

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to declare the institution known as the National Dairy Development Board in the State of Gujarat to be an institution of national importance and to provide for its incorporation and for the vesting in that body corporate of the undertakings of the Indian Dairy Corporation with a view to provide for the administration and the carrying on of the functions to be performed by the body corporate more effectively throughout the country and for matters connected therewith and incidental thereto "

*The motion was adopted.*

DR. G. S. DHILLON Sir, I introduce the Bill.

**12.24 hrs.**

DISCUSSION RE COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY—*Contd*

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will not take up further discussion on the communal disturbances in various parts of the country.

Mr. Piyus Tiraky.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars): Sir, much has been said on communal disturbances in the country. But one thing I should like to mention in the House, and that is, India has been ruled for many years by the British and before that, the Mughals also ruled. Some people belonging to a community feel that they had ruled the country, they are the descendants of those who had ruled this country, and this irritates some people. That also comes in the way of maintaining communal harmony. If some community feels that Hindus have

been ruled for many years and if this feeling comes from some sections of the population, it irritates. We have been ruled by the British. Suppose, if some Anglo-Indian or Christian says that India has been ruled by them, Hindus have been ruled by them, it irritates us

Sir, in Western countries there are certain people, certain places which have been universally accepted as 'holyland' or 'pilgrim centres or something like that. A question has been raised about the Babri Masjid and the Ram Janam Bhumi. Ram Janam Bhumi and Vrindavan are places which have a special significance in India and abroad also. We recognise these places as 'holyland' Even the Christians, Muslims, Sikhs and the people world over know these places irrespective of whether Ram was born or not. In order to keep the communal harmony in our country, I request our friends those who are talking about Babri Masjid or Ram Janam Bhumi to stop it because history knows that Ram was born there and thousands of people go there every year for pilgrimage. We must settle this matter. In India, when we have a respect for even the smallest of religious group should we not try to respect the places like Ayodhya or Brindavan which belong to Hindus and where thousands of people go on pilgrimage every year? This should be settled immediately otherwise India will be in troubles.

Sir, every religion has its head except Hinduism. Hinduism is not organised. They have no single head. The question comes is that of whom to obey. Christians, Muslims and Sikhs they have their religious heads. I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister that many a time we have been speaking that communal parties should be banned. I say that communal parties should be banned because they are doing much more harm. For example, Muslim League is still there. We have a very bitter experience about this Muslim League. It was the muslim League which divided our country and it is still here as a political party. What they wanted they got it, but still they are here. Every

communal party is doing some good except the Muslim League. Mullahs are doing much harm because they are communally organised. If the communal party is organised, then people suspect them to involve in any responsible work. So, Sir, in order to keep the communal harmony in our country we should not allow any political party with religious base to function. This is what I understand.

India is a multinational and multi-lingual country. Hinduism is less religious and more cultural. We have all accepted this culture and this should be encouraged. Even the Muslims have accepted the Hindu culture. The Muslims of India cannot live with the Muslims of Arab countries because they have their own way of living, their own way of speaking and their own way of eating etc.

Mandirs, Masjids and Gurudwaras have all become troublesome places. When there is mushrooming of Mandirs and Masjids, etc., more trouble will be coming up. We have no national religion as we have the national language. Because Hinduism is a national culture and we have accepted it, that should be given more impetus to grow as our culture. Hinduism has accepted all the people, many castes and creeds. So many people have come here and India has accepted them. As we have accepted Christianity, we have accepted Islam and other religions as well. Even now if somebody wants to preach any religion, India is a place where he can be free. So, there is no reason why Hindus and Muslimism cannot live like brothers.

Wherever there is irritation, the Government's Intelligence should work. What for the Intelligence is there? If some irritation is coming which results in communal riots, somewhere in any pocket of the country, the Intelligence should report and the Government should act accordingly. No innocent life should be lost.

In India everybody speaks of communal harmony: but all are communal. They think of their own religion, caste, language, etc.

That is also communal. Nobody is non-communal in India. But that necessarily does not mean that they should kill each other. There is nothing wrong if somebody wears Dhotis or Pajamas. We do not fight for eating habits, drinking habits. There should not be any fight on account of religion also.

In that way, the Government must take responsibility. The blame should go to the Government because its Intelligence Branch is not working at all. It does not tell from where irritation is coming and what steps should be taken to check that.

For thousands of years we have been living together. There may be difference of opinions. That does not necessarily mean that we should kill each other. That should be stopped immediately and the Government should act.

SHRIMATI ABIDA AHMED (Bareilly):  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, communalism is a disease which has to be rooted out but that can be done only when we work unitedly; Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians all may go to those places where such incidents occur and they should consider this as their duty. I have visited Meerut and Ahmedabad. So far as Delhi is concerned, all of you must have gone to the affected localities. Today, the question is not only confined to as to why where and when communal disturbances take place in our country but we have to ponder over why do they recur in the same places? This shows that either the State Governments concerned are weak which cannot control such happenings or they are callous. I would urge upon the Central Government to see that the Chief Ministers who are weak or callous are removed. When you get the things enquired in detail, you will come to know about the causes behind communal riots.

I myself went to Meerut and talked to men and women. Wherever I went, it was complained that there is not much bad blood between Hindus and Muslims but PAC has brought more destruction than

[Shrimati Abida Ahmed]

any one else. They said that they are more at loggerheads with PAC and are pained to see that they are left at the mercy of PAC who shoots them. This I am telling you about the people of Meerut. In fact, there were no men there and only women and children talked to me. When I asked about whereabouts of menfolk, they told they have been apprehended and their whereabouts are not known. One thing more I noticed. When I was touring the different mohallas, some children in the age group of 9 to 11 years appeared before me suddenly. I asked them as to wherefrom they have come suddenly because earlier they were not there. They told me that they were in the jails and they have been released and left here. This means that even small children were put behind the bars. I asked them as to how they knew that they were in the jails. They showed me the stamps on their hands. When such things happen, they bring us bad name. I request the Home Minister that it should be enquired into deeply as to why small children were caught and sent to jails.

Actually, when such incidents occur, when people are bent upon killing and destroying other people, they lose their senses. At that time a person does not remain a human being any more, he becomes Shaitan. The Almighty has given us brain, heart, the power of thinking and feeling but if we misutilise that power, we are destroyed.

*Ghate agar to fakat mushte-khak hai insaan,*

*Badhe to vuste konain main sama na sake.*

It means that if the human beings want to improve themselves, the entire universe is small for them but if they stoop low, they become just dust. We are becoming barbaric instead of being human beings. I heartily wish that this evil should be rooted out and to do this all people, be they Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims or Christians, should endeavour unitedly and collectively. It is possible only when we all work unitedly, tell the people who have suffered that we are with you and create confidence among them that such incidents will not recur.

Unless we tell them these things, they will keep on feeling insecure. Presently, I do not see any women coming forward but they should come forward to achieve this goal. We all—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others—should collectively go to them. You should go to the affected localities and see the extent of destruction with your own eyes. It is beyond description. Whosoever has gone there might have seen how atrocities have been committed on the people and how their houses have been destroyed mercilessly.

Now we come to the question as to who was behind these riots. It can be the handiwork of internal communal forces or the external forces who want to make our country weak, who do not want us to march towards progress speedily. Therefore, as long as we do not come forward to face such forces unitedly, such incidents will continue to take place.

People belonging to the minority community should be recruited in the PAC as well as in Police. 15-Point Programme of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, which concerns minorities, should be speedily implemented. With these words, I conclude and express my thanks to you.

[English]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to participate in the discussion on the communal situation prevalent in the country. I do so with a deep sense of pain and agony and I would, therefore, request my colleagues in this House to bear with me for some time and I would also request you, Sir, not to rush to ring the bell because I need some more time to put my case before you.

It is a reality, a grave reality and nobody can deny that it is my community that has suffered the worst for the last forty years in this country and even today, it is groaning under the atrocities and barbarities perpetrated during Meerut carnage recently. It is really a matter of shame that the commu-

nal riots continue even today after forty years of independence. You can take any report of the Home Ministry. Every year the Home Ministry Report says that there have been 300 to 400 riots in this country. That means a riot every day. Is it not a disgraceful situation? That is what I would like to say.

The situation today is very alarming. The faith of the people in secularism stands shattered and the image of our country abroad is badly tarnished, but what is most agonizing is that as days go on, the magnitude of the communal killings, devastation and the communal riots are going on increasing. In Ahmedabad in 1969, 1500 people were massacred. We said that that was the worst and we would never have anything worse than that. But then came the Nelli massacre in 1983. That shocked us and we said that we would not allow anything more. But, here again, we have got Meerut. Might be that less people have been killed, but the barbarity demonstrated at Meerut has surpassed all the previous records. The vandalism, aggressiveness and the vulgar behaviour even with ladies cannot be described here. It was so bad that one cannot describe it. It is really shameful and this matter has to be put an end to once and for all.

It is a matter of deep concern that today the secular fabric of the country stands shattered, the conscience of the people is dead and the communal divide is complete. If it is not arrested today, the country's future is going to be shattered. But I must say here that because of the atrocities that have been perpetrated, the vulgar behaviour in which the PAC has indulged:

*Eklak Ka Jaita hua Ghar Dekh Raha hoon  
Dekha Nahin Jata, Magar Dekh Raha  
hoon.*

This is the situation. Sir, I am sorry to say that in spite of such a situation, no effective and vigorous action has been taken by the Government. Government has failed and I will say this more than once. I would emphasise that the Government of this

country has failed to arrest the forces of communalism. They have all the power, they have the intelligence, police, paramilitary forces. What has happened to all of them? In spite of all these nothing has been done. This problem has never been tackled on national level. We must have called all the national leaders to join and put their heads together to tackle this situation. We should set Peace Committee at the national level so that wherever the riots take place these Committees could go and until and unless peace is established they should not return. But this was never done. It is always said that as far as riots are concerned, law and order situation is concerned, it is the responsibility of States. But the fact is the State forces have invariably failed. So, it is only when CRPF and BSF is called the peace could be restored. But even when army is called, it is placed under the State authority; so, they have no freedom to act. This results in delay in establishing peace. After all, it is Government's responsibility to bring peace in the society and at the same time to give protection to the life and property of every citizen. The Chief Minister of UP, has failed utterly in controlling the communal disturbances and in providing protection to the people. You are adopting double standards. The Chief Minister of Punjab has failed to control terrorism and no peace is established there. But in spite of all the killings in Meerut and failure in establishing peace the Chief Minister of U.P. sticks to his Gadi. Is it not your responsibility? Can I have an answer to this question?

Sir, no doubt discussions are there in Parliament. When there are communal riots, the National Integration Council talks of it. There are judicial enquiries also. But are you implementing the findings of the judicial inquiries? You discuss it in the meetings of National Integration Council and after the discussion is over you forget everything. When communal situation normalises, you forget everything and wait until the next riots break out. What happens is that after two months you appoint a judge after 2 years you get a report and after that this report remains with the

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Home Ministry where dust gets piled up on this report and ultimately it becomes the food for months. That is why we are asking for the restructuring of PAC. The former Chief Minister of U.P. Shri Shripati Misra said, we do not demand Muslim force or Hindu force, Sikh force or Christian force. Who said this? We don't demand separate forces. We want representation in PAC and the police. In the Consultative Committee, Prof. Dandavate said that the forces should reflect the composite character of the country. The PAC has predominantly members of the community and if such a situation continues then confidence cannot be restored. But Mr. Misra says, no we cannot have separate forces. What is this? Is India not a composite country? India is a multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-racial country. We all are peoples' representatives. We are not the rulers but we must have an equal share in administration. We are part and parcel of this country. If this country develops, then only we will develop. If this country fails, we fail. We are part and parcel of the country but they say, we are away from the national stream. Who kept us away from the national stream? I charge the Government of India guilty. It is they who have kept us away from the national stream. I may again say, Mr. Mishra said that we cannot have a Muslim force, etc. There cannot be any Hindus or Muslims, or Sikhs or Christians in this country. No Sikh, no Muslim, no Christian, we are Indian only." I would say that he will be a Muslim and an Indian too. Similarly he will be a Sikh and an Indian too. You cannot destroy the identity. We do not want assimilation. What we want is, integration. We would like to live in this country as Muslims and be Indians. This should be the attitude.

[Translation]

Those who do not consider themselves the citizens of this country should look for some other country for themselves.

[English]

Who is he to say this? This is my country.

[Translation]

Those who do not consider themselves the citizens of this country should find some other country for themselves... (*Interruptions*) They have to live as Hindus.

[English]

No Muslims, no Christians, no Hindus, nothing.

