

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:

I beg to move:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed".

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended be passed".

The motion was adopted.

12.41 hrs.

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

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Varanasi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it gives me pain to discuss the communal situation in the country and I think all the hon. Members of the House will share with me the same feelings. Every thoughtful person is concerned with this situation. The forces of disruption and destabilisation are gaining ground and secessionist tendencies are increasing in the country whereas during the freedom struggle it seemed that such tendencies had been put to an end for ever by the feelings of patriotism and nationalism. But now wherever some incident takes place, people try to take advantage of the situation by raising their narrow party interests. This communalism has not only religious overtone but has many facets. These forces started gaining strength since the first general election and manifested themselves in the form of reorganisation of States, border disputes, language disputes etc. Whether it is a language dispute in Assam, harassment to followers of Jainism in Bhopal, communal riots in Jabalpur and Sagar, all these things are like cancer in the society. Therefore, the Congress Party had declared in their

election manifesto in 1957 that secularism does not mean lack of faith in religion but it is protecting all the sects, religion and moral values.

Today such incidents are taking place which endanger the communal peace. There are a number of organisations which are instigating communal sentiments. The dispute regarding Ram Janm Bhumi and Babri Mosque going on in the country at present has also encouraged such feelings. Organisations like R.S.S. and Vishwa Hindu Parishad have added fuel to the fire by their activities and inflammatory speeches in this connection. People who condemn Shahi Imam, should recall how mischievous speeches were made during the procession taken out in connection with Ram Navami in Delhi. What had been said at that time outdid Shahi Imam's speeches. Attention has to be paid in this direction also. The inflammatory slogans which were raised there were very improper like "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan, Mulla Bhago Pakistan" What does this mean? Besides this, slogans like "jinko pyara dharm hai wae balidan ho gaye, jinko pyara jism hai, woe Musalman ho gaye" were also raised.

SHRI JAI PRASKASH AGARWAL (Chandni Chowk): Yadavji, those slogans were not raised by the followers of that religion. That was a religious function and some political people were also present there. It is in your knowledge to which political party they belong. They raised such slogans so as to provoke the people.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: This is what I am saying. The people who were in this procession, raised such slogans. What was the object of raising such slogans and reciting such songs which may result in bloodshed. I hope that those persons who talk of patriotism, unity and integrity of the country will not agree to such things and will condemn it.

Sir, after 1984, efforts have been made to

incite Hindu communal forces. This feeling of communalism is dangerous. It is because of the tradition of tolerance and liberal attitude of our country, that many types of sects and religions have prospered in this country. In Hindu religion itself, if you believe in the existence of God or not, you remain Hindu; if one believes in idol worship or not, he is considered to be Hindu. All such feelings are in Hindu religion. Because of generous attitude and tolerance in this country, we have been able to maintain its culture and civilisation. But today communal feelings are being aroused in majority community. It is a very dangerous tendency for this country. An atmosphere has been created in which R.S.S. has mixed in the society in such a way that you cannot identify it separately. Today Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena, Shiv Shakti Dal, Ram Janm Bhumi Mukti Dal and many other *Dals* and *Senas* have been formed. If all pamphlets and posters issued by them in Delhi are examined, you will find that they are not only inciting the feeling of communalism, but in my view, action could be taken against them for sedition. They have abused Muslims. They think that as they do not like Muslims, nobody else likes them. They have incited police also in their posters. They have said that it is Hindu Police and Muslims should not be recruited in it. These *Dals* and *Parishads* have now started directly attacking their religion and the Quran. Such posters were sent to Lt. Governor and the Police Commissioner, but what action was taken on them is not known till date. These organisations hold their meetings in mohallas. A new trend has started. Like 'kripans' of Sikhs, tridents and saffron coloured flags are distributed among the people. When Ram Janaki Chariot passed through our city, saffron coloured flags were displayed in the entire city. As 'Kripan' worth Rs. 10/- is sold for Rs. 51/-, similarly a flag costing only 50 paise was sold for Rs. 2/-. Similarly, in 'The Sunday Mail' of 21.5.1986, a very strange interview has appeared and statement has been published. An interview of Shri P.L. Sharma, General Secretary of Vishwa Hindu Parishad taken by

Miss Sapna has been published in a poster form. Miss Sapna asks him during the interview whether he supports the violence to which Shri Sharma replies that violence is necessary for a noble cause. He does not consider violence bad for a good cause. Everybody knows about the 'noble task' before Vishwa Hindu Parishad. They very proudly say that the protection of the lives and honour of Hindus is the greatest task before them. Retired judge of Allahabad High Court, Shri Shiv Nath Katju son of Shri Kailash Nath Katju, who fought for the freedom of the country, is the President of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Shri S.C. Dikshit, a retired I.G. of U.P. Police is its working President. Shri Daw Dayal Khanna, who was at one time a top leader of Congress (O) and who has been a Minister in U.P. Government is its General Secretary. Whether it is judiciary or Police, there are communal elements in all of them. Since 1983, Vishwa Hindu Parishad has launched an agitation for the liberation of Ram Janm Bhumi and the way this agitation has aroused the feelings of Hindus is very unfortunate. I think that it is the result of this agitation that communal feelings have spread in the country in an unprecedented way. There has been tension for many months in Gujarat, Meerut and in many such places where no such incidents used to take place in the past. I would, therefore, like to urge upon this House through you that we should consider as to what steps should be taken against such people and organisations so that they may not jeopardise our freedom. Sir, this country has never been the country of one religion, one community or one section of the people, but people of all faiths have always been living in the country. Today in our country, a confusion is being created. Sometime it is said that Aurangzeb was a fanatic and he had indulged in fanaticism. In this connection I would like to say that they should read the Khudabakhsh Memorial Lecture by Prof. B.N. Pandey, the Governor of Orissa, which he delivered in December, 1986 in Patna. If you go through that lecture, the entire position would become clear that persons with different faiths have been liv-

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ing in our country which included Hindus, Muslims and Mughal emperors. There was no feeling of animosity among them nor was there any sort of fanaticism. It is a fact that when the Britishers came to this country, they tried to create a rift and animosity between the two communities. His lecture also shows that the Britishers adopted the policy of "divide and rule", which has been exposed by our scholarly freedom fighter Prof. B. N. Pandey. By going through his lecture all confusions are cleared and it becomes quite clear as to how some elements in the country want to create tension here.

I would like to say one thing more. In the minority community, lesser the number of people, more is the feeling of self-preservation. I would like to give you a very small instance. When I used to study in my village Sakaldiha, there was a settlement of *Kanjars* near the middle school. There was a very small population having *Kachcha* houses numbering about 10 or 12. They had their own dress, life-style and traditions. They used to speak in their own tribal dialect, which we were not able to understand. Marriages used to be performed between these 10 or 12 families. Once police got annoyed with them and next day we found that all their houses had been demolished and the area was ploughed. Similar is the situation of other minority communities. The Muslims have the similar feelings. They have their own customs, traditions and they also have the instinct of self-preservation and nothing else. They do not want that their customs and traditions may be finished. Therefore, it is the duty of the majority community to see to it that their feelings are not hurt in any way and the majority community should adopt a liberal attitude towards them. Gandhiji had said the following words as to how the majority community can strengthen the secular feelings:

[English]

"The so called majority community has

no right to impose itself on others. The might of number of the sword shall not be right. Right is the only true might, appearance to the contrary notwithstanding. The minorities must be made to realise that they are as much valued citizens of the State they live in, as the majority."

