

19.50 hrs

### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

#### Communal Situation in the Country

[English]

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ.** (Baramulla): I want the Home Minister to be here before I raise a discussion on the communal situation.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr Arif Mohammad Khan is here. He will take down notes. The Home Minister is in the other House. He will come and join in due course... (*Interruptions*)

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** I am seriously telling you to call the Home Minister ... (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Because of that we are not going to stop the proceedings... (*Interruptions*)

**THE MINISTER OF ENERGY AND MINISTER OF CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN):** I appreciate what Mr. Soz is saying. The Home Minister is busy in Rajya Sabha. I will take note of what Mr. Soz will say and he will definitely get response from the Home Minister. (*Interruptions*)

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** He must come while I am speaking. This shows your interest in this ... (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Arif will take care of what you will say

(*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please take your seats.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please carry on.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Sir, I want this House to preserve, sustain, maintain and strengthen the traditions of this House.

That is why I was raising this. Now, Sir, I was saying that it is sickening when we hear of terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir State. Everyday I pray for peace and tranquillity in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir State and I pray for the unity and integrity of my country. Terrorism is a great problem but I consider communalism is a very great menace. I was very sorry that the President did not dwell on the communal situation in the country and he did not mention Bhagalpur in his Address. In my opinion.. (*Interruptions*). Please do not interrupt.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Please address the Chair.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** But you do not interrupt. That is my appeal to you... (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

Why do you get agitated whenever a reprence is made to Bhagalpur.

[English]

Sir, I felt very sorry that the President did not mention Bhagalpur and the communal riots that took place. We have a long history of riots in this country. During these forty-two years, so many riots took place. There is no time to list them even. But the communal riots that took place in the recent past at Bhagalpur, at Monghyr, Sitamarhi, Sasaram, Badaun, Dhanbad, Indore and at other places had a design. As far as Bhagalpur riot is concerned, all people have agreed that the design in Bhagalpur was such that it was the worst communal situation experienced in this country since 1946-47. Even the Bihar Chief Minister, Jagannath Mishra said recently, while deploreding these riots that this was the biggest riot in the country, and he agreed that the Congress party paid the price for that.

Most heinous crimes were committed in Bhagalpur and its suburbs, particularly in Chandheri and Lugain.. (*Interruptions*). I will talk about the Congress, I will talk about the

[Prof. Saifuddin Soz]

Janata Dal also, because I am speaking as a nationalist. You only bear with me. I will not spare anybody. It is not for nothing that I am initiating the discussion... (*Interruptions*).

[Translation]

SHRI JANARDHANA TIWARI (Siwan): What has happened in Kashmir?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: I would speak about Kashmir also. At the moment, we are discussing Bhagalpur.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will request the Members to be patient. I will give opportunity to every Member. Let him say what he wants to say.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Massacre of innocent people, innocent men, women and children took place in Bhagalpur and at several places in Bihar. I am concentrating on Bhagalpur and particularly on Lugain because its design was very horrible—burning of children and women alive, cutting the limbs of helpless people and throwing them away. This is what happened at Bhagalpur. This is what happened at Chandheri. This is what happened at Lugain. The pattern remained the same everywhere, for these were meticulously organised riots. But Bhagalpur riots remained a class by themselves. In order that the House appreciates what actually happened at Bhagalpur, I will throw some light briefly on the incident that occurred in Lugain... (*Interruptions*).

20 hrs.

I want to understand, Mr. Chairman, through you, why are some of these Members interrupting because I am discussing communalism as a menace in this country, and they don't know—somebody was asking about Kashmir, I was the man who fought an election there and there was a terrible threat to my life and Janata Dal did not put up

a candidate there and little you talk. If you have any honour, any respect for the dignity of India, you should have brought honour for me also. (*Interruptions*). He was wanting me to tell him about Kashmir.

Mr. Chairman, I told you, I was to talk about Lugain. It was on 27th October 1989 that armed gangs attacked in a planned manner earmarked houses in that hamlet called Lugain. Fire was set to houses and the members of the families of the burning houses were massacred, women and children, people belonging to the minority communities; most brutally men, women and children were massacred and the household effects were looted and plundered. There was another gang whose duty was to plunder and loot the personal effects of those unfortunate people. Mr. Chairman, it is based on research. Then the corpses, 116 of them, were dragged and dumped in two wells and a pond. This was done with the help of constabulary. The entire hamlet was done to death and this drama of destruction and death was completed minutely as per the plan the Chowki officer of Jagdishpur, Ramachander Singh, reported that it was a feud between two groups and he tried to hush up the matter and close Roznamcha saying that there were no deaths. And it was, Mr. Chairman, that weeks later, a couple of conscientious officers dugged out the truth. It was one officer, A.K. Singh, Additional District Magistrate, who visited Lugain on 19th November 1989, as late as that, not his fault because the Chowki Officer has closed the Roznamcha saying that there were no deaths. But since A.K. Singh had heard that there was some trouble, he went to that village to distribute relief and he was casually told there that there was some tension. As per deaths, there was no report, he was not told anything, but he could smell in that atmosphere, as also he could smell something foul and there was foul smell also and A.K. Singh suspected that something bad had happened in Lugain and he went to Bhagalpur. When he returned on 20th November, he ordered an inquiry. Now, see the constabulary in Bihar. He had discouraged the Additional District Magistrate. He was

told on his face that he was sensation monger, there were no deaths in Lughain and yet, he wanted to make an inquiry. Singh was dubbed as sensation monger. In the meantime, another officer from the Bihar Agricultural Services Mr. M.P. Sinha goes on a tour to that village Lughaine and he heard people speaking of the deaths. He confirmed before Mr. A.K. Singh that massacre of innocent people had taken place. He confirmed what Mr. A.K. Singh had suspected. I am bringing on record Mr. A.K. Singh as a conscientious officer. he proceeds with the prosecution and he made an application with the administration about the above incident. But that diseased administration was busy in elections and no heed was paid to what Mr. A.K. Singh had reported. In the meantime there were some transfers and finally DIG Mr. A. Dutt was appointed to conduct the enquiry. This was very late. As many Members of this House must be knowing, it was as late as on 3rd of December that Mr. Dutt went to Lughaine and it was confirmed to him. It was not before 8th of December that the fields were opened and human bodies were dug out. The riot had taken place on 27th October and the DIG Mr. Dutt had dug out the corpora from the fields on 8th of December. Even for that, the credit goes to a conscientious officer like Mr. A.K. Singh. When the DIG went to Lughaine the kacha road was blocked by Mr. Ramchander Singh and his gang. Then on 27th Mr. Ramchander's two sons were leading the gang. This is known to the DIG Mr. Dutt and to the present Bihar Government. They tried to block the DIG's road but failed. Mr. Ramchander Singh had tried to destroy all the evidences by digging up the corporate from the wells and dumping them into the field. He had grown mustard and cauliflower in those fields in order to destroy the evidence. He could hardly imagine that Mr. A.K. Singh, the Additional District Magistrate instead of giving *sabash* to Mr. Ramchander and his colleagues who are marauders would go in for prosecution against him. He never expected it. The DIG Mr. Dutt admitted when he went to Bhagalpur that Mr. Ramchander Singh was deeply involved in the crime. That places on record

the CPI Ex-MLA Mr. Naresh Dass and two eye-whitenesses Mr. Sukhi Pandit and Mr. Buddu Mandal. They were called to Bhagalpur because there were threats for them and they could not speak openly in Lughaine. So they were taken in a vehicle to Bhagalpur to speak the truth. Mr. Ramchander Singh had tried all his methods in the game plan and even he grew a crop over the dead bodies, but he could not contain the foul smell from extremely contaminated and decomposed bodies. Truth cannot remain hidden for long. Since Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan who represents Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed knows many verses by heart, I remind him how the truth could not remain hidden.

"Kareeb yaro hai roze masshar  
Chhupega kushton ka khoon kyon kar  
Jo chup rahegi zobane khanjar  
Lahu Pukarega aasteen ka."

So, when all this happened, Mr. Ramachandra and his *goondas* could not suppress the truth. And, therefore, Mr. A.K. Singh, Dr. Dutt and others dug out the truth and the truth is before us. Mr. A.K. Singh and DIG, Mr. Dutt put so many question to the people of Lughaine particularly to *Sukhi Pandit* and *Vadumal* asking "How did you allow in your village such things when they were your brothers? Hindus and Muslims were to live together. Why did you remain silent?" Those people who do not know triterry like many people who are in politics told those officers, "What could we do? The whole atmosphere was against us and where would we go?" Very good stories appear in the Press. Every word that I speak in truth and nothing but the truth. Why does it pinch you? I do not understand. Sukhi Pandit and Vadumal just told them, "What could we do? The whole atmosphere was against us. At the best, we would go to the police. But here, the police is leading the gangsters to attack". They revealed the whole truth. They wept at the police. "But there was no energy in our bodies to save our brethren. We loved them; we respected them. We agree that we have to live in this country together", they said.

[Prof. Saifuddin Soz]

[Translation]

Mr. dear brother, these are not their words because they do not know the art of versification. I know what Vadumal and Sukhi Pandit told them. What they must have said on that occasion may be conveyed by Shri Arif Mohd. Khan to Shri Mufti Mohd. Sayeed in the following verse because he does not remember it. However I would like to bring it on record of the House that Shri A.K. Singh, Shri Vadumal and DIG Shri Dutt are very conscientious officers. What they were told by these simple and innocent village people, can be reproduced in the following words of a Pakistani poet Faiz:-

"Bane hain Aile Awas, Muddai bhi,  
Munsif bhi,  
Kise vakeel karein, kis se munsafi  
chahen".

[English]

Those people said, "Where do we get justice? We would go to the Thana. But the Thana, Chowki officer is leading the gang. We cannot go there. They have joined the marauders, or they have planned the whole operation."

Mr. Chairman, when I mentioned Sukhi Pandit and Vadumal, I must also mention DIG who has mentioned that Gandhi Peace Foundation lent great support to the investigation. The Foundation Secretary, Mr. Kidar Chaurasia said, "It happened because there was inefficient administration". He gave another information that Muslims possessed land in that village and the marauders wanted to kill all of them so that they could possess the land. Gandhi Peace Foundation provided great help. They did a good job. Perhaps it was Mr. Vijay Kumar of the Gandhi Peace Foundation who was the first to give information about Laghaine. He must also be knowing the reasons why had riots of that nature taken place there.

[Translation]

There are persons who see all these things happening before their eyes. But they do not come forward. Just now you heard what Shri A.K. Singh had said about it and how the DIG, Shri Dutt acted in this matter.

[English]

This is what Gandhi Peace Foundation did. The Janata Dal leader...\*... was involved in this gang. This is also proved on record. He did not meet even Raja Saheb when he went to Bhagalpur. With what face would he come there because during the elections, he raised the slogan—

[Translation]

Stamp the symbol of Sudarshan Chakra.

[English]

He is suspected to be one of the planners of these riots.

[Translation]

AN HON. MEMBER: ...He did not contest elections.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: He worked for the party. I have not said it that he contested elections.

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI (Domariaganj): From where did you get this record?

(Interruptions)

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: This is on record. Why this massacre has taken place? (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI RADHA MOHAN SINGH(Mothiari): Mr. Chairman, Sir, he is in

\*Not recorded.

the wrong... it means that he did not contest elections. (*Interruptions*)

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ :** He worked for the party. I have not said it that he contested elections.

**SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI:** From where did you collect this record?

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** I will produce that also. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI LALU PRASAD (Chhapra):** Mr. Chairman, Sir,... has been an MLA in Bihar who achieved such heights popularity that none else could achieve among the Muslims in Bhagalpur. Muslims alone cast about four and a half lakh votes in favour of ..... has been a Lok Dal MLA. I know that the Congress had its direct involvement in the riots in Bhagalpur. The party to which he has been lending his support has been taught a lesson by the people of Bhagalpur. He is making meaningless and irrational statements. Hence, it should be expunged from the record.

**SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI:** The hon. Member cannot make a mention of the name of a particular individual. It should not go on record.

[*English*]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Prof Soz, I do not want any names. Do not make any allegation when that person is not in the House. Whatever the names, names do not go on the record.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Why all names?

**SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN:** Prof. Saifuddin Soz has mentioned the name of an hon. Member of this House and he has made an allegation of a very serious nature against him. Has he given as required under the rules, any notice to the Chair that he wants to make this allegation against a sitting Member, an hon. Member of this House and, if the

hon. Member (*Interruptions*) Let me complete my formulation. I am not going into the merits of his allegation. I am only saying whatever he has said. If he has not given you prior notice, this is against the rules and I think if the hon. Member will agree to withdraw these remarks. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** He says that he has not contested elections from that constituency... (*Interruptions*)...

**SHRI ARIF MOHD. KHAN:** Who says this ? He is the hon. Member. ... (*Interruptions*)...

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora):** He has never said it that he contested elections. He said that he simply assisted during the elections.. (*Interruptions*)..

[*English*]

**SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN:** I think Shri Harish Rawat was not attentive while hon. Member was speaking because he referred to the election campaign. He referred to the candidature. Please go through the records.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** I never said he fought election. I said during the election this was his slogan and I can give you a report in the press. He can defend his position in the House. I am not worried about that.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Prof. Saifuddin Soz., rule is here. If you want to make any allegation against a member, you have to give prior notice for that. When you have not given, please do not mention his name. That will not go on record. You have to get the prior permission.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** It is nothing but what I see in the press, I am reporting to you.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Whatever it may be, if you want to talk about him, you have to get

the prior permission. My ruling is already given. It will not go on record. (*Interruptions*). I am not allowing anything to go on record. Prof. Saifuddin Soz to carry on.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ :** I was giving you the copies of the worst riots. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Don't circulate that book like that.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Finally, I was told that it happened because of Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute. What is the dispute about that? There is no dispute in my opinion. It belongs genuinely to Muslims. But it is pending before the Court. But so far as history is concerned, I may remind this House that there is essentially no dispute because the Hindus have protected in the past the status of the mosque. It was in 1949 that Mata Prasad, the constable who was on duty at the Babri Mosque who saw an idol being surreptitiously put in the Mosque first and he went to the *thana*. The persons who lodged the first FIR was also a Hindu—a Sub-Inspector of Police. Again in 1949 and in 1950 when the proceedings were taken to the court before the Sessions Judge, it is again the District Magistrate of Ayodhya Jankinath Ogra who deposed before the Judge and said that it was a vacant piece of land and the Mosque was constructed during Babar's time. Because of putting the idols there and the Hindus taking notice of that, Akshai Pandit, who is now called Akshai Brammachari who went on a fast in 1950 for 11 days. The then Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Lal Bahadur Sahstry on whose personal assurance that the Mosque would be restored to Muslims and religious institutions would be respected, secularism would prevail in this country that Akshai Pandit in the year 1950 broke his fast. So, in my opinion there is no dispute. Sir, when it is a matter before the Court, why should the BJP and the VHP have taken the that they would not honour the verdict of the Court. This was the background of refusal by the BJP.. (*Interruptions*) I want to complete and then they can speak. Mr. Khurana can speak

later.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. I am repeating that...

[*English*]

He is not the spokesman of the B.J.P.

[*Translation*]

If the members of B.J.P. have to say something, they will speak themselves.

[*English*]

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** When the BJP is taking the position that they would not honour the Court verdict and its outfit the VHP is taking the position that they would not honour the Court Verdict that generated an atmosphere in this country.

[*English*]

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** Lord Ram was born in Ayodhya, so a temple would be constructed there.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** We will see how the temple would be constructed there.

[*English*]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please order. Please be brief.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** We had warned the then Home Minister, S. Buta Singh. We had told him to be responsible for this position.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** Have you seen the way they are talking ?

**SHRI ARIF MOHD KHAN:** I have also listened to you.

[English]

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** We had warned the then Home Minister that the position taken by the BJP and the VHP was not correct. We had warned him. I was also one who had warned him directly that on the Railway Station, posters were hung.

[Translation]

"Welcome to the capital of Hindu Rashtra".

[English]

We had warned him that the Ram Shila Puja procession had no religious sanction behind them and this was a political game. We have warned S. Buta Singh that these kind of processions would generate heat in the country; there would be blood-shed and there would be anarchy. We had also told him that Hedgewar Centenary Celebrations had been utilised to communalise the situation in the country. Sardar Buta Singh does not seem to have taken notice of what we protested against. The Congress has paid the price is ample measure for Sardar Buta Singh's mistakes, for his surrender before the VHP... (Interruptions). If you listen to me, you will know that I am speaking about the Congress also. I will not elaborate more on this because they paid the price.

It was Sardar Buta Singh's mistake. I wanted Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed to be here because he gave a written answer to a question yesterday which is not correct. It was my starred question. He gave an answer which is not borne by the record. That is not correct. He should not have taken the position that Sardar Buta Singh took on the plot number 586.

Sardar Buta Singh committed a mistake by not taking recourse to the court verdict. The court had decided on 7th November that the plot of land was the piece of land under dispute. On 8th November they got a clarification from the District Collector that this piece of land, although it was a very big

piece of land, is not close to Babri Mosque and therefore it is not under dispute. That was wrong and the hon. Home Minister had taken the position that the plot of land 586 is not a disputed piece of land. This is wrong. Because, he says, it has been further reported that the District Magistrate saying "I am not concerned with the District Magistrate of Faizabad". That is what he says. He has sought clarificatory orders of the Court. He does not know that even now Babri Masjid Action Committee has gone into contempt against these orders of the District Magistrate. It is before the Lucknow Bench of the High Court there. So, this position is not correct. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

**SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. As per rules, if a matter is subjudice, it cannot be discussed in the House. That will be against the rules of procedure and conduct of Business in the House. Hon'ble member has said that the matter is subjudice. Hence, it should not be discussed in the House.

[English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** He is not discussing about the matter which is in the Court.

