

LOK SABHA DEBATES **(English Version)**

Second Session
(Twelfth Lok Sabha)



(Vol. V contains Nos. 31 to 38)

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
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LOK SABHA DEBATES

LOK SABHA

Monday, August 3, 1998/Shravana 12,
1920 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at
Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

Annual Report pertaining to the Execution of the Provisions of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969

[English]

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (DR. M. THAMBI DURAI) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Report (Hindi & English versions) pertaining to the Execution of the Provisions of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969 for the period from 1st January, 1997 to 31st December, 1997 under section 62 of the said Act.

[Placed in Library, See No. LT. 1446/98]

Notification under Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Act, 1970

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) issued under section 19 of the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Act, 1970 :-

- (i) Notification No. 399/S/0089/PD:IRD (O) published in Gazette of India containing corrigendum to the Syndicate Bank (Officers) Service (Amendment) Regulations, 1979.
- (ii) Notification No. HO/Legal/876 published in Gazette of India dated the 11th April, 1998 containing corrigendum to the Allahabad Bank Officer Employees' (Discipline and Appeal) (Amendment) Regulations, 1976.

[Placed in Library, See No. LT. 1447/98]

Notification Under Environment (Protection) Act, 1986

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND FORESTS (SHRI BABU LAL MARANDI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under section 26 of the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 :-

- (i) The Environment (Protection) Amendment Rules, 1997 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 560(E) in Gazette of India dated the 19th September, 1997.
- (ii) The Environment (Protection) Amendment Rules, 1998 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 378(E) in Gazette of India dated the 3rd July, 1998.

[Placed in Library, See No. LT. 1448/98]

11.03 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

National Social Assistance Programme

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF RURAL AREAS AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI BABAGOUDA PATIL) : The National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) is being implemented since 15th August, 1995. It has three components at present. Under National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), the Central assistance is given @ Rs. 75/- per month to destitutes who are aged 65 years or more. Under National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), lumpsum benefit is given to households below poverty line on the death of the primary breadwinner. An amount of Rs. 5,000/- is given in case of natural death and Rs. 10,000/- in case of accidental death. Under National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS), pregnant women belonging to households below poverty line are given assistance of Rs. 300/- up to two live births.

On the 7th July, 1998, the Government has decided to amend the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) Guidelines to make the programme more effective. The benefit under National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS) has been raised to Rs. 10,000/- from Rs. 5,000/- in case of natural death of primary breadwinner. Taking note of the fact that poor households have more than one

[Shri Babagouda Patil]

breadwinner in order to survive, under National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), primary breadwinner (man or woman) shall henceforth be defined as member whose earnings had contributed substantially to the household income. The term "household" shall also include minor brothers/sisters in case of death of an unmarried adult. The benefit under National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS) has been raised to Rs. 500/- from Rs. 300/-. While timely disbursement of benefit under National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS), before the child is born will be ensured, this benefit will not be denied if there is delay in applying and the benefit can be paid even after delivery of the child. The assistance under three schemes will now be sanctioned and disbursed in the meetings of Gram Sabha by Gram Panchayats/Block level functionaries. In case of Urban areas, elected local self-government officials are to be involved in the process of sanctioning and disbursement of assistance. The disbursement will be made in public meetings of *mohalla*/neighbourhood committees.

11.04 hrs.

LOKPAL BILL*

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the establishment of the institution of Lokpal to enquire into allegations of corruption against public functionaries and for matter connected therewith.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV (Sambhal) : The Prime Minister has also started speaking in English.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say a few words to support this bill. After passing through various stages this bill has reached at this stage now. The Administrative Reforms Commission constituted in 1966 under the chairmanship of Shri Morarji Bhai suggested the establishment of two institutions—first Lokpal and the other Lokayukta. Lokayukta has been constituted in states and the same are functioning but as far as the question of Lokpal is concerned, proposals for the same came before the Lok Sabha many times, Bills have been introduced, discussions have been

held, committees have been constituted and this has been going on since 1968. It was considered in 1971 and it was introduced once again in 1985 because every time Lok Sabha was dissolved before the bill could be passed. In 1996, efforts were made for the last time to give it a shape of law, but at that time also such a situation was created Lok Sabha was dissolved. We have promised to give it a shape of law in our national agenda for Governance. Today, we are fulfilling our promise. We had also promised to bring the Prime Minister under it. It is a matter of discussion and there may be different views on it and they may come up during the discussion. But as far as we are concerned, we want that there should be no difference among the Ministers, Prime Minister and Members of Parliament as the Prime Minister is also a Member of Parliament. Law would be applicable to all the public servants and all the Members of Parliament would come within its purview. Because now...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAJO SINGH (Begusarai) : Mr. Speaker Sir, why are the Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assembly being brought under the purview of the bill which is being introduced by the Prime Minister? A Member of Parliament gets only Rs. 1500 as salary. Members of Parliament get less than the minimum wages paid to the labourers. Therefore, they should be taken out of its purview...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AKBAR AHMAD (Azamgarh) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the salary of Members of Parliament is Rs. 1500. MP's should be taken out of its purview as their salary is less than the minimum wages...*(Interruptions)*

DR. SHAFIQUK RAHMAN BARQ (Moradabad) : Even a peon's salary is much more than our salary. The Prime Minister is introducing the Lokpal Bill but the issue of increase in the salary of Members of Parliament should also be considered...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Do not do that. Please sit down.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker Sir, there will be three members in Lokpal and all the three would be from judiciary. A committee would be constituted for the selection of the Lokpal and two other members. The Vice-President would be the Chairman of the committee. Besides the Prime Minister, Hon. Speaker of Lok Sabha, the Home Minister, Leader of the House of which the Prime Minister is not a member, would also be included and also the Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha, Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : Mr. Speaker Sir, I am on a point of order. Mr. Speaker Sir, I would like

* Published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part-II, Section - 2 dated 3.8.98.

to know whether Lokpal Bill is being presented or it is being considered.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Mohan Singh, let the hon. Prime Minister complete his remarks.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Lokpal would enquire into the complaints against the public servants who are punishable under the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988. If the Chairman and Members of Lokpal are members of Parliament or legislature, they will have to resign from the same...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Tenali) : Sir, no speech is made at the stage of introduction. This is a new custom or convention which the hon. Prime Minister seems to be setting.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker Sir, this has been the convention that while introducing the Bill, few words are supposed to be spoken regarding the contents of the Bill...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER : It is never done. This seems to be politically motivated.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I have no objection...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF TOURISM (SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA) : Mr. Speaker Sir, When the Prime Minister is on his legs, nobody should interrupt him...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Tenali) : It has never happened. He has every right to speak at the time of consideration of the Bill. I have all respect for the Prime Minister but I have respect for the Rules also.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : Sir, the hon. Prime Minister is the Leader of the House, and he is only mentioning some points. He should not be stopped like this.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : Sir, I am aware that no statement was

made on many occasions when a Bill was introduced. There have been many occasions also when the Mover of a Bill made a brief statement while introducing the Bill. It is a plain factual statement which is being opposed to on this ground, that too in the case of the Prime Minister. I regret that it should happen.

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker Sir, I do not want to take more time of the House. The Bill is being introduced for consideration and the House will be having enough time for consideration. My intention was to put forth brief contents of the Bill before the Members to facilitate its introduction and to overcome objections if any. I do not want to say anything more at this stage.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the establishment of the institution of Lokpal to enquire into allegations of corruption against public functionaries and for matter connected therewith."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER : The Prime Minister may now introduce the Bill.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Sir, I introduce the Bill.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Sir, I may be permitted to raise a very important matter.

11.14 hrs.

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER

SAARC Summit and Recent Developments Affecting India's Foreign Policy

[English]

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Sir, over the last few weeks, the Government has kept the House regularly informed about the developments in the fields of international relations and our foreign policy. I take this opportunity to bring the hon. Members up-to-date on the most recent events, especially SAARC, our relations with Pakistan, and the recent ARF and ASEAN dialogue meetings.

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

I visited Colombo on 28th - 31st July, 1998 to participate in the 10th SAARC Summit. I was accompanied by Commerce Minister, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, as well as Minister of State for External Affairs who led our delegation at the Ministerial level meeting preceding the Summit.

The Summit reaffirmed the common desire of SAARC Member States to strengthen cooperation in the region. There was general agreement with our perception that to meet the challenges and to avail of the opportunities presented by the substantially transformed global economic situation, it was essential to enhance bilateral as well as SAARC regional, economic, social and technical cooperation. The agenda and the discussions during the Summit were focussed on these areas.

It was agreed that SAARC must move purposefully towards setting up a Free Trade Area; a group of experts will be set up to negotiate a comprehensive legal framework for this purpose incorporating schedules for liberalised trade and facilitation measures, taking into account least developed countries' concerns. Parallel steps will be taken to conclude the third round of the trade negotiations under the South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement, and to commence the next round.

We have reiterated our commitment to, and readiness for bold initiatives to speed up trade liberalisation. I announced our Government's decision to lift all Quantitative Restrictions preferentially, on imports from SAARC countries, with effect from August 1, 1998. This is a decision with far-reaching positive economic and developmental consequences for the region and has been welcomed. We also made known our readiness to enter into bilateral free trade arrangements with interested SAARC countries. Sri Lanka has taken up this offer.

In our discussion, it was recognized that the benefits of trade liberalisation would be more extensive and balanced through promoting trade-related joint ventures, investment and trade-in-services such as tourism. India's decision to substantially increase the ceiling for investment for India under the fast track in SAARC countries, from US \$ 8 million to US \$ 15 million has also been welcomed. This will encourage a greater flow of Indian investment and stimulate trade.

Important initiatives have been taken in the social sector, to illustrate, a Social Charter for SAARC, agreement to finalise a convention to combat Illegal Trafficking in Women and Children. This is to be signed at the next SAARC Summit. A

regional convention on child welfare will also be developed.

We underlined the importance of cooperation in energy through networking. India has, further, offered to host a special meeting of Science and Technology Ministers to consider a SAARC S&T initiative for regional projects in rural areas, directly benefiting the people. We also underlined the utility of cooperation in traditional systems of medicines and have invited participation in a Health Ministers' meeting in India for this purpose. India has reaffirmed support for comprehensive environment related proposals.

I would also like to draw attention to my bilateral meetings on the sidelines of the Summit, with the Presidents of Maldives and Sri Lanka, the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Nepal and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bhutan. These meetings provided the occasion for renewing our friendly contact, for fruitful discussions enabling a review of our bilateral relations and of progress in specific areas of cooperation, as well as for sharing our perceptions.

I took the opportunity, in my interaction with other leaders, to reiterate our commitment to peace and stability, setting at rest misconceptions about our recent nuclear tests. Our initiatives for confidence building and disarmament have been appreciated. There was an agreement on the need to commence purposeful negotiations towards a comprehensive and nondiscriminatory global nuclear disarmament regime and a nuclear weapon-free world.

We have conveyed our appreciation to the Sri Lankan Government for the excellent arrangements made for the Summit, and in particular to President Chandrika Kumaratunga for the vision and efficiency with which she steered the Summit deliberations. We wish her well in her new responsibility in Chairing SAARC. We assure Sri Lanka of our full support.

In my interaction with Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Muhammed Nawaz Sharif, which included a long meeting on July 29, I reiterated our commitment to developing peaceful and friendly ties with Pakistan, and our interest in a secure, stable and prosperous Pakistan. I urged that we should work together to develop trust and confidence, and avail of the many opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic, social and other fields so that we can improve the lives of peoples. I further underlined the need to work together to address our differences in a rational and realistic manner. The atmosphere of our discussions was cordial and constructive. I look forward to continuing a purposeful interaction with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

My discussions with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif also focussed on our official level dialogue. Hon. Members will recall that such a dialogue had been resumed last year, and that the subjects for discussion were jointly identified in June 1997. The modalities for this purpose have not yet been finalised. We directed our Foreign Secretaries to meet and complete this exercise.

India has consistently underlined its commitment to a direct, composite dialogue with Pakistan. Such a comprehensive and sustained process will contribute to building trust and confidence, promote mutually beneficial cooperation and help address bilateral issues. The dialogue must address the totality of the relationship and not be pursued in a narrow, segmented fashion which would defeat its very purpose which is to build a wide ranging and enduring relationship. A direct bilateral interaction which seeks to generate confidence and foster cooperation in functional areas, and enhanced people to people contacts would also help create a positive climate, in which difficult issues under discussion could be purposefully addressed. It is recognised by the international community that all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan, including Jammu and Kashmir should be settled bilaterally in a peaceful manner. The modalities which we have suggested would help ensure that the process moves forward on a broad front in a constructive and sustained manner, while at the same time, providing a meaningful opportunity for discussions on confidence building measures, cooperation and dealing with outstanding issues, as part of a composite process.

Our Foreign Secretaries met in Colombo and exchanged views on this subject. We will remain engaged in the process and continue contacts through diplomatic channels, to work out an agreement, so that the dialogue could be continued.

During my talks with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, I also emphasised that instigation and support of terrorism was incompatible with our common desire for friendly and peaceful relations and that these activities must cease immediately.

Hon. Members are aware that we also participated in this year's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference which is an important part of ASEAN's interaction with its dialogue partners, as well as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Meetings, held on July 24-29. Our delegation was led by Deputy-Chairman, Planning Commission. My Government has reaffirmed the policy of strengthening cooperation with countries in ASEAN and the Asia Pacific Region as a whole. Apart from bilateral contacts, we have also established active communication with them in the framework of the

dialogue partnership and ARF. Our participation in these meetings this year, was particularly important, as it provided an opportunity to once again clarify our policy on nuclear disarmament in the context of the recent tests, as well as to demonstrate our continued engagement in the economic and political stability of the region and share perceptions on regional and international developments. While the ARF "Chairman's Statement" contained a paragraph disapproving of the recent tests in South Asia, with which we disassociated ourselves, we also found a better overall understanding on the part of ASEAN countries of the rationale of our policy, as well as of the need for purposeful moves by the Nuclear Weapon States towards comprehensive, universal nuclear disarmament on a non-discriminatory basis. We assure the ASEAN countries that we fully respected the status of the Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in South East Asia.

Our interaction with ASEAN reflected an understanding that cooperation and dialogue partnership with India had made good progress, and that we needed to jointly consolidate this through implementation of projects and measures under discussion, in trade and investment, infrastructure and human resource development, tourism, culture and people to people contacts.

The leader of our delegation also had constructive and forward looking discussions with the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN countries, Russia, China, Australia and New Zealand, the US Secretary of State and the Ministers of State of Japan and the United Kingdom. Our bilateral and multilateral interaction in the ASEAN and ARF meetings has helped our post-Pokhran-II diplomatic efforts. Our overall approach, and importance of the steps we have taken to address international and regional security concerns is better acknowledged. There is also continued recognition that India is a factor for peace, stability in the region.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : As the hon. Members are aware, a short duration discussion on the recent developments affecting India's foreign policy is listed in today's List of Business in the names of Shri K. Natwar Singh and Shri P.A. Sangma. The Prime Minister has also made a statement today in the House which has a direct bearing on the subject of the short duration discussion.

If the House agrees, we may enlarge the canvas of the short duration discussion to include the statement made by the Prime Minister as well.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

MR. SPEAKER : The Members, may, therefore make reference to the statement made by the Prime Minister on the SAARC Summit while speaking.

Shri P.A. Sangma may initiate the discussion regarding recent developments affecting India's foreign policy.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

DR. SHAFIQR RAHMAN BARQ (Moradabad): Mr. Speaker Sir, I gave a notice during Zero Hour on 31st also regarding the murder of five persons by the police in Jansath, but I was not given a chance to speak. I want to have a chance to speak on this. I have given a notice on this today also.

MR. SPEAKER : You will get a chance tomorrow during Zero Hour.

[English]

DR. SHAFIQR RAHMAN BARQ : Sir, this is a very important matter...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : You will get a chance tomorrow during Zero Hour. Not today.

DR. SHAFIQR RAHMAN BARQ : Give me a chance to speak today. It is important.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : The matter is likely to influence the foreign policy.

[English]

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Sir, this is a very serious matter. Five people have been killed by the police...*(Interruptions)* Five innocent youth have been killed by the police in U.P...*(Interruptions)* It is a human right violation. The Legislative Assembly of the U.P. State is not sitting now. I have also given a notice on this...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : I have said that you will get a chance tomorrow. Not Today.

[English]

SHRI P. UPENDRA (Vijayawada) : Sir, the Prime Minister should remain present at least to hear the first speech of the discussion regarding India's foreign policy...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : Sir, the hon. Prime Minister has to make a statement in Rajya Sabha...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Prime Minister will come back after making a statement in Rajya Sabha.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Jalore) : Sir, I want to raise a very important matter.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Buta Singh, you will get a chance tomorrow. Not today.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Will you give me a chance tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes.

11.30 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Recent Developments Affecting India's Foreign Policy

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA (Tura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have heard the statement just now made by the Prime Minister on the most recent up-to-date position of foreign policy. But I do not think I could make out much about the clear policy of the Government. I would like to submit that one of the foremost developments during the last quarter of the current century has been the sea change that has overtaken international relations. Today military might is not necessarily the right way to further our international relations, rather it is the economic right or economic might which has become the driving force.

Today's international relations are not necessarily on the basis of military might which is evident even from the actions of the super power countries like the United States of America. In spite of its military might in Somalia, a couple of dozen casualties made the United States withdraw from there.

The United States withdrew from Lebanon because of the blowing up of the marine barracks in Beirut inflicting 250 casualties. It means, 250 US lives were considered to be more valuable than Lebanese regime of the day.

Thirdly, the United States could not accept 50,000 casualties to keep Vietnam out of the Communist bloc. When we look at the erstwhile USSR, the military might of the USSR could not keep their country united. In spite of its military power, the country disintegrated. Therefore, it clearly shows that it is not the military right or the military might which

matters today. What matters today is the economic might. If you look at the policy of the United States of America towards Asia and South-East Asia, we find President Clinton going to Beijing keeping aside all ideologies. What for? I remember when Mr. Brown, who unfortunately died in a plane crash, was the Commerce Minister of the United States of America, he was asked by the media at Beijing that whether he was going to talk about human rights, he answered thus, "I have not come here to preach values. I have come here to make quick bucks. I have come here to make business". Therefore, all over the world, it is the economy which is becoming much more important; it is commerce which is becoming much more important, and not nuclear weapons and military might.

After having said this, naturally, I have to link it to the recent nuclear tests that we had conducted. I do not want to go into the merits of it because in the last debate I had already spoken about the nuclear tests.

I only like to know how the Government so far has handled the fall out of the nuclear tests. I must charge this Government that this Government has completely failed in the diplomatic area. Today, the country does not know who is running the Foreign Ministry. I personally do not know who is running the Ministry of External Affairs. Is it the PMO, is it the Planning Commission, is it the South Block, or is it the Home Ministry? Today I find beautiful statements by the Minister of Home Affairs on foreign policy. Who is actually running the Foreign Ministry?

Our former Foreign Secretary, Shri J.N. Dixit had cautioned that the parallel foreign policy mechanism was not desirable for our country, which is what is actually happening now. Can we ever imagine that at a time when we are facing complete isolation by the international communities, the greatest democracy of the world, India does not have a Foreign Minister? If they are not able to handle other problems, I do not think that the induction of a Foreign Minister would have been a difficult job.

Today we find that Shri Nareshwar Dayal is being sent to the Gulf countries on behalf of the Government of India. We find that Shri Brijesh Mishra, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister is going on behalf of India all over the world. Of course, the Minister of State, Shrimati Vasundhara Raje, legitimately has gone - I know - to Singapore, Manila and to Hanoi. And then we find that Shri Jaswant Singh, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission is going round the world and what is the position of the Ninth Five Year Plan today? Who is caring for the Ninth Five Year Plan?

I do not think that it is good for the country and we do not know what has happened to the visit of

Shri Nareshwar Dayal. I have great respect for that gentleman. He must be a very good diplomat. But can he substitute for the Foreign Minister of India?

I know Shri Jaswant Singh very well. I have travelled with him. I have met Heads of State and Heads of Government in many parts of the world along with Shri Jaswant Singh. I know his capability. But the fact remains that he is not the Foreign Minister. Why can he not be made the Foreign Minister? Where is the difficulty?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Member, please take your seat. He is not yielding.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : I am not yielding. This is a serious debate.

I would like to remind that generally Governments with sound foreign policy treaties do not take casually to be dealing with functionaries other than those of accredited Missions or those having a constitutional status. I know it very well. I was myself a victim of that situation. In 1985, when late Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, held the portfolio of Commerce with him and I was made the Minister of State for Commerce, practically, I had to look after the Ministry of Commerce. But my counterparts, the Commerce Ministers of other countries refused to meet me. They were saying: "Who is he?" They were just pushing me to a junior Minister. Is it good for the country? It is not good for the country. And we do not know what has happened to those visits of Shri Jaswant Singh. He went to Washington and met Mr. Talbott, I suppose. And what happened there! They agreed to meet at Frankfurt. And what is the outcome of the Frankfurt meeting! They agreed to meet in New Delhi. Then Mr. Talbott comes to New Delhi and has a talk. And what is the outcome! They agree to meet again in Washington. I do not know from Washington where they will agree to meet. Is it the way to run the foreign policy?

The Prime Minister has just now told us that on 29th, he had "long meeting" with his counterpart, the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Prime Minister further informs the House that that long meeting was "cordial and constructive". Very good! But unfortunately, the Prime Minister of Pakistan does not agree to that. When the Prime Minister of Pakistan was asked what was the outcome of their meeting, he is reported to have said "Zero". And our Prime Minister says "cordial and constructive"! Again, when the Prime Minister of Pakistan was asked: "If you had a long meeting and the outcome was zero, why did you spend so much time?", he is reported to have said: "Yes, it was a waste of time". The Prime Minister of Pakistan, after meeting the Prime Minister of India, the greatest democracy in the world, has had to say that his

[Shri Purno A. Sangma]

meeting with Prime Minister was a waste of time. Is it the way they are handling their foreign policy?

SHRI CHETAN CHAUHAN (Amroha) : This is one of the most irresponsible statements which has come from the Prime Minister of Pakistan... (Interruptions)

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : Yes, it may be... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Chauhan, please take your seat.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : Sir, I think, I must appreciate the efforts of the Government in trying to project India's position. The only thing is that the method they are adopting is wrong. I must appreciate the efforts that the Minister of State herself is making. But all these efforts have not borne any fruit for our country. In spite of all these diplomatic activities, the fact remains that we have not been able to carry conviction to the so-called key interlocutor, and the result is isolation. There are many reasons why we are not able to carry conviction, but I shall point out only two at the moment. The first reason why we are not able to carry conviction is inconsistency between our call for disarmament and our nuclear testing. On the one hand, we are calling for complete disarmament and, on the other, we are going in for weaponisation.

The second inconsistency is much more important. The inconsistency is between the nuclear testing on the one hand and the image in reality of India as a land of illiteracy, unemployment, poverty and malnutrition on the other. We have so much of money to spend for nuclear weapons, but we are not able to give food to our countrymen.

They are talking about national security. I agree that we must do everything for our national security. But can national security be preserved, protected and enhanced with a nuclear weapon? I do not agree. There can be no national security without food security. There can be no national security without job security. There can be no national security without health security. There can be no national security without social security. The emphasis that we have to give is to provide to the people of India, food security, health security, social security etc. I do not want to name everything. But what are we doing in that direction?

Everybody knows what is the status of our economy today. I want to give more time to my colleague, Shri K. Natwar Singh to speak on issues of P-5, G-8, FMCT and CTBT. So, I am not going into those aspects. I want to confine myself to the theory of economic race as a matter of foreign policy. Where do we stand today? After the BJP Government has

taken over, Sensex has nose-dived by 600 points only, rupee has depreciated to somewhere between 42 and 43 per dollar and according to Meryll Lynch, it is bound to reach 46 per dollar. FIs and operators have been pulling out their money from India; and they are taking decisions to withdraw money from India to London offices. The direct investment in the country has virtually stopped and the rate of inflation is increasing. The rise in the Consumer Price Index for industrial workers has crossed ten per cent. Exports are dwindling and have dropped by over 17 per cent. Trade deficit has been mounting to 1.85 billion dollars as against 840 million dollars. Our credit rating has been downgraded. Inflation has reached eight per cent. There has been a deterioration of Balance of Payments. Fiscal deficit has come to six per cent of the GDP which is an increase by 3,500 crores of rupees. Foreign exchange reserves have fallen, the latest figure which I read yesterday, by two billion dollars. That is the position of our economy today.

The country has no time to think about how to handle this economic problem and we are very busy with weaponisation and all that. The Prime Minister is not here. I have been saying very often that I have a lot of respect for our Prime Minister. People had a lot of expectations from our Prime Minister, but I am afraid that the Prime Minister and his Government have failed the people.

Please do something. The Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is known as a person who has a lot of concern for the poor people, for humanity. I happened to come across a poem : I want to conclude with that, because I want to give time for others - written by the hon. Prime Minister.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Not as Prime Minister.

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : Yes; not as Prime Minister. This poem is about Hiroshima and Nagasaki and its title is "Hiroshima ki peeda". I do not know whether I will be able to read it in Hindi. I have the English translation also with me. But let me try to read it in Hindi. I will read the first and last stanzas. It says :

"Kisi raat ko
Meri neend achanak uchat jaati hai
Aankh khul jaati hai
Mein Sochne lagta hun ki
Jin Vagyanikon ne anu astron ka
Avishkar kiyi tha:
Ve Hiroshima-Nagasaki ke
Bheeshan narsanghar ke samachar sunkar
Raat ko soae kaise hongee?"

"On a certain night my sleep is disturbed.
I wake up and start thinking;
how the scientists who developed the nuclear

weapons, hearing the news of mass annihilation of mankind in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, would have slept".

That is Shri Vajpayee. I do not know on the 11th of May whether he had his sleep or not. I do not know that...*(Interruptions)* Well, I think, he had a sound sleep. I do not want to read the entire poem. It is a quite long and very emotional poem. But I want to read the last paragraph. It says :

"Kya unhae ek shan ke liye sahi,
Ye anubhuti hui ki unke haathon jo kuch hua,
Accha nahin hua?
Yadi hui to waqt unhe Kathghare mein khara
nahi karega!
Kintu yedi nahin hui to itihās unhe kabhi maaf
nahi karega!"

He asked the scientists :

"Did they think even for a second whatever they achieved was not good for humanity?"

It is a very right question.

"If it occurred, time will not give opportunity to defend, and if it did not occur, history will never pardon them, will never forgive them".

I want Shri Vajpayee to return to his own self.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : That was penned by Vajpayee—the poet, not by Prime Minister Vajpayee.

[English]

SHRI PURNO A. SANGMA : I want the *Pradhan Mantri* Vajpayee to return to his own self and look at the suffering humanity, look at people who have no two square meals to eat, look at people who have no drinking water, look at people who are illiterate and do something for them. Your nuclear weapons will not solve our problem. The problem lies elsewhere and that is how they were handling the situation.

Sir, I thank you for the time you have give me.

SHRI JAG MOHAN (New Delhi) : Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. Before I elucidate my main points, I would like to mention that I expected a different type of speech from Shri Sangma as he is such a senior leader, such a distinguished leader, and he had been such a distinguished Speaker also. I was not even aware that I had to speak today. When I heard him, I was wondering whether I was sitting in the Pakistan National Assembly or in the Indian Parliament. His reference to the Prime Minister of India was in a

manner as if he was eulogizing a stand taken by the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the stand taken by us was wrong. He did not say a single word whether our stand was justified or not. Should we have yielded on Kashmir? Should we have yielded on our national policies? What was his stand? He should make it clear what does he mean when he says that the outcome was zero. I think, the outcome should have been zero if they did not change their stand and if they become unreasonable. Pakistan came with a pre-determined mind to wreck this dialogue. From the very beginning, their attitude was hostile and the very language they used - 'zero' and 'waste of time' - is a reflection on their culture. On our side, there was dignity, and there was a balance. This is what Indian *sanskriti* means and this is what we stand for. I congratulate the Prime Minister for being firm, clear and for sticking to the Indian values. I must remind him that in the world affairs our contribution has not been like this. I must remind him what Swami Vivekananda said. He said that the contribution of this great race has been life, spiritual. It has given dignity, grace, balance, harmony and peace to this world. It has not taken anything. It has never conquered or undertaken aggression against anyone. It is the non-acquisitory, non-aggressive and peaceful instincts of India which we are proud of. But we will not yield an inch.

Then, Shri Sangma said that the economic growth is the real strength of a country. Who disputes this and who ever disputed this? Does our Party ever say that economic strength is not the strength of a country? But I would like to tell you who made this economic strength for the last 50 years. Today, India has got the largest number of poor people in the world. Sixty-one per cent people are living below the poverty line. Who has created that situation? Why have we got so many uneducated people? It is 50 years of your rule that has created this situation. It is these 50 years of your rule that has created all this economic weakness...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : We are discussing a very serious subject.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, please understand. This is a very serious subject.

SHRI JAG MOHAN (New Delhi) : In the end, let me take that point which Shri Sangma very poetically quoted from the poems of our Prime Minister and then he was trying to make a fun of it. That he is the Prime Minister who was thinking like this, and what he has done.

12.00 hrs.

I would remind him that this was the noble sentiment expressed by every peaceful citizen in the world.

[Shri Jag Mohan]

When this first atomic weapon was tested in New Mexico, at that very time, what did the scientist, Mr. Openheimer, say? After seeing the destructive capacity, he went to Truman and said, "Kindly bring this under the control of the international agency. Kindly share your secret with U.S.S.R. so that there is no arms race. Tomorrow or day after tomorrow, U.S.S.R. will discover the technology; let us share the secret with them and let us have a real nuclear control." Mr. Openheimer was heard patiently by Truman and he asked him to go and see Winston Churchill. It was Winston Churchill who shot down the proposal. Thereafter the atomic bomb was used against Japan. It has been rightly pointed out that this was not necessary at that time, but it was used. Even after dropping of this bomb, the then Secretary of War, Mr. Henry Simpson, went to Truman and said, "Kindly stop this policy of exclusivity. Otherwise, it will lead to arms race." Mr. Truman did not listen to him second time because at that time, the Secretary of State said, "We must have this policy of exclusivity". What was his argument? His argument was that "if we have got the atomic weapon in our hip-pocket, it would help us at the negotiation table, and we will be able to mould the world according to our design".

Today, the developing countries are running around, and the United States which is the richest country in the West has moulded all the international institutions according to its design because it always had the atomic weapon in its hip-pockets. It is this which our Prime Minister wanted to stop at the negotiation table - these people who have got this power to mould and change. We want a non-nuclear world. Our stand is, what is good for you is good for us, and is good for everybody else. What is bad for you is bad for us, and it is bad for everybody else also.

Shri Sangma, what did Mr. Gorbachev say? He said, "Security in this world is indivisible. What is security for 'X' nation is also security for 'Y' nation". Even after this explosion, in America, an opinion is coming around which says "What will be our fate or what will be our stand if somebody else had the atomic bomb and we did not have it. How would we feel about it?" I can quote the Canberra Commission's opinion, and I can quote the International Court's opinion which says that it is the moral and legal obligation of all concerned to go in for non-nuclear world. Why is the United States not listening to it? We are all saying that we would like to have a non-nuclear and peaceful world. What noble sentiments Shri Vajpayee had expressed in the poem, he wants to realise them in actual practice. They will not come about, if the monopolist regime remains. What is the justification for the five nuclear powers to have a

power cartel? Is it democratic or is it in the spirit of the United Nations' Charter? It is not.

The great work which India has done is to make the world cautious of this fact. Afterwards, many opinions have come which show that we should go in for this. We exposed the hypocrisy of these people, we exposed the double-standards of these people, we have shown that we have the technological advancement and that if they do not fall in line, then there will be an arms race. We told them to learn from history. In 1945, when they wanted to have the exclusive power, ultimately it resulted in a cold-war and building up of arms for so many years. What do you want to say? Why is China being preferred to you now? Why has it been told to us that even in India, when Pakistan raises this issue, China will have its say? It is because they have power.

Shri Purno A. Sangma, you have not tackled many other issues. What about Kashmir? What about all these issues of China? I would like to tell you what should be our policy with regard to this. What is happening in Kashmir? Last time also, Shri Sangma spoke and he talked of Pakistan's relationship and its dialogue. But he did not say a single word about ten years of terrorism and subversion in Kashmir. How many calamities have occurred? How many innocent people have died? At Colombo, at the informal as well as at the formal meetings, the success of the Indian Prime Minister was that the nuclear issue was linked with the nuclear disarmament issue and not with anything else. The world is now accepting this doctrine. Now China may differ with us. They do not want us to become a nuclear power. They do not want us to be powerful. What America did? There is a new doctrine of what is called Brezizinski doctrine. Why China is being preferred and why we should strengthen ourselves? If we do not strengthen ourselves, where will we go? You have already seen this during Mr. Clinton's visit to China as also during the period of previous Presidents. As most of you might be knowing, Mr. Brezizinski was a Security Advisor. He wrote a few pieces. I would like to read out to you the sum and substance of his writings. He is making out a case that China and America are natural allies in the new pattern that is emerging. He says and I quote :-

"China's growing interest in Central Asia constrains Russia's ability to achieve a political reintegration of the region under Moscow's control. In this connection and in regard to the Persian Gulf, China's growing energy needs means it has a common interest with America in maintaining free access to, and political stability in, the oil-producing regions. Similarly, China's support for Pakistan restrains India's ambitions to subordinate

that country while offsetting India's inclination to cooperate with Russia in regard to Afghanistan and Central Asia.

The bottom line is that America and China need each other in Eurasia. Greater China should consider America a natural ally for historical as well as political reasons. Unlike Japan or Russia, the United States has never had any territorial designs on China" and so on.

What he is trying to make out is that China will be the regional ally and strong power in this region, an able ally of America. As Western Europe is serving the end purpose there, China will serve the purpose here. So, this is what we are.

12.09 hrs.

[SHRI RAGHUVANSH PRASAD SINGH *in the Chair*]

So, we want to have our security concern and to acquire nuclear technology, but we are not going to attack anybody. We do not want to remain weak so that nobody is tempted to treat us in the manner we have been treated so far. This is what we want to say.

Then the issue is of Kashmir which Pakistan wants to highlight and to create trouble and, that is why, all these incidents are being manipulated. Every time an international issue comes up, Pakistan would create trouble in Kashmir.

That is exactly what they are doing in Doda; and that is exactly what they are doing somewhere else. But I have heard some criticisms these days. Shri Sangma has made a speech today. On the same lines, quite a number of write-ups are coming in the newspapers saying that India, by nuclear testing, has highlighted the Kashmir issue and internationalised the Kashmir issue. It is not correct. It is not borne out by the facts. The correct position is entirely different. Do not forget. It has always been the game of the United States of America; it has always been the game of its Western allies to have a finger in the Kashmir pie.

Now, I will give you a number of instances. As early as 1992, there were a number of think tanks which were floated in America. What was the thinking of those think tanks or what were the views they were propagating? Their views were very clear. It was to put pressure on India to sign the NPT, to sign the CTBT. And what was Mr. Cohen, who is a member of the think tank, and a virtual member of the Foreign Policy establishment of America, saying? He has been saying that the road to NPT lies through Kashmir meaning thereby that you take advantage of the Kashmir problems, the Kashmir difficulties and force India to sign the NPT. His propaganda is: "The

road to NPT lies through Kashmir." That was propagated ten years ago. That is why, all these troubles were being created. Please see the Carnegie Foundation Report of 1993. What do they say? They say that the nuclear issue and the Kashmir issue should be seen simultaneously and should be brought to the table simultaneously, and all these issues should be considered concurrently. What was the position then? At that time, there was no nuclear explosion by India. But it is they who wanted to twist India's arm taking advantage of our problems in Kashmir. Ms. Robin Raphael was not making all types of statements saying: "We do not consider Kashmir as a non-disputed area. We want this and we want that." It was not for nothing that Mr. John Mallot came here and made a statement saying: "Oh, it is a disputed area. We will view it like this." It was only to pressurise India. We must understand this game. This game has been going on for the last ten years. It is not now, after the nuclear tests that this has been going on. It has always been there. We did not succumb to the pressures then. So, we should not succumb to the pressures now also.

In this connection, I will remind you that even when the Hyderabad problem was on, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Butler and all of them were creating a lot of difficulties for India. At that time, Sardar Patel stood up and said: "Look, this is not a two-way process. It is not a one-way process. If you behave like this, we also know how to behave. We are also a strong nation and a large nation. You cannot afford to ignore us." Then, both Mr. Butler and Mr. Churchill went the way, of which we all know in the history. Then, the Hyderabad problem was solved. If we remain firm, if we take a cue from that line, I am quite sure that our problems in Kashmir will be solved and the Pakistani game will be frustrated. And this, I think, is a very clear signal which our Prime Minister has given in Colombo saying that we will not cede an inch on that...

[*Translation*]

(*Interruptions*) You want to hear other things, not the facts. I only want to say that...(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

All right, I will not go on like this...(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order. Why are you disturbing?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NARAIN MEENA (Kota) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Hon'ble Member of the ruling party, Shri Jag Mohan is sarcastically pointing out those responsible for the Kashmir Problem. He should also disclose...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, Please speak when you get a chance.

[English]

SHRI JAG MOHAN : Now the other argument given by Shri Sangma is : "We are a poor country and it should not be done." My point is that we are poor because we do not have this power that the world can twist us in any way they like.

The other point is, why did we do it at this time? Everybody goes on saying this as if something has happened. Last time, when I spoke on the nuclear issue, I gave many reasons why this time was chosen. I will not repeat any one of them. But I will like to point out that the option before India was to exercise the option or to lose the option - to use it or to lose it. You remember very well that when the CTBT was there, when the deadlock was there, it was taken to the General Assembly. A constitutional trick was played on India. Now when the entry of force came which should have come back in early 1999, at that time again, the things would have been manipulated; India would have been debarred from even exercising that option. So the option was there only to a limited extent and we had to exercise it or lose it. Now did you want to lose it? It was all along our policy that we keep the exercise open and we had to exercise it. So, this is a very important reason why we did it at this time. After all many problems would arise in this world. I understand that whenever you touch the vested interests, there will be a hue and cry. But if we remain firm, the world will accept our position either to have totally non-nuclear world, a weapon free world or to accept this principle that all nations have equal rights and equal obligations and can share equal responsibilities. You cannot have a discriminatory world. This is what we are asking for and nothing more than this. The problem will arise. We are a poor country. We will have to face sanctions. Many things will happen. But there is one very great line of Iqbal. :

Toond-e-Bada-e makhalof se na tu ghabra-e-Aaka,

Ye to aati hai tumhe uncha uthane ke liye!

If we face these difficulties deliberately, we will become a stronger nation. But I am very sorry to point out that instead of becoming firm, strong, clear and united, we are showing signs of disunity and dismemberment. This is what Kashmir problem really is. I can tell you one thing. I do not say that today people are being killed in Doda by Pakistanis or their agents alone. It is also a contribution made by a number of people and forces which are operating within this country. How is it that the Kashmir problem is raised every time? When hon. Shri Balram Jakhar was speaking on the Doda massacre, he was trembling with rage. He said, "What has happened

to us as a nation? Can we not be strict? Whenever anybody took a stand, he was shouted down and he was removed from the post. I remember when I was sent second time as the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir in 1990, the State had been virtually taken over by the militants. With a great deal of difficulty, the problem was controlled, otherwise, on the 26th January, the declaration formally would have been got made at the Idgah with 15 lakh people and all those things. I do not want to repeat it. I want to ask one thing. When I acted in that manner, there was no Blue Star, there was no Tiananmen Square. But people here did not say, "Jag Mohan has done it without Tiananmen Square or Blue Star. They started shouting "He has become a Halaku he has become Changez Khar." They are actually started saying what Shrimati Benazir Bhutto was saying. What did Shrimati Benazir Bhutto say? She said, "Jag, Jag, Jag." Why was she saying so? Why was she getting hysterical? She was getting hysterical because she had come to know that here was a man who had understood the game of the ISI and he would put the civil administration back on the rail, if he did so, then the problem would be solved, the ISI game would be over and millions and millions of Kalashnikovs ammunitions which had been brought here, would be recovered.

