

yesterday (10.4.90) that Amanullah Khan's statement in New York on 9.4.90 was virtually an instruction to the abductors to carry out these despicable crimes. Pakistan Government's support to Amanullah Khan and the fact that Pakistan agencies have been aiding and instigating the militants in some parts of our country is sponsoring terrorism in the adjoining areas of our country.

The State administration will continue its intensive drive against the terrorists and misguided secessionist elements in the Valley.

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SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Jodhpur): I know that it is not usual to permit clarifications on such occasions. There is just one small question that I am to ask. I am given to understand.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHANDEV (Tripura East): I would not mind it, but I have also a question to ask. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Then I can't because I can't break the convention. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): This is not a *suo motu* statement. This is a statement at the request of the House. So, you are welcome to ask clarifications. (*Interruptions*)

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17.05 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**Communal riots in Gujarat and other parts of the Country**

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The next item is discussion under Rule 193. Shri Harish Rawat.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir I am initiating this discussion with a heavy heart. Tolerance and endurance have been the rare characteristics of our culture in the world.

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Sir, I want to attend the National Integration Council. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Again, it would be a serious mistake Mr. Home Minister. You cannot give an excuse of another meeting to leave the House. You can walk out, we have no objection. But if you say that you have to go to the National Integration Council meeting, we will not permit you to go.

[*Translation*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon'ble Home Minister has since arrived in the House and wishes to go to the National Integration Councils meeting with permission of you all.

[*English*]

I am allowing time to go.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Sir, the Prime Minister is already there in that Conference. I do not think the Home Minister should also be present there.

[*Translation*]

SHRI DINESH SINGH: you are starting a wrong practice in the House. You would be divagating the House. Let me be very clear about it that by according such permission. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): Sir, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime

[Sh. Vasant Sathe]

Minister are already there. If the Home Minister is not going to be here, we are walking out. (*Interruptions*)

17.07 hrs.

*At this stage, Shri Vasant Sathe and some other hon. Member left the House*

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) Sir, this is most unfortunate. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER. It is not my ruling. The hon. Speaker has allowed Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan to handle this issue. It is not my ruling only.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, at least the Home Minister should have the patience to listen. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack) Sir, the Home Minister has sought the permission of the Chair and only after getting the permission of the Chair he left the House (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Speaker has allowed Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan to handle it.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Sir, until and unless my colleagues do not come here I will have to keep mum. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Rawat, please understand that you cannot keep mum and keep standing like that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT. Sir, it is a very important matter. He should have the patience to hear. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please understand that he came here; he apologised and the Speaker has allowed him already to leave the House. He sought your permis-

sion. If you had put the matter to the vote of the House, majority of the Members would have said that let him go. He sought the permission and we have allowed. That is also important matter. Why do you stretch it too much?

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I would not have minded it, if the Home Minister had waited for 5 minutes. It is not fair for the Home Minister to leave the House.

17.10 hrs.

*Shri Harish Rawat then left the House.*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Rasa Singh Rawat

[*Translation*]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, First of all, I would like to rupees my condolences to the families of the victims of recent communal riots in Gujarat and other Jail of the country. The following words are spoken about our country

"Sare Jahan Se Achchha Hindustan  
Hamara  
Ham Bulbulen Hain Iski ye gulistan  
Hamara"

Poet Iqbal has further stated:

"Majhab Nahin Sikhata Apas Main Bair  
Rakhna  
Hindi Hain Ham Vatan Hindustan  
Hamara"

But unfortunately, after the partition of India the persons who unled the country adopted the policy of appeasement towards a particular community and created differences and tension between various religious. They created a communal mentality in the society which was responsible for the partition of the country and migration of millions of people from one country to the other country. Even after independence, mentality of communication grew in the

country. The people of our country believed in the following principal:

*Sarve Bhavantu Sukhina Sarve Santu  
Niramaya  
Sarve Bhadrani Pashyanti Ma Ka-  
shchid Dukhbhog bhavet*

Let there be good to all, kindness to all and benefit to all. Despite having faith in such high principles, it is a blot on our country that communal riots, are taking place in the country even after 42 years of independence. Congress Party has been defeated during the last election in Gujarat and I feel that due to irritation and inferiority complex caused by their defeat, some Members of Congress Party have tried to destabilise the coalition Government of B.J.P and Janata Dal by creating Communal tension. Pakistan agents in collusion with anti-national elements have created communal tension in Gujarat. I would like to submit that on 10th of March 1990, Cinema tickets were being sold in black market at Patan in district Mehsana in Gujarat. When some persons came forward to check black marketing of Cinema tickets, the black marketeers incited communal riots. At another place when some gentleman came forward to check eve-teasing by goondas, those goondas gave it a communal colour. All the hon. Members may identify people of such mentality. A goonda would always remain a goonda whether he is a Hindu, Muslim or from any other community. The people of such mentality and Pakistani elements, which were not being controlled by the previous Government went to create instability in the country. I would like to make it clear that lakhs of Hindus have migrated from Kashmir, but the members of congress party do not protect at all against if and shut their eyes. But when some incident takes place against any other community or Muslims, they raise a bogey of communalism. This mentality has to be checked. Such a mentality gives rise to communalism. There should be

[English]

justice to all, appeasement to none.

[Translation]

Justice should be provided to all and whoever is a criminal in the society and whatever religion he might be following, if he has committed the crime... But the Members of the congress Party were arguing, if they might have had any feeling in their heart for the Kashmir situation and any concern for it, they would not have resorted to walk out from the House after the apology of the hon. Minister. But it appears that they wanted to shed the crocodile tears and with a view to gain cheap popularity and to destabilise this Government they want to say something in this House and the press. They do not have any love and affection for the families of General Manager of HMT, Shri Khara and Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University. Had they any love for them, they would not have walked out in this manner after the ruling of the hon. Deputy Speaker.

I would like to submit that the communal riots in Gujarat and other parts of the country are really very unfortunate and painful for our country. Today 40 lakh Muslims in Kashmir are looking towards Pakistan and they want to merge with Pakistan. In this way, they want to create a feeling of suspicious about all the Muslims in India. It is the duty of 10 crore Muslims of India to come forward and persuade their Kashmir brethren and their leaders to continue to live in India like other 10 crore Muslims throughout the country. We all are residents of this country and we are sons of the Mother India. We are born here and we should not look towards Pakistan. But they have not said anything today and they have remained silent. If secessionist force in Kashmir raised their heads, the innocent Muslims living in other parts of the country would be looked with suspicion. Some people in Punjab raised the slogan of Khalistan and members of the community continued to be murdered, but some people did not openly oppose Khalistan. This has created a feeling of suspicion about every such living in the country and such an atmosphere has been created in the country. When bombs are thrown on Ram Navami Procession and when houses are been not to ashes on a

[Prof. Rasa Singh Rawat]

minor incident during Holi Festival. Which is a festival of joy and happiness and innocent people are murdered and it is a matter of concern that such incidents are taking place not only in Gujarat, but Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and other parts of the country. The Government should punish the persons of such mentality with a very heavy hand. The earlier Congress Government in Gujarat was formed on the basis of 'KHAM' and effort, were made to drive away the Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi and Muslims from the mainstream of the country and we are now forced to taste the bitter fruits of those efforts. 48 persons have been killed and 203 persons have been injured in Ahmedabad, Baroda and Bharouch cities in Gujarat, and if Congress Party would have been in power, they would have made false allegations against us. President of Vishwa Hindu Parishad of Khera was kidnapped and murdered. The people were taking out a procession regarding Kashmir raising slogans that Kashmir belongs to us and it is an integral part of the country. Some persons started quarrelling about it, which created tension in District Khera, Liquor smugglers in Ahmedabad and Bharouch, mafia gangs and anti-social element patronised by the previous Congress Government, Pakistan intruders coming from the other side of the border who are out to create the problem of law and order in the country, have created this communal frenzy in the state of Gujarat. We should think it seriously that when blood is shed by a Hindu or by a Muslim, it is not the blood of a Hindu or a Muslim it is the blood of an Indian and if we have love in our hearts, we should think that Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians are all brethren and the sons and daughters of Mother India. We live in one country, have one history and one common culture. We have one nodel and one constitution. Therefore, the persons who is killed may belong to any part of the country in first of all, an Indian. Through you Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would humbly request to the Government and the Home Minister to crush the unruly elements anti-social forces and goonda elements with a

very heavy hand with looking to their religious faith. We would have to completely abandon the policy of appeasement. I am fully aware that the Janta Dal Government formed under the leadership of Shri Chimanbhai Patel in Gujarat has got the support and co-operation of B.J.P. also. The state Government is very stable and is capable of dealing with every situation. Even then the members of the Congress Party are encouraging good elements. They should desist from this habit and with a view to end communalism stringent action must be taken against every such persons who indulges in goondism irrespective of the fact whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or from any other religion. It is the duty of the state Government as well as that of the Central Government to make necessary arrangements, for the rehabilitation of the displaced persons and to provide necessary help to the families of the riot-victims and the persons who have suffered in the riots. I would also like the Government to pay its attention on strengthening the borders. If the Gujarat Government has sent a request for additional CRPF personal, some companies of CRPF should be sent there and efforts should be made to remove the feeling among the people that they are Hindus and others are Muslims. All of us should feel that we are Indians first. If we do not that feeling, we would always continue to quarrel among ourselves in the name of religions and faiths.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we may talk anything on the political platform or in the education in Gujarat and schools in other part of the Country, but cordial atmosphere would be heated between various sections of the society. There is a very beautiful hymn in vedas, on the basis of which we can bring about unity in our country. The hymn is of follows:

'Sahridayam, Sammanasyam, Avidwesham Krinomeeva'

This human means that we should true love for each other. There should not be any difference in our words and deeds. If the politicians sitting in the opposition continued

to play this sort of politics. There might be disunity and hostility between various communities in the coming instead of Unity among them. Therefore, what is required today is that we should have love for each other and have a feeling of fraternity to each other, because we have faith in one Almighty God. We should not have a feeling of eny of malice to anyone. We should be amiable and friendly to all. We should have pious thoughts in our mind and should love each other. Before concluding I would like to say:

"Baha do Prem Ki Ganga, Dilon Main  
Prem Ka Sagar,  
Hamen Apas Men Mil Jul Kar Prabhu  
Rahana Sikha Dena"

SHRI KASHIRAM CHHABILDAS RANA (Surat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, The Communal riots in Gujarat are very shameful incidents for all of us, because the land of Gujarat belongs to Father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi and Iron. man of India, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel. If any type of tension is created between Hindus and Muslims in that pious land and preparations are made to kill each other, it is shameful not only for Gujarat, but for the entire country as well.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, many much discussion have been held recently in this august House and many conclusions have been drawn and the Government has paid its attention to this problem. It has been the endeavour of the Government to see to it that no tension is created in any part of the country. Many steps have also been taken but such circumstances are created that this problem arises at one place or the other place. The House is discussing this problem once again. I would like to submit to the Government through you, Sir that it should give previous thought to this matter and such steps should be taken so that communal riot, donot render in future and communal tension is not created. Communal riots do not take place like there happened in Gujarat.

