

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): But who increased the railway freight?

SHRI J. VENGAL RAO: So, Sir, it is because of these reasons there is price increase in the paper and the newsprint. I am telling this because all these add to the price. Sir, in the case of writing paper and paper-board, we are in surplus. We have extra capacity also. We gave letters of intent to those paper manufacturing units. Till two years ago, the paper industry incurred heavy loss. Therefore, we de-controlled the paper two year back. Now, there is statutory control on writing paper and paper-board as also on newsprint. Even then these public-sector units, because we are controlling them, are incurring losses. Tomorrow, you will say that all your public sector undertakings are working in heavy loss. Now, you are telling us not to increase the prices. How is it possible? That is why on the newsprint side also, we have to encourage indigenous production first. I must inform Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee, Shri Indrajit Gupta and our party Member, Shri Harish Rawat, that we have paid interim relief. He fought for this and he came in a procession to my house and demanded interim relief to the public sector undertaking workers. Where will I get money? To meet all this expenditure, we have to raise the prices and there is no other go.

Sir, recently, we de-controlled cement also. The people of West Bengal now what to import cement from Andhra Pradesh. It is very cheap in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: There is surplus cement in Andhra Pradesh. Why don't you give it to us?

SHRI J. VENGAL RAO: It is because of the cost of raw material, freight charges and the price of chemicals also, the cost has increased. The Government have no power to decontrol all these.

Now, Sir, about the text-books and exercise books for the children, it is the duty of the Human Resources Ministry to look into this matter. I am an industrialist and I must get profit from my industry. If they want to get it at cheaper rate, they must give subsidy to the Hindustan Paper Corporation. We are supplying the paper to them. But they have to pay the money. Their requirement is 1.5 lakh tonnes. They are not in a position to pay the amount for 80,000 tonnes. It is now before the Cabinet. They must pay to the Hindustan Paper Corporation at market rate. Then only we can supply it to them. Sir, I have given the factual position. It is not the fault of the Government. Price rise is there in all the sectors. Likewise paper price has also gone up. We can't help it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned for lunch to meet again at 14.30 hours.

13.29 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till
thirty Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch
at Thirty-five Minutes past Fourteen of the
Clock*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

[*English*]

Communal Situation in various parts of the country—contd

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we are taking up further discussion on the communal situation in various parts of the country, raised by Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia on 24th April, 1989. Shri Arif Mohammad Khan to continue.

[Translation]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Bahraich): Hon. Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, yesterday I said that the main problem is not of communal riots but of the ideology based on communalism that lies at the root of communalism. An ideology that led to the partition of the country then and leads to murder and mayhem in our cities now. It is this communal-based ideology that should primarily capture our attention. And when we talk of finding a remedy to this malaise we should first try to understand the meaning of communalism. Communal riots are merely a symptom of this disease called communalism. While I was speaking, the hon. Member from Robertsganj got up and accusing Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh in the context of the Allahabad bye-election, tried to define communalism..(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj): Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, he has named me. He has explained the true meaning of communalism.

[English]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: Sir, I am not yielding. I do not have much time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You take your seat.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I withdraw my allegation. I agree that the problem of communalism is a serious one. In the last two years there have been plenty of discussions in the House on Communalism and other scandals that have plagued the country. I am not going into the details of who received the kickbacks and so on but if there has been dishonesty the Bofors scandal has

seen the maximum...

[English]

SHRI MURLIDHAR MANE (Nasik): We are discussing the communal situation. He is talking about Bofors. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You come to the point. You restrict yourself to the subject.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I am sure, if I were speaking in English, you would have understood it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Even if you are speaking in Hindi or Urdu, I understand.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: Even if you put all these scandals together, the total loss to the nation cannot be more than Rs. 300 crores or Rs. 400 crores. On the other hand, in 1985 when there were communal riots in Ahmedabad, they continued for almost three months. The Institute of Management at Ahmedabad appointed a team to conduct a study and the terms of reference or the subject-matter for the study team were to assess the economic loss suffered by Gujarat State as a result of communal riots in Ahmedabad city, which continued for three months. You will be amazed to know that the study team of the Management Institute came to the conclusion that the economy of Gujarat has suffered a loss of more than Rs. 3,000 crores as a result of these communal riots. The point I was trying to make, trying to emphasise that communalism is a looming threat, biggest threat to our polity, to our system.