Instead of doing that, what did they do? As I say, you wrongly said, there is no Indo-Pakistan cooperation. On the one hand Benazir Bhutto was trying to tear me on the other hand, you were tearing me. She did not utter a word against the President of India or the Vice-President of India or the Prime Minister of India or the Home Minister of India. She made a target of 'Mr. Jag Mohan' while she came to POK. This is all on record. It was seen on television. She said, 'If this man goes out, the Indian will not fight, they will run away.'

But this is what has happened today! I even ask our our Home Minister why 'Doda' is happening again and again, and why it will happen again and again. This is because you have not constructed the Civil Administration on the ground level. When I was there, in Doda, the first thing I did was - even when Kashmir was in flame totally and there was no one to help me, even states own police was not there to help me - that I sent Special Commissioner to Doda, Special Commissioner to Poonch and Special Commissioner to Rajouri. The Civil Administration must be constructed on the ground level otherwise it will become the same thing as it is happening daily. You have to take preventive action. In this country, anybody who takes preventive action, he is not taken care of at all. You take this in the other way round.

Today I ask and I will ask even the Union Home Minister to publish a White Paper on this. How many

casualties were there when I went there, and how many casualties are happening daily now? The bloodshed of those innocent people, Muslims as well as Kashmiri Pandits on our Indian soil is the result of the negative politics and minimalist politics. You cannot say that it is only due to Pakistan. We equally are to blame, and I always say:

"Khof to mujhe Gul se hai is chaman ko kahi jala ne de"

It is our negative politics which has built all this vote bank politics, poor politics which has carried on this. I am not a great admirer of what happened in Tiananmen Square, China. You remember this. Some people say, in Tiananmen Square, six people were killed and some say 600 were killed. Nobody knows the truth. Let us say, they took 600 ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. Now conclude.

[English]

SHRI JAG MOHAN : I have already said that in this House, very few people want to listen to me. All right, I will conclude. In fact, I did not want to speak even. In any case, I will conclude. I have no desire to inflict anybody. I am just concluding on this point. The only point that I am making is that we have to set our house in order. We have to take a very clear, consistent and united stand in this hour of difficulty. Our Foreign Policy today is facing the most critical challenge, and that challenge must be met by all of us unitedly. We should not try to score debating points here and there. Whatever has happened in the past, let us today resolve that in view of the very aggressive and very bellicose attitude adopted by Pakistan. We will have a very dignified but firm stand. And, we will not go by small considerations of elections or electoral politics. We will face the challenge unitedly and we will not be oblivious of the new nexus that is developing in China and America. We should take due care of it. Our viewpoint will be duly appreciated. There are already people in America who are appreciating our stand. We should appeal to those people who have got regard for equality, who have got regard for India's democratic traditions. We should not rub anybody on the wrong side. We should remain peaceful. We should remain poised and dignified. That is our main concern.

So far as Kashmir's internal problem is concerned, we should try to rebuild the Civil Administration there, if we really want peace there. I do not know, why immediately all these Special Commissioners from Doda and other places, because the situation had been brought under control, were removed. There is a total failure of the

intelligence agencies there and I have no hesitation in saying this because Doda is not a border district. Pakistan border does not meet there. People do not understand this. Sir, they are already there and going all around. Why our intelligence cannot spot them. Then there are smaller hamlets. They can be grouped for purpose of safety.

If you cannot give safety to everybody in small hamlets, then you can give it in groups. This can always be done.

We have to take a fresh look at our internal and external problems. This is what I wanted to say.

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hoogly) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this 125-day old Government led by the BJP has caused immense damage to this country; the damage caused to our economy; the damage caused to our secular democracy; and the damage caused to our composite culture. But the damage caused to our age old foreign policy has been isolating us from the international community.

Over the years, since our Independence, through earnest and sincere endeavour, we had built up our foreign policy based on consensus. Suddenly, a minority Government - the BJP has the support of less than 25 per cent of the people of this country— which has no mandate to reverse this national consensus has actually caused a reversal which ultimately has landed this largest democracy in serious difficulties on the domestic front and also in the international arena.

My Party, immediately after the Pokhran-II tests, had expressed a serious apprehension that this misadventure of the BJP-led Government was meant mainly to divert the attention of the people from the serious deteriorating economic situation as also to cover up the failures of this Government in several fronts and to prop up the RSS brand of nationalism. This misadventure would ultimately ruin many of the things that we have built up. We find uncertainties on the economic front: the industrial slow down; the stock market position; the downgrading by the credit rating agencies; the steady reduction in the external value of the rupee; and the economic sanctions.

Of course, I must remind this House that the US has no right to impose such economic sanctions. They cannot sermonise us. The same people had been accumulating and stockpiling weapons and intimidating others. We had opposed this hegemonistic attitude of the big powers, particularly the US Government. But we had also expressed this apprehension that the economic sanctions in the long run, though not immediately maybe after two or three years, will have an adverse effect on our economy. This Govt. has given a handle to us and, its allies as they have weakened our position by diluting our friendship with neighbours like Bangladesh, Sri

[Shri Rupchand Pal]

Lanka, Nepal and even Pakistan and China. This is changing our position.

The previous U.F. Government has made a major contribution in correcting our relationships with our neighbouring countries. The visit of the Chinese President to India was a remarkable event. After decades of bitter and deteriorating relationship with our big neighbour with whom we do have many things in common: historical, cultural and many other things. The President of China had come.

There was a remarkable change in their attitude, not only with respect to Kashmir. They have given a suggestion that we should keep aside the issues which cannot be taken up and resolved immediately and take up issues on other fronts like economic, commercial, cultural, people to people contact etc. This was the message given to the Government of Pakistan also. We were in the process of strengthening our relationship with China and Bangladesh. The historic river treaty with Bangladesh was signed; and the historic treaty with Nepal was signed. Positive steps towards improving our relationship with Sri Lanka and many other countries were taken which actually brightened our position in the eyes of developing countries who always wanted to see us as the champion of the developing countries and the champion of NAM. We were distressed to find that even the President of South Africa, the great friend of India, was disappointed with our country after the Pokhran-II tests. It happened just before NAM meeting going to be held soon. Due to this the serious deviation from the path undertaken by this country as a heritage of our national liberation movement built up brick by brick by so many of our leaders since our Independence has been damaged.

South Africa also had nuclear knowledge. But they preferred to leave it and announced to the world that their option is that they should never go for the blasts. We are isolated even amongst our friends and amongst the developing countries whom we require the most in the new emerging economic order, at the WTO and many other places.

As far as our relations with Pakistan are concerned, we agree that they also contribute negatively by encouraging terrorism and other things. When the United Front was in power, by taking positive steps unilaterally, which sometimes is called the Gujral Doctrine, we had been improving our relations through trade, people to people contact, visits of artists, artisans etc. Their artists and artisans have been coming to India and our artists were going there. Business community was showing interest in improving trade relationship. In WTO, at least on three or four occasions, Pakistan sided with India

against the hegemonistic designs of developed countries.

In Europe you find countries like France and Germany who were locked in disputes and who were engaged in battles and animosities of different sorts for centuries are coming together. If France and Germany can come together and build up a common market and common currency without and become one of the most powerful trade blocks in the world, why can India and Pakistan not come together and do the same? Some people think that in the times to come Euro may be more powerful than Dollar. When many other countries which were divided as a result of imperialist conspiracy as it happened to India could settle their disputes, why can India and Pakistan not find a way out? This does not mean that we should support whatever Pakistan is doing.

This does not mean that what they are doing could be supported. We must condemn the way they are encouraging terrorism in the border and condemn many more negative stances that they are taking.

I welcome what has happened at SAARC meeting, but more could have been done; more could have happened there, more than the long meeting that the two Prime Ministers had, or more than the announcement or the declaration that the two Foreign Secretaries will take up the matter and continue the dialogue. Some more positive things could have happened, if we - on the Indian side - had a clear thinking on what is to be done.

But they are confused. Even the previous speaker, speaking on behalf of the BJP, has indicated how confused they are. In the last part of his speech, he was speaking about unilateralism, continuation of the U.F. Govt. policy towards Pakistan, etc. Prior to that, he was saying something differently. This only shows that our foreign policy is in shambles. This Government, as a result of the Pokhran-II misadventure, has landed this country in serious difficulties and has caused isolation. Now, they do not know how to find a way out of this.

They did not consult the political parties. Even when they did not have the mandate, they had reversed and damaged the accepted foreign policy; they did not have even the courtesy to seek the viewpoints of the several political parties which had valuable contributions in building up bilateral relationship and in improving relationships with other countries.

We, as a Party, can claim that we have had a very consistent stand regarding the role of this country vis-a-vis the struggle of developing countries and against the hegemony of the US and such other powers, inside the NAM and outside the NAM also.

The rationale given for those blasts was that there was a sudden change in the security perception. But there was no such thing. It was never convincing. We also find that the Defence Minister was pointing to the northern neighbour China as enemy number one. We thought that the Prime Minister had a different perception, because we have the experience of working in the Committees with him and some ideas of his views in this regard. Even a few months ago, he said something differently. But we are amazed to see that the very same Prime Minister had written a letter to Mr. Bill Clinton mentioning about our northern neighbour as the main enemy or the enemy number one.

What happened after the Pokhran blasts? Instead of a successful move to convince - since they had nothing to convince others about; there was no convincing arguments either - we found jingoism and bellicosity. Some Minister went to the border and said something. It was on 18th May. It was our great Home Minister. What did he say?

Shri L.K. Advani linked the issue of finding a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem to India becoming a nuclear weapon State. The Defence Minister was saying something and the Home Minister was saying something else. What authority does the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission has in saying something on this, I do not know. Some people say that the Presidential form of Government has started working. Shri Brajesh Mishra, Shri Jaswant Singh - they are all Prime Minister's emissaries.

They had damaged what had been built, not only in the content, in the style and in the structure, but also in all other ways.

What are our Missions doing? Are our Missions able to convince the public opinion in all those developed countries? Public opinion is more important.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : You did not mention what Shri Khurana has said. He said about fixing the time and place of war.

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL : I am sorry, I did not mention about Shri Khurana.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He said fix a time and place to fight a war with Pakistan. He said that they are ready. Where has he gone now?...(Interruptions)

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL : I was mentioning about the surreptitious move to switch over to the Presidential form of Government. Some people say it. It is because all are PM's emissaries. Some diplomats have written openly as to what our Missions are doing. They want more funds for bigger external publicity. They want to be convinced. You

may find it if you read in between the lines of the utterances made by the former diplomats and even important diplomats working in different fields. We know the reaction of even Ms. Arundhati Ghosh who had been engaged in the whole process of CTBT. We know the reaction of defence experts. But this Government has not learnt any lesson from what is happening in the outside world. Will it help us in getting a permanent seat in the Security Council? Will it help us to strengthen our position, to fulfill the demand for democratisation of the United Nations system and to strengthen the General Assembly? Will it help us in the NAM so that, in the coming days, we can have a better share in the global economic arrangement at the WTO and elsewhere? No, Sir, this jingoism and bellicosity have further damaged our position.

Now, there is capitulation to US pressures. We have weakened our position as a result of the isolation. When we have lost our friends and friendship that we had earned over a decade with our great and small neighbours, we find that the present BJP led Govt. is capitulating in the economic sphere giving more and more concessions to the MNCs in the power sector, telecom sector and in many more areas. We find that in the economic cooperation which would have helped us amongst our neighbours, the small gesture like removal of restrictions in import of 2000 items is not going to help us a lot. Such steps had already been taken but with insignificant results. I am not going to give one example.

There is confusion even after the agreement for allowing Indian corridor to Nepal but Nepal is not being allowed to move our articles and goods to Bangladesh through Indian corridor. India has failed to achieve what it could have achieved in the SAARC.

Our scientists are suffering humiliation. Our HRD Minister has said that they will be given protection and facilities. But, Sir, when our great scientists are suffering such humiliation, the world global scientific community is coming out in protest against US action...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Our HRD Minister is swinging.

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL : But this Government has not even got the guts to condemn. The US action against Indian society.

Those people are daily sabotaging human rights, democracy and all these things in a planned and deliberate fashion. They are humiliating our respected scientists. They should be condemned.

Hon. Shri P.A. Sangma was reading a poem by our Prime Minister.

[Translation]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : That has been prohibited.

[English]

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hoogly) : The Prime Minister may have forgotten Hiroshima after he became the Prime Minister. But the people of India remember it. On 6th August at Calcutta and between 6th and 9th August, in many other parts of the country, there will be peace rallies - anti-war rallies - by the people of India. The participants in those rallies will be scientists, diplomats, educationists, workers and peasants. They are a voice of the people. They will bring about a change in the foreign policy in the interests of this country and in the interests of the suffering humanity, the downtrodden of not only the developing countries of this world but also of the whole world as such.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : If the Members agree, the House may not be adjourned for lunch today because there is a long list of Members who wish to express their views. Hence the discussion may be continued during the lunch hour.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : How long will the discussion continue?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Normally the discussion is held for two hours. However the timings depend upon the number of Members who wish to speak and the interest shown by them in the discussion.

[English]

SHRI VAIKO (Sivakasi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I extend my thanks to you for giving me this opportunity to take part in this important debate on India's foreign policy. When I was listening with rapt attention to hon. Shri Sangma, I was terribly disappointed. He is a very great speaker. Although we may not agree with the perceptions and views of Shri Sangma, yet he always used to highlight the line of argument. But today, I do not know why his speech was a very futile attempt.

I thought that Shri K. Natwar Singh would initiate the debate from that side. Suddenly, Shri Sangma was asked to take part in it. At the very outset, when Shri Sangma initiated the debate, he levelled a charge that there was no Cabinet Minister for External Affairs. He asked, "Where is the Minister for External Affairs as Shrimati Vasundhara Raje is only a Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs?" Shri Sangma has conveniently forgotten

one basic fact that great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was handling the portfolio of External Affairs for many years. Shri Sangma has also conveniently forgotten that when Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, he was handling the portfolio of External Affairs. At that time, my great friend, Shri K. Natwar Singh was the Minister of State for External Affairs. So, there is no point in that argument.

He is the first speaker from the Congress Party. The next point was "What have you achieved by deputing the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri Jaswant Singh, to hold talks with Ms Strobe Talbott in the United States?"

He jocularly stated that our next meeting point would be Frankfurt; after the meeting at Frankfurt, the next meeting point would be Delhi; and after the meeting at Delhi, our next meeting point would be the United States.

Sir, questions have been raised about the gains that we have made by deputing Shri Jaswant Singh to hold talks with Mr. Talbott. I would like to emphasise the significant gains that we have made in this regard. In the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Anglo-Saxon countries, supported by Japan, tried to pass a Resolution of Censure, a Resolution to condemn the Pokhran nuclear tests. It is because such a Resolution was passed in the meeting of the P-5 countries as well as in the meeting of the G-8 countries. They wanted to pass the same type of a Resolution in the ASEAN Regional Forum as well. The gain that we have made by holding talks with Mr. Talbott of the United States is that - the United States of America which sponsored such a Resolution at the meetings of the P-5 and the G-8 countries and which was behind the move to bring a Resolution of Censure in the Security Council of the United Nations - the United States of America this time did not support such a move in the ASEAN Regional Forum. This is the gain we have made through our diplomatic efforts and strides. We were not isolated because of this.

What happened in the ASEAN Regional Forum? An attempt was made by the Anglo-Saxon countries— Canada, Australia, New Zealand - supported by Japan to move a Resolution. But the Third World countries, the South East Asian countries have supported India's position. It was a great achievement. I would like to point out that countries like Laos, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam supported India. These countries were totally opposed to any such move to censure India because of its having conducted nuclear tests at Pokhran. Of course, China tried their level best to pass a Resolution of Condemnation. Finally, without accepting their failure to have done, so they prevailed upon the Chairman to make a statement of

disapproval. This is the diplomatic achievement we have had.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now I was referring to a Resolution (No.1172) passed by the Security Council of the United Nations. By passing such a Resolution, the Security Council has behaved in a high-handed manner and has violated all accepted norms and practices. It is because article 31 of the Charter says and I quote :

"Any member of the United Nations, who is not a member of the Security Council, may participate, without vote, in the discussion on any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that member are specially affected".

Sir, India drew the attention of the member-countries of the National Assembly and the General Assembly that the Security Council disregarded the provisions of the Charter by not giving India an opportunity to participate in the discussion on this.

Shri Sangma criticised saying, by conducting the nuclear tests at Pokhran, the Government has deviated from the path of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the foreign policy enunciated in the previous decade. At this juncture, it would be pertinent to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I would like to quote the remarks of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, made on June 26, 1946 in Bombay. He said:

"As long as the world is constituted as it is, every country will have to devise and use the latest scientific devices for its protection. I have no doubt that India will develop its scientific research and I hope Indian scientists will use atomic power for constructive purposes. But if India is threatened, she will inevitably try to defend herself by all means at her disposal. I hope India in common with other countries will prevent the use of atomic bomb."

The question being asked is, what necessitated India to go for the nuclear test. Our hon. friend from Marxists Party has stated that there was no necessity for this nuclear test. There is no threat from anywhere. There is no threat from China. I would like to draw the attention of the House, through you, towards the Reports of the Standing Committees on Defence of the previous Lok Sabha. Those Reports have clearly indicated that there is a threat to our security from our neighbour China. The Committee was headed by the great Parliamentarian, for whom I have the greatest respect, Shri Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You are talking about which Report?

SHRI VAIKO : I am talking about the Report of the Standing Committee on Defence. In that Report, there is a specific remark, substantiated by the evidence, that there is a security challenge from China. We understand that there is a security challenge from China with whom we raised the slogan of *Panchsheel*, the peaceful coexistence in the Fifties. We were betrayed in the year 1962. We realise the impending danger that that country is supplying missile technology or the nuclear technology to Pakistan. Is it not the duty of this country to protect its security? Therefore, India, the most populous democracy of the world, the cradle of one of the ancient civilizations of the world, India consisting of many ethnic races and civilizations, that country under the stewardship of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee drew the attention of all the capitals of the world - of course, very hoarse reaction, hoarse criticism-when it conducted Pokhran test in the month of May. Is it not hypocrisy that the United States of America has imposed sanctions? Is it not hypocrisy that the United States of America has condemned nuclear tests and is preaching sermons of nuclear proliferation?

Shri Sangma was quoting a poem of hon. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee on the disaster which took place in the year 1945 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Of course, it was the US which dropped bombs to annihilate thousands and thousands of people and even today it is the United States of America ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI VAIKO : I have not yet started.

SHRI MURLI DEORA (Mumbai South) : If you have not yet started, where will you end?

SHRI VAIKO : I was just replying to the points raised by Shri Sangma. I am at the mercy of the Chairman.

It is the United States which is going to conduct underground sub-critical nuclear tests.

13.00 hrs.

It is the United States of America which has conducted the Earth Penetrating Capability Tests in the month of March in Alaska without giving a forewarning to the native residents of Florida. It is the United States of America which has test-fired four times, missiles which could carry eight nuclear warheads at the same time. It is the United States of America which condemned China, imposed sanctions on China, when it held its tests at Lopnur. It is the United States of America which conducted the maximum number of, 1,037, tests. The very same United States of America gave the Most Favoured

[Shri Vaiko]

Nation status to China for commercial gains when they were looking for the martyrs for their business. It is the United States of America which condemned the Tiananmen Square episode and now Mr. Bill Clinton has gone and stood on the Great Wall of China posing for photographers.

In the United States of America, when they wanted a martyr for their commercial goods they gave the Most Favoured Nation status to China. Now discussion is going on in the United States' Congress. The Republican Senator from the State of Kentucky, which was represented by Mr. Abraham Lincoln once, introduced the legislation to lift sanctions. Senator Mitch McConnell stated in the American Congress that they should not sacrifice American interests in their effort to put the nuclear genie back in the bottle. This is their approach.

Two months ago, there was severe criticism from many countries. Because of the commendable steps taken by this Government, we are not isolated today on this issue. We have got the support of the Asian countries, the Third World countries. The world is fast changing today. The perceptions are changing; the concepts are changing because we are discussing the international situation related to our foreign policy. The dawn of the millennium witnessed the Great October Revolution in Soviet Russia. On the eve of the dusk of this millennium, our hearts bleed to see what has happened in Soviet Russia. The statue of Lenin, the great champion of socialism, the great revolutionary of this millennium, was demolished. And what has happened three-four weeks back? The skeletal remains of Romanov, the Czar Nicholas, his wife and children were taken from some distant place, were given a royal reception at the palace and royally cremated in the graveyard of the palace. Such things are happening today. The world is changing. New countries are emerging on the map of the world. With one stroke of pen, Czechoslovakia was divided into two countries. There are 15 independent States today in the erstwhile Soviet Union. The United States of America, all of a sudden, says that it recognises the demand for a separate State of Palestine.

Mr. Nawaz Sharief said, I raise this point because Mr. Sangma referred to it, that it was simply a waste of time, and the result of dialogue was nothing but zero. The whole world was watching what was happening in Colombo. Our hon. Prime Minister demonstrated his compassion and mature statemanship to the world. At the same time the jingoistic approach of Pakistan and Mr. Nawaz Sharief has been exposed to the world.

Sir, Kashmir issue cannot be a negotiable issue. Kashmir is not negotiable. But in order to substantiate

this time that through bilateralism this issue cannot be solved, Shri Nawaz Sharif tried to say that bilateralism is not acceptable to them. But India has proved once again that Kashmir is not negotiable. At the same time, Sir, India played its role very well in the SAARC Summit proving to the world that we are for peace and good neighbourly relations but not for compromising the interests of the country. We have demonstrated that the weapons of mass destruction should be totally eliminated. That is the position we have taken. Therefore, this Government deserves every applause and congratulations for all the steps despite very heavy odds and harsh criticisms from many quarters of the world.

SHRI MURLI DEORA : He would become the Foreign Minister of India.

SHRI VAIKO : I do not want to become the Minister.

SHRI MURLI DEORA : We will help to make you Minister.

SHRI VAIKO : Therefore, once again, India stands with all polity and we stand erect as a mighty power and as a nuclear weapon State. In Manila Conference, we have established that we are, India is a nuclear weapon State. That status is not at all irreversible.

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV (Sambhal) : Mr. Chairman Sir, today the Prime Minister was making the statement on behalf of the Government after returning from Colombo. That was a written statement and very disappointing one. His language was disappointing and he was also disappointed when he was speaking. Just after landing in India, he declared that we won the battle. Which battle? We were said to be isolated in the world, now we have made a place. The very next day, perhaps in the evening of the same day, the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif said that nothing has happened there. Today Prime Minister is giving out irresponsible statements. I criticise it. Here is a Prime Minister who has also been a Foreign Minister misguiding the whole country. There was a time when he was the leader of opposition and the then Prime Minister, Shri Narsimha Raoji sent him as Chairman of the delegation. He was known as a maker of foreign policy. When he made a statement from the Airport after his return from the Summit, his image was tarnished whatever he may say but truth can not be changed.

Mr. Chairman Sir, Our foreign policy had been formed before 1947. The policy which was formed in 1937-38 by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia after consulting

Gandhiji, is being followed even today. Our foreign policy has never changed whosoever was in the government or whosoever was the Prime Minister. That is the reason we are maintaining our fundamental principles and India's foreign policy is based on these fundamental principles. Our foreign policy has always been based on consensus. But the BJP Government has not taken anyone into confidence when it was in the opposition or in the majority. This Government is not adopting the foreign policy which was based on fundamental principles and theories. The BJP government has not taken into confidence their allied partners, let the opposition alone. Now Shri Vaiko was speaking so much, perhaps he wants to become Minister. You do not, but we want you to become Minister. Whether you were taken into confidence? Mr. Speaker, none of the allied partners has been taken into confidence. I am sorry to say that today India's foreign policy is in the pocket of two-three leaders. By this, the India's international image has tarnished. Today the matter of foreign policy is not based on consensus. We have directed from our fundamental principles. I would like to tell that you are trying to appease USA. I would like to ask whether the government are following basic issues of foreign policy.

Mr. Chairman Sir, it is unfortunate for the country that on which principles foreign policy was based are given up one by one. You know that in 1937-38, under the leadership of Gandhiji, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia evolved foreign policy. Since 1947, same principles and policies have been followed regarding foreign policy which were followed by the Nehru Government. As I told you earlier, whosoever the Prime Minister or the Government, we had followed our basic principles. But this Government is not following the principles.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are four issues before us—world peace, democratic system, non-alignment, human rights and discrimination among nations to maintain good relations with neighbouring countries and to keep dialogue with them. These were the main and basic principles followed by India. Is our foreign policy still based on these principles? No you are not at all following these principles. India got support of other countries due to these principles only. India has raised her voice against any discrimination among nations after independence. We got support of several countries, even of our neighbouring countries due to policy of non-alignment. I would like to speak later on regarding China. Our country has been alienated in the world by not following basic principles of foreign policy. Shri Sangama has said rightly and I do not want to repeat it. The countrymen are facing the result thereof. We have bowed down before America. The

Government have surrendered before America. This is our allegation against this Government and when the Prime Minister replies, he must tell the reasons for bowing before America? This Government have bowed before America from the very first day. On 11th May, India conducted nuclear tests in Pokharan and on that evening itself, Government wrote letter to America, In that letter, it was written that due to policies of China and Pakistan, we have to conduct the nuclear tests. Mr. Chairman Sir, it was not so. The interest or security of the country was not main consideration for it. They have considered their party supreme and not the country and they have conducted Pokharan tests to remain in the power. This Government may make any excuse but Mamtaji was also in dilemma at that time. Swamijee, who was elected under the leadership of Jayalalita, were in dilemma at that time. Jayalalita was also in dilemma. I do not want to repeat all that because much has been said on CTBT. I shall say this much only that by being a blind follower of USA we have lost friendship of our friendly countries. There is a dual stand on CTBT also. Secret talks are going on with USA and relations with neighbours are getting strained. The Foreign Ministry of USA has said that whatever India wants to say on CTBT, should say publicly, what is its meaning? This means that secret talks are being held. If secret talks are being held, please tell the House what talks are being held and with which provisions of CTBT, you agree we want to say that India is adopting such stand on CTBT because it is a discriminatory treaty. India's clear cut policy was that till all the countries of the world do not destroy all nuclear weapons in a time bound programme, India will not sign on CTBT and even today, India is firm on that. Whether the Government is firm on that? If not, what are the provisions to which India agrees. You look the proceedings of this very House.. The Minister of External Affairs or Minister of State for External Affairs had said that we can agree to sign on some of the provisions of CTBT. Please tell us the provisions on which you are ready to sign. Why did you show such weakness? Today we want to warn this Government if it signs the CTBT, we in the Samajwadi Party at all levels and by all means will oppose it...(Interruptions). Don't teach us decorum. If the Government signs the CTBT, we would not care for decorum, the security and interest of the country will be treated uppermost. Why secret talks are being held? If it is not held, then tell us what provisions of CTBT we can consider ... (Interruptions)

What was going on in Kashmir when the nuclear tests had not been conducted? What should I mention that what they did in Kashmir and what was the opinion of the present Defence Minister about you. I don't want to repeat it...(Interruptions). When

[Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav]

you were the Governor of Kashmir, what you were doing there and what the present Defence Minister was saying regarding you. Don't force me to speak. The Defence Minister has said very clearly about your laudable deed. He said you are responsible for the killings of innocent people and rape. I am not saying that, your Defence Minister had said that. Today make it clear, whether you were right or your Defence Minister was right. You have to tell that because you both are in treasury benches and run the Government collectively so you have to clear the things that who was correct at that time. I am just telling the opinion of your Defence Minister about you at that time. He said that they have visited the slum areas, homes and factories in Kashmir and saw that Hindus and Muslims live there peacefully. But the Governor of Kashmir does not let them live peacefully. He is responsible for the mass killing. This had been alone during your term. Now you are saying that the Hindus had been killed. Please tell whether more people are killed after the nuclear test or before it....(Interruptions)

SHRI JAG MOHAN : You quote the figures ... (Interruptions)

MR CHAIRMAN : Order please.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Is this the decorum?... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAG MOHAN : You just quote the figures and don't talk vaguely... (Interruptions).

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : The Government will give the figures. It was just saying that the Hindus have been killed and they become safe after the nuclear test of Pokharan. The whole Doda area has become safe. Please don't misguide the country like this. The Hindus have been suffering since the BJP Government has assumed the power. The National Front Government was in the power for 1-1/2 years our former Home Minister is present here. I was then the Defence Minister. He may please tell how many Hindus were killed at that time and how many have been killed now-a-days.

Our clear policy about Ayodhya is that if anyone... (Interruptions) you please listen about Ayodhya that only 16 people had been killed there but if anyone who works against the Constitution, law and the Judiciary, there would be no value of a person's life in the interest of the Nation. If need be, 32 persons would have to be killed instead of 16. Why do you repeatedly talk of Ayodhya? Firing was done there in the interest of the Nation, for the unity of the nation. For the unity of the Hindus and the

Muslims... (Interruptions) it was done to protect the worship places of all religions... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI TAPAN SIKDAR : There were both Hindus and Muslims. Both of them have been killed.

[Translation]

We have never told about this. We know that thousands of Muslims have fled from Kashmir ... (Interruptions)

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Where is the decorum of the House. Please call in the Prime Minister. Mr. Chairman Sir, you are requested to ensure the decorum of the House... (Interruptions) Please contrast the scenario when our Home Minister was in charge of Kashmir and now Shri Advaniji is doing the job. There was peace in Jammu & Kashmir during the days of Sh. Gupta. One or two stray incidents were being reported. On our single verbal challenge Pakistan used to cowerd. Now the B.J.P. government is cowering while initiating talks with Pakistan... (Interruptions) And the situation today is that the crow is donning the feathers of a peacock.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : Eversince they have started speaking.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Yes, it is like that since then. We used to warn them verbally that if any nation looks at us with ill intentions, the war would be fought on enemy's land. It used to keep quiet. Now what is the situation, we are cowering. You say that we have become nuclear power nation. Pakistan is also falling in your lines, Shri Nawaz Sharif too is acting immature and taking suicidal steps. Mr. Chairman Sir, the truth is that Shri Atal Ji was feeling insecure here and Shri Nawaz Sharif was having the same position in Pakistan. Both of them conducted nuclear tests to remain in power. Neither Pakistan was threatened by India nor vice-versa, but both were feeling insecure to remain in power. Both the nations came to the brink of war by projecting a fabricated danger. We are saying this with all seriousness that this was done in order to destroy the nations and remain in power. The position of Shri Nawaz Sharif to remain in power had run into rough weathers and the same situation was here for Shri Atalji. Therefore, both the nations are conducting nuclear tests.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have been a supporter of the confederation and today we are saying that instead of talking of China and world, you may prepare a bonhomie alongwith Bangladesh and Pakistan. Learn a lesson from Germany and Vietnam and make a Confederation of India, Pakistan and

Bangladesh by forming such a bonhomie. There would be no danger from China. You consider China as the enemy no. 1. I am saying that ours is a brave army. No one can harm our country while our brave army stands. Mr. Chairman Sir, you may keep on waxing eloquent about China but the fact is that you cannot even remotely harm China unless there is a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, if you can grab the land then go and grab Kailash and Mansarover which is the spritual lands of Lord Siva and parental home of Goddess Parvati. You, talk of religion. Where has the religion gone? I would like to ask the people who shout slogans in praise of Shri Ram where the spritual land of Lord Siva has gone. You are dividing this country in the name of religion...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order - order. Don't interrup.

SHRI TAPAN SIKDAR : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Hon'ble member is giving wrong statement. we have not sent Lord Siva there...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : The devotees of Sri Ram and Lord Siva should feel ashamed of themselves. Thus Lalu Prasad Yadav has rightly said—Jai Sri Krishna. If you instigate Hindus and Muslims against each other, we will instigate Ram and Krishna and nobody is more diplomatic than Krishna. All shepherds and cowboys are ready ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order - Order.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I am taking up this matter with all seriousness. Mr. Chairman, for the first time after independence, we have to face the humiliation due to the foreign policy of this Government. After 1971 war Jai Prakashji was sent to the different parts of the world to maintain friendly relations with various countries. Today an officer is being sent and when that Government Officer goes to Africa then the President, the Vice-President, the Defence Minister all decline to meet him. I am not aware whom he had met or he had returned home without meeting any dignitary. When the Prime Minister replies to this discussion, he may mention in his statement as to whom he had met. Today this is the position prevailing in our country. I would like to mention that our country has never faced such a humiliation before. The people of India will never forget it and this government will surely be punished.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a foreign policy rather it is the R.S.S. policy. How long the R.S.S. Policy will supersede the foreign policy. The R.S.S. Nikardharis hurl lathis in the morning. Have they entered the age of Atomic Bomb explosion or Nuclear age? The stick is our real weapon. Even today our old people walk with the help of a stick. We have got

independence through Non-Violence. The Non-violence had such a power that the Britishers could not withstand the non-violence policy of Gandhiji and they had to flee from India. This is the policy and the culture of our country and these are our basic principles.

Mr. Chairman, today we have desisted from our basic principles. Our country has not been humiliated once, but on several occasions. Recently, the Deputy Foreign Minister of USA Shri Talboat visited our country. When we compare our world renowned country with the just Deputy Foreign Minister of USA, we find that how the people were running after him in madness. Even the Hon'ble Prime Minister permitted him to meet him when Shri Jaswant Singhji went to USA nothing was mentioned in American Newspapers. We publicised about him in the Indian Newspapers published in the USA. How much honour was given to Shri Jaswant Singh in USA and what was his position in media? I don't know? When the Deputy Minister of USA visits our country, our Prime Minister hosts lunch and dinner in his honour. I saw on Television that Shri Jaswant Singh was escorting him. We should think over this p r t seriously where the dignity of our country has gone and if the dignity of our country has declined, this is due to faulty foreign policy of our Government and the BJP led Government is responsible for this failure. The BJP Government has let down the dignity of this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : There is still some time left...*(Interruptions)* Half of our time elapsed due to interruptions. If there are no interruptions, I can conclude my speech early...*(Interruptions)*. I know that they are disturbed while I am on my legs. That disturbance will continue...*(Interruptions)* I can expose the secrets of BJP. During the span of 19 months of emergency, the RSS workers were with us in jail and had they not been jailed, I would not have been able to disclose their secrets...*(Interruptions)* There were number of RSS workers who regretted during the emergency. When I asked them why had they apologised, they said that their Guru had told them if they felt sorry, they would prosper in life and that is why they apologised. Most of them apologized. Only God knows...*(Interruptions)* Otherwise they would let the cat out of the bag...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHANTILAL CHAPLOT (Udaipur) : Most of the members are from BJP Party whereas there were hardly five-seven members from other parties. You are excegrating...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Sir, I want to say you...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, conclude please.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Barely ten minutes have elapsed so far while I am speaking.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Twenty five minutes have elapsed.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I want to say you that a speech in English was being delivered which presented such a look as if people of London were speaking. It is being felt that Lok Sabha is in London. I don't feel so that it is Lok Sabha of India. We had high hopes from the Prime Minister. His poem was recited by Shri Sangama. We have read the poem of Shri Atal. Shri Atal, explain and elaborate while reading out his poem that how far his poem is aptly suited and relevant in the present scenario. If he has given new explanation of the poem, we will also come to know that. You have done well because we were not having this thing in mind. Although I have read these lines and have also underlined them. The book of Shri Atal is with me. Shri Atal has read this book fully which he has written. Whether you have read it or not but I have read the book of Shri Atal fully...*(Interruptions)* yes...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say in the context of J & K that while holding the reins of this government, the issue of Kashmir has become an international issue today. From fifty years to this date it was not an international issue, but it has become now. It is the biggest defeat of our foreign policy and diplomacy. What can be bigger defeat than that? Today, on account of failure of our foreign policy and diplomacy, the issue of Kashmir has become an international issue and on the other hand, Pakistan has been successful. When there used to be Muslim Conference, nobody would support Pakistan therein. You know that on the question of Kashmir, Muslim countries would never support Pakistan and even in the Conferences of Muslim countries, no support was given to Pakistan lest the question of Kashmir be raised. But today, Nawaz Sharief is going to the entire Arabian countries and saying that the Hindus (India) have made explosion and we should be helped now for Islamic explosion. The whole Arabian countries, which were standing by India, they have all now separated from India. Here money is being collected for help of Pakistan against India. What can be bigger defeat than that?...*(Interruptions)* Do you have any answer for it? What can be bigger defeat of India that that on account of your foreign policy? I would like to alert you that India has been rounded up all around. It is round up like a ring. Nepal and Burma both are not ready to be with us. Maldweep which has always been with us, is now

not ready to be with us. China is not with us and we have fell out with Pakistan. No country is with us. Today, all ally countries and even neighbour countries are not with us. The entire India is laying separated.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today, we have not any ally country and we are running after America in order to make friend with America. I do not want to use any word for it but do want to say that we should not run after America because she neither stood by us nor she would give in future. Be cautious. What America has done, you might have remembered. The President of America went to China and he made the China jury saying that we now give onus to you in respect of peace of South Africa. It is failure of our foreign policy. It has been the failure of our foreign policy for the fifty years together that we never allowed to Pakistan and China stand together. But on account of this failure foreign policy of India, Pakistan and China have become one and both of their have had the benediction of America. But you say that we are not separated and even the Prime Minister came to the airport and said that we are not separated. Just tell us about intimacy of China and America with us particularly out of intimacy developed between Pakistan and China. The Prime Minister wrote to China and Pakistan. He also wrote to America and your Minister for Defence calls China the enemy No. 1, but now started bleating like a goat that China is our friend. China says what kind of friendship? He will show off the letter of Prime Minister that you want to make such type of friendship. You show off the book that Mulayam Singh Yadav has said so. It is fact that we do not cast our eyes on the weakings but we cast our eyes on the strong and stout and on them who exploit the people. So we cast our eyes on the Minister for Defence and did work. But I did not make a tall talk. I did not make a noise. I did not utter such a point when some utters when he is powerful. I did not utter regarding constructing the temple. I did my work furtively. I have said all of them that our policy is strong and stout and that is being considered as dangerous but we should make a try to keep it up. You are showing what I have done. You did nothing. China became No. 1. What was the consequence?

China and India fought in 1962. After that, there were two wars - one in 1965 and another in 1971 — and India won in both. China never allied with Pakistan...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TAPAN SIKDAR : What do you speak...*(Interruptions)* You burst out whatever you like.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : The consequence of speaking too much and haste was that Pakistan and China became friends ...*(Interruptions)*. Who is going to teach them. They know only as much as they are trained. They know that China kept silent and Pakistan and India fought with each other. First of all, the allies are taken in confidence. Indiraji took Russia in confidence and ultimately separated Bangladesh from Pakistan following a war. There was no sharp reaction against India in the world. This is what you may call foreign policy...*(Interruptions)*. Does that situation prevail today? India can never conduct her policy efficiently by making China and Pakistan together, her enemies. Now, we find bureaucrats in diplomacy and foreign policy. Previously, Atalji used to go. Narsingh Rao ji used to send Atalji in foreign countries when the latter happened to the Leader of opposition. Even Loknayak Jay Prakash Narayan was sent out to present India's stand before the world. Now who is sent? Bureaucrats are sent. Now file signatories are going to finalise foreign policy and diplomacy. Get the files signed by them. Please recall. Narsingh Rao used to send you for the sake of foreign policy and diplomacy. That is the way to send a wise politician. The country is above all; we stand one as for the country, for its sovereignty and for the sake of strengthening it. Had you have confidence in the opposition and some ten persons from this side were sent the world over, the scenario today would have been different. But then you simply kept the foreign policy in your pocket. In addition, the atom bomb too is in your pocket...*(Interruptions)*. You could have sent someone in whom you could have confided ...*(Interruptions)* you could have, for one, sent Lalaji. He must have done a very good job and came back after setting people right...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : No need to send. It is we who are going to fight. You shall simply escape ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : It is true; it is we who are going to fight. Virendra Singh ji, who fights? Is that you or us? These persons are not there on the borders. Today, either your or our people are there on the borders. These persons are only enjoying.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I have an advice for the Prime Minister. It is still time. Please befriend the neighbouring countries. Dr. Lohia used to say that economy of a country is its arm and foreign policy, its fist. If our arm is strong, the fist shall be safe from strain. Are you doing something in this direction? Mr. Sangma has rightly pointed out at the

lack of water, power, medicine etc. Today, the poor cannot afford onions and potatoes. I say it because the poor too needs vegetables. There is no power and water for him. We are having floods. Farms are fundamental to the progress of our country. When Hon. Lalaji speaks. There is no decorum.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : The sky is being bored.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : The situation is so bad. So we wish to urge upon you to, first of all, strengthen India on economic front. We have faced a big debacle. All the countries of the world were willing to support India for the membership in the Security Council, but then. Today no strong country is willing to support India for her membership in the Security Council. The United Front Government had put India in a position in which all the countries of the world had started willing to get India accommodated in the Security Council. This is highly rueful. At the time of Pokhran, there was no Ambassador or High Commissioner of India in the important nations. There was no official Ambassador of India in England so that he could present India's stand in an effective way...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I would like to speak for two minutes more.