[Translation]

While reiterating the same thing, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has said in very clear terms that communalism on the part of the majority community may give birth to dictatorship. Under these circumstances we should try to follow the path shown by our leaders as to how to create the feeling of secularism in the country. We should always continue to maintain and uphold those values. In the Constituent Assembly, Shri Anant Shayanam Ayengar had moved a resolution with a view to maintain democracy and secularism in the country. Pt. Nehru had also spoken on that resolution which was adopted with certain amendments. The resolution is as follows —

[English]

"Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity, that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, this Assembly is of opinion that no communal organisation, which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officers or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership, persons, on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them, should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the bonafide religious and cultural needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities, should be taken."

This resolution was adopted by our Constituent Assembly. Keeping in view this resolution, the Government needs to do

some work today also to see that how these things can be stopped.

Sir, to stop such things Shrimati Indira Gandhi had first of all written to the Chief Ministers in 1980 on behalf of the Government of India. She had written in her letter that a 15-Point Programme should be implemented in the case of minorities. The Hon. Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi has again forcefully emphasised about this Programme in July, 1985 in which it has been stated that intelligence agencies should be strengthened, legal action should be taken against those who indulge in unlawful and anti-social activities, the procession during the important festivals should be controlled in such a way that communalism and violence do not spread. no religious building should be allowed to be constructed in illegal manner on public places, the use of loudspeakers on religious places should be strictly controlled, the cases arising out of communal riots should be looked into promptly and should also be disposed of quickly. The same things have been emphasised again by the Home Minister on October 1986. In this, one more point has been added by the Prime Minister. He has said that the responsibility of this work should be taken by the Chief Minister themselves and they should themselves look after the work of safeguarding the interests of the minorities. It therefore, want that the hon. Home Minister should tell in his reply as to what action has been taken so far under these directives.

Sir, one thing more I want to say. In the riot torn areas, specially in Uttar Pradesh, the role of Police and P.A.C. has been very unfortunate. It is not a recent development. During Janata Government, riots took place in my city Varanasi and at that time also the attitude of P.A.C. was the same as it is today. After the riots, the Health Minister, Shri Abdul Lari, who hailed from Gorakhpur, wanted to visit the area but the Collector did not allow him to go there. We were not allowed because we belonged to Congress (I) but he too was not allowed to visit the area and he had to come back

quite a long distance. Later on, he however managed to enter the area. PAC and Police people did not want that someone from the Government or the representatives of the people may peep into their black deeds. The role of PAC has been of this nature. I recollect that Gyani Zail Singh, when he was the Home Minister, had given assurance that a composite peace keeping force will be set up in which people from both the communities will be taken and it will be sent to the riot affected areas. But I am sorry to say that till date, that peace keeping force has nowhere been set up.

Sir, riots took place in 1985, 1986 and 1987 in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and other States, ruled both by Congress as well as non-Congress Governments. Peace keeping force has not been established in any of these States. I am of the view that efforts towards this have not been made in effective manner because of which such things happen which put the people in difficulties. These things also create dissatisfaction among the people towards those Government organisations who are responsible for maintaining law and order. When PAC is sent in the riot torn areas, people start shouting that P.A.C. is coming. We have ourselves seen in our city that P.A.C. is considered more as destructor than protector. People are not as much afraid of Hindus or rioters as they fear from P.A.C. Such is the behaviour of its personnel. People are afraid of them; they are rather terrorised with the result that the Government is unable to achieve its aim. I, therefore, feel that the Government should fulfil its commitment that it had made in the Parliament. A composite force should be established and wherever riots take place it should be sent there and it should function there without any fear or favour.

Sir, you might have noticed that wherever C.R.P., B.S.F or Army has been posted, calm and peace have been restored. No slogan is raised against them. They restore the peace. Though the Government says repeatedly that it will impart training to the Police and P.A.C., the problem has become incurable. In

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1971-72, during the course of evidence on the Criminal Procedure Code Bill I had toured the entire country. Wherever we went and called people for evidence before the committee, none, except Government officials, expressed confidence and faith in the State Police and people were not ready to give vast powers to the Police. As against this, the Government believes in giving indiscriminate powers to them, whichever Government comes to power, be it in Centre or in the States, be it Janata Government or any other Government, it is ready to give powers to the P.A.C. The State Governments also want to give limitless powers to the police. They are not afraid that tomorrow they may not remain in power and may have to sit on the opposition benches and then these powers will be misutilised against them. Had there been possibility of restoring peace by giving powers to the Police, then it would have been alright but the problem is that the Police has such vast powers today that it can put any person to jail without any hearing. It can kill any person and can show death due to an encounter. No one is going to say anything on this. Presently, big 'revolutionaries' have come on the scene who are spearheading anti-corruption movement but when Shri ** was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, 5 thousand innocent people had been killed in the fake encounters. I had myself met him with much difficulty in a Delhi guest house. I told him that it is not proper to apprehend innocent people and kill them and subsequently show them dead in some encounter, and that he was not bothering about this. Today he is posing to be a very honest man and a Champion of the farmers. All opposition parties also think that he can be their saviour. What did he do for the poor, the farmers and minorities when he was in the Government? Everyone knows that he did nothing. It is not that the moment he has come out of the Government, he has become a messiah. Therefore, the people

sitting in the Government should think twice before giving powers to the police. Rather, they should not give powers to the Police. (*Interruptions*)

I am talking of all the Governments. You too cannot absolve yourself of this. I am talking of principles. Do not think that things have changed by sitting there instead of here. Recently in Andhra Pradesh, 12 persons were shot dead by the police. Just now you were speaking on riots but in Hyderabad under the very nose of the Government, riots went on round the year but no action was taken.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): No riot has taken place there for the last three years. Riots took place during Congress regime. You should be ashamed of this.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: You may sit down. The Communal character of the B.J.P. and R.S.S. is well-known to everyone.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SEPAKER: Nothing will go on record. I am not allowing them.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SEPAKER: Mr. Janga Reddy, I will name you. Why are you shouting like this: You don't bother. I will take care of them. I will expunge if there is anything unparliamentary.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. RAGHUMA REDDY (Nalgonda): Sir, I have a point of order. Sir, during the last three years, not even a sin-

gle incident of communal riots happened in Hyderabad. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : This is not a point of order.

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : you may speak when your time comes. In 1985 in Guntur and in other districts...

[*English*]

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Shyam Lal Yadva; please do not mention the name of any person who is not present here.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCE AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): He only said, he was the Chief Minister at that time.

(Interruptions)

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : I have taken the name of the Minister.

(Interruptions)

[*English*]

MR DEPUTY SEPAKER : When he is not a Member of the House, when he is not here...

