

[Shri L.K. Advani]

Deliberate carnage, State-engineered mayhem, and State-engineered genocide. [Translation] I am sorry, but as per my information and it is surprising that so much gap exists in the information. [English] between the Press outside Gujarat and the Gujarati Press. [Translation] mentioned in the speech of Shri Harin Pathak. The reason of the gap is that sometimes we develop an image in our minds. Being political persons, it is natural for us to be interested in some political outcomes as a result of terrible incidents occurrence. I remember that when the House was discussing the earthquake of Gujarat, the operative part of the discussion was that Shri Keshu Bhai Patel should tender his resignation. So I am not surprised if today's discussions operative part turns out to be the resignation of Shri Narendra Modi. Our Government believes that resignation of Shri Narendra Modi is not the solution of the problem. We want to solve the problem and that can happen only at security level, by taking stern action against each criminal—be it Hindu or Muslim. That is what we want. We will take all necessary action for improving relief and rehabilitation measures and we would also like to ensure that people do not have live in the relief camps for long. Hon. Prime Minister would elaborate on it in his speech.

With these words, I am obliged to all for taking part in discussion as late as 3:30 in the morning and expressing their views before the country on this issue keeping in view its importance.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, let me once again clarify that I have not risen to reply to the discussion. The reply has to be given by Shri Mulayam Singh. He had moved the resolution, therefore the House should be ready to listen to him. I am just providing some information to the House. Apart from the announcement of rehabilitation package, I have to speak on two issues. Firstly, an allegation levelled against me during the discussion that I keep changing my statements. I refute it. My public life is open to all. My ideas may be different but why would I change them? What self-interest have I to serve? What political target have I to meet? It is said that I have said one thing in Gujarat and a completely different thing in Goa—but this is not true. What I said in Gujarat is not different from what I said in Goa....(Interruptions) My speeches are taped. They have been published. There is no scope of changing them. I would like to quote what I said. I am accused of opposing Islam. I have been accused of opposing Muslims. It seems that all I had earned throughout my life is going to be robbed of me. Such allegations I consider a blot on my personality. I have never discriminated in my life—either on the basis of religion, or on the basis of birth or on the basis of caste—but this cycle of politics is such that is destroying all my

prestige. I feel sad. What I said....(Interruptions) What I said about Islam is like that.

Islam has two forms—one is tolerant to all, teaches us to adhere to the path of truth, teaches us compassion and mercy. But the Islam—which is now being used in militancy, has no place for tolerance. It runs on the slogan of Jihad and dreams of bringing entire world under its aegis.

I am talking about my journey. I had been to Singapore and Cambodia. You would be surprised to know, as I was, that a few terrorists of Al Qaeda were arrested in Singapore also. The Government of Singapore did not even think that Al-Qaeda would be active in their country—would be conspiring in their country. 15-16 persons have been arrested there and a covert inquiry is on. The aim is to find out the truth. The same thing is happening both in Indonesia and Malaysia. There are such Muslims who do not want to live with other people, they do not want to mix with other people, instead of propagating their ideology peacefully, they want to propagate it by creating fear and terror among the people. The world has become conscious about this danger. What is objectionable about it?

But alongwith it, there is an allegation that I criticise Islamic fundamentalism, but not Hindu fundamentalism. This is also wrong. A few days back, I had to release a book 'India First' written by Shri Malkani, at that time I gave a speech. That book is mainly about Hinduism, but I said Hinduism should be liberal and generous. If we talk of Hinduism, I like the Hinduism of Vivekanand but I do not like on Hinduism ideology based on narrow mindedness. Some of my friends took it ill. They may have different opinion. But I did not miss the opportunity to criticise it, and I have always taken such step on the occasion of testing time that proves that the country should move on liberal path, path of harmony. This is the message of Indian culture. Today these allegations are being levelled to tarnish my image. It seems that a speech in one day has finished me. The allegation has become a never ending source of agony for me. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have mentioned an issue. The second issue is in today's speech....(Interruptions)

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: In yesterday's speech.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I am saying in today's speech, you are talking of yesterday's speech. The leader of the opposition party had mentioned my name in her speech. She had appealed me to rise above the party line and think in the wider interest of the country. I respect her views. All of us has to rise above the party line. Whatever, I saw, heard and experienced about