I, therefore, would like to warn the Government and suggest the Prime Minister that India should never agree to hold negotiations with Pakistan under the supervision of any third power. The Shimla Agreement reached in presence of Smt. Gandhi and Sh. Bhutto should be implemented. Whenever any mediator had come in between India and Pakistan, India has always been a loser. You might be knowing that. When Lal Bahadur Shastri had visited England to attend the Commonwealth conference in 1964 and, pressure was mounted on him by England, he had accepted the decision of the arbitrator and we lost Kutch, Till...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. Let's conclude it.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Just a minute please.

Similarly, we had to relinquish Haji Pir pass when Shastriji attended the meeting at Tashkent after the war with Pakistan in 1965. Russia was indeed our friendly country but under its pressure, Field Marshall Ayub Khan, had relinquished Haji Pir pass which was won by the great sacrifices of the soldiers of our country. Had we not returned Haji Pir pass, it might have not so easy for Pakistan to interfere with Kashmir and the former might not have dared to take such a stern stand. Thus, I want to point out that we have lost Haji Pir pass and Kutch Tiu due to the

[Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav]

arbitration and if arbitration is accepted again, we would be losers and Pakistan would gain something...*(Interruptions)*. I, therefore, want to warn that Pakistan has always been gainer in the arbitration and I want to warn the Government against its eagerness for arbitration.

To conclude with, I would like to tell the House another thing. The greatest success of the United Front Government was that our relations in the China were improving that time. We might have hammered out a solution that time. Our relation with Pakistan was also improving. But in the twinkling of an eye cold water was thrown on our hope. The United Front Government had persuaded to Pakistan to keep the Kashmir issue into abeyance and start having talks on other issues.

Now the Government is preparing the country for another war. I would like to ask the Government whether it has taken its allies into confidence while making such preparation. However, India ceases to have any of its allies due to its hostile foreign policy. The number of India's friendly countries has come down. We know it very well that the foreign policy is framed by only two persons. Firing is going on the border and war-like situation should not be allowed to crop up. Even today, I would like to suggest to make a consortium of Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. I have already opined that the carving out of Pakistan was wrong and unnatural. When the relation between the two countries is tense, the movement the members of divided family living there is stopped. Trade and industry between both the countries should be started.

I would like to call upon my sikh brethren that they have their several holy places and gurudwaras there and their journeys to those places should also be started. Traffic for to and fro movement of Sikh brethren for those places should be started. But it seems to me that the Government of India is preparing for war with Pakistan. Due to its foreign policy, the honour of the country has been eroded and prices have also sky-rocketed. With the advent of the B.J.P. Government prices have risen considerably.

[English]

SHRIMATI KRISHNA BOSE (Jadavpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, may I welcome back our Prime Minister amidst us after his successful participation in the SAARC Meeting at Colombo. When he was away in Colombo, our good wishes were with him.. Now, he has come back and, in the morning, he has given us a very good presentation. We heard him in the morning. For all that, we congratulate him. It is now time for us to express our congratulations to him.

But Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would also like to express some of our genuine concerns about this.

Shri Sangma, in the morning, made a point. He said that economic might is the real might in today's world. That was a very pertinent point which he made. If that is so, I do not know why he was disappointed with our Prime Minister's performance at Colombo. Our Prime Minister went straight for the economic agenda there. It was a very bold stroke of economic diplomacy that we witnessed in Colombo. As we all know, he had lifted the quantitative restriction from more than 2,000 items so that our smaller neighbour will now have access to the Indian market. He has spoken about Free Trade. We also know that Indian investment there will go on a fast track. Shri Sangma could have spared one or two words of praise to the Prime Minister for all this.

Apart from this, by taking the economic initiative, our Prime Minister also prevented Pakistan from hijacking the agenda. They wanted other things on the agenda, but the bold economic initiatives taken by our Prime Minister prevented that. So, I have expected a few words of praise from the Opposition, at least, for the economic issues that were discussed at the SAARC Meeting.

Sir, after saying all this, I have to admit that if we think of reality, no significant progress was made in the talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. We admit that. I think, our diplomatic initiative was oriented more on preventing other nations from condemning our nuclear policy. The Prime Minister has a very bold envoy in Shri Jaswant Singh, who was in Manila for the ASEAN Meeting. Now, I must congratulate Shri Jaswant Singh for what he achieved at the ASEAN Meeting ...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Mr. Lalu, please let him speak.

SHRI CHINMAYANAND SWAMI (Machhalishahar) : They are involved in gossips. When somebody is speaking, they should not go on talking. The hon. Members sitting on the front benches always keep on gossiping, hence the back benches fail to hear the speakers. This is not the proper way. They always keep on talking. They do not take the House seriously...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Please keep quiet...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHINMAYANAND-SWAMI : Why should we remain silent? You keep quiet...*(Interruptions)* If you keep mum, nobody would speak...*(Interruptions)*. What is this?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are not mending yourself. It is not proper to deliver speech while sitting on the chair. You should listen to others also. It is not proper to interrupt other.

(Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : We are sitting silent, now you speak please...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRIMATI KRISHNA BOSE : I thank all of you from this side and from that side for giving me your attention. May I go back to my point now?

I was mentioning Shri Jaswant Singh's role in the ASEAN meetings. He had said in a press interview there as follows. I quote :-

"There was no unanimity in condemning India between ASEAN and ARF and within P-5 and G-8 which is an aspect of our nuclear diplomacy carrying conviction."

He was very right. Getting the word 'condemn' replaced by 'deplore' can certainly be termed a diplomatic success if sourts and also we have prevented Pakistan, as I have already said, from hijacking the Agenda by putting other things into the Agenda.

I would like to say that we also need to go a little deeper into that. We must not forget that we have two neighbours on our border who are now nuclear powers. We have to tread the path very carefully.

Many of our hon. Members will recall that when our Prime Minister was in Colombo, we had a discussion in this House about the hegemonistic role that China and USA were taking up. The nuclear haves were trying to preach us the virtues of nuclear non-proliferation. Now I must say that after our tests, we have done away with that very unequal nuclear regime which the nuclear haves wanted to impose on us. That was a very good thing we did. But what next is the question which is now before us. Now we are face to face with a very grave decision. It is the decision about nuclear weaponisation in Asia. I know there was always a consensus in the House about our nuclear options. But what about nuclear weaponisation? We do not have a consensus on that issue. I know that. I would like to ask the Prime Minister to take the whole House into confidence about this. What does he really want? Does he want that we shall deploy warheads and we shall say that we shall never be the first to press the nuclear button or does he want us to carry on negotiations with China and with Pakistan so that such a scenario does not arise where Asian neighbours will be targetting one another all the time with nuclear weapons?

I would like to have a word of assurance from the Prime Minister with regard to this. I am sure the Prime Minister will always give diplomacy the first chance before going into any dangerous and expensive path of weaponisation.

I am sure all of you will agree with me on one thing. In nuclear war, there is no winner or victor. Let us not bury our heads in the sands of Pokhran like an ostrich. Let us face that fact.

Somebody mentioned about one Ms. Arundathi a little while ago. I would like to mention another Arundathi, the famous novelist who had this to say. I was just reading her statement. She says:

"If there is a nuclear war, our foes will not be China or America or even each other. Our foe will be the earth herself. The very elements - the sky, the air, the land, the wind and water - will all turn against us. Their wrath will be terrible."

I am sure, both sides will listen to this and be careful.

I am very happy that our Prime Minister, in the very first day of this Session, had used two words "restraint and responsibility." I am sure, we will remember the words that he used. When the nuclear blasts rocked Rajasthan, I was in my rural constituency, in a very very poor village in West Bengal. I was very proud of what happened. I was very proud of our scientists. But I was also in a situation where I could see that people around me did not have the basic civic amenities like drinking water or electricity or primary schools. So, we have to remember all this. Our Prime Minister has given us a very good slogan *jai vigyan*. I want that slogan to become truly meaningful. When we shall have a useful participation between politics and science which will eradicate our poverty and hunger from this unhappy land, on that day, the *jai vigyan* slogan, which our Prime Minister has given, will become truly meaningful. We are waiting for that.

I know the hurdle that stands between the negotiation between us and Pakistan, between our Prime Minister, and the Pakistan Prime Minister. What is it? It is the letter "K" of the alphabet, Kashmir. It comes up all the time and creates all sorts of problems for us. I know our neighbour is very obstinate. I know that our neighbour is very unreasonable. But we have to continue the dialogue. We have to think what we can do at home. Again, I will plead with the Prime Minister that we should assure the people of Kashmir, the long-suffering people of Kashmir that we shall never trample upon the legitimate rights of the region and if there is any alienation, we shall try to redress it. We should

[Shrimati Krishna Bose]

always be by their side.. That much we can do without getting into any confrontation with our very very difficult neighbour because we must remember that by nuclear warheads, we cannot do that. That assurance has to be given in some other form.

Thousands of nuclear warheads did not prevent the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. We remember that. So, what can we do? We shall have to say that we shall never ignore the regional aspirations of our people. We shall have a good Centre-State, federal infrastructure where, in decision making process, even the smallest of the States will have some say. We shall have to assure all of them in this manner.

I know somebody mentioned here that Mr. Sharif has said that the talk between the two Prime Ministers was a big zero. In today's newspaper, I saw that he has spoken about war. These are very very irresponsible things to say. I shudder at the thought that such irresponsible people now have nuclear power. In comparison, India comes out in a far better light. We are speaking about responsibility. We are speaking about restraint.

14.00 hrs.

Even if the outcome of a dialogue is thousand times a zero, we have to go on talking. Talks must continue. We will have to continue the talk whatever Shri Sharif has to say. I have every faith in our Prime Minister that he will always give diplomacy a first chance and never go in for any dangerous confrontation.

I would like to request my fellow Members in the Opposition that in internal matters we may have disagreements but when we are talking about foreign affairs, always constructive criticism is welcome. But on certain sensitive issues like Indo-Pak issue or the nuclear issue, I would like them to rally behind the Prime Minister. This is a request to them. And I have to request to our Prime Minister that he will continue his talks with our difficult neighbours and will not go in for weaponisation so long as the path of diplomacy is open. Thank you.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL (Latur) : Sir, in this Parliament, I am very sorry to say that unfortunately, we have not been able to discuss the important issues which are faced by our country. We cannot blame the ruling party or the opposition parties or the Presiding Officers for this. The blame has to be shared by all of us together.

Defence is the first topic in the Seventh Schedule of our Constitution and the Foreign Affairs is the second topic in the Seventh Schedule of our

Constitution. Planning covers the entire nation and planning is done for five years. Poverty has been in India for many years. Science and technology can take us to the future. Rural development is very important and unemployment is very important. Unfortunately, we have not been able to discuss these issues on the floor of the House. Why? Probably, the time is not sufficient for us to discuss these issues. I think, we shall have to sit for more days to cover these important matters. Probably, the Government does not want to discuss these things because the Government probably thinks that only criticism is levelled against the Government and no positive suggestions can be given. Probably, we are concentrating on constituency issues more than anything else. There is a scope for improvement and it is better for our system to take this fact into account and modify our conduct in the House and modify our method of dealing with these issues in the House. Unfortunately, for many years we have not paid enough attention to foreign affairs. We have not discussed foreign affairs in the House. It is not being discussed in the media. It is not touched upon in the public meetings also. This is a mistake we are committing and we shall have to rectify and see that the foreign affairs are discussed.

The world is becoming smaller. Foreign affairs are very complicated probably they are more complicated, than internal affairs, in certain respects. If we do not pay attention to foreign affairs, we are likely to suffer not only in foreign matters but also in internal matters.

So, it is very important and necessary to pay the requisite attention too the foreign affairs. I am happy that this matter has been taken up for discussion today, and most senior Members are expressing their views on this point.

While discussing the foreign affairs, sometimes, we are trying to say that foreign affairs, cultural matters and social matters are important but economic matters are more important. This is a fact of life and we have to recognise it. Economic matters have acquired greater importance in our life and we shall have to pay attention to economic matters also. If we do not pay attention to economic matters, we will not be able to alleviate and eliminate poverty; we will not be able to have a social harmony which we require to defend our country; we will not have our defence strength, enough strength to defend our territory and sovereignty also. But it should not be, at the same time, forgotten that life is not only economics, life is not only money, and certainly in the life of the country, it is not only economics and money, but also social and cultural aspects. The country will also have to deal with matters which relate to war, peace, and internal reactions. Now, if

we are not paying attention to these facts, probably, we are going to commit a mistake and it is necessary that in this world of ours, where we are talking about the market economy, social structure and all those things, we shall have to pay attention to other aspects also. If we do not pay attention to other aspects, we are likely to suffer.

Now today, we are expected to discuss the current political issues, and we are asked to discuss the SAARC Conference in Colombo also because the statement made by the hon. Prime Minister is made part of the Resolution that we are discussing today. Very rightly, by the senior Members on the floor of the House, it is said that India is a country which has been talking about peace and tranquillity everywhere. India is a peaceful country. The history points out that India has been a peaceful country. And, India will continue to be a country which will appreciate peace and tranquillity everywhere. We should do everything possible and necessary to avoid war.

Now, it is said that the present wars are not won by fighting them but present wars are won by avoiding them because in the present wars, there is no victor and no vanquisher. Everybody is defeated. The Governments are defeated, peoples are defeated, and individuals are defeated. It is so destructive that nobody comes out victorious from the present wars and that is why it is necessary for us to avoid wars.

We need to subscribe to the principles of Disarmament. I think, in the Resolution moved by Shri Rajiv Gandhi in 1988 in the United Nations General Assembly with respect to Disarmament, it gave us as to how we can go about these things. We are for Disarmament - non-conventional and conventional. Disarmament should take place within a limited period, within a time framework which is given to us.

This disarmament should relate not only to the nuclear and other mass destruction weapons but to the technology and development of technology also. It should relate to conventional weapons also. This is to be done within a particular period of time.

I think, India will try to see that India goes with all the other countries in agreeing to the proposals which would be made, which are not discriminatory. If they are discriminatory, India has to take its own stand. But if they are not discriminatory, India would certainly go with all the other countries of the world.

Unfortunately for India, I say, five wars were inflicted on it. I say, 'five' because I include the Rann of Kutch war also as one of the wars and it makes for five wars. If wars are inflicted, what do we do? Is it possible for us to run away from wars?

India was very strong economically and yet India was defeated in the past. People came to India because India was economically strong and rich. Even though India was economically strong and rich, India was defeated and India was subjugated. This history of India cannot be forgotten by us. That is why if a war is inflicted on India, India has no option but to face it. If it has to be faced, India should be prepared to face it. This is a very, very delicate issue on which we have to be careful in making our policies and preparing ourselves to face all the eventualities which may arise in the future. If India is not prepared to face the eventualities, it will be difficult for India to protect its own sovereignty, territory and its interests. That is why India has to take a very careful stand on this point.

I am not one of those who would criticise for the sake of criticism. I do think that we should express our views very sincerely and honestly in this august House. This is not a House where we can just fling criticism at each other and try to blacken each other's faces. This is not the place for that. This is a place where some positive points can also be given by one to another and that could be useful. It is not possible for me to blame this Government or that Government for what this Government or that Government has done because the Congress Party has also been responsible for certain developments and we will not criticise them. What we are afraid of is that the Government is not prepared to face the fallout of what they have done. We have a sincere apprehension in our minds that having taken a step the Government is not in a position to meet the consequences of what they have done in a fashion that it would protect the interests of India.

Now, for instance, let us take the case of difficulties on the economic front. We have been asking this question: 'You have taken a step and it seems that you are going to face some difficulties. Please let us know how you would like to deal with these difficulties.' We are told that India is not afraid and we should not be worried about all these things. Certainly, India should not be afraid; certainly, we are not afraid; certainly, we will not be cowed down by some restrictions or limits put on the help and assistance given to India. But at the same time it would be necessary for India to be prepared to face the difficulties that may arise out of the economic sanctions.

Is it not a fact that the prices are going up? Is it not a fact that the value of the rupee is coming down? Is it not a fact that production has come down? We should be very clear what we are going to do to meet these difficulties. From these benches, we would not like to say that you are doing everything wrong.

[Shri Shivraj V. Patil]

But you cannot avoid telling us what you are going to do about these things.

Now, I come to science and technology. When we are discussing these issues, we are not keeping only one country before us. We are not saying that one big country has put some sanctions and so we are afraid. There are many other countries also which have withdrawn support in this field. Probably after some time they may change their attitude and help us also. It is necessary for us to talk to them and see that the help is given by them.

Science and technology is going to suffer. For some time the developed countries were resisting to give science and technology which is necessary for economic development. They were saying that these things would be used for defence purposes also. They keep on saying that dual-use technologies would not be given to you. After the Pokhran explosion, I think, there would be more restrictions on the transfer of science and technology from one country to the other. They are expelling the scientists from other countries.

This issue was discussed more than once in this House itself as to what we should do. Should we allow our scientists to go to other countries or should we restrain them from going to other countries? We have said that we would like our scientists to go to other countries, work for them, contribute to the development of that country, as well as learn from what they have with them. If these scientists are expelled from some countries, well we would like to welcome them back. It would be the responsibility of the Government and the country to take these scientists in our laboratories and give them the positions that they deserve. If we do not do that, that would be very sad for us. Let us decide to welcome them back. Let us give them the positions and the opportunities to work in our laboratories. We did not stop them from going to other countries. If they are coming back, we would not refuse to take them back. We shall have to have a policy on this matter.

As far as CTBT is concerned, the people have developed some kind of apprehensions in their minds. I do think that the Government has to be very careful in this respect. This House has resolved that India will not sign CTBT. The Government has to take this House into confidence in making any policy with respect to CTBT. If this House and the people are not taken into confidence, probably, the Government would not be in a position to say that we have not cooperated in matters of foreign affairs. This is the area which is very delicate and which has to be handled very carefully. We understand the difficulties. But we would also like to caution that this difficult situation has to be delicately handled.

One apprehension in my mind which I would like to put before this august House is with regard to terrorism. Terrorism is a low intensity war. The Generals have developed a policy that in an open war, thousands and crores of rupees are spent, a lot many lives are lost, and countries are held responsible for having started the war. So, let us not spend the money on open war and let us spend on this low intensity war or proxy war. Due to the proxy war or low-intensity war by our neighbour we are suffering in many States. Jammu & Kashmir, and North-Eastern States are suffering due to this low intensity war. Punjab suffered a lot due to this. Some cities are also suffering due to this. This low intensity war, I am afraid, is likely to increase in the future. It is because they would not be audacious enough to start an open war, they would like to take recourse to terrorist activities and spend more on terrorist activities. If India is not prepared to face this difficulty, Indians especially the innocent ones, will suffer. What are we doing to face this difficulty in future?

I think, it is necessary for us to prepare our defence forces to protect our sovereignty and integrity. At the same time, it is also necessary for us to prepare our police forces to meet these difficulties. If we do not modernise the police forces, if we do not give them the transport and the communication facilities, if we do not give them the intelligence which is required and if we do not provide them the necessary training which is required, probably it will not be possible for India to use the defence forces in all cases and we will suffer from this low-intensity war.

India, I am afraid, will have to face this situation for some time to come, unfortunately. We may not have war; and we pray that there should be no war. But if war is there, nobody is going to run away and we will face it boldly. We would do our best. But terrorism and terrorist activities are something about which we have to be very very careful.

I have read the statement made by the Prime Minister very carefully about the SAARC Conference. In that statement, the hon. Prime Minister has made four or five points. The first point relates to the Free Trade Zone that the SAARC countries would like to have; the second point relates to the trade liberalisation; the third point relates to the joint ventures which these countries would like to establish; the fourth point relates to the trade in services, that is banking, shipping, aviation, insurance and such other things; the fifth point relates to the tourism between these countries; the sixth point relates to the social issues; and the seventh point relates to the sharing of energy and sharing of scientific and technological knowledge.

I do think that this is a good package. The leaders of the SAARC countries had applied their minds to the issues in a proper perspective and they had arrived at good conclusions. What now remains is that we have to see that these resolutions are implemented, and implemented to produce good results. Now what SAARC is doing is very important. But the SAARC is facing great difficulties. It is necessary to see that those difficulties are overcome.

Our neighbour Pakistan is using a language which is not very welcome. But as was said by one of the lady Members in the House, India has no option but to keep talking to Pakistan. We cannot disrupt our dialogue with Pakistan; by disrupting our dialogue with Pakistan, we are going to gain nothing. Having exploded the bomb, it is necessary for us to see that we do not enter into a race, and atomic weapons race; we shall have to see that we do not enter into an atomic weapons race or any other kind of arms race with Pakistan.

Now, it is also necessary for us to see that we are prepared for any eventuality. This is something like this: you have a cloth and you have to keep a burning piece of wood covered by that cloth; the burning piece of wood should not be extinguished and that cloth should also be not burnt. It is something like that; and yet, we shall have to do something to see that this happens and happens in a very good manner.

14.24 hrs.

[SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA *In the Chair*]

Let us now see our relations with our neighbours. We are trying to have good relations with our neighbours. China is one of the big countries and it is necessary for us to deal with the Chinese matters in a careful manner. There is no point in unnecessarily niggling our neighbour; and we are going to get nothing out of it. It is better that the Defence Minister, generally, avoid making statements. The Defence Ministers are expected to act and the Foreign Ministers are expected to speak. I think that we shall have to avoid saying certain things which will unnecessarily create bad relationship with our neighbour. There is no point in saying that this country or that country is our first enemy or second enemy. I think this has to be avoided.

Now as far as relations with other countries like Russia, United States of America, European countries, Asian countries and Non-Aligned countries are concerned, history is proving that what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had thought and done in the realm of foreign affairs is true and correct even today and

likely to be true and correct in future also. Our relations with Russia are good and it is necessary for us to maintain good relations with Russia.

The United States of America had made some statements after the explosion. Other countries also made statements after the explosion. India also made statements after the explosions made by other countries. So, we shall have to deal with the United States of America in such a fashion that our relations do not worsen. Now, if they do not like some of our policies, let them not like those policies. We also do not like the policies of some other countries. That itself should not create any bad blood between the two democracies.

European countries have been, by and large, very restraint. It would be necessary for us to talk to them and give them more information. Asian countries also have been very restraint in their statements. Now, Japan had made some statements and had said certain things. They tried to impose some sanctions. I think it is possible for us to talk to the Government and the leaders in Japan as also the people of Japan.

The Non-Aligned countries have, by and large, been very understanding and this point goes to show that what Pandit Jawarhalal Nehru did in developing good relations with the then Soviet Union, the present Russia, and the Non-Aligned countries is going to be helpful to us. It will not be beneficial for India if we neglect the Non-Aligned countries and the Non-Aligned Movement. Now a theory has developed that the Non-Aligned Movement has become irrelevant. We are saying that the economic aspect of foreign policy is very important, but, at the same time, we do not apply the same principle to our relationship with Non-Aligned countries. Non-Aligned countries were not a block against any country. Non-Alignment is a forum where the cooperation between the countries on economic, social, cultural and scientific cooperation could be possible. These facts are relevant even today. So, it is necessary to have good relations with them.

Now, relations with international organisations in the world are also very important. The United Nations is very important. Now, we are trying to have good relations with other countries and play an important role in the United Nations. I think the position has changed a little. It would be necessary to have good diplomatic moves to be taken by India to better our relations with the United Nations and the organisations under the United Nations. I do think that if we sink, we become small, if we expand, we can become strong and useful also. If we think of the entire world, we will be able to protect the interests of India also. If we think of India, we will be

[Shri Shivraj V. Patil]

able to protect the interests of the States also and if we think of the States, we will be able to protect the interests of the districts. But by thinking only about districts, it will not be possible to protect the interests of the States or by thinking only about the States, it will not be possible to protect the interests of the nation. And by only thinking about the nation and forgetting the entire world, apart from our nation, it will not be possible for us to protect our interests. So, foreign policy is very important. Let us not forget that the Union Government is mainly responsible for matters concerning defence, and foreign affairs. If we neglect in paying attention to them, and paying attention to the planning of foreign and defence policies, the country will suffer. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, I was told that not only once but twice or thrice the 'foreign affairs' was discussed. I was sitting there. Once the foreign affairs came for discussion, one of the gentlemen got up and said, "Let us not discuss foreign affairs. It is not that important. Let us discuss economic affairs." One of the gentlemen sitting on the Opposition benches got up and said, "When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, was India more powerful economically than what it was today? But what India used to say at that time was heard with great respect by other countries. Why is it not being respected today in matters of foreign affairs?" So, only the economic aspect is important. But it is not the only aspect which is an important content of the foreign policy. That aspect has to be borne in mind.

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN (Balasore) : Sir, I listened with rapt attention to the quite illuminating speech on foreign affairs delivered by our hon. ex-Speaker, Shri Shivraj V. Patilji. I also listened with equal attention to the speeches made by hon. Members from the Opposition, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav and Shri P.A. Sangma.

Everybody agrees on one point that India is a peaceful country. Everybody agrees with the point that India has been a peaceful country, India is a peaceful country and India will remain a peaceful country. There is no difference on this point. For thousands of years, India has remained the torchbearer, the harbinger, and the forerunner of peaceful coexistence in the world. But now the point is whether the test of nuclear device in Pokhran has made us drift away from the path of peaceful coexistence? There lies the main point.

Some of the hon. Members from the Opposition have criticised us. They have criticised the Government. Shri P.A. Sangma and Shri Mulayam

Singh were criticising us. Hon. Members from the Leftist parties were also criticising that there was no need of testing the nuclear devices because, first, we want food and clothing. The people in this country are poor. So, instead of looking after them, we are just looking after the nuclear devices. These points were mentioned by some of the hon. Members from the Opposition and also by some of the hon. Members from the Leftist parties.

When the Asian Games were held in India in 1984 the same thing was being told. At that time, it was being said: "We are poor. We do not want these Asian Games. So much money is being spent for Asian Games. With this money, we could have provided so many houses and so much of food to the people." What I mean to say is this, will any country, which is poor or which is just not able to provide basic amenities to some of its people, not test a nuclear device or will it not hold the 'Asian Games'? Have only the rich countries like the USA or Western countries like the UK or France or Japan and all other countries only got a right to conduct all these things?

I mean to say that a country which does not have self-confidence, which does not have the morale, suffers from inferiority complex. That country cannot rise and stand among the comity of nations. Excepting, hon. Shri Shivraj Patil, all the Members of Congress Party have criticised the Government. They are asking, why has the Government conducted these tests.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA (Guwahati) : There is no Minister to note down the points.

THE MINISTER OF POWER (SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM) : I am here.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA : The hon. Member is making such an important intervention and there is nobody to note down the points.

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM : I have requested my dear friend to note down the points. Meanwhile, I was discussing an important matter with the senior leader.

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN : We are being criticised for having conducted these tests. I may tell you that in 1974 when Madam Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister, the then Government had also conducted the Pokhran test. Did it create any impact in the world? Without being weaponised, the nuclear test does not have any meaning. That is why, even though a test was conducted in 1974 it did not have any impact all over the world. I am here talking about the United States of America or the super powers of the world.

What did the super powers think about India? Shri Mulayam Singh has said that nowadays the American Newspapers do not write about India. I may ask him, when did they write about us earlier. I can dare say that prior to Pokhran tests, the American Government and the American people thought that India is a totally uncivilized country. Most of the Americans used to think that we are Red Indians. Even when the Americans used to meet some of the Indians who had been to America on some visit, they used to ask them, how many snakes or elephants did you meet before coming here. They used to think probably India is not a civilized country. In American newspapers they did not use to write even a line about India. I may tell you that after the Pokhran tests, we are being talked about there, whether good or bad, the American newspapers write about us. They may be writing against us but they are writing.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD : What they say
...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI KHARABELA SWAIN (Balasore) : I feel happy when I am interrupted by a senior Member like Shri Lalu Prasad. I am a new Member to the Lok Sabha. When a senior Member is passing comments on me, I feel proud that he does not think that I am an inconsequential new-comer. The hon. Leader is giving due weightage to what I am saying.

So, I was saying that India is now being talked about. After two or three days of our conducting the test, the American President, Mr. Bill Clinton has said that India is a great civilization. It has nearly got a 10,000 year old civilization. He has never said so before the Pokhran tests. Within one day, India has become a great civilization of 10,000 years. Before that, India was a poor country which was not at all cared for. For America, India was an inconsequential country. These nuclear tests have brought, I can dare say, dignity, prestige and self-confidence to Indians and the Indian Government. I would just like to ask one question to the hon. Members of the Opposition who are criticising the Government. Now that we have conducted the test, whatever Members may say, will it be possible to bring back India to the post-Pokhran days? The tests have already been conducted. They were not in the interest of a Party, they were in the interest of the nation. Instead of rising in one voice, the Opposition Members are criticising now. Does it show their interest in the country? Can we say that they are patriots when they criticise the tests?

When Kalidas was carrying Bhojraj on his shoulders in Palki and was walking with difficulty, Bhojraj asked him, 'Kim Badhati?' Kalidas replied, 'Skandham Na Badhte Rajan, Tab Badhti Badhte!' Similarly, it is not the sanctions which hurt, it is the defeatist mentality of the Opposition that hurts. It is their defeatist attitude that makes them say 'we are poor, we cannot do anything, we cannot fight with others, money will not come, what shall we do?', etc., which hurts.

The hon. Members were speaking about Indian scientists being expelled from America. I dare say that this is a good augury for India. I remember that in the Sixties, the word 'brain drain' was being used often. People were getting educated in this country in the fields of engineering medicine, etc., and after getting their degrees, were going to America in search of greener pastures. I proudly say now that it is a reversal of the brain drain that these people are now coming back to India. We will get our own people back. They will make India prosperous. We will say that our people had gone there and they were just residing in America.

The hon. Members were saying that our Prime Minister has failed and that we have not achieved anything. Hon. Shivraj Patil was just saying that the Government was not prepared to face the consequences of the post-Pokhran incidents. If you see the chronological events, the ASEAN did not condemn the test conducted by India in spite of the pressure exerted on them by Western countries like the United States of America. Is it not an achievement? In the SAARC Summit in Colombo, advocacy of the Pakistani line was not accepted by the SAARC countries. It was rather the line propagated by India that was accepted. ... (Interruptions) I know, Sir, that it hurts. It will hurt, I know. It will hurt when I reply to their questions. They say, 'Minister ban jaogae!' I will be very happy every time they say, 'Minister ban jaogae!' Yes, I will be happy to be given Ministership. That is the reply that I give to their comment.

We succeeded in the SAARC Summit, Pakistan did not. Pakistan is shelling India because they failed in the SAARC Conference. They are shelling the Indian territories to try to draw sympathy from the countries like the United States of America and United Nations. They have no other intention. Their is a frustrated mind now because they were defeated by our diplomacy.

Previously when the sanctions were imposed after the Pokhran-II tests, the hon. Members from the Opposition were saying, 'sanctions are coming now, what will you do?', how can you defend this country?, etc.' Countries like the United States of America and Japan were saying that more sanctions, punitive sanctions, should be imposed.

[Shri Kharabela Swain]

Are they now telling the same thing? Now, there is a talk of withdrawal of sanctions; there is a talk of dilution of sanctions; and there is a talk of reduction of sanctions. The American Senate itself has tried to find out fault in their own laws and they have prevented Mr. Bill Clinton from imposing the sanctions for the next one year. They are doing it, we are not doing it. What does this point out? Is it not a success of the diplomacy by the Government of India? Is it not a success for Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Prime Minister of India? I can tell you that it is a silent coup; it is a victory for Indian democracy without the beating of the drums. Sir, it is a success. All these things point out that the Indian democracy has succeeded.

Finally, I would just tell you that we honour *Indra, Vishnu, Brahma and Maheshwar* because everyone of them is in possession of a very destructible weapon. They may not utilise it. They hold *Pasupathi Trishul Sudharshan Chakra*. There are 36 crores of Gods. We do not know the names of them. Why? Because they are helpless. They do not have anything with them. They are not significant. We only know the names of the powerful ones. World salutes only those countries which are powerful. World honours them. The future economic development of the country lies with this honour and dignity. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is going to make India a self-confident country.

Previously, there were Governments; there were same Governments; there were same Members; and there were same scientists. Why did they not test the nuclear devices? Because there was no political will; there was no political determination. Only Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Prime Minister of India and the proud son of Mother India decided to conduct the nuclear tests because of his political will and determination. He is willing to take India into the 21st Century to make it a prosperous, powerful and the best nation in the world.

I would just like to congratulate him and thank him for what he did. He should proceed further to show us light and glory and take us into the 21st Century.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD (Madhepura) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, before the Prime Minister left to attend the SAARC summit, I had raised a question as to whether any date has been fixed to hold discussion with Pakistan. To that, the Prime Minister and Khurana ji said emphatically that the date has been fixed. This is known to the hon'ble members and this House. The news was reported in various newspapers

of India mentioning that our Prime Minister is enthusiastic to hold dialogue with his Pakistani counterpart Shri Nawaz Sharief as he has received very good response from Pakistan. But why such a situation has arisen? Before this regime during the last fifty years, we never saw such great enthusiasm.

The Prime Minister went there and met Shri Nawaz Sharief. The leading newspapers of India published photograph of our Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee with Shri Nawaz Sharief. Both of them were holding some bottle in their hands ...*(Interruptions)* English speaking people mistakes bottle for something else. But we speak Hindi and a bottle also contains milk and water. They were holding mineral water bottle in their hands.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That also costs Rs. 15 each.

SHRI LALU PRASAD : In our country water is also sold Rs. 15 per litre. We were expecting that when Prime Minister returns, he would give us details of his talks held with Pakistani Prime Minister. Apart from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, there were also many smaller countries attending the SAARC summit but the Prime Minister has said nothing important in his today's statement. It contains the details of only routine official work. We did not get any solid achievement in his briefings, rather we felt as if he has come back after loosing something. No further progress has been made. We got only the much familiar words like to take advantage of liberal Policy in business sector, trade promotion, transportation of goods between two countries and so on. He read only this routine paper. Colleagues of Atal ji and his alliance partners do say that under his leadership, India have moved ahead.

Nuclear test was conducted but why the Government chose only that occasions to conduct the test. Much has been discussed in this regard and still the country is debating this issue. Day before yesterday I was in Jamshedpur where I was surrounded by many renowned journalists and media persons. They were asking me repeatedly as to what the country has gained or lost after this test. We expressed our views there but let us think again as to why the country has landed in such a situation today? What was our target and objectives behind this nuclear test? Whether one target was America or other developed countries? What will be the effect and impact of this nuclear test? When the Prime Minister called opposition Leader and scientists to his residence after the test. We were witnessed to certain demonstrations there during the course of our talks, we reminded Dr. Kalam that America is the Leader of the developed countries of the world who have conducted numerous such tests and now mounting pressure on smaller and developing

countries including India to sign CTBT to which India have not agreed so far. It was already known to the people of the world that India has got nuclear devices.

But you people have exposed the strategy of your country soon after coming to power. Thus making the world alert and the country confined to a certain limit. We asked Dr. Kalam, that in case, Nuclear war breaks out, would India be able to match the nuclear might of America? We asked him to make a proper assessment of his scientific potential. He said given adequate money and resources, we can certainly think of reaching their standards. The big powers of the world are holding commercial centres in their hands, they have got much wealth and they want to break the smaller countries. They want to see the smaller states fighting with one another. Till now this has been their policy but we have failed in our diplomacy. Due to fanatic and communal character of R.S.S. and B.J.P. and failure of the Government, we seldom go beyond the Pakistani frontiers.

After our nuclear test, statement comes from America that they are going to Pakistan to dissuade them from conducting such test. America said that they would persuade Pakistan to refrain from conducting nuclear test. You must be remembering that the entire world was keeping an eye on the developments taking place during that time. America said that it had advised against doing so, you need not react. I know only what has been published in newspapers. It conducted four nuclear tests. Pakistan conducted six nuclear tests and our attention was diverted to be centered on war. Your policy and inept diplomacy. Your fundamentalism, and your communal character has brought India and Pakistan to this stage.

One warning and challenge from Mulayam Singh Yadavji was sufficient to put Pakistan on defensive. It is true that Pakistan has been creating trouble on the border earlier also. But it had to be on defensive later on. But the situation today is that because of you, Pakistan is making such claims. If you are happy, and your stature is elevated before the world, then we have nothing to say. Ershwhile Soviet Union ready to support small nations against American domination. Today Soviet Union has disintegrated Japan could pose a challenge to America. But today Japan is under China's influence. The situation is such that when the Prime Minister went abroad, he told Nawaz Sharief directly to hold talks first on Kashmir issue.

15.00 hrs.

Discuss Jammu and Kashmir... The world knows that Jammu and Kashmir is a part of India. That

means that Pakistan does not want to talk to India? Who offended China? Your Defence Minister offended China. He made an irresponsible statement that China is the enemy number one. When China reacted on this statement then your spokesman from External Ministry stated that this was not Indian Government's reaction towards China. This is the condition of the Government that contradictory statements are made. There is no restraint. This country belongs to us, to the common people. This country belongs to the brave soldiers. They may be from Bihar Regiment, Rajput Regiment or Gorkha Regiment or Madras Regiment or Sikh Regiment. Our policy of panchsheel...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Not to Khuranaji...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LALU PRASAD : This country does not belong to Khuranaji. The day a bomb is dropped in Delhi, he would be in Hospital...*(Interruptions)* The brave people of the country will be in the fields and on the streets. But when we talk about the common masses, we are asked to speak on foreign policy. Our sister is sitting. She should tell us as to why are we being insulted because of you? In the name of technology and in the field of computers, cream of the scientists were selected and taken to America. Is it not true that now our scientists are being insulted and are being driven away from there? They are being asked to leave America by such and such date? Is it a matter of pride for you? This country believes in the Bapu's principle of Ahinsa. Ahinsa is our ultimate weapon. Though Ahinsa, the greatest power of the world can be defeated. We can not say that you are not responsible. You train the RSS people in shorts. You gave up your policy of Swadeshi and tested the nuclear bomb developed by the congress and the scientists...*(Interruptions)* A lame cat can go for hunting only with in its House...*(Interruptions)* Bead and bag could serve no purpose. We will leave you behind, understand this. Prime Minister is not present in the House. He might be listening to me. What are you doing to establish harmony all over the country? Is every thing all right. Is your house in order in regard to communal harmony, hunger and thirst? You have exploded the bomb and you are talking about devices. Is it not a fact that despite the restrictions imposed by the courts, temple devices are not being constructed? Are the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian families in the country are intact and not living under the shadow of insecurity. Lacs of the paramilitary force's personnel are deployed in Jammu and Kashmir. Why our army which is meant for defending the frontiers is deployed to control internal disturbances. India shall have to keep its own house in order to face others. It is a common knowledge that homes are looted by others due to internal dissensions. The

[Shri Lalu Prasad]

neighbour are offended and you are simply misleading the country. Where were the nuclear tests against America. It is only false growl of Pakistan against India. Mulayam Singhji has rightly said about Nawaz Sharief that in Pakistan there is poverty, hunger and thirst and same problems are there in India. Who will usher Ram Raj, who will eradicate poverty? You just boasted of your nuclear explosion and the reality is nothing. Big hoarders and traders are hoarding goods. It is being said that war is imminent and preparations for the same are afoot. You may please read the newspaper and in case they have reported wrong, then bring privilege motion against them(Interruptions)

Sir, we have great expectations from you. This newspaper carries a news item about 50 persons having been killed on the borders...(Interruptions) What should I speak on Swadeshi. Just now Mulayam Singhji has said "Desi Murgi, Vilayati Bol, Dekho Yeh Kudrat Ka Khel Kha Gaya Ration Pee Gaya Tel". You talk to Swadeshi and visualise of Gandhi in a short lion cloth and a stick in hands: Did Gandhiji not have a fancy for shirt and coat "That is India, that is Swadeshi, let us go towards village." How shall you face poverty while the lands are lying barren. There has been no rain due to the misdeeds of BJP and there is a turmoil everywhere. It is said that if the king becomes a sinner, there are no rains and the weather also does not help. God knows, what sort of persons are sitting on that side ... (Interruptions) Floods shall come if the King happens to be a sinner.