Sir, it is my presumption and I would like to tell the names of the persons behind the

communal riots. Lok Sabha elections were held and congress party was defeated very badly. Assembly elections were also held and Congress party was defeated very badly and when Rajya Sabha election were held candidates of congress party were defeated. The members of the Congress party could not bear this defeat and the very next day on 30th March, a situation of tension was created and communal riots took place. Shri Girish Bhai Patel, Chairman of Hindu Parishad was going to Bhalji Village in District Khera. There was no procession no meeting and no tension there, but he was stabbed to death. This all happened due to severe defeat of congress party. This is the first reason. I would like to tell the second reason. The second reason is the release of anti-social elements and 150 TADA detenus by the then Congress Government and the Chief Minister just before the Assembly elections. Thirdly, when the coalition Government of Janta Dal and B.J.P. was formed in Gujarat and good action were taken by the Government, the people were satisfied that Government is functioning well and public Welfare programmes are being undertaken. This Government tool effective steps for the first time for prohibition. Many bootleggers and members of Congress Party were adversely affected due to prohibition. The members of Congress Party, bootleggers and anti-social elements created this Communal tension to destabilise the State Government by creating a rift between Janta Dal and B.J.P. and to defame the Government. I must say that the manner in which the chairman of Vishwa Hindu Parishad was murdered is not by Coincidence. It has been said here that 'a' "Save Kashmir" procession was taken out. It is not correct. First of all, Shri Girish Bhai Patel, Chairman of Vishwa Hindu Parishad was murdered and then violent incidents took place. I would also like to explain as to why and how communal tension increased. Slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad" were written on the walls in Baroda, which further worsened the situation. We have been drawing the attention of the previous Government for the last many years that Pakistani elements create the problem of law and order in Gujarat by intruding from Kutch border from Paki-

*Communal riots in Gujarat &*

[Sh Kashiram Chhabildas Rana]

stan Many a times incidents of bomb blast have taken place many bombs have been seized Pakistani nationals have been found to be involved in many communal riots Ration cards of 140 Pakistani nationals were seized The infiltration of Pakistani nationals in Gujarat is responsible for communal riots With a view to divert the attention of the people from Kashmir and to create communal tension slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad" were written on the walls A further incident took place Ramnavami procession was attacked and stoned A victory procession to celebrate the victory of Shri Gopal Bhai Solanki who had won the Rajya Sabha election was taken out in Godhara When procession was passing it was stoned I am narrating all these incidents because frustrated politicians do not want that prohibition should be successful Anti social elements who were released just before the Assembly elections and who had a link with the Congress Party wanted to destabilise the State Government and wanted to create a rift between Janta Dal and Bhartiya Janta Party I would like to tell you more thing Some times it is said that the Ministers from B J P Party did not get good portfolios that is why they are creating communal tension I would like to say in very unequivocal terms that B.J.P is not a party which should extend support to the Government in the hope of getting good portfolios People know it well that B J P is supporting the Government at the Centre without participating in it and all the 86 MPs are supporting the Government Similarly there would never be any animosity between Janta Dal and B J P in Gujarat These are all wrong excuses I am going to narrate an incident which would show as to who is behind these communal riots This would make it clear that powerful Pakistani elements are behind these communal riots A very horrible incident took place in Baroda The population consist of 90 percent of Hindus and 10 percent of Muslims There was cordial atmosphere but a baby girl of one and a half years of age was burnt alive and later on her parents were burnt alive 90 percent of people will never

speak a lie A priest of Jagannath temple in Ahmedabad was murdered in broad daylight Even then Hindu Community maintained peace and law and order There was a building adjacent to Sudeshwar Mahadeo temple private firing took place from that building Twenty five shots were fired from that building Many persons were injured and two persons were murdered The persons who are responsible for this firing incident should be arrested and they should be given exemplary punishment so that they may not indulge in such activities in future Some people in Jamnabai Hospital in Ahmedabad had turned mad and they tried to create anarchy and disturbance with a view to increase tension between Hindus and Muslims Jamnabai Hospital is meant to cure the patients and bring happiness to them but a sudden attack was launched on that hospital A patient was murdered on his hospital bed and 13 other persons were injured All these incidents make it clear that the members of B J P or Sangh or the Sangh family are not behind them The enemies of the country and the persons who are against the principles of Gandhi and Sardar Patel and do not want the friendliness between B J P and Janta Dal as also frustrated politicians anti social elements and Pakistani nationals have created disturbances in Gujarat

Sir when attack is launched the post mortem report shows as to which vital part of the body have been attacked In my view the persons who attacked the people might have been very trained persons More than 50 persons have lost their lives and about 250 persons were injured The Government should expose those elements which are behind these riots If the Government is not able to control these elements, the situation may turn even more serious If someone works in the temptation of coming to power, he is working against the humanity These are handful of persons who want to create a rift and dispute between Hindus and Muslims The persons who are indulging in anti national activities can never be pardoned

I want that Gujarat problem should be

the last problem in this country We have been sent have by the people to bring about a change People want that there should never be communal riot and any tension between Hindus and Muslims in the land of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel Gujarat Government should be provided all soils of help which it requires, to control the situation The elements which want to murder the people and indulge in communal riots to to destabilise the Government should given exemplary punishment Even the highest persons should not be spared Even if they are required to be sent to the prison the Government should not hesitate Such instructions should be sent by the Central Government to the State Government Such an incident should not be taken lightly All our friends are aware of the situation in Kashmir You should see to it that this communal fire does not spread to other parts of the country Such incidents have taken place in Gujarat in the last few days The Central Government should give very serious thought to it I would like to request the hon. Minister that most stringent action must be taken to do away with those anti-social elements who are inciting people and are out to create disturbances and the problem of law and order at the instance of Pakistan

In the end I would like to express my thanks to you

[English]

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan) Mr Deputy Speaker Sir we know that recently communal riots have taken place in Gujarat, where Mahatma Gandhi preached non-violence, practised non-violence and gave the message of non-violence to mankind There he lived in Sabarmati in Ahmedabad from 1915 to 1930 One of the constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi was communal harmony Sir, we hang our heads in shame because more than fifty innocent persons have been killed brutally and several innocent people were seriously injured during the communal disturbances in the State of Gujarat

17.40 hrs.

[SHRI JASWANT SINGH *in the Chair*]

The trouble started on 10th of March in Patan—which is my constituency—in Mehsana district, on a minor issue of black-marketing in cinema tickets in a cinema owned by a member of the minority This led to stone-throwing on the cinema house, followed by stabbing arson and damage to property The violence continued on 11th of March during which five innocent persons died and 41 persons were injured The damage to the property was to the extent of Rs. 15 lakh I visited that place I must say that the Government headed by Shri Chimanbhai Patel took prompt action by imposing curfew in the sensitive areas, by maintaining intensive patrolling, by arresting anti-social elements and by registering cases against those who indulged in stabbing arson and damaging the property

As a result of these measures, the situation in Patan is normal and peaceful After that communal disturbances took place in Broach in some villages of Kera district, in Palanpur, in Baroda and in Ahmedabad On 7th and 8th of April I visited the disturbed areas of Rajpur and Gomtipur of Ahmedabad city I was told by the families there that two youngmen belonging to the scheduled caste community were shot dead by private firing in Saliawali Chawl of Rajpur locality by anti-social elements belonging to the minority community They demand that those who killed these two youngmen should be arrested at once I do not know whether they have been arrested by now or not They demanded that in between the Muslim locality and the Harijan Chawl, a police post should be set up as early as possible There is no doubt that there was a police point between the two localities They want a permanent solution because it is a sensitive area They also demanded that the ex-gratia payment should be increased from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 Just now, the Government of Gujarat gave the ex-gratia payment of Rs. 20,000 The Minister of State of the Ministry of Water Resources (Shri Manubhai Kota-

[Sh. Khemchandbhai Somabhai Chayda]  
dia): It has been raised to Rs. 40000. Shri Khemchandbhai Somabhai Chavda: But they demand one lakh rupees per family. The first victims of these calamities are the poor people whether the calamities are natural or man-made. I take this opportunity to congratulate the voluntary agencies who have worked for these people in the form of relief measures. Honourable Prime Minister has condemned communal violence and appealed to the people of Gujarat to follow the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. What are the principles of Mahatma Gandhi? They are non-violence and communal harmony. If we want to live in peace, then there is no alternative, according to me, than to follow these principles. What are the root causes of this communal violence and communal tension? It has been said on the Floor of this House during the last Session and also in this Session that communal riots take place in the States where there are Congress (I) Governments. Immediately after Chimanbhai Patel Government came into power, this communal violence and disturbances took place. What does it show? They want to defame the coalition Government, this Government of Janata Dal and the Bharatiya Janata Party. They want to create a ridge between JD and BJP. I think they will not succeed. I entirely agree with Mr. Rane.

With these words, I complete my speech.

SHRI AJOY MUKHOPADHYAY (Kishnagar): Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a few observations on the issue which is being discussed here. To begin with, I not only condemn in the severest term at my command the widespread communal violence in Gujarat but also like to remind the Government as well as all the political parties, social organisations and patriotic citizens of the country about the enormous responsibility that they have in this respect.

Though it is the land of Gandhiji, I am constrained to say that Gujrat is one of the States in the country where recurrence of communal violence is frequent. It has be-

come an yearly affair. In the current violence, according to press, more than 50 people, about sixty people, mostly poor people have lost their lives. A larger number have been wounded, many of them are struggling with death in the hospitals. Normal life has totally been paralysed. Two days earlier, UNI reported that at least thirty-eight people had lost their lives in Ahmedabad city alone in the six-day communal frenzy.

As reported in the press, clashes started a month back between two communities in different parts of Gujarat, Patan in North Gujrat, Bharuch in South Gujrat, Bhalej, Anand and Samocha in Central Gujrat. And that month-long clashes culminated into widespread riots from the third of this month. A vast area of the State, including Ahmedabad, Baroda, Anand, Palanpur witnessed ghastly killings and limitless vandalism. The whole atmosphere of the State has been vitiated. What has been happening in Gujrat is nothing but a naked invasion of barbarism. The Minister in his statement mentioned about the anti-social elements. But what was the role of the police? What role did the communal politics play in intensifying the whole game? It is true that the anti-socials and hoodlums of both the communities—Hindus and Muslims—took the upperhand.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I must caution the Members that it is customary not to read newspapers in the House. You may now continue.

SHRI AJOY MUKHOPADHYAY: But according to the press, they were backed, by the police, as we have seen in the earlier occasions also. At the same time, the communal forces who thrive on the anti-social gangsters, I am constrained to say, have been playing a mischievous role. Places of worship have been used for that.

Two hon. Members of this House belonging to our party have come back this morning after visiting the riot affected areas and through their reports, we have come to know that the special feature of this year's riot which has not yet been fully subsided, is

that the professional goondas of both the communities were used in a calculated manner. People of both the communities were killed and sustained injuries.

