was renamed as the Bharatiya Janata Party. Though some of the leaders have tried to claim that the BJP and RSS are independent organizations, in another part of this Report, the Commission has dealt with the question and concluded that they are functionally, if not legally, intertwined and inseparable. RSS and BJP are intertwined and inseparable.

The admission by Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhya, in no uncertain terms, in his books that he was deputed by the RSS to organize the Bharatiya Jan Sangh is a clear indicator of this relationship. Even on date, the RSS Office bearers, *Swayam Sewaks* are deputed by RSS to carry out the work of BJP; the top echelon of the BJP leadership is pre-dominantly from the RSS and they are guided by its thoughts and philosophy in governance. The RSS has considerable influence on the leadership not only of BJP but also on the other allied organizations participating in the temple construction movement or which have Hinduism as their objective. Using its sweeping influence over the organizers and the institutions participating, the RSS controlled every aspect of the Ayodhya movement.

Despite the attempts made to distance the RSS or BJP from the movement by attributing the movement to the VHP or the *dharam sansad*, I have concluded that all the other members of the Sangh Pariwar are merely frontal organizations of RSS deputed to working in different fields. There was no illusion in the minds of a common man that RSS or the VHP were either different or distant from the BJP, or that their objectives were not identical. ... (*Interruptions*)

Now, I come to mobilization. How did they bring the fund resources? How did the money come? The mobilization and in fact, the entire movement in the construction of Ram temple at the disputed structure was carried out by RSS initially keeping the VHP, local *Sants* and *Sadhus* as the front body for raising the resources. Later, the VHP, Bajrang Dal, *Sadhus* and *Sants*, or other organization like the Shiv Sena and other individuals joined as well. Some individual leaders of the BJP were associated and supporting the movement from its initial stages. Throughout the movement, the reins of the movement remained with the RSS who used to work out logistics and programmes. Without the mobilization by the BJP and the taking out of Rath Yatra by the *icons* of the movement like L.K. Advani, no substantial mobilization would have taken place, nor would any frenzy approach towards the disputed structure have been built.

An enterprise as large as that witnessed in 1992 in Uttar Pradesh obviously required a great deal of money. A massive mobilization drive necessitated logistical support in a mega scale as well. A massive convergence in Ayodhya and Faizabad needed to be accommodated in tents, the SSP said, and provided with the means and the purpose necessary for the ultimate objective. The presence of a large number of leaders of every level also necessitated arrangement for the intrinsic values and the essential ... (*Interruptions*)

The money for all these logistics were channelled to Ayodhya directly in the coffers of various Sangh Pariwar organizations from all over the country especially from Punjab, Delhi, Patna and Gujarat. It exposed the canard of the demolition and kar sewa... (*Interruptions*) or carried out by kar sewaks in Andhra Pradesh. It leaves no doubt that the mobs or the crowds were predominantly in the Northern States. No one can say that predominantly in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra. In a... (*Interruptions*) ...investigation, the CBI was able to collect solid evidence of money being transferred in... (*Interruptions*) accounts via various banks into the accounts of Sangh frontal organizations in Uttar Pradesh. The payments from these recipient accounts were made to the local children and businessmen of Ayodhya, Faizabad. They are also on the record collected by the CBI team, which forms part of the Annexure to the Report. The CBI team could, of course, only trace accounts that transacted money in legitimate and conventional modes of money transfer. Needless to add, amounts, at least, equivalent in quantum to those amounts must have been transferred to untraceable names by way of cash also.

It is impossible to authoritatively quantify a document that parallel money transfers undoubtedly took place. That clearly defines movement of the money to some outfits (*Interruptions*) with those spending the cash on the management, and comfortable crowd is more than sufficient evidence... (*Interruptions*) You please listen... (*Interruptions*) It clearly defines movement of the money to some outfits with those spending the cash on the management and comfortable crowd is more than sufficient evidence to establish that complicity of not only those peripheral Sangh unit but also of fund raising drive regularly conducted by VHP and RSS. The recipient organizations in Uttar Pradesh to whom the money is channeled included Ramjanmabhoomi Nyas, Bharat Kalyan Pratishtan, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Ramjanmabhoomi Nyas Paduka Pujan Nidhi, Ramjanmabhoomi Nyas Shri Ramshila Poojam, Jan Hitesh and others. The accounts were operated by Onkar Bhave, Mahant Praramhans Ramchandra Das, Nritya Gopal Das, Gurjan Singh, Narad Saran, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, V.H. Dalmia, Nana Bhagwat, Jaswant Rai Gupta, B.P. Toshniwal, Sitaram Aggarwal, Ashok Singhal, Rameshwar Dyal, Prem Nath, Champat Rai, Surya Krishan, Yashwant Bhatt, Avdesh Kumar Das Shastri, etc. Crores of rupees were transferred to accounts of these people. We have the names; we have the accounts; and we will take suitable and civil action against those who did the damage.