(Interruptions)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Soz, you may please restrict your speech by not going into those matters.

(Interruptions)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I told him not to discuss about the matter which is in the Court. Whatever is subjudice cannot be discussed.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Bhagalpur has raised so many questions for the nation. Before I raise these questions, I would like to know from the Home Minister as to what is the actual number of deaths in Bhagalpur because the figures he has given yesterday... (Interruptions)

## [Translation]

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** Shri Bhagwat Jha will tell you.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Am I a pleader ! Am I pleading for anybody !

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA:** You have not mentioned the name of Shri Bhagwat Jha

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Shri Bhagat Jha is associated with Sardar Buta Singh.

## [English]

The hon. Home Minister stated yesterday in an answer that in entire Bihar, including Bhagalpur, there were 482 deaths I challenge these figures to be incorrect

There is a Muslim body called Imarat-e-Shariat in Bihar. It has given figures and that is not complete also It has already provided to the Chief Minister, a list of 742 people—men, women and children, who were killed, with their father's name and full addresses This may not be a complete list BBC put the deaths at 3,000 In rural India also, BBC has a credibility. You see, how even in rural India, people listen to the news broadcast by BBC The BBC put the death at 3,000 Now there is a question The Chief Minister of Bihar said recently that he has provided relief to 300 people or 300 families Does it mean that only 300 people or families died? I understand that nearly 400 families have not received relief so far What about that relief? How many people have been compensated? How many people have been wounded? Can it be left to the State Government of Bihar? It is a national question. Now, I am asking, will the Central Government do something on war-footing? Can I have an assurance from the Home Minister?

Now, Sir, the question that Bhagalpur has raised is for the whole nation. I will tell very briefly What do you do with the constabulary in Bihar, UP and perhaps somewhere in North Bihar? This is the first ques-

tion. It has become communalised. Gian Committee report is here. It is nothing. It is an eye-wash. It avoided all questions. How PAC was responsible for the massacre in Malliana, Hashimpura and Meerut? How was constabulary responsible for the massacre there? How was it responsible for what had happened in Logaeen? What are you going to do with this? People want protection from army. People want protection from BSF. They rejected constabulary as communal in Bihar and in UP. What are you doing with these communal constabularies? (*Interruptions*) I am speaking for the nation. (*Interruptions*) Did I not mention this? You tell me, did I not mention Shri Buta Singh? (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Don't create tension here. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Let him speak. Why are you interfering?

(*Interruptions*)

## [Translation]

**SHRIMADAN LAL KHURANA:** Hundred years old temples have been demolished in Kashmir. Tell us about that also. (*Interruptions*)

## [English]

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** I have spoken about the constabulary. I am having 14 reports with me. These reports are gathering dust in the Home Ministry. There were so many commissions, which went into the riots in this country. What are its recommendations? Does anyone analyse these recommendations? When are you going to solve this problem? This is my question. There was a recommendation that there would be anti-riot police. What happened to that suggestion, what happened to that recommendation? What about the representation? (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I have given so many warnings. He goes on telling he will say very

briefly. This is applicable to everyone. Even when you are speaking, the something is applicable. That is what I am telling. So, we have to adjust certain things.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): He has been levelling charges and blaming eminent people like Shri Hedgewar who was a great patriot. Has he been given absolute freedom? Can't we put a check on him... (*Interruptions*)..

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: It is not an arena, it is Lok Sabha. Shri Arif will like you because he is your colleague.

SHRI KALKA DAS: He has levelled a number of allegations against Dr. Hedge-war. It should be expunged.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Do not put words into my mouth. I never said a word against the late Dr. Hedgewar.

[*Translation*]

SHRI KALKA DAS: You have just stated the Hedgewar centenary celebrations had been utilised to communalise the situation in the country... (*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Let me clarify that I never said anything against late Mr. Hedgewar.... (*Interruptions*)...

[*Translation*]

is being utilised to communalise the situation.... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS: You should prove it... (*Interruptions*)...

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I will prove it... (*Interruptions*)....

SHRI KALKA DAS : I am telling you that they have constructed mosques there by demolishing the temples....(*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Now what about representation of Muslim community in the Army and the Police in proportion to their population. I will give an example and, I hope, Shri Arif Mohammad Khan will convey to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister that in the U.P. PAC there are 40,000 personnel and the number of Muslim is only 125 (*Interruptions*)

My fifth suggestion is a question for the nation. There is a suggestion from Shri Kapil Dev Shastri of Janta Dal. I saw it in the press. He has made a suggestion that in every thana there is a temple and he says these temples should be demolished in order to save police of being communalised.

[*Translation*]

SHRI LALU PRASAD: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. I would like to tell you that there are two groups of Muslims in Bhagalpur i.e. Ansaris and Sallans who had started riots in the city. A bomb was thrown on the S.P., Bhagalpur and 11 police personnel were injured. They had thrown that bomb on the occasion of Ram Shila Pujan, but these people have not been yet rounded up. All this is happening at the instance of the D.I.G. Shri Nasim Ahmed.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not a point of order. It is his discretion.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Will this government institute an inquiry into the riots of Bhagalpur and other places by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court? This is a matter which cannot be left to the Government of Bihar. Government must commit itself to accepting

[Prof. Saifuddin Soz]

the recommendations made by such an inquiry.

Now I come to my seventh suggestion. No doubt, Gian Prakash report is trash and humbug but one good suggestion has been made by that committee. Gian Prakash Committee made a suggestion.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who is Gian Prakash?

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: How could you know it? It is we who have undergone the sufferings. I will show you this in the Library.

[English]

Gian Prakash recommended that people, who show valour and exemplary traits of secularism—when a Hindu saves a Muslim, or when a Muslim saves a Hindu—in the riots, should be honoured publicly. Will you kindly locate such people? I refer to some like Sanjeev Jha and Raminder Singh who took a great risk and tried to save their Muslim brothers in Naya Bazar at Bhagalpur. Will you honour them publicly as Gian Prakash Report had said? You kindly note Sanjeev Singh, Raminder Singh and men like Naresh Dass, Budhoo Mandhal and Sukhi Pandit. Will you also honour officers like A.K. Singh and Ajeet Dutt. Will you send Ramchander Singh duty officer of Jagdishpur, and his like to gallows? he is still absconding. Will you honour public men who saved their brethren at the cost of their lives.

They are giving autonomy to Radio and Television. It is a very good thing. But will they secularise Radio and Television? I don't want Radio and Television to cover any Muharram jaloos any Rath Yatra or any other function. I want Radio and Television to be totally secular.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS : It goes to the credit of the Government that they have been made secular. You should praise this Government for it.

[English]

PROF. SHAILENDRANATH SHRIVASTAVA (Patna): Radio and Television have been secular. They are secular and will remain secular. Do you mean that Radio and Television are not secular? What do you mean by that?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: When this subject comes, we will have a discussion on that. (Interruptions) Will you kindly rise above politics on this vital national issue and not apportion blame in future and call the National Integration Council and also issue a white paper on the riots in Bhagalpur and elsewhere?

I am concluding with a little paragraph of Justice D.P. Madon. I was emboldened by these good men who sacrificed their lives in Naya Bazar. Justice Madon reminds me of the same people. This is what he said in 1974:

"We have had enough of a time to hate and a time to kill, a time to destroy and a time to rend. Let there be now a time to heal and a time to build, a time to clasp hands and a time to be one. With the memory of those bright encounters, on the way, let us then end, in hope and confidence."

Thank you very much. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: When Members are speaking, don't become emotional as it will create problems in future. I request all the Members to be patient. I will give chance to all of you and you can raise your points at that time. If you become emotional the debate cannot be continued peacefully. You may have difference of opinion... (Interru-

tions)... Please be patient. Mr. Jaffer Sharief may speak now.

**SHRI C.K. JAFFER SHARIEF** (Bangalore North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to start my speech with what we have been taught during the freedom struggle, i.e. In 1942 and 1947. What we were told and taught in our childhood and during freedom struggle is:

"Shimsa satyaseva brahmacharya  
sangraha:  
Shareere sharamaswada sarvatra  
maye barjana  
Sarvadharma samantva swadeshi  
sparsha bhavna  
Ehi mayoh updesha ehi sevave  
namrate vadati"

This is what we were taught. I am sorry that my learned friend, Mr. Advani is not here at this moment... (*Interruptions*)... I am glad that he has arrived just Now.. (*Interruptions*) .... Kindly bear with me and have mercy. This is the spirit which gave strength to every Indian, irrespective of caste, community and creed, who fought for the freedom. We can take the credit of freedom struggle from the day the British came to India. As was rightly pointed out by Mr. Advani, great leaders like Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Shri Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lal Laipat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Shri Abul Kalam Azad and Shri Khan Abdul Gaffer Khan fought for our freedom. Sir, we are forgetting the history. That is the whole sadpart of Indian politics today. We are often reminded of Moghul history. We forget all those great freedom fighters who taught us as to what is freedom and how dear is freedom to us. I belong to the State from where Tipu Sultan hailed. He organised the Indian rulers of those days, may be the Rajputs, may be the Hindus, may be the Muslims or others who struggled for the freedom of this country. He was not only the freedom fighter but a person who taught us what we talk as secularism today. Go and ask the Sringeri Jagath Guru in Chikmagalur as to when the Marathas invaded the Mutt, who came to the rescue and who gave the

real rehabilitation and relief. Even today, the crown which Swamiji wears was presented by the Nizam of Hyderabad. Sir, I do not want to waste my time. Much is talked about Ram temple and Ram Mandir. I must tell one thing with great respect that Ram is not in the temples. He should be in the hearts, not keeping an idol in the temple. What is the difference between Hindu, Sindhi and we, Muslims? Even in Hinduism, we talk of 'Aakhaar' and 'Niraakhaar'. Those who believe in 'Niraakhaar' in your community agree with us, which we also profess. We do not know the form of God. This is all the difference. You want to exhibit and demonstrate to the world that Islam is intolerant to other religions. Go and see Indonesia and Malaysia! They talk of Lord Rama more than mere Ram Bhaktas here. I have discovered this on my part. I am sorry to say that we are here because of what we have done previously. We have paid the price. Do not commit the same mistake ! We should be concerned about humanity as a whole. Who stopped when we talked about nuclear explosion ? We are concerned about apartheid, we are concerned about humanity but what do we do here ? It is an accident of fate and it is good that we are here and they are there. Let us not hide the truth. The truth is that Ram Janma Bhoomi and Babri Masjid are sitting here together. I compliment the Leftist Government for they did not allow any procession in their State. I want to be on record and I have been on record that even when my own party was in power, when we were sitting on that side, I did not spare anybody, whether he is the Chief Minister of UP or Gujarat. I do not want to blame the present Government because it has come just a week or two ago. They have along time to go and it is going to be a test. I feel concerned and I am one with Prof. Soz. Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed should have been here. He has the distinction of being the first have been here. He has the distinction of being the first Muslim Home Minister stepping into the shoes of Sardar Patel : This is a debate concerning him. This Government has the distinction of appointing a Muslim as its Home Minister. He should have been here. I am sorry that he is not there. The fact

[Sh. C.K. Jaffer Sharief]

remains yesterday, today, every day and more or less for the last two years, the debate on Bofors is going on and on. If you really believe that Bofors has placed you there, I am happy. Please go ahead and let us not misunderstand. Mr. Advani is speaking very good about the freedom of electronic media. Mr. Advani, I am one with you. Neither you will be there nor I will be there. We will all be dead and go up in another 25 years or 40 years, according to whatever God has written in our account. So, let us understand and think over as to what we are going to leave behind. Look at the mass media, the films ! A man in public life is shown as a rapist, as a criminal as a drug smuggler, as a swindler, etc. Do you think that the future generation will have faith in this system? What will they learn from this system? We are sitting and talking of sovereignty and freedom of this country. Are we going to leave this freedom for others, the coming generations, or are we going to end this freedom here itself? My friends are sitting in the gallery. I have great respect for them. Without them, we cannot survive. All our mistakes are pointed out by them and we owe a great deal to them, because through them we get education. But what do we like today? Sensational news. What is today a sensational news? It is not the constructive work being done either by a scientist or an engineer or by an agriculturist or a farmer or an industrial worker. The sensational news today is how many buses have been broken, how many cinemas we have set on fire, how many trains we have derailed. Let us ponder over that. We will not be here and we will leave our children and grand children to live ad they are the ones who will remember us.

I have gone to a number of places like Moradabad, Meerut, Bhiwandi, Indore, Allahabad and other places. I must tell my BJP friends here that I have even gone to RSS shakhas. I have learnt something out of them. I used to go there when I was a young boy. Before joining the Congress, I was a *sewadar* volunteer. I was very enamored of

this when I was a student. I used to attend the shakhas and used to say what is being taught today

"Namaste sada vatsale matrubhoomi"

I got something and I learnt something from you. What

I feel asked today as an Indian is:

[Translation]

Do we have to learn about the glory of India from you? Are the Muslims of India not aware about the glory of their country ?

[English]

Why all this today? I can understand some people who have come from the other part during 1947 have faced such problems, or the persons who have gone from here are not recognised even till today. They are suffering and they are *achhuts* there. But why do you treat us a second class citizens? Why do you doubt out faith in the country's unity and solidarity. Why do you think that you are the only saviour of India or *Hindustan*? Not we. Why do you think that it is only your blood that is Indian and our blood is not Indian ? Something shameful.

Prof. Soz. was talking of Hegdewar. Who can question and who can denigrate a patriot who had the best of values, but what was the design in the celebrations to mobilize the Hindus? Why can't we project our patriots, those who taught us the Indianhood as the national heroes ? Why do you want to divide the Indian community into sections as Hindus, Muslims, as Sikhs or as Isais? The history has inherited so many religions and we should learn to live and that is how India is great today—unity in indivisibility. That is where our strength lies. What are we going to do today? Can we deny the fact that the Iyenger Muslims voted for the Janta Dal and the Iyenger Hindus voted for BJP? What is the net result? The net result is that we are sitting here. Can we deny that fact? It is all right that Congress is out of power. I am

happy about it because it gives us time to think where we have gone wrong.

**21 hrs.**

I must say, I have great respect for Advani Ji. He made an honest confession that with the Left they had basic differences in certain ideologies, polices and programmes. Congress is a product of freedom struggle. A lot of people were there. Shri Shyama Prasad Mukherjee went out or Acharya Kriplani left with KMP. Jaya Prakashji left for PSP. People who joined the Freedom Struggle left the Congress and they formed their own parties. Can we say that they were not patriots? Why do you denigrate us today? I am sorry, my friend Shri V.P. Singh, the Prime Minister is not here. He is my good friend and we were together in the Government. But why should he shy of taking the name of Jawaharlalji and Indiraji? For so long he was in our Government. He was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. He was in the Rajiv Gandhi's Government. Why should we go to such levels? Should we not pass on some healthy traditions for the future generations? Is power all that important? Are we going to live with this power for ever? Yesterday you were not there in power. And today we are not in power and you are here. You talk about changing the education policy and so on. Please do whatever you want to do. I do not come in your way and I am not going to question you. But if you do not inculcate certain values, if you do not establish good precedents and a good and healthy system in the country and if you do not rise above religious and communal barriers, you will not be forgiven. I am sorry that my Government also committed some mistakes. It gave recognition to some self-appointed so called religious leaders who traded with the prestige of the Government. Had it not been so, this situation would not have arisen. We the minority representatives of the Government were not recognised and outsiders who are sitting here and shouting were recognised and honoured. They were taken more into confidence. I am sorry about it. We have paid the price. But I am not bothered about it. With

all humility, I would appeal to Advaniji and his party not to raise any issues which are going to be controversial. Do not create a sense of insecurity in the minds of the people. We are all brothers. I do not mind accepting you even as my big brother. But treat me with love and affection and give me a sense of security. You talked in Simla about how you were going to have a Common Civil Code. Do you really want this Government to survive? What are the issues that you are raising? Today you have increased your number here. Not only those blocks, take this entire block too. Who prevents you? Ours is a democratic system. When your chance comes after Shri V.P. Singh, you can take it. We do not mind. What is wrong in it? You are as patriotic as we are. You also have to rule the country in a democratic system. Every party is in power in some State or the other. The Janata Dal ruled in our State also. Sometimes you may rule and sometimes we. In this democratic system, we keep on changing. It is the will of the people which prevails ultimately. But let us not vitiate the atmosphere and create further crises.

As you have rightly pointed out yesterday, you have your priorities. You have priorities on Punjab, priorities on Kashmir and priorities on the subject that is being debated today. Let me say that this is not a small subject. Unfortunately, for our political ends, we have taken it to the streets, to the villages and towns and upto the young children. We should now wash the dirt. We should not allow the atmosphere to be further polluted. We should see to it that at least the future generations should be free from such situations. I tell you my friends, we should go outside and listen about India to know what people think about us and what people talk about us. We feel that we should be in a position to raise our heads high today as a nation. But when we come here and see what happens, and then those people outside ask us what is happening in India, we bow our heads in shame.

I am not talking as a party-man today. The party is nothing to me when the interest of the nation comes. Our forefathers and we

[Sh. C.K. Jaffer Sharief]

ourselves when we were young have given the best part of our lives for the sake of this country, in the service of the down-trodden and weaker sections.

I am in Parliament for the fifth time. I could not even dream of being here, if the basic character of the Indian people had not been secular. Indian people are basically secular; only we are opportunists. We try to divide Indian people in the name of religion and communities, just to achieve our political ends. I beg of you: let us rise above at least once, for the sake of posterity. None of us are going to live for long, but all that we speak is going to be on record. Can you deny this fact?