SHRI TAPAN SIKDAR : Where did the money for flood control vanish?... (Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRASAD : You are simply interrupting. Mulayam Singhji and myself have decided that we shall not go there and I suggest you to sit down. There is not the way to become a Minister. Rahim had uttered for people like you only that "simply keep on bidding for the good days and once they are in, there is no delay in the improvement of destiny".

SHRI TAPAN SIKDAR : I also tell you in Bhojpuri "Devil is quoting the scriptures"... (Interruptions)

SHRI LALU PRAŞAD : Sir this was the policy of the Government it was our policy that India shall fight alone for those poor nations who faces injustice. This was our policy that we shall not tolerate injustice. However today foreign soldiers are there in Burma. We are surrounded by Pakistan, Bangladesh and China. We saw a photograph of George Saheb, standing in snow with a cap on his head and army personnel behind. He could not muster courage to

go to Mansarovar which is the abode of Lord Shanker.

I wonder where is the Defence Minister of India going. He speaks out in Bihar to get prepared for elections since a Government of Samta Party shall be formed. It shall not be possible for Samta to form Government. Therefore please take all in your confidence for the integrity of the country and also to establish fraternity. In that case, if there is some sort of aggression against the country. We all shall have to face it. Jointly. So, please banish this extremism from your minds do not be led away by fundamentalists and strengthen your economic situation. Late Shastriji had given out a slogan "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan," but you are saying "Jai Shri Ram, Ram Ram," So we are gathering all the villagers, tribals and the poor and telling them "Jai Shri Krishna, Jai Bhagwati" and Jai Devi Durga". It is we, who shall save the country by following their earthly form not the saints.

The Government has been utterly unsuccessful on every front and the country has face a great loss due to their policy after the nuclear explosion. The society to come shall have to bear the brunt. These persons are bound to go in a few days or a months. They shall have to quit, the day Indrajit Babu agrees.

[English]

SHRI C. SREENIVASAN (Dindigul) : Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to participate in the discussion on foreign policy. India is not just a country, India is a subcontinent. India has diverse religions, diverse communities, diverse languages and diverse cultures. India's unity in diversity is our strength. When several other nations were practising gun power, India was the only country which gave the message of non-violence and peaceful negotiations as instruments for finding solutions to all international problems. This year, we conducted our nuclear tests. Our intentions are very clear. We associated our nuclear tests with 'Buddha smiles'. Buddha had renounced the world, but Buddha did not renounce wisdom. We are not a nuclear power; we are a nuclear saint. The nuclear weapons will be used only when the saint is disturbed.

15.14 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

On this occasion, I feel it my bounden duty to congratulate our Prime Minister and the scientific community for their tremendous success. Now, the US has imposed sanctions on us. The US has also expelled some of our scientists. It had denied US

visa to the Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission. With these happenings, I feel that the real era of *swaraj* has begun and the era of dependence on Western technology has ended.

Sir, as far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, it should be resolved only bilaterally. Thanks to the best efforts of our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, we have been able to convince the world that the Kashmir issue is a bilateral issue which can be solved within the framework of Simla Agreement. Even the SAARC forum has snubbed the Pakistanis for making it a multilateral issue.

In this connection, I must say a word about our time-tested relationship with Russia. Russia still supports our stand on the Kashmir issue. Russians have also come forward to provide us all assistance in setting up two atomic power stations of 1,000 mega watt each at Koodankulam in Tamil Nadu. So, I want the Government to forge stronger ties with Russia.

Sir, it is a matter of grave concern that a large number of fishermen of Tamil Nadu are being killed on the high seas by the Sri Lankan Navy as well as the LTTE cadres. The Sri Lankan Government is violating the 1974 Katchatheevu Agreement. The traditional fishing rights of our fishermen are protected under that Agreement. Since that Agreement is being violated, our leader, Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi gave a call for taking back Katchatheevu. I feel the Government should have strongly taken up this matter with the Sri Lankan Government.

As far as the issue of LTTE is concerned, their movements have greatly increased in Tamil Nadu. The bomb blasts all over Tamil Nadu might have been the handiwork of not only the ISI, but also of this terrorist group. Maintenance of internal peace has a tremendous bearing on our relations with neighbours. Therefore, for maintaining perfect internal peace in Tamil Nadu, I fervently appeal to the Central Government, through you, to dismiss the DMK Government in national interest. Now, after the laying of the Final Report of the Jain Commission, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu should either step down or his Government should be dismissed for knowing the truth about the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

Sir, I, once again, appeal, through you, to the Government to kindly save the fishermen of Tamil Nadu. This is my humble request. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, as some of the hon. Members have already remarked, it is a long time since we had a debate on foreign affairs and foreign policy in this

House. Today, we are having it, although the attendance is not very encouraging. I listened very carefully to the hon. Prime Minister's introductory remarks.

I know he wanted to concentrate mainly on the Colombo meeting. Nevertheless, since this foreign affairs debate is taking place not only after a long time but after a very critical new situation has developed, I was expecting to hear from him something about what the country's nuclear policy is going to be now. We have entered this nuclear capability era. We have now joined informally the nuclear club of those countries which have demonstrated their nuclear capabilities. This is a new thing for us. Now I would like to know from the Prime Minister what is the Government's future nuclear policy going to be. But nothing has been said clearly about that. He has, of course, said that we do not intend to commit aggression on anybody. That is very good. We know India is not a country which goes about committing aggression, and certainly with nuclear weapons, we cannot commit aggression. These are weapons of mass destruction. These are not weapons in any case which you can use against anybody else and much less a neighbouring country. If you try to use them, then you are bound to get some retaliation. I find it very difficult to believe that when this Pokhran test took place, our Government and our scientists particularly were completely ignorant of the fact that Pakistan also has developed this nuclear capability. Is it possible to believe such a thing? We hold our scientists in great esteem. I do not believe that it was possible that when the Pokhran test took place they do not know and they did not warn the Government that Pakistan is likely to retaliate. Within two weeks time it exploded its own nuclear device. The Government may say now that they were not taken by surprise. But I think they were taken by surprise. If they were expecting this to happen, then when we did our testing at Pokhran, some indication would have been given to the country. It is because instead of talking about India's great achievement we should have anticipated that Pakistan is also likely to do a similar thing and they did it. So, what is the position now? Of course, in one sense, I feel, the possibility of another war between India and Pakistan - we have already four or five of them - is probably a bit less now than it was previously. For, before these tests took place, wars were being fought with conventional weapons—tanks, guns, planes and all that. In which respect India, of course, decisively superior to Pakistan? There is no doubt about it. This was one reason why Pakistan was also always trying to explain to the world that India is much stronger than Pakistan and they are likely to commit aggression against Pakistan and therefore America should help them, China

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should help them, and so on and so forth. But having exploded their own nuclear device or shown their capability to some extent as far as non-conventional weapons go, both the countries are now in a way more or less on the same footing because they cannot use these weapons against each other. Neither Pakistan can attack India with nuclear weapons nor can India attack Pakistan. These are weapons of mass destruction which cannot be used. The entire world came to this conclusion after Hiroshima. Yes, they can be used as a deterrent. I do not know what the main objective of our BJP Government is, whether they want to use it or they want to keep it as a kind of deterrent. Certainly, they do not wish to use it as a weapon of aggression. I am sure of that. Of course, this will not prevent the proxy war from going on.

I agree with Shri Shivraj Patil that these weapons will not be used, but the proxy war which is going on at the instance of Pakistan, a low intensity war on our borders, specially in Jammu and Kashmir, may be intensified further. We have to be on guard because of that.

I want to know what is going to be our nuclear policy. We should be told something on this. This is the Parliament of India and we are discussing foreign affairs for the first time, after these tests have taken place. So, what is the nuclear policy of this country going to be?

As far as CTBT is concerned, from time to time, some statements are being made by various people that we may even consider signing CTBT or some aspects of CTBT provided there are some modifications made. But it has never been clarified as to what those aspects are. What are those modifications which we would like? Up to now, as far as I know, Shri Jaswant Singh, who is roaming around the world, meeting his American counterparts and discussing probably this very question about CTBT, has not explained to us at any place or at any time as to what exactly we are trying to get out of the Americans before we agree to sign CTBT. I think, we should be told about it. As far as we are concerned, we are laymen and we have to come to conclusions on the basis of what we read. Even if we sign CTBT, perhaps, it is the refusal or reluctance of the Americans to part with certain very crucial technology which is connected with the CTBT. Naturally, if we sign CTBT, then we would like to have access to this superior kind of technology which all the signatories' States of CTBT should be in a position to share among themselves. I do not know if that is what is holding up the signing. I do not find any other clause in the CTBT which can be described as

discriminatory. If there is one, I would like to be educated about it.

As far as Non-Proliferation Treaty goes, it is clearly discriminatory. As far as CTBT goes, I do not know if the terms of provisions contain anything which is discriminating against any particular country or countries. But I do find that, and I know what the Americans are like, they would not like to part with their technology which India naturally would like to have. Perhaps, the negotiations and the bargaining which are going on at present, behind the scenes, may be connected with this thing. If we are informed something by the Government, then I would be very much obliged to know.

Then, Sir, in the statement made by Shri Vajpayee, at one place, he has said, "I took the opportunity in my interaction with other leaders to set at rest the misconceptions about our recent nuclear tests." He has not explained why there were misconceptions, what those misconceptions were, and which are the countries which were harbouring those misconceptions. We should be told about them. In what way did our Prime Minister set those misconceptions at rest and by giving what assurances? I do not know what he said because nothing is explained in this statement. He has said, "The Pakistani approach at SAARC was, what he calls, a narrow segmented way of looking at things." This is what Pakistan always does. They try to narrow down all the discussions to the single issue of Kashmir, and naturally we resist that correctly. It is also the convention of the SAARC organisation that it will not discuss issues which are matters of dispute between member-countries and, therefore, Pakistan could not really get anybody to discuss Kashmir. So, the proxy war will, of course, go on.

Shri Nawaz Sharif is talking about the results being zero and being a waste of time because, from his point of view, unless the Kashmir issue is discussed and some decision is reached, it is a waste of time. That cannot be helped. The question is being mentioned here and I quote :-

"How do we judge now? How are we going to assess the effects of this nuclear testing which we did?"

Many hon. Members in this House are always talking about how it is strengthened, how strong we have become now, and so on and so forth. I think that is the correct way. We should estimate whether, after these Pokhran tests vis-a-vis Pakistan, India has become stronger and Pakistan has become weaker. How is this to be demonstrated? I do not know. The way they are behaving on the border now for the last few days, carrying on unprovoked firing and shelling everyday, much more than they used to

do before, killing innocent civilians, killing members of our security forces and the army, is such that the Army Chief has had to rush there. He is there now along with other top-ranking officers and all that, working out measures on how to counteract this Pakistani attack which is going on. He does not appear as though they have been cowed down by the fact that we have got this weapon. Of course, it is partly due to the fact that they have developed the weapon themselves also. They feel that India is not superior to them in that sense. When there were conventional weapons only, then India was ten times stronger, perhaps hundred times stronger. I am not giving figures because of lack of time. The figures are here. If you compare our tanks, planes, artillery and other weapons with the same type of weapons that Pakistan has, we are 20 times stronger than them. But once that conventional weapons equalisation is ruled out, except for proxy war, it will not be of much use. Both of us are now back to the nuclear stage. Pakistan is behaving in such a way that it does not seem it has been cowed down and that it is in any way less bellicose or less belligerent than it used to be.

So, I would like to know from the hon. Members here when they are being so euphoric about the alleged added strength which India has acquired, how exactly they are estimating or calculating this.

The hon. Prime Minister has also said:-

"During my talks with the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, I also emphasised that instigation and support of terrorism was incompatible with our own desire for friendly and peaceful relations and that these activities must cease immediately."

This is what the Prime Minister told Mr. Nawaz Sharif. But there is not a single sentence which indicates what was Mr. Nawaz Sharif's reaction or response to this demand by our Prime Minister. I take it that Mr. Nawaz Sharif's reaction was negative. Either he must have contradicted our Prime Minister and said he has got nothing to do with this instigation and support of terrorism or he may have said "I am not in a position to do anything."

But I am only saying and pointing out that there is nothing in the Prime Minister's statement except what he told Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

The global economic situation has been substantially transformed. That is mentioned. A substantial transformation of the global economic situation has taken place. This is true, of course. What will India gain from it? Is India gaining out of that global transformation or are some other countries gaining at the expense of the least developed

countries? That is a very important question for India with all its long history and tradition of standing up for the rights of the weaker nations and all that. We were the champions always of the weaker nations. Shri Lalu Prasad has also mentioned it. Traditionally, we have been looked upon as the champions of the weaker nations, the non-aligned, the Third World countries and so on.

Now, in this new global economic situation, there is no doubt that some powers, a few powers, which are very strong economically and financially, which have got multinational corporations based in their countries, are using this new global situation in order to threaten, and in some ways, to force, pressurise and coerce the lesser developed countries, the weaker nations who are naturally very much concerned about it. What is India's role now *vis-a-vis* this problem? I think we are so anxious to show our credentials to President Clinton that immediately after the test, our Prime Minister goes and writes a letter to him, for which I do not think there was any need. Why was it necessary for the Prime Minister to re-assure President Clinton saying that what we have done is only because of China and if there were no threats from China, we would not have done this. It is a kind of a roundabout apology by saying: "Yes, we have done something which we should not have done. But what is to be done? After all, China is threatening us." Within a few weeks of that, we find President Clinton, on his trip to China, being so friendly with them, giving them so many concessions as far as economic, commerce and all that is concerned. Of course, we always thought that India is such a big market that the Americans and the other Western powers would not try to displease us because they want to make money out of our market. That is still true. But China is a bigger market. The multinationals are rushing to China. They are being welcomed there. They have established themselves there. And profits are being mounting up and up. So, what I would like to say is that this is not something which can be solved by just exploding nuclear devices. We should not give up the role which we followed consistently for so many years from the time when we took to the path of Non-Alignment and Peace. I do not know if we can call ourselves Non-Aligned now. But, in any case, since we are now a nuclear weapon State, we are in a position to speak up more strongly, I think, for the rights of the least developed countries which are looking to us and whom we should also try to unite and to coordinate in common moves which can resist this pressurising by the globally advanced countries at our expense.

Finally, Sir, I would like to say that I do not want to take more time. There is no point in it. I do not want to repeat things which have already been said. The Prime Minister has referred to his bilateral

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meetings on the sidelines of the Summit. As the main Summit was going on, he had some bilateral meetings with the representatives of Maldives, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and so on. It is good. But as a matter of information, I am just wanting to know whether, for example, in the case of the representative of Bhutan, when he had separate bilateral meetings with him, they had at all discussed the question, what is reported and I believe it is true, that there has been a great stepping up of activities of the ULFA in Bhutan, inside the Bhutanese territory. Bhutan is a sovereign country. It is an Independent country. It is a friendly neighbour of ours. Everybody knows it. The Government of India definitely knows that from the time when we were in the Government, we were plagued with this question: "Why do not you do something? Why does not India do something to see that these ULFA camps in Bhutan are removed? The ULFA insurgents, who make their way to Bhutan from the neighbouring soil of Assam, are creating all kind of problems there. The King of Bhutan was himself very much worried about it." We should do something because it has become a sanctuary and a safe haven for them from where they are perpetrating all kinds of violence and atrocities in Assam. They are running across the border into Bhutan. Was it discussed at all with the King of Bhutan? I do not know about that.

I would like to know about it. If they did not discuss it, it is a different matter. But it is a thing which is closely connected with our own security.

Secondly, with Bangladesh, I presume, the hon. Prime Minister had bilateral talks in all good faith with Shrimati Sheikh Hasina also. I do not doubt her faith. She had assured, at the Government to Government level and at the Prime Minister's level, us some time ago that she would not like the Bangladesh soil to be used by any of these insurgent groups from India to go and take refuge there, to establish basis there and to carry out anti-Indian activities from Bangladesh. It is very easy for them to cross the border. They are doing it all the time. But later on, we got some disquieting reports that for reason or the other, Bangladesh authorities were not very successful in checking these people and controlling their activities or in seeing that their camps are closed down. They have got some weakness in their administrative structure and so on. What is the latest position in this regard? One very well-known leader of ULFA Shri Anup Chettia has taken refuge in Bangladesh. He is wanted by us. Unfortunately, there is no extradition treaty with Bangladesh. But we would like to get the man like Shri Anup Chettia back here so that he can be tried for all the violence and crime which have been committed under his

leadership. I do not know about the latest position. For some reasons, the Bangladesh Government is not finding it possible to hand him back to the Indian authorities. I would like to know whether this matter was discussed or not. I would like to know whether they are taking any steps to really stop the flow of arms and all that through Bangladesh which is coming to our insurgent groups on the border. The Prime Minister has said that in these bilateral meetings, I had fruitful discussions on the progress in specific areas of cooperation. This is one area of cooperation which is of vital importance for India. I am sure, he must have raised this point with the King of Bhutan and Shrimati Sheikh Hasina of Bangladesh. If so, I would like to know what reaction did they give and what do we intend to do now about it?

[Translation]

PROF. PREM SINGH CHANDUMAJRA (Patiala) : Mr. Speaker Sir, before having a discussion on the foreign policy, if we give a thought to follow our culture, our ancestors, sayings of prophets, teachers and peers, we only get the theory of non-violence. Our culture was such which taught us to face tyranny with tolerance. The martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur Singh was there to face tyranny with tolerance. Earlier, Guru Arjun Dev also made a sacrifice. He was placed on a hot 'tawa' and hot sand was poured on him - and this too was also a case of facing tyranny with tolerance. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru had followed the same theory and this way the principle of 'Panchsheel' came into existence in the country.

It was only in 1962 when China invaded us and we realised that the world recognises only powerful, not the powerless. Weak persons are not deemed fit for friendship. The Gurus of this country have also taught us the principle of using weapon only as an ultimate resort when all other measures fail. It is also said today "Halahal Se dardhast halalat, Vardahast Samsheerdast" (i.e. the slayer is more pained than the slain). Therefore we should be strong enough. Economy should also be strengthened, altogether we should also give a thought to maintain our self respect, to obtain freedom, and to strengthen our security. Therefore, I think that the measures being taken are in the interest of the country. As far as the neighbouring countries are concerned, we should have friendly relations and friendship will be the best thing for a country like ours. It would be good for us as well as for people of other countries. Some issues were taken up with the neighbouring countries and a talk was also initiated with China. When the matter came up during the discussion, a statement given on China

flared up enmity. I would like to ask whether we had our friendship with China earlier? May be, Hon'ble Mulyam Singh is sitting here; I treat him in high esteem. He keeps on talking about peasants.

The then policy of Bangladesh was credited to the then Prime Minister. I wonder what India gained with the formation of Bangladesh? We have made another enemy against us and enmity with Pakistan which we are discussing is an outcome of whatever happened during last 50 years. Whether Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji has made Pakistan our enemy within four months? Has enmity with China developed within four months? As a result of the policy implemented during last 50 years, the neighbouring countries have formed into a row of enemies. We had provided financial Assistance and sacrificed our forces for Sri Lanka. We had even sent our forces to Bangladesh. If we set someone's house ablaze, the other may also follow suit; therefore we should think over to strengthen ourselves and then to fight with the enemy. We should also strengthen ourselves. It is also a fact that no incidence of theft or decoity can take place in a house unless some connivance with a family member is there or information provided by a neighbour. We should also think about our neighbouring countries if they are friends or foes. Why are ISI activities going on in our country, a failure? Nobody paid attention towards the disturbances being faced by our people. There were problems in Punjab, Assam, Bodoland and Nagaland. Who created all these? As a result of creation of all these problems, the enemies got a chance to raise their heads.

Today, the political conditions have changed and as a result of the changed atmosphere, people who were feeling insecure. For example, in Punjab we were insecure. We were not at all being heard and the forces attacked our religious places, but today we have become hopeful. Confidence grew up and we are treating ourselves as a citizen of this country and also we feel that today the Government is reaping the fruits of the sacrifices we have made for the country. When the confidence of the countrymen shall boost and the people would support the Government, then we can easily face the enemy. Therefore I am in favour of friendship with the neighbouring countries. But I would also like to say that we should increase our strength and vigour.

Our power has gone up with the nuclear tests we have conducted. How at all could it add to enmity with China? America was already encouraging China and also Pakistan. Today they have realised that we too have an identity of our own in the world. In order to establish our identity, to increase our power and to assert ourselves, if we have exhibited our performance, this is only to boost our morale and

the enemy has realised that we can prove our mettle. I feel that the present Government under the Prime Ministership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has presented a clear stand of our country in a proper manner in the SAARC Summit. I think every one was saying that India would be isolated, but the manner in which he spoke there and put forward our policy and convinced the world community, the Government and particularly the Prime Minister deserves commendation. I congratulate them.

I repeat, you all know when war breaks out, the people of Punjab have to suffer the most. We have to suffer maximum loss. I want to reiterate that relationship should be strengthened with the neighbouring countries, cordial relations should be maintained with them and border states of the country should be taken into confidence. Just now Shri Indrajit Gupta was telling that borders have been fenced in order to check the smuggling of arms. Considerable area of land has gone to Pakistan due to fencing the borders. The Pakistani people take away our crops, and the pumpsets installed in those areas. Due to this we suffered heavy loss and nobody is concerned about it. There are four gates to reach there but only two gates are opened and time of opening of these gates is 10 am to 7 pm but actually these gates are opened at 10 in the morning and closed at 2 o'clock. Unless there is faith in the people, they will be unable to fight it. Therefore, it is imperative to strengthen the domestic policy as well as foreign policy. I congratulate the Prime Minister for making a good statement.

[English]

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ D. CHAVAN (Karad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this very important debate on the post-Pokhran-II handling of India's foreign policy was long overdue, particularly after our Prime Minister went to Colombo and tried his hand at bilateral diplomacy, trying to talk to the Pakistani Prime Minister. We are discussing his statement along with our concerns about the handling of the foreign policy. We are very gravely concerned about the developments of the last two and a half months, particularly after the BJP Government took over. Without taking too much of time, I will just enumerate our concerns very briefly.

Today, India's foreign policy consensus built over the last fifty years stands shattered. Our well wishers and the entire world blame us for restarting the nuclear arms race. Even our SAARC neighbours are worried because if there is a nuclear war, they will be the ones who will be affected first. We are being condemned at every international fora. The P-5 Foreign Ministers have condemned us and the G-8 Foreign Ministers have told us to stop testing. They

[Shri Prithvira] D. Chavan]

have said that India will not get the 'Nuclear Weapon-State' status. The Security Council of the United Nations has deplored us. Mr. Kofi Annan says that he is deeply disturbed. In every international fora, India is being signled out for criticism. India stands isolated.

The next major concern is that our foreign policy appears to be drifting. I do not want to comment on who is the Minister of External Affairs or who should be the Minister of External Affairs but the concern is that it is not India's foreign policy but it is the RSS' foreign policy. What else can explain the Government sending Shri Brajesh Mishra to explain India's foreign policy stand to Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac and the Russian President? It was not the Foreign Secretary but an RSS ideologue who was sent abroad. Can you imagine what effect it has had on the morale of the Indian Foreign Service? The problem is that the Prime Minister's Office is conducting the foreign policy and not the Foreign Office.

The third major concern is that we have managed to internationalise the Kashmir issue. The Indo-Pak dialogue stands frozen. Never have such expressions like 'waste of time', 'zero outcome' and 'neurotic obsession' been used while describing Indo-Pak dialogue. After all, Pakistan is an important neighbour of ours. I was very sad when Shri Jag Mohan talked about Kashmir in his intervention. I was wondering whether it was a debate on foreign affairs or on internal affairs. The issues which normally get discussed in a debate on Home affairs have been discussed in this foreign affairs debate.

You yourselves have got into the mindset that now Kashmir has become an international issue. We have managed to concretise US-China-Pakistan axis. President Clinton had the audacity to assign the role of a mediator between India and Pakistan to China, rather a role of an umpire. We do not accept that.

Our next concern is about our claim to the permanent membership in the Security Council. Now, that remains a distant dream. We are far away from it. As far as security aspects between India and Pakistan are concerned, there was a time when India was definitely superior. We had nuclear weapons. We had exploded nuclear weapons in 1974. But now we have parity not only in nuclear weapons but also in the delivery systems.

My next point is this: Have you seriously complained about Chinese clandestine help to Pakistan on the fissile materials transfer and on the missile technology transfer? There are serious apprehensions that during 1989, China delivered a usable nuclear weapons to Pakistan. Have you

complained in the international fora? Have you seized initiative to complain that China has violated the NPT? We read about the export of ring magnets. It has been widely publicised. But we failed to seize the initiative to take this to the international fora.

Our post-Pokhran-II handling of the situation, whether it is in respect of economic sanctions or trade sanctions or dual-use technologies, has been very poor. What did we see? Se saw an unfettered jingoistic chauvinism. Shri Madan Lal Khurana talked about the time and place for the next war. I do not have time to quote what others have said. That was not the best way to handle the post-Pokhran situation. I think we lost a great opportunity. The country would have supported you had you taken some difficult and tough economic decisions like Pakistan did. India is a strong country with a strong economy. We could have used this opportunity to take some difficult and tough economic decisions which this country required.

U.S. has offered to Bangladesh Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). What made U.S. to do this? They are already in Diego Garcia. Now they want to come to Bangladesh, particularly in Chittagong. So far, the Prime Minister has not told us as to what has happened in this respect. Tell us what had happened. Please tell us as to what had happened to Indo-US dialogue. That is most important.

Shri Jaswant Singh is an excellent negotiator, whether he is negotiating inside the country or outside the country. I do not know why he has not been given the official status of a Foreign Minister. There are serious concerns that we are softening our stand on nuclear disarmament issue, particularly on the CTBT and the Fissile Materials Cut Off Treaty. There are rumours that the Government of India has given an assurance about, a written undertaking over the CTBT. It is said that the Government has offered to pledge this document with the UN Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan, in exchange for some dilution of economic sanctions, transfer of dual-use technology and some softening on the nuclear weapon status. Please take us into confidence and tell us whether such an offer was made by the Government to Mr. Strobe Talbott. On 4th May, the spokesman of the Security Council said the following:

"India has made a qualified offer to adhere to some of the undertakings of the CTBT selectively".

What are those undertakings?

16.00 hrs.

I will conclude by saying that India needs to take a pro-active stand on the foreign policy. The

Government is talking about the pro-active stand on internal affairs. Shri Advani is very fond of using this phrase. But we need to take a pro-active stand on foreign policy. We need to take the initiative back again. We are no longer standing on the high moral pedestal which we stood at one time, when the world listened to us. It is no longer the case.

But India is not a small country. We have almost a billion-strong population. Economically we are at a stage where we can talk and the rest of the developing world will listen. Please take back the leadership of the developing world - G-15, G-77, the NAM etc. The NAM meeting is going to be held in South Africa, the place where Gandhiji started his work and gave new ideas to the world.

So, please set an agenda and please do not follow the Western agenda. I would like to remind you that it was India which set the agenda on disarmament debate - whether it was Nehru's Memorandum to the UN Secretary-General in 1952 about the Standstill Agreement on Testing, or the 1st, 2nd and the 3rd UN Special Sessions on Disarmament. We have Indira Gandhi Initiative and Rajiv Gandhi Initiative. Under Rajiv Gandhi Initiative, we had a concrete Action Plan. Please tell us what you are going to do about Rajiv Gandhi Action Plan about the Nuclear Weapons-free and Non-Violent World. It was a plan which was very clearly set out. There are three phases: 1988-1994, 1995-2000 and 2000-2010. Three distinct phases were spelt out. What is the stand of the present Indian Government about the Rajiv Gandhi Initiative?

There are treaties to be negotiated like the No First Use or the "Non-First Use against Non-Nuclear Weapon States." What are you going to do about that? Please tell us about your direction.

Finally, tell us about the economic aspects of the foreign policy which are equally important; rather more important than the security aspects. My senior colleague, Shri Shivraj Patil discussed about that; Shri Indrajit Gupta also talked about that. Today, it is a fact that India is not in any of the economic groupings; and we are not a part of any trade block.

While trying to re-establish our leadership in the developing world and trying to set agenda, I would like to suggest some items where you can set the agenda in the economic dialogues. Firstly, there was an UNCTAD Initiative on Code of Conduct for Multinationals. After the formation of the WTO, that has been set aside. Please bring that back in the WTO agenda. Secondly, Intellectual Property Legislation is very crucial. Please take a pro-active stand on amending the patent law. There are issues like the Geographical Appellation Act which has

caused us problem in the Basmati rice patent. There is a Bio-diversity Convention; there is a Plant Varieties Protection Act. As you know, Terminator technologies are being introduced in our country. Unless you enact these legislations, unless we take these things into the centre-stage of economic thinking, we will feel sorry later.

We need to take a very strong stand against the US Laws like the Special 301, Super 301, Ban on Export of Dual-Use Technologies, Trade Sanctions in the guise of dual-use technologies. These are bilateral actions, not permitted by the WTO. We need to take the US to the WTO on these things. There is also the issue of mobility of labour or free movement of natural persons which need to be taken into consideration.

The visa regime is very discriminatory. The developed world is to be taken on these issues. We need to complain to the International Union of Scientists about denial of visas to Indian scientists.

There are other issues like the Climate Change Conventions, the Global Environmental Fund Facility, etc. On all these, we need to take initiative. The most important of all is, we need to take initiative on nuclear disarmament. When the new treaty will come up for negotiations next year, whether it is the CTBT or whether it is the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, India must lead the Third World today and give leadership to the Third World and set the agenda.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, there are eight more hon. Members who would like to participate in this discussion. After that, the hon. Prime Minister has to give a reply.

Before that, at 4 o'clock, we should have started another discussion under Rule 193 on the statement made by the hon. Home Minister regarding deportation of certain people by the Maharashtra Government. At 5.30 p.m., there is half-an-hour discussion also. The Chair would like to know the sense of the House. Can the two items be taken up after the completion of this discussion?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF TOURISM (SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA) : Sir, after the completion of the discussion on foreign affairs and the reply of the Prime Minister, we may take up the other two items...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Promothesh Mukherjee.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia) : Sir, it may be too late by the time we take up the discussion under Rule 193. So, it may be taken up tomorrow as the first item.

MR. SPEAKER : There is already another discussion under Rule 193 listed for tomorrow.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : Sir, the first item tomorrow should be the discussion on SCs/STs...(Interruptions)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Sir, you may take it up tomorrow after completing the discussion regarding deportation of workers from Maharashtra.

MR. SPEAKER : Tomorrow, we have to complete the discussion under Rule 193 and also the Jain Commission Report.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, it was decided that the first item tomorrow would be the discussion regarding SCs/STs. After that, you may list any other time.

MR. SPEAKER : After completing this discussion, we may take a decision. Now, Shri Promotes Mukherjee may speak.

SHRI TAPAN SIKDAR : Sir, what about Special Mentions? Will they be allowed or not? ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It may be taken up at 5 p.m.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA (Calcutta North-East): Sir, what about the discussion under Rule 193? Are you taking it up tomorrow?

MR. SPEAKER : We will decide about it after the completion of this discussion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRAMOTES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore) (WB) : Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on the foreign policy of India ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : The discussion under Rule 193 is a very important discussion. It is better that we defer it for tomorrow...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hoogly) : If such an important discussion is taken up late at night, then it may lose its importance...*(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : In fact, I have left the debate taking place in the other House in order to listen to the debate at 4 p.m. in this House. I was in the other House where the Jain Commission Report is being discussed. If the House agrees to take it up tomorrow morning, I may go there...*(Interruptions)*

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : We may take it up tomorrow morning.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : Sir, I would only like to urge that the issue relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is fixed to be taken up tomorrow since Friday and it is up to you as to when you take it up for discussion. You are aware that it was decided at four in the afternoon on Friday. It was decided in the meeting of Business Advisory Committee and in the meeting of the leaders that this issue would be discussed tomorrow and two hours' time i.e., from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. was allotted for this and hereafter you take up any issue you want to raise in the House. It should not be the last item in tomorrow's agenda.

[English]

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : I would like to submit that the sitting of the House was extended upto 5th in order to discuss the Jain Commission Report and the ATR. It was decided that the discussion of the Jain Commission Report and the ATR may be taken up at 2 p.m. I am only submitting that it should be taken up at 2 p.m. Please do not create such a situation so as to postpone it further. Already we had postponed it from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. That was of course the decision of the BAC and we abide by its decision. Let us not create a situation where we have to postpone it further. My submission is that the Jain Commission Report and the ATR should be discussed from 2 p.m. onwards.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF TOURISM (SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA) : You can have discussion on this upto 5'o clock, thereafter matters related to Maharashtra and West Bengal are to be taken up. Tomorrow Members, Salary and Allowances Bill and many other Bills will be taken up as it is very necessary to pass all these Bills. The Prime Minister will reply the debate tomorrow morning, thereafter we will take up something else.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR GANGWAR) : Sir, there is an important Bill regarding oilfields. We may pass it without discussion, if the House agrees to it.

SHRI PRAMOTES MUKHERJEE (WB) : Sir, I may be permitted to continue the discussion on India's foreign policy.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I have a suggestion that the meeting of the leaders is going to take place at 5 o' clock and you can decide it in that meeting. It should not be made a point of discussion here.

[English]

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Sir, what is your ruling? I think, there is no change. And it will be tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER : We will complete the discussion under Rule 193. The reply by the hon. Prime Minister will be tomorrow.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : At 2 p.m., the discussion on Jain Commission Report will be taken up?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : All right.

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL : Sir, when will the discussion regarding deportation of certain people will start?

MR. SPEAKER : By five o'clock.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH (Bharatpur) : When will the Prime Minister reply to the debate on foreign affairs?

MR. SPEAKER : Tomorrow.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore) (WB) : Sir, I have the highest regards for my hon. friend, Shri P.A. Sangma, for moving this motion relating to India's foreign policy. I have two books in my possession. The first book is by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee: *"New Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy"*. It contains his valuable speeches as India's Foreign Minister outside the country. I will quote a few lines to show how the spirit of what he spoke elsewhere has been violated by his doings now.

I have another important book titled *'A Foreign Policy for India'* by Shri Inder Kumar Gujral. Both the former and the present Prime Ministers have written two books on India's foreign policy. Both the books contain the same ideology and commitment to the ageold principles of India's policy towards world peace, disarmament and non-alignment.

I begin to say that there is a tradition of our country in respect of world peace, disarmament and Non-Alignment Movement. But today, the most important incident of the nuclear tests, conducted by the Indian scientists at Pokhran range, have violated this tradition. This is a complete departure. The conduct of nuclear tests at Pokhran range without any security threat have become a violation of our ageold principles of India's foreign policy and non-alignment movement.

To substantiate my argument, I am referring to an important article "World Nuclear Order and India's Nuclear Deterrence" by Shri Muchkund Dubey, a prominent person in this field. It is a big quotation. With your kind permission, I quote:

"Acquisition of nuclear deterrence is a necessary, even indispensable, condition for safeguarding our security, for gaining the bargaining clout which has so far been lamentably missing and for making an effective contribution to shaping a new world order. But this is certainly not a sufficient condition. Acquisition of nuclear deterrence will have to be combined with a sustained dynamism of economic growth in spite of the sanctions, removing the long-pending incapacities in the social sectors, and tackling some of the basic problems of governance. This will call for sacrifices at all levels and, above all, maintenance of national unity and cohesion.

Will the BJP-led Government be able to discharge these onerous responsibilities?"

16.14 hrs.

[SHRI V. SATHIAMOORTHY in the Chair]

It is my observation that during the last four months, the Government led by the BJP and its allies has absolutely failed to carry out these responsibilities.

Sir, there is another reference about the nuclear tests conducted by the Indian scientists at Pokhran range. We have heard the name of Arundhati Roy, a great poet and a fiction writer who has written a Booker prize-winning book. She has written a very good article which has been published in *The Outlook*. I do not agree with all the points covered by her in this article. There are some prominent features which can be referred to here. With your kind permission, I would like to refer to one important feature here. "Is it possible for a man who cannot write his own name, to understand the basic facts about bomb? Has anybody bothered to explain to him about the nuclear winter? Does he not matter at all, this man?" This is the attitude of the Intellectuals. This is the attitude of experts in regard to the question of nuclear tests conducted by Indian scientists at Pokhran range.

As the Indian Foreign Minister, Shri Vajpayee visited Pakistan. He held a number of meetings there. He also delivered a beautiful speech at the dinner hosted by the Pakistan Government. With your kind

[Shri Pramothas Mukherjee]

permission, I would like to quote from Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's book, 'New Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy':

"A new Era of Understanding'

I am indeed happy to be in Pakistan today. This elegant Capital is not only blessed by the beauties of nature but is also a symbol of your culture and your new aspirations."

This is the beginning of his speech delivered by him at the dinner hosted by the Pakistan Government in 1978. This is a beautiful speech and I would like to show how the spirit of this beautiful speech has been violated by him today.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : This speech was delivered when he was the Minister of External Affairs and now he is the Prime Minister.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : He concluded his speech by saying and I quote:

"In reminding ourselves that what matters is the urge to move ahead to a better future, I could do not better than recite from Allama Iqbal:"

Then he recited a very good poem of Allama Iqbal. I do not know Urdu or Hindi. I would like to quote the English translation of this poem.

"Thaherta nahin karvan-i-wajud
Ke har lahza hai Shan-e-Wajud
Samajhta hai tu razha-i-zindagi
Eaqat baug-i-parwaz hai zindagi
Bahut usne dekhe hain pashto-o-baland
Safar usko manjil se barhkar pasand
Safar zindagi ke liya barg-o-sav
Safar hai haqiqat
Hazar hai majaz.

[Translation]

DR. SHAKEEL AHMAD (Madhubani) : Had Alama Iqbal heard you reciting his poetry in such a manner, he would have committed suicide.

[English]

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (WB) : Please help me. Let me come to my conclusions. Please permit me to read out the English translation.

"The caravan of life never halts:
At every moment life has a fresh visage.
You think life to be a secret;
But life is only the urge to keep moving;

It has seen many ups and downs and
loves movement more than rest;
Movement is the essence of life.
To move is reality;
To stand is illusion.

This was a part of his speech delivered in Islamabad. This indicates that India and Pakistan should move ahead towards a better life and that there should be people to people, philosophy to philosophy contact. That spirit has been violated by today's action against Pakistan.

I can also show from this book that Shri I.K. Gujral, the former Prime Minister, has initiated a dialogue with Pakistan. Innumerable references can be made here to show that a good attempt was made by the Government of India to restore the Indo-Pak relationship, to restore the friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries, and that attempt has been aborted by the Pokhran tests. Sir, I can give many references but only references are not sufficient here. It is my feeling that the foreign policy of any Government depends upon the internal policy. If the internal policy, the economic policy, of the country is good and stable, the foreign policy must be good and stable. It is unfortunate that the economic policy of the Government of India today is not satisfactory. It is in the interest of those persons who believe in liberalisation and privatisation. It is in the interest of national bourgeoisie. It is not in the interest of the poor and the starving people. It does not think of the dire necessities of the people.