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARM : He said, when somebody was the Chief Minister in Uttar Pradesh, these are the things that happened. That is what he said.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER : If he brings the name, it will not go on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Can you deny he was the Chief Minister at that time? *(Interruptions)*

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER : Only the name I am telling.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : What is wrong in it?

[*Translation*]

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY Whatever** did...

[*English*]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Kindly listen to me. 'A' holds office as the Chief Minister. Certain things happened in that State during that period. Hon. Members are entitled to say that when so and so was the Chief Minister, these things happened. This is what he said.

MR DEPUTY SEPAKER : I cannot allow the name to go on record. You can say former Chief Minister. That is all. I cannot allow the name.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : He was a Congress Chief Minister. He was not a Janata Chief Minister or Telugu Desam Chief Minister. You were encouraging him to do it.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my friend was speaking about Andhra Pradesh. I was saying that in Andhra Pradesh riots went on from 10 to 12 February in 1985 in Tandur-Ranga Reddy in which property worth Rs. 10 lakh was damaged. In Hyderabad city, riots took place between 8 and 11 March 1985 in Sultanshahi and other mohallas in which 6 persons died and property worth Rs. 36 thousand was destroyed.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY : In Meerut, it was 100 times more.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : In Natraj Nagar of Hyderabad the riots took place between 21 to 26 March 1985 resulting in the death of 4 persons and loss of property worth Rs. 15 thousand.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Is it a proper thing? How can you interrupt? There is a rule of parliamentary debate. You can reply.

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS (Tezpur) : You said, nothing happened in the last three years. So, he is citing instances to prove that something happend. What is wrong in it?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : He is entitled to say it. You cannot interrupt like this; you can reply to it later.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please, order.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : I am talking these figures from the Question-Answer given in Parliament.

[Translation]

Riots took place in Ramnagar in the State of Karnataka from 22nd July to 25th July 1986 in which 5 persons were killed. Similarly, 11 persons were killed in the riots that took place in Bangalore in 1986 on 7th December and 8th December. Four persons were killed in Mysore in the riots that took place in December, 1986. In this way I have given the details about all districts and all parties. I was not levelling any allegation. I was not telling that any party in particular is involved. What I was telling was that such incidents are taking place in the whole country. Therefore, it is essential that we may think afresh about it and take

action against those parties or institutions which spread communalism against any particular religion as has been envisaged in the resolution passed in the Constituent Assembly.

I am of the view that we should undertake some important task in this 40th year of independence. It will be good if from ensuing 2nd October Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi takes along all democratic parties which are prepared to come forward and launches a movement against Communalism so that communalism could be wiped out from the whole country. Our national executive had also said in this connection that the feeling of intolerance should be curbed. Therefore, we should make efforts in this direction.

I would like to make a few submissions in this regard. The recommendations of the different Commissions of Enquiry set up at the instance of the National Integration Council, should be considered by the entire country seriously that there should be representation of minorities in all Government jobs and there should be no influence of any particular religion on any functioning of State Government. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said this thing in the beginning. But today we find that whenever official functions are held, bhoomi-worship and all such other worships are done and in this way spirit of our secularism are adversely affected *(Interruptions)*

No state should think of any particular religion and the nature of secularism should be maintained. The changes being effected in education should include lessons through which the basic civilisation and culture of the country could be propagated and expanded. Nothing should be said against it and efforts should be made to end religious fundamentalism. Religious organisations should not be used for political interests Shri Ramoowalia was giving stress over it, but he had seen for himself that whereas previously lakhs of rupees were offered in the Golden Temple everyday, only Rs. 3,000 per day is coming through offerings now a days. Hence holy

places should not be used for political purposes.

The media available with us can also extend wide cooperation in this regard. They should publish things honestly so that they could spread an atmosphere of peace and goodwill in the country. Action should be taken against those people who write provocative articles and give instigating speeches. I feel that all political parties should be clear in this matter. They should not encourage in any form, people who want to spread religious sentiments under the garb of politics. Such people should be ignored. I am of the view that there is a very big responsibility on the Members of Parliament. They should undertake such works which may increase the feelings of secularism and create communal good-will in the country. They should wipe out the venom of communalism, polluted atmosphere and religious fundamentalism, spreading in the society.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa): I have so much to take pride of being an Indian but I hang my head in shame when I think of places like Meerut, Ahmedabad and Delhi where communal riots are taking place in our country today. We are discussing today the communal riots in our country. It is most distressing that over the years after independence, communal incidents are on the increase. While we had 84 communal incidents in 1954, it has increased to 525 in 1985 and so far I could not keep any count how many riots had taken place in this year. A study by Shri Gopalakrishnan in 'The Economic and Political Weekly' of 12th January, 1985 revealed that in 1961, we had 61 districts affected by communal riots and in 1970 it has increased to 216.

In the Rajya Sabha, the Home Minister stated on 24th July, 1986 that 88 districts in our country are hypersensitive and other 98 are sensitive.

This is a very gruesome situation. We have not learnt any lessons. What happened during the time when we attained our freedom? On the basis of communal differences, our country was divided. We had so much blood-shed. We pledged ourselves to develop our country as a secular country. But over the years, the true meaning of secularism has eroded and compromised and opportunism by the politicians has destroyed the fabric of secularism in our country. We can look for many grounds to find out the reasons for the occurrence of communal tension in our country, the economic, social and other things. We also know that there are crude communal organisations which preach communalism and divisions but we have to keep in our mind that large majority of our population, they are secular, they had been secular. Many of our political parties declare themselves secular. But when I see the growth of communalism, when I see the increasing influence of these communal organisations, I am prompted to ask a very pertinent question to the ruling party, to the Congress Party and to the Government as to what this Government and this Party have done in maintaining secularism of our country. There are organisations which are bent upon creating communal riots. But I want to know how they are getting to do it. This is a very pertinent question that requires answer. What we have failed in this is we have not taken up seriously the task of inculcating secularism in the minds of our people. I can say that.

Mr. Rajagopal in his latest book on communal violence in India has said how it could be prevented; what kind of measures should have been taken in that direction. Referring to Bhiwandi he said: "Though Bhiwandi has a labour population of nearly three lakhs, there are no trade union activities among the labourers in Bhiwandi. This is not for want of trying by the trade union leaders. They had tried and failed largely because the employers had kept the labourers away from the influence of the trade union leaders on communal grounds". The employers tried to keep

[Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary]

this divide on communal grounds. They prevented them coming together on economic grounds. This is how the vested interests are working. I charge this Government for the same, for the criminal responsibility that they maintain the policy of all that divides the people and keep them separated. By different kinds of Acts and enactments, by preventing people to take up the real economic issues in proper direction, by suppressing them through anti-democratic measures etc. the Government is doing it. Exploiting the situation the communal organisations are destroying the base of our secular country. There are some glaring examples and I must present them before this House. What is worrying us today is the bloodshed. I just want to refer to two instances. First, I would like to tell as to what harm this compromise doing to our country. We opposed vehemently the enactment of that Bill related Shah Bano. Why had we opposed it? We said: "It is not out of any true conscience for any religion you are doing it. You are doing it to enact a compromise". What happened after that? After that you had to reopen the so called Babri Mosque or Ram Janam Bhoomi. How it got opened so suddenly? For a period of 37 years, it remained closed. Just after this Bill was passed, you have opened it. You did not allow the different parties who are to plead in that case to appear before the Court. Further, the previous stand taken by the U.P. Government was not presented before the District Magistrate i.e. the Sessions Judge. What is the reason? Are we so naive not to understand the link? We have to understand the political vested interests and it has become a bone of contention. As far as this Babari Mosque-Ram Janam Bhoomi controversy is concerned, I do not know as to how it will end. But I believe that if all the All India Organisations do not interfere with it, then the people in Ayodhya will settle this issue by themselves, in the appropriate manner. May be that they will decide that both Mandir and Masjid will go side by side. May be that will be the best example of our secular-

ism. I do not know about it. But, what is the way out? The Home Minister is saying: "we are talking with the religious leaders". Who is a religious Hindu leader? Please tell me. Who is a religious Muslim Leader in our country? Please tell me. Why should you run after the so-called Muslim Leader and the Hindu Leader? Why don't you call a meeting of all political parties? All secular organisations should sit together and decide and try to bring about harmony. That is very important. But you are not doing it. Sometimes I feel like praying to God, if He is there, to take over all the Masjids and Mandirs and place them to the Heavens and do something so that we forget our religion. It is not uniting us. But I believe, God will not hear my prayer because Mr. Banatwalla has vitiated His mind against me...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER: Whose mind?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: The God's mind.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Balpur): He is in direct communion with God.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: The most important thing is that the communal organisations are doing everything to destroy the unity. What are we, secular people, doing? In Meerut, for more than four months riots are continuing. I ask this, not to charge anything or mean anything, but really for a soul-search. Which is the political party in Meerut? I regret that we do not have our Party there—the CPM. Is there any single poster pasted there by the Congress-I? Mr. Home Minister, is there any single poster pasted there saying, "Hindus and Muslims! Do not fight; remain united"? Is there any such poster?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: No poster.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: Any single rally in the *mohulla*?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Nothing.

[Translation]

AN HON. MEMBER : What happens in West Bengal

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY
What we do that we will tell.

[English]

I will tell you what do we do in West Bengal. Whenever we hear that there is a possibility of a riot anywhere, our volunteers go there immediately, remain on guard and see who are the people coming there to set fire. And their heads will roll. Our police is there; the Government order is there to shoot at sight. That is why there is no communal riot there.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT
(Manjeri). What about Garden Reach?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: It was stopped in four hours. There are criminal elements everywhere. That is why, people's intervention is the most important thing.

Now, what was the Chief Minister doing there in U.P? Some of the Opposition Members met him in the Circuit House. We wanted to go to Mathura and other places. Before going to Meerut, we had a talk with Mr. Buda Singh, and he said, "You do not go there today"—as if Mathura is in another country. He said, "You do not go there", but we told him, "No; we are not listening to you; we are going". We went there. The Chief Minister said, "You may go to Mathura". The D.M. or the D.S.P. was there. When we came out, the D.M. said, "You cannot go there". I asked him, "Why?".

We were actually prevented. We said, "We are going" and we went there. They arrested us and brought us to a Thana. In the night said, "You are not under arrest; you can go back". If this is the kind of Chief Minister and Administration we are having, I am forced to say, "God save us",
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I do not know

whether Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary is speaking or all others are also speaking. He is putting a question and there is an answer from somebody.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Is the Home Minister not concerned about the situation?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let him speak. If others go on adding, then he will lose his points; he will be disturbed.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: If this is the kind of Chief Minister we are having, then I am forced to say, "God save our country". You cannot take action against communal elements: What is the PAC for? I understand that communal organisations are working, emotions are aroused and people are fighting with each other, I understand, on communal lines. You should try to stop it, but you are not doing it. Is the police also to do the same thing? After some days, I again went to Meerut and visited every house. And I found not a single young man was spared from being injured in the hand and on the leg. There was injury. They were taken truck load near a canal, they were killed massacred and butchered. Is this communalism is inculcated in the minds of organised police force. I do not know what is going to happen to this country. If there is a composite police organisation Muslims and Hindus—that is good. But I am not for any quota system. But the point is that even if the training is not proper and secular, then Muslim and Hindu, police will fight each other. What will you do? Then secularism is very important thing. Now we are feeling all this. I believe, there is a necessity that political parties become aware of what we are doing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Don't drag on the defence community and the political parties together.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: About political parties. Sir, Raghbir Dayal Commission in Ranchi in 1967 observed: "the political parties should change their

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attitude in approaching the people for their gains especially elections. They should not exploit communal and caste feeling for their purposes."

Now in 1979, in the Jamshedpur Enquiry Commission they say the political parties have always regarded the community as vote banks and directed programmes and plan of action accordingly. If this is what we are doing who will unite the people? This is very important question. Today I am posing this very simple question for this simple thing that you may say anything. I can make rhetorics. I can quote many good people. But that is not going to catch any eye with the communal minded people. This is the kind of attitude towards secularism which this Government is taking. It is very harmful. The other day, the Prime Minister said, "our secularism is different from the secularism of other countries." He said, "we have to give support to all our religion here." I want to know why. The point is that we all know for every religion there is a super power. Hindus believe in Bhagwan, Muslims believe in Allah, Christians say God is there. So, if all these Almighty cannot help their religion who is this man the Almighty who can give boost to religion? It is the vested interest that brings politics into religion. Religion do not require any help from any Government. Let it remain in Mandir and Masjid. The other day, going to West Bengal the PM said that CPI(M) is anti-religion. This modern man we are having as Prime Minister. The principleless leader, this spineless organisation, the directionless people can never do good to this country.

There are certain other points. These are administrative and technical points. In our country we know that certain areas had chronic communal riots. What preventive action do we take? We don't take anything. And even when we get earlier information, we don't act on that. What do police do when they got information? They did not take any preventive action. In Meerut what happened? Police watched the riots for

one hour and 35 minutes. When the actual riot was taking place, they did not fire and kill the people. After that they went and did something very bad. Why did the police not act to stop the riot? Can you tell me? Then after the riots what happened? Demand for the Inquiry Commission started. Government dilly dallied on that. What happened to that Inquiry Commission? Everytime either they have delayed in setting up or they have not set up at all. If the commission is set up, the reports never come.

The inquiry report about the Moradabad riots which took place in 1980 was submitted in 1983. It has not been published by the Government. Why is it so? What is the need of the inquiry at all and how the faith will be there with the administration, judiciary and the Government?

Aligarh riots commission was set up on October 29, 1978; but after so many extensions it was wound up. Why? In Meerut, even the police said that the inquiry commission will be there; but the name of the judge could not be announced even after so many months.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: Shri Gursaran Lal Srivastava's name has been announced.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: Not timely, I believe three months later. The last year's inquiry commission has never met.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura): Why was it not announced just after the incident?