Yesterday, you spoke about some Judge. How many people who have retired, have joined political parties? They were earlier in service. Take the police officers. After their retirement, which political party have they joined? What would have been their attitude during the period of their service? I am not saying that you doubt them or distrust them. They are part of the system; but if we encourage them and if they become a party to that, where will it all end? I do not want to take much time. My Arif and Mr Gujral are both here. They will convey this to my friend Mr. V.P Singh, the Prime Minister of this country: I am very happy that he had said that Dr. Ambedkar's photograph would be put up in the Central Hall. It is a very good gesture. I am happy, and I congratulate him.

Will the Government at least now think of putting up a monument to remember the first freedom fighter of this country viz. Tippu Sultan who fought the British, organised Indians and gave lessons in secularism? If you agree, please let me know. I hope you will do it. My friends at the left, right and the centre will all cooperate.

There is one issue which is still remaining to be sorted out, viz. the Ram Janma Bhoomi Babri Masjid issue. It is there before the Judiciary. The judiciary is supreme. When

we talk of freedom of so many systems, we must respect this system. I hope all of us will do it. If any section tries to question its wisdom, then such challenges will go on.

Secondly, I personally feel that on emotional issues we should try to sit together and solve them. I am not much of a religious leader; but there are people like me who do namaaz. I do not think any religion is bad, any religion for that matter. If a culprit does not confess his guilt in the Supreme Court, he will at least confess it before the house of God—it may be a masjid, mandir, gurdwara or a church. It can be any place. These are the places where a man tried to mould his character and moral fibre. I am not against any religion. I am not against any temple. I am not against any mosque. I am not against any gurdwara. I am not against any Church. Only thing is we should not mix religion with politics. There is no point in blaming one another. All right, if some body has committed a mistake, at least you should start with a clean slate. Somebody should prove that we are clean we are sincere, we are going to be true. I hope that we have learnt the lesson. Let us not commit further blunders. Let us all begin with a clean slate to make the Indian secular fabric stronger and keep Indian's head high in the world and make India a strong secular socialist India not only for the Indian people but all the masses who are looking towards India for its leadership and the future destiny of humanity.

[Translation]

**SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI**  
(Domriaganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, a very serious matter is under discussion in the House today. Communal harmony is the basic condition for strengthening democracy and making the country strong and prosperous. But if a concrete solution to the communal problem is not found out, there will be no meaning of discussing this problem here. It is a fact that attempts are being made to spread hostility and hatred between Hindus and Muslims in the country today and I believe that the major reason behind this

'state of affairs is that the party which has been in power since independence and till recently, that is the congress party, has spread communalism in the country to a maximum extent. I was just listening to an hon. Member who said that in a democracy, a party may be in power one day and another day it may be out of power. It would have been better if he had conveyed it to his leader that Governments come and go, parties come into being and split but the basic values over which the entire democratic framework is based should not be bargained with. Had it been so, the Congress Government which had been responsible for the spread of communalism in the country by using the Hindu card and the Muslim card continuously would not have indulged in such things. The most shameful aspect is that maximum number of riots have taken place in the congress ruled States and I would like to know from my friends in the opposition as to why has it been so? I would also like to know that the committees set up to go into the communal riots...

**SHRI RAJ MANGAL PANDEY** (Deoria): It is not that maximum number of riots have taken place there but that riots have taken place only in the congress ruled States and not a single incident of riot has occurred in non-congress ruled States.

**SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI:** Shri Pandey has rightly remarked that incidents of riot have not taken place in the non-Congress ruled States. The reports of the various committees set up to go into the riots were not placed on the Table of the House. The people of the country were not informed as to who was responsible for these riots and what punishment has been awarded to them. Had such action been taken, perhaps the riots could have been checked, and communal harmony could have been restored. Let us recall as to where our former Prime Minister had paid his visit. He went to Devraha Baba to seek his blessings. The then Minister of Home Affairs and Dr. Balram Jakhar had also visited Devraha Baba for the same purpose. I know Devraha Baba because he belongs to my district. I recall that Dr. Lohia

about whom many people have a phobia, had criticised the then President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad when he cleaned the feet of brahmins at Rashtrapati Bhavan. He said that if we are truly committed to secularism and modernity, we cannot associate ourselves with such conservative and regressive way of thinking and caste based traditions. Because such an action regardless of the sentiments behind it, will create feelings of inferiority and insecurity among the minority community and weaker sections of the country. In regard to the Bhagalpur riots, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad has himself made a statement in the Press that a conspiracy has been hatched by certain elements which include officers and some leaders of the Congress and they have together organised these riots. As per his statement, the reasons behind the outbreak of these riots can be found in the inner factionalism of the Congress Party. One faction has used these riots to humiliate another faction.

**SHRI KALPANATH RAI** (Ghosi): Such a statement was never given.

**SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI:** You go and read the newspaper. That is why I would like to submit that Dr. Lohia had also stated that it was the duty of every Hindu to save the life of every Muslim even at the cost of his own life. Why did Dr. Lohia make such a statement? It was because the Hindu-Muslim issue is not merely related to these two communities but is related to Kashmir, Punjab and Pakistan. After all Pakistan was created to solve the problem of communal riots in the country. The then Congress leaders had thought that if the country was partitioned, the communal riots would come to an end. If we can put a check on communal riots and infuse a feeling of communal harmony and brotherhood among the Hindus and Muslims of this country, I believe that there will be no barriers of hatred between India and Pakistan. If the Berlin Wall can be demolished, China and Taiwan and even North and South Vietnam can merge into one nation, then a day may also come when India and Pakistan may reach the stage of their reunification. Then there will be no threat to the security of

[Sh. Brij Bhushan Tiwari]

the borders of this country. Being it so, we can concentrate on several other big problems facing us. In this way we can avoid the heavy expenditure on our defence due to which we find ourselves unable to spend money on our poverty and unemployment alleviation programmes. Then there will not be any more cases of kickbacks. Therefore, I have always been in favour of a no-war pact between Indian and Pakistan. At least there should be no formality of passport and visa between the two countries. But it is true that in the past both the countries had their own vested interests in letting the tension prevail as it helped them to continue with the dynastic rule and corruption to flourish. However there are democratic, nationalist and secular forces in Pakistan who want to establish a rapport with the masses. Therefore, the Government should pay attention to the crucial issues. It is true that the number of Muslims and other minorities has decreased in the services. After Independence, educational institutions offered the maximum number of job opportunities. But it may be seen that none of the privately-managed educational institutions employed even a single person belonging to the minority communities like Muslims or Harijans right from the level of a peon to the post of a principal. There are a number of such institutions in our country. In Government services also the minorities are very poorly represented.

At the time of Partition the affluent among the Muslims migrated to Pakistan whereas the poor Muslims stayed back Mr. Jinnah had offered the utopia of Pakistan to the Muslims of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. He also tried to instil fear in them, and brain-washed them into believing that they would not get justice in free India because Hindus would be in majority and they would rule there. However the fact remains that those Muslims who considered this country as their motherland stayed here while the richer ones went away. Moreover those who had migrated, are now known as Mujahids and they are having a hard time in Pakistan.

You know very well that the Indian Muslims continued to remain poor and uneducated because earlier Governments continued with their tall claims of being secular. Hence they did not take care of their welfare. Was that not the Government's responsibility? Time and again our Muslim leaders rake up the same old issues that enable them to collect funds in the name of welfare of their community. It is the misfortune of the present-day Indian Muslims that they do not have any national leader of their community who could guide them, and relieve the Muslim community of their poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. Moreover the few leaders they had were sycophants and selfish without any compassion for the poor of their community.

So this problem should be solved and for this, the Government should make serious efforts. I am happy that our hon. Prime Minister has said that all out efforts would be made by them to give a healing touch to all those of the minority communities whose sentiments have been hurt and to create a sense of security among them. It will also be our effort that all such problems as we have inherited here will be sorted out through a dialogue in a cordial atmosphere. But if we are not sincere and honest in our efforts the issues cannot be settled. The Congress (I) has hitherto created a number of problems and relished the sight of other's sufferings. Whenever the occasion arose, they did not stand firm but gave in to the communal forces. What was the result? This is what you get if you try to be oversmart. Cleverness and fraudulence do not help in running a country. Only a person with high morals and character can bring the country on to the path of progress. Today what this country requires, is the strength of character, diplomacy and sincerity. Had we had that tinge of sincerity, we would not have suffered that much.

The other day, the leader of the Opposition hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi said that the Prime Minister of Pakistan had no right to make a comment on the Babri Masjid issue or the state of Indian Muslims. But I would

say that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has every right to react to the atrocities committed on Muslim in India just as the Indian Prime Minister has every right to comment on injustice if it is meted out to the Hindus in Pakistan. The former Prime Minister had deliberately dragged in the issue of Pakistan in his election propaganda just to influence Hindus and win their votes. When India can comment on the situation in Panama and Sri Lanka, why should there be an objection to Pakistan commenting on the situation in India? That is why I would like to urge upon the Government to consider all these issues in all its seriousness rising above the party barriers. Hon. Shri Sharief rightly said that the day we start distrusting the Muslims, Sikhs or Christians we shall have to witness the disintegration of this country. There is no point in repeating history a particular country or a community has to make progress. Instead it has to digest the bitter truths of history. Communalism is like an itch, the scratching of which is pleasurable. Yet, repeated scratching spreads the infection the whole body. What is needed is to cure that itch, which means the strengthening of Hindu-Muslim unity and creating a sense of security among the minorities.

With these words I conclude.

**SHRI ARIF BAIG (Betul):** Mr. Chairman Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I belong to the B.J.P. and have been elected to the Lok Sabha from Betul constituency. Hon. Members may be surprised to know that I am a Muslim Member of the Lok Sabha who has been elected on the B.J.P. ticket. Time and again my party has been a target of harsh criticism from various quarters. For us in the B.J.P., accusations are nothing new because we have been hearing them right from the time of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who was the first Prime Minister of India. Our Party has been frequently accused of being communal. It was only in 1977 that I was first elected to the Lok Sabha and I had the opportunity to sit in the Treasury Benches as a Minister in the Morarji Desai Government.

21.29 hrs.

[**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE** in the Chair]

I would like to submit in all humility that at the time when my leader hon. Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee was appointed Foreign Minister, doubts were expressed regarding his credentials for assigning the charge of the Ministry of External Affairs. Shri Morarji Desai was told that Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee had his affiliations with the R.S.S. and his taking over the charge of the Ministry of External Affairs, would adversely affect India's relations with other countries of the world and all the Muslim countries of the world would break their relations with India. But I am thankful to God that in this Parliament of the largest democracy in the world I am in a position to say that if there was a man who proved to be the most successful Foreign Minister of free India, he was Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee. During his tenure we had cordial relations with all the neighbouring countries, including Pakistan and Bangladesh. But it is a matter of regret that when Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister and Shri Narasimha Rao was the Minister of External Affairs in his Cabinet, our relations with Nepal, the only Hindu country of the world, also had become strained. Our Party is accused of being communal. In 1977 for the first time our Party had its Chief Ministers in four states viz Shri Kailash Joshi and Shri Sunder Lal Patwa in Madhya Pradesh, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekawat in Rajasthan, Shri Kedar Nath Sahni as the Chief Executive Councillor in Delhi and Shri Shanta Kumar in Himachal Pradesh. I am proud to say that there were no cases of communal riots during the tenure of these Chief Ministers. Our Party has been accused of instigating communal riots. But you cannot cite the name of even a single member of the BJP who was arrested by the Police during the 42 year rule of the Congress (I). I would like to know the name of such a person. Communal riots were the Congress (I)'s doing. These five years have become the dark days of India's post-independence period. Highest number of communal riots also took place only in those

[Sh. Arif Balq]

states where the Congress (I) was holding the reins of power. However I would like to submit that when we were given the opportunity to work, we put up a good performance. Consequently it was felt that the former Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi was not only unsuccessful but had also tarnished his image. You prop up the emotional issues to divert the attention of the people of this country. I would like to submit that the person responsible for stirring up the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue was the late Shri Vir Bahadur Singh. I would also like to mention that the Congress Members deliberately want to make India a communal country. Today, after 42 years of our independence we have been brought to the point of discussion on the increasing menance of communalism in this country, in the Lok Sabha which is the highest institution of this largest democracy in the world. Mr. Chairman, Sir, can there be anything more regrettable than this? In this land of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad which also belongs to great saints and Lord Rama and Lord Krishna and where Hindus and Muslims have been living together peacefully and affectionately such a situation has arisen today....(Interruptions):...Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am just addressing you but I have to say something to all other members as well through the hon. Chairman. I seek the co-operation of my colleagues as this is my maiden speech. I was submitting as to what is the present situation in Kashmir. Even after 42 years of independence, we have separate laws in respect of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1947 our country had 2 Prime Ministers, 2 flags and 2 different sets of laws. But thank God, now we do not have the provision of either two flags or two Prime Ministers. But even today it is unfortunate for India to have altogether a different set of laws in respect of Jammu and Kashmir even after 42 years of independence. Our fellow citizens in Jammu and Kashmir have not been able to identify themselves with the people of India. That is why we have the provision of Article 370 there. In fact, the

Hindus who had come from Pakistan 42 years ago and had settled in Jammu and Kashmir should have been given the right to vote in that State but to this day, they have been denied it. They cannot cast their vote in the Assembly elections. My friend, from Kashmir, Shri Pyare Lal Handu can come here and purchase a landed property here in Delhi so also Shri Saifuddin Soz. However, no person from Delhi can purchase any landed property in Kashmir, or cast his vote in the Assembly elections. But why is this discrimination? That is why my party says that we want to remove Article 370. We want to see a united India with no discrimination being meted out to two States. Therefore, my submission is that we are dubbed as communal and a charge is levelled against us that we do not want the Muslims in India to progress. I want to submit very humbly that for the last 42 years, our Government have been giving false assurances to the Muslims in India and have also followed the policy of appeasement. But the B.J.P. considers Muslims a part of their own. We believe in a united nation and want to do away with the dividing lines drawn between the minorities and the majority. Therefore, with due respect I want to submit that no such misunderstandings should prevail in the minds of the people. Instead, our country should develop into a strong nation where each and every person of this country may take pride in his being a citizen of this country. I want to humbly submit that the only panacea for this communal problem is to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and feel that Hindus and Muslims of this country are brethren and not two separate entities. Mr. Chairman, Sir, we all are the sons of Hazrat Adam and we are called 'Aadmî' (human beings) after his name. We are called 'Manushay' (human beings) because we are the sons of Manu. Hence there is no difference between these two words. The only difference is that of language. Ours is not a different lineage. We are all brothers though we may differ in our ways of worship. For example, I pray to God in the mosque, whereas my friend Shri Advani goes to the temple and my sikh friends pray to Him in Gurudwaras while our christian friends pray

to Him in the Church. But He is one God Whom they offer their prayers and He is our creator, our Lord. Allah, Waheguru and God are all one. One Lord is one who is known by his different names. Therefore, dear members of that very family, I would like to tell you through the hon. Chairman that the present situation needs a change. As regards the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue, my Party did not make it an election issue. We are never going to drag in the name of Lord Rama in the election fray. All these things were started by our friend Shri Rajiv Gandhi who started his election campaign from Ayodhya. I would like to point out as to what was the aim of our former Prime Minister and the Congress leader. However it was quite apparent that they will have to pay for what they had said. Whatever my colleague Shri Jaffar Sharief had said is absolutely correct. During your regime, thousands of innocent people were rendered homeless and thousands others were butchered. You may see the result that the masses of this country have pulled them down from those heights to the lowest level. In fact that deserve this treatment. Therefore, as a NJP Member I simply want to submit through you that all these things need our attention. Who is responsible for propping up the Punjab problem? During the riots which had torn Delhi after the assassination of Shrimati Gandhi, 2700 innocent Sikhs were butchered but not a single person was punished for the same and not a single case was instituted against anybody. After all who is responsible for this? There are the Congress Members who have been propping up the issues of Punjab, Kashmir, Ram Janam Bhoomi etc. Hence with due regards I would like to submit that if you take into account all these aspects you will realise the importance of the new Government. V.P. Singh's Government is enjoying, on the one hand, the support of B.J.P. and on the other that of the Communist Party. Ours is a democratic form of Government and under this democratic system it is not something undue. We want that there should be a feeling of unity in our country and with the active support and cooperation of all of you, we may usher in an era of social amity so that there is no room for hatred and

bitterness in this country. We want that India should emerge as a strong country and we may put our best contribution in its march forward. Thus my submission is that we would make efforts to create a new atmosphere and work to achieve new heights of success.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I have tried to present the view point of my party before you. In its election manifesto, the BJP has clearly announced that the party would guarantee full protection and opportunities of progress to the Muslims in India. They have made it clear that they are not against their interests. They want that Hindu, Muslims, Sikhs and christians should strengthen their allegiance to the country. We have been born on this soil and it is this soil which gives us blood that runs in our veins. We want to be the true patriots of our motherland. I would like India to emerge as a strong nation where people of all communities may live unitedly.

Sir, with I would like to recite a couplet before I resume my seat.

"Andaze bayan garche bahut khoob  
nahin hai,  
Shayad ki utar jaye tere dil mein meri  
baat".

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Mr. Chairman, there was a mistake in the CCTV. The name is shown as Ramesh Bais instead of Shri Arif Baig. It may be corrected from the record.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will be corrected. But there have been a few more corrections. Under rule 193, the time allotted is two hours. Now already we have consumed 1 1/2 hours time.

There are Members from smaller Parties atleast who have not spoken earlier.

## [Translation]

**SHRI LALU PRASAD:** It is the Congress party which engineered most of the riots, particularly in Bihar. Therefore, more time should be allotted to the representatives of that State to put forward their views.

## [English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** What I want to say, even second speakers from major Parties have spoken. The Congress Party is the biggest one; Janata Dal is also there. They should not take much time now.

## [Translation]

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Faridabad):** Janata Party has to give the reply.

## [English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** They will give an answer.

## [Translation]

**SHRI LALU PRASAD:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, rather we shall expose their role in inciting the communal riots.