Muslim Railway porters of Shaharkatra have left their homes and have taken shelter in the railway station. About 150 families are there. They are demanding to open a government camp in the station. A large number of Muslim families from different places have migrated to Amanchak of Bapu Nāgar. On the other hand 125 Hindu families of Araban Nagar have migrated to Azad Chowk. Government is providing ration only to the people who are living in the station. In Aman Chak Muslims are looking after the Muslims and in Azad Chak the RSS is looking after the Hindus. Naturally the fundamentalists of both the communities are taking advantage and this may create more danger in the near future. Both the communities are alleging against the police that they did not take earlier step to arrest the anti social elements.

The Gujarat Government have awarded Rs 20 000 per family to the victims who have been killed in these riots. But in the case of Punjab and Bhagalpur the compensation was about Rs 1 lakh. I request the Government to consider my suggestion to raise this rate of compensation. The Government has not yet declared any compensation for those who have been injured. I request the Government to consider this point also.

Sir as I said earlier the communal violence has become a yearly affair in Gujarat. It may be made clear if we look at the communal situation during the last one decade in Gujarat. In 1969 Ahmedabad witnessed a large scale communal massacre. In 1985 not only urban areas but a number of villages also were affected by communal violence. Communal violence was repeated in 1986, 1987, 1988, and 1989. This also it has raised its ugly head.

Communal violence is not an isolated incident of Gujarat alone. It is an all India phenomenon. I would like to cite an official

figure which in my opinion does not reflect the real state of affair. Even then it would be seen from the figure that during the last 13 years—from 1977 to 1989—the number of communal incidents is not less than 4970. Ghastly killings of Malliana and Meerut are still in our memory.

**18.00 hrs.**

We have witnessed the brutalities on the eve of the last Ninth Lok Sabha Elections in Bhagalpur. Sir Life has become very cheap in our country. Thousands of people had to lay their lives not for any noble cause. The water of Ganga and Yamuna has become red. It is not for furthering the national interest nor for the development of the Indian Civilization. This is a shame for all of us for the entire nation that communal violence, communal passion has become an inseparable part of our culture. This is one of the basic maladies of the society.

But Sir who is responsible for this? This is the direct outcome of the policy pursued by the rulers of this country since independence. They have compromised with all sorts of communal and obscurantist forces for their petty party interest. They mixed religion with politics thereby creating a favourable situation to communalise politics and ultimately politics has become criminalised.

Much has been said about communalism but little has been done to tackle the basic malady over the past four decades. Shamefully, we have continued to indulge in double talks and deception. It is high time that struggle against all shades of communalist ideology in various spheres of life has to be understood and fought as a long-term struggle.

In conclusion, I shall request the national Front Government that they must take a comprehensive programme to fight back communalism, to eradicate communalism from politics. They must come forward with a comprehensive planning. Some casual steps will not do. That will not help.

*Communal riots in Gujarat &*

[Sh Ajoy Mukhopadhyay]

So, this is my request to the Government. After 43 years of independence we want to stop forth with all types of communal violence from this country and uphold the glorious traditions of our forefathers. We want to save the democratic values which we all boast of.

With these few words I conclude.

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHARY (Jagatsinghpur) Mr Chairman Sir the communal riots in Gujarat—beginning from 10th of March till today a month long one—is definitely a matter of concern.

Before going into it I want to make a few remarks. In Gujarat—as has already been said by others and I do not want to repeat it how this situation could continue for one month? That is the question that I want to ask.

That question should be replied by the Government. In Gujarat as you know and as others have said bootleggers and professional *goondas* are utilised by the fundamentalists from both sides. We cannot lose sight of this fact. On 6th and 7th when the communal riots took place in Ahmedabad city I think the administration was unable to intervene. A procession was taken out in the area of the minorities and slogans were raised against them. The police failed to prevent it or did not intervene. No doubt in our country a very serious situation exists today where the communal harmony is disturbed, but the Gujarat administration itself is not in a position to intervene in that. Even the Chief Minister has stated in the Press conference that this is taking place because of political rivalry. When he was asked to explain about the political rivalry he did not comment on it. It means he is not ready to speak the truth or he has no courage to speak the truth. Apart from the Government's inaction and the administration's inaction as reported in the Press the Police Commissioner of Ahmedabad has an impor-

tant role to play. The whole administration is divided. In our polity, there are differences; there might be some differences. Administration wants to utilise it in their favour just like communalists want to do it. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to tackle this problem.

Yesterday the Prime Minister mentioned about the situation which our country faced with Pakistan, and what East Pakistan was going to do was to disrupt the political life in India. So in our country, today, those who are trying to play with the communal situation they are also playing the Pakistan's cards. They might be talking very much against Pakistan but their actions, at this juncture where our country stands today are definitely giving a handle to Pakistan to disrupt our political life and weaken our social life.

Gujarat is also a border State. I have no difference with the hon. members who said that slogans in favour of Pakistan are there and Pakistani provocateurs would try to play their role. If we play it in our every day life encourage communalism whether it is Babri Masjid or Ram Janmabhoomi then how can we forget that Pakistan will not utilise this opportunity? So a time has come not only in Gujarat but everywhere, for us to think about it. I will thank the Chief Minister and the Government of Bihar for the action taken in Jagdispur when there was a riot during this period. It is the direct intervention of the Chief Minister which could stop the riots from spreading.

So, I will urge upon the Central Government that the differences in the Government there are definitely being exploited by the different factions of administration and also the agents of Pakistan. And at the same time, the differences also play their role. They encourage communalism. This has been our political life for the last so many years. We, for our political ends do not forget to utilise the communal things for our interest. If we search our heart today, we also utilise it and as an hon. member has said, this communal harmony in India is disappearing.

and the communal tension is growing I think that the political parties are more responsible for it

So, I would say that the time has come when the Government of India must not only advise the Government of Gujarat to strongly deal with the situation but the Government of India should also take specific because the weaknesses that exist there which may be exploited and the Central Government should also help the State Government as others have said it

Finally, I say that the time has come that in view of the aggressive attitude of Pakistan and the worsening situation in the country the secular forces must be strengthened They have a responsibility to deal with this issue, forgetting party lines In Gujarat also the secular parties should have joined the Jana Sangh against this communalism This would go a long way to stop it Similarly throughout the country a time has come to save the country its unity and the secular forces should come together so that events which happened in Gujarat should not recur lest the the whole country should be engulfed in communal riots At the present juncture of history I think that will be the best for all of us

SHRIG M BANATWALLA (Ponnani)  
Mr Chairman Sir it is a great national tragedy that even 43 years after Independence communal violence continues to rock the various parts of our country at frequent intervals We have a very ugly situation in Gujarat As far as Gujarat is concerned it is shocking that within 25 days of the Janata Dal BJP Government assuming power Gujarat witnessed 136 communal clashes The hon Home Minister has told the House in his statement that a total of 48 persons have died in Gujarat with 230 injured These are the official figures We hear of much greater number of deaths and injured

Sir, the tragedy of the situation is that for a considerable length of time, one town after another, gradually continued to fall victim of violence and the Government was almost a

silent spectator of this orgy For example at Patan in Mahesana District, violence flared up on 10th of March It travelled to Baroch on the 25th of March Anand and Bhalej towns in Kheda District, Pansura, Ishwarpura, Balapura and other places witnessed violence from the 27th March Ahmedabad witnessed the communal orgy, the shameful and disastrous communal orgy from the 3rd of April The communal fires travelled to Baroda on the 6th of April and to Palanpur on the 7th of April In the meanwhile, planned violence continued in between Ahmedabad and Baroda We therefore find that the administration almost is helpless to control this most unfortunate and bloody escalation of violence

Violence was not only in Gujarat but—it is most unfortunate—various parts of our country have recently witnessed violence In Bihar for example at Samri Bakhtiarpur nearly 122 houses were burnt down At Gilni in Bihar again we had (Interruptions)

18.18 hrs

[MR DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair* ]

[*Translation* ]

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV (Saharsa) Mr Deputy Speaker I rise on a point of order Just now the hon Member has made a mention about Sameri Bakhtiarpur which falls under my constituency I would like to inform him that so many houses have not been burnt there No communal riot took place there

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER, There is no point of order Please sit down

SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV As a mention has been made in the house about my constituency I thought it proper to clarify it

[*English* ]

SHRIG M BANATWALLA It will not do to deny the facts We have to face the reality

[Sh. G.M. Banatwalla]

so that necessary corrective administrative measures are taken. It will not do to deny the realities of the violence that take place. I was speaking of the place Gilni in Bihar, where we had an unfortunate and very gruesome instances of violence. Jamshedpur also was rocked with violence, shops were burnt, murders took places, and so on and so forth. In Bhagalpur—I am not talking of the earlier riot—again on the 20th of March, ten people were killed people were slaughtered there like animals. Such is the situation. We have to admit and look at the situation rather than try to run away from the facts. We have to meet the realities of the situation in order to be able to as I said, to have corrective measures.

Sir, what have been the main features of the violence that has rocked these various places? It is necessary that a proper and healthy attitude should be taken. We are told sometimes of a foreign hand. I need not comment much upon it because the hon. Home Minister himself in his statement has said that the Government has no information of any foreign hand in these communal violence that have rocked several parts of the country recently. But then it will not do merely by placing the responsibility of foreign hand and trying to escape our own responsibility in the matter. It is good that the hon. Home Minister has already made this point clear, but then a healthy attitude should be taken. For example, we are told and there are speeches outside the House and unfortunately during this discussion also a comment was made about the muslims residing in different parts of the country should tell the Muslims in Kashmir that the responsibilities of the Muslims in Kashmir and so on and so forth. And then a point is often made by saying that if Kashmir goes, the Indian Muslims will suffer grievously and violently. Such intimidation or such threats are there as if Muslims here in India are mere hostages. It is this attitude which is at the base of the hatred that is often created against minority community and hatred in action is violence. It is, therefore, necessary that we

should look at the realities of the situation and have a proper attitude and see the things in the proper perspective.

We find from these riots a total failure and collapse of the administration of the law and order enforcing machinery. Large scale disturbances continue. And we get instances that would put any government, any administration, any police force to shame. It is quite obvious that at various places open general licence seems to have been given to the rioters. In Ahmedabad look at the failure of the machinery, look at the failure of the administration and the police force., We had 45 incidents of stabbing in just two or three days. This speaks volumes about the inefficiency or you may say complicity of the powers that be with the rioters. Look at the extent of the open general licence that was enjoyed by the anti-social elements. Local buses were stopped, people dragged down and then stabbed. An injured patient was stabbed in the hospital. The name of the hospital that I have is Sharda Behn Hospital where the injured had been taken. A group of 150 youth attacked a school. And we are told that there was curfew. Incidents happening, loot, arson murders taking place in the curfew hours. Certainly it is the responsibility of the Government that has failed in such a miserable manner. Despite police deployed mobs continued to attack and set on fire shops and houses. Look at the position in Saraspur in Ahmedabad. Miscreants ran away, miscreants fled on the arrival of the police but then police also left from there and there miscreants returned, resuming their looting, arson and all that. It speaks volumes about the inefficiency of the police and also, as I said, of rather complicity of the police in all these incidents. In another place in Ahmedabad, fire tenders brought fire under control. With all this happening fire tenders bring fire under control and the mob returns and sets fire again—it looks as if to say that the police force, the Government had taken a holiday, giving an open general licence to the anti-social elements. None of the suggestions that we may give here in the House for the eradication of this cancer that is there in our body politics, will ever work, unless

and until the Governments do their primary duty of maintenance of law and order.