[Translation]

Since we are running short of time, if you allow, I may revert to Hindi...(Interruptions) Thanks a lot for your suggestion but I would prefer to speak in a language which is easily understood.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You speak in any language you want.

[Translation]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I mean to say that it is a very serious matter and I feel that we should try to arrive at a national consensus in order to be able to face this challenge effectively. Further, we should not use it for levelling allegations and counter-allegations, since Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has been named here, it becomes necessary for me to clarify that the decision of my not visiting Allahabad was my own and I have no hesitation in saying that it was due to the presence of some persons engaged in the election campaign, with whom I have serious differences on the issue of communalism...*(Interruptions)* Please let me submit my point of view. I had serious differences with them due to which I did not want to align myself with them in the election campaign. These differences were made public and Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh publicly expressed his regret for the same not once but twice and declared that no laxity will be shown in the fight against communalism irrespective of the personalities who campaigned for him. Compare this modest and gentlemanly attitude of Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh with the other attitude of organising attack on me and my house twice after I resigned from the Government on the question of communalism. Instead of taking any action against those who had a hand in it, they were allowed to go after being made to sit in the police station for only one hour. But I do not want to revive that issue, so I would like to revert to the topic under discussion. I have referred to that in this very context. I had serious difference of opinion with the communal elements in the Government and its policy regarding communalism. Therefore, I was the first to resign. However, I am not one of those who say that the

Government has spread communalism. Nor do I have a misconception that if this Government is changed...

[English]

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Idukki): One question.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I am not yielding. I am not making any controversial statement and the hon. Minister seems to be in agreement with the...*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

Sir, I was saying that:

[English]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: I am on a point of order.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: In the midst of speech, there is no point of order.

[Translation]

The real problem is not one of riots but...*(Interruptions)*... sir, I may kindly be allowed to speak.

[English]

The Minister has said:

"I am proud to be fundamentalist." It is on record.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: The hon. Member has said that he did not go there as some communal elements were campaigning for Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. May I conclude from this that people carrying communal propaganda were also there.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: This has been said in this very House.

[English]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: I am on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is no point of order.

[Translation]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: Sir, I may be allowed to speak. I have repeatedly said that I am not favour of trained charges and counter-charges.

[English]

He represents a party which has a Minister who has said that "I am proud to be a fundamentalist." You refer to the records and you will find who is the Minister who said it.

[Translation]

Sir, as I submitted earlier, the real problem is not one of communal riots. Communal riots only denote symptoms of the deep rooted disease. What gives birth to communalism? what is the hypothesis of communalism? I feel that the hypothesis of communalism is the unfounded assumption that the persons of a particular religion have in common not only the religious beliefs but also the worldly and material interests.

[English]

"Not only that their secular interests are alike but their secular interests are different and distinct from other religious communities. And they are not merely distinct and different but they are opposed to each other."

[Translation]

The whole problem arises from this presumption, this supposition. My submission is that I have heard speeches in which a number of hon. Members have expressed concern and given a number of suggestions including the one pleading for giving representation in the police force to different communities. With due respect, I would like to submit that when we advocate mixed forces, it implies that at present our forces do not have mixed representation. This makes me feel that it is an extremely serious matter.