## [English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Do not consume some more time. Please help me. There is another discussion also.

## [Translation]

**SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the representative from Bhagalpur is present here. At least, allow him 5 minutes time.

## [English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I have not said that I will now allow anyone.

**SHRI RAJ MANGAL PANDEY:** I think, you are not extending the time beyond two

hours.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** No, I am not that rigid. Shri Uttam Rathod.

**SHRI UTTAM RATHOD (Hingoli):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am really ashamed that during the last 10 1/2 years, we must have discussed this problem of communal riots not less than 20 times. Even during the last Monsoon Session, it was Prof. Saifuddin Soz who had initiated a debate on this and I happened to be third or fourth speaker. When he started speaking, I thought, he would be much more mature after the elections that we had faced this time. Instead of quoting the incidents in Bhagalpur, I suggested to him to give some concrete suggestions where we could have national integration.

Today I want all of you to read the Preamble.

"We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens..."

It is a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic.

When we said secular, I think, the first thing we should have decided is what type of education we have to give to our people. We cannot forget that it was Hindu-Muslim disunity that brought partition of India. I was a boy. I have seen Hindu-Muslim riots. I have heard about the Calcutta riots and I felt at least after the martyrdom of Gandhiji, we may not have to face all these things. But again we saw in 1984, Indiraji was murdered and we saw that in spite of that, the Hindus and Sikhs have not been able to come closer.

It is high time that we all think about it, how we can have national integration. I was happy that the Prime Minister yesterday said that very soon he is going to call a meeting and he is going to discuss. I wish him well. As far as integration is concerned, I can say in the words of Brig. Dalvi:

"It has the Himalayan blunder and it has been the greatest failure of our times."

We were the ruling party. We were the first people to segregate the national Muslims and that is why we have to face today this plight. I feel that hereafter we should not denigrate, we should not try to push aside the nationalist Muslims who are trying to come to the national mainstream. Unless we do that, no other Muslim would feel that he should join the national mainstream.

I know the psychology of the minorities. They are afraid, hesitant and it is here that the majority community will have to assure them: "Don't worry. We will safeguard your interests. We are here to safeguard your life." But if this does not happen, then the whole trouble happens. Shri Arif Baig spoke about the role of his party. I was really very happy about the "positive secularism" of which Shri L.K. Advani speaks. But what happened in Maharashtra? They joined their forces with the Shiv Sena. What the great Senapati says in Parbhani?

[Translation]

We are not here to appease the Muslims.

[English]

What is the harm? I come from a down-trodden community. Do you expect us to bow our head on somebody's feet? We are not prepared to do so. We will go and request and appeal to Mussalman to come and join the national mainstream. There is no other way out. If we want to live together, we will have first of all to define what is communalism. I was sorry, during the last Session, there was a question which was put by some people and both of them were unfortunately absent and at that time the Deputy Chairman allowed me to put that question as it was very important and it was "What is communal party?". I was shocked to know that the Government has replied that even to that day they had not defined the word 'commu-

nal party'. Are you prepared? I am asking this Government, the Government which is headed by Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the Government which has the first Muslim Home Minister. Will you define it? Please define it soon if the Government do that, then also ask the educationists to teach our boys about tolerance. In this country we have to live by the side of other communities. So many things between you and the other man many not tally. But still we will all have to live together. Therefore, a sense of tolerance will have to be taught. Unless we do that, no secularism will survive in this country. We will have to accommodate the views of others. If I speak something against other groups, if they get offended and start fighting, it will be difficult for anybody to control it. The main thing is that the rule of law should prevail in this country. I find that people who create all these confusions, people who are responsible for all these things are not punished by the law. They are allowed to go scot-free. That is where we are committing mistakes. Arif-ji, do not praise your Government or do not denigrate our Government. We have all failed on some or the other count. It has been the total failure of Indian citizens that we have not been able to organise our education, we have not been able to organise our judiciary and we have not been able to implement the rule of law. That is why we have to face all these things.

Sir, unfortunately we have also used the word 'democracy'. We say we want democracy. Democracy entails election and election entails majority—may be simple majority. When we want to win votes, naturally we try to appease the people, we try to associate ourselves and we want to take people on our side in the name of religion, caste if not on language or region or something like that. Please do not get surprised that this also invariably happens in America. I was shocked when I read one of the issues of the *Indian Post* that there also the ethnic group, the race that has played a great role. What I want to suggest is that we must have an understanding between all the political parties that we will not do these things. Unless we have some restriction on us, it is very difficult. We

[Sh. Uttam Rathod]

can all do this in the National Integration Council and we can decide about it there. But let us have some understanding between us that we shall not exploit these things. Then only we will be able to have a real secular democracy.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. You are a good friend of mine. Kindly help others also. Will you conclude in a minute?

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD: That is exactly what I am doing.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): With the last sentence of about 10 lines...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD: I only pray that wisdom prevails not only on the people of India but also on the Government which will try to implement the rule of law, which will try to teach our boys a sense of tolerance and thereby we will have secularism in this country.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I believe that we are all concerned on the growth of communalism in the country. If we can take some statistics into account, we can find that from 1950 to 1963, we had 341 riots in our country i.e. during the 13 years period. In 1988 alone we had 611 riots in our country. Now, you can understand the rate of growth of riots in the country. I believe some ten years ago we had in the whole of the country forty to forty five districts identified as communally sensitive districts. Now I find in UP alone, we have 41 districts which are considered as sensitive districts.

In today's debate I do not want to try to trace the roots of communalism and trace it to its remote past. But I would like to take up the recent happenings that are causing a lot of concern to all of us. I believe that no religion preaches hatred towards other religions. Religion is an instrument for the human being to have communion with the God. We

have no quarrel with any religion or with the believers of any religion. But the point that comes is, how from this very basis, in the name of religion the monster of communalism appears in our society. I believe, if we are to understand this, then the real picture that will emerge is that the act of mixing politics with religion is solely responsible for the development..

To my mind, apart from other factors, communalism is the direct outcome of mixing politics with religion. If anyone is to be blamed for this, we politicians are to be blamed. In the recent past, in the last four or five years, there has been a severe growth of communalism in our country. How did it happen? Because, I think you will forgive me, the Congress (I) Party and its Government which professed secularism, they, by their action, subverted the concept of secularism in our country. In the recent riots in Bhagalpur we saw how two criminal gangs patronised by various leaders to congress (I) were instrumental to the genocide there.

In the recent past the growth of communalism can be traced to the enactment of the Muslim Women Bill, maintenance after divorce. We all remember the controversy during the Shah Bano case. At that time all the progressive people in our country appealed to the Government not to surrender to the fundamentalists. But the Government did not listen to them. We know that after this surrender, the obvious reaction will be an unreasonable demand from those who are the torch-bearers of the majority which remained at low key all over the years, and could not find an expression in the country.

I very much appreciate when our friends in the BJP say that the vote they got is not due to the communal campaign. I fully agree with them. In this country voting takes place not on the basis of communalism, though communal issues are introduced into it. It was a vote against the wrong policies of the Congress (I) and the opposition got people's support on that basis. Then you find the examples of secularism in Ayodhya, where

the Ram Janam bhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy is going on.

22.00 hrs.

There was a victory for a Left candidate, who was opposed by everyone. It is the shining example of secularism, the secular mind of our people. Another shining example I want to give you us about what had happened in Unnao. Shri Z.R. Ansari is not with us in this House. He has been defeated. But, he is the man who vehemently supported he Muslim Women Bill. These type of men will select their constituencies very carefully. And I believe that Unnao is a substantially Muslim inhibited constituency and there he has been defeated. This is the great maturity of our people. If any party, any organisation or any individual thinks that they have won, on the basis of communal appeal, they are badly mistaken. They will be shown their true fate later on. Even, I can narrate some individual experience. If the political parties, if the leaders of the political parties and if the workers of the political parties take a firm stand against communalism, then people also will come out fearlessly. They will never get confused. I am very sorry to say that—this is my third term in Lok Sabha—I never had to fight this kind of serious election that I had to fight this time. There, I am very sorry to say—I do not know where is Advaniji; I want to bring it to this notice also—that BJP fielded a candidate against me. I will talk to then later. That candidate appealed, "he is a Muslim, so, do not vote for him". Well, I understand that and I don't mind that. But people who claim secularism, put a muslim candidate against me. What did that candidates say? Saifuddin Choudhury is not a muslim; where do I go! Someone, whose name is a Hindu-name, he says "Don't vote for him, because he is a muslim", and the Congress (I) candidate says, "Don't vote for him, because he is not a true muslim". Then, as I opposed the Muslim Women Bill, they brought it into the campaign and said that I opposed the Holy Quran; I destroyed religion and so do not vote for me.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That

was the Congress campaign.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: And then they said that Saifuddin Choudhury is a member of the Ram Janam Bhoomi Committee. I cannot be a member of a Mosque or a temple. This is not a principle in our party. So many other types of campaigns were made. Then, we had to tell the public in public meetings that we opposed the Muslim Women Bill; if you re-elect us, we will again oppose the same type of Bill if it comes; if you want to vote, vote us, otherwise, don't vote. I want to know why does this kind of communal activity just before the elections, increase. Every time we find that. That is the question. I have no objection to having the Ram Janam Bhoomi in Ayodhya? I have no objection to having a Ram temple in Ayodhya. Why had Shilanyas to be done before the elections? That is my question. Ayodhya is a controversial place. What will happen to it, can be decided mutually, and that we also propose. If mutual negotiations cannot take place, then, we have said. "take it to court". We cannot tell Hindus and Muslims to fight. You cannot be that responsible. As we opposed the Government that time, who changed the court verdict during Shah Bano case. This time also we say that if there is no mutual negotiation, you have to abide by the court verdict. And we have the moral right and moral force to say this. We have to decide that if we have to survive as a country, then we have to keep our secularism alive and in this context also, I want to say that where the Government faltered was they did not implement the secular concept properly. If we try to qualify secularism by saying 'positive' and 'negative' them there will be some confusion. (Interruptions) I take this opportunity to inform the hon. Members of the House that we had passed in this House a law to prevent misuse of religious places. Taking part in that debate I demanded that an individual who may be religious or not religious as an Indian citizen he has the right to contest elections. Further if a candidate who is known to be performing pooja every day goes to temple of mosque during election campaign nobody will bar him from going to a temple or mosque but if he does not offer pooja at

[Sh. Saifuddin Choudhury]

home regularly and then if he does that during election campaign then he is an opportunist. At that time I demanded to ban such people from contesting elections for six years. There was lot of hue and cry. But I am sure if we take a firm stand and tell our people they will accept it. If we are serious to put down communalism then we have to follow secular concepts. Say with pride that. We are Hindu, say with pride that we are Muslim, I have no objection. But what to do after that. After that the question comes what will happen regarding my economy, shelter and health. One should be a good Hindu and a good Muslim yet one should keep it at home. Do not bring it outside. Do not do anything that may harm the sentiments of others. We have majority community and minority communities in our country but it may be that at some place one community is in majority while at other the other community is in majority. People have to see that those who are in majority community in that area they are responsible to see that the minority community in that area—their interests—are safeguarded. Police is not of any help. We know what happened in Malliana. A delegation of Members of Parliament from the Opposition including Sarvashri Madhu Dandavate, K.P. Unnikrishnan and P. Upen-dra went to Malliana. I was also with them. We are taken to the 'thana' and illegally detained for the whole night. Police did not allow us to go to Malliana. Our purpose of going to Malliana was that there may be fanatic Hindus and fanatic Muslims but if the police personnel take part in creating genocide them where do we go? I firmly say that if government is sincere then riots can be prevented in even two hours.

**SHRI P. NARASA REDDY** (Adilabad): I request the hon. Member to yield for a minute. I would like to invite his attention to a newsitem which appeared in *The Hindu* of 23rd December, 1989 about a press conference addressed by Mr. Sikandar Bakht, BJP Vice-President:

"Much of Mr. Bakht's press conference

was, however, taken up with a defence of the BJP line of 'positive secularism'. He argued that the party had been continually maligned without a shred of evidence of being 'communal' while those who professed to be secular, were among the most blatant practitioners of communalism and the policy of division for political ends. In this context, he specifically accused Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, who, he said, had been abusing the BJP of practising communalism, of being the biggest communalist. It was under Mr. Namboodiripad's Chief Ministership of Kerala that a decision to form a separate district of Malappuram was taken on entirely communal considerations under the pressure of the Muslim League, which was a partner of that Ministry, "Mr. Bakht recalled."

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY:** The point is well taken that our party is thinking that to have some kind of touch with Muslim League will be a good thing for the minority. We have committed a mistake and we have been repenting for that. Muslim League is not a friend of the Muslims. All of us must understand that. They are creating all the troubles for them. Why don't they condemn what happened in Jammu and Kashmir? When Pakistan wins, some people rejoice—not everybody, not all the Muslims. But if there is one, we have the courage to condemn. This country is for all of us. There are so many others.

Some positive measures have to be taken. These have been suggested by many inquiry commissions and committees, National Integration Council and all that. I feel that responsibility has to be fixed on the concerned officers. If riots take place, they should be made answerable. They should be punished if they fail to quell the riots.

Coming to education, I must say that the division of history—which we are having—like the Hindu period, the Muslim period, the British period is a very bad division. We should do away with this. This kind of men-

tality takes us back some thousand years. There is no need to search for golden periods in the past. It may be the Mughal period or the Gupta period. They had their golden ages. We are not to go backward; we have to go forward and create our golden age in the present time. That's why certain electoral reforms are very important. What is the safeguard in our law? What are the present provisions in our electoral laws? If you appeal to the voters on the basis of communalism and if that is proved, then what action will be taken against you?

AN HON. MEMBER: Disqualify.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: I have no objection. Now, the Government is bringing an electoral reforms Bill. They should seriously consider if we could free ourselves from the kind of emotions that may be raised and the touchy sentiments that are expressed when we hear 'Hindu' or 'Muslim'. That is very bad. In our parliamentary democracy, I do not recognise any Muslim leader nor do I recognise any Hindu leader. We are all Indian leaders and secular leaders. Let us pledge that this country will remain secular. The people are very good in our country. With these words, I conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI LALU PRASAD (Chhapra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, if we review the post-independence period of 42 years, we find that barring a three year period, the country has been ruled by the congress party, rather by one family. Mr. Chairman, Sir, today when we are having a discussion in the House to check communal riots, we are determined to reach a definite conclusion in this regard. However, I would like to inform those Members who blame the BJP or National Front for such riots that Bihar is the worst hit state in this regard. The total number of minor and major communal incidents in the State is 50.

I am grateful to the Home Minister who has been very honest in placing the fact before the House that communal riots have taken place only in the Congress-ruled States.

While analysing the causes of communal riots, I would like to point out that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has been the former Prime Minister of the country and Muslims and Harijans have been the traditional vote banks of the Congress Party. The party has always projected itself as the champion on the cause of the Harijans and Muslims. These communities have all along supported the congress with hope and confidence.

It has been the much talked topic in the politics of the country for the last one and a half year that Shri Rajiv Gandhi failed to fulfil the promises which he made in regard to the development, unity and security of the country and protection of the interests of the Harijans. This resulted in creating a gloomy situation in the country. This issue had been discussed by all the opposition parties and their leaders. Whether it was left front or right front, including, of course, our own party, Lok Dal, for the last one and a half year, all were determined to change the Government. The people wanted a change. Such a change was not merely for the sake of acquiring power or becoming Prime Minister or Minister. The change had become necessary because the responsibility of protecting the geographical boundaries of the country which was put on our shoulders by our ancestors, was jeopardised by the Congress and Shri Rajiv Gandhi. If we fail to safeguard the unity, integrity and the principle of secularism of our country, we cannot save the country from disintegration. Therefore, we decided to forge unity with the BJP and the leftist parties so that the votes of the opposition may not be divided. The people belonging to minority community i.e., the Muslims, decided that they have to be in the mainstream than to support the Congress. Thereupon, the Congress cleverly hatched a conspiracy and nominated Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha as the Chief Minister of Bihar. As soon as he became the chief Minister, 50 incidents of communal riots took place in the State. Shri Karpoori Thakur, who was the leader of the opposition, fought throughout his life for the rights of the poor and the minorities and also against injustice. When this great leader died, his colleagues made