(*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

SHRI YOGESHWAR PRASAD YOGESH: Say that we are not the citizens of this country.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: What citizens, this is my country (*Interruptions*) Such a threat should not be given.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order please.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Such threat cannot be given to anybody. Mr. Zainul Basher rightly said yesterday that this is our country and we have decided to live in this country and to die in this country only. We will live with honour and fight for our rights guaranteed in the Constitution. Jigar Moradabadi, the famous Urdu poet has rightly said:

*"Chaman chaman hi nahin, jiske goshe goshe mein,  
Kahin bahaar na aye, kahin bahaar aye,  
Ye meykade ki sakigari ki hai toheen,  
Koi ho jambaqsh koi sharmsar aye."*

It is not a garden, and if this is a garden every corner in it will have to bloom. It is not spring if a part of garden blooms and the other does not. It is not proper.

We have to live together with love. We should understand each other and should

respect each other. Here, I would just refer to what Smt. Indira Gandhi said. In 1982, in her 15 Point Programme she said :

"For the recruitment of police personnel, State Government should be advised to give special consideration to minorities."

Sikhs community should be represented and similarly Muslims community should be represented. I would like to know as to how far this has been acted upon by the Central Government? I want to know what has been done in this connection.

13.00 hrs.

I must say here that both the intelligence machinery and prosecution machinery are weak in this country. The prosecution machinery is blind. They cannot find the real culprits. The real culprits go scotfree dancing on the streets. And whom do the police arrest? They arrest innocent minority people. They arrested Muslims in thousands. In Meerut nearly 3,500 people were taken into custody. Shri Saifuddin Chaudhury said that there was not a single young man in Meerut today, whose limbs had not been broken into pieces. What happens whenever riots take place? Among those who are killed, 90 per cent are Muslims, among those whose houses are burnt, 90 per cent are always the Muslims, among those whose shops are reduced to ashes, 90 per cent are again Muslims. And finally, when the arrests are made, 90 per cent of the people arrested are Muslims. This is the situation. That is why I say that the prosecution machinery is blind. It has no eyes. It cannot find out the real culprits. The only thing that the prosecution machinery does is to arrest people belonging to a minority community and break their limbs. This is the prevailing situation in this country. If such behaviour is allowed to continue, confidence is not going to be restored in the minority community.

[Translation]

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL (Chandni Chowk): We are having discus-

sion on communal harmony, but what is being said in the House now is one-sided. It will be detrimental rather than being beneficial.

[English]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Riots took place in Meerut in the month of Ramzan. People were arrested in the month of Ramzan, the month of fasting—Muslims were on fast and temperature was touching 43°C and 44°C and you know how hot it was in those days. Muslims were taken into custody and when they asked for water to break the fast, the police told them to drink their own urine or the policemen's urine. This is the way police behave in this country.

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja): Were you a witness to all those things? I think you are depending on false reports.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Very good speeches were made by my friends Shri Shyam Lal Yadav and Shri Indrajit Gupta. But there were some other speeches, with which I cannot agree. Shri Sri Pati Mishra said that everything was right between 1947 and 1980 when no riots of notable consequence took place, and that it was only after 1980 that serious riots started. He said that India became very strong after 1980 and these riots were engineered by some foreign hand which did not want India to progress. What about the inner hand Sir? I just do not understand when he says that there were no riots between 1947 and 1980. What about the riots in Jabalpur in 1962, in Ahmedabad in 1969 and so on? Were they not riots?

But you must understand one feature which has developed now. There is a drastic change in character of the riots. For 40 years, we have these Hindu-Muslim clashes and I understand it. But what is happening today is the complete involvement and patronage of the PAC in the riots. Nobody can refute it. For the last fifteen years, right from 1972 onwards, from the time of Ferozabad riots, there is this invol-

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vement and patronage by PAC. Many members spoke about the ruthlessness, the monstrosity and the brutality of the PAC. I do not want to say anything else. Let me quote what others have said about it. I quote from the *Free Press Journal* of 14th June 1987:

"A group of gun-toting PAC men led by a senior officer charged towards the villagers shouting "*maro sale Musalman ko, kuttey ki mout nahin mareng tab tak sudhreng nahin*"..."

Let me also quote from *Times of India*, dt 14th June

"There is a clear case of a wing of the State going out with cold-blooded calculation to raid and round up a group of citizens, whisk them away, shoot them while in custody and then throw their dead bodies into the river. Such a fiendish act has never taken place before. Does not this remind one of the Nazi programmes against Jews?"

Also see what the *Statesman* of 26th May said on this issue. I quote

"In the recent massacre at Mallyana, there is every evidence that the PAC started and instigated the carnage. It is also known that the Daroga, Transport Bhavan was present at the spot and supervised the killing. The authorities have a report submitted by the army, which clearly indicts the PAC."

I just do not know what to say about the massacres in Maliana and Hashimpura. Innocent Muslims, young and old, were dragged out of their houses, thrown into trucks and carried away. They shot them dead one by one cold-bloodedly and threw the dead into the river. This is the most tragic thing that ever happened. Last month, on 22nd or 23rd, people were dragged out from bus after bus and 14

persons were attacked. I do not recollect the name of the place but this incident happened on Muzafarnagar roadside. Such things happened in Haryana also. They dragged out persons from the buses and after identifying the Muslims, attacked them. All those who had beards and all those women who were in *burkhas* were pulled down and attacked. And I just cannot describe here how they behaved with the ladies before murdering them. What all they did, is indescribable. I just cannot describe those things in this august House. And who did all this? All this has been done by the goonda militant communal elements. I have always said that the PAC has become a criminal communal force in India today. I have said the same in the meeting of the National Integration Council in 1981 (after the Moradabad riots) when Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the late lamented Prime Minister of India was presiding over that meeting. I said so and she conceded it. Afterwards, there was decision taken to reconstruct the PAC, to have riot forces and to give representation to Muslims other minorities and other backward classes. What has happened to this decision? I am told that the Government raised one battalion. What can one battalion do in such a big country, when such large scale riots take place? We must find a remedy for all these things.

I want to mention one more thing. I am told that the Government has decided to pay compensation to the riot victims. Well and good. But how much are you paying? You are giving Rs. 20,000 to the kith and kin of those who are killed in riots. Is Rs. 20,000 the price of human life? If some wealthy gentleman travels by air and the plane crashes unfortunately, you give one lakh of rupees as compensation. If it is a train accident, then again the amount is one lakh. That means the price of human life varies from place to place. That should not be the case. I say that the highest possible amount should be given as compensation to the kith and kin of those who are killed in the riots. Here I have one more point. I am told that compensation is paid only in communal riots, i.e. when there is a

Hindu-Muslim riot, you give compensation to those victims. But when the PAC killed innocent people in Mallayana, by dragging them out of their houses, shooting them dead and then throwing their bodies into the river, no compensation is to be paid! I want a clarification as to whether it is correct. I am told that compensation has not been given to those who have been killed by the PAC bullets. People from Hashimpura and people from Mallayana were killed by the PAC bullets. It is said that these were not riots and therefore, they were not given the compensation. This is what I learnt. Every one of those killed by the PAC bullets should be given compensation.

I would now like to refer to the Babri Masjid issue. This issue has created a lot of tension among us. Among brothers and among Hindus and Muslims, we want to live peacefully in harmony and cordiality because both have to live and die in this country. We cannot run away anywhere else. No. We do not think of going to any other country. We do not want to look to other country. We do live and die here. But the fact should be understood.

Immediately, after the locks of Mosque were opened by the District Magistrate of Faizabad and tension increased then it is we who went to the Prime Minister, in March, last year demanding initiative to start negotiations and find an early solution.

[*Translation*]

SHRI R P. SUMAN (Akbarpur): That is an order of the court.

[*English*]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Yes it was done on the basis of the court order. It was wrong. That does not come under their jurisdiction. The matter fell in the High Court of Allahabad. What right does this Magistrate has to take a decision? Did he hear the party? It was an *ex parte* decision. There is no jurisdiction. It was at the

instance of somebody that locks were unlocked. I will tell you. It was said here yesterday, also. But one thing, I would say, we want a peaceful settlement. Fair and just settlement. We went to the Prime Minister. We told him, please take the initiative. Let us defuse the situation. Please pass an Act. Please bring a Bill in the Parliament of this country that the *status quo* as existed on 15th August, 1947 should be established. It is the easiest practical solution as far as the places of worship are concerned.

Mr. Banatwalla introduced a Private Member's Bill. The leave was also granted. It was introduced. The Government would have accepted this. That is the *status quo* which existed on 15th August 1947. That should be established in all places of worship whether a temple or a mosque or a Gurdwara or whatever it is. No more trouble will be there; no fighting would be there. No doubt that the greatest day in our history is—the 15th August—when our country attained the freedom.

Let us come out openly and come out boldly and say "this day we accept whatever had been the position of a Mosque or a Gurdwara or a Church or a Temple of that day." Let there be no change.

Shri Sripati Mishra has said that before 1952, no Muslim went there. No Hindu went there. I do not know the facts. Until 1949, for years, Muslims went on praying. Then what happened I do not say. This is the copy of the affidavit filed by the U.P. Government officer Mr. J N Ugra, Deputy Commissioner, Faizabad. What does he say? I quote:

"Para-14. That the property in suit is known as Babri Mosque, and it has for a long period, been in use as mosque for the purpose of worship by the Muslims. It has not been used as temple of Shri Ram Chandraji.

Para-15. That on the night of 22nd December 1949 the idols of Shri Ram Chandraji were surreptitiously and wrongly put inside it."

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[English]

Here I emphasise the words "surreptitiously and wrongly put inside it I don't say that. The affidavit says that"

"Para-16 That as a result of the said wrongful act a situation imperilling public peace and tranquility was created and the public authorities had to intervene in order to prevent breach of peace and tranquillity "

Then the matter was taken to Court. The matter was lost. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was the then Home Minister. Panditji was here. Panditji was there. They intervened because it was a national problem.

Now Shri Sripati Mishra says, take it to the Tribunal. Who says no? We have respected judiciary. We waited for 37 years for justice from Allahabad High Court. Is it wrong? He says nobody has gone before the Court before 1952 is completely false. Let him not mislead the House. He had been the Chief Minister of U.P. I do not know how ignorant he is. He says before 1952 no Muslim went and prayed. No Hindu went and prayed. He should have given the facts. I am not sorry I cannot understand this. Shri Sripati Mishra must be known as *Akshaya Brahmachari*. I don't say that. And I think he behaves it. What does he say? Please let us know.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): He is the former Chief Minister of that State. Why are you making him the target to give vent to your rage?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: He has mis-stated the facts. None of his utterances is a fact.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: Whatever he has said is based on his memory.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Memory should be based on facts.

It is a letter written by Akshay Brahmachari to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. He was then the Secretary of District Congress Committee of Faizabad. He says— I am quoting again:

[Translation]

"I do not view this problem from the angle of Mosque or protection to Muslims. Rather, I have in view the great ideals of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi for which we all have been struggling till now. If we do not oppose these retrogressive ideas with our full force, the very existence of the Congress will be at stake and retrograde ideas will spread among the people. I would like to draw the attention of the leaders and that of the Government to Ayodhya and request them to control the situation there without any further delay. Stern action should be taken against the elements who have spread riots and the Government officers who have aided them. The Government should take strict action against the attackers and should make the Muslims feel that they are living in a country where their lives and property are safe. Their religious feelings should be assuaged by restoring their religious and holy places to them. By doing so and by propagating the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, the Government will succeed in setting up a true Ram Rajya."

[English]

This is what he wrote to our late Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Home Minister of U.P. These are the facts (*Interruptions*). The matter is pending in the court, i.e. the judiciary. We respected it. We waited for the decision. But at whose instance was the lock there unlocked, broken, creating all this bitterness, all this madness, carnage, holocaust in Meerut and other places? Who is responsible? If Government has not acted so far, is not Government responsible for doing it?

I only want Government to take the initi-

ative. Government should take the initiative. The situation should be defused. (*Interruptions*) We are prepared to have adjudication. We are prepared to have a high-power Commission. We are prepared to have a Special Bench of the High Court to deal with this matter and give a decision within a specified time; and let the Government pass the law, as I told you before, to have 15th August 1947 as the deadline. All this—I do not say here is a party memorandum.

Recently, we had a *dharna* on the 17th, to keep the matter alive. That is all. We never wanted to break the peace. We presented a memorandum to the Speaker of Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha to convey our feelings with regard to this conflict. There also we said—I am quoting

"The Movement reiterates its demand that since there is no possibility of a dialogue or negotiation or mediation or political consultation or parliamentary intervention, the title suit which is the heart of the problem should be referred to a Special Bench of a High Court preferably in South India."

Why? Why from South India? Because of a passion-charged atmosphere in the North. So, let us go to South India. It is a suggestion. I further quote

"... preferably in South India, in order to determine the title to the disputed structure and that a law should be enacted to maintain the *status quo* of all places of worship as on 15th August, 1947 in order to avoid similar disputes in future."