Sir, I must emphasize that communal violence is nothing but communal hatred in action. We are, therefore, not to go at the apparent cause. And here these causes are also being placed in a very twisted fashion. We are told that a Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader was killed at Bhalej and, therefore, all the riots started. Sir, before I began I gave all the dates. The killing of that leader, if it took place, it took place on a date quite later than the date when Gujarat had fallen in the orgy of violence. The violence started at Patan on the 10th of March itself, whereas at Bhalej, the so-called murder of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader took place around 27th of March when Patan Bharoch and various other places were already in communal fire. If a murder takes place, it is the murderer who is responsible. It is our attitude that for an individual's wrong, the entire community is being held accused and as culprits. It is this that has brought India, our motherland, to such a sad state of affairs and it is in this fashion, the whole matter is also being pleaded here in this august House. Indeed, when a murder takes place, the murderer has to be brought to book. The act of one individual cannot be ascribed to the entire community. In Bhagalpur also, one notorious person was killed and a rumour was spread that he was killed by a Muslim and, therefore, they must fall upon all the Muslims over there, whereas the fact was that the notorious man had been a victim of the family feud, of his own family feud. I, therefore, say that a lot of antiminority propaganda today goes on. Here, in Delhi itself, on the occasion of the Ramnavmi, very provocative pamphlets were distributed. I know the rules of the House. I have the pamphlets here with me, in my bag also and in my hand right now, which are highly provocative against the Muslims of India. I know the rules of the House which prevent me from just rushing in any trying to lay it on the Table of the House. However, I will pass it on to the Home Minister. It is this hatred that is there and that is being propagated against the entire community which results, with a slight

instance, into such a contagious holocaust. Sir, firm action has therefore to be taken against these things. Here also, we were told that on the walls, there were slogans like 'Pakistan Zindabad'. Take action against the person or persons who may have written the slogans on the wall. but that does not mean that you fall on the entire community and start looting, arson and genocide. Anybody to play mischief may have written those slogans. But those slogans are no licence or a licence to go and fall upon the entire minority community.

Sir, As I said, there is hatred brought out by this pamphlet hurling, by slogans.

[Translation]

Two places for Muslims-Pakistan or Kabristan (graveyard)

[English]

We have been hearing it. All these things go on building this atmosphere of communal hatred and when this communal hatred turns into action, violence and gruesome instances take place. Look at truest instances of communal violence at Gilni in Bihar where an eighteen-year old son of one Ameena Khatoon was beaten and given pricks with weapons for one hour before he was killed. In the same place, one 12 years old boy, grandson of Latifa Khatoon, named Munna Jamaluddin, was tortured and both his eyes were first extracted and then killed. So, we have very gruesome instances. It is so gruesome that I do not want to continue to narrate it in this House. This shows the manner in which the hatred has been developed and here we have to take action. Here we have to take action and the Government must see to it.

Sir, it is most unfortunate that the device of communal violence is employed for political ends. In the case of Ahmedabad, now the BJP is coming out in order to show its political supremacy. There is factionalism among the Janata Dal also the Janta Dal Chief Minister belongs to one faction and the per-

[Sh. G.M. Banatwalla]

sons of the other faction are trying to create trouble for him. In the case of the BJP Janta Dal Government, to paint the Janata Dal Chief Minister black, the BJP comes out with the repressive tactics of violence merely because they want that the Home Department should be headed by their own man. (Interruptions) Then such methods are used. When the violence continues, BJP V.H.P and all these organisations come out with 'bandhs' and 'dharnas' all post-funeral meetings, vitiating the entire atmosphere. It is generally understood that when there is violence, at least there should not be 'bandhs' and 'dharnas' and post-funeral meetings in order to cooperate with the administration to have proper peace, law and order. But here things continue in this particular fashion. Sir, in the Nizamuddin Kabristhan in Delhi, a wall has been erected on the graveyard land under dispute before the court. And then, the BJP leaders go on saying that there is no power on earth that can prevent them from raising the wall. They defy all norms, all rules, all laws. I ask the Government: Let that wall be demolished and care be taken in order to see that no construction there also takes place till the decision of the court.

Sir, without waiting for your bell I will have to conclude because it is time now for me to break my fast. But then I must also point out the question of relief measures. It is with great sorrow that I say that double standards are there as far as relief rehabilitation measures, compensation measures, are concerned. I plead with the Government that the compensation relief, rehabilitation measures in the case of these riots should be of the same scale, should be at least on the same scale, as were devised for the victims of the violence that rocked Delhi after the assassination of the late lamented Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Time does not permit me, otherwise I would show how even in matters of provision of relief we had one scale for the victims of the Delhi 1984 riots and we have totally another scale which does not stand at all in comparison with the

Delhi scale in the case of the unfortunate riots in other parts. No doubt, even in the case of Delhi 1984 riots there is much room to step up the relief and rehabilitation measures. But then at least this scale should be made available to one and all throughout the country on all occasions. We sitting here have heard the Prime Minister announcing that widows of 1984 Delhi riots after the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi would get Rs. 1000 per month. Increase the amount, if necessary, if they deserve it, but unfortunately not a paise is shelved out for the widows of Bhagalpur and for the widows of the various other places, and in Bhagalpur I would like to tell the Minister, through you, Sir, to check up from the Government machinery over there. Even what is announced is not reaching the people properly. Time does not permit me to go into all those details, but I am sure that the hon. Minister, Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan, at least knows how much injustice has been done even in the distribution of the relief in Bhagalpur where not even the announced amounts would reach.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will conclude by saying that it was with great agony and anguish that I rose to participate in this debate on communal violence. But this very word 'communal violence' is a misnomer. Wherever this violence has been erupted, it has been in the nature of the genocide of the minority community. I ask the Government to have the political will to fight this menace. There is no dearth of suggestions. We have had several Commissions of Enquiry and there are so many suggestions. Therefore, I need not go on repeating them against and again. In this very House, I have placed several suggestions before the Government. The reports of the Commissions of Enquiry are replete with suggestions to prevent and control riots. I ask the Government to have the political will to eradicate this evil from our society so that India may be a country and should be a country where no person irrespective of his religion, class, caste or creed should feel insecure even for a single second. With these words, I conclude.

18.41 hrs.

SHRI P.C.THOMAS (Muvattupuzha):  
Sir, due to paucity of time, I shall be very short and I would like to give some suggestions. It is very sorrowful that communal riots and violence is very much on the increase. Unless some stern and practical measures are taken to curb such violence and communal riots at the very root of it, it is prone to spread even with greater velocity. So, I think that it is for all of us and for all the thinking citizens of India to share in finding solutions to such recurring violences. I have one practical suggestion which I think is being practised at least in some portions of India. I have one concrete example to point out which is happening in Kerala. In my constituency, there is a place called Erumely which is enroute to Sabarimala. So many pilgrims go to Sabarimala every year. Lakhs and Lakhs of people are visiting Sabarimala even from the North. Many of these pilgrims, majority of whom are Hindus, go to a place of worship of Muslims to pay homage to the Muslim Mosque there and then proceed to Sabarimala. This is a very concrete example which is being practised. There are other instances also which I can show. There is another place in Kerala where a Christian Church is there and a festival is being held every year there and that is Edatwa in Alleppey district. There also, people from various religions go for the festival and take part in the festival. They also pay homage to the Deity there. Now, such type of communal harmony and examples of practice of secularism are to be practised in other parts of the country and I am sure there are instances throughout the country. We have to give acceleration to such types of practices. So, I think that the Government has to take it very seriously and has to give more attention to it. It has to take more steps in this regard.

I am also suggesting that if not a Ministry, there must be a separate wing in the Central Government to deal with practice of secularism. I think this has to be started, if it is not already in vogue. I think such a Ministry or such a cell will be able to take up such practices and bring it to the notice of the

persons concerned throughout the nation to give concrete example for practice of secularism.

I am not going to speak further on the subject. But I would share the serious concern which has been expressed by many of the Members here. Many of the communal riots are connected very much with political or other activities. As we have heard many of the Members speaking here, it is some political parties who are actually getting involved in the start or at least, at a later stage of many of these communal riots. I think, the political parties have to come to a consensus on this. The concerned political parties in the area, at least when such riots are taking place, have to come to a dialogue. They must give a very serious thought to it, and come to a dialogue. I suggest that in Gujarat and other places where communal riots are recurring, the political parties and other voluntary organisations must take a lead to start a dialogue between each other and this dialogue should continue between the communities.

18.46 hrs.

SHRI SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ (Baramulla):  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this communal situation in Ahmedabad is not new. It was my misfortune that I could not visit Ahmedabad. Previously on two or three occasions when Shri Madhava Singh Solanki was the Chief Minister, when Mr. Amar Singh Chaudhary was the Chief Minister, we had gone there with the delegation. After talking with the politicians of all hues, we came across the situation there. We went to the temple also. It was Prof. Madhu Dandavate who was with us at that time. I wish he was here because he was our leader at that time. We were not allowed to go in the curfew area but we said, "We will definitely go." They had to take Rath Syatra at that time. We went to the Mahant of the temple. He appeared to be simple and noble man. He never knew how communal situation had arisen in Ahmedabad. But he gave an account of what at that point of time, might have happened, as he narrated that story. He pointed the needle, the needle of suspicion was just pointing to somebody. At

[Sh. Saif-ud-din Soz]

that time, it appeared to me, the needle was to Vishwa Hindu Parishad or its main organisation, B.J.P. But it is not that the Mahant would say Vishwa Hindu Parishad or BJP. But he said in his words.

[Translation]

I had said that was it necessary to take out Rath Yatra throughout the city. If there is tension in Ahmedabad, then there is no need for Rath Yatra. I do not know as to what has been said. Every word comes from his heart. They used to say that they would offer prayer. Rath Yatra was taken out on a small route, but these people had come in between.

[English]

Then, I had asked, who were those people who insisted on Rath Yatra and on a particular route. Therefore, that communal situation arose. It happened in 1986; it happened in 1987 and it happened in 1988. Whatever be the reasons, Ahmedabad is a communal situation and I do not know whether this Government will tackle this situation.

The whole Opposition and the whole House, including the BJP Members were agitated. The Home Minister should know what is the National Integration Council meeting. They do not even like to see the history of Parliament. They do not know what norms were established by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. No National Integration Council is superior to Parliament. It is really an insult to this House that the Home Minister remained absent throughout the day. We insisted that we want a statement on Gujarat. The point is the National Integration Council is meeting.