Gujarat, after that I have become apprehensive about the future. A new kind of communal position and fanaticism is being spread. I would call it madness, I do not know how far, the two-three stories which are being propagated, are true. But the kind of atrocities being committed against the women and the incident of their humiliation reflect that the set up of whole society has changed. Rioting is one thing. I can also understand bettemess and fanaticism, but down fall of the human being to that extent that the rape is committed, but the rapist is not ashamed of his act, and the society does not use strong words for him or not express its feelings, then it should be assumed that the society is in the grip of such disease which will destroy our civilisation and culture if it is not treated. This is a new crisis. I know that a Marathi paper, wrote its Editorial. Whatever is written in it should not be misunderstood by anybody at this juncture. I do not know how far it will prove true. It wrote, Muslim brothers, why are you complaining that atrocities are being committed against you, this editorial is of 'Tarun Bharat', why are you complaining, the Hindu society is practicing the lesson learned from you. The present behaviour is condemnable. We were proud of that. We would not flout the old tradition by our actions but I was stunned to hear that the people belonging to rich families also looted the shops. They were not short of anything. How the tendency of looting has developed? I have heard that they looted the items, and after reaching home they found it was not good, then they again carried it by the same car and left it there from where it was looted and took the other items which they liked. If these incidents are true, it is really very sad.

A women delegation went to enquire about the atrocities committed against them. They talked with the women. They put a condition that when there will be no media person, no loudspeaker, no TV cameras and no male members, then they will talk. If the women delegation has come, it will talk only with women. They talked with women. I asked the delegation, how far the stories which are being propagated are true. it said that those stories are partially true. They are being exaggerated. It is very unfortunate. It is a different aspect. Serious consideration is required about the role of media in the Gujarat incidents. You will say that I am criticising the media. I am making media as scapegoat, but how far it is justified to telecast the scenes of murders, burned dead bodies repeatedly in the form of news. News can be telecast only once, but such things telecast repeatedly.

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA: The incidents are taking place daily.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: If incidents are taking place daily, they should be stopped. It is the duty of all of us to stop it. .

SHRI TARIT BARAN TOPDAR: Whether media can stop them?

SHRI ATABL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Media can also be helpful in it, media has to play its role in it also. We do not want to control the media. The media people should themselves decide code of ethics for them. Earlier it was decided, that at the time of communal riots, name of people will not be given, it will also not be made public, how many Muslims and how many Hindus have been killed. Today, there is no such convention. Does it not spread communalism? There should be a code of conduct for it, and all should collectively decide it.

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Coochbehar): Till now, you have not done it....(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please do not disturb him.

...(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Just now, Soniaji told me in her speech to rise above the party line. I want to rise, but I cannot rise alone. For this, Soniaji has to rise with me also. If we want to rise above party line, everybody should do it. If the nation is supreme, India is firm then come....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What you people have done....(*Interruptions*) You have started all these things....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: You have started all this....(*Interruptions*) When I said that if the House had unanimously condemned the killing of people in Sabarmati Express in strong words, probably the incidents would not have taken place on next day and this opinion was not only mine. Today, Shri Chandrashekharji is present here, therefore, I am saying it in his presence. He said on that day, that they want to stop it. On that day Chandrashekharji wanted that the House which was adjourned due to uproar, be continued so that the accident of Sabarmati Express could condemned but session could not take place. Soniaji said, who stopped me from holding the Session? I can not alone hold the Session....(*Interruptions*) After the budget, when we met next day, Chandrashekharji wanted, that all of us should collectively condemned it. Today, all of us are saying separately that we condemned it, we condemned, but the unanimous voice of the House could have awakened the country, in this regard....(*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt him.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL: You are the Leader of the House....(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: You are the leader of the House...(Interruptions)

KUNWAR AKHILESH SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we had given Adjournment Motion for discussion on Godhra incident....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Akhileshji, please do not disturb him.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Sonia ji went to your House that day. You had not invited her. She voluntarily went to your House...(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Adjournment Motion divides the Treasury Benches and the Opposition...(Interruptions)

SHRI BASU DEB ACHARIA: Why didn't you call a meeting?... (Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: We did not call any meeting. The House was in session. You did not let it run....(Interruptions) Do not repeat the things that have already gone by. Let us now concentrate on the future.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Did he not say that? I am obliged to know...(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Just leave the things that occurred in the past....(Interruptions) Let us look forward...(Interruptions)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Sir, the House conducted its business on the 28th...(Interruptions) What is the hon. Prime Minister saying...(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, if I was wrong, I accept it. I should have made some

effort, but somewhere it was in my mind that the Godhra incident would not take such an ugly turn. This was somewhere in my mind which was wrong. But the deep impact of this incident came to my knowledge subsequently. I had kept both the incidents together when I spoke in that regard for the first time. Whatever happened after Godhra incident cannot be justified both should be condemned. After all today why did Sonia ji had to say that we had condemned it....(Interruptions) I repeat, please do not go into the past unnecessarily, see to the future...(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI PRAVIN RASHTRAPAL: Let us accept his Motion.(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, let there be a Substitute Motion. Let a Substitute Motion be drafted. Let the House, in one voice, express a view. Let us have it.(Interruptions)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: You condemn both Godhra and Gujarat violence.(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: We condemn both the incidents.