We have had meetings with Shri Buta Singh so many times. No doubt he has been kind enough to give us some hopes. But the hope has not been realized so far. We want action, not promises. He has been promising that he will be looking into the matter, meeting other leaders of the other community, to come out with decision, a

solution. We want no promise further. We want action. The more we delay the matter, it deteriorates. Things in India have deteriorated to this position...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Sait, you have taken half an hour. How much more time do you want? You should finish now.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I am finishing, Sir. In the beginning itself, I had asked for enough time.

Now this is the position. So, we must understand that we are for a just and fair settlement. These are the facts of the case. I have told you what the affidavit says. I have told you what Akshay Brahmachari said, and how some people come forward and try to mislead things. So, this is the position. Now, honestly and sincerely all should come forward to arrest this monster of communalism and this virus has to be wiped out. The responsibility for this lies on everybody.

We talk of secularism. Who is secular in this country? Mahatma Gandhi was here. When there are riots, he went all out to arrest the situation, to hold the hands of the murderer. Panditji was also here. Once he went to Old Delhi in front of the crowd and—he did not go there to see it—held the hands of the murderer who was committing murders. Where is such a leadership today? This will not help. The secular people might be there. But are they prepared to come forward and arrest that menace of communalism? Nobody has got the guts to do it. Excuse me, our Congress I friends are very secular, but how many of them have come forward to arrest this mass of communalism. I will be with you. I will risk my life to establish peace and harmony. I again emphasise the riots should be treated as a national issue; and if you want to tackle this national issue, then all people should be taken into confidence. They should sit together at the place of communal riots and see that riots are completely stopped. If this is done, then permanent peace can be restored.

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

So long as PAC is there, confidence cannot be returned among them. It must be sent back immediately to barracks. Action should be taken against all the massacre that they have committed. Then the peace loving people will have some hope to live in peace and harmony.

Complete compensation should be given to those who have suffered. There should be occupational rehabilitation. Hon. Members have said so many things here. All these things are important. But we must launch a drive to create an understanding between these communities and tell them that they are the two eyes of India. Let us have a drive to remove bitterness and see that we trust each other, love each other and must understand each other. In this way only we can create complete harmony among the people where we can live together in complete harmony, love and brotherhood. Such a situation alone can help us and this country can become a better place for all of us to live.

*Hayat le kar chalo, kayamat le kar chalo, chalo to Saare Jamane Ko Saath le Kar chalo*

I want all of us, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs to come together; there should be a missionary zeal to establish communal harmony and peace. We want peace in this country; we want that each one of us should understand each other so that this country becomes a happier place for all of us to live in. May Allah help us all.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Amal Datta has to make a submission.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): An observation was made by me on 19.8.1987 regarding a publication being Mr. Poojary's own. On checking I found that it is not so. I express my regret for the same.

[*Translation*]

SHRI NARESH CHANDRA CHATURVEDI (Kanpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir,

since yesterday we have been discussing the subject of communal harmony. In that context, several hon. Members...

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND FORESTS (SHRI Z.R. ANSARI): I am on a point of order. This is an important issue in which many members are interested, even though they are not participating, to hear the views of other hon. members. I know that the lunch hour has been dispensed with. Today is Friday and I feel that for half an hour we can break for lunch. This is my request to you, this is my proposal.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If the House agrees, I have no objection.

13.21 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till  
Fourteen of the clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after lunch at  
five minutes past Fourteen of the clock.*

[*SHRI SHARAD DIGHE in the Chair*]

DISCUSSION RE. COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY—*Contd.*

[*Translation*]

SHRI NARESH CHANDRA CHATURVEDI (Kanpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have been discussing a very important issue since yesterday. The hon. Members who have participated in the debate so far have drawn the attention of the House to the national problems and have put forward very good views with regard to the unity of the country and for maintaining harmonious relations among the different communities. Yet there are a few who have pushed the basic issue to the background and have said such things which encourage those very tendencies which are causing great concern to the whole nation.

I would like to submit that not all people in the country have yet assimilated the feeling of national unity, national thinking and national viewpoint which are essential for national harmony. The people put forward many things in such a way as if they are from outside and are fighting for some forces based outside the country, whereas this is not the problem before the country

We have been seeing right from our Independence that it is not the communal riots between Hindus and Muslims alone that are harming the country; the forces of disintegration at the instances of others are continuously causing harm to the country on one pretext or the other.

I am one of those who believe that ours is a secular country. The entire struggle of our independence was fought by making secularism as the base. After breaking the shackles of slavery we are heading towards the goal which our leaders, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose and Rajgopalachari had set, but I feel that in spite of the fact that all forces were united in the attainment of 'Swarajya', yet there were some elements which were impediments in the national unity and peace even at that time.

I would like to remind you about the emergence of Muslim League during the Indian National Movement. What type of seeds were sown by the Muslim League when the entire nation was fighting the war of Independence? It was at that crucial moment that the Muslim League chose to disintegrate and divide the country and create differences among the countrymen. At that juncture, Indian leadership failed to assert itself fully because the Britishers were ruling us. As a consequence of the conspiracy hatched by the Britishers, we witnessed a happening on the 15th of August, 1947 which should not have occurred. The country got divided into two—India and Pakistan. When people say that

we should forget all that preceded 15th August, 1947 and should decide the issue by keeping in mind the position that existed only on 15th August, 1947, I feel that such people do not want to learn any lesson from history. After all, can there be a heart which beats but will forget its own history, its sufferings, its pain and its tears?

I do not think that the people of a country who have achieved victory after hundreds of years of slavery and crushing defeats can forget so soon their history of sacrifices and giving away every thing for the nation. When people start talking these sort of things, I feel as if people are not talking of the human feelings. Rather they are avoiding the truth.

One more thing that I would like to submit is that the country became independent on 15th August and the people divided this country by giving Hindu-Muslim slogan. The country was divided because a third force was present in between us. Had there been only two communities, Hindus and Muslims and had there been no third party to divide them, I am confident that Pakistan would not have come into being. Had there been not British power in between us, there would have been no division of the country, in spite of any leader's best efforts. It is only due to the conspiracy of the British people that our country was divided.

When I find the people levelling charges against the Government, I am forced to tell one thing more. The Congress has fought the battle of independence for the country and has made a lot of sacrifices for it. But at the same time it has sacrificed for communal goodwill also. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi made his first sacrifice for the Hindu-Muslim unity. He belonged to Kanpur, a constituency which I represent. He was an outstanding personality of that place. He was a great national leader. He had sacrificed his life for Hindu-Muslim unity in 1931. Thereafter, at the time of the partition of the country Mahatma Gandhi, who was a great man and the best representative of humanity, became a martyr.

[Shri Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi]

Then, very recently, in the fight against terrorism. We lost the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi on the altar of communalism. These three great leaders of the Congress sacrificed their lives and our heads bow down in reverence to them. I offer my tributes to them. Why are we forgetting all these things? It has been the spirit of this country that people living here they may be followers of any religion and they may belong to any state or any caste and may speak any language, are Indians first. Some of our worthy friends, while making mention of the speeches of some of our other friends said that they have objections to them. I feel that these are wrong objections. It is not Muslim India, but there can be Indian Muslims; It is not Hindu India, but there can be Indian Hindus. Similarly, it may be Sikhs, Christians and so on, they are Indian Muslims, Indian Hindus, Indian Christians, Indian Sikhs. People belonging to these castes and these religions may be living in other places also. There are Hindus in Nepal also. Nepal is a Hindu nation. (*Interruptions*). If you ring the bell within three to four minutes, how will I express my views. These are very big issues and so far I have given the background only as to what should be our mode of thinking about these things. For every person, be he Sikh, Muslim, Hindu, Christian or anybody else, the country is above everything. All people living in this country, belonging to any caste, creed or religion or any state, and speaking any language, have equal rights. I strongly oppose the move when the Government is blamed on some point and effort is made to avoid the truth. I do not comprehend that when somebody encourages terrorism, why Army and P.A.C. should not be used against him. It is not possible to allow somebody to take refuge in any temple, mosque, gurudwara or church after he commits murder or dacoity and starts stockpiling arms and ammunition there, and despite all this, it is said that the army and the P.A.C. may not enter these places. The country can never be secure in this way. They want that the army and the police

should not enter the places of worship. It is not possible. If the people resort to fortification of these places, these will definitely be destroyed. If people start firing at the army and P.A.C. jawans, throw stones at them and create barrier and do not allow them to pass through it to enter any house or place, then it is definite that strong steps will be taken.

Every person in India is free to follow any religion but if those, who are considered symbols of Indian pride are not given respect by all, then I do not feel that unity of the country could ever be achieved. If the Sikhs make Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh their exclusive property, the Muslims make Allah and Hindus make Ram and Krishna their exclusive property, the unity of the country will never be possible. The unity of the country will be possible only if every Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian has faith in Ram also.

Similarly, the same respect should be given to Christian and Islam deities also. I do not think that there is any difference between a temple and a mosque, a church and a gurudwara. But as I have already told that the Government will definitely intervene if these places are misused.

Just now Shri Sait while delivering his speech raised several points very emotionally. He raised those points in a wrong way. I am really astonished. I do not think the points he presented in connection with the Maliyana were based on facts. A list of 167 or 168 persons was given out of which the authorities verified the names of 97 persons who were alive. Even after that it is being said that a massacre took place. What type of language is this? On the one hand you say all these things and on the other hand, you do not ascertain from Shri Bukhari as to what authority he has got to put locks in the mosque of old Delhi. Property worth crores of rupees was looted in Sita Ram Bazar and Chawari Bazar in old Delhi, thousands of people suffered losses and hundreds of people were killed. I can cite the names of several such places. I can cite the name of Allahabad, Jammu and

Kashmir and names of other places also. If I say that a large number of Hindus were killed at these places, will it serve the purpose? It would not serve the purpose. Muslims should not allow Hindus to die and Hindus should not allow Muslims to suffer the losses. If these things are not there, the country can not live. I am of the view that every person, for the sake of his racial vanity, for the sake of his leadership and for the sake of his political interests raises these issues vehemently. These speeches when published in Indian and world press will create an impression that Muslims are not safe in India. It is known to every one that there is no confrontation between the Hindus and the Muslims. Whatever confrontations are made to exist, these are by some undesirable people and political elements for their political interests.

I fail to understand one thing. Whenever some arrests are made, it is said that the number of Hindus or the Muslims is more among the arrested persons. If somebody commits any wrong he is arrested. There is no question of his being a Hindu or a Muslim. When something wrong has been committed and some people are arrested for that, efforts are made to prove that the number of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs is such and such among the arrested persons. What could it mean?

The Ram Janambhoomi and Babri Masjid issue has been raised here several times. I would like to make a benign submission that there is no such dispute as Ram Janambhoomi Babri Masjid. It is all an obsession of your mind. People belonging to both the communities, Hindus and Muslims live in Ayodhya. This confrontation is taking place either here or in the newspapers or among those who have no business to indulge in it. Both Hindus and Muslims live in Ayodhya and they will decide this thing mutually. There is no need for people to come from thousands of miles and start a confrontation there. This is an issue which concerns Uttar Pradesh and both Hindus and Muslims living in Uttar Pradesh will themselves decide this thing. The number of our Muslim

brethern is not less there. We will ourselves sort out the issue. It has been published in the newspapers that a march will be held towards Ayodhya. If some people belonging to the Muslim community influenced by their communal feelings march towards Ayodhya and do this improper thing, do you think that the people belonging to majority community will keep quiet and sit in their homes? This is communalism. What else is communalism? Other people get instigated by such wrong utterances. Similarly, I have urged that Shri Bukhari should also stop giving these types of statements. In the rally that was held at the Boat Club, a lot of things were said to Mother India. People of the whole country worship her feet and people had sacrificed everything for the sake of Mother India during the freedom struggle. Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and the like made these sacrifices. We feel an urge to bow down our heads before these great men. Were Abdul Rahim Khan Khana, Raskhan, Jayasi and Qutab Manjhan not the Muslims? It is not advisable to say such things in the name of all Muslims. I would never like to follow those Hindus who talk of Hinduism and forget the entire Hindustan. I cannot support them. I support each and every such Indian who honours national pride. But one thing should be remembered that Ram is the symbol of this country's pride, he is not the symbol of any religion or community. We should face those people and curb them who give communal colour to Ram. These people must be punished. There is no doubt about the fact that India will be recognised in the world through Rama, Krishna, Budha, Mahavir, Guru Nanak, Kabir, Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Though Godse, who killed Gandhi was also an Indian but will India be recognised through him? No. It will be recognised through Gandhi. Godse has no value in India.