[Translation]

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner): You have used a lot of abusive language.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Listen to me. Fix the meeting of National Integration Council at four 'o' clock or Eight 'o' clock. Nehruji also attended the meeting in the morning. You should have gone during the question hour. You should be present here during zero hour.

[English]

In the afternoon, when you have to discuss the communal situation, you could just come. The Prime Minister could come. Now, you see, how many people are discussing the communal situation. In fact, I had not to speak here because I was wanted somewhere else in a meeting. But there was no Member from my Party. I never wanted to absent myself. So, I come forward to speak here. So, there is no interest. Apart from the Members, the Government has to show interest. How many Ministers are sitting here? Arif Saheb is deputising for Home Minister and it is a very important discussion. Another Minister is here. All the benches are empty. Even I do not think whether we have the quorum to discuss that. But I am not raising that. I want this Government to be serious enough to tackle this communal situation in this country because ultimately it is not the question of killing Muslims or other minorities. That you cannot do. You cannot analyse. When I say 'You' it means the people who want to annihilate them. So, firstly I want this Government to be serious because we have enough of reports in the library. There is no system in this country. We have not built it. Nobody goes to the library. Nobody sees those reports. (Interruptions) You see 40 reports are there. This Government should take notice. There was a 15-Point Programme for the amelioration of the lot of the minorities. Did you look into that? Do you know that there was already a suggestion long back that there will be anti-riot force? Why don't you set up? Why don't you come forward? How could Arif Khan Saheb take notes of what we speak? It is not possible to speak many things in 5 to 10 minutes. Much has been written. You institute a Committee or Commission to delve deeper into those reports produced by eminent people. Suffi-

cient research has been done on communal situation in the country and now you come forward because you may control Ahmedabad now—I do not know whether Shri Chimanbhai Patel will do it—but Ahmedabad will come up again. Every year it is coming. Therefore, I want this Government to come forward for action.

At that time when Mr. Amarsinh Choudhary was there, he showed me a graph in his exuberance. Prof. Madhu Dandavate was there. I was there Bapu Kaldate was there. In his exuberance he showed me a graph at this time. "Look here, how police control and they had fired 23 rounds at that time but the toll was ten." I put a question "How many out of these ten, were Muslims." He had to answer that then and there because I told him because I want to know how the bullet works. Nine out of ten were Muslims. It is on record. I presented that chart to this House at that time. Therefore, I raise a question. Why I remember Shri Amarsinh Choudhary? I see a situation cropping up in the country. Unless the Government of India shows guts and will to control violence in this country and a will to control communalism in this country, nothing will happen. Communal situation will crop up. Bhagalpur or Jamshedpur, it will continue to happen. I want this Government to show its will. JD-BJP is a coalition there. Shri Chimanbhai Patel is one of my colleagues because he told me he has apologised what he has said at Vadodra. He had made a statement that BJP is responsible. At least VHP is responsible. But VHP is an outfit of BJP. But he said what he said from his heart but later he apologised.

DR. A.K.PATEL (Mehsana): It is a wrong allegation.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: It has appeared in the press. I will show you. You told me that I am mentioning that also. You said he apologised. But he apologised in Ahmedabad. But he said in Baroda that it is VHP. I will conclude. Shri G.M. Banatwalla has spoken at length. I will not repeat. I said my information is that 66 people have died and 59 are reported to be Muslims. Government

will tell me what is there version because Government version is always wrong.

[Translation]

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner): What would happen if the all the 59 deceased are Hindus.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: The hon. Minister will tell this.

[English]

SHRI KHEMCHANDBHAI SOMABHAI CHAVDA (Patan): Out of 66, six were Scheduled Caste people.

SHRI SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: The hon. Minister will get information. When last time the Home Minister spoke here, he presented a list of 450 people.

SHRI A.K.ROY (Dhanbad): Sir, I am on a point of order. My point of order is this.

SHRI DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Prof. Soz, you should sit when he is raising a point of order.

SHRI A.K.ROY: Division of the casualty on communal line is generally not in good taste. It can add to the tension.

SHRI SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Show me the rule. You have also said it. In a communal situation, the minority community suffers. I will show you so many killings.

AN HON. MEMBER: In the House, don't deny the number. Please tell the number. (Interruptions)

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: This is wrong. I may oblige you this time. Actually, we have to say as to who gets killed. Last time, I presented a figure here. This is on record. The hon. Home Minister said that 450 people were killed in Bhagalpur. But I tell you that *Amarati Shariah Bihar* had published with authenticity the list of 750 people. So, I tell you the correct figure. If I am wrong,

[Prof. Saif-ud-din Soz]

please correct me. Similarly, the competent Minister Shri Arif Mohammad Khan will stand up when he has to reply to the debate and he will tell me the exact figure. He will definitely tell me how many Muslims were killed because Muslims are in minority... (*Interruptions*) Sir, I have to convey to the BJP Party one thing.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You should hear me what I have to say. Mr. A K Roy had raised a point of order. Probably there are no rules to say whether certain things will be done or not be done But I do agree with him that we should not say something which can add to the tension.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: What can I do? This communal situation in Ahmedabad crops up again and again. We have to be responsible. How do we become responsible unless we tell our friends here? Kindly be responsible because we have to tell this country which has got some eminence.

I would like to tell a word about BJP. This time I see so many good friends are there in that Party. They are knowledgeable. They sometimes question me. They feel that they are patriots. Nobody can deny they are patriots. But they should not deny this privilege to others. We respect their patriotism. But we do not agree with their communalism. I will not waste the time of this House. What kind of a statement they have made in Calcutta? Perhaps, they have to carry some message to the communists there. But those speeches have spread into the length and breadth of this country. They are continuously playing this card which is nakedly a Hindu Card. I want to tell this to Mr. Roy. We want to tell them that this will not pay them because ultimately if their goal is building India, this will weaken India. India will be strong only just like a body when all the limbs are strong. You cannot build India if you want only to build it in the name of Hindus. In Calcutta what have they said? They are adding fuel to the fire. This is a time when there is aliena-

tion in Kashmir. It is because of the communal strife in other parts of India also. Well, there is strife in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. At this point of time they want to abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution. Shri Jaswant Singh, Shri A.K. Advani and Shri Vajpayee have said in so many meetings that at this point of time they would not be creating a situation; they shall not press their point so far as Ayodhya problem is concerned and they shall point of view so far as Article 370 is concerned. But why have they raised this point again in Calcutta? This is certainly adding fuel to the fire. This is damaging Kashmir. This is wrong. Don't they accept the Constitution of India? Let us organise a debate regarding Article 370. This is the constitutional position. Neither the President of India nor the Parliament can abrogate this because only the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir State could abrogate that and change that. It can never be abrogated unless the people of that State will tell you... (*Interruptions*) Therefore, I want a debate on this point. Let us have a debate. I am saying again that neither the President nor this Parliament can abrogate it... (*Interruptions*) They say it should be abrogated. Are you going to abrogate it?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Prof. Soz, please address the Chair.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I want to say one thing. (*Interruptions*)

19.00 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You please conclude.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: But in Calcutta, the speeches were nearly communal. As far as abrogation of Article 370 was concerned, it was mischievous.

PROF. PREM KUMAR DHUMAL (Hamirpur): You do not bother about Calcutta.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Why not? Is it not a part of India? Therefore, this point

of order was wrong. You are also wrong in telling me not to mention Calcutta. Whatever things I say, I say with a sense of responsibility. Sir, I have given a warning to BJP because they are harming the cause of India. They are jeopardising the unity of India. Since they try to share that they are patriot, I respect them. Therefore, I say that your utterances are detrimental to the unity of India. Therefore, I appeal to you to kindly give up this communally ideology.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think, this Professor is quite capable of being effective in being brief also.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Since Banatwallaji has talked about relief, I will not take much time on relief. But my information is that still there are victims in Bhagalpur who have not received relief. And this different scale must be done away with.

Finally, you want me to take my seat. I went to Baroda. Its new name is Vadodhara. It was last year. It was time for Garba. I attended three Garba dance during that beautiful night and I saw men, women and children—old and you going in circle, singing devotional songs in harmony. Why cannot we create such atmosphere? I never saw any muslim or any minority community person disturbing that. In fact, some people told me that they joined the dance. What I saw in Baroda, why cannot such a situation be created in Ahmedabad or in the rest of India, where you can sing those devotional songs and songs of harmony. Why cannot you create that situation?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please make the point. I have relate a story to us. There are others who want to speak. I have a long list before me.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: I thought that this ruling was not required when I was closing. I said that situation of communal harmony and amity could be created and BJP can continue there. Therefore, I addressed them.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kumari Mayawati to speak.

I think, we will continue to sit here until the debate is over.

[*Translation*]

KUMARI MAYAWATI (Bijnor): Mr. Deputy Speaker, so far as the question of communal riots is concerned, Members who spoke prior to me, have expressed their views in great detail on this question. Everybody has stated that the communal riots which took place in any part of the country, were between Hindus and Muslims. It is not a fact. History is witness to the fact that the Hindu-Muslim riots, which have taken place in the country till now did not take place by themselves, but they were caused by someone. They are caused by those who talk of unity and integrity of the country. They are caused by those who ask the people to call themselves Hindus with proud. They are caused by those who tell Indian Muslims that there will not be another Pakistan. No doubt these riots are called Hindu-Muslim riots but scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward people are made scapegoat in these riots. Hatred is spread among Muslims and persons belonging to weaker sections of society. Therefore, we have to understand the reality and if the hon. Members hesitate to bring out reality, a time will come when oppressed people and Muslims will come to know about it. You talk of double standard. On the one hand you talk of Hindus and on the other persons belonging to weaker sections of society are made a scapegoat in the name of Hindus. In Hindu-Muslim riots persons belonging to weaker sections of society and Muslim Community are killed. Such incidents have taken place at a number of places like Meerut, Maliyana, Moradabad and Bhivandi. You talk of secularism, but in the name of secularism people of religious minority communities like Sikhs, Muslims, Charistians, Paris and Buddhists are illtreated by high caste people in the country. We have to understand their mentality. I would like to tell you that there are organisations in the country which incite communal riots and

[Kumari Mayawati]

raise slogans like 'Say with proud that we are Hindus'. Such organisations should be banned. I would like to quote an example. I have come from Bijnor district. In areas from Meerut to Lucknow via Moradabad Muslim population is heavy and Hindu-Muslim riots take place there almost daily on a very petty issue. RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and Siva Sena have a hand behind these riots. In north west U.P. we have succeeded in creating harmony to a great extent among Dalit Hindus and Muslims. In my constituency there is large population of Muslims and backward people. RSS people always try to cause Hindu-Muslim riots there. Last month at the time of Holi festival when some Muslims were offering Namaz in a mosque in Dhampur town of Bijnor, a Hindu procession was passing and with the help of some Balmikis and people going in the procession threw colour on Muslims and the mosque. On one side mosque is situated and on the other Police Station is situated. When C.O. of Police Station was informed about it, he helped RSS instead of doing justice to Muslims. The anti-social elements looted at least 8 shops of Muslims due to which they suffered loss worth Rs. 8-9 lakhs: This is one example of Dhampur. I would like to tell you that RSS had a hand in all the riots that have taken place throughout the country. The organisations like RSS encourage communalism. Such organisations should be banned otherwise communal riots will continue in the country. With these words I thank you although you have given me less time. Whenever I stand to speak, you ask me to conclude within short time whereas other small parties are given more time than our party. While doing field work I have seen that RSS tried to incite Muslims and oppressed persons to fight among themselves in areas where these people are in majority. They tried to engineer communal riots there and harmed Muslims and persons belonging to weaker sections of society. In Maliyana the wounds of Muslims have not yet healed so far. Even today one can see the marks of bullets on walls in Hashimpura Mohalla there.