Kashmir is really an important factor but Kashmir affair alone cannot determine the nature of India's foreign policy. That might be the concept of Shri Jajmohan but only the Kashmir affairs cannot determine the future of India's foreign policy. There are many things. It may be a question of internal security calculus but it cannot be a question to determine the face of India's foreign policy. There is the question of the North-East; there is the question of insurgency; there is the question of terrorism; there is the question of poverty; there is the question of disintegration, and there are all other things. All these things come out of the economic frustration caused by the mishandling of the situation by this Government.

There is a 'Golden Triangle', that is, Bangladesh-Myanmar-Nepal; and there is a 'Golden Crescent', that is, Pakistan-Afghanistan-India. Our North India States fall within this Golden Triangle and Golden Crescent. This has been taken as the narcotic trafficking route. The smugglers of narcotics have poisoned and polluted the local situation and our North-Eastern people. That is the main reason why only these things cannot determine the nature of our foreign policy. These things must be settled within

ourselves by our Ministry of Home Affairs, by our internal security arrangements. These things cannot determine the nature of India's foreign policy.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : Sir, I am the only speaker from my Party. Please allow me some more time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have been referring to the speeches of the Prime Minister and the former Prime Minister. How long will you take now?

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : I have already come to my point and you have marked it. I have only referred to their speeches to show how things were being done.

With your kind permission, I would like to state that we now see a new world after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. We have seen that the bipolar world has turned into a unipolar world. Today the world is not divided into two forces only, or two umbrellas only. Today, the world has become a unipolar world just after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. And yet, the Euro-American imperialism is ruling the unipolar world. In these circumstances, India was poised to play a great role. India had got the greatest opportunity to play the role of the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement. I am sorry to say that the Prime Minister, the champion of the cause of India's foreign policy, has failed to lead this Government as the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Sir, it is a fact that India could take up this role, but India could not do it because of internal disturbances. I see our hon. Prime Minister is perturbed. I am sorry to say that he has been a prisoner of indecision in the hands of Hindu fanaticism. That is a fact. We have failed to take the lead in the Non-Aligned Movement. I know that after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a new empire of Non-Aligned Movement was opened up before India, but we could not utilise that opportunity.

Today, Parliament being in Session and therefore important discussions are going on in regard to the CTBT. It was the unanimous decision of this House that the Government of India must not sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. We did not sign the NPT. Why? This is only because of the fact that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was discriminatory in nature and so we opposed it. We did not sign it. With the same voice and on the same grounds of unanimity, we also objected to the signing of the CTBT and it was the consensus of this House that the Government of India must not sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. We do not know what is going on behind the scenes. I would like to

ask the hon. Prime Minister, if he can say something on this, if he can enlighten the House as to what is going on between our *de facto* Foreign Minister, Shri Jaswant Singh and Mr. Talbott...*(Interruptions)*

Lastly, our hon. Prime Minister has given a good leadership in the SAARC Summit at Colombo. I have the highest regards for his personal capacity also. In this *suo motu* statement, the hon. Prime Minister stated in Para 4 and I quote:-

"4. It was agreed that SAARC must move purposefully towards setting up a Free Trade Area..."

How far this Free Trade Area can help the poor people of India? You have liberalised your economy, you have opened up your market economy to the multi-national corporations. This may be a bilateral agreement. I do not know how far the poor people get the benefit from the Free Trade Area. From this Free Trade Area, Indian bourgeois and the traders may get the absolute benefit. How can the Government make a monetary benefit from this? I do not know. I am not a student of Economics.

In his *suo motu* statement, the hon. Prime Minister stated in Para 5 and I quote:-

"5. We have reiterated our commitment to, and readiness for bold initiatives to speed up trade liberalisation..."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. I am going to call another hon. Member.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (WB) : We have to discuss many other chapters of the statement and the Agreement of SAARC Summit. This is the first subject. But we are not getting sufficient time to discuss all these things. Yet, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to express my views on this.

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRASHEKHAR SAHU (Mahasamund): Hon'ble Chairman Sir, I would like to submit that in the leadership of our Prime Minister we have achieved great success in SAARC Summit in Colombo. The entire House unanimously congratulates the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

Hon'ble Chairman Sir, so many things have been said during the course of discussion on foreign policy. I would not like to waste my time but want to make some very specific points. Shri Indrajit Gupta has time and again referred to the letter to the US President. Mr. Chairman Sir, I want to bring to the notice of this House when United Front's government was there in the Centre, the Prime Minister

[Shri Chandrashekhar Sahu]

proceeded to USA seven days before receiving the US invitation what was the need of this? This act was highly criticised that he reached USA one week in advance.

Hon'ble Former Speaker is sitting here. I would like to refer his scholarly speech and the manner in which he continued the proceeding of the House with utmost seriousness. He said that it is clearly stated the statement made by the Hon'ble Prime Minister about SAARC is very calculated. I would like to place some facts about SAARC before the House. Mr. Chairman Sir, meeting of non-alliance assembly is going to be held in 99 and if India desires and makes a sincere endeavour, India could host it...*(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman Sir, an important declaration has been made in Colombo SAARC Summit to allow free licence on two thousand items. This is a big package, But I have some apprehension about it that even today Chinese products are pouring into India via Nepal. Whether in the wake of this declaration, we will be able to check the entry of Chinese products? Will the SAARC countries get any advantage from this declaration? It is a very important point.

Mr. Chairman Sir, Hon'ble member Shri Prithvi Raj D. Chavan has made a very good point and I would also like to urge that even today India can play a proactive role in the Non-Alignment Movement. There are no two opinions that everybody has faith in India and under the leadership of India, NAM has been quite active and has played quite important role. We can further move in this direction.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I would also like to submit something about the nuclear test. Many statements have been made here about the necessity of nuclear tests? When Pakistan conducted the test, fired 'Ghauri' missile, there was an apprehension that India will also react to counter the same from security point of view. Dr. Raja Ramanna in his speech in the Rajya Sabha on 28th May clearly said that after test firing of Ghauri missile by Pakistan, it was evident that India had no option but to go for this nuclear test and which I think has been conducted at the right time. I think that Dr. Raja Ramanna is not attached to any partyline. Therefore it would be very appropriate to quote him.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our foreign policy is being discussed here. It has been criticised by several learned Members. I would like to draw the attention of the House towards one word of foreign policy of the BJP. A resolution regarding NPT and CTBT was passed in the meeting of the BJP national executive held in Bhopal on 23.8.98 wherein it has been clearly stated that—

[English]

"The pressure on India to conform to discriminatory regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and control of missile technology is increasing day by day. Some countries want not only to maintain their nuclear weapons but also to refine and upgrade them."

[Translation]

Hon'ble Chairman Sir, what can be done in this situation? As far as disarmament is concerned, India is always committed to it and this House is prepared to play the lead role in this regard. If we have a positive approach towards the government led by the BJP, I think there is nothing to be criticised. In my brief speech, I would like to submit that there is a need to give a message to the people of the country that India is united at this turning point. Be it the matter related to Pakistan or any other matter, we do not want to give the message that India would not have adopted such policies, if there would not have been Pakistan. This message should not go. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset I would like to thank Shri Natwar Singhji, Shri Sangmaji and you as you have allowed discussion on our foreign policy and the statement made by the Hon'ble Prime Minister regarding SAARC to draw the attention of this House and the country towards these issues. In the beginning, I would like to say that we may belong to either of the two sides, we are basically one. Any Government formed for the welfare of the country, be it within the party or Parliament itself, we say that it is the Government of BJP, it is the Government of Congress or that of the United Front, it is the Government of India for the rest of the world and when it is the Government of India, it denotes not a particular party but the Government. This has been our policy till date.

I and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee are the members of the Parliament since 1977. In 1977, he was the Minister of External Affairs. We were proud of the fact that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee was India's Minister of External Affairs. There were some apprehensions prevailing in the minds of people at that time, but during his short tenure as the Minister of External Affairs, he earned name and fame for himself by his work and achievements and all the apprehensions prevailing proved to be unfounded. It was expected and even today it is expected that the Government which formed under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee will give no opportunity or any complaint at least in the matters of the foreign policy and diplomatic fund. It has always been there that the

affairs of foreign policy or the matters related to security have never created any sort of serious difference of opinion. But what I see today is that for the first time, there is a serious difference of opinion quite visible in the House these days and there is a basic discussion among the people of the country about all these affairs.

As I said earlier that the national interest is always supreme and I believe, Parliament or the people of India have ever lagged behind for any kind of sacrifice for the national interest. Whenever there was an occasion of sacrifice in the interest of the country, the people of the country have always volunteered. At times we should draw a comparison between martyrdom and suicide. If we jump from the fifth floor of a building and claim to be a martyr, it is a folly because death caused by falling from fifth floor is suicide and a person who does so is not a martyr. If you are saying about interest, then there is always difference in National interest, Party interest and personal interest. National interest is above all, then comes the Party interest and in the last personal interest. But history is witness to the fact that when party interest or personal interest was kept above the national interest, nations had to pay more price in a long run. I think, we are faced with two contradictory opinions. Let us talk about nuclear test. Someone says that nuclear test is right for the interest of the nation and it has enhanced the glory of the nation. But on the other hand, others allege that it is not in the national interest. Party interest is more related to it and this bomb blast is used to defuse the other bomb blasts.

I was in America during the time of this bomb blast. Discussion was also going on there regarding this matter. But I fail to understand one thing as to against whom is this challenge? Against whom have we accepted this challenge? Is this challenge against America? Some of my friends were saying that this challenge was against China or it is against Pakistan? So far as China is concerned, George Saheb is our leader, we can not question his ability but sometimes he speaks too much. This was not a proper occasion when he started targeting China without any provocation. I would like to know that against whom this challenge was. If the Government mean to say that this challenge is against America to get certain support, then it is a different matter. But if it is for Pakistan, then there is no need to show like this. Today Pakistan is a country but in every sphere, it is smaller than Uttar Pradesh. This House and this country know it very well that Pakistan can never compete with India in any regard. It has been proved in past and we are ready to prove it in the future also. But ultimately all the points are centred around Pakistan. We have jewellery in our boxes, but what type of jewellery those are, no one knows.

But when we open the jewellery box, people know as to how much gold or how much diamond is kept in it. As far as the affairs of Pakistan and India are concerned. We used to say that Pakistani Prime Minister also brought imported cigarettes. Today we have tested four nuclear bombs but they have tested five. Therefore, I want to know as to against whom it is. Today Pakistan is in so miserable condition that it has been compelled to sell out its Prime Ministerial Residence...(Interruptions). This is not a matter of humour. Needless to say, that is a small country. In this matter we both are united. That country and India both are opposing sanctions. Its opposition to the sanctions led it to sell out its Prime Ministerial office. It may be true that we do not face that situation here because we are comparatively prosperous yet some of its ill effects are also seen here. The rate of dollar is Rs. 42 a dollar, or Rs. 44 dollar. Tomato is sold at Rs. 42 per Kg. what does it prove? You can not afford tomato...(Interruptions) A person like me does not disturb you...(Interruptions) They have full freedom to reply...(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla) : You have talked about the high price of dollar in India...(Interruptions) Dollar has not become costly...(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : During his reply, the hon. Prime Minister is requested to point it out whether Rs. 42 for a dollar is related to economic sanctions or not, or it is nothing to do with it. Therefore, I want that hon. member should leave something for Prime Minister.

Now Shri Indrajit Gupta has said that so far as defence power of Pakistan and India is concerned, ours is twenty times more than theirs. Therefore there was no need to challenge Pakistan. I want to say only this much so far as the case of neighbouring countries is concerned, India has always led its neighbouring nations. There are so many Islamic countries. Shri Shivraj Patil is here, we had gone as the speaker's delegation. Once we had gone with Shri Vajpayee also. We have always seen it in the UNO and other places that Islamic countries have never supported Pakistan. I have no hesitation to say that our diplomatic front has come as a cropper. Today the result is that the countries which supported us earlier have now deserted us.

I would like to say one thing. We talk about Bharat and Pakistan. I had asked the Government as to how much expenditure is made on arms. I have found that we spend Rs. 20-25 thousand crore every year on defence. Pakistan also spends Rs. 20-25 thousand crore every year on defence. If we add the total defence expenditure of these two nations, it becomes Rs. 50 thousand crore in total. The country which is deficient in drinking water and its 50 percent

[Shri Ram Vilas Paswan]

and as per non governmental data, its 60 per cent population lives below poverty line, where is the amount of 25 thousand crore rupees being spent? Lastly this money goes to America. Today Russia ceases to be a Super Power. Today there is only one Super Power and it is America. Please remember it...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now please conclude. Your ten minutes are over. You are taking Shri Natwar Singh's time now.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : Sir, you have given me ten minutes and I have taken only seven minutes.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH : Sir, I would request you that if you could extend the time by fifteen minutes, we can deal with the whole subject. I hope, the Prime Minister will not object.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I shall conclude within five minutes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, you have been given ten minutes only.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was saying that today after three years, our arms have become useless. The merchant of both India and Pakistan has been sitting there. Recently, it has given Pakistan F-16, now we are being asked to take F-17. Neither Pakistan can finish India nor India can throw Pakistan into the ocean. I want to know from you only this much that if neither of the two can destroy one another, then why there is arms race? Shri Sangamaji has rightly said that so long as health security, commercial and economic security is not ensured, national security cannot be a reality here. Today we have failed on this front. We are failure on economic affairs, we are failure on the case of unemployment. We have failed to implement the slogan 'Health for all'. We are failure on all fronts. We wish to strengthen our national security. I think this is the biggest mockery. The Government talk about nuclear test. Japan has never conducted nuclear test. Bombarding was made over Hiroshima, we could not help weeping to hear the poem on Hiroshima written by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Even after dropping of bombs on Hiroshima, Japan has never conducted nuclear test. Germany also has never conducted nuclear test. Are Japan and Germany less strong than any other country? We have seen that Russia was very powerful. But what

fortune did it meet after it conducted so many nuclear tests and joined the arms race? We know the plight of Russia today very well.

I do not mean to say that the defence power of India be decreased. The defence power of India should be enhanced as much as possible. Be it the congress, or the BJP or the United Front in the opposition, none of them has ever asked to reduce defence expenditure whatever the Government want to do in this regard, it should do without hesitation, but it should not forget to consider economic front. I want to say one thing more that Prime Minister has said in his statement that, the atmosphere of our discussion was cordial and constructive. On one hand, the Prime Minister says that our discussion was cordial and constructive. On the other hand, Pakistani Prime Minister has said that the result of discussion was zero and it was merely wastage of time. I do not want to say that whatever Pakistani Prime Minister has said, is all right but we must say that Prime Minister should mention the result of discussion. You are saying that the result of discussion yielded fruitful and cordial. Is it right?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : He has not said fruitful.

[English]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : It is mentioned here 'the atmosphere of our discussion was cordial and constructive'. The word 'constructive' implies that it was fruitful. If it is fruitless, then how can it be constructive?

[Translation]

The name of Pakistan's Prime Minister has not been mentioned therein. When the Prime Minister replies, I would like to know whether this discussion has been constructive, fruitful or, as he says, it was a wastage of time or the result was a big zero.

With these words, I would like to again request the Prime Minister to increase the power of India by strengthening the army. But do not do anything, which would make us incapable of meeting the challenges on the economic front.

[English]

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH : Sir, it is nine minutes to five. If I could request you and my hon. colleagues to extend the discussion by 15 minutes, I would like to say a few things.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Ten minutes more may be given if the House has no objection.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH : Sir, should I carry on?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, Shri Natwar Singh is an authority on foreign affairs. He should speak just before the Prime Minister will give his reply. Otherwise, the Members from all the small Parties will get only five minutes. That is what I feel.

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam) : There are other speakers also....*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Regarding other members, we will decide later...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AHAMED : Other Members are also interested to speak on foreign affairs...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KURUP : What about other speakers?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will consider the representations from other Parties.

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH (Bharatpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Lok Sabha last discussed foreign affairs on 27th and 28th of May. In these two months and some days, the Government has been preoccupied with the damage control, and an assortment of envoys has been sent to do fire fighting with the result that all other areas of India's foreign policy and diplomacy have been totally and completely neglected by this Government. It is a statement of fact, and not of my imagination. If it is not so, I would like the Prime Minister to clarify and give us a catalogue of the activities of the Ministry of External Affairs relating to other areas of foreign policy, besides the nuclear bomb and discussions of their envoys with Pakistan and the United States of America.

Now, what has happened in these two and a half months? Between 11th of May and 13th of May, the euphoria in the BJP was something fantastic. Then, suddenly reality struck on the 28th of May and even with greater force, two days later on the 30th of May when Pakistan exploded its bombs. Having been an Ambassador to Pakistan nearly twenty years ago, I could have given Shri Vajpayee in writing on the 13th of May that no power could stop Pakistan from exploding their bombs after India had done so.

You be a Pakistani and see; go there and find out how they feel. And what did you achieve? You achieved great wonders! I will tell you what you have achieved. You have achieved a total isolation of India, for the first time in 50 years, in the international scene. Who are your friends? There is Vietnam. Vietnam is a friend of ours, at all times. Has Mauritius spoken for you? Has Bhutan spoken for you? Has Nepal spoken for you? Let us see who

has spoken for you. Who has spoken for you among the P-5, G-8 and in the Security Council?

Sir, the hon. Minister of State for External Affairs, my dear sister, is here. She is a charming person and she is learning very fast. She said a great deal and conveyed very little. You have also learnt the same, Mr. Prime Minister. You say a great deal and convey very little. It is very smart and it is one of the fundamentals of diplomacy to say a great deal and convey very little. But some of us here also know how to read between the lines. You said that at the Non-Aligned Summit in Colombia, India had a great success. The representatives of Non-Aligned countries in the Security Council condemned India. For the first time in 50 years, the Security Council condemned India and the Resolution was carried. We were condemned before, but the Soviet Union exercised the veto. This time no one did.

Your achievement number 1 is, isolation in P-5, G-8 and the Security Council. For 33 years, Kashmir had not been discussed in the Security Council, because in September, 1965 Sardar Swaran Singh walked out of the Security Council. I was a member of the delegation, so was your Principal Secretary. We walked out. It was only in the month of June, 1998 after your performance, that the Security Council met to discuss Kashmir and we were condemned on Kashmir. Who is responsible for that?

Do you want to know more of the isolation that you have?

[Translation]

We are caught between the Devil and the deep-sea. For this Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is responsible.

[English]

It happened because you did not think through the consequences of your actions. You invented reasons for exploding the bomb. We could have done this long ago. You said, first thing, in your letter to Mr. Clinton about the security threat from China. I will tell you again with folded hands that you should not have signed that letter. You signed it, because you did not read it. If you had read it, you would not have signed it. It is as simple as that and the gentleman or the lady who drafted it is answerable to this country. It is the first violation of principal diplomacy that you do not name other countries in a letter to another Head of State, because when you name an adversary, you make an adversary. It is common sense. What did the letter do? Ten years of good work with China was spoiled and you started the process, even though your visit was aborted. We had a setback.

[Shri K. Natwar Singh]

Your letter says one thing and Shrimati Vasundara Raje's reply to my question says quite another thing. Instead of inventing a security threat because to this day you have convinced no country in the world that there was a security threat—all you had to say was that, like France and China who exploded in 1995 and 1996 to update their nuclear technology, India, as a sovereign, independent country, was exercising its right to make its nuclear technology up-to-date and exploding the bombs. If you had done that, nobody would have said anything to you, because they could not have said. If you had asked us, I would have given you this advice free, *gratis*, because it is elementary. But your Defence Minister says that China is adversary number 1, your Home Minister says that Pakistan is adversary number 1 and you say, in your letter, about both China and Pakistan, please decide!

SHRI MURLI DEORA : Shri Khurana also said something.

SHRI K NATWAR SINGH : No, I do not want to mention that.

17.00 hrs.

It is not necessary. Although, I must say that statements of some of your Ministers - our foreign friends have told us - were considered even more damaging than the bombs themselves. It is because they said, are these people ruling India who say such things? Mr. Prime Minister, you have not said so. You have chosen your words carefully and I respect you for doing so. But I wish I could say the same thing about your colleagues also. You now find yourself in a situation that for the first time in 50 years the national consensus on foreign policy has been fractured. You can only repair the damage if you take us with confidence. It is because one of the great strengths of this country has been that on foreign policy matters this nation and this Parliament have spoken into one voice. It is for the first time in 50 years that the House are divided in the way they are. You regret it and we regret it and the damage has been done. Now how to put it right both internationally and domestically because the relationship between foreign policy and domestic policy is vital? You can only have a meaningful, forceful, and influential foreign policy if your domestic scene is coherent. There is a cacophony of incoherence from your Government and not a symphony from an orchestra of which you are the leader. It should be. But it is not so because there are so many war lords in your coalition who are a law unto themselves and not amenable to discipline under your charge. I am not blaming you for it. This

is a political reality. You cobbled up a coalition Government which has no common ground even on an issue like the foreign policy...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Natwar Singh, I am having my own doubt. Are you speaking in the House or are you speaking with the Prime Minister?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH : Well, I will speak to you, Sir. I stand corrected. I will only look at you now and I would like you to keep smiling.

Now, the other damage that has been done is that we have established parity with Pakistan. On the 28th and 30th of May, we came down. Now, you have proposed a no-first-strike agreement. Pakistan will never sign it. Why? It is because if they sign it, then conventional superiority of India is again re-established for ever and it has taken them 50 years to get the parity you have given them on a plate. Why do you think that Mr. Nawaj Sharif has said that it was a waste of time and it was zero. He never said it before. He could not have said if they had not exploded the bomb. We had the initiative. Now on every occasion, the Government of Pakistan will be intransigent. You think, you have got away from the Security Council. From next month, the General Assembly of the United Nations will be meeting and you will have Kashmir right in the centre every day. What contingency plans do you have? How many friends are going to get up there to support us and say that this is not a matter which will be discussed here?

Shri Jaswant Singh is having talks with the Americans day in and day out. Now, we know what Shri Jaswant Singh has said to Mr. Talbott but we do not know what Mr. Talbott has said to Shri Jaswant Singh. Could you please tell us? It is a vital matter for this country to know what you are discussing. Some hon. Members have spoken about some modifications in CTBT. What are those modifications? The CTBT cannot be amended. It is held up only because India, Pakistan and Israel did not sign it and it cannot be amended unless all the 44 countries who have signed it agree. Some of them have even ratified it. You should have asked the Americans - when they came here - this question. France and China did not sign the NPT till 1994-95, if I remember correctly, and yet they were given full status of nuclear weapon powers. You should have told Mr. Talbott and you should have told Mr. Clinton that India is a country of one billion people and ancient civilisation of great culture and tradition and poor we may be but proud we are, if you do not give us the same status that you gave to China and to France, we will not be cowed down.

You are bargaining on little bits here and there on CTBT. They are denying you nuclear weapon

power status. Who are they to deny us? They have broken every rule, we have obeyed every rule and, yet, have been pilloried for all these times. Shri Jaswant Singh should not be discussing CTBT because he has no right to discuss, and you have no right to discuss CTBT unless you take us with you. That is for sure. We would like to have a common programme to talk to the Americans on CTBT. If you go with that, you will carry the good wishes of the entire House. Am I right or am I wrong? You will go and speak as the Prime Minister of one billion people. There are not very many people; like you are the second individual - Mr. Jiang Zemin of China is number one, and number two is Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee - and the rest come in the league of 200 million and 300 million people. It is no ordinary honour to be the Prime Minister of India. You tell the Americans that every single Indian is behind you, that we want the status granted or they can keep their CTBT. I am speaking not in anger, not with any jingoism and I am giving you diplomatic facts.

Now, you take what the Americans have been doing to us. Kashmir is the flash point, and it is at the centre stage. In his speech to the National Geographic Society of America, Mr. Clinton says that India and Pakistan should sit down to discuss Kashmir, and China should also sit with them on the table. It has not happened in 50 years. Whose gift is it? It is not ours. Then, Mr. Clinton goes to China and he was there for nine days. In the joint statement issued by China and the United States, three pages were given to India and Pakistan. What right do they have? The answer of the Chinese is, "Well, you mentioned us through a letter to Clinton, we mention you here." If you had complaints against China, then complain to China. Why complain to Clinton? I would like to know the answer from the Government that how you wish to deal with the situation in isolation, without carrying all the parties with you. The framework left by Jawaharlal Nehru 50 years ago was held intact till the 11th of May. You became the Foreign Minister in 1977. There were five other Governments since then, but they could not change India's foreign policy because it could not be changed. I am not saying that we are running a static, sterile and meaningless policy. Agendas of countries change. The agenda for 1950s was one, and it is another one in 1997. But within the broad framework, in the Non-Aligned Movement, you can make the voice of the developing countries heard. You should ask Mr. Nawaz Sharif to join us so that we will jointly tackle these five powers in the Security Council to say, "Sit down and we will talk with you." You should tell the United States that they should take an initiative at Geneva in which to start a process for total and time based nuclear disarmament as proposed in Rajiv Gandhi's plan. Tell them to take the initiative and both India and Pakistan should say

that "we will come along with you, but tell us the day on which there will be no nuclear weapons left." What has happened today is that the five powers continue to break the rules and laws and sit in judgement on us. I think, India is the only country in the world whose voice will matter, if you get up and say so with the support of all of us. Otherwise, you are going to get pushed around as you are being pushed around now.

Shri Indrajit Gupta asked an extremely important question. What is your nuclear policy? Are you going for weaponisation? Are you going to put nuclear warheads in our missiles? Where are they going to be placed? What is the expenditure? I have also been in Government from 1953 in one form or another. You cannot disclose certain things. We will not ask you certain things. What is the broad framework of your nuclear policy? Nuclear policy of India has been changed by you without consulting us. Your manifesto said that "We will induct weapons. We will change nuclear foreign policy." You did not consult us. Shrimati Indira Gandhi in 1974 did not change Indian nuclear foreign policy. She did not induct nuclear weapons. You know and I know the reality that we inherited, the situation in which the Government has taken the only soft option on 11th May. All other options before you are hard options, extremely hard. We would like to know how you will tackle the CTBT, security and nuclear policy and how you intend to deal with Mr. Clinton and the Americans because the Secretary of State of the United States herself Miss Madeleine Albright has on five occasions used unacceptable language against a great country like India. You can say the same thing, politely, gently, firmly, with all the emphasis at your command but the Secretary of United States has no right to call the Home Minister of India, the names she did.

I can tell you that I raised this matter with Mr. Talbot. I do not know whether Government raised the matter with him or not.

Diplomacy does not offer me Nirwan or salvation, but it offers hope and this is necessary that you must use all the instruments available to you in this House to assist you in putting the consensus back where it was before 11th May. In future discussion, if you take us into confidence, Mr. Prime Minister, we will do our best because we do not want to internationalise the Kashmir issue. Your Party was critical of the Simla Agreement. Now there is love for the Simla Agreement. Even Shri L.K. Advani invoked Simla Agreement. I was delighted that at least all the education we have offered has some effect and has rubbed off the Simla Agreement which was at one time seen by you as some underhand trick by Shrimati Indira Gandhi with Mr. Bhutto. You went to

[Shri K. Natwar Singh]

Simla after your holiday in Manali. I wish you had a longer holiday. You probably need it. In the great meeting on the Mall, you said that Simla Agreement is good. I am delighted. I congratulate you. Shri L.K. Advani said it the other day. I congratulated him. You should tell the Pakistanis "Yes. We will discuss exclusively the Kashmir issue and nothing else. If you want any help, I will join your delegation." Tell them "Only Kashmir", and we will come out of it better than they. But why are you shying away on Kashmir issue? You have a very good case, Mr. Prime Minister. Put it forward very strongly and with clarity...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : What about 193?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH : Mr. Prime Minister, we wish you luck. I wish you success in correcting the distortions in our foreign policy with our assistance. Not only do you need luck and success at the moment, but you need strong nerves. Good luck to you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I want to ascertain from the House whether to continue this discussion by extending the House. Three more hon. Members have to speak on this subject.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : We can continue this discussion tomorrow.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : What is the use of taking up 193 discussion late in the night?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think five minutes only can be given to each Member. So, a total of 15 minutes will be enough for them.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, the Discussion under Rule 193 is very important...*(Interruptions)* The deportation issue is very important. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee has to start the discussion. It was stated that the discussion would start at five of the Clock. But it could not be done. At six of the Clock, if this discussion ends, the time would be too short to debate the important issue. Let us take it up tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have allowed three Members to speak. So, if three Members complete their speeches, tomorrow, reply can be given.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : It will be six of the Clock by that time. Nobody will remain in the House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Half-an-Hour discussion is also there. Then, what is supposed to

be done? Let it start at eleven of the Clock tomorrow. The hon. Prime Minister is sitting here. As the Leader of the House, he can put in a word to the hon. Speaker...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Tomorrow at eleven of the Clock we can take it up...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : That will be useful. It is a very important discussion. If the hon. Prime Minister wants to reply, we shall be very happy to hear him....*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : There is also the Half-an-Hour discussion...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Mr. Chairman, there was already a decision that tomorrow at 2 p.m. we have to take up the discussion on the Jain Commission Report. That has been decided in the BAC. The hon. Speaker has also agreed to that...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : It was already represented to the hon. Speaker.

(Interruptions)

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : It was not represented. It was already decided. I am only saying that if so much of today's business is carried over tomorrow, it should not affect the discussion on the Jain Commission Report which is to be taken up at 2 p.m. It should not create a situation by which we will have to postpone it. Before taking it up, all other discussions should be over...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : No concrete decision was announced by the hon. Speaker earlier. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister is here. He can respond to it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Where is the time now? Everyday, there is late sitting of the House. This is not proper...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF TOURISM (SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it was already decided in the BAC meeting that tomorrow at 2 p.m., discussion would take place on Jain Commission Report and before that discussion would be held on the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I have already said that the Prime Minister would give a reply tomorrow in the morning. After completing the discussion on External Affairs under your rule 193...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : This is not ours, but of the entire House...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : The topic listed in the name of Geetaji, for discussion under Rule 193, would be taken up. We would sit an hour extra...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : That should not happen today...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA : We decide to complete it by four o'clock, but it does not happen. Everybody wants to speak, but don't want to extend the time...*(Interruptions)*

17.18 hrs.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : There are only three Members to speak on the foreign policy. Let the three Members complete their speeches. Then, we will take up the discussion under Rule 193.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : How long will it continue? Half-an-Hour discussion is there. Generally, I do not wish to interrupt. But this is a very important issue. Do not take it as "also ran". If it starts at six or six-thirty or seven of the Clock, then nobody will be here. It is not that we want our speeches to be heard here. But it is a very serious matter. I am sure everybody agrees that it is a serious matter...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : There is Half-an-Hour discussion also. How will we discuss it?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Tomorrow, let it start. We shall try to finish the discussion within a limited time. You can regulate it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Tomorrow, at eleven of the Clock, we can take up the Discussion under Rule 193 on the deportation issue.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Basu Deb Acharia, tomorrow also, there is a Discussion under Rule 193.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : Everyday, we have to sit up to 9 o'clock. It is not fair...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : My point is that let the Members be given chance to speak on the foreign affairs. After that, Half an Hour Discussion

may be taken up. It will be completed by 6.00 p.m. Tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock, the discussion under Rule 193 on deportation may be taken up. It is a very sensitive issue. I had personally gone there to see the situation. Kindly have it discussed in the House. The situation is a serious one there. Thereafter, the Prime Minister may kindly give his reply on foreign affairs. The discussion on Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is also important. At 2.00 p.m. the discussion on the Jain Commission Report and the Action Taken Report can start. We can start this discussion one hour later also at 3 o'clock. These are my respectful submissions.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS, MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION (SHRI RAM NAIK): It is a fair suggestion given by both the leaders from West Bengal. My only amendment to that would be that let the Prime Minister reply at 11 o'clock and after that the discussion under Rule 193 may be started. This would be better.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : We agree...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you are aware that the Members of all the parties including those of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had made a request for discussion regarding the Ministry of Welfare and the Ministry has decided to have a discussion on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in a single day. It was decided by all the ladies in the Business Advisory Committee that it would certainly be taken up at 4 p.m. on Friday, even if other business remained incomplete. Later on, the views of all the leaders were again sought in the Business Advisory Committee. On that day we had expressed the apprehension that it may not be possible, therefore, it should be scheduled for Monday. Everybody said that, it should be included in the first list for Tuesday instead of Monday and other items would be included only after that. I would like to request you that the matter relating to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should not be taken so lightly, there can not be two opinions that other items are also important. I would like to request you to take up the items as per the schedule fixed from 11.00 hrs. to 13.00 hrs. I have no objection, if you take up discussion on Maharashtra or on Jain Commission Report under Rule 193 after this.....

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What about the Prime Minister's reply?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : The Prime Minister's reply will be at 11 o'clock and after this matter relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes could be taken up.

[English]

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Everyone knows that the House was extended in order to facilitate discussion on the Jain Commission Report. This was the decision of the BAC also. I am not saying that other discussions are less important. They are equally important. I have no doubt about it. My humble submission is, whatever is the business for today, let us finish it today itself by extending the time of the House. We have no objection about extending the time of the House. As decided earlier, the hon. Prime Minister will reply tomorrow at 11 o'clock and immediately thereafter, the discussion under Rule 193 on SCs and STs will be taken up. We will take up the discussion on the Jain Commission Report exactly at 2.00 p.m. ...*(Interruptions)* Let me complete. My point is that today's business, that is, the discussion under Rule 193 on deportation of the minorities should be taken up and completed today...*(Interruptions)* Please bear with us also. The House was extended to discuss the Jain Commission Report...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Sir, one should not carry a wrong impression. The House was not extended only for discussing the Jain Commission Report. This is a wrong impression. It should not go on record also...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, the foreign policy is a very important matter. There are areas where some of the parties are interested. May I submit before the hon. Speaker...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE (Thane) : Sir, everybody is aware that tomorrow will be election of Deputy-Speaker. That is why we have come here, and we are not informed when that election is...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR (Akola) : We can begin the House by 9 o'clock...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : How can we do it by 9 o'clock? What is this?

(Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, all the parties have given the names of the speakers to participate on the discussion on Foreign Affairs. But only the Members from the major parties have been called for making their speeches, and other small parties like ours have not been given any opportunity to participate on the debates. We are also interested to speak on

the Foreign Policy though not in a very wider sense but at least in a limited manner. Why not the House be a little bit sympathetic to the remaining three Members in the list to speak out their views now? The hon. Prime Minister can reply tomorrow. If it is not possible, my humble request to the Chair is that these three Members may be given the opportunity to speak tomorrow before the Prime Minister gives the reply...*(Interruptions)* We are also elected representatives of the people. We are not being given opportunity to speak...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : My request to the hon. Members is that today's listed business can be taken up and finished today itself by sitting late.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Otherwise, you cannot complete the business tomorrow.

Now, Shri E. Ahamed to speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I am not interrupting. Just half a second. Mr. Speaker, Sir, then what is the decision? Shall we continue till 10 p.m.?...*(Interruptions)* Because that discussion cannot be over. Do you think, just because Members will be absent, most of the Members will go away and, therefore it is expected to be over within half an hour? No. It will not do. It will not happen like that...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : We will sit late, upto 8 o'clock.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Sir, this has become a practice...*(Interruptions)* ... Mr. Speaker, Sir, just a minute.

MR. SPEAKER : No. Please sit down. Now, Shri Ahamed to speak.

(Interruptions)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Sir, these are very important issues and you are not listening to us? Why not you take it up tomorrow at 11 o'clock...*(Interruptions)* ... Sir, it is not fair. It is also a very important issue. After Prime Minister's reply, why do you not allow this discussion?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri E. Ahamed, please.

(Interruptions)

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Due to paucity of time, I do not want to take much of the valuable time of the House. I do not want to elaborate my points. No

Member could articulate the Policy on foreign affairs within a couple of minutes. However, Sir, I am constrained to mention certain things here in this House which other hon. Members did not mention. Therefore, I will confine my statement only within one or two points.

Sir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had laid the foundation stone of our Foreign Policy.

One of the most important decisions he had taken when dealing with the relationship of India with other countries was maintaining the best of relationships with the Arab and Islamic countries. We have been following this policy. I would like to say that India has been ignoring a vital point on the matter of our foreign policy in the recent past, that is, the relationship with the countries in our neighbourhood. In our neighbourhood, we have the Gulf Cooperation Council States: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Oman, Bahrain and Qatar. This is a very important matter as far as India is concerned.

On five points, we cannot ignore the importance of India's relationship with these countries. The first point is that these are all our neighbouring countries; the second is that these countries are the source of our energy supply; the third is that we have trade relationships with these countries worth \$ 10 billion a year; the fourth is that we are earning \$ 4 billion worth of foreign exchange from these countries as remittance from Indian Community; and the fifth point is that more than three and a half million people are usefully and peacefully employed in these countries. But quite unfortunately, we are not giving that much of importance to these countries as we are giving to various other countries in Europe, Africa and Asia.

I would like to ask the hon. Prime Minister how many Ministers have visited these countries. These are the countries where more than three and a half million of our people are living and from where we are earning more than \$ 4 billion by way of foreign exchange. But what is the relationship that we have with these countries? Of course, we have our diplomats there. But we are sending only the Secretaries to the Government of India there. Why are senior Ministers not visiting these countries?

They say that they are very much worried about India's situation. On the one hand, we employ our diplomats to tell them that our Pokhran tests were only a deterrent; on the other hand, the irresponsible statements made by our Ministers have created a lot of worry in the minds of the people living there. The statement made by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs—of course, with good intentions - was: 'The geo-strategic situation in the country has changed since the Pokhran tests.' Even the newspapers in

those countries have quoted as "choosy quotations" made by my very good friend Shri Madan Lal Khurana. We made this statement and I quote: 'If Pakistan wants to fight another war with us, then, let them tell us the time and venue.' On the one hand, we are telling our neighbours, the Arab countries that it is only for deterrence and on the other hand responsible Ministers are making irresponsible statements. Therefore, what is their thinking?

Hon. Members have mentioned about the OIC countries. Many of these Fifty-five countries of the world have been standing by India. They have been supporting India. They have always been aligned with India on various international matters. But are we showing the same courtesy, extending the same relationship with the same sort of interactions with these countries as much as we are showing to other European, African and Asian countries? Therefore, it is an imperative need in the country's interests that we have to have frequent interaction with these countries. I am very happy that our Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, the charming lady, Shrimati Vasundhara Raje had visited some of the Arab countries. That much is good. But why do we not have more frequent interactions with these countries?

Sir, it is Government's prerogative to appoint Ambassadors and High Commissioners and calling them back. But the manner in which the High Commissioner of India in London had been replaced was very clumsy. It should not have been done. Of course, the Government has the prerogative to appoint anybody. I have no objection to that. Everything should be done in a graceful manner. In this case it was not done gracefully.

While dealing with foreign countries, we must bear the India's interests in mind. I think we would be able definitely to stop this isolation in the international community and go forward only with the policy initiated by no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR (Akola):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

So many changes are going on in the international relations. I happened to read a book titled, 'Thousand Years of War' by John Kennedy. According to him, there is an economic background for all the wars that have taken in the last thousand years.

After the Pokhran tests, a debate is going on whether it was necessary or not. I think, we have to look into a situation where we are going to land ourselves if we can continue with the controversy

[Shri Prakash Yashwant Ambedkar]

regarding explosion. If we are going to compete with the Western world in the fields where they have got monopoly, like armaments and aircraft manufacturing, then certain amount of economic power is going to be devolved to the regional centres that are coming up. Comparing to 1920s, the economic power of the Western world has already deteriorated. Today, there is a decline in the contribution of the Western world towards the international economic scene by more than thirty per cent. In the next twenty years, the economic contribution of the Western world to the world economic scene is going to dwindle down to forty per cent. That is the projection.