I would also like to submit that the Members who have criticised the functioning of the Government have themselves forgotten their duty. They have forgotten that Government has not done any such

[Shri Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi]

work, has not committed any atrocity which should be criticised, whether it is in regard to P.A.C., Military, Police or any officer of the Government. No one has given any encouragement to communal elements. Mentioning the name of Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, it has been said repeatedly that he provided help in this work. I would like to say that there could not be a greater untruth than this. Whether it is the question of literature, culture or that of the history, I am opposed to the idea that all the things should be decided on the basis of the situation prevalent in the country prior to 1947. This is never going to happen. India has its history of several thousands of years prior to 1947 and it will have its history in future for thousands of years. India will decide its course of action on the basis of Indian culture. I am opposed to those communal elements who incite disturbances outside the House and organise rallies but ask for a debate in the House. Outside they say that people should work against it and inside the House, they give a call for national integration. I recollect a couplet by Shri Akbar Allahabadi:

*"Kahne Ko To Mudda Kuchh Bhi  
Nahin Par Ek Akhara Kayam Hai,  
Gar Isase Falak Ka Kil Bahle Ham  
Log Tamasha Kyou Na Karen."*

There are many people today, who are engaged in the task of jeopardising the feeling of national unity and integrity with a view to maintain their leadership and to earn their livelihood. Such elements should be curbed completely. With a view to achieve this objective, if constitution has to be amended, it should be amended and if some rules are to be framed, these could be framed, but there should be no complacency to suppress such elements so that entire world could know that this is the country of Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and may respect it. That is all.

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja): Mr. Chairman,

Sir, there is no doubt that after independence, the communalism in the country has increased and it is very unfortunate that the people who rise to oppose the communalism, have themselves a feeling of communalism in their hearts and it finds expression in this House and outside as well. What happens is that when one Hindu kills a Muslim, Hindus of the entire country are dubbed as guilty and when some Muslim kills a Hindu, all the Muslims throughout the country are termed culprits. It is propagated that all the Hindus have killed the Muslims or all the Muslims have killed the Hindus. Thereafter, there is a chain of reaction in the entire country. One can understand if there is reaction at a place where incident has taken place, but its reaction takes place in Karachi. There were riots in Meerut, but hue and cry was raised in Karachi. Why did it happen? Were the Hindus living in Karachi at any fault? Such a propaganda is indulged in almost daily. People talk against communalism, but encourage it by propagating. Minor issues create the riots. Such minor issues become the national issues. For example, the riots in Meerut are taking place for only 3 yards of land. Earlier, one section of the community tried to construct a grave there, when other section of the community found that that piece of land is being occupied by some people, where there was a Pipal tree, a flag was hung on the tree and it was said that it is Pipaleshwar. In this way poor and innocent people were murdered for three yards of land. Similarly, riots in Moradabad took place, because some one drove an animal to Muslims gathered at the Idgah, which was not to the liking of Muslims. One or two persons were involved in this act, but this point was made a national issue and it was said that all the Hindus have done this act. Were all the Hindus of the entire country responsible for this or were the Hindus living in Moradabad responsible for it? Why is it happening so? People have to be educated about it. They should be told that whatever is happening is wrong. It has to be propagated and people have to be told that if one person commits a crime, he should be hanged or sent to jail, but it is not proper to

punish all the Hindus or all the Muslims for that but propaganda is made just the opposite. Today, one after the other, many Members have condemned the role of P.A.C., but I would like to ask as to why P.A.C. is being condemned. Nobody has seen P.A.C. committing such crimes. All the things are based on hearsay. Mr. Sait was saying that he was witness to these things. I would like to say that if Mr. Sait would have been on the place of the incidents, he would not have been present here to make allegations against the Police and speak against it. All the reports published in the newspapers are based on hearsay. If news reporters would have been witness to the incidents, they would not have been present here to write the reports for their papers. I would like to say that such a hue and cry is being raised on the basis of wrong reports. It has been published in the newspapers that a large number of people have been murdered in Maliyana... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Varanasi): Your argument is going opposite to what you want to say...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIR SEN: My argument is correct. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIJOY KUMAR YADAV (Nalanda): You are proving that P.A.C. has done this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VIR SEN: You are making allegations against P.A.C. (*Interruptions*).. Kindly listen to me. If this had happened as you have alleged against the P.A.C., you would not have been present in the House. This means that P.A.C. has not done this. You want to derive wrong meaning out of it? You want to make allegations in one way or the other... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajpur): When riots had taken place in Meerut last time, an All Party delegation had gone

there in consultation with the Home Minister. We had unanimously said that the happenings occurred there must be enquired into. There was no partisan opinion in that... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Minorities Commission has written on page 6 of its first report that anti-minority feelings are found in P.A.C... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

(*Interruptions*)\*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not record the interruptions. Order, please. Mr. Banatwalla, please resume your seat.

(*Interruptions*)\*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: No interruptions are to be recorded. Mr. Vir Sen, please address the Chair. Nothing else will be recorded.

(*Interruptions*)\*\*

SHRI D.N. REDDY (Cuddapah): Sir, on a point of order. This sort of conversation between each other should not be allowed on the floor of the House. Secondly, this sort of argument between Members is not going to encourage communal amity.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. There is no point of order.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIR SEN: It was said about Maliyana and Hashimpura that people were asked to stand in a queue and then they were shot dead. There cannot be a greater untruth than this, which has been said in this House. (*Interruptions*)

I was submitting to you that it was mentioned here that many people were murdered in Maliyana. I had asked the District Magistrate if any dead body found flowing in Murad Nagar Canal, had been identi-

[Shri Vir Sen]

fied as belonging to Maliyana or Hashimpura.

...(Interruptions)\*\*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please address the chair. Don't record.

[Translation]

SHRI VIR SEN: The evidence of the S.H.O. is not any evidence. It cannot be considered to be sufficient. The district Magistrate told us that no dead body has been identified as that of any person belonging to Maliyana. Their photographs have been put up there and if anybody wants to identify, he can do so. In this way there is no evidence to show that those deadbodies belonged to Maliyana or Hashimpura, but I am very sorry to find that no Member either from this side or that side has expressed balanced views. Speeches have been made here in support of Hindus or in support of Muslims, but nobody has so far spoken against the poison that was being filled in the minds of the people of Meerut city for many months and years. They were being asked to prepare for a battle and arms and ammunition were being distributed among them. At least 15 or 16 Members have already spoken, but no Member has referred to it. I would like to ask as to why no mention was made about it? On 19th May, at 4 O' Clock, a distance of 3 kms. shops were set on fire, but no Member has referred to it and has said as to who had started this thing?

Some people started arsoning and burnt down an anesthesia doctor who was going to Hapur to attend a patient. If you want to give an impartial view then why do not you condemn this act? Had the above heinous act been condemned, then I would have felt that the hon. Members from both the sides have expressed balanced view. But on the one hand, you are trying to hide a

thing and on the other hand, you want something to be highlighted—you want to boost communalism and do not want to reduce it.

The second thing I would like to submit is that as and when a debate is held on an issue, nobody goes deep into it. Speeches are delivered that there should be national integration and others should be treated sympathetically. But speeches will not end communalism. Delivering speeches will not serve the purpose. There are two reasons for this. Lust for power is the main reason for this. This is the reason that those people who cannot live on their own ability try to raise the banner of casteism. They want that banner of casteism and religion be raised. In our country people can easily be instigated in the name of religion and can be made to follow others. As such, lust for power has a major contribution to this phenomenon due to which riots take place in the country. A lot of discussion is held here to separate politics from religion and religion from politics. It is correct and it should be done, but mere saying will not serve the purpose. First of all, those political parties in the country whose members belong to a particular community should be banned. The name of Muslim League comes first in this category, followed by the Akali Dal, the Hindu Mahasabha and Vishwa Hindu Parishad etc. Besides these, organisations like the Adam Sena, Shiv Sena or other 'armies', the B.J.P. etc. which have been formed in the country should be banned. It is possible that some parties which are banned to-day may come before us in some other name tomorrow. That will be like old wine in new bottle with a changed label. Hence in order to check this tendency, a provision should be so made that only those political parties will be given recognition which have at least 30 per cent members from other communities. No other party should be recognised. In Bharatiya Janata Party, only one gentleman from Delhi belongs to some other community. I do not remember the name of that gentleman. Except him,

no one belonging to some other community is a member of that party.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I request you not to ring the bell. I have to express my views on a number of things. I am only half way through. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is over, please wind up.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Don't ask him to wind up, Sir. He would ask winding up cost.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIR SEN: What I was going to tell is that such political parties should be banned in the country which do not have at least 30 per cent members from other communities. The second most important reason behind these communal riots is the existence of discrimination and partiality. It will not be an exaggeration if it is said that though the Constitution of the country provides equal status to all, yet in reality every citizen maintains his separate status. Some are first class citizens and some other are second class citizens. We will have to eliminate these classes and will have to make arrangements to ensure that everybody is equal in the eyes of the law. It is said that justice is blind. But in our country judges see the things with wide eyes. If a Brahmin judge hears the case of a Brahmin he decides the case in favour of the Brahmin. If the judge belongs to Bania or some other caste, he shows favour to his own caste. I am saying from my own experience. This policy of partiality needs to be ended. There should be provision for awarding strong punishment to those persons who sit on the seat of justice and do partiality. No other measure will end the poison of communalism from this country. It will be possible to end communalism and bring national unification only when the evil of partiality is brought to an end and casteism is rooted out by law. It is a practice to add surname like Sharma, Gupta

etc. after the names. It should be done away with. Then Shri Indrajit Gupta will have to remain as Shri Indrajit only Until and unless this practice is given up, people will go on doing like this. If we ascertain the reasons as to why people are not prepared to give up their surname, it will be revealed that people get respect on that basis without any labour. It has been mentioned in the Manusmriti that people who have not studied the Vedas should not be given respect, should not be allowed to sit along with the Brahmins. But what I find is that people cleaning utensils are also being called Pandits.

Finally, I would like to submit only this much that if at all national integration is to be maintained and communalism is to be eliminated from this country, the practice of dual treatment and partiality has to be removed and practising of any religion has to be stopped totally. The practice of people making propaganda from mosques, temples and gurudwaras will have to be stopped. If this is not stopped, this phenomenon will continue for ever.

Since you are ringing the bell again and again I conclude with these words and express my thanks to you.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, even after 40 years of independence, people not singing the "Vande Mataram" and boycotting the Republic Day have a place in this country where people sing "Vande Mataram" as a devotional song. It is India. The hon. Members have explained as to what happened before 14th August, 1947 and what more than that is happening now. What is the reason behind it? You think communalism is increasing. It is not that the communalism is increasing. Rather it is the external forces which want both the communities to fight against each other and in this way destroy the country. If any riot takes place in Meerut, the news to this effect is broadcast first from Peshawar and Karachi. And why do these riots take place on Hindu festival days? Why no disturbances are created on a Id day or on the day

[Shri C. Janga Reddy]

of Muharram? It is the same whether it is in Hyderabad, Moradabad or Gujarat. Bullets are fired and stones are thrown from mosques at the procession of car festival passing through that area. In this connection a report has been laid just now as to how many people came from Pakistan. Their number is said to be 125. They have been put behind the bars. That is why no incident took place on Janmashtami day. In Meerut also Pakistani weapons have been seized. A large number of infiltrators have come here. It should be looked into as to how many people have come from Pakistan and Bangladesh without passports. But how did they continue to stay in Kerala for years even after period of their stay was over? Is there any account of the money coming from Kuwait and Dubai? What for this money is coming her? Do they have any affection towards us? Has anybody ever thought as to how much money is coming to Hyderabad? Just now one of our friends has told us about their intentions—"we have taken Pakistan just with a smile and will take India forcefully". Bullets are shot from mosques where worship ought to have been done. But there are no instances where bullets were fired from a temple. Shri Buta Singh, who is sitting here may tell if there has been any such incident at anytime. Today bullets are fired from mosques and gurdwaras we know as to what our C.P.M. friend and the Nambudripad Government has done just to catch votes. We forget this thing in the hope of catching votes, pleasing the people and in becoming secular.

Just now one of our colleagues from Uttar Pradesh said that people belonging to minority should be recruited in the police. What does recruiting on the basis of caste mean? People have not been recruited in violation of the provisions of the Constitution. If anybody has committed any excess, he can be removed. The Government of U.P. can be dismissed. But those who assist you and work in your interest should not be removed from service. What

crime did the P.A.C. do? Our friend was reporting to the Home Minister about the role of the P.A.C. Can anybody say as to how the people who had been reported dead returned back? It was reported that 200 people were killed in Maliyana and now 185 out of them have come back to life. What about their whereabouts during these days? Had they taken shelter in God's abode or whether they were hiding in Kashi or behind some Shiv temple? If anybody like me speaks out such things he is dubbed as a B.J.P. activist and is charged with instigating communalism. Had the Hindus been with B.J.P. it would not have been represented by a single Member in this House. It would have been in majority like the ruling party after winning the elections. This much you should keep in mind.