Sir, I am basically against providing for recruitment in any service on the basis of community. However, if a person is not recruited in a service merely because he belongs to a particular community, it should not only be opposed but should also be deprecated. If there is a positive need to create a special force to deal with a peculiar situation and such a representation is confined to that particular force only, it would mean that we have compromised to a situation where they may be no representation of minorities at all in the general force. There may be bonafide suggestions. It is just like subjective thermometer to hydrotherapy to bring down the mercury in for the treatment of fever. It would not help, you have to cure the illness.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: I would request you to give me some more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please be brief. You have already taken 15 minutes. Yesterday, you took 5 minutes. So, totally you have taken 20 minutes.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: The present situation as reflected by daily reports of communal riots and tensions appearing in the newspapers, makes us feel as if we are not one nation but a confederation of different groups wherein each fragment is vying with the other to secure special privileges which may be denied to others. Our Constitution guarantees equality before law and equal opportunities at all. Discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and sex is prohibited. Besides, freedom of religion has also been granted and special provisions have been made for protection of minorities in the spheres of religion, education and culture. The Constituent Assembly has hoped that with the provision of judicial enforceable rights, which may be amended through the process of legislation, the interests of the minority communities would be protected and the distinction of minority and majority communities at the political and Government level will end with the passage of time. Therefore, the colonialistic provisions like separate electorate, separate election process etc. which encouraged communalism were left out of our Constitution. It is our misfortune that the expectation made at that time did not materialise. I am certainly not one of those who say that the situation has gone from bad to worse since then. We have definitely improved upon the situation that prevailed during the days of our subjugation. But the menacing way, in which this danger raises its ugly head from time to time, makes one apprehend that it may threaten or destroy the entire set up. The hon. Members have said a totally different thing. Now the question arises as to what is at the root of this communal thinking. What is the cause of this thinking that the interests of Muslims are different from those of Hindus, Sikhs or Christians or that the interest of each community are different? Is religion the dividing force? This question was raised by other hon. Members also. I hold the view that there

is no co-relation between religion and communalism. Religion aims at making every person a human being, whereas communalism makes a man 'Saitan.' Religion instills a sense of respect for others and mercy, while communalism incites hatred and violence. The aim of religion has been well explained in the following Urdu couplet:

"Drade dil ke vaste paida kiya insaan ko,
Varna ta-at ke liye kuch kum na they
karon banya."

There is another couplet having a similar connotation:

"Kabira soi peer hei, jo jane par peer
Jo par peer na janeye, so kafir be peer."

It is inscribed on one of the walls of the Parliament House:

"Vaishnav jan te tene kahiye, jo peer
parai jane re."

I think that this is the sole aim of religion and that is why Swami Vivekananda, while defining religion, had said that religion by itself implies development and arousal of divine elements and feelings in human beings which are inherent in him. In this context, I would like to quote another couplet: The famous sufi saint Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya was once presented a pair of scissors by one of his disciples. He returned the pair of scissors and said that he had come down on earth to unite and not to divide, so if at all he was to be offered any things, he should be offered a needle which could be used for joining the separate parts. Then he recited the following couplet:

"Ma baraye wasal gardan aam den
Na baraye wasal gardan aam den."

Amir Khusro, who is known as 'Tutiye Hind', was his disciple and a great saint. Once he

was passing through Mehrauli near Delhi. He saw a procession of villagers proceeding towards the temple of a deity with a band and drums, singing and dancing in deep devotion. He was moved by the spirit of devotion displayed by them and could not control himself and he too joined them. The people accompanying him tried to dissuade him by saying that they were idolators and were going to the temple of a deity. Hazrat Khusro silenced them by saying "Har kaum raste trahe, har dil kibra gahe," which means that the person, who acts according to tenets of his religious faith, is on the right path. This very thing is echoed in the following sentence from the ancient scriptures of India:

"Ekam satyam viprah babudha vadanti.",

which means,

[*English*]

Truth is one, sages call it by different names.

[*Translation*]

I mean to say that religion does not preach hatred. Religion is misused to incite among people with a view to achieve political ends and realise political aspirations. When attempts are made to cover up political designs by giving religious colour, it is communalism... (*Interruptions*)...

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: Let me speak, Sir, I do not speak very often.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already taken 25 minutes. There are so many Members to speak. At at 3.30 P.M., we are going to take up Private Members' Business.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: You can ask them... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not their business. At 3.30 P.M., we have to take up Private Member's Business.

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: All right, Sir. I will just take five minutes and complete the speech.