I now, come to a conclusion. There is a debate about secularism. The Report says: "The BJP and the RSS are very secular from..." Secularism ...is one man in a democracy. I can do ...than Justice Chennapa Reddy said in one of Ambedkar Memorial Lectures... (*Interruptions*)

"Indian Constitutional secularism is not supportive of religion at all, but has adopted what may be termed as permissible attitude towards religion out of respect of individual conscience and dignity. There, even while recognizing the right to profess and practice religion, etc, it has excluded all secular activities from the purview of religion and also of practices which are repugnant to public order, morality, health and are abhorrent to human rights and dignity as embodied in the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution".

Constitutional secularism cannot be termed as anti-God or anti-religion. Basically, it is a concept essential for the working of our democracy. ”

“Secularism or the constitutional secularism and the pluralist tolerance in India are facing innumerable challenges.” The Liberhan’s Report says, “While defining nationalism, it is sometimes referred to as cultural nationalism in preference to the geographical nationalism, pseudo secularism, practical secularism, compared with Constitutional secularism, politically convenient secularism defined, communal fascism, sectarian nationalism, militant obscurantism, casteism, and regionalism and in any form of communalism etc. The entire movement of Hindu politics cannot be termed as fascist in any sense, yet there are specific political characteristics that are generally associated with movement which were present. These elements identified with the Hindu extremists politics in India today, include the use of violence to achieve sectarian objective, the victimizing of members of the particular community, mass mobilization based on frenzied and deeply divisive appeals, and the use of constitutional and strong arm matter to debase particular groups. Killing of many Muslims in cities is a well known act of extremist Hindu groups.”

Madam, in conclusion, let me say the horrendous consequences of 6th December, 1992 resulted in riots and doom. From December 1992 to January, February, March 1993, in all 2,019 people were killed in a matter of three months and 7,786 people were injured in a matter of three months... (*Interruptions*)

Hindus were killed. Muslims were killed. People belonging to other faiths were killed. Police men were killed. The violence that was unleashed by the horrendous crime of 6th December 1992 continues to divide our country even today.... (*Interruptions*)

I would have thought, after the Liberhan Commission’s Report, after this debate, there will be shame, remorse and contriteness. Unfortunately, the civilized discourse in our country seems to have bid good bye to shame, remorse and contriteness. RSS and the Sangh Parivar have no shame, no remorse, no contriteness and continue to divide the country.... (*Interruptions*)

Madam, let me conclude by saying that there are two ideas in India. One is the idea of India represented by the Congress and all other secular parties. And the other is the idea of India represented by the divisive politics of the BJP. I am sorry to quote from an article I wrote many months ago.... (*Interruptions*) But I want to quote this.

Jawaharlal Nehru once said,

“India is like an ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written.”

There are two ideas of India. This is the first time the BJP, an Indian political party, openly adopted a divisive and an extreme agenda. The question then that everyone’s mind was, “will it succeed”? Apparently, it succeeded. It succeeded in 1998.... (*Interruptions*)

The first real test over the division of Bengal... (*Interruptions*) for ever from India came in 2004. In 2004, the Congress Party put across another idea of India where India must be an inclusive nation. India must celebrate its diversity. All Indians must be encouraged to develop an Indian identity even when they are proud of their respective language or religion. This is an idea that India is a nation where no one valley, no one institution ... (*Interruptions*) will dominate over others. The two ideas of India clashed in 2004. What did the people vote for? Forget the conclusion of Justice Liberhan. Forget the indictment of Justice Liberhan. In 2004 when the two ideas of India – one led by the BJP in power with the Prime Minister, with the Deputy Prime Minister, with the entire State establishment put forward an idea of India of a divisive agenda; the other of the Congress Party and the secular parties put forward an idea of India, of an inclusive India. The people of India voted for our idea. The people of India rejected you. The judgement of the people of India is greater than the judgement of Justice Liberhan. Justice Liberhan’s is a Commission. The people of India are our ultimate masters. They rejected you.

They rejected you in 2004. When you went to them in 2009, they rejected you in 2009 also.

Madam, let me conclude by saying only one idea will clearly prevail, that is the idea of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and Dr. Ambedkar. India will be an inclusive nation. India will be a plural nation. In India no idea will dominate another idea. No institution will dominate another institution. We have brought together our idea of India. Our idea of India will prevail.

MADAM SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow the 9th December 2009 at 11 a.m.

18.37 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock
on Wednesday, December 9, 2009 / Agrahayana 18, 1931(Saka).*