Just now Shri Gupta was telling that the name of one B.J.P. M.L.A. from Jamshedpur was mentioned by the Commission. He was removed from the party membership on the same day. He was not elected. Whatever you want to say is in regard to BJP, you can say. I am listening to it.

Our friend Owaisi Sahib made an insinuation against the R.S.S. people. I will tell what they had done. When Pakistan launched an attack in 1965, these RSS people served the jawans with meals and donated their blood. When people died in floods in Gujarat, the RSS people extracted their dead bodies. They helped in setting the people in Deendayal Nagar when tragedy struck in Andhra Pradesh and pulled out dead bodies from the debris. The R.S.S. people are always in the forefront to serve the people. Whenever there is war, the R.S.S. people come forward to offer their services.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do you belong to RSS?

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: We are RSS people and we are proud of it.

What are the causes of the riots that took place in 1984 during the regime of Bhaskar

Rao? Muslims-Hindus riots were instigated at the time of Ganesh festival. Who was that Hindu who instigated the riots. That Hindu is the protege of Bhaskar Rao. They should have called Assembly within a month of Ram Navami. We all M.L.As were present in Mysore at that time and we were prevented in entering into the city on the plea that curfew was in force there. People were celebrating Ganesh festival in August. They snatched away the horse belonging to the Muslims and also looted Hindus. If you see the report you can know who suffered loss most at that time. At that time Shri Owaisi was holding the umbrella of Shri Bhashkar Rao. Curfew was clamped at that time and we were prevented from entering into Hyderabad. The police prevented NTR and other M.L.As at the outskirts of the village on the plea that there was curfew in that area. We told them how curfew can be clamped during the day. They said that it could be clamped during the day also. Shri Bhashkar Rao wanted to pull on their Government somehow. This you should understand

While speaking on the riots in Meerut, reference has been made about Shishu Mandir. We know what are taught in the temple and the mosque. They teach Quran to the children between the age of 5 to 7 years. They can teach as they like but we do not teach such things in Shishu Mandir. In Andhra Pradesh, a student of Shishu Mandir stood first in 11th class. He was a Muslim. We do not teach communalism. You recite God in the same way as Hindu recite Ram. You can see in the villages. In our town about two thousand Muslims live. We participate in their Id festival and they also participate in our festivals..(*Interruptions*). Of course, I belong to RSS... (*Interruptions*). Why are you getting provoked? I would like to tell you a story. A Panditji came to us in 1952 when we were young. He showered abuses on Jan Sangh and advised us not to join Jan Sangh as it was a communal party. Jan Sangh came into existence in Andhra Pradesh only in 1965 but Panditji was too scared with Jan Sangh. He used to give false speeches at Hanamkonda in such a way that if a lie is

repeated several times, ultimately it appears to be true. I would like to say to Shri Buta Singh ji that action should be taken on the reports in regard to the communalism in accordance with the law. A few days ago a powerful bomb was found at the residence of a congress MLA in Gujarat...(*Interruptions*). I would like to say that every person should become an Indian first. There is no controversy between a Hindu and a Muslim. Whenever an issue like Bofors is raised it is said that foreign powers are creating instability in the country. The foreign powers do such things. We should try to prevent them from doing such things.

I would like to remind you that a Pakistani Programme was telecast over T.V. for 45 minutes in Hyderabad on 7th August. How it happened? How this programme was telecast from 1511 to 1600 hours? Why does this programme not shown in Delhi? Is Hyderabad nearer to Peshawar or Lahore? What are the reasons and what are the factors responsible for it? No one like to build house across the Musi river. This is a fact. You can go and see. You will find arms, bombs, radio and T.V. transmitter through which propaganda is made from foreign countries. In the event of riot in Char Minar, we do not get its news first. It is first broadcast from Peshawar radio and Lahore radio. What are the reasons of it? There are about 75 thousand Muslims in Warangal but not a single riot took place there. Warangal is a stronghold of BJP and RSS. Actually, there are persons who instigate riots and try to put blame on others. No riot occurs in Nalgonda. But where Shri Owaisi gives speech, riots take place there... (*Interruptions*). If they win corporation election, there is no riots and if they lose, riots take place. For the sake of seeking votes, they say that Muslims are in danger. You go to Nalgonda or Karimnagar and see how they construct commercial complex there. How can this happen. They cannot widen the road but can construct commercial complex. Whether it is a temple or mosque, we do this work for maintaining leadership. They sometimes strike deal with the congress

[Shri C. Janga Reddy]

and sometimes with the opposition. Why they had dismissed the Government of Shah in Kashmir? Someone said to Shri Rajiv Gandhi that temple had been demolished there. Now why Farooq Abdullah has been brought to power again? They are playing this type of politics. Prof. Soz has left..... (*Interruptions*).

15.01 hrs.

[SHRI VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN *in the Chair*]

AN HON. MEMBER. Shri Soz Sahib is sitting there ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: They turned me out and they turned out NTR also. We have been united to oust Rajiv Gandhi.....(*Interruptions*).. This is the politics. They want to strike deal. They are the persons who believe in running politics by causing bloodshed and spreading violence. They should be identified for the sake of saving the country. We also want this. We are not against it. They were pointing to Sikandar Bakht and Arif Beg Sahib. Instead of doing themselves such bad things, they instigate others to do these things. We say proper thing. We know our every topic is in regard to Khalistani terrorist:.. A number of BJP men were killed. Who worked for the protection of Sikhs.....

AN HON. MEMBER: A sense of communalism has been created..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: Panditji used to be afraid of us in 1952 when we have not heard of Jan Sangh. They made propaganda in 1952 not to vote for Jan Sangh..... (*Interruptions*) ..... Communists also died..... I am not saying this. There are good as well as bad persons everywhere .... (*Interruptions*).....

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Persons belonging to communist, Congress, Akali and BJP Parties all had to lose their lives in the trouble in Punjab..... (*Interruptions*).....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: All are united in dying.... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: We are not concerned how many persons belonging to some parties died. We are telling you what the RSS men are doing. Buta Singhji regard them as fundamentalist and revolutionist. People come for self defence and die .....(*Interruptions*).....

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: Tell me who is secular?

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: Yours party is also not secular. You gave a district to the Muslim to remain in power. We were arrested in Trivandrum while leading agitation against Nomboodripad. We are staunch secular.

AN HON. MEMBER. Is B.J.P. secular?

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: BJP is a secular party. There are a number of Muslims in our party. In rural areas a big chunk of Muslims are with us. They remain in the ruling party for their self interest. They support the Government which is in power. Do you know how many Muslims are there in the Telegu Desam Party? That is why I am saying not to level charges on others but try to improve themselves. The speakers gave threats in their speeches at the rally held at boat club. When such type of speeches were made there, what action have you taken against them? They called for boycott of Republic Day. To which party they belonged. He was All India Secretary of a party.

AN HON. MEMBER: Tell the name.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: There is no need to tell the name. Only they want votes. They had not been sacked from the party for the sack of votes. They should keep the Members of their party in discipline and not to throw mud on others. They should identify such persons who are indulging in these things and sternest action should be taken against them.

Bells should not be rung in the temples in such a way that its sound comes out of the temple. Similarly use of mikes should not be allowed in the mosques. In our State, the Andhra Pradesh Government did not allow to organise the procession which is taken out once in a year. Even then those people took out the procession and Shri N.T. Rama Rao had to lead it. I would also like to say that the Muslims spread communalism for the sake of votes. You might have noticed that communalism erupts at the time of election. This is done for the sake of votes and keeping the Government in power. In Kerala recently, the C.P.M. workers misled the Hindus there and raised slogans of Indianization just to seek votes from the people.

In the end, I want to submit that the country is greater than the Government and we have the highest esteem for our country.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

PROF. K. V. THOMAS (Ernakulam): This august House is discussing about the communal disturbances in the country for the last few days. Our Prime Minister, in his Independence Day speech was mainly aiming against the communal forces which try to divide the country. This shows how our nation is worried about communalism which has taken a violent and monstrous shape. I am wondering how our land of Shri Buddha, Shri Shankaracharya and Mahatma Gandhi is under the turmoil of communal violence. I also wonder how *Bharatha Varsha* which has a glorious heritage of religious tolerance and where all religions of the world like Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity have embraced one another has become the land of communal violence.

I would like to raise a simple and basic question, whether our people are communal? My answer is emphatically, no. Even though the average Indian is highly reli-

gious, he is not communal. Many of the speakers who participated in this discussion over the last few days have brought out a large number of examples where, during communal violence, Hindu brothers have saved their Muslim brethren, and Hindu brothers have saved their Sikh brothers.

I know a large number of Hindus going to the mosque; I know a large number of Muslims who go to the temple, and I know a large number of Christians who go both to the temple and to the mosque. This shows that the average Indian, be he a Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, is taught to worry about his earning a livelihood than to bother about the relative merits of various religions. He prays to God to keep himself alive, rather than to keep his religion alive

When we analyze the communal violence that has taken place in our country, we cannot ignore certain factors. Some places have experienced the wrath of communal violence just as a cancer in the body politics. One reason for this is the part played by our political parties. In our polity, a large number of communal, regional and other forces have stepped in. We know very well that even though many of the political parties claim that they are above communal considerations and above communal forces, when candidates for the elections are decided upon, they first study which community is the largest in a particular constituency, and then put up a candidate whose community happens to be the majority in that constituency. This is a bare fact. All the political parties in this country give more consideration to the majority of the voters in a particular constituency, than to the merit of the candidates.

In Kerala, we have the experience of different types of United Fronts. One election is just over. In the last election itself, both the United Fronts had said: "We are above communal forces; we will not give any weightage to these communal factors." But it is a clear fact that the election was fought in Kerala on a communal basis. These are the facts. Why I am pointing out

[Prof. K.V. Thomas]

these facts is that in Kerala where the percentage of literacy is the highest, in that State also during the elections it is actually the basis of our democratic system. Instead of looking into the merits of the candidates, very often all the political parties have gone to see to which community the candidate belongs. They take into account the total number of voters, then they find out what is the percentage of Hindus—and among Hindus, people belonging to which sub-division are there; and among Christians, people belonging to which sub-division are there. When the Ministry is formed also, whether led by the UDF or LDF, they give more importance to the different communities which have to be given representation.

In the present Ministry itself, in order to give a representation to a particular community, they have increased the strength of the Ministry. This is how our political parties give importance to the communal elements. Unless political parties take a bold decision that they will not encourage these communal forces, communal practice, our nation cannot survive.

Then I come to undue publicity given by our media especially the newspapers. There was an incident in Kerala a few years back. Christians and Hindus are living together as brothers. When that incident took place, Government called all the editors of all the newspapers and told them that no newspaper would give any news on that particular incident. But all the newspapers fought for how much coverage could be given to this particular incident. You can find out when a communal violence will take place. Many of our national dailies are giving too many stories which are worse than the rumour spread by ordinary people. So, our national dailies, which are the 4th pillar of democracy, have to take a vow that they will not give undue publicity to communal violence.

Timely action has to be taken by the police force and other law enforcing agen-

cies. This has been discussed at length in this House. Our police men should be given a special training so that they can control this communal violence. Otherwise, instead of solving these problems, they are creating more problems.

We are always thinking for a new education policy, and in this education policy we are to give more importance to how all the communities can live together. In Kerala I know that there is a campus where we have got a Church, a mosque and a temple; and all the people go to that Church, mosque and the temple. In our new education policy, students, the coming generation should be taught how all the religions can co-exist together. We have a very glorious heritage where we have shown to the world how different religions can live together.

[*Translation*]

DR. CHANDRA SHEKHAR TRIPATHI (Khalilabad): Mr Chairman, Sir, there cannot be two opinions regarding the fact that Kabir, the great saint, lived in this country who preached the values of unity and humanity to the whole world. It is true that our country is the land of Lord Rama and Lord Krishna where inequality does not exist. Tulsidasji said--

*"Daihi, daivik, bhowtik tapa,  
Ramraj kahuh nahin vyapa.  
Harshit rahenhi nagar ke loga,  
Karhi  
Sakal sur durlabh-bhoga."*

In the Ram Rajya, there were no discriminations. All were equal. There was plenty of everything. There was no question of caste at all. In this land, persons like Mahatma Gandhi were born to preach truth, non-violence and tolerance to the people but it is a matter of regret that in such a huge country a handful of undesirable elements, goondas and antisocial elements, are ruining the lives of thousands of people thus depriving them of their source of livelihood and yet we are not paying sincere attention to them. Has anyone

asked those people who are anit-national elements, who challenge the peace of the society and who incite people and communal and linguistic lines that.