[*Translation*]

As I have said earlier, there is a communal line of thinking and it should be clearly understood that no thinking can be changed by use of force. It can only be curbed by a better saner line of thinking. That is why the founding fathers of our constitution adopted the concept of secularism to ward off the threat of communalism. In this connection, I would like to point out that the struggle against communalism is different from other struggles. In a class war, the struggle is against another class and no relatives or friends are involved, so it does not cause any stress or strain on the mind. But when we fight communalism, we have not only to fight against our own kith and kin, friends, etc. but we will have also to fight against our own thinking which may be influenced by certain incidents witnessed in the society, however, secular one may be. This is of utmost importance in this context and it should be kept in mind that the slightest laxity on our part may be taken undue advantage by communal elements. Sometimes feeling too much harassed by their agitations, we in an effort to buy temporary peace, we enter into some sort of accord with them. But the communal elements misuse it to enhance their credibility and reputation. I do not want to go into recent events. Go back into our history, in 1916, a pact was signed in Lucknow, after which a person of the standing of Tilak said.....

[Sh. Arif Mohammad Khan]

15.00 hrs.

In 1916, all the demands of the Muslim League were conceded and it was said that the communal problem in India had been solved for ever but the future developments proved that the Lucknow Pact was not a permanent solution at all, instead, it had sowed the seeds of partition on that day of 1916. That pact was a fore-warning of the impending partition of our country. Therefore, accords sometimes prove to be very disastrous.

In this context, lastly I would like to submit that during the course of this discussion on this dispute about Ram Janam-Bhoomi and Babri Masjid many things have been said; Shri Indrajit Gupta made a very impressive speech and said that one party in this country was saying that it would not accept the court verdict. I am totally at a loss to understand as to how it is imperative for the Government to take the consent of the accused in enforcing the court's verdict. In case of a dispute between two parties, they have the option to settle it through mutual discussion but if they fail to do so, it is the duty of the Government to get it settled through court. It is the responsibility of the Government to implement the court's order and it cannot escape it. Sir, I am not aware if question of incarnation of God is involved in Ram-Janam-Bhoomi, but if it relates to Lord Ram, son of Dasarath, or Lord Ram, who was the hero of the epics written by Tulsidas and Valmiki or the Ram hailed by Kabir and Gandhi, I would like to very humbly submit that Lord Ram, who was an ideal human being, had even gone into exile from Ayodhya, to uphold the dignity of the word given by his father, what to talk of giving up his rights. But from the drama being enacted in Ayodhya now, it seems that all norms of dignity set up in our country are going to be violated. On the other hand, there are persons who dis-

play eloquence for secularism in this House but sometimes give a call for boycotting the Independence day, sometimes give a call for a march to Ayodhya. Sir, the most surprising aspect of it is that they withdraw the call a day before the schedule date. Their call is withdrawn but the tension and hatred generated thereby persist. You cannot cite even a single instance where such calls had not been followed by riots in some city or the other irrespective of whether it was a call to boycott the Independence day or some other call. I do concede that both the calls were withdrawn but large-scale riots broke out in different towns and cities on account of them. Sir, what troubles me the most is that if it is a religious issue, which has led to communal flare-up in towns like Barabanki, Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Faizabad etc. where numerous people have lost their lives, how is it that not even a single leader of the action committees for the Ram Janam Bhoomi or the Babri-Masjid has been reported to have lost his life so far? Are the lives of rickshaw-pullers, tonga drivers, the poor and the labourers alone are meant to be sacrificed? If it is a religious issue, the leaders of both the parties should come forward to sacrifice their lives. They should not remain in the background. Why the poor and the weak people are being killed... (*Interruptions*) When the dispute started, I was in the Government. Therefore, all these things should not be said, as otherwise I will expose the reality as to how it started and who has profited from it.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): Are you not going to tell as to who opened the lock and why?