Another change, a subtle change, is taking place. That is the revival and resurgence of the old civilizations that were in existence now. No doubt, they have already modernized in many areas. Revival is taking place on the basis of the civilization. I can cite the example of Bosnia. Bosnia had been divided along the lines of Christians and Muslims. Now, we see signs of new world order based on the civilization emerging. This is already coming up in the Third World countries.

We are talking of isolation today. Some countries want to see us as an economic power and there are some other countries who do not want us to become an economic power. Therefore, these kinds of sanctions are going to be there. We have already conducted the nuclear tests in Pokhran. So, there is no use of debating whether it is useful or not.

The discussion about whether it is going to be helpful or not helpful is of no use today. We have to stand unitedly. I know that some of our Members have been in the NAM and leaders of the NAM. In the next ten years, what is going to happen to the NAM? Are we going to stick to the old dogmatic phenomenon that we were leaders of the NAM and therefore the NAM has some relevance? If there is going to be some realignment, as I said, on the basis of civilisation then I do not know what is going to happen to the NAM. In that case, we also have to change in that direction.

Therefore, I would like to ask the Prime Minister whether he would look into this issue which is the most important one. As I have heard and as I have learnt from many newspapers and magazines, some parts of India, and especially Arunachal Pradesh is being shown in the map of China which is introduced in the schools as a part of China. It is not there in the official maps, but in the school maps it is being shown as a part of China. If this is going to be the teaching which is imbibed, that Arunachal Pradesh is not a part of India, then, for generations to come, this feeling would remain that we, being in Arunachal Pradesh being a part of China, should be with China,

then this feeling would create hatred and in will-for the coming generations. This is being imbibed. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether he is going to look into this matter and inform the House whether it is a fact or not a fact.

The other thing which I would like to mention here is about the attitude of some of the BJP Members who have spoken and especially referred to the former Speaker, Shri Sangma who also spoke here. They said that this is the first time that some have also taken a stand saying that, "No, Pokhran blasts should not have been there; we should not have exploded bombs." What has been the attitude?

Shri Chandra Shekhar also said the other day that there was no need for a nuclear bomb in this country and that we should not have exploded. But I find two attitudes coming out from the BJP side, especially when Shri Jag Mohan was speaking. He made a reference, as if Shri Sangma was speaking in the Pakistan Parliament. Secondly, he referred to Rome. May I know from the Treasury Benches whether that reference was made just because Shri Sangma is a Christian and not a Hindu? This kind of a reference was not made when the former Prime Minister Shri Chandra Shekhar spoke and is it because he is a Hindu? If this kind of religious divisions are going to be made by the Treasury Benches, let me warn them that it is going to alienate the North-Eastern States which are not culturally a part of our society. In this cultural resurgence that is taking place all over the world, will have effect in this country also. We have to behave politically; we may have difference of opinion; we may not belong to the same religion to which you belong, but let not religion cast aspersions on our national interest and on the national integrity of any person.

With these words, I conclude

SHRI BIR SINGH MAHATO (Purulia) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this subject.

Foreign policy of our country is not a policy of any particular party; it is the policy of the nation. There is no contradiction and there is no conflict regarding our foreign policy. We spoke in the same voice. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister - now he has also come here - as to what prompted him to go in for nuclear explosions on 11th and 13th of May? Are we doing this to show our strength to Pakistan? What is the benefit of these explosions?

What have we gained through this explosion? The Defence Minister and the Home Minister have hijacked the right of the Ministry of External Affairs. The hon. Defence Minister publicly stated that China was our main enemy while the Prime Minister

contradicted it. The Home Minister and the Defence Minister publicly took contradictory positions. So, this type of contradictory statements have damaged the reputation of our country.

On the 6th August, 1945, when America dropped a bomb over the people of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, our party was banned and even then it propagated through underground against the brutal murder of the people of Japan. We need food. Our people need food, employment and health. We do not need nuclear test. India and Pakistan were initially one country. People were not in favour of dividing our country. Even Gandhiji was against division. Still our country was divided. We need good relations and good neighbourhood. During the last fifty years, we have adopted a foreign policy on the basis of fraternity, cooperation, peace, austerity and living together. So, a confederation between Bangladesh, Pakistan and India should be formed.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, the House has other important business listed in today's list of business. If the House agrees, Matters under Rule 371 may be treated as laid on the Table of the House.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

17.46 hrs.

MATTERS UNDER RULE 377*

- (i) **Need to Develop Certain places in Mandsaur District, Madhya Pradesh, as Tourist Resort**

[*Translation*]

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEY (Mandsaur) : Sir, I would like to request the Minister of Tourism to include 'Saundhni Stambh', Pasupatinath Mandir, Dharamrajeshwar, Shri Bhadwa Mata Mandir and Shri Parasati Pilgrimage in Mandsaur while declaring certain places of historical and archaeological importance in Madhya Pradesh as tourist spots and to take necessary steps by the centre for their development which have been the centre of attraction and devotion of the common people for centuries.

- (ii) **Need for Construction of a Railway Bridge on River Ganga at Maroli Pipa in Mirzapur, U.P.**

SHRI RAMSHAKAL (Robertsganj) : Lakhs of pilgrims from East Uttar Pradesh and Nepal visit the

holy Vindhyasini every year. The brass utensils manufactured at Mirzapur are also sent for sale to eastern Uttar Pradesh, and the border regions of Bihar. The pilgrims from the people of the abovementioned regions face difficulties to visit this place in the absence of a railway bridge on river Ganga at Mirzapur. If a road and rail bridge is constructed in place of Pantoon bridge at Bhatauli pipa in Mirzapur, then lakhs of people from eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Nepal would be benefitted.

- (iii) **Need to Provide Funds to the State Government of U.P. For Development of Tourist and Archaeological Places in Jalaun Parliamentary Constituency**

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH VERMA (Jalaun) : Sir, my Parliamentary Constituency is surrounded on three sides by Betwa, Pahuj and Yamuna rivers. This sacred region, surrounded by these rivers has been the tapobhumi of rishis and maharishis. In this region, the following places are very important from the point of view of tourism and archaeology. Their maintenance and development is very essential :

1. Ma Asradevi Temple at Saadnagar (Et)
2. Development of Jagmumpur (Pachnda)
3. Mahavirjee's Temple at Dohar, Konch
4. Tapobhumi of Mahrishi Rahul Sanskratyayan at Maheshpura gram
5. Tapobhumi of Maharishi Ved Vyasa at Kalpi, on the bank of river Yamuna
6. Tapobhumi of Maharishi Vishvamitra, in the middle of Dhesan river, at Garotha and Ma Giddhvasini Temple on the bank of Lakheri river
7. Ma Sharda Temple at Et (Bairagarh) and Ma Raktdanta Temple

Hence, my request to the centre is to provide adequate funds for the maintenance and development of the above mentioned places.

- (iv) **Need to Formulate Plans to solve Acute Drinking Water Problem in Sitapur District, U.P.**

SHRI JANARDAN PRASAD MISRA (Sitapur) : Although there are many such problems in our country which are necessary to be solved but at present the most serious problem is water crisis and the solution of which does not seem to be solving. The apprehensions expressed by United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan is not baseless that

* Treated as laid on the Table of the House.

[Shri Janardan Prasad Misra]

third world war would not be fought for petrol but for water. We can easily understand the meaning of Kofi Annan's statement from the hue and cry that is raised today in different parts of the country for water. People can be found fighting for a bucket of water as soon as the summer sets in. This horrible situation can be seen anywhere in Sitapur district in Uttar Pradesh, where the water level has gone down and wells have dried up. As a result of it, the people there have to fetch water from far and wide. In this summer season, the handpumps installed over there is only resort but at some places, they are also defective and hence there is a famine like situation for water.

Therefore, I demand from the Minister for Water Resources that he should prepare such scheme to solve the problems of those people so that fresh and potable water may be made available to them and the problems being confronted by those people may be solved.

(v) Need for Proper Maintenance of Historical Monuments and Ruins of Ahom Kings Particularly in Sibsagar District, Assam

[English]

SHRI BIJOY HANDIQUE (Jorhat) : Sir, historical monuments and ruins of the Ahom Kings, the way they are maintained and preserved in Assam, are a sad commentary on the performance of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). Most of them are located in Sibsagar district of my Lok Sabha constituency, Jorhat. There are however, many in other parts of the State, too.

The ASI's common plea is resource constraints. Much has been said and promised, tapping and involvement of private funds form part of the agenda for the national policy on culture. But no serious efforts have so far been launched to mobilize private resources. Nor suggestions for raising fund by providing facilities to tourists or organising diversion activities like sports, fun and pleasure outside the core area of such historical sites for attracting more tourists have been accepted. Even the offer of funds from Government Departments for repair and maintenance work under the ASI supervision is very often turned down or permission inordinately delayed on the plea of examining such proposals. As a result, most of the historical monuments or ruins are in a state of dilapidation. Even those few which are somewhat maintained tolerably well, the repair works betray a lack of imaginativeness and a sense of history failing to restore the architecture, style and

technique of the period in which they were constructed. Even the strength of the structure is never tested to assess whether it needs strengthening and rectification for preservation. Thus the historical monuments, temples, ruins of the Ahoms are in awfully bad shape. And the ASI will be accountable if due to their negligence they are damaged or their condition deteriorate.

(vi) Need to Construct a New Post Office Building at Kopergaon in Maharashtra

[English]

SHRI PRASAD BABURAO TANPPURE (Kopergaon) : Sir, 'Kopergaon is an important city in my constituency. It is a Taluk and has 'B' class Municipality. There are three big cooperative sugar factories and many cooperative industries such as milk processing plants and ginning pressing units. The population of Kopergaon is nearly 70,000. The Post Office here is in a small place which is on rent and is insufficient to cater to the needs of the people. Postal department has purchased a suitable plot for construction of new post office building, which is lying idle for so many years. Hence, I request that in the larger public interest, the post office building be constructed at the earliest.

(vii) Need to Relax Norms of Minimum telephone Connections Required for a New Telephone Exchange in Dhule and Nasik District, Maharashtra

[English]

SHRI D.S. AHIRE (Dhule) : Sir, in my constituency, mostly in tribal areas of Dhule and Nasik districts of Maharashtra, a number of new Telephone Exchanges have been sanctioned during the period 1996-97 and 1997-98. At present, four exchanges from Dhule district and six exchanges from Nasik district have already been completed in all respects. The people of the villages within respective Telephone Exchanges have filled up their demands for getting new telephone connections but no single connection has been released so far to anybody in both the districts.

After enquiry with the officers concerned, it is learnt that out of sanctioned and completed Telephone Exchanges the local people have not completed their quota, that is, 30 connections from each exchange, which is required for functioning the exchange. Thereafter, I requested some people to fill up demands for new connections within their respective exchanges. Accordingly near about six exchanges have achieved its targets but the exchanges have not yet started functioning. Lastly, it

is known that the district telephone managers have increased the quota of the exchanges from 30 to 40 telephone connections.

Therefore, I request the government to reduce the quota of Telephone connections fixed for one new telephone exchange or direct the concerned officers to start the exchanges. It is further requested that so far tribal area is concerned, the limitation should be relaxed because the people from tribal area are unable to fill up the demands.

(viii) Need to Instal Modernised System of S.T.D. Telephone Facility in All Parts of Bankura District of West Bengal

[English]

SHRIMATI SANDHYA BAURI (Vishnupur) : The Radio Transmission System of STD telephonic communication has not yet been installed in all parts of the district of Bankura, West Bengal. Only in a small part of the District Bankura, the Modern Radio Transmission System has been established. At present there is existing the old system of POLE and Manual System in the major part of the district Bankura. So, the people of my parliamentary constituency "VISHNUPUR" and its populous towns are suffering. Even during a short shower of rain and light storm due to technical fault the Manual System of telephone collapses. The whole district becomes disconnected from the rest part of the country. People cannot communicate even in case of emergency.

In such a situation installation of modernised system of STD telephone facility is urgent in the area of Joypur, Kotalpur, Galia, Raipur, Ranibandh, Moynapur, Patrasayer, Joyrambati and Indpur. I request the Central Government to take urgent steps in the matter.

(ix) Need for Construction of a Railway Overbridge of Faizabad-Ambedkar Nagar/ Faizabad-Allahabad/Faizabad-Rai Bareilly Highways in U.P.

[Translation]

SHRI MITRASEN YADAV (Faizabad) : Mr. Chairman, Sir Northern Railway line of District Faizabad, Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh runs through Lucknow to Varanasi by dividing the whole urban area in two parts. On account of closure of railway crossings at the time of coming and going of trains on main routes, the public has not only to face impediments in their all essential services but also they have to deprive of. In view of the difficulties and impediments in essential services to V.I.Ps and

Common men, approval for the railway over bridge should be given on any of the Faizabad-Ambedkar Nagar, Faizabad-Allahabad, Faizabad-Rai Bareilly routes.

(x) Need to Clear Ogengkal Water Scheme of Tamil Nadu early

[English]

SHRI K.P. MUNUSAMY (Krishna Giri) : Dharmapur, a backward and dry district of Tamil Nadu is facing acute shortage of drinking water. This district consists of a population of 24 lakhs and they cannot get protected drinking water. Now, they are getting flouride water in 400 feet which causes vitamin deficiency. In order to provide protected drinking water from Cauvery basin a scheme was formulated by Tamil Nadu Government with the help of OECF of Japan. The estimated cost for this scheme is Rs.636.30 crore. After the completion of this scheme, two municipalities, 14 town panchayats, 13 panchayat unions and 4101 villages will be benefited. The PWD Department of Tamil Nadu have already issued no objection to get 108 million gallon of water from Cauvery basin. The scheme was sent to the Ministry of Finance (Economic Department) and to the Ministry of Rural Areas and Employment and Urban Affairs with the recommendation of Tamil Nadu Government. The Forest Department have already cleared to give 12.5 hectare of land to this scheme. Since the existing problem is continuing in between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka on sharing of Cauvery water the OECF of Japan is asking for a clearance/No Objection Certificate from the Ministry of Water Resources. Now, the Ministry of Water Resources has cleared the Fourth Phase of water scheme for Bangalore.

I request the Government for the early clearance of Ogenakal water scheme also. This scheme was formulated only for 18 lakhs odd people and another scheme will be formulated by the Tamil Nadu Government to provide protected drinking water for those people of Hosur municipality, and panchayat unions of Hosur, Dhali, Kelamangalam and Soolagiri of Dharmapuri. I request the Government to have early clearance of Ogenakal water scheme also.

(xi) Need to take effective steps to purchase the surplus Tobacco from Farmers in Andhra Pradesh

[English]

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU (Srikakulam) : For the farmers of Andhra Pradesh the worst is still not over. After the failure of the cotton crop they are bearing the after effects of a bumper tobacco crop. The country has seen a record production of 135 million

[Shri K. Yerrannaidu]

Kg. of tobacco this year, on top of that there is an unauthorised production of 40 million Kg. of tobacco and a backlog of 25 million Kg. of tobacco. This has caused a glut in the market leading to a drastic fall in tobacco prices from Rs. 85/Kg. to Rs. 45/Kg. over the last three months alone. The farmers were eventually forced to burn standing tobacco crops. More than 15 million Kg. of tobacco crop was burnt in Andhra Pradesh alone.

With the tobacco majors in India purchasing only 40 per cent of their requirement, there is no likelihood of this surplus finding enough buyers. As if this was not enough, competition from African countries is eating into Indian tobacco exports. Countries like Zimbabwe are selling tobacco at rates which are at least 40 per cent below international prices. China, Brazil and the U.S. are also not far behind with their tobacco prices, 10 per cent below the price of last year's.

It is high time that the Government should do something for the tobacco growers before the farmers again take the extreme step of committing suicide.

(xii) Need to provide better road and rail facilities in Vandavasi Parliamentary Constituency in Tamil Nadu

[English]

SHRI M. DURAI (Vandavasi) : Vandavasi constituency in Tamil Nadu is not having proper road communication facilities. Even an important road that links Vandavasi with Tindivanam via Kanjivaram is in a hazardous condition. The famous Hindu saint Sankaracharya's Mutt is in Kanjivaram thereby attracting several people to take this route to reach the shrine. Hence I request the Union Government to include it in the National Highway map and provide six lane wide road. Tirupati and Pondicherry are connected through this Tindivanam route. Hence the road handles many buses and trucks in their inter-State transit. The Union Government may initiate action to provide super highway roads which will give impetus to the development of our area. Thiruvannamalai and Gingee attract a number of tourists and pilgrims. Near the approach to Thiruvannamalai, there is a level crossing which is often closed due to heavy rail traffic. Thousands of cargo and other vehicles pass through this way and hence an overbridge must be constructed there at the earliest. Therefore, Melmaruvathur, an emerging pilgrim centre, needs to have a better wide road linking Thiruvannamalai via Vandavasi and Chetput. In addition to this, the Union Government may direct the Ministry of Railways to lay a new railway line on this route and also another rail route between

Tindivanam and Kanjivaram via Vandavasi. This road and rail infrastructural development in this area will greatly benefit more than four districts like North Arcot, South Arcot, Thiruvannamalai and Chingleput to have economic development.

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(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hoogly) : Sir, there are Members who are yet to speak on the discussion.

MR. SPEAKER : I would like to take the sense of the House. The Chair would like to know whether the House would take up half-an-hour discussion or not.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri N.K. Premachandran.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramula) : I shall speak in very brief, but I will speak. This will lead to breach of discipline, I have come from Srinagar only today.

MR. SPEAKER : Not, now. I shall listen to you later on.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Sir, you may please allow Shri Suresh Kurup to speak for five minutes on the foreign policy of India... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : There is another discussion under Rule 193. He may speak on that discussion.

(Interruptions)

17.47 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193 — *Contd.*

Re: Recent Developments Affecting India's Foreign Policy

[English]

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam) : Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the subject.

It is a sad thing that since 1992, no discussion had taken place in this august House regarding our policy on external affairs. This is all the more serious since all these years showed us a gradual ascendancy of the US restoring as a superpower which in turn needed our patriotic reactions also. So, I am happy that this sort of a discussion is taking place now, even though it is belated. Thus, the chain circumstances warrant the reevaluation of our foreign policy. Some quarters say that since the era of power blocs is over and since it is a unipolar world, we have to reassess our perceptions regarding our foreign policy. It is a very sophisticated and subtle way to say that we should obey the dictates of the US. Sir, is it necessary that our foreign policy perspective should be reassessed which is based on the firm pillar of non-alignment?

I am surprised that a very few hon. Members have mentioned about the Non-Aligned Movement. The Non-Aligned Movement, in which our country played a crucial role was saved during our freedom movement. Everybody knows it. The thrust of the movement was on anti-imperialism and against domination of the newly independent Third World Countries by the imperialist countries. In the new world dominated by the United States of America, the same problems are still dominant and nonalignment has got its relevance more than ever.

For India, 'nonalignment' means asserting its national identity and also arguing for the downtrodden people of the world. The word 'nonalignment' in the recent context is defined by one of our experts on foreign policy. I quote:

"Non-alignment' has got only one meaning. The absence of any permanent relationship of effective subordination with a more powerful country or a group of countries."

I think, this definition is very relevant. It is also relevant to our foreign policy perspective. Now, this Government has not put forward a concrete statement on foreign policy. In 1977, while the hon. Prime Minister took charge as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he made a categorical statement that a time-tested foreign policy will be pursued by the Government. But till now, no such statement has come from any quarter.

The only statements that have come are contradictory statements emanating from certain Ministers which gave wrong signals to the international arena. After the initial euphoria, which this Government created over the Pokharn test, if we look at the balance-sheet, what remains, as already mentioned, is the internationalisation of the Kashmir problem. After 35 long years, this issue has been internationalised and every pressure is exerted upon

our country for accepting a third-party mediatory role. Pakistan is stalling every effort for bilateral discussion because they want to have some third-party intervention on this issue. This is the balance-sheet of the Pokharn test.

I would like to know the position of our Government regarding its relations with China. I am mentioning this because our Prime Minister was one of the most important political functionaries who visited China in 1979, that is, after the War in 1962. After that, the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, visited that country. An era started when a process of normalisation of relations with China was initiated. The whole country welcomed it. The statement by the Minister of Defence that 'China is number one enemy' has reversed the whole process. If you go through the entire diplomatic history of the world, such a statement has never emanated from a leader of any country pinpointing another country saying that it is our number one enemy. Shri K. Natwar Singh has already made it clear.

I would like to know what is our perspective regarding relations with China. What initiative is this Government going to take? After the Pokharn tests, they have sent emissaries all over the world except China. What is the present position regarding this issue?

This House and the people in the country want to know what is actually happening behind the scenes. This Government is going out of way for anything, for pleasing even a junior official of the Clinton Administration. At the same time, they are denying visas to our scientists.

[Translation]

SHRI SHAKUNI CHOUDHARY : Kindly give time to Samata Party also so that I may also reply.

[English]

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam) : They are denying visas to our eminent scientists. They are sending back our scientists who are working there. The country is kept in the dark about the developments regarding the discussions with the representatives of the United States. This Government has not put forward a comprehensive foreign policy perspective. This Government has no right or authority or mandate of the people of this country to change the time-tested foreign policy perspective. If at all they want to change, they should take the country into confidence, which they are not doing. That is all I would like to say.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Saifuddin Soz, please do not take more than two minutes.

[*Translation*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : Mr. Speaker, Sir. I am not interested in making a long speech but at the same time my speech is not going to be concluded in two minutes. It would conclude in two to four minutes.

MR. SPEAKER : You conclude in two minute, instead of two to four minutes.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to make a speech and therefore, I am not speaking in English. I have returned from Srinagar today itself and everything is alright there, but the situation in Delhi is not so well. I would like to say only this. I am sure that none of my Colleagues would have dwelt upon the issues that I am going to mention because

[*English*]

It pinches my body and soul.

[*Translation*]

I was not happy to listen about, what you have dubbed as Kashmir problem. How would you initiate discussion about Kashmir in the House when you have denied me permission to speak about it. I had said in my first speech that when they won the Vote of Confidence, I had great love and respect in my heart for their personality. My complaint is that the Vajpayee Government is not apprising the world about the activities that are being run by Pakistan in Kashmir. I would feel happy if the same is done. It is true that he has sent Shri Jaswant Singh to talk to Shri Talbott. It is fine, I know Shri Jaswant Singh. He is very competent person and has got the confidence of Shri Vajpayeeji. But, why are you not using such a great talent. After all the problem of Kashmir is not the problem of Bharatiya Janata Party or the Congress Party. It is a problem of the whole country, it is a national issue. The talent of this House, the talent of the other House and the talent of the one hundred crore people of the country is at our disposal which is not being utilised. The most important aspect is that the people of Kashmir have rejected terrorism. They want to live a peaceful life. They too want to live their life as on integral part of India like people in other parts of the country. But the present government and I think the previous government also did not highlight this aspect before the world in a proper manner. I am not sure that Shri Vajpayee has tried his best so that the whole world becomes aware of it. Shri Kurup has just mentioned that it is not necessary to make only USA aware of it. It is true that America has got unipolar system. Is the Europe not so important? Is Japan not important? Shri Ahmed was mentioning it just now. You have

kept all the Islamic nations out of it. How do you feel that they are enemy of India. What efforts were made by you? Have you called Shri Banatwla or Shri Ahmed for some help? Therefore, I am not confident that you are doing everything earnestly.

Presently, twenty to thirty thousand persons are staying at Gulmarg during day and night. Pahalgan too is full of people. When I returned from the airport, I thought that the situation in Kashmir is quite normal but while in Delhi, I feel that there is some problem in Kashmir.

[*English*]

This is a paradoxical situation.

[*Translation*]

What sort of paradox has crept in? I do not want to go into its details as to how euphoria has cropped up. Treat Kashmir issue as a national issue and apprise the world about it. Recently two or four friends had arrived from Washington. I happened to meet them during the last two-three days.

18.00 hrs.

I showed them the cassettes as to how thousands of people had participated in my election. They asked me that as to what duties are performed by the Indian Ambassador and why he was not meeting the Editors in Saudi Arabia? Why was he not giving these cassettes to them? I told them that the media here was not showing the true picture of election campaign that was going on at that time in Kashmir. They state that our system have developed defects. Now efforts are being made through Jalandhar. My only grudge is that the media is not being activated. Not only the Doordarshan, but no efforts are even made in this direction Zee T.V. or Star T.V. In this regard I am not happy with Shri Advaniji's approach. This is my fifth term in this House and by now I have attained a little seniority. Even if I had come for the first time, it would have been incumbent upon him and George Saheb to call both of us as they are the Home Minister and the Defence Minister. Our third colleague is out of station for a few days. Bombs are exploding at Kargil, Uri and Karna. Had it not been proper on the part of Shri Advaniji to call us and ask as to what was going on there? We had decided that we would somehow catch hold of Shri Advaniji and Shri George Saheb to ask as to why they were not expressing their grief? Why do not they ask as to how it can be stopped?

[*English*]

Sir, this is crux of the situation. Pakistan has become nervous because of the normalcy that is

prevailing in Kashmir and the Government is failing to show to the world the kind of normalcy that has returned to Kashmir. How Kashmiris have rejected terrorism of all sorts? How they want to live for peace and progress.

[Translation]

Please tell me as to how you will be using this talent?

[English]

I do not grudge Shri Jaswant Singh talking all the time to Mr. Talbot but the rest of the world is also important because America will ultimately rise to the occasion and show the responsibility. Nothing is happening in dialogue with Muslim countries, Europe, China and Japan.

[Translation]

I want to say one thing more. Shri Advaniji might tell about Doda People are being killed there. My information is that mass killing has occurred in Jammu. Today the Muslims in Kashmir are not passive spectators. These wounds are going deep down into their hearts. When the Prime Minister gives his reply, he should tell us as to how this government is going to inform the world that there is peace and normalcy in Kashmir and the people of Kashmir want to live in happiness and peace by remaining a part of India.

18.03 hrs.

HALF AN HOUR DISCUSSION

Re: Leila Seth Commission

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up Half-an-Hour Discussion.

Shri N.K. Premchandran.

SHRI N.K. PREMCHANDRAN (Quilon) : Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to have a discussion on the Leila Seth Commission.

Sir, in regard to the answer given by the hon. Home Minister to the Starred Question No. 492, dated 21.7.98, I would like to seek certain clarifications. Before coming to the points of clarifications, I would like to narrate a brief history of the case.

Sir, this is a case which involves very important human rights issues as well as some legal issues also. The death of Shri Rajan Pillai in the year 1995

created so many doubts and suspicions in the minds of people all over the country. Article 21 of the Constitution of India, I think, provides for the best precious right to the citizens of this country. No person shall be deprived of his right to life and personal liberty except in accordance with the procedure established by law.

In the case of Shri Rajan Pillai, his life and personal liberty were not protected because of that he died. He died due to lack of proper treatment in Tihar Central Jail when he was in the judicial custody. It is an admitted fact that his death is due to lack of proper treatment. It is the duty of the concerned Government authorities to provide proper medical treatment. He was a prominent business man. He was suffering from chronic liver cirrhosis, hypertension and blood vomiting and he was found guilty by the court of Singapore. Since he was found guilty by the court of Singapore, he came to India to seek justice from the Indian judicial system.

18.05 hrs.

[SHRI RAGHUVANSH PRASAD SINGH *in the Chair*]

At the same time, the Government of Singapore had sought Shri Rajan Pillai by way of extradition. The Government of India had constituted an Extradition Magistrate Court and the Court was constituted on 1st July, 1995.

On 1st July itself, the designated Extradition Magistrate had issued a non-bailable warrant against him and he was arrested on 4th July, 1995 at 0.15 a.m. He was brought to the court at 10 a.m. on 4th July 1995. He had moved a bail application. Along with the bail application, he had also moved an application seeking proper medical treatment in some super speciality hospital since he was ailing with livercirrhosis and other diseases. He had submitted so many medical records and the medical records from Escorts Hospital and a hospital from Singapore also had been produced. But the learned court had rejected the bail application as well as the application for medical treatment.

The thing is that he was remanded to the Tihar Central Jail. On 5th and 6th also, he was brought to the court. Again, he had pleaded for better treatment but it was denied. What happened was that on 7th we heard the shocking news that he had died due to lack of proper medical treatment. That is by 7th night by 8.20 a.m.

On 27th July 1995, the Delhi Government had appointed a Commission, i.e. Leila Seth Commission under Section 3 of the Inquiry Commissions Act, 1952. I would like to stress upon the main terms of

[Shri N.K. Premchandran]

reference of Commission which is to ascertain the circumstances and sequence of events leading to the death of Shri Rajan Pillai.

The Commission had submitted its report. The specific finding of the Commission is that he had died due to lack of medical treatment. He was not given adequate and proper medical treatment inside Tihar Central Jail. But the Commission has not gone into the factum of conspiracy.

There are sufficient evidence to believe that there is some deliberate attempt at some corners not to give proper medical treatment because of the following reasons.

1. On 4th July, when he was produced before the Magistrate - it is the finding of the Commission—and when he was remanded, along with the remand order, the learned Magistrate had also given a confidential urgent letter directing the Resident Medical Officer of Tihar Central Jail to have a medical examination of the particular prisoner and that the physical condition of the prisoner had to be reported on 5th July at 2 p.m. This confidential letter is also sent along with the remand order. But it is quite unfortunate to note that this letter as well as the medical records did not reach the hands of RMO. But the Assistant Jail Superintendent of the Tihar Central Jail hand received those letters. The letter seeking medical examination as well as the medical records were received by the Assistant Jail Superintendent. It is the finding of the Commission but the Commission did not say anything about what prevented from giving the letters to the RMO and who is behind it, how it happened. That has not gone into. There is reasonable suspicion.

2. When the bail application as well as the medical treatment application had been prayed before the court, the Central Bureau of Investigation, the agency of investigation was vehemently opposing the application. It is very pertinent to note that the CBI was well aware that the physical condition of Shri Rajan Pillai was deteriorating day by day. He was produced on 5th, 6th July and all these days. Even though the RMO certificate was with the CBI - that finding is also there in Para 39, Page 170, I am not going to quote that - they did not disclose the fact before the court and they had opposed it.

3. When a prisoner is brought to the Jail, there is a rule that he should be subjected to *Mulahiza*, Registered Medical Treatment and a *Mulahiza* register is also kept.

His physical condition has to be inspected and the same is to be registered in the *Mulahiza* Register. He was brought to the jail on the 4th and it was not

registered. It was not done. It was not done on the 5th. It was not done on the 6th. According to the Commission's findings, as per the Register, it was done on 7th morning at 10.00 a.m. So, there is a reasonable suspicion that it was after the death of Shri Rajan Pillai, it was being recorded in the Register. Similarly, as per the Commission's findings, there are so many circumstances which drive us to think that there is a reasonable apprehension that there is some conspiracy behind the death of the said prisoner. The Commission's finding is there regarding the conspiracy. So, since the Leila Seth Commission has not gone into the aspect of conspiracy, the wife of the said prisoner has prayed for to have an investigation upon the conspiracy angle. What the Commission said was that the wife of Shri Rajan Pillai did not adduce proper evidence. As per the Commission of Inquiry Act, under Section 5A, this Commission is having every right to go into the factum of conspiracy and to appoint any other agency also. Furthermore, it is the Delhi State Government which has appointed this Commission of Inquiry. This is a matter in which the CBI is involved. This is a matter in which extradition subject is also involved. These two subjects are listed as Item Nos. 8 and 18 in the Seventh Schedule, List-1. So, I would urge upon the Government of India, especially, the hon. Home Minister to have an inquiry or to take further action on the basis of the report and also to have an inquiry regarding the factum of conspiracy. Who prevented? What is the reason? The ATR is also there. There is a specific observation against the CBI also, about which I have already mentioned. But no action has been taken against the CBI also. Only a disciplinary action has been taken against two doctors. Nothing has been done even against the Jail Superintendent. So, we are fully stressing upon this matter from the point of view of human rights issue. This is not a question of a person. A person who was having the fundamental right to have medical care was being denied and that was to be inquired into by the Commission, but the Commission did not go into the factum of conspiracy which was being alleged before the Court. Hence, I urge upon the Government of India, considering the human rights aspect, to concede to this request. We have no other go, because I belong to a constituency from where he came. His father is laid up after that incident. He has not woken up so far. This has to be considered very sympathetically. Even his wife had fought against me in the last Parliamentary elections. So, I would like to suggest that since the Leila Seth Commission has some gaps regarding the conspiracy aspect, it has to be inquired into, and appropriate action has to be taken. I would like to have a very favourable clarification from the hon. Minister in this respect.

In the State Legislative Assembly also, after the Commission's report, this matter was discussed. The hon. Chief Minister, Shri E.K. Nayanar has requested the Government of India to have a re-inquiry into this matter. So, this matter had been discussed by the State Legislative Assembly also.

With these requests, I conclude my speech.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Respected Chairman, Sir, I thank you for calling me. I will not take much of your time. I am sure that my friend, Shri Premchandran must have explained the reason why we have requested for this Half-an-Hour Discussion. There was a Commission of Inquiry constituted by the Delhi Government. That has submitted its report. Our submission is that the report of the Commission does not cover the conspiracy aspect of the murder of Shri Rajan Pillai. I will only ask certain questions. The hon. Home Minister is here. Kindly enlighten us on certain points. Shri Rajan Pillai was arrested by the CBI. I would say that he was arrested by the CBI in an ugly haste. He came from Singapore hoping that his country would give him justice.

He did not get justice in a foreign country. He came here hoping that he would get justice. But the moment he landed here, he was arrested. All right, that was up to the CBI to arrest if there is sufficient justification. I do not know; it is all right. But the question is he was brought to the Tihar Jail. There he complained of sickness, liver cirrhosis. Not only that he complained but medical certificate was also shown. Not only that; he mentioned the hospital treatment he had in Singapore. He was suffering from a serious illness.

It is a most unfortunate thing that the jail doctors did not give him proper treatment. In his bail application before the court of law he produced all the records of his treatment including the medical certificate. The court did not allow him to be taken to a hospital where specialised treatment for his disease was available. Not only that, The hon. court mocked at him for his luxurious living. He was the Chairman of a big multinational company, Britannia. An Indian became the Chairman of the multinational company. He became the Chairman of his own hard work.

He may be staying in a five-star hotel. Yes, But that is no reason to deny him adequate medical treatment. The hon. court mocked at him for his lifestyle and commented that he was a luxurious patient. We cannot discriminate between a luxurious patient, a rich patient or a poor patient. Everybody has to be given proper treatment. And what I read in the newspapers is that he was not taken to a specialised hospital for his disease which was

nothing less than liver cirrhosis. Furthermore, the CBI objected to giving him this treatment.

I gave a notice to discuss this question. Rajan Pillai is no more. His parents and family are still in agony. But this should not happen to any citizen of this country. I am not an advocate. Legal luminaries like Shri Somnath Chatterjee are sitting in this House. Many other advocates are there. I am surprised to see that when a person in custody in jail complains of an ailment, when he says that he is sick, is it for the judiciary to decide whether he is sick or not? Is it for the judiciary to decide? If some judge commits a mistake, I do not know whether we can correct it. Here I see a very big lapse in our system. This system has to be corrected.

I have other examples also. Because Rajan Pillai was an important man and a former Chairman of a multinational company everybody knew about him. How many of the poor in this country are suffering in the jails and dying because we do not give them proper medical treatment? That is my complaint. Through this case, I am bringing this important thing to the notice of the House that our system should be corrected by removing this important lapse and lacuna.

With regard to Rajan Pillai's case, I have had an occasion to glance through the inquiry report. I find that the conspiracy aspect - there is a conspiracy - first of all the jail doctor's callous and indifferent attitude, the CBI showing haste in arresting him, the CBI objecting to provide him medical treatment, the courts commenting adversely and not giving him proper treatment, all this points towards some kind of a conspiracy. I do not know whether there is a conspiracy. But we doubt, not only we but everyone who knows Rajan Pillai, all Keralites, not only Keralites but many others doubt that there is some conspiracy because there was business rivalry.

He was the Chairman of a multinational company. There was some other company also. So, there was business competition and Rajan Pillai had become the victim of the business rivalry which is so prevalent in the multinational business concerns. This is our concern.

In our country, our system, our CBI, our Judiciary, our doctors, all are instrumental to implement this bigger conspiracy. So, my submission to the hon. Home Minister, through you, Sir, is that please get it examined whether there was a conspiracy angle with regard to the death of Rajan Pillai. If it is so, then those people should be brought to book. This is our submission.

My second submission is that kindly go through our Criminal Procedure Code and all those

[Prof. P.J. Kurien]

formalities and see that our citizens who are suffering in jails, whether accused or convicted or whatever it may be, should be given medical treatment if they are complaining ailment.

There are my two submissions and I hope the hon. Home Minister will respond to these.

[Translation]

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR (Chail) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have allowed me to speak on the issues arising out of the Hon'ble Home Minister's reply to starred question no. 492 dated 21.07.98 regarding Leela Seth Commission.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are not allowed to speak but to ask questions, if any.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : I don't want to go into details.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All have spoken.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : I join the discussion started by the Hon'ble member Shri N.K. Premchandran and Prof. Kurien and want to say that the biggest question today is related to human rights. You see that a big question is put before the arrangements of health and security of the inmates of jails. This is very critical.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you might have read in the newspapers as to how the cellular phones and arms are reaching to the big prisoners. Those objectionable things are reaching there. This is a very big question mark on internal security of the country. The second thing is about the Lucknow jail.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Don't connect it to the Lucknow jail. Please take your seat.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : The question is connected with it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is half-an-hour Discussion. This question is not connected with it. You please take your seat. All the issues from the whole country cannot be covered here.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : On the other hand, a youngman...(Interruptions) has succumbed to the merciless beating of police.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now you are talking about Allahabad.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the youngman had died in the jail. He was taken to the hospital. Hon'ble Home Minister should pay attention towards the biggest question of security and police. This question is directly concerned with

human rights. Killings are taking place...(Interruptions) on the pretext of fake encounters in Allahabad.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Allahabad issue has not been included in this debate.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : I am not taking the name of Allahabad because the murder has taken place in the name of fake encounter, so the question is directly connected to human rights. Through you, I want to request the Hon'ble Home Minister to pay some attention atleast to the incidents which are taking place now-a-days. Take some concrete measures in this regard and control the police and jail.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have nothing to do with this subject.

SHRI SHAILENDRA KUMAR : Mr. Chairman, Sir, person kept under the CBI custody are often killed.

SHRI LALU PRASAD (Madhepura) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the case of CBI should be investigated by the CBI itself.

[English]

SHRI P.C. CHACKO (Idukki) : Sir, an unparalleled tragedy, which was very shocking, especially for the people of Kerala, has been explained here very effectively in detail by Shri Premachandran. I am here only to ask one question. About certain things which are said here, even though I do not agree to those, I am not going to deal with them. I do not know the biscuit baron Rajan Pillai or the business tycoon Rajan Pillai.

I know Shri Rajan Pillai who was a student of Quilon S.N. College. He was a contemporary in student movement with us. He was a person who by his sheer hard work rose to the level of the Chairman of a multinational company. I do not know whether there was any crime registered against him in some other country or not or what legal proceedings were there against him, but the law in this country says that even a proclaimed offender should not be denied the medical treatment. Here is a case, as said by Prof. Kurien, where the District Magistrate had specifically directed the jail authorities that this man was under a particular medication and should be taken to the doctor, he should be given medical examination and medicines. After arresting him on the 4th, when he was taken to the court after 24 hours, the poor man was on the brink of death. He was trying to convince the Magistrate saying that his arms and legs were swelled and he was not given the medicines. The cruelty was that the Magistrate made a comment which I cannot quote here, but the fact is that medical treatment was not given and

medicines were denied to the man who was on the brink of death due to his chronic problems.

The question which I want to place here before the hon. Home Minister is that there are many innocent people languishing in the Indian jails. People are being arrested for nothing, no charge-sheet is filed, and no trial is conducted. For years together, people are languishing in the jails. Here is a cases which is nothing else but a cold blooded murder. The jail authorities wanted to extract money thinking that he was a Chairman of a multinational companies and was a moneyed man. So, the cruelty of the jail authorities killed this man.