*"Tumhari sar-pasandi se kate hein  
kitne sar socho,  
Jale hein kitne ghar, iska tumhen  
ahsas kya hoga.  
Bahalo khoon sarakon par magar  
itna to socho tum,  
Vatan jab khoon mangegar, tum-  
hare pass kya hoga?"*

I have to say it with regret that our hon. Members have discussed the subject of communal riots in great details but they did not try to find out the causes as to why communal riots take place again and again only at certain places like Meerut, Moradabad and Aligarh. There are certain villages in the district which I represent, where 90 percent of the population is Muslim and only 10 percent is Hindu and there are certain other villages where 95 percent of the people are Hindu and only 5 percent are Muslim but I have never seen any communal riots there. I am sorry to say that ordinary Hindu-Muslim clashes are being given a communal colour by some hon. Members in this House. The Muslims support the Muslims and the Hindus support their own community. In spite of this apparent show of solidarity have you not seen that in times of crisis people belonging to the same community rarely help each other. When children of Muslims or Hindus die of hunger or they cannot get married due to the paucity of money, the people of the same community do not show any concern. But small disputes divide the people totally on communal lines and Hindus and Muslims form their own separate blocks. What can be more unfortunate and shameful thing for this country?

Certain very senior and experienced Members have suggested that collective fine should be imposed on people of both communities of a place where such riots occur occasionally. I strongly oppose this suggestion. In reality, only a handful of goonda elements who are not more than 10 or 15 in number are responsible for

creating communal riots at a particular place. You should identify such persons, draw up a list of their names, award strict punishment to them like hanging them or burying them alive but the innocent people should not be penalised by way of imposing collective penalty. If they have to pay such taxes then from where can they get the money to look after their homes and cattle? This suggestion is not reasonable and I oppose it strongly. I want to request the Government and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that as in the case of thieves and other criminals, a list of names is drawn up in every police station, so also in the case of such persons who incite communal riots, give inflammable speeches, erect barriers between peoples or create feelings of hatred, a list of their names should be prepared and Constitution should be amended to provide the most stringent punishment to them. This is my demand. Besides, every one had opposed the proposal of sending P.A.C. there in one voice. I and Professor Sahib were the first to visit that place and I want to draw his attention. Who started those riots? Hundreds of houses were destroyed and an equal number of people were killed in them. Who started this violence? Who killed a person riding on a scooter? Who did that? If P.A.C. was not available there some other Police Force, para-military force or B.S.F. would have been sent there. Should those persons be garlanded for their deeds? If we had gone there, we would have attacked the rioters and driven them off. But whatever the PAC had done was just in retaliation and in self defence as they were attacked by the rioting mobs. I strongly support their action. If this action is supported by all the people of our country, these goondas will not have the courage to strike again in a similar way. Did the Police, the Government, the P.A.C. made the mistake by giving them timely help when they sought for it? This flame is still burning and will continue to burn until the whole country unites in condemning such action and demands the most stringent punishment for them. Everyone should cooperate in this regard. This country belongs to us all. It does not belong to any

[Shri Chandra Shekhar Tripathi]

particular community but to every citizen of this country. We are all the children of this nation. No discrimination has ever been made on any ground in this country.

The first words of our Vedas are:

"Sarve Bhavantu Sukhina,  
Sarve Santu Niramayah"

This means that all the people should be happy and healthy and should enjoy all the amenities in life. This is not the slogan of today but this has been our motto since the time immemorial and since the man was born on this earth. Mr. Chairman, Sir, whenever a discussion on communal situation, has been held in this House, the issue of Ram's birth place and Babari Masjid has always been raised. We have always accepted the supremacy of the judiciary in our country and we give respect to the judiciary. Whenever any citizen finds that he or she is being deprived of his or her rights or injustice is being done to him or her, he or she can seek redressal from the judiciary. Any person can go to the courts and all the persons have a right to go to the courts. The issue of Ram's birth place and Babri Masjid remained pending in the court for quite a long time. Now if the court has given some judgement and if it appears to be wrong should we incite all the people? If court has not considered certain points and has ignored them, you should have gone for an appeal against it rather than indulging in an agitation throughout the country or inciting of religious feelings among the people. In our country, persons of a particular caste are being incited in the name of religion and they are being called upon to come under one banner. Various types of senas are being formed. At the meeting at Boat Club, the very existence of this country is being challenged. In my view, perhaps no body would support such actions and no Member would hold it justified. In my view, efforts should be made to solve this issue by holding a Panchayat. As the case is pending in the court, instead of inciting the

feelings of the people, all Hindus and Muslims should put forward all their points before the court. If we create communal tension by inciting the religious feelings of the people, it would not be in the interest of anybody and I am of the firm view that we will never be able to solve this problem.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government to one more point and which is a fact. Perhaps the Government may show a little hesitation in accepting it, but in many states of our country, illegal arms are being collected in every house and specially in the areas bordering Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh, illegal arms are being collected on a very large scale in every house and in every village. One, two or three countrymade pistols and guns are collected in every house. Mischievous elements use these arms in the situation of communal tension. I would like to request that Government should thoroughly search each and every house collectively in these areas and the persons found in possession of illegal arms should be sentenced to death. Under the present law in case of recovery of illegal arms, there is provision of Rs. 200 or 250/- as fine and imprisonment upto 6 months. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister that this provision should be strengthened by amending the law and in such cases, there should be a provision of a fine of lakhs of rupees and imprisonment for a longer duration so that the tendency of the undesirable elements to collect illegal arms could be checked.

I would like to draw your attention to one more point. In the House, the issue of minorities and the majority community is raised time and again, but as a matter of fact, such issues should not be raised, because in the riots, actually the minorities and the majority community are not involved. Goondas and unsocial elements hatch a deep conspiracy in the riots. I would, therefore, like to request that instead of raising the issue of minorities and majority community. We should consider as to who are the persons responsible for creating a rift between Hindus and

Muslims and after going through such causes we should try to remove them. Sir, one of the greatest philosophers of this country, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan had once said:

[English]

Let the rich put their houses in order, the poor are bound to follow them."

[Translation]

I would like to request that the big people in the society should provide a lead in this matter, whether they belong to political field, social field, economic field or any other field, they should not provide protection to the communal elements, but instead, they should co-operate in developing communal harmony. Unless we dealing sternly with communal elements, we would not be able to do away with this evil. With these words, I express my thanks to you for giving me time to speak.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Chairman, Sir, while concluding his speech, Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait has appealed that all of us should live unitedly, harmoniously and peacefully. I would also like to associate myself with his appeal, but, in the beginning of his speech he said that in all the riots that have taken place since 1947, atrocities have been committed on Muslims and they have always been victimised. I would like to amend his statement a little bit that in all the riots that have taken place since 1947, neither Hindus, nor Muslims have been victimised, but actually the poor and the weaker section of the society have been victimised. Atrocities are committed on the weaker section of the society and if anybody is benefited, it is the rich and influential people. Therefore, whenever riots take place, the Hindus communal forces of Muslim communal forces are behind such riots. In both the cases some influential person is certainly involved and it is very unfortunate that some influential persons, who are responsible for riots, come forward to take maximum advantage from riots and call

themselves the leaders of one section or the other.

Sir, a number of hon. Members have spoken about the riots in Meerut and everybody is pained over the naked play of violence there. The manner in which the innocent bus passengers were dragged on the road and killed, can not be held to be correct by any person and nobody can tolerate such an incident. This incident is a blot on the name of democracy and secularism. No words are sufficient to condemn it, but I would like to submit here that whereas on one hand, people indulged in beastly behaviour, on the other hand some people showed humanitarian behaviour also and it would have been better if our some colleagues including Sulaiman Sait Saheb would have referred to that humanitarian behaviour. That bright aspect should also have been mentioned. If it would have been mentioned, it would have very salutary effect. I understand the anger and the pain of the people and keeping this in view, I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to conduct a thorough enquiry about the causes for riots in Meerut. This enquiry should not be confined to ascertain the number of Hindus and Muslims who had been killed as also about the damage that has been done, but enquiry should also be held as to how the riots in Meerut began. The enquiry should not be held simply to go into the dark deeds of P.A.C. alone, but it should also be found as to how and from where people got the telescopic rifles. It should be ascertained as to how and from which source, such dangerous weapons were supplied there, which were used to terrorise the innocent people.

If we carefully go through the news reports, one thing that clearly emerges is that had the P.A.C. and the U.P. Government not taken effective steps in time, Meerut would have been the scene of mass killings. The riots in Meerut are the result of a well-planned conspiracy. The communal forces within the country were, no doubt, behind that conspiracy but they were not alone in this act. There were some forces

[Shri Harish Rawat]

from outside the country which too had a hand in it. How did they get foreign made arms within the country? Today, nobody is in a position to pinpoint the origin of the riots. Who were the leaders of the rioters? How did they acquire arms? Sir, such arms were smuggled not only into Meerut. They found their way into Allahabad too. Arms were stockpiled, and that too in large quantity, in Allahabad also which did not witness a communal riot before. Sometimes, the administration comes handy to us for criticism. It is very easy to condemn any armed force or para-military force. I am not the admirer of the P.A.C. When the P.A.C. had resorted to indiscriminate firing in Morababad, we had condemned them. It is just possible that some stray cases of atrocity might have occurred in Meerut also, but it is also true that had the P.A.C. not tackled the situation firmly, Meerut would have witnessed a still bigger blood-bath. It is very easy to blame the Government of Uttar Pradesh, but one must realise the much difficult task which the State Government has to face. On the one hand, there were Hindu Communalist forces which were out to vitiate the atmosphere in the entire State in the garb of religion and on the other there were some people who posed themselves as the messiah of Muslims and were hell bent to worsen the situation in Meerut. They went there time and again and tried to spread poison among the people by issuing provocative statements so that the rage could engulf the entire State and turn it into ashes.

A number of friends have made a mention of Babri Masjid and Ram Janambhoomi. We do not know whether Lord Rama was born there or not; we do not know the actual position, but we do know about the situation prevailing there. Today Babri Masjid and Ram Janambhoomi issue is growing like a sinus on the heart of India. Therefore, the Government should go in for a timely remedy. It would have been better had we invited all sensible persons belonging to all communities for talks

soon after the judgement was delivered by the court, so as to improve the situation. Now when the people are engaged in trying to fan the communal fire, there can be only one solution to this issue which the Government must implement firmly; i.e. to declare the disputed place a national monument. What is hitch there in declaring the place a national monument which otherwise is causing harm to the people in the whole country?

We have many places to offer prayers. Where we fold our hands, it is a temple and where we bow our heads, it is a mosque because neither the Muslims nor the Hindus know where exactly is the abode of Allah or Lord. But those who are creating friction between Hindus and Muslim in the name of God or Allah are in fact, instrumental in beheading their own brethren. They are a blot on the country. Therefore, I would submit that we must take some decision courageously on the issue of Babri Masjid. The second steps which I suggest is that we have to firmly crush the communal elements whether they are Hindus or Muslims.

Just now, Shri Vir Sen has said a very good thing that as long as there remains an organisation in the country in the name of religion, such as, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, R.S.S., Bhartiya Janata Party, as long as such people remain in the politics, they would continue to poison the minds of the people. It applies to Muslim League and Akali Dal as well. Whatever may have been the past history of Akali Dal, but the situation in which the Akali Dal finds itself today and the acts that are being committed by some people in the name of Akali Dal should suffice the Akali Dal to feel ashamed of. Therefore, the political parties based on religion should be banned. If we do not do that, believe me, it will be very easy to play politics in the name of religion. To practise politics in the name of economic policy or in the name of social service is a very difficult task. There should be no place in any political party whether it is Janata Party or the BJP., for those who incite the

sentiments in the name of religion or practise caste-based politics.

Accusations are made against the Congress Party as well, but I would like to say forcefully that had Congress not been there and had it not come forward to implement its secular policies firmly, the country would have been divided on the basis of religion. Therefore, to condemn the Chief Minister of a particular State simply because he happens to belong to the Congress Party is in itself improper. So far as the State Government of Uttar Pradesh is concerned, it is facing the religions fanaticism firmly even today. By condemning the State Government at such a juncture, you are encouraging the forces which spread religious fanaticism.

With these words, I would request the hon Home Minister to firmly come forward at this critical hour to sternly deal with the elements which spread religious fanaticism

[English]

MR CHAIRMAN: Shri M.S. Gill. 4 minutes please. In fact, there was no time to call you.