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN: Who opened the lock, Sir, I would like to take a few minutes. In 1949 or 1950, for the first time the Masjid was locked up on the day which followed the night when some idols were found there at the disputed place. The

Commissioner of that division was suspended within 24 hours by the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was, probably, dismissed from the service within one and half months. This time the lock was opened on the court orders and the court issued such order because the District Magistrate and the police authorities furnished an affidavit to the effect that there is no danger to peace and the law and order situation after the lock is opened. I would like to know only one thing. Who were these officers who furnished this affidavit? Has it ever been asked as to why they did furnish such an affidavit. If this thing is known, the whole mystery will be solved. (*Interruptions*)

My first suggestion is that, I am humbly submitting not alleging, Sir, the constitution makers of the country had realised the danger of communalism in 1946 itself. The Constituent Assembly in February 1946 passed a resolution which sought the religion to be separated from politics. When I talk of religion, I mean the religion which is misused to gain political motives. I think it is needed today. The Government should take an initiative and invite a discussion on this subject, not only in the House, but at the national level as well we go to South Africa to oppose apartheid and to mobilise public opinion in the world in support to our stand. When we are opposing apartheid, we should take steps in our country also against the discrimination being practised in the name of religion. It should not be allowed that innocent people are killed, women are widowed and children are rendered orphans in the name of religion. If we are making a condemnation of apartheid and propagating for imposing economic sanctions there, we should impose political and administrative restrictions against the communal powers here also. I am saying this because the Hon. Prime Minister has also stated that religion should be separated from politics. If you are really interested in it then invite a nation wide discussion on the subject and I assure you

that you will get the support of entire nation.

My second suggestion is that there should be a ban on the political parties, particularly when you have made an amendment in the Representation of People's Act, which are operating in the name of religion or caste. Certainly, the judges in Bombay should be congratulated who gave the decision that such parties should be banned. My suggestion is that until such a ban is imposed, there should be no electoral adjustment or political understanding between any one of the national political party and the communal political party. This is a long term suggestion..... (*Interruptions*) My last suggestion is that some measures should be taken to provide relief to people who suffered loss of life and property. This is a crime not just against the people, but against the country also. The loss suffered by the people should be compensated by the Government either from its funds or by the imposing punitive tax in riot hit areas. With these words, I thank Mr. Deputy Speaker.

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA (Vidisha): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the communal situation in the country particularly, at a time when the country is celebrating the birth centenary of two great personalities of the country, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the builder of the nation and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the symbol of unity and harmony. It is of great importance to hold a discussion on a serious national issue at such a time in the House.

With the achievement of independence our nation builders and builders of modern India laid the foundation stone of democracy based on the ideals of secularism and socialism which are the strength of secular India today. 41 years ago, while discussing the communal situation in this House, Pt. Nehru clearly stated that it is very necessary for our country to keep religion separate from politics. When religion is linked with the politics

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for political motives, it create an explosive situation which endangers the unity and integrity of the country. Even after 41 years, we find that his views and farsightedness are very much relevant in present day circumstances and the House is discussing today the communal situation prevailing in the country. Secularism means equal respect to all religions. Keeping this ideal in view, our constitution makers and the builders of modern India enshrined the principle of secularism in our constitution. This ideal is being cherished in India from centuries and the followers of different religions with devotion and regard to their respective religions try to maintain the unity and integrity of the country.

But, their and some powers, some parties which try to serve their political interests by creating a dirty atmosphere of communal hatred under the guise of religion. Such forces should be put under control. Our country has faced a lot of difficulty. There have been riots and thousands of people have suffered heavy loss of life and property because of such forces. Unsuccessful attempts have been made time and again to damage the communal harmony which the Indian National Congress has established during these 41 years.

We are proud to say that Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shrimati Indira Gandhi have warned the nation time and again against the dangers of communal powers. They have made all out efforts to eliminate such elements. The unity of our country has been endangered whenever there have been communal riots in any of the area in the country, some communal forces have tried to fulfil their political ambitions under the garb of communalism. Those people who

make long and loud speeches in the House do not accept themselves as the communalists. They are active to achieve their political motives under the banners of Hindu Mahasabha, Vishwa Hindu Parishad or Shiv Sena. It will not be an exaggeration if Bharatiya Janata Party is called Bharatiya Janasangha. It is ridiculous to entertain suggestions from them against communalism. They, who were behind the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and now talk of communal harmony and give suggestions to strengthen the country, are stabbing in the back of communal harmony. They are in collusion with communal forces and have always tried their best to harm the unity and integrity of the country. Now to hear from their mouth..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): I say these things outside, why do you say it in the House. You have been a party to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA: How can you talk of the nation? You only talk of setting up a Hindu nation.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDI: Why do you say such wrong things. It is improper to say such thing seven after 40 years of independence.