Although RSS was involved in it, yet efforts were made to defame the youths of Hashimpura with the help of police and P.A.C. in the name of Congress. Government was not given correct information and with the help of police and P.A.C., R.S.S. people and other anti-social elements killed a large number of youths and had thrown their dead bodies in the canal which passes through Muradnagar. If such atrocities are committed on one community only, then unity and integrity cannot be maintained. We will not be able to make this country secular. Unless people belonging to all religions are treated alike, you will not be able to succeed in your aim. With these words I think you.

[English]

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is no doubt about the fact that the atmosphere in the country is surcharged with communalism, particularly in the context of the riots or communal flare ups which have recently taken place in different parts of Gujarat. It leads one to conclude that communal forces of different kinds, different varieties take advantage of even trivial affairs to convert them into a communal flare up. As for example, the recent dispute across over the black-marketing of cinema tickets in some part of the city. These are trivial matters. But the problem—if you go deep into it and I think the hon. Minister will appreciate—is that the entire atmosphere has been surcharged with the feeling of communalism and communal trends. Unless we remove the feeling of distrust, unless we remove the feeling of hatred, it is not possible to end the communal flare ups in our country.

Sir, I am sorry to take note of certain observations made by some Members in this House, which convey the impression that as if the entire Muslims in our country are pro-Pakistan. I must say, with all the emphasis at my command that it is not so. There are Muslims in our country who are as Indians as we are; they are as patriot as anyone of us here. Therefore to brand an entire community as not loyal to the country would be

nothing but a manifestation of aggressive communalism in our country. Therefore, it needs to fight these forces politically and ideologically. I mention this only for that purpose.

Sir, I heard my friend Prof. Soz saying that sometimes this communal flare up cannot be nipped in the bud because of the administrative lapses. You cannot say that in Gujarat there has not been administrative lapses. I am not enamored of calling bad names to any administration in the country, particularly on the issue of communalism because if we had to fight those communal forces, what we require is unity among the people. We have not to divide the people. We have to unify the people and unify the people for the great cause for preserving the national unity and integrity. The threat to national unity and integrity comes from different sources. I do not like to take this opportunity to describe in detail. But communalism, as such, of all kinds constitute a great threat to the national unity and integrity of our country. I hope the Members of this House should also look at this problem from that point of view which entails upon us not to divide the people but to unify the people on the issue.

Now, about administrative lapses. I think, somebody has already mentioned about the Raghbir Dayal Commission, Jagmohan Reddy Commission and D.P. Madan Commission. I have mentioned only three out of many who have already pointed out in different contexts, the lapses of the administration. Unless the administration takes proper steps, strict steps, this communal flare-up cannot be curbed or the situation cannot be brought under control-diffused. In this case, I would only like to mention an editorial comment by *the Statesmen of today*. I venture to mention the names of *the Statesmen* because this newspaper, as far as I know, has no political axe to grind. Therefore, the editorial of *the Statesmen* today made two or more very significant observations. I want to quote it because this is an editorial of *the Statesman*. It says:

"Police officers, who had been either given or threatened with transfer orders, did not exert themselves in maintaining law and order in some parts of Gujarat."

Therefore, there have been some allegations of administrative lapses. I do not think that only administration can meet the danger. Political endeavour, political initiative, political action, along with strong administrative measures can meet the situation effectively. So far as West Bengal is concerned, it provides a shining example. The key to this success of maintaining communal peace and harmony in the State of West Bengal does not lie in the strength of the administration or of the police force or of security personnel. It is because of the political consciousness of the people, because of the intervention of the masses to defeat the conspiracies, the machinations of the communal forces. In this case, I also want to mention that politically mass intervention was completely absent so far as Gujarat is concerned. I say this again on the basis of the editorial comment of *the Statesman* of today. To be brief, I quote it because I do not like to explain it in great details: I quote:

"The three-year spell of harmony between the communities in the State-Gujarat would have remained unbroken but for the blatantly negative role played by the BJP and its allies like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad which have been deeply involved in the disturbances in Patan, Palanpur, Broach, Anand, Baroda and Ahmedabad."

I think again I say *the Statesman* has got no political axe to grind against anybody. This also makes it clear that there are administrative lapses on the one hand. There is lack of political initiative on the part of the masses of Gujarat. Particularly, it is a negative attitude. I do not know as to what they mean by negative attitude but it was not at all a positive attitude towards maintaining communal harmony in the State of Gujarat which is the place of Mahatma Gandhi and

[Sh. Chitta Basu]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other illustrious sons of our country. In order to fight back and defeat the menace of communalism, what is needed urgently is mobilisation of people for effective intervention against these communal forces of all varieties. Communal harmony is a key to the success of our struggle for maintenance of unity and integrity of the country. I would appeal to all the Members of this House to bear in their mind the dangers which are inherent in this spray of communal feelings in our country.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think at least two Members from each major party have spoken. I have a very long list with me. The points of view, which the various parties had to present, had been presented... (*Interruptions*)... I am only going to call one or two Members from each major party. I am going to give only one or two minutes each. Please see to it that you are brief while speaking. Now, Mr. Ratilal Kalidas Varma may speak.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VARMA (*Dhandhuka*): Mr. Deputy Speaker, time given is very less. Many Members, who spoke before me, have levelled charges against us. Bharatiya Janata Party and Vishwa Hindu Parishad have given cooperation in Gujarat. In Ahmedabad, Congress goons have a hand behind stabbing cases. If any Hindu dies in those stabbing cases, no communal riot takes place anywhere in Gujarat. They have killed 33 year old young Sadhu of Jagannath Temple, when he was going to fetch milk. 60-year old Mahant told that the young Sadhu had been killed. He wanted that funeral procession should pass through Jamalpur Gate. Being a BJP M.P., I and Shri Ashok Bhatt, Minister of Supplies of Gujarat and Dr. Longdia and VHP have appealed to sadhus not to do so. No doubt we have lost one of our colleagues, but we will not allow the entire Gujarat to be put on fire. We appealed to them with folded hands and were succeeded in diverting the funeral

procession from another route, despite heavy criticism. Does it show that we want unrest in Gujarat? Whenever any riot took place in Gujarat, Jagannath Temple was linked with it. In the beginning when attack was made on a cow and the Temple, riots took place. The purpose of killing the young Mahant of the Temple was to create riots throughout Gujarat. Had we been responsible for this we would have taken the funeral procession from the same area and today the entire Gujarat would have been put on fire. We want peace in Gujarat. We want to make India prosperous. That is why we did not allow the procession to pass through the fixed route despite heavy criticism. No riot takes place between Hindus and Parsis. We have to find out the root cause of communal riots. Some people live in India but they talk of Pakistan. When Pakistan wins a cricket match in Gujarat, crackers are bursted. Such things happen throughout India. Who creates such an atmosphere? It would have been better if my colleagues here speak truth. While speaking in Parliament the Members belonging to ruling party also keep their own interest in mind.

"Apni Meethi Khand si,  
Karni vish si hoye,  
Kathni taje karni kare,  
To vish se amrit hoye."

They say very good things, but their actions are bad. We are very sad on what happened in Gujarat. When liquor and gambling dens were closed down there, the mischievous elements spread terror there. You should hold an enquiry into all these things. Every body is fed up of these riots.

During Vidhan Sabha elections there two Muslim candidates belonging to the then running party have won. No Muslim candidate belonging to either Janata Dal or Bharatiya Janata Party has won the election there. Except them no other M.P. from Gujarat belongs to Muslim community. Previously, Muslim M.P.s. were there in Rajya Sabha, but today there is none. The Congress people incited them and told them that they will definitely split one day without you and

Congress will come to power again. For the purpose they incited goondas and polluted the atmosphere.

In Municipal Corporation there Bharatiya Janata Party has been in power for last three years, but no riot took place during their regime. There has been no atmosphere of terror. Just now an hon. Member has mentioned about scheduled castes. We have full regards for Hindus scheduled castes or Muslim scheduled castes. I would like to narrate an incident. Two youngmen, who were taking tiffin for their old mother in a rickshaw were murdered enroute. One of them was married hardly two months ago. Their roommates murdered them. Bharatiya Janata Party and Vishwa Hindu Parishad are held responsible for creating such a situation. Muslim league is also one such party. Besides, there are many other such parties also. If an Indian does not call himself a Hindu, then what should he call himself. Should he call himself a Pakistani, American or Chinese?... (*Interruptions*) It is India. It is the voice of the entire country.... (*Interruptions*) —"Sare Jahan se Achcha Hindustan Hamara."

KUMARI MAYAWATI: It is not Hindustan. It will remain Bharatvarsha. In the Constitution our country's name is Bharat and not Hindustan.

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VARMA: We will have to remain cautious from the persons who mislead the people. We will have to be beware of persons, who bring bad name for Hindustan.... (*Interruptions*)

KUMARI MAYAWATI: In the Constitution of India low caste people are called scheduled castes. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VERMA: People having faith in different religions live in our country. We do not ask anybody that he should live here being a Hindu only. People are asked to live here as Indians and live like brothers.

Arif Beg, Sikandar Bakht and other big

leaders are in here in our party. We will have very high regards for those who sacrifice themselves for the defence of the country. Everybody should be beware of traitors. (*Interruptions*)

In the end, I would like to say that had there not been article 370, such a bad situation would not have arisen there in Kashmir. Thousands of Hindus have migrated from Kashmir to Gujarat and Delhi. People do not show sympathy towards them, but when 5-10 persons are killed, they raise hue and cry for them. Had there not been article 370, Kashmir would have been heaven of India. Today it has become hell. Article 370 is responsible to a great extent from creating communal riots in the country. We will have to consider over it also.

Thanks for the time given to me.

SHRI HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV (Sitamarhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my opinion is already well known. I am pained to see that such incidents continue to take place and we go on discussing them in Parliament to ventilate our inner feelings. Maharashi Aurovindo had once stated that three things are responsible for all the crisis in the country, viz ignorance, fear and falsehood, Ignorance is that what is termed as communalism and which is often called religion. But we have to see whether communalism is only Hindu or only Muslim. When a muslim talks of communalism, it means that all except him are communalists. Similar is the opinion of a Hindu. This is ignorance. Communalism does not mean Hindu or Muslim communalism. Mr. Arif and Mr. Ansari both were in the Congress party but both were having different views on the same issue. All the fanatics irrespective of any community stoke the fire of communalism. They may pose as revolutionaries but they are communalists. But we are socialists and are disciples of Dr. Lohia. We do not hate any community but what we hate is the present set up. We hate this type of conduct and tendency of the person. Today the type of communalism which we discuss here betrays our ignorance.