SHRI M S GILL (Ludhiana): I am sorry, I would not be able to say in 4 minutes

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then, please resume your seat. The Minister will reply.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Mr. Chairman, there are still a few of us who would like to say something.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right. We have given enough time to discuss this issue.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: The hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs had promised to us that there shall be exhaustive debate.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT): This has been discussed for over 9 hours.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: The debate can be carried on to Monday, if necessary. That is what the hon. Minister told me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Normally under rule 193, the time allotted is only 2 hours. But in this particular case, we have taken more than 9 hours.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I am not speaking on a technical point. I am speaking with a very heavy heart in the interest of the country.

PROF. N.G. RANGA: We have carried on for too long and it is not good for us to carry on any further. Enough of poison has been vomitted here. What more do you want?

SHRI M.S. GILL (Ludhiana): Mr. Chairman, some of the speeches made here today have actually distressed me very much. I feel, if these speeches have actually reflected the minds and thinking of the people outside this august House, then all this debate is nothing but mental gymnasium. I participating in this debate with this objective, with this view in mind. A lot of points have been argued here. But the basic point which has been in the minds of the people is, the communal hatred has been practised here for the last one century and this communal hatred has actually destroyed the very fabric of our nation. This is the point which we have to think over. How to get out of the situation and how to take certain steps so that we can go forward as one nation? This point has not been brought forward. We have been pointing out accusing fingers on one or the other.

This is the country, Mr. Chairman, where for centuries together Sages, Saints, Gurus, Shankaracharis, Suffis and all sorts of people, thinkers and poets have come and preached communal harmony and they have been preaching for days together and years together. But what is the result? This is the country where all these sermons, sacred sermons, even after centuries of these teaching, have failed to act upon the

[Shri M.S. Gill]

minds of the people. This is the country, Mr. Chairman, where religion has been drastically misinterpreted and miserably misunderstood. So, this is the point we have to take into consideration. Bhagat Kabir came here and taught the principles of sacred Quran Sharif to the people and told them in his own language:

*Awaal Alla noor upaya, Kudrat ke sab bande*

*Ek noor se sab jag upja, Kaun bhale kaun mande.*

These things were taught in the streets of Northern India. Guru Nanak, along with his disciple, Mardana, a Muslim, roamed about the length and breadth of this country for a period of 21 years and gave the message of love and affection and oneness of God to the people.

Then again, Guru Govind Singh had to stand up and way:

*Kou bhyo mundia Sanyasi Kou jogi bhayo*

*Kou brahmchari, Kou Jatiyam manvo*

*Hindus Turk Kou, Rapji aman saafi manas ki jaan sabe ek hi pahichanvo kurta karim soi, raajak rahim wahi isron bhaid koi, mool bhram manvo.*

This message was given even when he was facing the swords during his time.

This was the message which Dr. Iqbal gave:—

*"Mazhab Nahin Sikhata aapus mein ber rakhna*

*Hindi hein hum watan hai, hindustan hamara."*

In all these messages, what is the result? The result is, as we have seen year after year, toddlers, infants, women, weak persons and old and sick people, are being sent down the drain of death at the altar of this communal frenzy and property worth crores is being lost every year and people are being looted and murders, arsons, gang rapes, are being committed in the

name of communal frenzy. These are being done. After all, we have to think over it. What is the cause of it? We do not think about the causes. We have to look into the cause of this disease. The cause is very simple. One is a historical cause. In the Hindu mind of India, it is very much entrenched there, that the historical raiders, Gajnabi and Mohd. Gouri and others came to India, looted the property and spoiled the honour of the people and took away along with them even the womenfolk of these people.

Secondly, they were declared Mlechhas by the Hindus because they were raiders.

We have to take this idea out of our minds and we have to make certain strides in this direction.

The Muslims were the rulers of this country for some time and the Muslim brothers have got this idea in their minds that they have been the rulers of this country.

This contradiction in the minds of the people of India continues even after 40 years of independence.

Unless a huge effort by the ruling party and the Government is made to remove these ideas from the minds of the people and re-write the history of India, this evil of communal frenzy cannot be removed.

We have to implement the suggestions of the various Commissions including the Minorities Commission, the National Integration Council and we have to implement the 15 Points. If this is not done, then there is no possibility of getting out of this rut.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): Hon. Chairman, Sir, this is the third day in succession that this august House is engaged in a very serious debate on a very important problem facing the country. We had a very serious discussion and to a large extent the hon. Members

nave tried to raise above the party politic to express their views by treating it as a national problem.

Keeping in view the present day circumstances it is evident that even after 40 years of Independence, communalism continues to be a blot on the glorious future of the country. This is not at all proper in the present context. First, we should have taken a lesson from the freedom struggle as a result of which the Father of Nation Mahatma Gandhi, gave us an ideology and philosophy which is reflected in the constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly. In my opinion, the Indian Constitution is the result of our experiences of 100 years. It embodies all the experiences gained during freedom struggle and it reflects the sentiments of all the sections of the people. Not only this, the Constitution reflects the aspirations of those martyrs and Patriots who went to the gallows in hundreds and faced bullets dreaming of this day. If anything reflects their aspirations, it is the Constitution. If all the parties unanimously decide after this discussion that come what may, they will not violate the Constitution, I can say, we will be able to do away with communalism and casteism from the country. As I said in the beginning this is a national problem and we cannot blame one particular party for this. It does not behove us because there is no such political party which can claim that it has high ideals so far as political power is concerned and it has tried its best to wipe out communalism. Had it been so, the ghost of communalism would not have taken such a gigantic form today. The need of the hour, therefore, is to follow the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Baba Saheb Ambedkar who gave us guidance through the Constituent Assembly. I am confident that only then, we will be able to deal with communalism in an effective way and solve this problem.

I am grateful to all the hon. Members who participated in this debate particularly, Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia, the mover of this debate, who drew the atten-

tion of the House and the country to this problem. While participating in the debate Shri Indrajit Gupta went to the root of the problem and highlighted all the issues seriously. I think the views expressed by Sarvashri Shyam Lal Yadav, Zainul Basher and other hon. Members were inspired by those very sentiments which I had expressed. In our last meeting with the opposition leaders, under the chairmanship of Hon. Prime Minister, we took important decisions regarding communalism. The most important decision that we took was, that the present situation cannot improve merely through administrative measures. It is true that administrative measures are very important. We have to assault communalism through people's intervention. We have to organise people leaving aside party politics because it is the poor and the common man irrespective of caste and class who suffers irreparable loss in these riots, wherever they take place. Therefore, at the very outset we shall have to launch a national movement wherein people will have to be made aware and organised and efforts will be made therein to seek people's intervention. Those of us who are dedicated to the cause of the nation, irrespective of party affiliations, should come forward and join the movement.

During the discussion many hon. Members made insinuated remarks. Shri Sait Saheb said that our country is multi-religious and multi-national. I do not agree with him. No doubt, it is multi-religious because everyone has his own religion and I am not against it.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I never said like this.

S. BUTA SINGH: I will read out what you have said. I have noted it. If you have not said, it is a good thing.

[English]

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I said multi-lingual, multi-racial.

S. BUTA SINGH: You said, multi-national.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: No, I did not say that. I said, multi-religious, multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-cultural.

[*Translation*]

S. BUTA SINGH: If you have not said it, I agree with your sentiments and I think it is good also. When we go into the reasons of riots we find such sentiments there and that is why I thought that ideology of someone may be behind it.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Nobody can say like this.

S. BUTA SINGH: We are multi-religious and multi-cultural. But to say multi-national will be a treason in the present day context. We have one nationality and nobody should pass any remark or comment against it. This is absolutely wrong. Nobody will be allowed to do so.

Shri Mewa Singhji and others said that poet Iqbal's couplets remind us that we are Indians first, irrespective of the religion to which we belong or the ideology which we follow. We are Indian first and something else after it.

[*English*]

PROF. N.G RANGA (Guntur): Whatever may be the language

S. BUTA SINGH: Language or race or culture or region or anything.

[*Translation*]

My first and foremost religion is that we are Indians first and then anything else.

I was submitting that if this problem is to be solved it can be done through people's intervention. When we refer to people everybody is included in it. It is most regrettable that when Muslims are affected by riot, only muslim volunteers and organisation

come forward for their help. Why should not all go for their help? First of all there should be no riots and in case it happens then all the people of that city, district or village irrespective of caste and creed should go for their help. Why only people of that particular community should go for their help? There should be no differentiation between a Hindu doctor or Muslim doctor. Doctor is doctor and anyone can go to him.

16.00 hrs.

Besides, there are sensitive areas which should be identified. There is need to ponder over their problems seriously. The entire community should celebrate festivals whether it is Id, Ramlila, Dussehra, Barsakhi, Janamashtami, Guru-parb etc. All of us should celebrate it together so that bitterness is wiped out. Being sons of the same nation why should we not celebrate it together? The issues of that area should be solved beforehand. Mohalla and district consultative committees should be set up and these should decide about the route of the procession at least six months in advance and the entire programme should be implemented with each other's cooperation. This can be done only through people's intervention...(*Interruptions*)

16.01 hrs.

[MR DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: How can this be done?

S. BUTA SINGH: For that all the political parties will have to formulate a plan of action together, we have prepared it and we had taken all of you in confidence. Prof. Sahib is aware of it. As soon as the session began, I had asked for a discussion that we can do it at a later date. We are ready for this purpose, we are ready to forget party's policy.

[*English*]

Administration will be given by the Government. If it is Government of India,

we will provide it, if it is West Bengal, CPI(M) should provide it, if it is Jammu & Kashmir, National Conference will provide it. Every Government, every party must participate in that. They should take it up as their responsibility. This is the only way.

[*Translation*]

We may be administratively efficient but unless we involve the people in this endeavour nothing will happen. I have myself seen in the Meerut riots, I used to appeal to the Muslim brethren, but nobody came forward. It was because they had lost confidence. Had there been a people's Intervention Forum there was no reason why they would not have come forward. The people should have confidence in the institutions and the administration. I would like to remind Shri Indrajit Gupta that this can be done only when the political parties who claim to be progressive and secular, try to involve the people in the institutions and administration. Why does not his party, which claims to be leftist and non-believer in any religion come forward and join hands with us. We are ready to cooperate. Let us not make it a prestige issue. We want that a national forum or a morcha should be formed to achieve this goal....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: PAC is also part of the administration.

S. BUTA SINGH: I will come to that. I was trying to list out the way in which it should be done. You said that there was no political will.

[*English*]

What more do you want? We are willing to cooperate. We are willing to participate. We are willing to mobilise the entire administration of the country behind this. Let us finish this cancer from the roots of our country. This can be done only through the people's participation. I throw this invitation to the Leaders of the Opposition that let us do this. Let us forget about party politics in this. There can't be any barrier,

there can't be any party lines. Let us do it. And the time has come if we don't wake up.

[*Translation*]

The giant of communalism and country's unity and integrity....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: You have rightly said. But to say that we should forget party politics is not right. Instead, party politics should be such that if there is any disturbance, like in Meerut, all parties should come forward and forget their affiliations and try to intervene in the situation and inspire the people.

S. BUTA SINGH: You forget that I have appealed to you because the principles of your party are such. I do not think you have reservations about the principles of your party....(*Interruptions*) You carry us along. Our manifesto should lay stress to wipe out communalism through people's intervention...(*Interruptions*)....

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: You have not allowed to go till date even delegation of the MPs....(*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: If I am saying a good thing, that means you will not do that because of the earlier episode. Secondly, I think...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is a good sermon for the future.

S. BUTA SINGH: Not a sermon, I am giving concrete suggestions. You had said in your speech:

[*English*]

"The Government lacks the will." We have the will. We come forward. We give this invitation to all those secular and progressive parties to come forward to finish this cancer of communalism from the roots of our national unity.

[*Translation*]

I want to draw the attention of the House

[S. Buta Singh]

to the fact that the Government is ready to give full cooperation to all such fora which believe in secularism in real sense. We want that such fora should create good will and a feeling of unity in each mohalla and colony. We want to work unitedly. The Hon. Prime Minister has said that we should prepare a plan of action on national level and that has been prepared.

[English]

I am waiting for the day the leaders of the opposition could sit together and finalise that plan of action. We are prepared to launch a country wide *Morcha* against communalism.