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA: There is wide difference between you profession and practice. You incite Hindu feelings to serve your vested political ends and create explosive situation in the country. People of the country have disowned the ideology of persons like Shri Janga Reddy. The people of India have come to the conclusion that only a secular India can emerge as a strong nation and only secular country can become a strong nation. The people belonging to minority communities can live with dignity and honour in such an India and can feel proud of themselves. Today there is need to beware of vested political alliances. (*Interruptions*)

This is an organisation which has a hand in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. They are committing a blunder in supporting such a party. We demand that such communal political parties, whether it is Jamait-e-Islami or R.S.S. or B.J.P. or any other communal party, should be banned. There is no place for them in the national politics and they should not be allowed to gain any significance to enter the national politics.

We also observe that our esteemed leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi has devoted himself to the task of uniting and integrating the country during the last four and four and a half years and he also worked for taking the country forward on the road to progress. The objectives and ideologies set out by the founding fathers of our nation for the reconstruction of India, have been hundred percent visualised by Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Today we can claim with pride that no word of praise is enough for the efforts made by our leader for strengthening the unity and integrity of the country as also the communal harmony and for the plans and scheme given by him. On the one side, there are people with a dismal record of performance during the last four and four and a half years, who did not care to identify themselves with the sufferings of the people and extended no cooperation in strengthening and integrating the country. Now they are found to be engaged in inciting religious feelings in the name of 'Hindu Sammelans' or Babri Masjid or Ram Janam Bhoomi. We should beware of such elements. I want to draw your attention that these communal forces have revived the non-issue of Ram Janam Bhoomi. Entire India is the birth place of Lord Rama and great men like Mahatma Gandhi, Guru Nanak Dev, Lord Mahavir and Mahatma Buddha were born in India, who gave a new philosophy to other religions and a new direction to the society. India is a land of such great personalities.

In the end, I would like to draw the

attention of the Home Minister to the burning issue that there have been 200 major disturbances since independence which have been termed or recognised as communal incidents by the Home Ministry. The Government of India and various administrative authorities had to work very hard to assuage the hurt feelings, to give relief to the victims, pacify the people and to restore communal harmony in the areas so affected. I will like that the situation prevailing in these places should be studied in depth and a high level committee should be constituted at the national level to go into the causes for the outbreak of these disturbances. It should not be the function of the Government just to extinguish fire during riots or just to discharge the role of fire brigade, our administrative authorities should not confine themselves to this action but should study, identify and analyse the causes for these riots, whether they are social, economic, religious or vested political interests, and then a national policy should be formulated which may ensure that these disturbances do not recur in these sensitive areas and the local administration, statesmen and social workers may be vested with powers necessary for checking firmly the recurrence of these incidents and an atmosphere of communal harmony may prevail there.

In the end, I will like to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister towards the great sense of wisdom displayed by our Hon. Prime Minister in taking the initiative to convene a meeting of the National Integration Council at an early date. It should be welcomed whole-heartedly. National Integration Council is a very strong national forum capable of bringing unity in diversity of our country, whose message will be carried to every nook and corner of the country, every section and state. India is a land of many religions, diverse cultures owing their origin to different religions and unity in diversity is a unique feature of India and we can unite the entire nation into one force through the

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Indian National Congress under the leadership of Hon. Rajiv Gandhi, Hon. Shri Gupta of C.P.I. put forward very good ideas, we appreciate his line of thinking and we hope that all secular forces in the country will extend support to us on national, secular, social issues, communal harmony and national integration and cooperate with our Prime Minister, Hon. Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI YOGESHWAR PRASAD YOGESH (Chatra): Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the topic under discussion is communal situation. Only a few minutes back Shri Arif Mohd. was speaking but now he has left. I want to read out an Urdu couplet for the attention of his leader:

"Libase Rahbari me yon chalegi
Rahjani kab tak,
Daga deti rahegi dosti ko dushmani
kab tak."