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: Sir, I am on a point of information. Shri Gursaran Lal Srivastava, the retired judge of the High Court has been appointed as the Judge and the officers of the committee have also been appointed under the Chairmanship of Shri Gyan Prakash.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA: When?

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: Many months back.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: Any-
way, after three months....(*Interruptions*)

There are certain administrative points which are very necessary. This kind of delay has to be avoided in order to create faith among the people. Otherwise they will take the law in their hands. They will understand that nothing is going to happen.

The Hon. Member has made a very good speech, I appreciate it. It is a very good speech that he has made. But the point is that even despite all that we are saying about the PAC, about a particular Chief Minister, about a particular DM, if they are not sacked and no action is taken against them, how will the faith be restored in the minds of the people?

There are so many suggestions that could be made about the prevention of riots. I don't think that we can achieve anything just by banning certain organisations. Banning them is required, may be in certain cases. But the point is that if you don't take other measures like campaigning with the people, then the banned persons will become heroes with the people. They distribute illegal literature. There should be counter-campaigning and other counter-measures. It is very important to my mind.

On the spot tackling is also necessary. Our prosecution machinery is very weak. How many were taken to jail, how many were convicted? Very few persons were convicted. Maybe, the police and the Government say that there is lack of evidence, and we have no proof as to who did it.

We talk of technology. All this can be used for this purpose. I believe, after the Bhiwandi riots, during some procession—the Ram Navami procession—close-circuit television camera were used to keep a close watch on the participants in the procession. That really curbed the miscreants from doing mischief. So many things can be done. But the most important thing that has to be there is the political will.

I would refer to a news item; you have to confirm it to me. Near Meerut some days ago, some bus passengers were killed. It has come in the Indian Post on 2nd August 1987. It says:

"A group of Congressmen inspired the bus carnage near Meerut on July 22nd, 1987—Central investigative agencies have come to the conclusion."

You have to put a check on your own people also. What happened in Meerut Circuit House? Two groups of congressmen came and manhandled the Chief Minister. One says that the PAC is good and the other says that PAC is bad. If the party is divided on this, I don't know what is the fate of its people. We should shun all kinds of opportunism in dealing with religion. We have to be firm and free from its intervention in politics or its mixing with politics.

It has to be done. That is very important. We must take measures to make the people conscious of the evils of the communalism by their direct involvement. That is very important. If we take certain measures that are needed to be taken against certain people, who are responsible for the failure of the machinery, who are responsible for failure to maintain the unity, and if we set an example for others by that, then certainly our objective can be achieved. There are certain economic and social factors which are at the root of everything, but I am not going in that at this moment. Economic exploitation is there, discrimination is there, but why should we allow communalism to grow because of that. Only exploitation does not lead to communalism. Things go from bad to worse when you do not allow democratic feelings to grow and exploit it in a very divided and wrong manner and give it a touch of religion and then this kind of communalism comes. We are having in our country economic exploitation and social castigation. We should have a movement of the people against this. We should not combine religion and politics and give an emotional turn to polit-

[Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary]

ics which may actually take the shape of communalism in our country. We must make all efforts to combat communalism so that we can live in peace and harmony. With these words, I conclude.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI (Raigarh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while taking part in the discussion on communal situation in the country, I would like to say only a few words. I am avoiding discussing it in detail.

At the first instance, I would like to suggest to the Government for setting up a Communal Riots Research Committee comprising secular and national minded intellectuals, Members of Parliament and the members of political parties with the intention of finding out the root causes of communal riots and disturbances and finding out permanent remedies. The Committee should be asked to submit its report within a period of six months.

What is the reason for communal riots taking place mostly in UP and Gujarat? What is the reason for the long lingering of Meerut communal disturbances? May I ask whether the decision of the reconstituted National Integration Council has been implemented? Actual causes for such riots and disturbances have not yet been found out. Neither the bad elements who are involved in such riots as key persons have been found out and punished. To check and prevent the riots, the responsibility lies not only with the Government but also with the political parties, their leaders and workers also. It appears that the political parties, their leaders and workers are not discharging their moral duty for the nation. Country becomes weak because of these riots and the foreign countries who are against the progress of India take benefits out of these riots to disturb the country.

Communal riots and disturbances have not ended due to the failure of the Government to take proper action and steps at proper time.

I further suggest that so long as the Communal Riots Research Committee, as suggested by me, is not formed, communal speeches by any body should be banned in the country and if needed, the Constitution should be amended to provide action against the offenders. We have to look to the interest of the country first and the country should never be destroyed or disturbed in the name of religion or any other sentiment.

Lastly, I appeal to all the hon. Members of Parliament, MLAs and MLCs to take a pledge to work against the communal forces in the country, sincerely and seriously for saving the country and the humanity.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS (Mavelikara): Sir, the sorry state of affairs of our country has permitted communalism and the communal leaders to become the spokesman. Sir, this is because of the importance given to the various communal leaders in our society. Sir, the real connotation of the term communalism is that in the interest of community, people should assemble and work together. But here in India, the word communalism includes all bad things like killing, fighting, etc. Some people should stand for their own interest and for their rights and fight against the community, that is not the meaning of communalism. Communalism means that people should join together and work for the development of the country as a whole. They should work for the common interest and not in their own interest alone. Some people who want to exploit the situation can arouse the feelings of a particular section of community and fight against us. Sir, I am not going into the details of all these things. The areas inhabited by a particular community are more vulnerable, they can be provoked to fight against other community. This is what took place in Ahmedabad, Bhiwandi, Meerut, Moradabad, Bangalore and Hyderabad. What happened there was that some people who have political patronages, take advantage and incite such things. Mr. Rajgopal, who had an occasion to go into the details of such happenings has written a book on

Disturbances

this subject. He was the chief of the CRP, he said that these riots are because of the political nexus with communal leaders. Somebody who wants to take political advantage of the situation arouse the communal feeling. After evaluating and assessing the causes of communal riots this was his findings.

Sir, we have political parties named after a particular community like Muslim League, Akali Dal, etc. Why there should be a Muslim League in India? Why there should be Akali Dal? Then if we want to preserve the secular nature of our country then these connotations and such expressions should go away.

Sir, my State of Kerala has gone through several experiments of this kind. Under the leadership of Congress they wanted a conglomeration, but the people of Kerala had simply rejected it.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: On experimnt basis.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS: Sir, that experiment is very important. Under the leadership of Congress, they wanted the leaders of various communities to join together, they wanted to tell the public that these communities will be served in this manner...

AN HON. MEMBER: Why do you forget CPM?

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS: In 1984 during Parliament election only 3 seats were given to the Left Democratic Front. But people were not prepared to accept the Congress policy of aligning with the communal forces and then exploiting the situation. In fact, this was not accepted even by the Left Democratic Front. During elections, when the communal parties came to them to have an alliance, they told them frankly that they were prepared to sit in the opposition and not to form a government on that basis. And people accepted their verdict, knowing it fully well.