[Translation]

Shri Indrajit has said that this Government is not taking any initiative in the matter of Babari Mosque and Ram Janam Bhumi, Just now Shri Naresh Chander Chaturvedi has told in detail that the local people do not want interference from outsiders. The people there have lot of mutual cooperation. They want that the local problems should be sorted out by themselves. Even then the Government of India has constituted a Cabinet Sub-Committee. I told Shri Shahabuddin, Shir Jafer Sharif, Shri Suleiman Sait, Shri Khurshid Alam whosoever came to me I told him that a Cabinet Sub-Committee has been constituted which is having constant liaison with the Uttar Pradesh Government and all those who have been showing interest in this matter. We will give cooperation. Whatever suggestions have been given here we welcome them. We want that unless it is convenient to the local people, howsoever big that decision may be, it is not going to work and that will not be proper. We are ready to implement the decision which is convenient to them. This has now become a country-wide issue. I am of the view that the communal people have played the politics and have made it country-wide by taking out processions etc. This has proved to be very harmful. We will not tolerate these things anymore. What has not been

said in the Boat Club Rally? The Government of India wants that no one, howsoever big person or priest he may be, can be allowed to say things which are harmful to the unity of the country. We will not allow any community to hurt the feelings of the other communities. We will give full protection. They should not think that they are not being trusted and their problem is not being considered at the national level. All these things were submitted before the Cabinet Sub-Committee. We want to cooperate with the local people and want that some such solution should be found out with the help of the people and the Chief Minister concerned which is acceptable to all and no one is disappointed. You have talked about administrative measures. My colleague Shri Chidambaram rushed to Meerut as soon as the news came to us. Member of Parliament from that area and our colleague Shrimati Mohsina Kidwai also reached there. I myself reached there alongwith the Chief Minister. We kept a constant vigil on the situation and monitored Police Authorities, District Authorities, CRPF etc. till the situation in Meerut was brought under control. Many difficulties had to be faced in this regard. One main difficulty was that certain local newspapers indulged in rumour mongering with the result that whatever good was achieved used to be washed away and the situation used to deteriorate further. Through this House I appeal to the friends from the Press that as a result of riots a very dangerous and harmful situation arises in the country; the innocent children, women, elderly and young persons all are killed and innumerable persons have to go to jails. A sort of madness, a frenzy arises among the people which has not rationale at all. The Press should play a very constructive role in it. If the Press instead, stokes the fire, these riots will never end. It is regretful that a handful of people arouse the communal feelings of the people by publishing such news or pictures which further fan the fire. Incidents of Hashimpur and Maliyana were mentioned here. Judicial enquiry has already been started in the case of Maliyana incidents and the same is going to be started for

Hashimpur also. It will not be proper to say anything before Enquiry Report is received because that can be prejudicial to the enquiry. But this much I can say that with the receipt of the Report our effort will be to take expeditious action on the findings. Though it is a State subject and the action has also to be taken by the State Government, we will make such arrangements that such incidents do not occur again. It is a matter of regret that such Reports are received very late and secondly, as the State Governments have to take action on them, delay occurs some time because of this also. The result of all this is that the guilty people become fearless and when some riots erupts again, the situation becomes all the more dangerous.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Interim Report might have already been received by you. Initiate action on that.

S. BUTA SINGH: The final report is likely to be submitted tomorrow and we think that on receipt of final report effective implementation may be done and strict action may be taken as has been suggested. I have talked to the Chief Minister today. Many hon. Members have asked as to why we do not get the cases scrutinised expeditiously by constituting special courts. The Chief Minister was agreeable with me on this issue. In a given situation, the special courts can be constituted and the matters settled expeditiously so that no guilty person, whether he is in the Government or out of it goes scot free. Only then people will learn a lesson not to indulge in such activities in future.

As in the beginning, in reply to Shri Indrajit Gupta's speech, I had said that peace committees should not only be constituted mohalla-wise, village-wise or state-wise, a peace committee should be constituted, as has been suggested by one hon. Member, on national level. Peace committee may immediately go there and help the administration and the affected people. It will get our full cooperation. So far as 15 Point Programme formulated by Shrimati Indira Gandhi for the help of the poor is

concerned, we have sent its revised version to all the states. A special cell to monitor this programme has been set up in the Home Ministry; it will oversee whether it is being properly implemented in the states or not.

So far as the Central Police Organisation is concerned, though all the State Governments have been asked to ensure that a special police force should be available to curb the riots in their states which should have special training and should be capable of controlling the situation arising out of riots etc. because our regular police force has lesser experience of facing such situation as training to cope up such situations has not been imparted to them. The police force remains busy in maintaining law and order and tackling ordinary crimes. We are, therefore, going to set up a new force, peace keeping force, and the Government of India has already advised all the State Governments in this regard and I have come to know that perhaps in Uttar Pradesh a battalion has already been raised. But the State being a very big one, it is an uphill task to control the situation or riots with a small force. Therefore, CRPF, BSF or other forces are deployed there. If we do not have sufficient force, we requisite them from other states, from South or other states so that the influence of the local police is neutralised. A lot of things have been said about PAC. Now as there is an enquiry going on, we will consider the recommendations in depth. But it is not proper to punish, to level charges against some police force before hand. We should not pre-judge anyone. If some one is guilty he should get the punishment. But it is not right that we may term any such force as communal. We have seen the harmful results of such utterings in Punjab. Therefore, we should act with utmost seriousness and caution because it is a very delicate matter. It is a question which relates to the entire society. We should not, therefore, be biased. Whatever report is received and whosoever is found guilty will be fully punished. Regarding Maliyana and Hashimpur I have just now submitted that about one, the report will be received

[S. Buta Singh]

tomorrow and about Maliyana judicial enquiry has already begun. For this we should wait. I think of all the enquiries held, this has been the fastest and we will be getting the report at the earliest. Whatever comes before us, we will take action on that. A small group under the chairmanship of Shri Hakser had been constituted in the National Integration Council meeting. Its Interim Report has been received and many of the points submitted by Shri Shyam Lal Yadav and Shri Indrajit Gupta have been included in it. This Report has been accepted in full. 12 of its items are as follows:—

[English]

1. Create a common consciousness among citizens of India through educational processes, media projections, political processes and process of economic development.
2. Ban the use of religious symbols in electioneering—election law should be properly implemented.
3. Importance of educational processes more specially between the ages of 6 and 14
4. Urgent need for evolving programmes aimed at familiarising each and every one of us in each and every part of India with our common heritage both in terms of territory, people and culture.
5. Voluntary organizations to be promoted for communal harmony and national integration.
6. Three language formula to be implemented more vigorously in north India.
7. Interaction between Indian students drawn from all parts of the country.

8. Strict enforcement of existing laws to curb communal ill feeling. Laws of IPC/Cr PC to be properly used.
9. Use of loudspeakers at religious places to be regulated.
10. Unauthorised construction of religious places to be curbed. Public places are encroached upon by building on them places of religious workshop.
11. Institution of national awards to encourage those who save lives of members of either community during riots for their acts of courage and humanity.
12. Public involvement in prevention of communal riots—Ekta/Mohalla Committees should be set up.

[Translation]

These were their 12 points which have been adopted by the National Integration Council and accepted by all the State Governments and the Central Government. I am quite sure that this sub-group will shortly submit its full report to the National Integration Council and on the basis of that report, if considered necessary, we shall bring forward an amendment to the IPC before the House so that all the hon. Members are able to participate in the discussion and extend their co-operation in safeguarding the unity and integrity of the country.

Sir, it is very difficult to keep in mind each and every sentence said here in regard to what happened in Meerut, Ahmedabad, Sera and in Delhi, but as some hon. Members have said that speeches of some hon. Members have created bitterness. I have no information about the facts which have been mentioned here, Shri Sait Sahib has mentioned two or three such incidents that pain us. We feel shamed of ourselves that such treatment has been meted out to the members of a particular community.

But I would like to say one thing that we should not say any such thing which cannot be substantiated. If he has any proof, he should send it to us and we will get it investigated by the Central Government but merely saying these things can create considerable tension. Whatever we say here, is printed in the press and there are the enemies of the country sitting outside the country; there are some such powers and such countries which take advantage of it and try to malign the image of our country. The foreign media, especially the western media has no other work but to run down India and to denigrate the institution of the country and to sabotage the democracy. They are always on the look out for an opportune time to hurt our feelings.

For a long time, I have not visited any foreign country but whenever we watch T.V. programmes in other countries, we are pained at what is televised there. Our ghats are depicted in these programmes. It is our tradition to perform last rites on the banks of rivers but the people of other countries do not understand this and they think that we have no culture. So, when such things are said and particularly if something is said by a great leader of a political party, it is printed against the country and it causes great harm to the country. The outside countries think that such a barbarous treatment is being meted out to a particular community.

I am pained to find that such a thing is never published, that despite all this the roots of our democracy are very strong and the people have implicit faith in it. They do not mention about our matured democracy but if some such incident takes place, they make a report of it and try to malign the image of the country by publishing it in the newspapers and also by telecasting it. I am distressed when some responsible leaders get such interviews published in their names that are detrimental to the interest of the country. I would implore with folded hands not to do any such things which hurt the feelings of our countrymen or the members of a par-

ticular community. By getting published such things, we serve neither our community nor the country. It causes harm to the interest of the country and unsavoury things are said about the country.

I have submitted in the beginning that we want to solve our complicated and serious problems through people's participation. The media should not forget the fact that ours is centuries old culture and it is a composite one. You take any festival whether it is celebrated in the South, North, West or in East in the country, there is spiritual feeling in it. This thing should be brought out to strengthen the bonds of unity, love and cooperation among the people.

It is said that Islam is the most pious faith but why we do not propagate Islam of Chisti and why we propagate Islam of Babar and Aurangzeb? How many persons belonging to Hindu, Sikh and other faiths go to Ajmer to seek blessing of 'Garib Nawaz'? If you go there, you will not be able to identify whether they are all Muslims. It seems that all are the disciples of Khawaja Gharib Nawaz and all hold him with reverence. If such a thing is publicised, I think there can never be a riot of any kind.

Similarly, people go to religious places of the country from Kashi to Kamakhya with the same reverence. Once I went to have darshan of Vaishno Devi, I saw that persons belonging to different faiths were going to have darshan of Vaishno Devi with the same reverence and faith. They were all chanting the name of 'Ma', that power, that God and that light. There is controversy going on in regard to the Ram-Janam Bhoomi and it is said that Ram belonged to a sect. Lord Ram did not belong to any sect. Ram and Rahim are one and the same. In Indonesia, our Muslim brethren celebrate Ramayana. Had Lord Ram belonged to one sect, the Muslims of Indonesia would not have held Ramayana in reverence. Not only that even the Muslims in Soviet Russia also celebrate Ramayana. Lord Ram is an ideal for us. If

[S Buta Singh]

people of different faiths follow the ideals of Lord Ram, there cannot be any suffering to the nation, sect or any person. The whole land is the birth-place of Lord Ram. If the head Kazi, the head Priest, the head Granthi and the Shankaracharya together lay the foundation stone of Ram Janam Bhoomi, that place will become Ram Janam Bhoomi in a true sense. We have to build such a type of *Janam Bhoomi*. But if we associate Lord Ram with some king and instigate the feelings of the people to spark off riots, that cannot be a religious act in any way. Temples and mosques are holy places and the abode of God. The holy Quran, the Guru Granth Sahib do not teach us such a lesson. Therefore, we will have to abandon parochial thinking and accept all the people as our brethren and as true sons of the country, we will have to make sacrifices for the sake of the country. If we are true sons of the country, we can become true Sikhs, true Muslims and true Hindus also. If we inculcate such feelings, our country can face the most powerful nation of the World.

Now coming to the discussion in the House, I pray to God that such riots do not take place again so that instead of wasting our time on such things, we could devote our time in removing poverty from the country and unemployment among the youth. We should discuss how to grant the right of equality to women and how to give them powers. We should devote our time in solving the problem of poverty and illiteracy. In this way by becoming a disciplined citizen, we should serve the country and not waste our time on discussing the number of persons killed in Meerut and also the number of those whose dead bodies have been found outside Harminder Sahib. Such things should not happen at all because these things are irrelevant in the present context. We should be ashamed of all these things. We have to serve our country keeping in view our glory and history of our nation as also the ideals of all our religions. I am fully confident that the suggestions given by hon. Members would be

implemented fully by the Government of India and I am also sure that all the parties would extend their full co-operation to us in this task.

[*English*]

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Sir, I just want to mention two points.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: I want to know about compensation to be paid.

PROF. N.G. RANGA: Sir, my hon friend the Home Minister himself has given us a very good definition of an India, that India comes first and everything else next. And if one has to forget anything at all, he should forget everything else—not India. That is exactly what he has done even at the risk of his life and even when he was challenged by those high priests. I give him praise for it and I congratulate him.

[*Translation*]

S. BUTA SINGH: This point has also been raised that compensation has not been paid to those persons who have been killed or shot dead during the riots. I would like to tell the hon. Members that after examining all the cases, full compensation will be given in all such cases.

16.30 hrs.

[*English*]

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, we take up Private Members' Business.

#### COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

[*Translation*]

#### Fortieth Report

SHRI RAM AWADH PRASAD (Basti): Sir, I move that this House do agree with the Fortieth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.