[Sh. Lalu Prasad]

me his successor. Though Sher Shah Suri was a Muslim, yet he accomplished the task of linking one end of the country to the other and constructed a highway. He took a number of welfare measures for the people in Sasaram also. I would like to tell Shri M.J. Akbar and Professor Sahib that inspite of all efforts made by Shri Jagannath Mishra, Shri Chhedi Lal of our party has won that seat with the support of minority voters. Sasaram, which had been the constituency of Babu Jagjivan Ram was this time contested by his daughter as a Congress candidate. But Chhedi Lal of Janata Dal has been elected from there. When communal riots took place in Sasaram, we visited the affected area to conduct an enquiry. The Chief Secretary and the Collector did not permit us to enter the area. We, accompanied by Shri Sewak Singh, the local MLA entered the curfew-bound area where shoot-at-sight orders had been issued. Nowhere we saw Hindus and Muslims fighting each other. Most of the people killed belong to minority community. All the people of Bihar state including the minority community know that Shri Jagannath Mishra has been promoted to the position of Chief Minister. When Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha became the Chief Minister of Bihar, he failed to quell the riots in Hazaribagh. I alongwith Shri Sayeed went there to conduct an enquiry. We visited all the localities to look into the complaints of the minority community. The workers of our party had protected the people belonging to minority community even at the risk of their own lives. The procession of Ram Navami had passed off peacefully in front of the Jama Masjid of Hazaribagh. No Muslim had opposed the procession. Ram Shila procession and Ram Navami procession passed off from there, but neither there was any riot nor anybody raised provocative slogans on that day. The day was incident free. But later on, an incident took place in Hazaribagh which triggered off disturbances in the entire State. Shri Rajiv Gandhi, accompanied by his wife Sonia Gandhi went to participate in the Vaishali festival. Vaishali is the place where the first republic was proclaimed. Hazar-

ibagh is 60 kms from Patna. They had put on bullet proof vests. All his aides were with him. Shri Rajiv Gandhi told Sonia Gandhi that he himself would drive the jeep to see the celebrations....I had also gone there. An announcement was made in regard to their security. It was said that Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi were to be welcomed to the Vaishali Mahotsva and for that full security force was to be required all along 60 kms. route from Patna to the place of celebrations. Wireless message was sent to the D.M. of Hazaribagh. Wireless message was sent to the Collector also to send all the forces to Vaishali as Rajiv Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi were coming to attend the celebrations. Forces were picked up from Hazaribagh and sent to Vaishali. After three days, riots took place between Hindus and Muslims. But no security forces were there to control the situation. We had levelled charges against the Government of Bihar headed by Satyendra Naryan Sinha that Congress party, the Collector and the S.P. were responsible for the riots. Shri Satyendra Naryan Sinha had announced that he would order an enquiry. An enquiry was conducted. Shri S.K. Shrivastava of the Board of Revenue was the only member who conducted the enquiry. After the report of enquiry was considered in the Department of Home Affairs, it was found that the Collector and S.P. were responsible for these riots. Under whose control these officials work? Who is the head of the State? None other than the Chief Minister. Dr. Mishra has now taken over as the Chief Minister of Bihar. Earlier, he was the President of the Congress party in the State. The communist party too has to be blamed for the massacre of the people belonging to minority community for the sake of votes. Shri Shakeelrehman is not present at the moment. He is the M.P. belonging to Janata Dal from Darbhanga which includes Bahera, the assembly segment represented by Dr. Mishra. He has now become the Chief minister, earlier he was the President of Congress Party in the State. Shri Abdul was my Private Secretary. Who is responsible for inciting riots in the constituency of Shri Abdul Siddiqui. Hon. Shri Hukum Deo Narayan is present here. Processions were taken out by

all these people. A letter was written to Shri Tariq. I would give you a suggestion that you write a letter to the S.H.O. of Bahera Police Station and ask him as to the work done by Lalu Prasad. The circular is there on record. Had Shakeelrehaman been there, he would have explained the whole thing. He is the only Muslim in Bihar who had been the vice-chancellor of Mithila University. The Minister of Education, Shri Nagendra Jha has removed him from that post. You talk of majority community, but the hypocrites say something else. The Maithili Brahmins have spared no effort to put Bhagalpur, B.J P., R.S.S. and Janata Dal to disrepute. One thousand workers belonging to the Congress party were called to Bahera by the Maithili Brahmins and were asked to bear camouflaged caps bearing slogans "Garb se kaho hum Hindu hein" and "Radhe Shyam Baba ki Jai." We went there and conducted an enquiry and found that Mahendra Narain Jha, who is a follower of Dr. Mishra and belongs to the same caste as that of Dr. Mishra had hatched this conspiracy so as to frustrate efforts of the opposition for unity. Let Shri Kalpnath Rai and Prof. Sahib go to Patna and meet Shri Gulam Sarvar, the editor of the newspaper "Humnam". This newspaper carried headlines regarding the apprehension of communal riots in Bihar Sharif, Sasaram, Phulwari Sharif during the procession of Imambara which is taken out before the Tazia procession. Having read this Urdu daily, we wrote to the Secretary, Home Affairs to make an arrangement for the security force in these areas. Sir, you will be surprised to know that after one month of the riot, the letter written by the leader of the opposition was replied to. The reply said that the letter had been received and full arrangements for the security had been made. My letter was replied to after one and a half month of the riot having taken place. The riots affected entire Bihar, especially Katia in Gopalganj and Satwarvan in Palamu which Bhishma Narayan Singh represented. This was the place where the homes of the Muslims were looted in front of the police station. I would like to tell this thing to Shri Kalpnath Rai. I would also like to tell Shri Bhajan Lal that reciting 'Bhajans' would not

help. The people belonging to the minority community have recognised their real faces and have told them not to indulge in such fake acts. Our party has said that we will find solution to these communal riots, on the basis of equality and with consensus of all. I agree with your views that the way Military Police, Bihar Police and the P.A.C. harassed these people in Bihar, the latter have doubts about the very role of these forces. I, myself have some doubts about it and I share your views in this regard. I agree that there is a temple in every police station and police line. You try to understand the actual position in Bhagalpur. Shiv Chander Jha, who was the Speaker, was deadly against Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad. It was due to them and a few of their men that these riots.....(Interruptions).....they were behind these riots. Shri Chun Chun Prasad Yadav of our party has been elected from there by defeating Shri Azad. Our party has taken steps to see that such communal riots do not recur. The parties which are supporting our Government, whether it is the B.J.P. or the Left Front, have extended their support in this endeavour. We will not give you an opportunity to commit injustice against the Muslims and Harijans.

Shri M.J. Akbar did not find any constituency other than Kishanganj from where he has been elected. I would like to tell him that he has landed at a wrong place, he is misfit here. He has been a journalist. Now he will have to speak in tune with his party colleagues and it will be a matter of days before he loses his freedom of thinking.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with these words, I conclude and express my thanks to you.

**SHRI SURYA NARAYAN SINGH (Balia):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, today the question of communalism has assumed utmost importance. It has been said that this issue has created a dangerous situation in the country and it is very necessary for us to consider it seriously. If it is propagated or it spreads further, I am afraid, it may lead to yet another partition of the country. Therefore in the present circumstances, it is very neces-

[Sh. Surya Narayan Singh]

sary to consider this issue. All the people are saying that they are not at fault, that they have not propagated communal feelings. These people include those who have ruled this country for 42 years. They say that they have not allowed communalism to spread in the country. But I would like to ask them as to who was ruling the State two months ago when riots took place in Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Darbhanga, Sasaram and Jamshedpur? Was Janata Dal in power there? For that matter, when Babri Masjid-Ram Janam Bhoomi issue flared up in Uttar Pradesh, was Janata Dal in power in that State? I would like to submit that at that time the Government of Shri Vir Bahadur Singh was in power in Uttar Pradesh and the Government of Satyendra Narayan Sinha was in power in Bihar. When some people tried to take out procession on the pretext of pooja, the Chief Minister and Government of West Bengal said in clear terms that they would not allow any disturbance to take place in West Bengal. The Chief Minister imposed section 144 of Cr. P.C. and said that the people have every right to worship in the house or in the temple but if some people create disturbances through religious propagation, the Government will not tolerate it and accordingly the Government of West Bengal banned the procession with the result that no riot took place in the State. But we, the people of communist party and other leftist parties brought this thing to the notice of Satyendra Narayan Sinha time and again and also made a complaint to Shri Rajiv Gandhi, but Satyendra Narayan Sinha did not take any action against the persons responsible for spreading riots. These people say that they are unblemished. But I would like to say that the hon. Minister of Bihar, Shri Girish Narayan Mishra had his hand in the riots that had taken place at Sasaram. Perhaps the Congress Party may be doubtful that the members of his family may be having a hand in the kidnapping of the circle officer of Ramgarh. I would like to submit that they have a hand not only in the kidnapping of above mentioned officer but also in the Sasaram riots. But I would like to point out to my friends in

the Congress that it is only during their rule that communalism has spread in this country. It is only one month back that the Janata Dal has come to power and you are reproaching them i.e. the Janata Dal Government which has the support of both the Right and the Left parties. In fact, the Congress Party is wholly responsible for the spread of communalism in this country. If a case of hatching conspiracy is filed under IPC 120, it is mainly the Congress Government which should be charge-sheeted. As a suggestion, I would like to submit that the national integration committee should be reconstituted and wherever riots have taken place, action should be taken against all those officers who had their hands in the riots and in case an FIR has not been lodged in some cases, action should be taken by the Government against the officers found responsible for the same under the provisions of Indian Penal Code and those who incite riots should also be checked so that communalism does not spread in this country. Finally, I would like to submit that the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue has become a major issue. Temples are there all over the country and there are mosques everywhere as well. Hindus have the freedom to worship in temples and the Muslims in the mosques. Even if mosques are constructed everywhere in the country, I would not object to it as I am not concerned with it because according to the Indian Constitution everyone is free to follow his or her religion and nobody has the right to interfere in the religious affairs of other communities. However, no Muslim should be allowed to demolish a temple and construct a mosque in its place and similarly a Hindu also does not have the license to demolish a mosque and build a temple in its place. If somebody indulges in such things, legal action should be taken against the person concerned. So far as the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue is concerned, the attention of all the people of the country whether Hindus or Muslims is focussed on it. I think that if it is a hard nut to crack, the best course would be to declare it as a national movement. And if both the communities are in favour of a settlement by court, whatever is the judgement of the court,

It should be accepted by them. In the end, I would like to submit that communalism is a serious issue which should be taken seriously and strict legal action should be taken against the people found responsible for inciting communal riots. With these words, I would like to conclude.

[English]

SHRI C. SRINIVASAN (Dindigul): With deep anguish I rise to participate in this discussion on the communal situation in the country. Before I say a few words, let me pay my humble tribute to Dr. Anna, Puratchi Thalaivar Dr. MGR and Puratchi Thalaivi Jayalalitha under whose leadership I stand here to speak

Yesterday, when the hon. Home Minister, Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed was replying to a question regarding places where communal disturbances too had taken place, he mentioned several places but failed to mention Bodinackkanur in Tamil Nadu. This shows the concern of the Government to the serious communal situation in the country.

Tamil Nadu witnessed a serious communal clash a few months ago. A person belonging to a community delivered a highly offensive speech in Bodinackkanur in Madurai in Tamil Nadu. The situation became tense. The DMK Government knew that there was every possibility of a communal clash. But it did not take any steps to ensure law and order. Instead it waited for the people to clash among themselves. DMK very well knows that Madurai District is the fortress of AIADMK. Puratchi Thalaivi Jayalalitha represented Bodinackkanur constituency. So they wanted to divide the people on communal lines and gain political capital. That was how the communal clash ensued in Bodinackkanur. Many lives were lost. The wounds have not healed. People have waited for the opportunity. Elections came and the people have voted out the anti-DMK Government. A party which sowed the seeds of division in the minds of the people reaped the results. They had drawn blank. The DMK Government must have bowed to the will of the

people. But they have not. Therefore, I urge upon this Government to see eye to eye with the people of Tamil Nadu and throw this DMK Government out of power. Then only the thirst of the Tamil Nadu people will be quenched. If the DMK Government continues in the State even for a day, the whole State of Tamil Nadu would be engulfed in communal fire. Let Dr. Anna's rule return to the State. Let Puratchi Thalaivar Dr. MGR's glory once again pervade Tamil Nadu. Let Puratchi Thalaivi Jayalalitha's flag fly aloft all over Tamil Nadu. The earliest the best.

The minority Government is in power today. It is supported by political parties whose stand on secularism and communal amity is not clear. This Government has to lean on forces which encourage communalism and fundamentalism for support. This has not been a secret. A minority Government, therefore, is inimical to secular India.

After assumption of office by this Government there is a constant rise in the number of communal flare-ups all over the country. Jammu and Kashmir is burning. Anti-national forces are raising their ugly heads. Since this Government has no original voice, it is unable to condemn these happenings. Today because of these communal clashes in Jammu and Kashmir India's security is threatened.

Punjab presents a disorderly picture. There is no check on arms and ammunition being smuggled into India by terrorists. These terrorists know that this Government is weak and will be willing to concede their demands. This is evident from the fact that this Government after so much of pestering is not coming out openly against Anandpur Saheb Resolution. This Government is poised towards compromising the dignity, honour, unity and integrity of India. Today, this Government has withdrawn the emergency provision in Punjab. But simultaneously this Government has failed to propose an alternative arrangement for ensuring peace in Punjab. I condemn the Government's lackadaisical attitude in the matter of Punjab problem. The people in power are speaking in

[Sh. C. Srinivasan]

difference voices Towards SC&ST, this Government has no consistent policy. This Government has no firm commitment towards uplifting the poor and the down-trodden. The Deputy Prime Minister of this country, Mr. Devi Lal says that economic consideration should be the basis of reservation. This has started country wide agitation against reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I deplore the Government's attitude in this regard.

I would like to caution this Government not to exploit the Babri Masjid and Ram Janam Bhoomi issue. Allah, Rama, Jesus reside in every heart. Let me recite the famous lines of Gandhi Ji's prayer: *Raghupati Raghav Raja Ram, Ishwar Allah tere naam.* Let us not fight where God is God is everywhere. Let us fight people who divide the hearts of the people. Let us persuade our Hindu and Muslim brothers to give up mutual violence and reach to nation-building. That is the task before us.

With these words, I conclude, Mr. Chairman, and thank you on behalf of AIADMK.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now the person who can afford to be brief, Mr. M.J. Akbar. Is it possible that you can be as brief as ten minutes?

SHRI M.J. AKBAR (Kishanganj): Sir, I would have been briefer, apart from the fact that I do wish to comment on some of the points raised by the previous Members. But I shall try my level best.

MR. CHAIRMAN: But if you make an elaborate statement, that will generate more elaborate statements from other Members. So, kindly help the Chair.

SHRI M.J. AKBAR: It is a complex issue, Sir. However, I shall try.

AN HON. MEMBER: You will speak for half-an-hour at least.

SHRI M.J. AKBAR: Certainly not. That much capacity I do not have at this moment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not want you to elaborate to his proportion.

SHRI M.J. AKBAR: Sir, at the very outset, I would like to take strong objection to the statement made by, I think Mr. Tiwari—I hope I have not mistaken the name—when he said that he had no objection to the interference of Ms. Benazir Bhutto in our internal affairs, when she spoke about the dispute which was causing a lot of anguish in our country over the Babri Masjid—Ram Janam Bhoomi. It is not so much this part of his comment that angered me, as his follow up comment that it was her right to say something because the issue dealt with the problems of Muslims in this country. And he went on to say that the Prime Minister of India should equally have the right to say and make remarks and interfere when Hindus in Pakistan suffer. I think I raise this point for a very good reason which deals with an aspect of understanding the secularism as a political ideal. When we equate Pakistan and India, we make a very fundamental error. Ms. Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan is a Prime Minister of a country which was created in the name of religion, wrongly created, a great sin and a great evil that took place four decades ago. Ms. Benazir Bhutto may feel it her privilege to talk only about the Muslims of Pakistan or the Muslims of India. That is her privilege. I cannot interfere with that. But the Prime Minister of India is the Prime Minister of all—the Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs and Christians and everybody who lives here—and if it is his contention that the Prime Minister must interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, if it is his contention that the Prime Minister of India must talk about certain things which are going wrong with Pakistan, then I submit... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI: I did not say that.

SHRI M.J. AKBAR: I think, I was not wrong in my understanding... (*Interruptions*).

Then I would submit, Sir that if the Prime Minister of India is given the right to interfere, then he should not be given the right to merely interfere if anything goes wrong with the Hindus of Pakistan. He should be given the equal right to interfere with anything that goes wrong with anybody in Pakistan. We live in a secular country, we don't live in a country created in the name of religion. This was the same fault, I think, which was made by Mr. Arif Beg when he started comparing two Kashmirs. There is no comparison between the two countries. Kashmir came to secular India brought by one of the greatest Indians of this century, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, came of its own accord and joined the secular India. There is no difference between Kashmiris and Bengalis or anybody from Kishanganj or my friend, Mr. Soz who comes from Kashmir. I don't care whether Pakistan-occupied Kashmir gives the Kashmiris the right to vote or not, I don't care. It does not matter to me anything. What I do know is that the Kashmiris who belong to my country must have the right to vote whether any one else gives the Kashmiris the right to vote whether it is Pak occupied Kashmir, whether it is Bulgaria, whether it is Romania, whether it is America, whether it is anywhere else in the world. This understanding of the fundamental nature of our two countries is a problem which, I think, will take a life's time.

Finally, Sir, on the previous debate, I do understand my friend, Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury—I have respect for the position he took vis-a-vis the Muslim Personal Law. I do not agree with him, but I have respect for the position he took, and I quite happily agree that when they into campaign, they had to fight a certain political battle, they did it bravely, they did it out of conviction. I merely request him now to do one thing. Today he belongs to a Ruling Alliance which is in the majority. Today he belongs to groups which are in majority and formed the Government and the Home Minister, Mr. Mufti Sahib is here, I would really request him and ask whether this Government is prepared to change what was done by the Rajiv Gandhi Government, whether this Government is

prepared to go back on the legislation which the CPI (M) opposed.

**SHRI BHOGENDRAJHA (Madhubani):**  
And you are demanding that.

**SHRI M.J. AKBAR:** I am not demanding that. I am merely asking. I am supporting the law which was passed.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY:**  
Sir....

(*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Just a minute. If any hon. Member yields, he is yielding the time also.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY:** Not only that. We will try to educate the Muslim masses that what was done was wrong and the previous position should be restored. Regarding the civil code also, I make it clear that we will go to the people of our country, the Muslim masses, and tell them that there is no harm in having uniform Civil Code.

**SHRI M.J. AKBAR:** Thank you very much. I am happy that he has made his point clear. Certainly he has the support of Mr. Vajapayee on these benches.

**AN. HON. MEMBER:** Mr. Advani. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI M.J. AKBAR:** Yes, Mr. Advani.

**SHRI L.K. ADVANI (New Delhi):** You referred to Mr. Arif Beg.

[*Translation*]

He only meant that there should not be any discrimination between those who have migrated to Kashmir and those who are the residents of Pak-occupied Kashmir. But as to how Pak-occupied Kashmir deals with this matter is not relevant here.