Disturbances

My submission is that this sort of short-sighted exploitation of the communal feelings for political purposes has created this problem. The same thing is going on even in the regime of the present Prime Minister. I am not going into the details of the Shah Bano case with regard to Muslim women's rights. because many speakers who preceded me, talked on this issue. What was the attitude of the Congress(I) on a private member's Bill on this matter and subsequently why was Bill brought forward by the Government themselves? With regard to Babri Masjid issue also, they adopted the same tendency of appeasing communal authorities and communal leaders, just to get votes and remain in power. This sort of thinking should be changed. Our approach should be to build a society on a uniform civil code and not a pluralistic society based on religion, etc. Religion is a social and cultural entity. We accept it. But in all economic matters, our line of thinking should be to have a common law for all the citizens. We should never think of having different laws for different religious groups. Even when we look at the origin or root cause of most of the fights between communities, we find that these are not based on immediate communal feelings. Mr. Rajgopal also mentions the same in his book. The main reason for most of these clashes can be traced back to issues concerning economics. Even in the case of Meerut riots, it started over a quarrel among two or three people. Subsequently it developed into a riot. When we go deep into these riots, we see that almost every fight is based on some such things which have nothing to do with religion. When a community gets a feeling that it is not getting its due share and when their economic demands are not fulfilled, these things happen. The only way out is to build a society based on common civil rights. Many a law in our Statute Book relates to religion, Why should a secular government maintain a religious spectrum? Government interferes even with regard to the divorce laws. They also have a say in the administration of temples. Then, there are different personal laws. There is the Hindu Accession Act, Muslim Succession Act,

[Shri Thampan Thomas]

and so on. Why cannot we think of a uniform civil code, equally applicable to all people in the country?

Whether a person is Hindu or Muslim or Christian, a feeling must be inculcated in his mind that irrespective of his religion, he is first and foremost a citizen of India with a common law and common rights for all. So, my submission is that our first attempt should be to build a uniform civil law. We can achieve harmony in our society only when people from all sections feel that their interests are safeguarded and there is no reason to fear

In this context, I would like to mention about another big development which is taking place in our country. Indian nationalism and Hinduism are considered synonymous. This is really dangerous. We have heard about Muslim nationalism and we have heard about Akali nationalism, but we never heard about Hindu nationalism. What do these people mean when they say that Hindu nationalism and Indian nationalism are synonymous? When a majority feels that their religion is synonymous with nationalism and anything against this so called nationalism, will not be tolerated, tensions will naturally mount. And tensions are mounting. It is the responsibility and duty of the majority to see that the interests of the minorities are safe guarded and well respected. When minorities feel that their interests are not safeguarded, tensions mount and ultimately people with ulterior motives exploit the situation.

To avoid all these things, I would suggest that instead of calling Hinduism as a nationalism, it should be the Indianism which should come in. There, the minorities should be given sufficient safeguards and protection.

Regarding the appointment of Commissions of Inquiry by the Government, I want to mention something about it. How did

the Government face such situations? They have appointed several Commissions. In Ahmedabad Gujarat—about 400 people died due to the riots. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the riots. It was known as Desai Commission. It was appointed in the year 1986.

In Moradabad also, due to riots, 400 people died. About 400 criminal cases were filed. What was the final outcome. Only six criminal cases were completed, and the rest were either withdrawn or acquitted by the Courts because proper evidences were not available. I would like to ask you, what respect, people will have on all these things? Nobody will trust these Commissions, if such Commissions are appointed and actions are taken in this manner. Instead of condemning the communal riots, they are promoting it. Why these cases were withdrawn by the Government? It was very well pointed out that there were political interests involved in it.

Therefore, I think things were not made public, even though the Commissions have made their inquiries and came to the conclusion that there were some reasons behind it. It was because of political reasons which had instigated such elements to indulge in riots. Then they kept silent on this topic. They say, they won't be published. The Government themselves decided to withdraw these cases. All these cases have gone as a mockery in the minds of the people. That situation has to be changed and the confidence has to be created. The aim should be that everyone in this country is equal, whether he is an Hindu or a Muslim or for that matter any other religion.

On the basis of promoting Hinduism, one Party emerges. They immediately see to it that that party has got to be promoted. That is what is happening. They themselves take up that course and campaign for Hinduism. That is the difficulty which we are facing in this country. Therefore, I would say that this should not be done. More and more importance has to be given to the economic situations wherein these

religions must be kept in their proper places. Of course Gandhiji has said that religion should not be mixed with politics. That is a wrong approach. He had said that they have not understood religion. But I want to say that the so-called religious leaders have not understood what religion and politics are. The religion is a good thing because the man who worships the God, wants to purify his life. So here the religion plays an important role. But here, what is happening? Here, the so called leaders have put out the people. They ask people to go and shine the shoes in front of them in the name of religion. Otherwise, if they do not do that, they will be put out of the religion. The political leaders fear that if they do something against their religion, then what will happen to them. They say, that they should not opt for a particular person. When they come for voting, they are afraid of the religious leaders. That situation should go now. What Gandhiji had said was that religion has a role to play. The meaning of the religion has not been understood. Those who say that religion has nothing to do with the Indian politics is correct, but their religion is different. The present day religion is really controlling the politics of this country.

Therefore, unless an effort is made to delink this thing, nothing can be done. Some declarations were made by the Prime Minister and the President here, regarding this. They are doing it. I think it is only a crime—they are not able to show anything so far, till date, to see that the religion is delinked from politics.

On the 15th August, we have heard him. We have heard the President in the Joint Sitting of Parliament. But what we see here? The same Congress Party is supporting the communal riots and are involved in such things. They are nourishing the communal violence, so that on that basis to see whether they can survive or not.

[*Translation*]

SHRI K.J. ABBASI (Domariaganj): Mr.

Deputy Speaker, Sir, since 1980, it is perhaps for the fourth time that I am speaking on this subject. I feel extremely ashamed when Hindu-Mulsim riots take place. Thereafter, we hold a debate over it in this House. A very good discussion takes place. Every one expresses sentiments that these communal riots should be ended. Every party honestly feels that these bring harm.

The Congress has a history. The most significant in it is that at the time of partition of the country in 1947 had there been a Hindu-Mulsim feeling among our Congress leaders, India would have been in some other shape. But at the time of Indo-Pak partition big leaders had this thing in their mind that all people, men and women, every person who lived on this land is an Indian. Whether he is a Hindu or Muslim, a Sikh or Christian, all will live like brothers. Therefore, all legislations were made on these lives in which all were given equal rights.

Therefore, between 1947 to 1952, as and when any riot used to take place our big leaders handled this properly. They reached on the spot and themselves looked into things.

As has been said the other day by the hon. Prime Minister in a Congress meeting, what is needed is that non-Muslims should come forward and visit the affected places. After listening to the speech of Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, I feel that Congress is still alive and there are people like him in it. I uttered the name of Congress because we are in power. Allegations will be levelled against us and the opposition has every right to level these allegations if riots take place during our time and we are not able to check them. But after listening to the speech of Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, opposition Members might have also heard him, I feel that the Congress is still alive. There are still some people in it who can confront such a situation.