I will now read out a Hindi couplet carrying the similar meaning for the benefit of his leader. It is a couplet by Shri Dinkar:

"Anan saral vachan Madhumay hai,
tan par shubrah basan hai,
Bacho Yudhishtar, is Nagin ka vish se
bhara badan hai."

The people who are postmaster in intrigue..... (*Interruptions*) They start speaking at very high pitch. They want to drown the voice of truth in the din of their ear piercing voice. No amount of manoeuvring can subdue truth. Mahatma Gandhi said:

[English]

"If the world goes against the truth, I will go against the world."

[Translation]

I would like to refer to the case of Jamia Milia

University, which is an example of patriotism, Hindu students used to study there earlier too. I would like to make a reference about Anand Shanker Madyon who is now settled in Bihar and is running an educational institution there. He narrated an anecdote to me that when he was a student, he went to Mahatma Gandhi, who enquired from him the feelings of Muslim students about Hindu students since students belonging to both the communities studied there. He replied that Bapu, some muslims were highly critical of him. Gandhiji asked him about his reaction to his criticism by them. He said that he felt really bad. Then Gandhiji told him that it was communalism. Everybody had a right to express his views and sentiments and why should he feel bad about it; he felt hurt since he was a Hindu and it signified communalism. He advised him not be swayed by such communal feelings. Perhaps nobody studied communalism so minutely as Gandhiji did with a view to establish human values. Just now, Shri Arif Mohd. was indulging in tall talk. Only yesterday, our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi said something which perhaps no other leader of any country would dare to say. He said:

[English]

"An Indian who is a communal has no right to survive."

"If it is communal, India has no right to continue as a country."

Now that time is gone when there were more chances of India becoming communal. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, now there is no communal tension in the country. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, all are living here. They are not prepared to take to riots under any circumstances at any stage. Mentality of the people have improved a lot, but the political complexes and manipulations make the defeated forces restive to take revenge. This is fascism which is related to the feelings of revenge. When they

become restive on account of their success or failure, they take recourse to communalism, fundamentalism, regionalism and linguistic bitterness. Communalism had raised its head on the eve of independence due to the British Government who had poisoned the minds of people. Communal riots took place at that time and the result was that India was divided. Thereafter, communal riots took place in India thousand times, the Hindus and the Muslims fought against each other, but nowhere communal feelings gained ground. What were the reasons for this? Because, nobody was prepared for communalism. Today, the Hindus and the Muslims have risen above the narrow feelings of communalism. I would like to remind the people who make tall claims that Babar had written to Humayun that the latter had got the highest Throne in India, the country of the Hindus by the grace of God. As such he should ensure that none of his acts hurt the feelings of the people. In the Mughal Kingdom there were many people with very liberal outlook. If any dispute is raised over the Babari Masjid and Ram Janam Bhoomi it will be a sort of betrayal. No national issues were involved in the riots that took place in Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Ahmedabad and Hyderabad. No riot was engineered on a national issue, but the Babri Masjid and Ram Janambhoomi issue is being made a national issue. Riots and communalism are vitiating the circle which needs to be rooted out. At no time it should be treated lightly. I would like to appraise the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that if a riot takes place in any part of India, the local police, the Hindus and the Muslims could jointly suppress it, but the Babari Masjid and Ram Janam Bhoomi issue is going to take a serious turn.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You can continue your speech on Monday. Now, we are taking up Private Members' Bill.

15.30 1/2 hrs

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS'
BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS—*CONTD*

(II) Sixty-Sixth Report

[Translation]

SHRI RAM AWADH PRASAD: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on 3rd May, 1989."

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 3rd May, 1989."

The motion was adopted.

15.31 hrs.

OLD AGE PENSION BILL*

[English]

SHRI S.M. GURADDI (Bijapur): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for payment of pension and provision of other facilities to old persons.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for payment of pension and provision of other facilities to old persons."