[English]

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: You bring it before the House.(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SONIA GANDHI (Amethi): Let us have a unanimous Resolution now. Let us have it now.(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I welcome this Resolution, and let me announce a 'package' for those people who have been rendered homeless.(Interruptions) In the meanwhile, the House may discuss that and form an opinion...(Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, kindly guide us. We do not want that the House be divided on this issue(Interruptions) We are not saying this because we have less number of votes. We are in majority, but this is not the question of majority or minority...(Interruptions) Today, there is danger to the dignity and prestige of the country and if this august House takes a step ahead, this atmosphere can be changed. Sir, with your permission, I read it out:—

[English]

"Rehabilitation of those who lost their homes, belongings and means of livelihood and immediate revival of normal economic activities in all the riot affected areas now remain primary national task. They need to be addressed with utmost expedition, understanding and sympathy. The spirit of spontaneous support and brotherhood demonstrated by all sections of the society in Gujarat in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake has to be kindled once again. The rehabilitation package has to be comprehensive and cover all strata of society.

I announce an immediate package of assistance of Rs. 150 crore to Government of Gujarat to carry out its implementation. ...*(Interruptions)* This package of assistance will primarily include reconstruction and repair of damaged houses and shops, both in rural and urban areas, provision of assistance to all the self-employed categories who lost their earning assets, financial support for re-commencing business commercial and industrial activities..."

It also includes revival of educational, medical and other institutions in the affected areas and special programmes to benefit widows and children.

This package will be fully supplemented by loans and assistance from banks and financial institutions on liberal and concessional terms as were extended following the earthquake of January 26, 2001.

The active involvement of HUDCO and the National Housing Bank for building and reconstruction of houses and shops would be enlisted. Similarly, financial institutions would be asked to catalyse industrial and economic activities. In this endeavour, the National Minorities Finance and Development Corporation would be enabled to play a supportive role.

Convergence of employment and welfare schemes like *Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana and Sampurna Gramin Rozgar Yojana*, would be promoted, where necessary, be suitably augmenting the provisions under them. It will be ensured that no one affected by the communal riots is left out of this relief and rehabilitation.

This rehabilitation package is in addition to a comprehensive relief package that I had announced when I visited Ahmedabad on April 4, 2002. Since March, relief in one form or another is already in hand. To enhance the vital need for immediate rehabilitation, The Government will ensure that this package is implemented within four months. For this, the Cabinet Secretariat has

been asked to monitor the work of implementation on a weekly basis.

SHRI KAMAL NATH: Will he report to the House?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. YERRANNAIDU: Sir, the hon. Prime Minister has given his reply. We made four demands. Some demands have been covered by the hon. Prime Minister. The foremost one is this. We have demanded the change in leadership to create faith and harmony among the people of Gujarat and to create normalcy and communal harmony in Gujarat. It has not been covered. So, in protest, we decide to walk out from the House.

03.58 hrs.

(At this stage, Shri K. Yerrannaidu and some other hon. Members left the House.)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Sir, the supporting party from outside has walked out from the House. What could be the unanimity now?...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, a long discussion of 16 hours has already been held. Sir, first of all I extend my thanks to all hon. leaders and Members of this House.

04.00 hrs.

A very important and serious debate has taken place and all the members from both the sides have given important suggestions and have also expressed their concern. I was expecting that the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs should have spoken more on this issue. Members of the National Human Rights Commission, Minority Commission and other Non-Governmental Organisations made a visit to the riot affected areas of Gujarat. Besides, an all party delegation and delegation of our front also went there. Everyone felt that the Government has been weak in its actions there. And then we cannot simply agree that nothing adverse is said about the Government, merely praising them and saying that the administration must have been at fault, but not the Chief Minister, is absolutely wrong. Statement of the Chief Minister has all the more increased tension. The hon. Minister of Home Affairs, has very expressed his regrets over the riots that occurred in Gujarat. The hon. Prime Minister also accepted a few facts, but there have been apprehensions that whether there is any truth in the incidents of rape or not. As has been said that some of such incidents have taken place, but the fact is