Riots have taken place not only in Uttar Pradesh but at different places in the whole

[Shri K.J. Abbasi]

India. The confrontation taking place in Punjab is of a different kind, but riots have taken place in Gujarat, Ahmedabad, Andhra Pradesh etc. It is quite natural that riots may take place. But what is of great concern is that the riots continue and keep on occurring and are not checked.

Shri Syam Lal Yadav has discharged his duties which he owed to the nation. But as a Muslim I would like to call upon my Muslim brethren especially that we should forcefully stick to our views that we are Indians. Only then we will be able to maintain the unity. I know that our voice is weak because our community is carried away by the slogans. The same thing happened when the country was divided. Even today photos of those persons are published in the newspapers etc. who raise slogans and make speeches. They get rewards. If the sentiments of our being Indian are diminished, we will forfeit the right of objecting others. Then the problems will not be solved. I want to tell my Muslim brothers that, as has been said by Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, solution of the slogans like "Bajrang Bali" is not the counter slogans like "Naara-e-takbir". Slogans are given only to arouse emotions and it is the handiwork of rowdy elements and as has already been stated by my worthy friend, those were not religious slogans. Some goonda elements join such congregations, raise these slogans. If you cannot identify and isolate such people, then feelings will be fanned and people will be provoked. Last time also I had said that, if you hold one rally, they will arrange 4 such rallies; if you collect Rs. 1 crore towards donation, they will collect Rs. 10 crores. This is no answer to the problem. This will not solve the issue. The solution, which I have been explaining to the people in the streets of my constituency, and which I am submitting in this House also is that Hindu-Muslim unity should be established. Neither all Muslims are gentle nor all Hindus are bad. You will find in your own village both good Hindus as well as good Muslims. If you increase number of such people and take them

along with you, you can solve the quarrels in the villages.

I do not want to go into the duties of the Government. First of all I would like to remind myself of my own duties as a citizen of the country. We may be Hindus or Muslims, but before that we are Indians. This we will have to remember. If fire catches and houses are burnt, it will not differentiate between the houses of the Hindus and the Muslims. But in order to put out this fire, we will have to create mutual brotherhood. What is the remedy for communalism? This ailment has since been diagnosed. We will have to face boldly communalism which is rising in the country and we will have to create self confidence and this belief in us that we are Indians. We are Muslims and we are very proud of being Muslims, but that does not mean that if we live in India we will continue to remain Muslim for 24 hours. You may go to Mecca and Madina for Haj. I had also gone there. If any one asks there as to who you are and you say that you are a Muslim, he will slap you because there, all are Muslims. There you will have to tell the name of your country and say that you are an Indian, Iranian, Afgan or Indonesian. Our country comes first and we have to be ready to sacrifice our lives for the sake of the country. If we inculcate this sentiment in us, we can render good service to the Muslims. We do not do service to the Muslims by wearing black clothes, demonstrating with black flags and closing the doors of the mosque for offering 'namaz'. With such actions, we cannot claim that we are rendering service to the Muslims. It is not a service to the Muslims. Arousing the sentiments of Muslims is not a service to the Muslims. I am of the view that, there can be no bigger disservice to the Muslims and harming their rights. What happened in 1946? Rumours were spread in the villages that people will be converted into Hindus. The Muslims league people said this and went several miles away and in the meantime 50 villages were set on fire. At that time we were reading the Quran in one village and educating the people that they were not Hindus, they were Muslims but

what benefit did they achieve out of it? In the partition of the country, the Muslims were the sufferers, not Hindus. A book can be written on this subject and one can speak for hours together on it. Those Muslims who migrated there have been living like out-castes and are being called Mujahirs and are being killed. And those who are living here are facing the atrocities as committed in the Maliana and Meerut. It is the Muslims who have suffered losses. But who caused this loss? Neither the Congress nor the Hindus caused this loss. It is we who caused this loss. At that time we did not differentiate between the personalities of Maulana Azad and Maulana Ahmed Hussain Madvi. We made such a person a leader who did not know who is Allah and what is Rasul. We followed a person who had never read Quran. We never gave a thought that that could lead to loss of our lives and can divide the country. I have also written this in my book. In 1946 I told them that they were living in U.P. and that will continue to remain in India and it will remain under Hindu Raj. What makes you to vote for Pakistan. They understood my point. After 10 days, some other people came. They instigated them a lot. When I met them, one of them accused me of deceiving them. I told one of the Muslim that he was a very weak Muslim. We used to say that with one naara-e-tadbir we will reach Delhi and in another naara-a-tadbir we will reach Lucknow. These were the emotions at that time which divided India and created Pakistan. The Muslims could not belong to either side.

If I tell the truth, you will not understand it, but you will understand immediately what Shri Owaisi says.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Are you giving proof of your loyalty? Speak on the subject under discussion. What is the use of going into the history?

SHRI K.J. ABBASI: My worthy friend has questioned my loyalty. I am loyal to my party and I have always been loyal to it. There are no two opinions about it. If you

have got a party, you are also loyal to it.... (Interruptions) Do not think that we will get some reward for this loyalty. At the time of contesting elections, I had told that I will not contest any more elections. I have got the reward what I was to get. I am also a Muslim and I am 76 year old. I have always been speaking the truth, I will always speak the truth and stick to the truth till my death. What we are doing today will invariably lead to destruction.

Sir, I want to submit that this evil is on the increase and it has spread outside Punjab as well. Earlier bus passengers used to be killed only in Punjab. Now such things are happening outside Punjab also. Its effect has been that innocent bus passengers in U.P. were dragged out of a bus and were killed. Even such people were killed who were going to pay their condolences somewhere.

Just now hon. Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary was speaking and I support him. Committees are constituted whenever some such incidents occur and enormous amounts are spent on them. But their reports are not made public. Last time also when I was making my submission I had requested hon. Shri Chidambaram that such farce should be stopped. These Commissions should also be done away with. We have full confidence in you. You also take us and the opposition into confidence. The Government should take matters into its own hand, get the situation surveyed, hold talks and provide a solution because it is in a better position to solve the problem than Judges. Some action should be taken. Some persons responsible for these things should be suspended and some others dismissed so that people may feel that Government has taken some initiative.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore): Now say something about the Chief Minister of U.P.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah): Wherefrom he will muster so much of courage? ... (Interruptions)

SHRI K.J. ABBASI: Any Chief Minister is ashamed of riots taking place in his state. But you should not think that it is because of some one Vir Bahadur Singh that riots occur. Riots have taken place earlier also and I do not want to go into the details or into the names of the people involved in them. I want to give some suggestions in this regard.

The most important is that for sensitive areas we should form peace-committees but as the hon. Member was saying that in such Committees also the rogues infiltrate and incite riots. It is not that there is a dearth of sincere people in this country. Good Hindus and Muslims should be appointed the members of these committees which should be of permanent nature and its advice should be given more weightage than the advice of the Police.

Secondly, you will see that whenever communal violence breaks out, the poor have to suffer and the rich remain untouched. Therefore a riot-tax should be levied which should be imposed in case of eruption of communal violence.

Similarly, the decisions of the National Integration Council should be implemented. Otherwise it should be dissolved.