The Leila Seth Commission was appointed by Shri Madan Lal Khurana when he was the Chief Minister of Delhi. Sir, I am asking the hon. House, the Chair and the hon. Home Minister about this human angle. What is the next step in this matter? Shri Khurana had done the right thing by appointing Leila Seth Commission. Leila Seth Commission went into the matter, came out with the Report and has said very clearly that this man was denied the medical treatment and the responsibility of his killing or his death was on the jail authorities also. This Report is there in black and white.

Here, Shri N.K. Premchandran has said that there were a lot of other things also. In spite of the specific suggestions from the Magistrate, his health records were concealed and attention was not given to him. If you go through the narration of Shri Premchandran, it very clearly says that there was a conspiracy also. Law in this country is for the people. The Report is of the Commission, which was appointed by the Delhi Government. I know the limitations. The Home Minister is here. This is a typical case. This man was killed or murdered, but, as Prof. Kurien has said, such things should not happen in this country in future. That is all what we can wish for. I do not know whether it is possible under the same Commission of Inquiries Act, but I think that it is very much legally possible that the Home Ministry make a further inquiry into the matter. The conspiracy angle was not then gone into. The Report of the Commission is very clear. It has implicated the jail authorities. It is almost clear that it was a cold blooded murder.

Apart from whatever charges were there against him, justice was denied to him. A person was beaten to death in Tihar Jail. It happened directly under the nose of the jail authorities and the Government. So, I would tell the hon. Home Minister that this is the feeling not only of the people of Kerala but the whole justice-loving citizens. So, the hon. Home Minister may kindly assure us that the Government of India will take the maximum possible steps in this matter so that people who are aggrieved - there are a large number of people who are still living with

pain - at least, their agony can be lessened to an extent by the prompt action of the Government of India. So, a further inquiry in the matter and action, according to the present Inquiry Report as well as the inquiry which the Government of India can initiate, may kindly be taken, and the grievances and agony of the people can be redressed. This is my request.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : Mr. Chairman, this is a matter about which, I think, when generally people - whether they knew Shri Rajan Pillai from close quarters or who had only heard about him - came to know about the manner in which he died, everyone felt unhappy about what had happened. A person is ill and if he dies in custody, it is really a custodial death. In fact, custodial death has not been referred or defined merely by saying 'when a person dies in police custody'. Even when he dies in the custody which is judicial custody, it is a custodial death.

So, this case of custodial death also caused anxiety and unhappiness throughout. As was just now mentioned, Shri Khurana was the Chief Minister of Delhi at that time and he promptly appointed a Commission under the Commission of Inquiry Act. Justice Leila Seth is a very reputed judge.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : ...*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) :*

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Sir, I wish this comment should not be there, because this is not correct...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't comment while sitting.

[English]

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : So, when the Commission gave its Report, there have been questions put to me in this regard, even in this Session in which I have always said that the Delhi Government has accepted the Commission's Report and taken all necessary steps in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission, whether in respect of the inadequacy of medical attention or irresponsibility of any doctors who have been responsible or systemic changes in the whole structure, so that a thing like this does not happen in future.

Today's Half-an-hour Discussion has been principally focussed on the conspiracy angle, because there has been a suspicion, there has been an allegation that it was not just a criminal

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri L.K. Advani]

negligence on the part of the jail authorities or of the medical authorities that this took place, but it was deliberate design to kill Shri Rajan Pillai and it was a conspiracy. Shri Premchandran said that the conspiracy angle was not there in the terms of reference and, therefore, it could not be probed. I had tried to probe it and I find that even though it was not there, an advertisement was given on the part of the Commission that if anyone knows that there is a conspiracy, please report to us. The wife of Shri Rajan Pillai was asked to furnish evidence, if any. She said that she would, but later on she said that it was not possible for her to name any conspirator. It is as a result of this that the Commission did not take the plea that this term of reference was not within its purview. But it said that it had no evidence to prove a conspiracy. So, it did not close the issue on the question of conspiracy on the ground that it was not within the terms of reference. They said that they had no evidence and even today, I would think that if anyone were to ask me, I would say that no evidence has been forthcoming on the basis of which a conspiracy can be alleged that it was a deliberate design to kill him, because he was at such a high place or he was such an outstanding person who had become the Chairman of a multinational company.

But, on the question of his death, this is what Justice Leila Seth Commission says :

"There is no doubt that Mr. Rajan Pillai was a sick man, having a chronic disease like cirrhosis of the liver. He had two life threatening episodes in 1992 and 10 sclera therapies till March, 1995. As to how many years he would have survived is a moot point, specially as he continued to drink. But he certainly was entitled to proper medical treatment and it was the duty of the State to have ensured that it was made available since he was in custody. Unfortunately, both Dr. Venkatasubbaiah and Dr. Hira Lal, the two doctors in Central Jail, Tihar, New Delhi, who examined him, were casual and careless in the performance of their professional duty as outlined earlier. Their negligence eventually resulted in giving him hardly any chance of survival."

I do not think that any Commission can be more denunciatory of the medical treatment given to him than this, and it is in pursuance of this that action had been taken against one or, perhaps, both. But what is more important is that today, I had just been told, that the whole systemic changes have come about in so far as giving medical treatment to prisoners is concerned.

A very large number of doctors had been appointed in the Tihar Jail which was many times more than what were there before this tragedy took place. There is 24-hour attendance. I do not want to go into the details of the arrangements that have been made. In fact, at that time, there were 16 doctors and nine paramedics. Today, there are 75 doctors and 125 paramedics...*(Interruptions)* He was there about one and a half to two years back. The number of prisoners certainly goes on increasing but not to this extent.

There is a chapter in the report on initial medical treatment which says that there was a failure to have initial medical examination of Shri Rajan Pillai. The initial medical examination has now been made imperative for all prisoners on admission. Apart from that, system of Senior Medical Officer OPD, all medicines to all prisoners, etc. all these systemic changes have come about. It is this tragedy that has egged on and goaded the Delhi Government to take all these steps. However, in view of the slight apprehensions that have been expressed by several hon. Members, I would also like to personally assure myself that all that was necessary had been done. Therefore, I would like to have a discussion on this matter with the Delhi Government and find out further whether there is any particular aspect in so far as the treatment of Rajan Pillai is concerned, that may not have been touched by the Leila Seth Commission Report. I would certainly like to find out and see what can be done about it.

Normally, it is not possible for me to go over a Commission. So far as the Commission's work is concerned, it has ended. The Delhi Government has accepted its report. But I am aware that this particular episode has caused concern in several quarters. Many MPs personally approached me and I said that informally whatever can be done without, in any way, violating the established conventions and the law I would certainly do.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Half an hour discussion come to end. Now discussion starts under rule 193.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Sir, it is 6.43 p.m. How long will this House continue? Let us know this. If we discuss such an important matter at this time, it will really amount to scuttling this discussion. There are so many speakers who want to speak. I do not intend to disturb the proceedings of the House...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Generally there is discussion for two hours.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : I have been listening to the discussion that has been going on about how do we schedule our programme. I could see that several Members were very particular to see that the issue of Deportation of Bangladeshis from Maharashtra be taken up. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan has been keen to see that the Discussion on SCs and STs also takes place in a proper manner and it is not disposed of lightly. At the same time, Prof. Kurien says that instead of starting the Discussion on Jain Commission Report at 11 o'clock, we decided to start it at 2 o'clock. At that point of time even though Shri Madan Lal Khurana kept on pointing out that there will be certain Bills like MPs Salaries and Allowances Bill which are to be disposed of my suggestion is that if Prof. Kurien and Shri Ram Vilas Paswan agree on either of these two discussions under Rule 193, namely, Discussions SCs and STs, and deportation can be taken up in the following way.

We could have one of them tomorrow immediately after the Prime Minister's reply and another one day after tomorrow at 11 o'clock. This is how I would suggest. But that would be a slight contraction of the time available for discussing the Jain Commission's Report. Therefore, I have addressed this question or suggestion to Prof. Kurien, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan and Shri Somnath Chatterjee.

[Translation]

Ramvilas ji, whether it would be alright if your subject is taken up tomorrow?

SHRI RAMVILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : Tomorrow my topic may be taken up and day after tomorrow his topic.

[English]

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Sir, tomorrow, we will take up the discussion regarding deportation under Rule 193, and day after tomorrow, we will take up the other one.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Frankly speaking, both are important for me.

[Translation]

SHRI RAMVILAS PASWAN : I am asking you to take up serial wise. The issue of deportation has

been deferred till Durga Pooja. That's why I would like to say that if discussion continues on it, that would be taken up tomorrow. But the issue of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes was already on priority list. Such signal should not let go that we are not taking up that matter seriously. That's why I had said to take up that matter next day and the issue related to Maharashtra be taken up day after the following day at 11 o'clock. What's problem therein?

[English]

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am really pained to hear the suggestion that the discussion on the Jain Commission's Report, which deals with the tragic assassination of our leader, late Rajiv Gandhi, can be postponed.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : No, in the other House, the discussion is already on.

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing was said about postponement. His suggestion is that the issue of deportation should be taken up day after tomorrow.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA : That should not be taken up day after tomorrow but tomorrow only and the issue related to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should also be taken up tomorrow.

[English]

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Shri Acharia, let me complete. Please do not try to dictate like this. I am not going to reveal what had happened in the B.A.C., but when the leaders of all the parties who attended the B.A.C. meeting agreed, the number of sittings of the House was extended in order to facilitate a discussion for two days. The decision was to allot two full days for the discussion on the Jain Commission's Report... (Interruptions) Please do not be impatient. Then, instead of two days, it was decided that it would be reduced to one-and-a-half days. If the present proposal is accepted, then it means only one day will be available for the discussion because we would be taking it up in the afternoon on these two days. That is why, I beg to differ. I would suggest that it should be started tomorrow at 2 p.m., and we cannot compromise with it. On the 5th, we should have a full day discussion. Within this time, you can complete the business in regard to the other two items. I have no objection if you take up any one of these two subjects first. I know that both subjects are very important.

18.43 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Deportation of Certain People by Maharashtra Government

[Translation]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Under Rule 193 debate starts. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee will start the debate.

[English]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : Hon. Chairman, Sir, my name is first in the list, but my brother Hannan Mollah has requested that he may be given the first chance to speak. I have agreed to that. His name is also there in the list. So, kindly call him first, and I will speak later.

[Translation]

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you as well as Geetaji, because she gave me the opportunity to start this topic. I would like to say with heavy heart that the problem of Bengali speaking people is not a new one which is being raised here. I have been shouting alone in this House for the last 7-8 years...*(Interruptions)* At a time someone has joined me but not always. You had also done, everybody has done in this House. But today this question has reached such a stage that it has become necessary to make a unanimous opinion about it in the Parliament.

Firstly I would like to clear one thing that efforts constantly are being made to confuse between Bangladeshi and Bengla-speaking people from an interested quarter. This is common sense that English people and English speaking person is not the same. But just like this Bengla-Speaking people and citizen of Bangladesh can't be the same. But we see a constant confusion between Bengla - speaking and citizen of Bangladesh. I would like to make one thing clear on behalf of my party that our people never sought brief of Bangladeshi people. We are clear on this point that who is foreigner in India either legally or forcibly has no right to stay.

This is due to laxity and failure of the Government that it is not able to arrest the culprits. The role of police is also not satisfactory either. Whenever some scuffle takes place, the real culprits escape and the police take innocent people into custody. Such is our administration and police.* The same is the situation of our Government and they can not nab the real culprits.

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Mumbai South Central) : This word is unparliamentary.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : I withdraw the unparliamentary word. Today the Administration as well as the police do not arrest the real culprits and they arrest the innocent people. I must say that the Bengla - speaking people have been the victims of this convention of our administration. Firstly, I would like to make it clear that it is the duty of our Government to identify, select, scrutinise and initiate the prosecution against the foreigner. The Government is unable to fulfil its responsibility and the poor people can not shoulder the burden. Secondly, in our country the methods of the British period are being adopted to identify the culprits and this is a law of war time. This law is slightly imperialist. According to this law whosoever is arrested, it is the responsibility of the person concerned to prove himself innocent. This responsibility should be undertaken by the administration. How the poor people will prove themselves innocent? How many persons sitting here have their birth certificates? Even 90 per cent people do not have these birth certificates. Two or four persons may have birth certificates. Nobody knows about birth certificates. Thus, this law needs to be amended.

Thirdly if we have to deport any foreigner in human way. After all the foreigner is also a human being not an animal. We should not handcuff the foreigner. It is against our civilization and culture. We should deport him properly. As we had already done in the case of Chakmas and after the negotiations with the Ministry of External Affairs his case was transferred. So I may suggest that this is the proper way of deport.

Nobody should confuse this matter by criticizing it that this matter pertains to foreigners. We shall decide the proper way of deporting the foreigners. This Act needs to be amended and we should deport the foreigner properly in consultation with the Ministry of External Affairs. My concept is absolutely clear and nobody can say that I have briefed for Bangladeshi nationals. We have read in the newspapers that there are 20 lakhs Nepalese, few lakhs Bangladesh nationals and Tamils from Sri Lanka who have come here as refugees.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : Refugees from Pakistan have also come.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : Yes, there are some refugees from Pakistan. It is the duty of the Department concerned to identify these refugees. The people from the poor country usually migrate to developing countries for better job opportunities. We

use these people as labourers. We behave with them inhuman way. I would like to suggest that these people should be got registered and given work permits so that they may work here and return to their home. There should be no pressure on them...*(Interruptions)* A good number of people from India also go to Arab countries for seeking jobs. We need the services of these refugees.

I would like to say something more in this context. Recently an incident took place in Maharashtra. There is a lot of confusion between the refugees of Bangladesh and the Bangla - speaking people. A number of people from my constituency and its adjoining areas have gone there for employment. Out of them 80-90 per cent are Muslims. These people work there in Saree weaving or ornaments making or diamonds polishing industries. These people have been doing this work since their childhood. They have expertise in their fields and such expertise in this field are not available from other states. If we have to make progress in these industries, we have to protect these people. Today these people are attacked. The people of my constituency speak Bangla and these people come from different parts of West Bengal in search of jobs. Some people come from Bihar and other parts of the country. These people live in the group of 10-12 people in the rented room. When they pass from V.T. Station while speaking in Bangla, the police promptly arrest them. Even otherwise police is not loyal to anyone. Police takes them to the police station and demands upto Rs. two or five thousand for releasing them. Those who pay are released and the rest are put behind the bars for five to seven days. Then they are asked to prove that they are Indians. They are illiterate, their parents are also illiterate, they cannot provide all the papers very soon. On this the police commits atrocities on them, they don't get food and in the end they are deported. On 22nd - 23rd and 24th of July some such people from Maharashtra were taken by Kurla express in three-four batches to Bangladesh via West Bengal. I had raised this issue on the 17th and also on the 23rd. On 22nd I met Advaniji also. I met the Shiv Sena MP, Mohan Rawale ji also and told him that those people were from my village only, I knew them by face, they were being victimized, I asked him to save them. But nothing happened. They were conducted to the train. When this was published in the Bangla newspaper, fifteen to twenty thousand people of our district and village came over to the station and surrounded the train. Surrounding the train they saw that all of them were tied up with chains inside a compartment. They shouted. Fourteen constables of the Maharashtra Police were also there. When the police saw that large crowd they undid the chains with which they were tied. One of our MLAs was also there. Seeing such a large crowd everybody thinks if they would not set ablaze the train,

accordingly the situation is to be controlled. Do you know how the police deports them? They are taken to the border and then pushed to the other side. Bangladesh says that they do not belong to it, but they are forced to go to that side. In that situation the Bangladesh Rifles would either kill them by bullets or put them in the jails. They would have to spend their lifetime in the jails and nobody would ever know it. What an inhuman condition? It is an atrocity on the Bangla-speaking people. I want to bring this type of a situation to the notice of the House so that this problem be solved.

Police takes these people in Mumbai as Bangladeshis, whereas they have the zerox copy of ration-card or a certificate from the MLA. I have also issued five thousand certificates. Two to three hundred certificates are taken daily by the people of our village. Even if they go to have tea or meals in a hotel in Mumbai, they have to carry the certificate in the pocket. If they speak Bangla, police would catch them. After catching them their certificates are torn.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They should learn Hindi...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : They speak Hindi also. They surely have some or the other kind of proof, either they have the photo-copy of ration card or the voter's photo identity card but even then if they speak Bangla, the police catches them. They have the copy of an executive order. They are deporting as per that executive order only. I want to bring this situation to the notice of the House. Such incidents have taken place a few times in Delhi, Jaipur and Ajmer also. When the matter is raised in this House, all of it stops but then starts again. The work done by Maharashtra Government shows that this Government has to work with some alertness. It is proper that the Governments duty is to catch the foreigners, identify or deport them or bring them before the civil court but in its guise atrocities be not done to the Bangladeshis, this only is my request to this House. It is also against section 15 A of the Constitution which says: 'On the grounds of place of birth and religion', one is to stay where one is born. It is our fundamental right. But they are caught on the basis of religion and place of birth, this is my allegation, and it is not a good thing. It is against article 15 A of the Constitution. It is also against article 14 of the Constitution because they are not being dealt with on an equal footing, this is my second allegation.

19.00 hrs.

[English]

Thirdly, article 19 (1) (d) provides the right to move freely throughout the territory of India.

[Translation]

It means that any person can move freely throughout the territory of India. Fourthly, article 19 (1) (e) provides the right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India.

[Translation]

Any person can reside or settle anywhere in India. Fifthly, article 19 (1) (g) provides the freedom to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

[Translation]

In our country i.e., India every citizen has the right to trade freely. But this right also is being attacked. Sixth, in the article 21 of the constitution there is right to personal liberty. This also is being undone. This way, six articles of the Constitution are being opposed. Its victims are our Bengali speaking people. The responsibility of protecting them is on the Central Government. I will appeal to the Central Government that it should be examined properly and they should be saved.

I would like to say one thing more. The Maharashtra Police is unable to get hold of these people properly. There are two types of people in Bengal - those, who live in West Bengal and the other, who have come after partition from Bangladesh in 1947. It is known by their language that they have come from Bangladesh. People living in West Bengal are the "Ghotis" and they who have come from there are called 'Bengal'. Anybody can understand this. Manoranjan Bhakta is "Bengal" and we are "Ghotis". We have an identity. The people of Bengal are the supporters of Bengal Club and the "Ghotis" are the supporters of Mohan Begans Club. The people of that place speak a different language and the people who live here speak a different language. One sentence makes it clear who the person is and from where he has come. But Maharashtra Police does not pay attention to it and do not understand the language. Whoever speaks Bangla language, the police get hold of him. This, too, is a problem. The citizens can be protected from these attacks after proper consideration upon it.

Now I would like to speak about the letter written by the Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra to the Home Minister of West Bengal. In the letter he has written.

[English]

"Thirty-four of such deportees duly permitted by the court and with proper Deportation Order were sent by Kurla-Howrah Express on the 21st July, 1998."

[Translation]

I do not agree to it, because it is the order of DSP. We object to it. According to me, the 38 people out of those who have been arrested, are in Midnapur-Khadagpur jail. Among them 13 are Bangladeshi, four Bihari Indians and others are Bengali-speaking from West Bengal. In this way, in all these three groups, 5-10 percent are Bangladeshi and the rest are Bengali-speaking. Therefore I want to challenge the feeling which the people are trying to generate. I am a member of this House. I have been elected six times. I want to challenge that 70-80% people are Bengali-speaking among the people who have deported this time. Some of them are Bangladeshi. If it is not proved, I am ready to resign from my membership. Whosoever is trying to slander me, is he ready to resign from his membership?

In our country, benefit-of-doubt is given in 99 per cent cases under Criminal Procedure Code. The Bengali-speaking people of our country are being disgraced by calling them Bangladeshi. It is my challenge that they should resign if they do not have any proof. We are presenting this issue with pain and sorrow. When I will reach, my home, thousands of boys will ask that what the MPs of that place did for them? They all have the same problem. I agree to the contents of the letter the Home Minister of West Bengal has written to the Minister of Maharashtra. It is said in the letter -

[English]

"A group of people are sent to these States accompanied by the Maharashtra police personnel to be deported to Bangladesh. They were considered to be foreigners. But we have come to know that a number of so-called foreigners are, in fact, citizens of India and live in rural districts of West Bengal."

[Translation]

Buddhdev Bhattacharyaji has given in writing to the Home Minister. The Home Minister of West Bengal has written this letter to the Home Minister of Maharashtra. I agree to it because majority of these Bengali-speaking people are the people who live in our West Bengal. My version that right persons went to the court has been proved right. Two men went once and six men went another time and they had been arrested. We are happy that the people of our district came to their rescue. Had they not been rescued probably would have gone to Bangladesh. They were dying in the jails of Bangladesh. But they were saved. These people went to the court. I would like to say that these people would not flee from the country. We were born in this country, we will die in

this country. We will not run out of this country. We will live here and not leave this country. We will never do this. Protection of the citizen of our country is our responsibility. So, whoever went to Calcutta High Court, Calcutta High Court gave stay after seeing it prima facie. When this case is finalised, it will be known with all the proofs that who is Bengali and who is Bangladeshi and then everything will be seen in its true perspective. Then it will be proved before the world who is wrong—we or other people who are disgracing us, who love Bangladeshis and speaking in favour of them. This picture will be clear before the world. Therefore, we shall continue waiting for the ruling of the court. Our prayer in the court is

[English]

Indian citizens by birth have a Constitutional right to reside anywhere.

[Translation]

This is the ground, for which we moved to the High Court. Another ground is that artisans of West Bengal have a right to settle and run their business in any part of the country. And they are also doing work. Thirdly, no enquiry was made in respect of the addresses mentioned therein. They were asked to declare their assets, if any. At least, they should have verified their addresses to ascertain as to whether those were fake or correct and accordingly informed the Government of West Bengal. If they had verified these addresses and reported correctly in that respect, such a situation would not have arisen and people would not have suffered. We, therefore, hold that the action taken by this Government is bad and illegal, hence, we speak against it. I would like that Government should take note of this. All deportation cases should be probed thoroughly. The people are scared lest the citizens living in our country be attacked. Yesterday, I got a letter. There is a boy who belongs to my village and runs a Zari factory. He told me that nearly 500 boys from Vardala have been picked-up. Be it Vardala, Satara or any other place, wherever they are doing Zari work and they live together. The population there also have a major chunk of Bengalis. There is a railway near it. There is also a colony there. I have got a letter from these also. It has been mentioned in the letter that more than 500 boys have been picked-up from Vardala.

I request the hon'ble Home Minister to kindly intervene in the matter. You have written in four paragraphs to the Government of Maharashtra and in two paragraphs to the West Bengal Government. What is your responsibility? I am happy to note that at least you have used term "certain people" and not Bangladeshi. This is heartening that you also do not hold all of them as Bangladeshi which is why you

have used term "certain people" in heading. We are happy with it.

Names and addresses of the persons, who have been caught, should be sent to the Govt. of West Bengal and the same should be verified thoroughly. In case their names and addresses do not turn out to be true, they should be deported, that too, after their proper trial in the court. Random deportation, henceforth, should be stopped in future. And to ensure this, I make a request to you that like other states, there are illiterate and poor people also in West Bengal who search their jobs themselves and earn their livelihood themselves. Therefore, such people should be helped but not be committed excesses on them. This is totally unbecoming for any civilized Government. I request you to kindly take stock of the situation and consider the matter seriously. We see that Govt. of West Bengal is making efforts to ensure that infiltrators from Bangladesh are not allowed to settle in the State. I have got a copy of Anand Bazar Patrika here wherein it has been mentioned that our Government have deported 80 thousand Bangladeshis to their country during the last 10 years. The point to be noted here is that the Anand Bazar Patrika always writes against our Government in West Bengal.

So far as the question of fencing is concerned, whose responsibility is this? They ask us to complete the fencing work as soon as possible but after all with whom does this responsibility lie? It is responsibility of the Centre to step-up Border Security Forces. This is your work and you should do it honestly. You should trace such people who are residing illegally in India and should take action against them but excesses must not be committed on any citizen. I also want an assurance from you in this connection. Further, I want one more assurance from Home Minister. I have spoken on three-four points in respect of goldsmiths and the people doing Zari, tailoring and polishing work. These people are from my area and they are poor. They do their own work and earn their livelihood. In Mumbai, they number more than 20-25 thousand. In Delhi also their number would be around 20-25 thousand....(Interruptions) I request you to assure us that these people would not be attacked in Maharashtra. Ten years ago Madrasi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad and Malyali people were thrown out of Maharashtra...(Interruptions) After ten years, "Bhaiyas" were driven out of the state...(Interruptions) Now it is happening with bengalis...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat, Mr. Rawale.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record except what Shri Hannan Mollah says. Please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)**

[Translation]

SHRI ANANT GANGA RAM GEETE (Ratnagiri) : You do not have any right to defame any State...*(Interruptions)* You are defaming the entire state...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat. Let him complete.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat. Please do not interrupt. You will also get a chance to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM DAS ATHAWALE (Mumbai North Central) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, such things also happening in my constituency...*(Interruptions)* there has been a happening there.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record except Shri Hannan Mollah's speech.

*(Interruptions)**

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South) : Sir, I want to make only one submission.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let me know whether he is yielding. Shri Hannan Mollah, are you yielding? He wants to conclude.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : He has yielded, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Okay, now you can speak.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Sir, the matter is very sensitive. Everybody loves his own State. One should not utter anything against any State. We love every State as our own brothers and sisters. So, let us discuss the matter in a peaceful manner.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : I only referred to certain incidents which had happened.

* Not Recorded.

[Translation]

The Central Government should take action to avoid such incidence in future, the Centre should intervene in the matter to resolve the differences brewing between two States. The Home Minister should call a meeting of the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and West Bengal to solve this problem. Even he can convene an all party meeting for this purpose. He should ensure that no citizen, wherever he lives in any part of the country should be attacked. He should also make efforts to evolve a national consensus on this issue. You should make efforts towards strengthening the country by uniting India and Indians into one thread. With this dream let march ahead together and realise the same. With this hope, I conclude my speech.

[English]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to discuss the matter under Rule 193.

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the issue of Bangladeshis was raised in this August House on 27th. Much was discussed on that day and views were expressed by every party on this issue. Today again, this issue has been taken up for discussion which is a matter of great pleasure. Shri Hannan Mollah has raised this matter here. He is known to me for the last two-two and a half years. I have also seen his work style. He has pleaded the case of Bangladeshis wherein he has tried to say that efforts have been made to attack and drive out the people of West Bengal from Mumbai. In case Bangladeshis are driven out from there, he has nothing to do with that. These views expressed by him are praise worthy. We have grudge against this.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the question before us is that how to deal with the problems created by Foreign nationals which includes Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and others? This problem might have not assumed that much alarming proportion in your state as it has assumed in our state and even if it has assumed, you do not want to solve that. But in our Maharashtra, particularly in Mumbai the number of foreign nationals is too much which includes Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and others. Shri Indrajit Gupta had given information to this House regarding them on 6th May, 1997. Fortunately, right now he is present here. Going by the figures given by him, we will come to know how alarming shape is the proportion assuming?

[English]

He said that there are ten million foreigners in the whole of India.

[Translation]

There are ten million foreigners in our country. What measures have been taken to send them back to their respective countries - I had asked this question? And he had replied.

[English]

All these powers have been delegated to the State Governments under the Foreigners Act and the State Governments are supposed to take action.'

[Translation]

At that time, he had given us this reply. The problem we are now faced with is that the Central Government places this responsibility on shoulders of State Governments but the Members here say that this responsibility lies with the Central Government. But what should we really do? It is good that this question has been raised by Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee and Shri Hannan Mollah because it was necessary to discuss this issue this time or that time. Today is the good opportunity to discuss this issue here. Even last time I had also said during the Question Hour that let this issue be discussed in the House and he had also agreed to it but thereafter this subject matter did not come up for discussion.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Thereafter our Government was toppled.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : We did not topple your Government. Your Government was toppled by the people sitting over that side. You people had formed your Government with their support. You know as to why they toppled your Government. We had warned you if you could save from them, you should save. If you could not save your Government, what should I do? My party had not played any role therein. I had expressed my feelings. At that time, Shri Gupta had remarked.

[English]

"Our problem is that those unidentified foreigners, who are living illegally, may belong to different nations with different purposes. They do not belong to Pakistan only. Their population is approximately ten million whereas our population is 100 million. It is possible that one out of ten people might have infiltrated. We are trying to identify them. I can give you the number

of such persons who have been identified so far and tell you as to what action has been initiated against them."

[Translation]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : When did I say this?

[English]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : It is an English version from part 4 of the debates of the Eleventh Lok Sabha.

[Translation]

I hail from Maharashtra. I have come from the very Mumbai, against which you have got a complaint. Not only this, you have said a lot of things about Bangladeshis living in our area. Come to Mumbai on any day with me. I will tell you as to how Bangladeshis are being used there. You people talk of humanity. What kind of human are they being treated? In what conditions do they live? You people only raise questions here. If you go there, you will realise that their condition is worst than that of a slave. And they are subjected to such conditions by Muslims. You go and see their place of living, their working conditions, only then you will realise the truth.

SHRI LALU PRASAD (Madhपुरa) : What for you are running the Government?

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : We are running the Government for the people of our country, not for outsiders. If we are to run the Govt. for the people of other countries, then you have to make amendments in our Constitution. You will have to declare therein that outsiders can come to our home, settle down here for this is their country ...(*Interruptions*) Mr. Chairman, Sir, such interruptions are not a good thing when these people were speaking, I kept sitting quietly. If they interrupt me so frequently, I am going to reply and if you do not interrupt, I am not going to reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nobody should interrupt, please.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : If interruption does not take place it would be befitting listen to me. We wanted the discussion to be held yesterday itself but nobody agreed thereto.

[English]

Shri Indrajit Gupta was kind enough to reply to all our queries. This particular question was discussed on 6th May, 1997 for half an hour. A lot of

[Shri Madhukar Sirpotdar]

supplementaries were asked and he had replied to them. But, unfortunately, no corrective action was subsequently taken. There was no discussion at all. I can understand his position. After all, their Government collapsed on 4th December, 1997. I understand that there was no time for him to do anything. He should have got five years to work as the Home Minister. He should have got ample time to serve. That I can understand. I have no grumbling on that.

[Translation]

People, who get ample time, will finish this work, I have to speak about Maharashtra. Foreigners are there in the state and this is something not new. Sharad Pawar ji spoke about deportation but I want to say that this deportation exercise has been continuing since 1982. I have got the figures with me but I want the Congress to let the House know as to how many persons were deported during their regime?

[English]

The same procedure that was laid down at that time, has been followed now. Our Government has been criticised whereas nobody spoke at that time. Not even a single member spoke against that deportation. That is also a fact.

[Translation]

It was not proper to make allegations. He said that people from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are driven out like this. I would like to tell you all...(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They all are foreigners.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : It was their allegation against us. I would like to read out their wordings I would also like to say that they should establish it that it would be better if they provide a list mentioning the number of people from Bihar, West Bengal and U.P. who have been driven out of Maharashtra after we come into power on 14th March, 1995.

[English]

I say this because he levelled charges against the State Government of Maharashtra in the House. He has to submit the figures now. Otherwise, he has to tender apology to this House. One should not make baseless allegations. The hon. Member alleged a little while ago that hundreds of South Indians were driven away from Mumbai city. Let the hon.

Member show a single example. I do not ask him for more.

SHRI A.C. JOS (Mukundapuram) : I can tell you the cases.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : If anyone has gone out only because of the harassment on they part of the Shiv Sena or of the Government, they should come out with the figures and then they should speak. After all when we talk in this august House, we make a statement. It is the responsibility of a Member of Parliament when he makes a statement in the House, to establish the truth behind that statement. That is how one should look at it.

[Translation]

I am giving all the figures. I want to put it on record as to what he had said here. It is the responsibility of Shri Sharad Pawar to make a reply for it. I do not have any ill feelings towards him but whenever the question of Maharashtra comes, the Congress Party always sends him on the front. He remains out of picture with regard to other questions. He did not come forward in discussion regarding foreign matters, someone else has been given the charge...(Interruptions) I quote :-

"...Mr. Speaker Sir, some foreign Muslims have been driven out of Mumbai. In last year too, the BJP Shiv Sena alliance had driven out Muslims of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal in the name of Bangladeshis and the same situation persists today. They are not Bangladeshis. They are Muslims that is why they have been driven out of Mumbai. The Government of India should take some concrete step in this regard. This situation is going on in this country in the name of religion and other states..."

Shri Sharad Pawar had said it on 27th. He has said another thing :

"... Sir, the same communal force had started it politics by attacking North Indians and South Indians. Today if some poor fellows from the Muslim community of any district of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal go there to earn his livelihood, they are being attacked in the name of being a Bangladeshi and ill treated and a situation is created to drive them out. Nevertheless the Government of India is not willing to take any steps in this regard. I feel that this is an attack on the unity of our Nation. The government has got no right to remain in power in a state where attack are being

made on the unity of the nation. The Government of India should take action to dismiss their government. I would like to know from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs about the policy, the government is going to pursue after that..."

The subject matter has been put aside. They say that the Maharashtra Government should be dismissed. They are dreaming since four years that the government should be dismissed, they are dreaming everyday. People have started day dreaming since we have come into power, some sort of statement or the other comes that now the government is going to fall...(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : You and your alliance parties are making demand for use of the article 356.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : We have not mentioned about the article 356.

[English]

We never asked for that. I am stating what I said. Whenever the matter of article 356 has come up for discussion in this house, I opposed the same. It is not a proper method of utilising the power.

[Translation]

We say this but we take some decision under circumstances. It is their job to give its justification. I had said at that time when Shri Namboodripad's government was brought down, what had happened. I am mentioning about that.

[English]

Which is not the subject matter of today.

[Translation]

Therefore, I am not going into its detail. But I would say this much to Shri Sharad Pawar in this regard that if he has some proofs regarding the statement that he has given here then he should lay it in the house otherwise it is not proper to mention here. At least he should say this much that he said it out of emotion. He said it due to his immense feelings towards the Muslim Community. I had said that day but nothing of this was mentioned. I had said that if the muslim people belong to our country then they belong to us, we are not saying it from today it would continue to remain so in the future too. But muslim people from outside do not deserve to remain here, I would continue to say this. Not on today alone but I would continue to say so ever after ten years.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : You are saying that no muslim person from outside would not remain...(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : By Muslims from outside. I mean no foreigner's...(Interruptions) I would like to say...(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order in the House, Please.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : What happened on that day, it was said on the 27th that Uluberia is a station in Howrah...(Interruptions)

[English]

I spell it as ULUBERIA. I may be wrong. I am open for correction.

[Translation]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What happened in Uluberia?...(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : If I would say about you to which place your father belonged and where you belong to, I do not want to go into its details...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : I know you are a very nice man. How are you in Shiv Sena?

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I have all the respect for your father. Like that, I have respect for you also barring a few things.

[Translation]

I do not want to go into its details. I was saying that people are taken to Uluberia station for deportation. We are saying that if there is some complaint regarding deportation, if the government was aware of it then its machinery should have stopped the same. What is it?

[English]

He leads a mob of 10,000 or 15,000 people and attacked our police force was attacked...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Do not interrupt.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : If you have got any complaint regarding whatever I am saying then you should...*(Interruptions)* We are saying this much that they were saying about the procedures in spite of having so many people with them. Even today, in so many rural areas it is the procedure that when they take away prisoners they are handcuffed ...*(Interruptions)* It happens at various places, they are taken from Jail to the court...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

What is the security of the police?

[Translation]

It happens in Mumbai that when prisoner's are taken to the Hospital firing takes place and policemen are killed and they manage to get the prisoner's. What should be done in such a situation. If they are not to be handcuffed how they should be taken away at the time of deportation, they are freed to urinate, food and for all other works.

[English]

Otherwise, how will 10-15 policemen control around 40 men? Try to understand this. It is the procedure and these people were carried on according to the procedure.

[Translation]

I am saying this much that whether any complaint has been lodged in any police station. Whether someone has been arrested, something has been done or not. If it is they can ask the West Bengal government...*(Interruptions)* It is their allegation. I am not aware of that...*(Interruptions)* We are saying that no case has been registered in this regard. Here attacks are made over petty issues, a case should be registered in this regard, no case has been registered inspite of having such an incident. An inquiry should be done in this regard. If that attack was wrong the people of West Bengal government should have apologised for it ...*(Interruptions)* The attack was made out of mistake. The police force should not be attacked and it should not be tried to release them. If there was any complaint then people from the government should have come and called the police party saying something of this sort has happened and you should move to the police station. But what was the necessity to adopt this procedure...*(Interruptions)* We are saying that this thing should be made clear.

[English]

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA (Kanpur) : They were not chained.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I do not know.

[Translation]

I am saying that members belonging to West Bengal always mention here about law and order situation if one train is attacked like that there. I think what could be done...*(Interruptions)* It is wrong, you are saying it, but our view is that it happened with the police...*(Interruptions)* You have mentioned about sixty thousand in the last report...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

I am just trying to understand.

[Translation]

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : You have said that sixty thousand people have been deported ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding. Are you yielding, Shri Sirpotdar?

[Translation]

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : The police is yours...*(Interruptions)* There should not be any attempt to make an attack...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

That is not the proper way.

[Translation]

When Shri Sharad Pawar and he was in power I have got the figures with me...*(Interruptions)* I have the figures with me of the deportation done at that time, I want to put it on the record of the House ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : The citizen's of Bangladesh who have been deported between 1982 to 1995...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

5434 people were deported at a time during the Congress regime.

[*Translation*]

Since we came to power 2,669 citizens of Bangladesh have been deported, when the citizens of Pakistan were there we had deported 106 people out of 3787 people. If you see the total figure then approximately 10,000 people were...

[*English*]

Approx. 10,000 people had already been deported.

[*Translation*]

Those who were taken away were freed. It is upto the police to decide as who should be freed so it has become mob psychology.

[*English*]

I am worried about that. The message that we are sending is not proper and one should not do that. I understand that for twenty years this communist regime has been working in West Bengal.

The Chief Ministers like Shri Jyothi Basu has been there for the last 20 years. He is very firm and very disciplined. All these things are there. But I am not going into how they behave with their own workers and what is the progress of the entire State. A disciplined man like him is there, yet, this is happening under his control. You know better what discipline is there in West Bengal. I am a third person. Everyday, you will go to West Bengal...(*Interruptions*) I will stick to the point. Unnecessarily, they are disrupting.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Madhukar Sirpoddar, please conclude now.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I would like to read from the statement made by some experts.

[*Translation*]

The statement given by the Bengali people in Mumbai...(*Interruptions*)

Since long they are living with us...(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

Just listen to me.

"The deportation of Bangladeshi immigrants staying illegally in Mumbai by the Maharashtra Government has created an unnecessary dust storm in the political field. The same people say that they are

charged under Section 3A of the Foreigners Act and are produced before the Metropolitan Magistrate Court and after obtaining the due order from the Magistrate, they have been deported".

This is not the only District Magistrate's order. What he has stated is absolutely wrong. The authorities had proved before the Metropolitan Magistrate that they were Bangladeshis and after obtaining necessary orders, they were deported.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I am concluding. Now the Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra ...(*Interruptions*) I am reading the names also. I am reading the contents. I am reading everybody's name...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Was the statement given by some Bengalis? Are they Bengalis?

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : They are Bengalis living in Mumbai. I will read the names of all those people. They are (1) Shri Sudhir Kumar Choudhary, (2) Shri Sakhti Samantaray,* (3) Shri Somnath Chakraborty, (4) Shri Basu Chatterjee.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : If the statement is not correct they will be sent back...(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

* SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai North-West) : Then, (5) Shri Chander Maitra. There is one Padmashree...(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : They are not allowing him even to read one sentence. Sir, senior hon. Members are there. They are not allowing him. This is not fair. Kindly ask them to maintain order...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Let me try to understand...(*Interruptions*) Just a minute. I will urge upon the West Bengal people...(*Interruptions*) They are not allowing me to read out the contents of the statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I will conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken 40 minutes.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Just a minute, Sir.