[Sh Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav]

We are afraid of speaking the truth. There are certain forces in the country which are bent upon disrupting the internal situation by generating communal tensions and instigating people to indulge in violence, and conflicts so that the whole power of India may be spent in controlling the internal disturbances. Then certain big power will like to entangle India in some external conflict. There are two types of leaders in every community. One type is envious and the other is flatterer. The moderate leadership was never allowed to flourish. The leadership which cared for all Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Harijans and which enjoyed the confidence of all sections of the society was suppressed by those who had been governing the country and who were dominating the political power earlier. They helped fanatics in every way and their fanaticism is now attempting to eliminate the moderates. Now every moderate will have to come forward. They should fearlessly and unitedly face the communalists. Only then we can eliminate communalism.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, yesterday Shri S.M. Hussain and I was in Ahmedabad. We met the people and officials in Ahmedabad. I shall limit my self only to Gujarat because we are discussing that problem.

We visited various mohallas of Ahmedabad. For the first time Gujarat has seen different type of riots. Previously property used to be burnt on a large scale but the number of such incidents in Ahmedabad was small. Riots used to take place in the main city. This time these have taken place in Gomatipur, Bapunagar and Raigarh which are predominantly inhabited Harijans, labourers and other poor people. First time Hindus and Muslims quartered with the Harijans... (*Interruptions*)

KUMARI MAYAVATI: The qurrel was not with the Harijans. The second meaning of Harijan is progeny of devil. Mr. Deputy

Speaker, Sir, the word Harijan is not constitutional. Dr. B.S. Ambedkar used the word scheduled castes for the down trodden. In future the use of the word Harijan should be banned in the House. Otherwise I shall use the words progeny of the devil for the high caste Hindus.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: I have said labourer... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VARMA (Dhandhuka): The word 'Dalit' (down trodden) should be used in place of Harijan.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: This time Muslims and the poor were made the tools. I have photos of the people whose children have been murdered. It is surprising that the state Government has not been able to control the riots in which about 23 people have been wounded. These communal riots were engineered through the poor. This was new technique. The capitalists are scheming to make the poor fight with a view to safeguard their interests. We enquired from the people. Had the State Government been vigilant, the riots could have been avoided. Before the elections we used to blame the Congress for communal riots but who is to be held responsible therefor during these days The Janta Dal Government and the B.J.P will have to prove that they are not responsible for these riots. The continuation of riots can cause even the fall of the Government. The Governemnt will have to suppress these riots with an iron hand.

The rioters have no religion. He is neither Hindu nor Muslim. I have seen how they knifed the people. In Gujarat, mostly the poor have been murdered. The condition of the weaker sections is beyond description. The violence should be curbed with an iron hand. If our Government and political parties really want to curb riots then no power on earth can engineer riots. No rioter can flourish. It is our experience that sitting in Parliament we assume the role of self styled sole spokesman of either Hindus or Muslims or of any other community.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to point out two things to the Government. Why are you adopting double standards? If a person dies in riots in Gujarat, only Rs. 20 thousand are paid whereas a same of Rs. 1 lakh is paid if a person is shot dead by terrorists in Punjab. If a person dies in railway accident, and amount Rs. 1 lakh is given and if a person dies in air accident, then Rs. 5-6 lakhs are paid because he belonged to a rich family. Every body should be treated equally. They should be given equal amount of compensation to provide relief to the family. The blood has same colour. The price of blood should not be different for different categories of persons.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Now I come to the injured. We have seen in hospital many persons with deep wounds in the stomach. They have not provided any relief. I request you to provide Rs. 5000/- each to the injured persons. Some organisations are also rendering help. They are doing good work and deserve our gratitude.

Sir, this is our hour of trial. I am neither a Hindu nor a Muslim, I am simply a human being. The Government will be held responsible if any riots take place in any part of the country. They people will not forgive us. It is my friendly advice that we should remove this blot which we have inherited from the Congress party.

PROF. PREM KUMAR DHUMAL (Hamirpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this discussion has been quite interesting. Mr. Banatwalla has said that certain mischievous elements might have written slogans on the walls of Ahmedabad city and the whole community should not be blamed for the mischief of any one person. I fully agree with him. There are fanatics in both Hindu and Muslim communities. We must discourage them. Similarly, the entire sikh community could not be held guilty for the deeds of one man who murdered Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The murder of a person must be condemned.

But we are blaming each other. Every body has his own point of view. However it is

clear from the enquiries made so far that R.S.S. has never been behind the riots. The enquiry into these riots should also be held. The guilty must not go scot free. Bad persons are found in every community. I fell sorry when Mr. Soz termed Mr. Arif as 'show Boy' of B.J.P. This sort of remark is not proper. Some other person can call him also as a 'Show Boy' of some foreign country or of any political party of the country.

Pakistani elements are intruding into the areas bordering Gujarat. The population of kutch has doubled during the past few years. These facts were brought to the notice of the Eighth Lok Sabha by Dr. A.K. Patel. This thing should be enquired into. Drugs are being smuggled from Pakistan. One can easily buy these drugs with the help of Pakistani currency.

Communal riots are a slur on the face of Hindustan. We must condemn them. If Pakistan has a hand behind these riots, we must Chop that hand. The border with Pakistan from Kashmir to Kutch must be sealed. Mr. Banatwalla said that according to the Home Minister there was no proof of any foreign hand behind these riots. Then that hand can be of some Indian. It must be chopped. The people living in border areas should be given identity cards to check intrusion. I do not defend Hindus or Muslims. But all religious places should be raided to flush out arms. We must rise above the parochial feelings and should not consider it a struggle between Hindus or Muslims. This is our common problem and we have to solve it unitedly. We must be honest in the Parliament of India. We are all one, we have to think of the future of India. We must try to find out the solution of this problem.

SHRI GULAB CHAND KATARIA (Udaipur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, these communal riots have become a regular feature since a long time. We have been discussing them in parliament or vidhan sabhas without any results simply because we ourselves donot want any result. We simply plead the cases. A muslim will point out the number of Muslims injured and a Hindu will

[Sh. Gulab Chand Kataria]

give figures of the wounded Hindus. So many enquiry commissions were set up but no culprit had been arrested on the basis of their reports. The culprits are not punished even after their identification. The culprits become bold and indulge in such acts. So special courts should be set up to deal with these types of cases and the culprits should receive punishment within 6 months after trial. At present, the enquiries continue for years together and no witness is available and property worth crores of rupees is destroyed. The main reason for riots is the storage of illegal weapons. But the Government will not dare to unearth these illegal arms. If this is done many big guns will be exposed. They are spoiling the climate in our country. We want to live in peace but these type of people whether they are Hindus or Muslims instigate the people to start communal riots. If we really want to eliminate communalism then we have to expose those people who claim to be the solve representative of their communities and become Maulvis, Saints or Mahatmas just to befool the people and lead luxurious life.

**20.00 hrs.**

So, I would request the Hon'ble Minister to give an assurance in the reply that the Government would identify the rioters within a fixed period. The amount of compensation should be equal and justifiable for a Hindu, Muslim or a person belonging to any other community who is killed in riots. The amount of compensation should be paid immediately to the injured because they need it more for treatment. We have to identify those forces which are out to destroy our country. Certain people are suffering from R.S.S. phobia. But I am proud of being a worker of R.S.S. and no body can doubt our patriotism. It is totally improper to cast aspersions on a patriot to grind one's own axe. One is free to profess one's religion by no body should have disrespect for the religion of others. We should not be prejudiced towards others. Hindus does not means communalism. So I

request the honourable Minister to reply to these points in his reply. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

SHRI BABUBHAI MEGHJI SHAH (Kutch): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Kutch has figured in the discussion on riots in Gujarat. I represent Kutch and in my constituency there are people belonging to minority communities but no communal riot has taken place there. We live there peacefully. There are certain elements in Ahmedabad and other sensitive areas of Gujarat where these elements can engineer communal riots at their will. Communal riots do not take place in Saurashtra. But in Ahmedabad and nearby areas communal riots erupt suddenly and continue for months together. Some speakers said that the Gujarat Government did not take effective steps but after 6th-7th, prompt and effective steps were taken and no political party adopted any negative attitude. We are going to control these riots and we should all feel concerned about them.

Some speakers have said so many things about R.S.S. Vishav Hindu Parishad and B.J.P. without realising the factual position. But we have to keep the facts in view while trying to find out a solution to this problem. Bharat is our country. We all belong to it. The inhabitants of the country are not going to settle in some foreign country. B.J.P. fully understands this position. We have not asked any body to leave the country. We have never said this thing. Even then certain elements try to raise the storm by resorting to such things. There are certain anti social elements in Ahmedabad who are running illegal distilleries.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY AND MINISTER OF CIVIL AVIATION (SHRIARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN): Sir, normally I am careful of the practice... (Interruptions) Sir, I was saying that normally I am careful of our parliamentary practice of responding in English when some Members make their points in English. But today I will seek your permission. Sir, and indulgence of the hon.

Members who have spoken in English, to speak in Hindi and Urdu.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we have held discussion on the communal situation in the country, particularly the communal violence which has taken place in Gujarat. The importance of this discussion is more for me because communal feelings in Kashmir were aroused to such an extent that terrorism and violence has gripped the valley and my elder and teacher Prof. Mushirul Haq was taken hostage and ultimately killed by the subversives yesterday. I was 6 years old when I joined that educational institution, where he was a teacher. We were associates with his family for a very long time. For the last 3 or 4 days the members of his family have spent most of their time at my house. So, I can not express my feelings in words.

Sir, I agree that this is quite a complicated problem and can not be solved easily. We can not stamp out the evil of communalism unless a public movement is started effectively to check this menace. Some Honourable Members particularly Prof. Soz was giving figures of the Hindus and Muslims killed and these figures were contradicted by some other speaker. But I want to say that our head hangs in shame even if one innocent person is killed. I can give you the number of persons killed but it is all the more dangerous to identify the corpses as Hindus and Muslims, because then the sympathy is also divided on the communal basis. If we feel that the killed person was an innocent Indian, then the entire Hindustan would feel that what happened was very wrong thing. After the generation of these feelings, we would be able to fight the poison of communalism effectively. I would particularly like to refer to Hon'ble Member from Baramulla. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ: Will you please yield for a minute. You are speaking beautiful Hindi but I shall speak in Urdu and Hindustani. In Hashimpur, Meerut and recently in Bhagalpur the armed constables

sided with one community and murdered many people. You should say with responsibility that you will not allow riots to take place.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I can only say that so long as we all do not feel hurt when a person is killed, the problem can not be solved. This problem is defying solution. The act for the abolition of Untouchability was passed long ago, still that mentality persists. Similarly zamindari Abolition Act was passed long ago but that mentality of zamindari is prevalent in some or the other part of the country. It is a national problem. We must create national awareness. Sir, in 1983 I had worked as a Minister of state in the Home Ministry for 7-8 months. At that time riots erupted in Ahmedabad. I have not seen the old files but I can only recall the things. That riot continued for 2-1/2 months.