## [English]

**SHRI M.J. AKBAR:** It is only appropriate, Sir, that communalism forms one of the subjects for debate and for discussion in the very opening Session, however brief, of this House. The reason why I think it is particularly appropriate is because for 40 or more than 40 years of our democracy never before in our Independence history has communalism proved so successful as it is in the last election. I believe that a large and even terrifying price has been paid for its success. We have, today, in this House, a Party of 88 MPs and another Party of four MPs. Both are communal parties in my view and it is the view which I believe in, but I am happy that this particular view of mine is supported by my friends in the Left. I quote at this point from the manifesto of the CPI (M) and it says, "that we must isolate the communal forces from the people, eliminate the influence of communal people and defeat the game of destruction." I am happy you have been specific when you were writing the manifesto, because it goes on to say—"isolating of the communal parties like the BJP." When I say that this election was won by communal parties, it was won by inciting the communal passions of a very base and gross nature. I quote not only the slogans that were used in support of their candidates; if you like I will repeat some of the slogans. Yesterday, I had the opportunity to say one which came voluntarily and today I say more voluntarily one slogan which every Member of this House has heard. I presume it has also been used in Mr. Arif Beg's constituency.

## [Translation]

"Shapath Ram ki Khate hein mandir yehi banayenge"

## [English]

The use of the Babri Masjid-Ramjanambhoomi was made the focal point in the election campaign of this particular party and of certain forces. Even more provocative were the slogans like this:

"Jis Hindu ka khoon na khole, Hindu ka khoon nahin vah paani hai,  
Ram Janam-Bhoomi ke kaam na aaye,  
vah bekar jawani hai"

I would like to know whether this is not an incitement to communalism. We have had on the record already a judgement by the Bombay High Court unseating a Legislator of the Shiv Sena for raising communal slogans. I presume if in the electoral reforms which are coming up, the use of communalism would be enough to get Members disqualified, I am certain that this strength of more than 90 MPs today would be vastly reduced, if not totally reduced. Once again, I quote the manifesto of the CPI (M) which says very categorically because at that time, the fire had begun. The CPI(M) is a good party and a party which I believe to be secular, had recognised this fact in its manifesto. I am proud to say both the CPI(M) and the CPI are secular. In Uttar Pradesh, the CPI (M) are already intervening to organise mass opinion and resist the fanaticism of the VHP-RSS-BJP combine which fans riots by organising Shila Punja processions. There are two reasons, perhaps, more than any others for certain riots of communalism. One was the conscious creation of the riots all over the country. Many Members speaking on this debate have said something, which, I heartily agree with, that the people of this country are not communal. In my experience during the election campaign, if there was anything which was stressed over and over again it was this, that particularly the poor people's understanding of secularism, friendship and love of humanity is absolutely unique. It is something we would all learn from them. But the same people when efforts are made to distort their mentality to create hatred among them—and this process was taken up seriously through the use of communal riots. I have heard this evening and heard much before almost unanimous and slow blame being put on the Congress—I....

## [Translation]

It is repeatedly alleged that riots take place only in the congress ruled States. It

was true, largely true, but not totally true. The reason for that is evident in that charge. The reason for that was the communal forces went out within the Congress—I ruled States to create riots in order to create public opinion against us.

**23.00 hrs**

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** Why could you not tackle it?

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** Yes, that is right. That is a good question. This is the question to which my answer is inadequate. I agree with it. Left to myself, I am not going to defend the indefensible. What mistake the Congress made was this.

[Translation]

Our fault was that we were not able to extinguish the fire of communalism at the every outset. I have observed the situation in Bhagalpur as well. You ask them who are behind it? You should look to yourselves. You should punish these who have lit this fire. You should punish them as well. We have already been punished.

[English]

It is a little sad that whenever a question of this type is raised, the Left here seems to become a little Rightist. The real danger to them is towards their left. You keep looking towards your left. That is where you will find the real dangers.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** We are quite conscious of our left. But we will continue to support the Janata Dal for your information.

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** I hope, Sir...

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** That is your hope—this Government will go, when we withdraw our support. That is what you hope. We are quite conscious of our left. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** In that case, you will have to continue your support to a gentleman like Mr. Bal Thackrey who says what India needs is not a democracy but a benevolent dictatorship. The Hindu factor will determine the shape of Indian democracy. He says about the BJP, "There is no great clash of ideology with BJP. After all, it is an offspring of Jan Sangh."

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY:** Is Janata Dal BJP or what?

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** If this problem could be solved by torn or by debating skills, I think, the country would be little happier. But it is more serious than that.

Sir, on the one hand, a deliberate attempt was made to create riots by communal forces. The other reason for rise of communalism in the country is the politics of compromise which was indulged by the people who are members of the ruling party. The alliance that you see in shape at the moment was worked out long before, between the Janata Dal and BJP. A pretence was kept up. The pretence was particularly repeated by Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh because he has to camouflage the politics of compromise with a semblance of apparent secularism.

I quote his statement during the election campaign particularly when asked over and over again about his relationship with BJP. I had certainly the experience of the present Prime Minister of the country coming to my constituency Kishan Ganj and there too he told the people, "There is no question of our party ever forming the Government, with the help of BJP.

**THE MINISTER OF ENERGY AND MINISTER OF CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN):** He never said that.

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** He said that in my constituency. Before that, he maintained certain political profile, distancing himself from the BJP because he knew that the

[Sh. M.J. Akbar]

people understood the nature of the BJP that they are a communal. He went on at Hathras on 13th November and said, " I should not address rallies from a platform which has the BJP flag." He would not address a rally which has the BJP flag. But he will run India from a platform which has the BJP flag. That is what he has done.

This alliance is playing cat and mouse with communalism and with the country. The work of the cat was left to the BJP, to do hunting and creating a mood or environment. The work of a respectable mouse was left for the Janata Dal. It worked for a while. It had worked well enough for this alliance to come to power. I believe, Sir, you can continue this strategy; it might have been good enough to come to power. You may win elections with this strategy. But it is very difficult to run the country with this strategy. (*Interruptions*)

I may on this point say that there is one difference between the BJP the Left at the moment. There is one critical difference in their political assessment. The left a little unfortunately in my view, no longer has a national agenda. The Left has a regional agenda and it wants to protect its fortresses whether it is in Bengal or Kerala or Tripura or a few constituencies here and there as long as it comes to a deal with any government in the Centre which will enable it to protect its fortresses, it is satisfied and a few bits of socialism, a mention of the socialism in the President's speech will be enough to satisfy them. The critical difference between the Left and the BJP is that the BJP does have national agenda. It has a vision of India which is different and separate. It does have a grave plan. It is working towards a strategy, towards the creation of different type of India. This is only an intermediate step in its larger strategy. It is using politics which you and particularly the Left is familiar with because it is the policy of the United Front. It is the policy of using alliances in order to continue promoting your strength and then, in a sense, Mr. V.P. Singh is nothing but Ajoy

Mukherjee of 1989. They quote and unquote clean Congressmen first to defeat the Congress and then go on to defeat Ajoy Mukherjee and the Bengal Congress and then go on from United Front to Left Front for what the Left did. What Mr. Advani is doing from this United Front to a Hindu nation? I have had occasion in the past to complement nation Mr. Advani behind his back. Today I am very happy to complement him in front of his face. There is one thing that he has certainly restored to his party. It is one thing which he has done for his party and which I find is very admirable. He has placed all his cards openly and clearly on the table. He did not flinch, he did not try and cover himself up with bogus terms like Gandhian socialism. He has been very clear about what he wants to do. But he is a very perceptive man. He understood his allies far better than anybody else understood them. He understood his allies may be better than his allies understood them. He understood one thing that the Janata Dal would do anything, sacrifice any principle, in order to come to an adjustment. This is not the first time that a non-Congress government has come to power. In 1977, there was a non-Congress government too. But in that, there was a very very major difference. That non-Congress government, you will remember, finally got destroyed on an issue called dual membership of the RSS. Today the very first thing that Mr. Advani did when he was working out the alliance was first settle that there would never be any image or comment, and that they would not raise the RSS as an issue. That is the first compromise. (*Interruptions*) I should reply to that charge because it has been published in the papers. May I take the opportunity to answer this? The BJP candidate in Kishanganj withdrew in favour of Janata Dal candidate Munna Mustaque. He withdrew clearly. The BJP actively supported Mr. Mustaque. In addition to that, there was very communal campaign. In addition to Mr. Munna Mustaque's very communal campaign, an unequivocal communal campaign, there was another campaign of the Janata Party by Shri Lakhan Lal Kapur, who was the true communalist. Along with that, there was communalism in my constituency. When I heard Shri Saifuddin I

remember it because I had faced the same example. I was also accused of being this and that but I do not want to go into all these things... (*Interruptions*) But I expected a little more wisdom from you, Mr. Arif than Shri Yuvraj Singh. (*Interruptions*).

**[Translation]**

Yesterday I had told you that in Kishanganj, peace loving people had won. It was not the victory of communalism.... (*Interruptions*)....

**SHRI YUVRAJ SINGH (Katihar):** I rise on a point of order. It is wrong to say anything in the House about a person who is not there to defend himself. It is a matter of shame that Shri Lakhan Lal Kapur has been dubbed as a communalist. You should get it corrected.

**[English]**

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Have you concluded? Should I request him to continue now?

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** I can only say this much in response to your plea to be brief and I have to cut short otherwise what would have been somewhat lengthy. In response to this, I would like to say that this strategy of the BJP will take this present Government to a situation where the Government will become as irrelevant to the needs of BJP as the Janata Dal has become irrelevant to the BJP's needs in Maharashtra. When they can consolidate themselves, they will convert this Government also into an irrelevant factor in their calculations.

Sir, it did not bother me very much when I heard that Mr. V.P. Singh has compromised. But it did sadden me when people like Mr. Madhu Dandavate also compromised because they have a tradition which is different from the tradition that we have seen now. When Mr. Madhu Dandavate compromised in Rajapur then I thought that the allegation that this Government will do anything in compromise with anybody in order

to sit in the Chair is probably an accurate allegation. I know my friends in the Left are protesting vehemently. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, of course, made it very clear. But I do want to end with a story which I think is very appropriate to this debate, a story of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and mentioned by Y.D. Gundevia, who was the then foreign Secretary in his book "Outside the Archives." After the success of the Marxists and that too Mr. Namboodiripad's success, a question had begun to arise in the minds of the bureaucrats because in those days the big phobia was communism. Today it is not but in those days that used to be a big phobia.

**SHRI L.K.ADVANI:** Today, it is the BJP.

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** Because it is a question of better reasons than...

**SHRI L.K.ADVANI:** Not for better reasons but because of the people.

**SHRI M.J.AKBAR:** One of the things that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to do virtually was to hold seminar with the foreign Service people like Mr. Gundevia. In one of the these impromptu seminars—that was a little before the Bhubaneshwar Seminar and that may be only less than a year certainly before he passed away—a bureaucrat as Mr. Gundevia himself was raised this question: "what would happen to this country if the Marxists came to power? What would happen? Would all the bureaucracy have to be changed? What would happen if communists took over"? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru replied:

"Communists, Communists, Communists! Why are all of you so obsessed with Communists and communism? What is it that Communists can do that we cannot do and have not done for the country? Why do you imagine the Communists will ever be voted to power at the Centre? But; Pause

"The danger to India, mark you, is not communism. It is the Hindu rightwing communalism."

[Sh. M.J. Akbar]

Today if the Leftists are lost to the friends to their left, then I think everybody in the country will suffer. It is not really—I plead with you to believe me—a question just of the Congress Party's interests. Naturally I am a member of the Party and an MP of the Party and I am proud of its interests and I hope that it will flourish and improve. But this question deals with something larger than the Congress. It deals with the nation, it deals with all of us.

I do want to say one thing at the end of quote from Swami Vivekananda when he said:

"Every fanatic who gets up and denounces something can secure a following. It is very easy to break. A maniac can break anything he likes. But it would be hard for him to build anything."

Sir, everyone of us in this House has been elected by the people to build India; not to break India. Compromise with the forces that Jawaharlal Nehru warned us of, that Gandhiji warned us of, would only break this country outside—would shatter it—if not physically, but certainly emotionally.

[Translation]

SHRI L.K.ADVANI (New Delhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri M.J Akbar has himself proved the veracity of the last sentence of the above mentioned citation from Swami Vivekanand. It was their alliance to create differences among the people, I think that the Congress has hitherto followed to policy of divide and rule just to topple this Government but they should know that they will not be successful in their attempts. The other point I want to matter is that there is a difference of opinion between us. But it shows the efficiency of this Government because they had done so much injustice to the people that the masses of the country did not care for the fact that there was a difference of opinion between them. They said that it

did not matter that it was minority Government, but at least this Government should not be voted again to power. However, I was expecting Shri Akbar to speak on communalism. Moreover, it has been a matter of great joy for me that these efforts were put in only to break that alliance.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait. He is requested to take not more than 10 minutes.

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Mr. Chairman Sir, I must tell you one thing and that is very very important. Very basic issue have been raised during this debate which are very much essential for the existence of Musalmans in this country and I must have right for reply to that and have my say. (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI HEMENDRA SINGH BANERA (Bhilwara): You think yourself to be the sole representative of the Muslims. I also consider myself the representative of Muslims.

[English]

Please don't say that you are the only Muslims here. Don't be a sectarian. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I never said in that sense. I am the sole representative of the Muslims. But I said that certain basic issues are there which affect basically the existence of the Muslims in the country. I have been trying to be the sole representative of the muslims:

Sir, I have to take part in the discussion on communal discussion with deep pain and anguish. I can say that communalism is really the greatest menace which is going to shatter the integrity and solidarity of this country. This fact has to understood very well. Today our country, India, is burning; today our country, India, is bleeding today,

thousands and thousands of innocent men and women are being butchered and massacred ruthlessly; today, properties worth crores and crores of rupees stand destroyed; today, the image of India has got tarnished throughout length and breadth of the world; and today, the confidence of the minorities particularly in the administration and the Government of this country is shattered.

Sir, I must tell you and emphasise that these killings, these massacres and these arson and looting cannot be brushed aside as just an ordinary law and order problem. It is not. It is a well planned massacre. It is a genocide. Therefore, the Central Government should own the responsibility of protecting the minorities of this country. We must understand that State para-military forces have invariably failed to establish law and order. We have got State forces. We have got PMP. We have got PAC. But all these, just failed because they proved to be criminal and communal forces. That has disbanded completely. It is only when the forces—CRP and PAC—sent, the order was restored. Therefore, we should understand the responsibility that the Central Government has, in protecting the minorities in this country. I must tell you what is happening in this country. It is a tragedy. It is a very sad tale that for the last 42 years continuously, the country has been having riots and it has become worse and worse as every day and every hour passes. For example, we had Jabalpur riots. When we talk of Jamshedpur riots, it is worse than Jabalpur. Then we had Ahmedabad, which is worse than Jamshedpur. Then we had Moradabad, which is worse than Ahmedabad. Then we had Nellie, which is worse than Moradabad. Then we had Meerul which is worse than Nellie. Today we are having Bagalpur—the worse in the independent India. My heart beats. I do not want to go into the details. Prof. Soz told you about what had happened in Chandeli and what had happened in Logaeen. I went over there and I saw for myself as to how the Muslims are butchered there. Still, dead bodies are being recovered from ponds, from wells and from streets. Even decomposed bodies are being taken out. But, here

the hon. Home Minister said that only four hundred and odd were killed. But, how can he finally give a figure? He cannot—I challenge. In the entire area, all the Muslim *bastis* were razed to the ground. Not 400 to 500 have been killed, but thousands and thousands have been killed. Therefore, we have to understand the seriousness of this problem. We must also understand that these are not simple communal riots; but it is not communal violence; but I must tell you, it is a planned genocide.

One more factor is tragic and that is the involvement of the State forces in these riots. It was not there, 10 years before. Just now my dear friend Shri Saifuddin Choudhury said that he had been to Malliana. What did he say? In the killings that took place in Malliana, they put the dead bodies in the trucks and threw them in the nearby river. They were shot one after another and thrown into the river. It was PAC who did it. What action did government take against them? (*Interruptions*)

I know riots have taken place both in Congress ruled and non-Congress ruled States. Only the magnitude may differ. (*Interruptions*) I have already said Government of the State is responsible and they cannot run away from the responsibility. State Government as well as the Central Government is responsible. Both are responsible.

Sir, the hon. Minister is talking with other members. I would like him to hear me when I speaking. I must say here that even the National Integration Council had resolved that all the concerned police officials should be held responsible wherever riots take place but it has so far proved to be a mere eye-wash. No action or no case has been registered against such police officers. I would like to ask this government and also the previous government did they take any action against such erring police officials? Nobody has been punished so far. Mere transfer is not enough. Has any police officer been charge-sheeted? (*Interruptions*)

Therefore, action has to be taken against

[Sh. Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait]

every erring police officer. Then alone the communal harmony can be maintained.

I want to say one more thing about PAC. It should be completely restructured. It must reflect the composition of the country. If there is a force with 99 per cent personnel belonging to one community then how can they win confidence? There should be people from all communities. Muslims in this country are neither slaves nor rulers but they are part of the day to day administration of the country. (Interruptions)

Now, Sir, we talk of secularism. It is well and good. I am happy. Secularism should be there but where is secularism today? We do not find it is anywhere. Therefore, what we find today is that aggressive communal forces are becoming stronger and stronger everyday and that is the tragic tale. It is the greatest misfortune that communal and fascist forces are becoming more and more powerful in this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already taken lot of time. Please conclude in another two minutes.

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Patriotism is not the monopoly of any particular section. I have got equal rights in this country as anybody else has got. I have got equal rights as Shri V P. Singh or Shri Rajiv Gandhi or Shri Bal Thackrey or Shri Balasahib Deoras. has got. Nobody can deny it. We have sacrificed for our country. We have shed our blood during the freedom struggle. I am not loyal to anybody but I am loyal to my country.