"As estimated, two lakh Bengali-speaking Hindustani families, totalling around eight lakh persons are living in Greater Mumbai. They have made this city as their home. They have totally integrated into the Maharashtra culture".

You are trying to make allegations against the State of Maharashtra which is basically wrong, and it shall not be tolerated only because this is not the way of dealing with the problem between one State and another. I am telling, this is the story. What they have said lastly is very important. "All these Bengali Hindustani nationals are living here in peace, tranquillity, dignity and they have equal opportunities in all spheres of life". You just see the Press release. This has been signed by all the people...*(Interruptions)* This is the Press statement given by those people...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Madhukar Sirpotdar, have you completed?

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : I am concluding.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is your last sentence.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : All right.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria) : In which newspaper is it published...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

SHRI JAGAT VIR SINGH DRONA (Kanpur) : When he spoke, nobody said a word. But now he is speaking, nobody is allowing him...*(Interruptions)* They are interrupting...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order please.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : Let me say all the facts before you. This is related to my constituency. I am placing the facts as to what has happened in Maharashtra so that the Central Government should also come to know as to what kind of development is taking place in the State of Maharashtra. We shall not tolerate if somebody is unnecessarily going to make some false and fabricated allegations in order to spoil the good name of the Maharashtra State.

For that purpose I am committed. I am concluding in a minute.

My earnest request to all my West Bengal people is this: we are not basically against any people of India. We are not against those who are actually Indian people. I say this to ensure that the wrong message should not go to the entire country and the outside world. The State of Maharashtra has been looking after the interests of all Biharis, any people from West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh or Punjab. Number of people are there who constitute the population of Mumbai...*(Interruptions)*

It is a mixture of people from all nooks and corners of this country and we are protecting their interests. We are giving them free houses also so that such kind of criticism should not be made. Before jumping to any such conclusion based on such criticism, it is absolutely necessary for each and every MP to see the figures, study the things and thereafter they may come out with their criticism. Otherwise this discussion will not serve any purpose.

I thank you very much for giving me time to speak.

SHRI A.C. JOS (Mukundapuram) : I am thankful to you for calling me to participate in this debate. I fully join the sentiments expressed by my learned friend Shri Hannan Mollah in this matter.

I am not very happy to participate in this discussion. I feel sorry that after 50 years of our Independence and about 48 years of our great Constitution functioning, this august House has to discuss that a particular city of this country deports some people from one place to another place on the pretext of their being foreigners, on the pretext of their speaking a different language. It is a very sad state of affairs. That is why I contend that I am not very happy to participate in this discussion.

Our country, whether we like it or not, has a legacy, has a history and our social structure is so complex that no party, no religion, no language, and no government can easily erase that legacy and the history easily.

I am coming to Mumbai. Shri Sirpotdar very strongly and very efficiently defended his case. I will call him Madhukarji. Am I right?

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : My name is Sirpotdar.

SHRI A.C. JOS : That is our difficulty. I very sweetly call him 'Madhu'.

He belongs to the Shiv Sena. I have very great respect for him because we are very great personal friends. But he is a child of Shiv Sena. How was Shiv Sena born? Shiv Sena was born by the same slogan as 'South Indian hatao'. The fight against South Indians gave birth to Shiv Sena. Shiv Sena

got strength by wanting to eradicate South Indians functioning in Mumbai. In 1970, 1972, 1974 and 1980, it was really a nightmare for South Indians there.

In this context I would like to say that nobody can claim Mumbai as their own city. Mumbai was built by the citizens of this country. Bengalis are there, Biharis are there, U.P. people are there, Tamilians are there and Malayalees are there.

I am coming from a State, which is the southernmost tip of this country, Kerala. We cannot go to that side. We cannot go to the South. It is surrounded by sea. We have to migrate to the North for employment. The density of our population is very heavy. We have 300 million people, or three crore people, educated and literate but without employment. We go to different parts of our mother country and if any city or State is trying to say that that part belongs to them and they are sons of the soil, then this country will be in a turmoil.

This country will have bloodshed. So, my request to the Shiv Sena friends is that the claim that Mumbai belongs to Marathas or it belongs to Maharashtrians, is not proper. I am sorry to hear Shri Sarpotdar saying that they have provided housing and everything to them. We have also participated in building that city. Our contribution can never be ignored. It is not a gratuitous act that you are doing. So, this is a very serious matter.

AN. HON. MEMBER : We did not ignore you.

SHRI A.C. JOS : I am sorry that now you are taking care of it. We cannot go anywhere else. We have to live there. So, in every part of India, especially the metropolises, Mumbai, Calcutta, Delhi and Chennai, we have got people from every part of the country and they are all living harmoniously. They all mingle with the mainstream, with the culture of that city, with the culture of the country. I am proud to say that the Malayali-speaking Keralites and the Tamil-speaking Tamilians are speaking better Hindi than anyone of those born and brought up in that State...*(Interruptions)* I feel that Hindi spoken by the Malayali-speaking people or the Kerala people in Delhi is definitely better than others. They are speaking articulated and chaste Hindi...*(Interruptions)* Marathi also they are speaking. So, what I am urging you is, please, for heaven's sake, do not segregate people on the basis of religion, language or the place of birth. The question here is - and a very valid question - that illegal Bangladeshi people are there. But that will not confine to Bangladeshis alone. Sri Lankan people are there who are speaking Tamil. What do you do with them? Punjabi-speaking Pakistanis are there in Kerala. What do you do with them? Urdu-speaking Muslims are there in Kerala. What do you do with them? Nepali-speaking

Nepalese are there. What do you do with them. Our country, fortunately or unfortunately, is like that. We have a very vast boundary. We have got Sri Lanka on one side, Pakistan on this side, Bangladesh on that side, Nepal on the upper side and Myanmar on the other side. We are fortunate or unfortunate to have them. So, we have to deal with them very carefully. Shri Hannan Mollah has suggested that when they find that illegal Bangladeshis, illegal Sri Lankans, illegal Nepalese or illegal Pakistanis are there, or if they suspect that somebody is staying there illegally, they should be taken into custody and asked to produce proof. Then only action should be taken against them. Without that, if in a clumsy way if they suspect anyone and deport him handcuffed, that is not proper. I was sorry to hear Shri Sarpotdar saying that they are handcuffing everybody. It is a very uncivilised way. It is only for those who commit heinous crimes like murders or other such crimes that we handcuff them.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The Supreme Court has prohibited it.

SHRI A.C. JOS : Yes, the Supreme Court has prohibited it. For small things, for very minor things like staying back without passport or staying even when the life of the passport is over, they should not resort to handcuffing. Will they do it to a rich person? Will they do it to an affluent person? No, they will not. They will do that only to the poor people, to the illiterate people, to beggars. To rich and affluent persons, they will give luxurious treatment for taking them away.

They are talking about the incident that took place at the railway station. But what was the final result? There were certain West Bengali people also there.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : More West Bengalis.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : What should be their position?

SHRI A.C. JOS : This is what I am saying. The hon. Home Minister is here. Taking into account the complex nature of our country, we have to have some procedure by which the foreign nationals who are illegally staying back in this country can be identified and deported. We have no objection to that. Our country is not for illegal immigrants to stay back. We are facing problems because of that.

But we have to consider how we can protect it. Tomorrow, suppose they take some Tamil-speaking people and put them behind the bars saying that they are Sri Lankans, then, we will be in trouble. In the Southern tip of this country, we have enough Punjabi people. We treat them as our brothers. We

[Shri A.C. Jos]

receive them with all dignity and they are doing their businesses. They have their *gurudwaras*, their places of worship. We do not do anything. We do not know whether they are Pakistani Punjabis or Indian Punjabis. So, there should be some procedure which this country has to lay down. My humble submission is that Shiv Sena people are now reaping what they had sown years back. They started with South Indian people. South Indians are there in large number. They are also suffering. Now, people started not migrating to Mumbai because the new people are not permitting them to live there.

The same thing is happening in the name of religion. I am slightly digressing. I would draw the hon. Home Minister's attention to what is happening in Gujarat. On July 6, the body of a Christian was buried. There was some dispute relating to the cemetery. A small minority community objected to the cemetery. Finally, the matter went to the court. Then, the Christians succeeded in the court and the court decided in their favour. In that cemetery, a body was buried. After a few days, that body was exhumed and put before the church. Finally, the panic-stricken Christians took it to the river side and buried it there.

I raised a point regarding burning of the Bible in Gujarat. In Gujarat, the minorities are facing a great trouble. My request to Shri Sirpotdar and to the hon. Home Minister is that, whatever be their defence to a particular incident, it is the psychology and the approach towards the problem that matters. They may not be doing anything tomorrow or day after, maybe they may avoid this particular incident, but the message goes that the minorities cannot live in this country properly and that the people of West Bengal, the people of Kerala or the people of South India cannot live in Mumbai. That is a dangerous thing. The psychological strength and confidence is what is required to be built by the Government. I do not say that a particular incident is there. In Gujarat, everyday, something is happening against the Christians and other minorities. A church is being demolished. What action have they taken? The Government of Gujarat did not take any action. The message goes to a minority community. There is no minority in India. My hon. Home Minister will agree with me that majority in Kerala may be minority in other States and minority in other States may be majority in some other place. Can even the VHP people say that there is any majority here? In Gujarat, Bajrang Dal and ABVP are instrumental today. I have not heard about that. I plead that I do not know about them. In Kerala, it is not there. We are lucky in that respect...*(Interruptions)* ABVP is there....*(Interruptions)* Please do not bring them there. We are very happy without them.

I would request the hon. Home Minister that by the action of the Home Minister, confidence is to be instilled in the minorities and in the people from different States. Our Constitution so validly and so reverentially put it in the Fundamental Rights that as citizens, we can go to any place, we can worship any religion, and we can stay at any place. But what more safeguard can they give to? If that is not adhered to, our country will be torn into pieces.

My submission is that Maharashtra Government should be told that - I still believe that Mumbai is not anybody's property - it is the property of the Indians. Geographically and historically, it happened to be there as also every city of the country. This problem specially comes in from Mumbai.

20.00 hrs.

That is because of Shiv Sena. So, the fear complex of the minorities should be erased, confidence must be instilled in them and everybody in the cities should be allowed to live peacefully.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI (Darbhanga): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is now 8 o'clock. We can continue this discussion tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the House agrees, we can continue upto 8.30 p.m.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHAMMAD ALI ASHRAF FATMI: No. We can take it up tomorrow...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is quite late. Let us continue this discussion tomorrow.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the sitting of the House has been extended only upto 8.00 p.m. earlier. So, it would be better to continue this discussion tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow, there is another discussion under rule 193. So, we can continue this discussion upto 8.30 p.m. Shri Ajit Kumar Panja.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Fatmi, please take your seat. I have called Shri Ajit Kumar Panja.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a very sensitive issue and we have to discuss it very carefully in this House. We should not discuss anything nor make any comment which might affect the people in various States, not only Bengalis but also others.

Sir, the people of any State are free to visit other States not only for their movement, but also for their

vocation. Therefore, my respectful submission to all the Members is that - I have gone to Mumbai and we came back only yesterday after talking to the people there - we should not say anything or make any comment even lightly which may affect those people who are looking at us, the Lok Sabha, for total unity of India.

Sir, the issue being very sensitive, we must always remember the backdrop of what is happening in the name of Bangladeshis and the people of West Bengal speaking Bengali. A division or a sort of difference was sought to be created by Shri Hannan Mollah by saying 'Bangladeshi Banglabashi'. There is no such division. The history does not recognise any such division.

In 1905, India heard the Britishers saying that partition of Bengal is a settled fact. At that time, it was Shri Surendra Nath Banerjee who stated this boldly and openly, loud and clear : "I shall unsettle that settled fact" and partition was avoided. Hundreds of lives were lost. Then, in my young days I had seen riots in the streets of Calcutta, one Hindu brother killing another Muslim brother, and one Muslim killing another Hindu. After a lot of bloodshed, India got freedom at midnight.

But before that everybody sacrificed. but most of the sacrifice was done by tearing the entire heart of Bengal apart by which East Pakistan was born and West Bengal came into being. The same thing happened with Punjab. We must not forget this. Therefore, this special sacrifice was made and the poet cried :

"Gonga amar Ma, Podda amar Ma
Dui Chokhe dui joler dhara meghna
jamuna
Eki Akash Eki Battash,
Kanna Haasl Eki Uttas.
Doel Koel Pakhi dake eki urchna"

English translation of which reads something like this :

Ganges is my mother, Padma is my mother.
Two rivers are like tears of my two eyes
falling down.
The skies are the same.
Singing our laughing or crying at the same
time.
We are the same birds singing the same
tune.

Nazrul Islam, Tagore, Kabeer all joined together made India. Therefore, in our own National Song by which this House rises at the beginning of each session every time meticulously and correctly Tagore started it with—

"Punjab, Sindhu, Gujarat, Maratha,
Dravid Utkal Banga..."
He could have started with Bengal. But he
started with
"Punjab, Sindhu, Gujarat, Maratha,
Dravid Utkal Banga..."

Take one flower - Bengal - out, the garland falls down from the bosom of our mother India. Take Punjab flower out, the garland falls down from the bosom of mother India. Maratha, Punjab, Sindhu, Gujarat are the middle pendant in the bosom of the Mother India like a necklace. This is the thing. Here Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, Jain, Parsi, Sikh are together. There should not be "Jater namey bajjati" in the name of caste something else to be done which is against India. There cannot be like Nazrul Islam said "Hindu na ora Muslim oi jigassey kon jan". Who is asking as to who is Hindu and who is Muslim - "kandari taba khujiche madhu santan more mar" My Mother India is searching for a real and correct son "Durgama giri kantara maru, dustara parabara hey". That was the theme uttered a long time ago by Nazrul Islam. This country gave birth to Tagore. On the one hand, he wrote the National Anthem Jana Gana Mana Adhi nayaka jaya hey, on the other hand, he wrote another National Song of an independent country "amar sonar bangla ami tomay bhalabasi". How can you separate it from Bangladesh? Therefore, I was shocked to find the division in the mind of the CPI(M) leader, Shri Hannan Mollah...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, I am not yielding...(Interruptions)

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : Sir, he is misinterpreting me...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seat.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : Do you want Bangladeshis to come here and stay in India?

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Yes, I do.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : Then you are anti-Indian...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him complete.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, we have made this world a very small place. It is the civilization that matters. Bangladesh is our very good friendly neighbour. If Bangladeshis come over here, there is no harm. The point is whether he is really a Bangladeshi and has got proper entry documents to come in. Human beings, in isolation, should be not

[Shri Ajit Kumar Panja]

touched. The point should be whether he/she is a Bangladeshi with proper visa and passport to visit India and it should not be that, because he is a Bangladeshi, therefore he should be rejected. We must be very careful about this. This is the cultural bond. So, in this cultural background, hon. Members should appreciate such feelings. If you come to Krishnanagar and Mushirabad, I will show that there are houses where the bedroom lies in India and the kitchen in Bangladesh and *vice versa*.

This artificial barrier had to be made for the freedom of India. That is why, my respectful submission to the hon. Home Minister, who is present here, is that certain points have not yet been clarified. When this was the situation after Pakistan was created, it was our great and dear leader, the then Prime Minister, late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, along with Bangabandhu Mujibur Rehman created history by creating a nation. We must always remember that thousands of lives were lost. At that time, under the great leadership of Indiraji, we allowed people to come and settle all over here, and we also tried to rejuvenate the economy of Bangladesh. But unfortunately, when we lost Bangabandhu Mujibur Rehman, things changed, military rule came in and then democracy set in. Now, we have a friendly neighbour under the leadership of Mrs. Hasina. It was reported in the newspapers and it has not yet been contradicted by Dhaka that Mrs. Hasina had stated that not a single Bangladeshi was in India. So, we have to be very careful about this. It is not a question of Maharashtra and Bengal or a question of Maharashtra and Kerala, but it is a question involving domestic as well as international law. Mrs. Hasina is saying from Bangladesh that not a single Bangladeshi is in India.

I had been to Maharashtra and the Maharashtra Government, with the permission of the Metropolitan Magistrate, is sending them back. When the man goes to Bangladesh, Mrs. Hasina says 'get back'. Then, when he comes over here, we ask him to go back. Are they shuttlecocks to be treated in this way? In the Lok Sabha, do we deal with a human being in this manner without determining who he is? The House must realise that the Foreigners Act of 1946 is a creation of the British. According to Section 9 of the Foreigners Act of 1946 the burden of proof lies on the poor man and it is for him to prove that he is an Indian and not a Bangladeshi or a Nepali. How is it possible when the educated are only 33 per cent and the people living below the poverty line are 35 per cent?

I went there and met the people there. My colleague, Shri Akbar, was with me. The moment we

entered, hundreds of men and women, in the age group of 18 to 35 years, started saying "Akbar, please help. They are saying that we are Bangladeshis." We have seen it ourselves. Therefore, it is not a question of failure of one Government, but it is a failure of the sense of direction. Section 9 of the Foreigners Act of 1946 says "You prove that you are not a Bangladeshi or a Nepali or a Britisher." Things have changed in the past 50 years of our Independence. One century is coming to an end and we are entering into the next century, that is, Twenty-first Century. Hon. Members, please realise that the Britishers made the Passport Act of 1922 in their own manner and the burden of proof lies on the concerned human being.

Today, the developed countries are shouting about human rights and asking India to learn about human rights, environment. They are teaching India, which has a cultural tradition that is thousands of years old, to know the value of human rights. The great people of India realised the *Atma* long ago. "Know Thyself" was the slogan of our great people who created the Upanishads, the Gita, the Koran and the Bible.

Under these circumstances, the first thing to be done is this. As rightly pointed out, one is in majority at one place and in minority at another place. So, this House should pass a Resolution requesting all concerned that no Government should utter a word about it. One crore Bengali-speaking people are there all over India. I am only referring to the Bengalis and I should have quoted others also.

But that is not the subject matter.

Similarly, I am having the best of feelings for the last 40 years with Tamilians at many places and with Maharashtrians, Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists, Jains and Parsees all over my Constituency. My Constituency is a miniature India. I know where the shoe pinches and where it hurts. Therefore, kindly appreciate that out of these 1 crore people, 8 lakhs now remain in only Mumbai and outside, leaving aside Nagpur which has a railway station on the Bengal-Nagpur railway line. We should not forget history. It grew up with the railway system founded by the Britishers who came in there and founded Writers' Building there, and the Bengal Intelligence was taken up and the railway system started. This is the history in which it started. Therefore, it is my respectful submission before you.

In this background, let us see what has really happened. We went there. We met the hon. Deputy Chief Minister at 9.30 on 31st July. We had a detailed discussion. With my background in politics and law, I put pointed questions to the Deputy Chief Minister, Shri Munde and also to all the senior officers who

were kept ready, one by one from the Chief Secretary up to the Officer-in-charge and the chargeman who actually was-in charge and the SB Intelligence Officer who was actually in charge of deportation. All questions were answered. As a Bengali, I should not hide any truth. All questions were answered by the Officers and in my long experience, I have never seen such an instance where the Police Officer, the Chief Secretary and the Deputy Chief Minister promised to give all files. Taking up the documents and handing them over to me, they said "Mr. Panja, you wanted this. You take this. You study it. Tell us where we are wrong. We will have it corrected. Tell us one case where we have gone wrong. We will recall all orders and we will examine them thoroughly." These are the words which they have spoken. They asked me "Do you want to go to any place?" The Deputy Chief Minister, Shri Munde, a young man with such an open heart, told me "Mr. Panja, we are not going to select the place where you will go. You select the place yourself. You can go anywhere." By that time, Shri Akbar from Srirampur and a lot of other people from Patna already came and met us in the hotel and, therefore, we on our own selected some places at random and we went there. Hundreds of people were there. They were only saying "Please see, the local Police Station is creating problem as the local Police Station in West Bengal and Kerala creates problem." They named them. I should not say those things here. I will give it to the hon. Home Minister. They gave the names of three local Police Stations.

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Coochbehar) : You tell the names of those Police Stations now itself.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : No. I have brought the names of the Police Stations which are required. We want to solve the problem. We do not want to earn name or to create some big news about ourselves. Please understand.

When we asked for these details, everything was given. Therefore, transparency and accountability of the Government was there. Then we met the Chief Minister at 5.30 the same evening. We studied the documents in the meantime. We took those documents to him and in front of the officers, he said "Mr. Panja, you have seen the documents. Tell us where they are wrong." I have pointed out several lacunae. One, the addresses of the persons must be fully written from where they have been arrested in Mumbai, what addresses they have given in West Bengal and what addresses the Intelligence found out in Bangladesh. Those were absent in the list. It was a serious lacuna. They accepted it. They immediately said "Yes, let us go to the next point." Then we pointed out the addresses of two ladies who gave their addresses as Rampurhat, Birbhum,

Bangladesh. It was absolutely wrong. I asked the Chief Minister "Who has prepared this?" If there is one single wrong entry, the law lets them escape. The innocent must not suffer. Then they immediately started consulting and asked for time. It went down very well.

I said : "You go and take your time and check it up." In that list, the distinction between male and female was absent. I said : "It is a must because Muslim women have got their *pardah* and Hindu ladies must be taken carefully. These details are must even from the angle of human rights." The Chief Minister immediately asked us to tell as to what was required to be done. We mentioned three things. We said : "Firstly, stop this immediately and no further action be taken as I have *prima facie* succeeded in pointing out the case before you." He did not say anything. He said : "Let me consider this." I asked him to stop that immediately. I said : "All the cases that have taken place this year, the 92 of them, be looked into by the senior officers very carefully." He said : "All right, let us check them up." There were three categories of persons. One, those who could not produce any document; two, those who produced the document and were released forthwith. Unfortunately, they did not give the list of persons who were released, although they showed me the list. I told them to bring the confidence in the minds of the people. I said : "You examined 100 cases. Out of that, 50 of them you released and 50 were detained for these reasons." The details were in the files but the files were not given to the public. These details must be given to the hon. Home Minister
...(Interruptions)

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Since, hon. Shri Panja has visited Mumbai, can he enlighten us about the fact whether the Government of Maharashtra has taken any steps against the Bengalis staying there? If your case is of not providing certain details, it is a technical mistake that took place at the lower level. What is the point? We would like to be enlightened on that. If the Government of Maharashtra is exonerated, then there is no case of discussion here.

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR : He said that he would continue...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You please conclude now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : So far as this question is concerned, I am nobody to answer this. This information can be obtainable from the Home Minister. Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharya is writing a letter to the Deputy Chief Minister who is incharge

[Shri Ajit Kumar Panja]

of Home. They can exchange letters and find out the details...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Panja, please conclude.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Pramothas Mukherjee, take your seat. You will have your chance.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : After hearing us, the hon. Chief Minister immediately directed on the same day saying that all deportations be stopped until Puja, that is, for three months it is stopped. We have been told that they have started examining each case as we submitted the details. We had suggested that there must be a cell. The West Bengal Government cannot shirk out their responsibility. It is the claim of the people of West Bengal who go to Mumbai for doing some Zari work or the work of goldsmith. What is the harm in it? We had asked that the District Magistrates of three districts Midnapore, Howrah and Hoogly be empowered to issue certain documents so that these people can carry certain documents with them...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH : How can they carry the documents with them? They are in the same country...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA (Calcutta North-East): They will shout without even hearing me...*(Interruptions)*

20.25 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Please hear me. This was the case...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, this was the case...*(Interruptions)* They are not understanding ...*(Interruptions)* ... This was the case made by them that a certificate had to be produced...*(Interruptions)* ... You please wait and hear me...*(Interruptions)* We said, 'it is impossible. If you ask for a certificate for me, I have not got the certificate. It is impossible to give a school leaving certificate. It is impossible to bring the ration card.' We have also heard that the certificate produced was torn off.

Therefore, Sir, for an Indian citizen, the question of any certificate does not arise. Work certificate for Bangladeshi, if he wants to cross over can be obtained. Therefore, as I said, it is a question of international law and domestic international law, in which Bangladesh Government, Government of India, and the Governments of West Bengal and Maharashtra should immediately form a cell or a committee. It is a very touchy subject.

Firstly, I have given the proposal to the Chief Minister to form a cell or a committee to look into this matter. Secondly, deportation has been stopped. Thirdly, all pending cases are being re-examined. Fourthly, in Bengali language a leaflet has to be issued telling the people to remain absolutely free of any fear and with their heads high.

I am grateful to the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra who said, "Shri Panja, please tell your colleagues, if any enquiry or any other thing happens, please direct him to bring it to our notice directly or through the PRO of West Bengal Government to our PRO. We will immediately look into it."

Sir, Shri Hannan Mollah did not do justice, and he is, therefore, shouting. He read some lines of the letter of Shri Buddhadev Bhattacharya, dated 27/28th July, 1998.

MR. SPEAKER : Panjaji, please conclude now.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : In that letter, Shri Buddhadev Bhattacharya also writes :

"...However we have collected information that some of these persons are actually Bangladeshis.

But Shri Hannan Mollah did not read this line...*(Interruptions)* ...Therefore, it is my respectful submission that some people in the West Bengal Government are trying to take advantage of this situation only for the purpose of getting political advantage in the matter and nothing else ...*(Interruptions)* ... Sir, they are doing it intentionally. They have not disowned. They are talking about deportation. We are from Trinamul Congress. Can they guarantee, I can walk to Panchkula? Can they guarantee for our 120 people...*(Interruptions)* ...Our Bengali people from Mumbai are coming to Bengal during the Durga Puja and Eid and they are bringing with them some valuable things, for example, golden ornaments and *geenva* for their mothers and sisters. But when they reach Kharagpur, in the Gootanjali or Howrah Mail, two types of people come in there and tell them that 'you are Bangladeshis.' On saying who they are, one man says that he is a 'red coolie', that is, porter with a red signal, the official porter. Another man says that he is a 'Neel Coolie' that is, a blue porter. But who are these blue porters? They are

the*of Marxist Party, this very Marxist Party ...*(Interruptions)* ... These people coming from Mumbai are looted of all their belongings at Kharagpur by these blue porters...*(Interruptions)* ...

The Central Government must form a Cell and portect these Bengalis from being looted...*(Interruptions)* ... They are doing it in other way...*(Interruptions)* ... They are politicking and making the whole of West Bengal out of control of anybody.

Another system is there called 'the push back system'....*(Interruptions)* This push back system is unknown in any democracy. It is known as one of the methods of throwing peaceful citizens out of the country...*(Interruptions)* This has been adopted by the Communists...*(Interruptions)* Look at the way they are behaving in this House. If this is the way they are behaving here, you can imagine how they would behave in West Bengal...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Ajit Panja, please conclude now.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, I will go on speaking if they do not allow me to speak...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please resume your seat now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Shri Jyoti Basu cannot control them in West Bengal. Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharya cannot control them there. Shri Somnath Chatterjee cannot control them here...*(Interruptions)* You may please ask them to take their seats...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Panja, please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : If there is anything objectionable, it will be expunged. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Look at the way they are behaving.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, please resume your seats. Let Shri Panja complete his speech.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He will say anything he wants and we shall tolerate it. How can it happen?...*(Interruptions)* This is disgusting.

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, please resume your seats. This is not good.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : This is what they do in West Bengal...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Panja, please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore) (WB) : He should apologise.

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

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, how can I stop hon. Members from this side if this type of a language is being used?...*(Interruptions)* He is a responsible Member of this House. If he behaves like this, how can we tolerate it?...*(Interruptions)* There is a limit...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Panja please take your seat. I have called the hon. Minister of Home Affairs.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would request Shri Ajit Panja to first withdraw the word that he has used. After all, every Party - whether it is my Party or Shri Somnath Chatterjee's Party - has a sense of pride in itself and it is this that makes for Parliamentary culture. Therefore, I can understand their anger and I would request him to please withdraw this particular word that he has used....*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Ajit Panja, let the hon. Minister complete.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : He has completed his submission and I am responding.

When the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and the House along with Shri Somnath Chatterjee feel that calling Marxists and addressing them as*... is unparliamentary, I withdraw it...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The entire House has seen what he has said. I hope, the country has also seen it. If this is the way to respect the sentiments and maintain the decorum of the House, I hope the whole country has seen it...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : It will be expunged.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, 120 people have been butchered. To whom is respect to be given?...*(Interruptions)* It is reported that 80,000

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri Ajit Kumar Panja]

Bangladeshis have been deported to Bangladesh in ten years by the State of West Bengal ...*(Interruptions)* There has been no contradiction of the news item appearing in the front page right hand side column in *The Ananda Bazaar Patrika* dated the 2nd August, 1998.

Sir, my respectful submission is that the hon. Home Minister should call for the details ...*(Interruptions)* We condemn the attitude of the State Government...*(Interruptions)* The particulars must be sent to the Home Ministry because Shri Buddadeb Bhattacharya has been saying that the State Government is informing the Union Home Ministry from time to time.

Last year, 200 alleged Bangladeshis were identified and sent back to Bangladesh by the West Bengal Government. What was the system followed? It has been said that human rights are involved in this issue. I have seen, in Maharashtra each case is backed by the court permission and each case is backed by a file and an Intelligence report. It may be right or wrong. But a procedure has been followed according to law. What is the law followed by the West Bengal Government? Shri Lalu Prasad rightly said that just because somebody is coming from the State of Bihar, they are thrown out. If it is so and if it is legal, then the records must be produced here.

Sir, the Government of West Bengal is sending back the so-called Bangladeshis through BSF. The same procedure has been followed by the Government of Maharashtra also. But it is objected to. Then, what is the procedure that the Government of Maharashtra should follow? They enter through North 24 Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Padma River, Jalangi and then they cross the river and come to Farraka Barrage, then through Purnia in Bihar they come to our country. Police in Bengal border is taking money from the Bangladeshis and sends them to India. If that is not correct, let the reports be sent to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs ...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, last but not least, the Maharashtra Government has told us that Shri Indrajit Gupta has passed an order and that these things are done by meticulously following that order. What is that order passed by Shri Indrajit Gupta? Let that be clarified by hon. Home Minister.

My respectful submission is that let us not allow our emotions to be charged. Let us solve this problem very carefully. Bengali-speaking people and the people of West Bengal should be protected ...*(Interruptions)* Sir, they are shouting for the purpose

of vote. But we are concerned with the human rights and the protection of Bengalis...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please, no running commentary.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR PANJA : Sir, you are surprised, but we are not surprised by what they are doing.

Sir, my respectful submission to the hon. Home Minister is that the Government should form a cell with the representatives of the Government of Bangladesh, the Central Government, the Government of West Bengal and the Government of Maharashtra in order to solve this problem and see that the people of West Bengal are protected ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The seven-member Party has taken forty minutes. Give us adequate time...*(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : He should not mention that.

MR. SPEAKER : Do not waste the time.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : At the very beginning, I would appeal to the House not to politicise this very serious problem that we are facing. If this is happening in Maharashtra today and if we do not stop it now, it may happen elsewhere tomorrow.

Therefore, please take it seriously and do not try to politicise it. Petty political considerations should not be counted for solving this problem. This is my first appeal. Secondly, I would like to point out one thing. West Bengal faced a very big problem when our country was partitioned - a huge number of people came from the other side and became Bengalis because they came as refugees; and thus, we have a very serious problem of over-population. Even then, I would like to point out that in West Bengal, there are people not only in Calcutta but also in many villages, who are not only from neighbouring States but also from far off States. It should be understood.

Who are the principal workers for whom we are fighting today? Most of the workers in most of the factories, jute mills, etc., which are being closed down today belong to the States of Orissa, Bihar, UP, etc. Are we not fighting for them, just like we are fighting for the Bengali workers? So, let the Parliament and all my respected colleagues feel the agony of West Bengal; we extended the heart of West Bengal to all without any discrimination. This is what we have to do everywhere.

I would not like to give a long speech because that will be too much and the time is also just

quarter to nine. But I would like to point out a few things which are important and which have been said at different places. Probably, it would have been better if they were not said at all. I would like to refer to some of these things for guarding our future because unless we guard ourselves against these things, this will not remain the future of a particular State at a particular time.

Shri Sirpotdar had said that the West Bengal Government must apologise to the Maharashtra Government. I would like to ask Shri Sirpotdar whether it was not the duty of the Maharashtra Government to send a list of those who were being pushed out, in advance, to the West Bengal Government. It is because, our Government has already taken a decision that if there is any complaint that would be coming about those who are living illegally, then their addresses would be sent to the respective Collectors of those districts; and the respective collectors would go or send some persons to those addresses to find out whether they are from other countries, that is Bangladesh, or they are from West Bengal, that is, the citizen of India.

Is it not a good way of saying these things? That did not strike him!

I hope that he will think over whether this should be the type of our attitude in determining who is who, and how to control this problem. At the same time, I fully agree that this thing has to be done in a humanitarian way. After all, all are human beings. While all this was going on, I was feeling that about Bangladeshis, we are creating such an impatient feeling. But when people from Europe, that is, from Britain and many other Western countries are here, they stay on. All of them do not have proper passports. Why is there no such hullabaloo about them? I think, we should be applying the same kind of yardstick towards all of them. We should move according to the law.

I am sorry to say that day before yesterday, when Dr. Murlī Manohar Joshi went to West Bengal, he said that the Government of that State was not cooperating. I do not know what was the basis of Dr. Joshi's saying that. If there were any such reference, our Minister of Home Affairs could very well have taken it up with the Government of that State. Ours is a federal polity. There is the Central Government. There are also State Governments. So, there must be proper coordination amongst them. Despite that, in this volatile situation, was it correct for Dr. Joshi to go to West Bengal and make this unfounded statement? If he had something, he could very well ask Shri L.K. Advani: "This is what I have heard. You get it checked up." But that was not done. These things do create a great agitation and unnecessary ill feeling and insecurity. This has definitely to be avoided.

I would also like to tell something about my experience. When Shri Ajit Kumar Panja was speaking, he was narrating his experience. Since I did not go to Mumbai with a political mission, my experience is a little different one. I would narrate what I had seen at that time. My brother lives in Mumbai. Whenever I go there, I see him. At that time, their Government had just started functioning. I asked my brother, "What is the situation?" My brother is not a politician. Let it be very clear that he does not belong to my party or any other party. He is just an ordinary respected citizen. That is why I asked him, "What is the position?" He told me, "My dear elder sister, the position is very complicated." I said, "Why?" He said, "About Bengalis, I can say that at many places, they are being threatened regularly. Secondly, the money is being extracted from them. Without paying money, they are not being allowed to stay on."

Whether this is done by the police stations or by the Government or by the workers of a particular party or parties is another matter. The question is that this has been happening. If it is happening, then, the responsibility must be owned by the State Government of that area. If such a thing happens in our State, our Government has to take the responsibility.

If it happens in any other State then that State Government must take the responsibility. In this case, can we not expect that the Maharashtra State Government will take the responsibility so that such things do not happen?

As I said, I did not go in a political mission. After listening from my brother I went to that place. I did not tell my identity. I just asked them whether that was true. I wanted to know, was it really happening. All of them just started screaming. Being an elderly woman, they told me, "Didi, what you are saying is quite correct. This is the situation. We do not know how do you come to know about it but it is true that we are in great danger". So, this is what I found there at that time. Nobody can deny that these things are happening or were happening. Also, nobody can deny that such things must be stopped.

As far as pushing back the Bangladeshis to Bangladesh is concerned, it is true that West Bengal is facing a big problem because of the same culture and same language. It is very difficult to identify them, though the State Government is trying to identify them. This problem of identification is there. We cannot do away with the problem just like that. Whichever case the Government is able to establish, we are trying to send them back. As has been pointed out, Border Security Force is there. A number of people come here, work and then go away. Some people remain in the State as they are not able to go. I believe that this does not happen in West

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

Bengal alone. In think it happens in all the States situated along the border of our country. The West Bengal's border being a longer border, I think the intensity may be little more here compared to other border States.

This has artificially divided the country. It is very difficult to divide one's heart. Our hearts have not yet been divided. I myself have come from Bangladesh. Though I am now a citizen of West Bengal for quite a long time, I cannot forget my mother land. Can I? So, please try to understand the situation obtaining in West Bengal while dealing with this problem. I would particularly request the Home Minister to have a close coordination with the State Government of West Bengal, on this subject. Let us together find out, within the law, what we can do in a humane way to deal with the situation. I have already told you what the State Government is trying to do in this regard. Similarly, Maharashtra Government also has to do a lot of things to bring peace. We must also find out as to what Maharashtra can do to ease the situation. Keeping this in mind, one should take this debate in that spirit so that we can really work out a solution. I do not agree with the idea of Shakti Samant or Basu Chatterjee writing something on the matter. Let us find out what are the specific steps that we have to undertake. I would request the Minister of Home Affairs to call a meeting with the representatives of not only West Bengal Government but all the State Governments where this sort of problem is there and find out a proper method to deal with the subject. You may not forget that ours is a multi-lingual and multi-religious country.

Unless we are very careful from now on, our country may disintegrate. It is not a small problem. It is not a problem to politicise. It is a problem of building national integrity in the new context where we are faced with all kinds of problems. I hope the House will appreciate the spirit of what I said, and the Government will take necessary steps. As far as our cooperation is concerned, if things are done in a human way, our cooperation is guaranteed.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, there are 15 Members more to speak on this subject. Should we complete the list today, or should we continue with it tomorrow?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : It can be taken up again tomorrow, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : This subject will be taken up again tomorrow.

Before the House is adjourned, the Minister of Home Affairs has a statement to make.

20.56 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Incidents of Killings by Militants in Chamba District of Himachal Pradesh on 3rd August, 1998

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K. ADVANI) : Sir, a shocking report has been received today from Chamba District in Himachal Pradesh. Two tragic incidents of killings of innocent civilians by suspected Pakistan-sponsored militants have occurred here last night.

Information has been received from the Police of Chamba District in Himachal Pradesh that 26 persons have been killed and eight injured in Kalaban area under Police Station Tissa of Chamba District. It is reported that this barbaric act was committed by some militants in the early hours today at about 3 a.m. The Kalaban area is adjacent to Bhadarwa area of Doda District. The J&K Police have despatched a police party to the scene. The SP and the Additional SP, Chamba have left for Kalaban and the DGP, Himachal Pradesh also has left Shimla enroute for the site. The Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh also has reached the site.

In another incident at about 1.30 a.m. this morning, five persons were killed and three injured in village Satrindi, District Chamba. This area also is close to Kishtwar Tehsil of District Doda in Jammu and Kashmir. In this case also, the hand of Pakistan-sponsored terrorists is suspected.

The Special Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs in charge of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs and the DG, CRPF, are proceeding to the spot tomorrow morning. The authorities of the two States - Himachal Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir - have been asked to act in concert and to take firm measures to deal with the elements who have targeted innocent persons in such a brutal manner.

I am sure the august House would join me in expressing grief at these killings and in condemning those who committed these outrageous acts.

I have also seen to it that certain additional companies of forces are sent to the affected areas. I have contacted the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir. We have spoken to the Chief Minister who is now outside the country. All that is needed to be done in this matter will be done. This is the fourth incident in succession that has come to us. We have spoken to the Chief Minister of Punjab in order that certain battalions of the Punjab Armed Forces

can be sent to Himachal Pradesh immediately. All necessary steps are being taken continuously right since this afternoon when I first received the report. We have been following up this episode because it is not a small episode, particularly because now another State, Himachal Pradesh, has been affected. Two or three years back also incidents had happened in the same area. When we were focussing attention on the militants in Doda, at that time also in our meetings, we were apprehensive that they would immediately cross over to the adjacent area.

21.00 hrs.

Himachal Pradesh may be affected. So, at that time also we have asked the Director-General of Police in Jammu and Kashmir and the Director-General of Police in Himachal Pradesh to get in touch with each other so that all necessary precautions can be taken. But even so, these

villages, isolated hamlets have become soft targets, and this is what happened today.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : For how many days would we be listening like this?...*(Interruptions)*
Attack on Pakistan...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : No.

The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow the 4th August, 1998 at 11 a.m.

21.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, August 4, 1998/Shravana 13, 1920 (Saka).