SHRI MANUBHAI KOTADIA: It was of 80 days.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: It may be of 80 days. The famous Institute of Management of Ahmedabad conducted a study and the report of this came in this press. That report was also sent to Ministry of Home Affairs. But we generally forget many things. I also read the conclusions of that study and I still remember them. The team of the institution estimated the economic loss in Gujarat during those 80 days' riots of Ahmedabad city. Gujarat suffered a loss of Rs. 2.50 thousand crore during these riots.

Sir, I agree that one may have satisfaction by burning the house of a Hindu or Muslim or by killing a Hindu or Muslim. But in all this Gujarat suffered a loss of Rs. 2.50 thousand crore. If disturbances of 80 days' have caused such a big loss then one can imagine how much loss has been caused during the riots in various cities during last 42 years. We all are sons of this mother land. Who so ever is hurt, for motherland all are equal and she will cry for all of them. How can we minimise her misery? We should try to find out a solution. We must try to find out the root cause of all this trouble. Is it on account of the multiplicity of religion? Communalism

[Sh. Arif Mohammad Khan]

do not have any religion. So I believe...

[English]

Religious life is life of duties. Religious life is not a life of privileges.

[Translation]

Various members have expressed various views, but every one of them realised the seriousness of the problem of communalism and said that this problem should be dealt with effectively. This I am saying because religion and communalism do not have any relation. In support of it we can quote number of instances as:

'Darde dil ke vaste paida kia insan ko,  
varna taj ke lia kuchh kam na the karro  
bayan'

If that "All mighty" have desired he could have made everybody equal in all respect, but he gave us power of thinking and power of discretion. We try to equalise that thing which he never tried to do.

Sir, the traditions of this country have been: 'Truth is one. Sages call it by various names'. Truth is one. There are various way to reach it. In Mahabharat when Yaksh asked Udhishthir "which is the best religion in the world". He answered, "Kindness is the best religion". He did not mention religion as we think about it to-day. Therefore, if we use religion to propagate violence and hatred, this is misuse of relation. A small knife is used to cut vegetable, and if it is used to hurt somebody it is not the fault of knife, it is the fault of misguided mentality.

Sir, I am saying this because I do not believe that religion generates communalism. There is only one religion, faiths can be different. I believe that India is not a religion, it is more than that. Sir, I would like to say that on the dooms day God will ask 'why you have not given food or water to the person who

asked you to give them to him, because he was starving or feeling thirsty. You might have got 'Me' in that needy person.' I believe that the basic concept of religion is to preach to be helpful to each other. We talk of the greatness of India. That greatness was the feeling of helping the weak by sacrificing self interest. We have always given up our interest for the collective benefits. Dr. Radhakrishnan says that in Mahabharat when Ashvastthama killed all the five sons of Draupadi, Arjun tells her out of anger that he will drop the head of Ashvastthama in her feet. On this Draupadi says that she does not want to make the mother of Ashvastthama childless like myself. She does not want that for the sins of the son mother should suffer. In his book Dr. Radhakrishnan says that it was not that voice of Draupadi but that of India itself. It was the voice of the traditions of India. So what is happening to-day-whether in Ahmedabad or in any other city-is not according to the soul of India. It is not according to the traditions of India to burn the houses of others. This is something new which has crept in our society. Here I would like to quote Alama Iqbal, he says:

[English]

Too much community consciousness, too much consciousness about differentiation, he says, it has destroyed several nations.

[Translation]

People in our country are worried about things which belong to them. In this respect they even differentiate between dead bodies. I am afraid that if this consciousness is there it will become more difficult to find the solution of this problem. Sir, the framers of our constitution made special provisions for the religions and linguistic minorities. They were assured of equal rights, irrespective of their number. If we go into the debates of Constituent Assembly we will find that it was hoped that differences between the various communities will vanish gradually. But that hope of the framers of constitution could not be fulfilled. I am of the view that difficulty arises in those cases where efforts were

made to change the religious groups into political parties. The situation becomes difficult when a person decides his political status on the basis of his religion.

I would like to say one thing more. We are worried only when there are riots in some city and say that communalism is increasing. But the moment they subsided we forget every thing about them. In my opinion violence is only symptom; the disease is communalism, the ideology of communalism.

If we want to control these riots, we will have to go to the root cause of violence. If we want to get rid of jaundice, we will have to cure the liver. It is necessary to cure the disease. These communal riots will occur if communalism goes on increasing. But for communalism it is not necessary that there should be communal riots. Here in India communalism has increased even without communal riots. There was not a single communal riot in Punjab from 1947 to 1948 to 1980, but communal forces were active somewhere or the other. So while giving consideration to communal riots we will have to think about this aspect also.

To control communalism we will have to start a mass movement. For that we should not wait for communal riots. It should be controlled before-hand.

What is the source of communalism? Ideology gives rise to Communalism. When a political organisation propagates that the interests of the people believing in one religion are different from others, communalism comes into existence. Where political or social organisations consider religion as basis of equality of rights, communalism takes birth.

Sir, wherever there is communalism, it appeals, irrespective of your status, to the people belonging to same religion that their political, social and material interests are same. Their interests are not only different from other communities but they are also contradictory. I think we must fight against this ideology. Unless we give a fight to this

ideology, we cannot control communal riots. Thus poison of communalism will go on increasing. It is possible that some able officer may be able to control the situation, but it cannot solve the problem. You may control communal riots in one place but it may erupt in some other place. So the basic necessity is to control communalism.

We are going to enter the 21st century. We must understand one thing that if the religious beliefs of somebody are not upto the mark, by killing him we cannot correct his religious beliefs. Everybody is free to follow any religion. Secularism is not a concept of 40-42 years old, but it is an old ideal of India. Swami Vivekanand said at a place that when somebody uses the words co-religious tolerance, he considers it his insult. It means that his religion is there because of one's tolerance. If a person is religious in the real sense, he must have tolerance. Religious tolerance is just like eating 'Kheer'. If one is offering you Kheer, it does not require to say that it is sweet, because 'Kheer' is always sweet.' This was said by Swami Vivekanand. A religious person must have tolerance. If we have incidents like Ahmedabad, we go away from our traditions, ideals and culture.

I accept that there are crisis and challenges, but we are committed to face the challenges. It has been repeatedly said that communalism has increased, but I say this from my experience that our determination to control this has also increased. I am sure that we will succeed in it. In past also we have faced that challenges with success.

After independence Gandhiji said that our independence will be complete on that day when we will be able to wipe off the tears of every Indian. Gurudev Ravindra Nath Tagore said that our independence will be complete on that day when every Indian will be fearless and will be able to raise his head with pride. At present can we say that we have been able to wipe off the tears of every eye? Can we say that there is no fear in the mind of any Indian and he can raise his head with pride? We should try to create an at-

[Sh. Arif Mohammad Khan]

mosphere where a common man, who is living under the poverty line, may be able to live safely. Surely, we have not been able to reach our goal, but it is very clear before us. We are aware of the fact that we have not been able to achieve our goal. To achieve it we will have to increase our pace. We are sure that we will be able to face the challenge with success and the future India will emerge stronger and will be able to save her unity and integrity. We will be able to wipe off the tears of every eye, the goal of our war of independence.

SHRI YUVRAJ (Katihar): Deputy Speaker, Sir, we want to have information from the Minister about Minority Welfare Resolution to raise a composite police battalion, put up by the Cabinet Committee.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: Deputy Speaker, Sir, Soj Saheb raised a point that whether he had ever seen 15 point programme? I would like to say that it has not even been seen, but hon. Prime Minister has constituted a Cabinet Committee to monitor its progress. This programme also include the point raised by the hon. Member Cabinet Committee is holding its meeting 2 or 3 times in a month and an action programme has been prepared for those 15 point setting up separate committees under various secretaries. These committees are holding their meetings at least once a months to monitor it.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR (Bikaner): Whether you are considering to give Rs. 5000 instead of Rs. 2000? Compensation should not be Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 50,000, it should be given at least on all Indian basis.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: You will agree basically on this point that law and order is the responsibility of State Government and State Government decides about it. But Central Government monitor the whole affair and keep a liaison with the State Government. Directions are also given to

them. I have noted the suggestion given by the hon. Member. We will surely raise this matter with the State Governments.

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR: But Rs. 2000 have also not been paid.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I want to assure the hon. member that what has been announced will be given.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you have given the details of long term programme. I do not agree some of its points. But there should be some short term measures also. If something goes wrong is fire-brigade, we cannot keep it as it is. We try to make much arrangements which may not cause fire.

Hon. Minister has not said a single word about the situation in Gujarat and Bhagalpur. Different Commissions have given many suggestions to solve the situation from time to time. Whether Government will consider them and implement them at an early date? There are many lapses and short coming in police and intelligence departments. They should be set right and a Cosmopolitan Police Force should be created, reflecting our population. Increasing communalism in bureaucracy should be removed. Will you prepare some guidelines regarding this? Only one scale should to kept for providing relief and compensation, as multiplicity in scales give chances to corruption and favouritism and creates a misunderstanding. Even to day there are many who have been provided any relief or compensation. I want to know what is being done in this respect?

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I am giving you the information provided by the Gujarat Government. The kith and kin of deceased are being given Rs. 20,000.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: At one place it Rs. 20,000 when on other it is one lakh. It is simply a joke.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: As a told you before that State Government is

responsible for law and order and a discussion regarding this is taken by them only. If they ask assistance from the centre, we are always ready to provide. This is the information provided by Gujarat Government.

**SHRI G.M.BANATWALLA:** If any Government is providing less compensation you should supplement it.

**SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN:** I am coming to that point. 50 injured persons lying in different hospitals are being given 32 thousand rupees.

**SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKASAR:** It has been announced that Rs. 32 thousand will be given to 50 persons?

**SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN:** I believe what has been informed by the hon. Member. I am only giving the information provided by the Gujarat Government. They have already been given Rs. 20 thousand and now Rs. 32 thousand have been given to them as lump sum pension. The guidelines suggested by different commissions are already there. In the mean time the suggestions given by the newly appointed commissions are being considered and the guidelines are being revised accordingly. After

finalisation they will be sent to various states. These will be discussed in the meeting of National Integration Council, being held to day. The suggestions given by the hon. Members will be looked into an instructions will be issued.

**SHRI RATILAL KALIDAS VARMA** (Dhandhuka): The persons arrested in Gujarat after the movement are being punished under T.A.D.A. Information regarding innocent persons should be given to Gujarat Government so as to help them.

**SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN:** Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not have the information at present. The suggestions of the hon Member have been noted and action will be taken.

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** The House stands adjourned to reassemble at 11.00 A.M.

**20.56 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, April 12, 1990/  
Chaitra 22, 1912 (Saka)*