A compensation of Rs. 1 lakh was announced by Shri Jagannath Mishra, Chief Minister of Bihar, for the families of those who were killed during the riots in Bhagalpur. I would like the Home Minister to find out how much has been paid so far. Thousands and thousand have been killed in that massacre

at Bhagalpur. Even though a compensation of Rs. 1 lakh was announced but that amount has been offered to a very few people. I want to know how many of them have been paid. How many have been completely rehabilitated? Separate assistance should be given so that all those victims do not remain homeless and jobless in future.

A mention has been made about the uniform civil code both inside and outside the House. You must understand that we have every right to live according to our *Shariyat*, that is, personal law. It is a part and parcel of the religion. It is a defined law. But promulgation of uniform civil code would mean abrogation of personal law.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. (Interruptions)

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I want to tell my hon. friend, Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury, that you may oppose the judgement in the Shah Bani case and also subsequent Bill—for the protection of divorced Muslim women—brought forward in Parliament to annual the judgment of the Supreme Court. But we cannot force others to adopt our personal law. Nobody can force us to have uniform civil code, under the fundamental rights, we have got full freedom to follow our religion and live according to our *Shariyat*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. (Interruptions) I am calling the next speaker. (Interruptions) Now nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions)\*

[Translation]

SHRIJANARDAN YADAV (Godda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the recent incidents of riots in Bhagalpur remind us of the days of 1947. Even in 1946, there were riots in Bhagalpur. Just now, Shri M.J. Akbar was speaking in the House, who is a member of the Congress

\*Not recorded.

party. There has been a well known journalist who had written the book "Freedom at Midnight". But he was going to write "Slave of Midnight" before 11.30 hrs. It is their mentality. Hon. Shri Soz was speaking on the Bhagalpur riots. I was thinking that being a veteran Member, he would not be biased towards Hindus or Muslims. During his speech in this House, he forgot to mention that in the riots which started in Bhagalpur there were several innocent students of T.N.V. College who lived in the Titarpur hill tract. The Bhagalpur riots were pre-planned by the former Chief Minister, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad. This was reported by the local people in the Urdu newspaper on 6th September. But the Administration and the Congress (I) Government of Bihar did not pay any heed to it.

**SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Ghosi):** Sir, whatever he is saying is not true.

**SHRI JANARDAN YADAV:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to place the relevant papers on the Table of the House. We are not going to discuss the number of Hindus or Muslim killed in the Bhagalpur riots, but we have to find out who was responsible for it. There are two criminal groups of Muslims in Bhagalpur. These criminals have no relationship with the Muslim. In the past two years the Sallan and Ansari groups have killed 500 Muslims. In the disturbances, Sallan and Ansari were 'right-hands' of Bhagwat Jha Azad and Shivchandra Jha. Bhagwat Jha Azad fought the 1984 elections in which he won by a very narrow margin. Recently, during the procession taken out in connection with the Ram Shila Pujan in Bhagalpur, these two groups had thrown bombs. About 50-100 people were killed on the 24th, 25th and 26th. The former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi went to Bhagalpur on the 26th and riots started in the villages on the same night. These riots have disturbed the life of the people on the behest of the former Prime Minister. Dwivedi's transfer was cancelled. The S.P. of the area was transferred because he had arrested Sallan and Ansari. Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad did not want Sallan and Ansari to go to Jail. Even

today there are 3000 people in jail in Bhagalpur and the jail officials have engaged them in collecting the bones from the bank of the river. The Bhagalpur blinding case happened under the Chief Ministership of Shri Jagannath Mishra. At that time, Shri Vishnu Dayal was the S.P. The persons responsible for this incident were later set free. Even after Shri Jagannath Mishra had visited the scene of the crime, the blindings went on unabated.

Sir, the Bihar Government and the Congress (I) were responsible for the massacre which started in Bhagalpur on the 27th. At least they did remember the riots which took place in Changeri and Naugaon. But they conveniently forgot to mention the Hindus who were killed and whose villages were burnt in Jamalpur and Samastipur.

A mention was made about the Naresh Das case. I would like to say that he had brought two witnesses. Laxman Das was killed in Ghoraiya by Muslim and the killers were later found travelling in the jeep belonging to Naresh Das. The S.P. detained Naresh Das for 30 hours at the police station. The riots in Bhagalpur were pre-planned by the Congress (I) and sparked off by the Administration. For the people in this riot-torn city of Bhagalpur, life has become a nightmare. Ghoraiya, Baliyas, Babra and Bhagalpur are full of criminals. In the neighbouring localities, the people belonging to the majority community live but, in fact, they are in minority and are having sleepless nights. The police also wants a share in the Rs. 1 lakh meant for families of victims. For this purpose bones are collected and then sorted out to find out whether they belong to Hindus or Muslims. How is one to know whether a bone belongs to a Hindu or a Muslim? The police and other people are fighting over how to share the money which the Prime Minister has actually sanctioned for families of victims. The Congress (I) Government headed by Shri Jagannath Mishra does not want peace in Bhagalpur. The Chief Minister has instructed officers to incite Hindus and Muslims against each other. Each community is being harassed without reason, as

[Sh. Janardan Yadav]

example of which is the thousands of innocent persons being sent to jail. At the instance of Shri Jagannath Mishra, the D.I.G. Shri Naseem Ahmed is registering cases against the innocent people and for this purpose, voters' lists come handy. Sir, through your good offices I request the Central Government to ensure that riots do not recur in Bhagalpur. Steps should be taken to diffuse the tension currently prevailing between Hindus and Muslims. The District Collector Shri Arun Jha and Shri Naseem Ahmed were responsible for starting the riots. Action should be taken against all such officials. The Bihar Assembly should be dissolved without further delay, otherwise riots may reoccur.

**SHRI ASHOK ANANDRAO DESHMUKH** (Parbhani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak. I would like to raise a few points. In their election campaign the leader of the Opposition and his colleagues launched false propaganda against the B.J.P. and Shiv Sena saying that these are communal parties which favour a Hindu nation. Let me tell them the meaning of 'Dharma Chakra Pravartanaya'. It is a characteristic of religion, of Hindu culture which we have to preserve. I want to make them understand what Hindu and Hinduism really means. What can we do if they fail to understand this?

Two days back, hon. Shri Sathe said that Vedic dharma, Sanatan dharma and Hindu dharma were different. Hindu religion is all encompassing and it includes vedic religion and 'Sarva dharma Sambhava' mentioned by hon. Shri Sathe. Inspite of all, this we are accused of being communal. The main elements of nationalism are one land, one culture and one community. All these elements are parts of Hinduism. So nationalism means Hinduism. Therefore, my contention is that ours is a Hindu nation, it has been so far ages. We are proud to say that ours is a Hindu nation. If Muslims want to live here they are most welcome to do so but I would like to make it clear that ours is a Hindu nation. Hindu culture consists of the cultures

of Satyug, Tretayug and Dwaparyug. That is why I call this a Hindu nation. Muslims in our country are generally called a minority community, but I speak of them as Muslims. To our Muslim brethren, I would like to tell that we are against the black sheep in their community who explode crackers when the Indian cricket team is defeated by their Pakistani counterparts, who hoist the Pakistani flag in Kashmir on the 15th of August, who throw stones during the Ram Shilanyas ceremony. We are not against Muslims like Ameenbhai who themselves came forward to lay the foundation of the Jyotirlinga. We are proud to call them our brothers even though they may be Muslims....(Interruptions)...

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ** (Baramulla): Can this not a Hindu nation? This nation belongs to everyone. (Interruptions)

**AN HON. MEMBER:** What is meant by Hindu nation?...(Interruptions)

**SHRI ASHOK ANANDRAO DESHMUKH:** From where has the word 'Hindu' originated ... (Interruptions) .... Buddhism was the creation of Gautam Buddha, Jainism came from 'Jinvar', Vedic religion came from the Vedas and the word 'Hindu' has originated from the Sindh region. From the Sindh river to Sindh sea, the population consists entirely of Hindus. Our wise ancestors grouped all communities under one religious philosophy. A philosophy that contains the crux of all religions and which we now call Hinduism. It is like a bunch of flowers, Hindus, Sikhs or Buddhists being flowers in that bunch. This land is neither 'Darul Islam' nor "Darul Harav". It is 'Darul-e-chaman'...(Interruptions)...

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** India cannot be an Islamic State.

**SHRI ASHOK ANANDRAO DESHMUKH:** We say that all Muslims in India are our brothers and sisters. We should all live in harmony. It is upto the Muslims to destroy or strengthen the country. In one household there is a family of five members

while in another there is a family of 20 members. So we have to see which of the households can lead a better life. Therefore, it is in the interest of both Hindus and Muslims to adopt family planning. This responsibility lies on everyone... (*Interruptions*).... The country's economy is in a pitiable condition. But it is the attitude of the Muslim leaders due to which the country's population is increasing. The poor Muslim have nothing to do with what their leaders say and they are prepared to go in for family planning. The Muslims in service also favour family planning. Only those Muslims are true Indians who love the nation, work for its advancement and think in unison that India is one, that 'Sare Jahan se achcha Hindustan Hamara, hum bulbulen hain uski, yeh gulistan hamara'... (*Interruptions*)....

PROF. SAUFIDDIN SOZ: This was said by Iqbal.

SHRI ASHOK ANANDRAO DESHMUKH: I am proud of labal.

PROF. YADUNATH PANDEY (Hazaribagh): He went away to Pakistan.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: At that time, Pakistan did not exist... (*Interruptions*)...

SAHRI ASHOK ANANDRAO DESHMUKH: Riots took place in States ruled by Congress (I).

Mr. Speaker, Sir, kindly go through all these figures. All these communal riots took place during Shri Rajiv Gandhi's tenure particularly, from 1986 to 1989. About 2545 incidents took place, 1400 people died, and 11,852 were injured. And now all the Muslim brothers and Hindu brothers have united. There is no nationalist Muslim with them. All of them have now opted to support us and we all support Shri V.P. Singh. We would like the Congress Party to reorganise themselves. We will see what happens after our term is over. Allow us to rule, now. Please cooperate with us in bringing about national integration and accomplishing tasks of national interest.

PROF. YADUNATH PANDEY (Hazaribagh): Shri Lalu Prasad referred to the communal riots which took place in Hazaribagh. I have myself been a sufferer. The Congress Government kept me in jail for 6 months and then release me without giving any reasons. I do not know the reasons even today.

SHRI YUVRAJ (Katihar): I rise in a point of order under Rule 353.

[*English*]

"No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a member against any person unless the member has given previous intimation to the Speaker and also to the Minister concerned so that the Minister may be able to make an investigation into the matter for the purpose of a reply...."

[*Translation*]

A short while ago Shri Akbar said in his speech that Shri Lakhan Lal Kapoor is communal. Shri Kapoor has been an hon. Member of this House and he contested elections against him from Kishanganj constituency this time. Under Rule 353 he has no right to make any defamatory allegation against any person. You should take note of the allegation.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will give it to the Speaker:

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You are the Speaker now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will give it to the Speaker. I am the Chairman now.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHANDEV (Tripura West): We have heard the speeches from the members of the various parties and in spite of the accusations that have been hurled against each other the basic thing that

[Sh. Sontosh Mohan Dev]

everybody has said is that the communal situation in the country must be arrested and it is cancerous disease and it must not spread. Members have taken a stand—those who are in the ruling party and also those who are supporting the ruling party that almost all the communal disturbances took place in the states ruled by the Congress and therefore the responsibility lies with the Congress.

I had an opportunity to visit Sitamarhi along with the then Finance Minister and the Chief Minister. We travelled nine kilometres and we were greeted with black flags, on the one side of the road by the Hindus and from the other side by Muslims.

I would like to share a certain information with the House. When we stopped at a particular place, a meeting was held with the villagers. We were told that a procession of 1000 people—some of BJP and others of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad—was stopped by two constables and one ASI. They said, "you cannot pass through this route there are eight to ten Muslim villages and you should avoid it." One of the officers came and said, "Hindus will take processions and how can you stop them?" As a result, four villages, mostly dominated by Muslims were gutted and they became subject to this humiliation. True, it happened in the Congress I State because of the procession by the BJP and VHP. I do not know, who is guilty. I do not want to say. I only want to narrate the facts. The Home Minister is here. In my capacity as the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs I had given a report. It is in the files of the Home Ministry. He can check it up whether I am telling lies or I am telling this after a second thought. Sir, it is not a question of accusing Congress, BJP, CPM, or CPI. The fact remains that it has to be arrested and as the then Minister of State in the Minister of Home Affairs. (Interruptions)

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: BJP is the communal scapegoat for everyone... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permit him to continue.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: You are an hon. Member and a very dignified Member. You people do not have the guts to listen the criticism. It is not your monopoly only to criticise. You can intervene afterwards. For God's sake, do not misbehave... (Interruptions)

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: I strongly object to this language. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permit him to continue.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: It should be expunged.. (Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: If I had said anything wrong, I apologize. Please do not interrupt me. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev, you address me

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: In this House, they have accused Mr. Bhagat Jha Azad, they have accused Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. We have not said anything. When we say one word they get punctured. What is this? (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please continue

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: When they criticise us, we do not misbehave. When we criticise them, they become restless. (Interruptions) I apologise for using the word "misbehave". I withdraw it. Allow me to speak. I do say, as the then Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs that it was a carnage motivated by VHP and BJP. That is why, the other day I requested the Home Minister of the country to pass a resolution in this House asking a Supreme Court Judge to inquire into the matter and if Congress is guilty, then Congress must be punished. That is what I want to demand today. This is the only intention of my speaking now. By giving speeches and hurling accusations against one another, the problem will not be solved. The CPM has said that nothing has happened in their State. In the CPM procession in West Bengal, a Church was attacked. In the CPM area, Murshidabad, 500 people were

killed.....(Interruptions)

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hooghly): Sir, he is misleading the House....(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Kindly move a Privilege Motion against me. I will face it...(Interruptions) Sir, the Constituency where from I have come...(Interruptions)

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (Murshidabad): The number of casualty was only 40...(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I correct it as 40, even I correct it as 4. But it has happened. So, do not say it has not happened...(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY: Those who organised the riots, you vindicate...(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: The Chief Minister of West Bengal has taken stern action and the situation came to normal.

**24.00 hrs.**

Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury said that CPM does not believe in communal propaganda. In Tripura this time I have seen in my constituency CPM taking the service of Maulanas. The President of their Assam unit gave instructions to the local CPM that they must not utilise it and he had stopped that. I appreciate it: That is why I was telling in the lobby that there is a difference between the CPM in West Bengal and CPM in our area.

Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury said that he had won because he had proved himself to be a nationalist and that he did not believe in Muslim majority. The constituency I come from, in 1980 and 1985 there was 40 per cent Muslims there. Both the times I fought against Muslim candidates—one CPM Muslim candidate and the other Congress (S) Muslim candidate—and both the times I won. So it is not his monopoly. It is not correct to say that.

Now I want to ask a few questions from the hon. Home Minister. Is it or is it not a fact that the land which was given for the foundation of the temple was on the disputed land? I have in my possession one of your answers in which you have spelled out something but in a very diplomatic way. Has any part of the Babri Masjid been demolished during the Congress rule in UP or after the Janata Dal came to power? If the court verdict does not come before 27th or 28th of January and if negotiations do not materialise which you are having with all the political parties, you have said that you are going to have a consensus after discussing with all the groups, are you going to allow the construction of the temple at this particular spot where this foundation was laid? Is it a fact that in Bihar after the carnages the Government of Bihar has taken certain steps about some emergency trial to be conducted by special courts? If that is so, what is the thinking of the Central Government? Are you going to have another trial for them or the special court trial is acceptable to the Central Government because some one in the Central Hall has said that they are not going to accept the trial which is being conducted by the State Government and that they will have special trial? If that is done, I welcome it. Lastly, I would like to know whether at present elections have been declared in the country; if not, has the Bihar Government done constitutionally anything wrong by transferring officers who were involved in these riots, from one place to another or taking action against those officers because we have heard in this House many people have said that transfer of the officers was contrary to the election laws?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. It began on 29th and ended on 30th. Now the last speaker before the Minister is Mr. Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav from Janata Dal.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV (Sitamarhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, after hearing the speeches of all the Members I have come to the conclusion that all of them have

[Sh. Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav]

only accused each other for inciting communal riots. My submission is that though today is the last day of the session the discussion that has been taken up in the House is appreciable. But it requires to be discussed publicly. The entire country is torn by controversies in the name of community, religion and spiritualism. What is community, religion and spiritualism after all? Unless one knows basic concepts one cannot understand religion, community or spiritualism in the real sense of the term. Community cannot be taken for religion nor can it be vice-versa. When religion is treated as community a lot of things are done under its garb. We try to hide our sins and misdeeds by putting mask of religion. This is the way we behave. I was listening to Shri Soz who said—that slogans are being raised "Fee I proud of being a Hindu" I would like to urge upon my friends that we may differ on this point. I am socialist, Dr. Lohia's follower, Jaiprakash Narayan's companion and have been a spiritual disciple of Pandit Ramnandan Mishra. But I also feel proud to say that I am a Hindu. When I say this it may mean one thing and when somebody else utters these words it may be altogether different when I say I am a Hindu. I mean that I have equal regard for Hinduism as well as Islam. Thus none will object on my being a Hindu. It is only when other communities in India are respected and honoured equally that a wave of tolerance will surge throughout the country, otherwise fanaticism would remain dominant and be ultimately responsible for the disintegration of the country. If a liberal Muslim supports the cause of Hindus a liberal Hindu should support the cause of Muslims. Only then will the wave of religious tolerance and liberalism be strengthened.

Now about communalism. Shri Bhagendra Jha contested from Madhubani as a candidate of Communist Party. From the adjoining constituency of Sitamarhi I was contesting as a Janata Dal candidate and next to my constituency was Shri Shakeelur-Rehman who contested on a Janata Dal ticket from Darbhanga. The force which used

to raise slogans against Shri Shakeelur-Rehman in Darbhanga was in favour of the Congress. Shri Kalpnath Rai, Shri Santosh Mohan Dev and Patil Sahib are better judges. They know who were behind it. In Vejapur, Manigatchi, Wahera and Kewati villages Congress provided liquor to the people and they shouted the name of Lord Rama in a drunken state. They might have seen Hanuman in T.V., but they did not know the true characteristics of the character of Hanuman. They misused the name of Lord Rama in an inebriated state. They tried to gain political mileage out of Lord Rama's name in favour of the Congress Party. The same force misused the name of Lord Rama against Shri Bhagendra Jha in Madhubani and against me in Sitamarhi. Sometimes they are in Congress and sometimes in B.J.P. They have no identity of their own, rather they go on changing it.

"Ugharahi ant na hoi niwahu, Kaal-nemi Jimi Ravan Rahu"

Ultimately such people are exposed.

Finally I would like to submit about the communal riots that took place in Bhagalpur and Sitamarhi. The Parliamentary Committee cannot ascertain the real facts about the communal riots while sitting in Delhi. They should visit the riot affected areas in order to find out as to who were behind these riots and to which political party did they belong. The Muslim are not blaming the Hindus for inciting the riots but they are blaming their own people who have a hand in the riots and are ruining them. They are blaming those who have been arrested by the administration and have been branded as communal. Therefore, I would like to request that a Parliamentary team consisting of Members belonging to all the parties should visit these places which have been affected by communal riots so that the truth is revealed. You will come to know whether it was because of the mutual bickerings between Shri Mishra and Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad or between Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad and Shri Shivchandra Jha. It will also be known whether the atmosphere created due to the wrangling between

Shri Faiyaz Bhagalpuri and Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad during the last elections was also one of the reasons for the outbreak of these riots? You should go there in person to ascertain the facts and find out the persons who were actually behind the communal riots. My submission is that a Parliamentary committee should be constituted and it should visit Bhagalpur, Sitamarhi and the affected areas of Uttar Pradesh to ascertain the real cause of communal riots there. You will find that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims are responsible for these riots but the bureaucracy and the politicians are responsible for them. Until such politicians are thrown out, politics cannot become clean and communal riots will never come to an end. This is all what I want to say.

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: What will happen to the other debate, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will take the sense of the House after the Home Minister replies. Now the Home Minister.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Mr. Chairman, Sir, most of the hon. Members have expressed their views on the communal situation prevailing in the country for the past 5 or 6 months and they have extended several suggestions in this regard. I think that communalism is the greatest challenge before us today as it not only weakens our country but also creates an atmosphere of hatred and estrangement. History bears testimony to the fact that our country has never been weakened so much by external threats as by internal conflicts. The Britishers adopted the policy of 'Divide and Rule' and partitioned this vast country. Mahatma Gandhi used to say that partition of the nation is like the partition of the human body but I don't think that all these things will be mentioned in our history. The country has suffered a lot due to this. Had our country not been partitioned, we would have been safe

from the threat of China and Russia because of the natural borders of Himalayas and the heavy expenditure which is being incurred for our Defence could have been avoided. The country had to suffer a lot because of the partition. The worst sufferers have been the Indian Muslims who constitute the largest minority in the country. Had religion been capable of keeping a nation united, Pakistan would not have been partitioned again or Iraq-Iran would not have fought a war. Religion is not the only force for keeping the nation together. If at the time of partition, I was with the Congress Party it was because the then Congress Party remained above the monstrous wave of communalism which had swept the country. Humanity was at stake. Man had become a devil and blood-thirsty and the Hindu fanatics were possessed with the devilish passion of throwing the Muslims out of the country. That was the kind of atmosphere prevailing in the country and when Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was unfurling the National Flag on 15th August 1947 at the Red Fort, Mahatma Gandhi was in Noakhali to protect the Muslims from the wrath of the Hindus. He undertook a fast until bloodshed was stopped. Sardar Patel was the Minister of Home Affairs at that time and he informed him that the situation was under full control. He told him that fraternal disputes are common. Great Britain which was proud of its democracy, was also facing a similar problem in Ireland. The protestants and Catholic were up in arms against each other. Similarly, in U.S.A. which is an advanced country the Negroes and the Whites do not see eye to eye with each other. The greatest strength of the Congress Party was its commitment to secularism. Regardless of the religion or community to which a member of the Congress Party may belong, whether he is rich or poor it had a tradition of harmonising all these diversities and uniting all the desperate forces. When I was a Minister in Shri Rajiv Gandhi's cabinet, I visited Meerut 20 days after the outbreak of the riots in Meerut. On my return, I apprised the Government that I had not found disaffection so much between the common Hindus and their Muslim counterparts as between Hindu members of the Congress and their Muslim counterparts

[Sh. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed]

in the Congress. There was a faction of the Congress working under Mohsina Kidwai I had pointed out that the Congress had been divided. The communal riots are spreading in the rural areas. The Government is trying to control the riots but the Party is playing a negative role. The party upholds secularism. Why does it not represent the will of the masses? I apprised the party about the situation three times. Once they said that Shri Bhatia will be sent over there. I felt as if attempts were being made to encourage these things. What are reasons for it? It is also true that fundamentalism has become a world phenomenon. You can see it everywhere. For example, in Beirut or elsewhere, fundamentalism has its savour. In India also Hindu fundamentalism and Muslim fundamentalism and revivalism is gaining momentum. But the point is that if the Government is well-intentioned it can control the situation. As an illustration, I would like to recall one incident. I had an opportunity to visit Karnataka four-five months back. From there I had to go to Hyderabad Shri Vikaruddin who was the elderman of the city, advised me not to enter the city in view of the immersion of the idol of Lord Ganesha. He said lakhs of people would be joining the procession. I was also frightened and it took me about two hours to reach Guest House. It was Bala Saheb Dewaras's procession and when I met Shri Rama Rao he told me categorically that the entire police force of the State has been put on alert and it will be ensured that no one is harmed. I gave the example of Bengal also. People may criticise Shri N.T. Rama Rao in Hyderabad and Secunderabad but during his 5 year rule there have been no incidents of riots in his State. If you recall the period when Shri Chenna Reddy was the Chief Minister, you will find that communal riots took place every year and once there was a curfew for 47 days continuously. Communal riots are rare in Karnataka and Haryana. Shri M.J. Akbar has left the House, I was making this submission for his benefit. I was in Allahabad during the elections. During the campaign the

Congress leaders brought, Shri Arun Govil on the stage in the attire of Lord Rama.

**SHRI M.L. KHURANA:** He was brought to Delhi as well.

**SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED:** Lakhs of people were there. Who does like this? Shri Rajiv Gandhi began his campaign from Ayodhya where he said that he would usher in 'Ram Rajya'. Now the Muslim as well as the Hindu think that Ram Rajya will be established and the poor people of India will get relief. But what were his real intentions there? He wanted to play the Hindu Card and also played the Muslim card where it suited him. But where there is a credibility gap nobody believes on anything and the result is before us. But I would like to submit to the patriots and those who want to see the country prosper to see for themselves the situation in Punjab where a section of the population is making attempts to alienate itself from the national mainstream. I am not saying that they have separated themselves but for the past six years the nation's energies have been diverted in this direction. Right now, the Government is very much concerned about what is happening in Punjab. Humanity is at stake. People are being killed everyday. Our country is being weakened. If the largest minority of the country is cut-off from the national mainstream, it will weaken the whole nation. God forbid, if a part of the body is paralysed the entire mechanism of the body weakens. Similarly, the minorities have talent. Whether he is a craftsman, a carpet weaver or engaged in papermache work, all of them are talented and it has to be utilised for the benefit of the nation. I am surprised when it is said that the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue or the Muslim Personal Law controversy is solely an issue concerning the Muslims. This is infact beneficial to them. If the national illiteracy is 40 per cent of Muslims constitute 15 per cent. Why is the rate of illiteracy so low? From a very young age, a child is engaged in working at the loom, carpet-weaving or zari-work. I meant to say that in doing all this work, they are deprived of education..Such work is done by

the people who want to contribute towards the advancement of the national and want to see it emerge stronger. A major part of our country's population has to be brought into the national mainstream in order to instill a sense of confidence in them.

I have been living in this land for years. My ancestors have also lived here and therefore, this country's culture is my own culture. Islam has contributed a great deal to the Ganga-Yamuna culture, which in turn has also enriched Islam. I would like to tell Indian Muslims that they are self-respecting citizens in this land of Ganga and Yamuna. Muslims who have migrated from U.P. and Bihar and are presently settled in Karachi or Sind-Hyderabad are called refugees by the natives of Pakistan. But in this country, my brethren are not called refugees. So we have to consider what steps can be taken by the administration in this respect.

I know of many ambitious directions that used to be issued during the time of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. A 15-Point programme was formulated for them. Had even 10% of this programme been successfully implemented, there would have been a significant improvement in the lot of Indian Muslims by now. I would like to read out the instructions that were issued to check communal riots:-

#### [English]

"Streamlining of intelligence apparatus, taking of preventive steps including arrest of anti-social elements, search and seizure of unauthorised arms, stressing accountability on the part of district officers.

#### [Translation]

Most of the implementation has been with regard to—

#### [English]

"Emphasis on personnel and recruitment policies with regard to police force, effective monitoring of 15-point pro-

gramme particularly relating to recruitment of minorities in Central force, deployment of Central force to control riots, enactment of law for preventing misuse of religious places, Amendment in the Representation of People Act, and elaborate exercise undertaken in the Ministry to review mechanism."

#### [Translation]

Unless there is commitment in our efforts, we cannot hope for any positive effect. Everyone, is aware of the incidents that took place in Bhagalpur. This is the first occurrence of this kind since Independence. Wherever there are communal riots, it becomes very clear as to who are responsible for triggering off these riots and whose interests are served by the outbreak of this violence. Previously, the poison of communalism had been confined to the affluent class, industrialists and people living in cities, but now it has spread to villages also. I had an opportunity to visit Budaun. I met a poor women in the hospital over there. She told me that she was travelling by a train to bring her daughter. The mischief-mongers forced some of the train passengers to get down from the railway coach. Then they asked some of their own men to enter the coach. Thousands of villagers had congregated over there. Then they attacked the passengers in the coach. Incidents of similar nature occurred in Bhagalpur also. This is the biggest challenge facing us. The Government does not have any means at its disposal by which it can solve this problem within no time. We do not have any 'Allaudin's Lamp' that can provide instant solutions to problems. Similarly, the Punjab problem cannot be solved overnight. Even though hon. Shri M.J. Akbar may have a difference of opinion, I would like to emphasize that the need of the hour is that people should unite. It goes to the credit of hon. Shri V.P. Singh that he has identified the biggest challenge facing us today. The challenge is to fight the secessionist elements in our country. We have to preserve the unity and integrity of the country and create harmony among the different communities. With full responsibility and humil-

[Sh. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed]

ity, I would like to say that whatever we may have been saying to the Opposition,

[English]

it is testing time for us. We will have to face it.

[Translation]

I shall not make tall claims at this juncture but we will certainly make a sincere effort. For instance there is the National Integration Council which is a very high level forum. The meeting of this council would be held at best once a year and the formula put forward by the old timer Shri Haksar could be discussed therein. Views on the questions as to how religious places should be used, what syllabus should be included in text-books and how seminars should be organised have to be considered. Now onwards, it will not be a sort of decorative thing. In fact, we have decided to call a meeting of the National Integration Council in the first week of February. We have to carry its message to every corner of the country. I believe that when it comes to strengthening the country, all political parties will co-operate with us. There is no point in trading accusations and we will not be party to such things. I would like to make it clear that

[English]

The District Officer, Deputy Commissioner and the SSP will be made squarely responsible if there are any riots and if there is any slackness in tackling the situation.

[Translation]

Some people say that in case of a fire in the House, the fire brigade is summoned, but our endeavour will be to ensure that no fire breaks out in the first place.

[Translation]

Efforts should be made that situation does

not deteriorate to that extent. Rather the things should be improved so that there are no communal riots. I give the entire credit to the CPM because during the assembly elections in 1987, I was on a visit to the minority areas as an office bearer of the Congress and I enquired of the people living there as to why they cast their vote in favour of CPM. They explained that it was not their financial condition which was their prime concern but they were proud that their life and property was safe, under the regime of Shri Jyoti Basu because nobody ever dared to harm them. In fact, he is committed to the people. Even the officers know that if any such incident takes place, it may lead to dire consequences as Shri Santosh Mohan Dev has made a mention of a particular incident of Murshidabad where on one such occasion Shri Jyoti Basu ordered his party workers to visit the site immediately and fight it out in a political way. But so far as the Congress is concerned neither the administration nor their party workers have ever done it. They have their own political game everywhere. They do not have their firm line of action. But we, who are in the habit of levelling charges against them, have to establish our credibility. However, we will try our level best to work in this direction. At the moment, we are short of time as we have been busy throughout since 8 o' clock in the morning. I assure you that we would try our best.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** Please get the incidents of Bhagalpur investigated by a judge of the Supreme Court.

**SHRI MUFTI MOHD. SAYEED:** It is my submission that in respect of Bhagalpur.....

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** In the first instance kindly give us the figures about the number of people who have died there.

**SHRI MUFTI MOHD. SAYEED:** No doubt, some of the facts as stated by the member are correct. As regards the fate of the reports of various commissions appointed hitherto, for example one appointed to enquire into the Meerut riots, we may examine them threadbare but it is a fact that so far no

action has been taken on any of the reports of these commissions.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** What is the significance of such reports?

**SHRI MUFTI MOHD. SAYEED:** No follow up action has been taken on the report. My submission is that we talk of the riots of 1984. Take any of these reports. There were persons who were involved in killings of Hindus or Muslims but none of them has been punished so far. These people talk of conducting enquiry into the matter by a judge of the Supreme Court or an International Court but a judge has nothing to do with it when everything happens before the people...*(Interruptions)* All the incidents took place in their presence. Hence what can you expect of a judge in this connection? Incidents of killings have taken place before the people and consequently cases are instituted against a large number of people while thousand others are put behind the bars. Thus there is nothing to be done by a judge in such cases. Instead they are lost in the technicalities.

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ:** There should be proper enquiry.

**SHRI MUFTI MOHD. SAYEED:** Enquiry is of no use in such cases because people would not remember the exact details of incidents till then and also no eye witness will be available to substantiate. In this manner this intervention of the Supreme Court, High Court, International Court etc. would further delay the whole case. My submission is that some effective step will have to be taken. In this regard cooperation of all the other political parties is required in order to avert this situation. To some extent administration should also be made accountable. Moreover, I am glad to say that the motive of CRPF and BSF is always to save the lives irrespective of the caste or religion of the individuals, be they Muslims or Hindus. Their only intention is to save those persons who are in trouble. However there are some complaints about the way the Police have conducted.....*(Interruptions)* I

have heard about the incidents of Bhagalpur. Incentives should be given to such persons. Some Hindus gave shelter to about 50 Muslims. Similarly some Muslims saved the lives of some Hindus. Some similar incidents took place in Badaun also. The Government should honour such persons who set such examples. On the other hand, all those people who fan the flame of hatred, should be dealt with strictly. There are a number of ways to deal with them but at the moment I won't go into the details of it... *(Interruptions)*..... I have got everything in writing. My subordinates have supplied all this information in writing to me. This is nothing more than jugglery. I have with me the complete record. But I know what actually happens. I wish that whenever we meet next we will be here to discuss some other problem rather than the communal situation. In the end I would like to thank all those Members who have participated in this prolonged discussion.

[English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The next item on the agenda is Discussion under Rule 193 regarding U.S. intervention in Panama. I am told that the movers Shri Chinta Mohan and Shri Ganendra Reddy, both are absent. Am I right?

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** Yes Sir.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** In that case the rule is that this discussion falls through and this discussion would not take place.

Before we adjourn, hon. Minister for Parliamentary Affairs want to say a few words.

**THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA):** Before we adjourn, I would like to thank all the Members of this august House for their cooperation in conducting the business of the House. While the Members from the friendly parties shared our burden, Members opposite lightened our

[Sh. P. Upendra]

burden. We have had excellent cooperation and an atmosphere of goodwill, inspite of occasional fireworks which are inevitable in a parliamentary democracy.

I apologise to all the Members for the inconvenience caused to them because we had to undertake a number of legislations left over in this short session—some left over legislations by the previous Government and some very important legislations which this Government had to undertake. I hope in future we will not tax you so much.

I wish all the Members a happy New Year and extend to them pleasant greetings. I also thank the staff of the Secretariat, the officers, the Hon. Speaker, the Panel of Chairmen and the Press for their wonderful cooperation. I wish you once again a happy New Year.

[Translation]

SHRI DALIP SINGH BHURIA (Jhabua): Mr Chairman, Sir, like the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, I would also like to thank you on behalf of the Congress Party. As the leader of the opposition Shri Rajiv

Gandhi had assured the Government of his party's constructive support and we stood up to it, though some of the Members from the ruling party were suspicious about it. Even in future we would continue to extend our support to the Government.

Our last point of discussion was communalism. In this regard I would like to submit that we should try to be a good and ideal citizen of India and thus make our contribution to the nation and to our Parliament.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to thank you.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, it is for me to thank all the Members—just for a minute and no more.—Let me thank the Members who began this sitting of the House on the 29th and concluding it on the 30th. Towards end, they have been burdened with somebody in the Chair, like me. I also wish all of you a Happy New Year and let me state that the House stands adjourned *sine die*.

24.41 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned since die.*