The Police should be given special training. Police, of course, is indispensable. The image of Police came into disrepute after 1977. The entire police force should be recast. It should be composed of people who are Indians in true sense and not Hindus or Muslims.

Similarly, an anti-riot force should be raised to deal with riots. This matter has been under discussion for quite some time and all the political parties have supported it. The people have lost confidence in the PAC. Protests have been raised against it since the Aligarh incidents. You had promised and late Shrimati Indira Gandhi had also forcefully promised that

the police will be recast but it is to be seen that after how many more riots it is done.

Some good people are also seen during the riots, as you may observe that some Hindus protect the Muslims and some Muslims also do the same gesture but they go unnoticed. I will cite the case of a Deputy Commissioner, Sales Tax in Meerut. Whom I saw injured one day. When I asked him as to how he received the injury he replied that his neighbour Hindu lady had given shelter to his children and after two hours, when riots took place he had to jump into her house due to which he got the injury. She not only gave shelter to the whole of his family but provided medical treatment also. The press should highlight such good gestures instead of filling the front pages with reports of killings in communal violence in various parts of the country. However some newspapers reported the good gestures shown by Hindus and Muslims in protecting the life and property of each other? The press should give publicity to such incidents so as to create a good atmosphere in the country. I am grateful to you for having given me time to speak and I hope the hon. Minister will consider my suggestions.

*SHRI A.C. SHANMUGAM (Vellore).
Hon. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the matter of communal disturbances has been the subject of discussion in this august House several times before. Communal disturbances are not new to India. Communal disturbances have been a matter of routine occurrences over the past hundred years of more. Right from the Noakhali incident, Mahatma Gandhiji strived hard and sacrificed his life for eradication of divisions in the society on the basis of religion and caste. He fell martyr to a communal bigot's bullet. The late Prime Minister Smt. Gandhi also endeavoured her best to eradicate communalism from the country. She was silenced by a religious fundamentalist. Despite the best efforts of these and other leaders, communalism continues to be the bane of our society.

*The speech was originally delivered in Tamil.

14.16 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHEER *in the Chair*]

Very recently, last night, terrorists have gunned down some of the relatives of our hon. Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh. I offer my condolences on behalf of the AIADMK to the Minister and the bereaved families. We wholeheartedly condemn it.

But I am proud to say that the situation is entirely different in Tamil Nadu. Father Periyar founded the Rationalists Movement in Tamil Nadu. The movement awakened the masses and not only Tamil Nadu but the whole of South India was overtaken by the activists of the Movement. Divisions based on caste and religion slowly gave way to ideas based on rational thinking. Periyar, in this enthusiasm to abolish religions and castes, went to the extent of saying that there was no God.

Periyar (the enlightened) C.N. Annadurai preached the slogan of "one society one God" He preached the fundamental need of social unity and communal peace in every nook and corner of Tamil Nadu. Therefore, Tamil Nadu today stands unaffected by communal conflicts

Dr. M.G.R., the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is adopting a secular approach in all matters. He does not belong to any religion, nor to any particular caste. He belongs to all, to Tamil Nadu. I urge that such situation should be created in all the other States also. Today, Tamil Nadu is a peace park. There is no communal violence or hatred. The credit for such a congenial atmosphere goes to these leaders.

Sir, India is celebrating its 40th anniversary of Independence. But, we have not put a stop to communal disturbances. We must set out to analyse the root-causes of these problems. Members who spoke before me, referred to many details. They said that nearly 400 have died in Meerut. 50 or 60 people have lost their lives in Ahmedabad violence. Communal riots took place in Gujarat, in Delhi. The hon. Minis-

ter Shri P. Chidambaram toured all the affected areas. I am thankful to him for bringing peace to these areas torn by communal violence.

As I said, we must analyse the basic reasons for this violence. Efforts of the Govt. alone would not help to solve this problem. People from all walks of life must sit together and arrive at a solution.

History reveals that in 1946-47 nearly 182 districts in India were affected by communal riots. The hon. Minister Shri P.C. Chidambaram gave the details that during 1982-87, over these five years, nearly 98 districts have been affected by the riots. We must not allow these riots to continue in such numbers. We must draw a line somewhere.

Sir, religion is a tool which sublimates man. But, I am not aware how to stop men from turning into beasts under the garb of religion. Instead of using religion for the purification of souls, certain vested interests are using religion for whipping up communal frenzy and hatred. This leads to loot, murder, rape etc.

Sir, there is no quarrel between an atheist and a believer in God. Ugly fights, indeed, erupt between people professing various faiths. One set of bigots proclaim that their religion is supreme and their God is supreme and this leads to communal clashes with others, professing a different religion. Therefore, it is a crying need of the times we live in, that religious fundamentalism and extremism must be curbed by all means. Conditions must be created by the religious leaders themselves to declare such extremists and fundamentalists as enemies of God and offender against religion and must be excommunicated.

I would like to point out another danger. With the so called progress, we are not able to restrict the number of castes and sub-castes which is always on the increase. Government should abolish all castes.

[Shri A.G. Shanmugham]

Laws, if necessary must be passed. Sir, you take schools and colleges. Even for admission into primary classes like 1st standard to 5th standard, the school authorities require the parents to record the castes of the children in the application forms. This ignominious system of recording castes should go. Details must be with regard to name and sex of the children. I condemn this sowing of divisions in the tender minds of children.

Sir, next is about the grant of concessions in schools and other organisations. Many rich persons owning lakhs and crores worth of property are granted concessions just because they belong to a lower caste. On the other hand, a poor boy is denied the same concessions simply because he belongs to a higher caste. This violates the spirit of granting such concessions. I therefore, commend to the Govt. to follow the yardstick of economic backwardness as the only criterion for grant of concession in schools and colleges.

Let me say something about the voters list. Castes are also mentioned against the names in the voter list. This helps the candidates to campaign for election on communal lines. Communalism in politics starts from the voters list. Hon. Minister may kindly take steps to see that no indication or mention of caste or religion is given or made against the names in the voters list when it is prepared.

Members are elected to State legislatures and Parliament to serve the society and the public at large. But many MLAs and MPs have their caste names at the end of their names. Persons elected to serve the people should not have passion for such parochial exhibitions of their castes in their names. Hon. Minister may please try to check this trend.

Whether it is this Govt. or that Govt. we cannot be silent spectators of communal violence. We must take radical steps to

curb this menace of communal disturbances

Hon. Members Smt. Basavarajeswari has moved a Bill in this House for prohibition of misuse of religious places etc. Govt may kindly adopt the ideas and bring a comprehensive legislation to tackle the communal disturbances.

Those who incite communal violence must be punished ruthlessly. All existing laws must be effectively enforced to check these vested interests who make capital out of communal disturbances. Lathi-charging the mobs and confining them in jails are no solution to communal disturbances. We must go deep into the problem and trace out the big shots who instigate the innocent people to indulge in arson and communal violence. The mobs are after all mercenaries.

I welcome the Govt's suggestion to hold the District Collectors and DSPs directly responsible for communal violence in the respective districts. This should be implemented expeditiously.

I also underline the impertiveness of setting up a communal peace keeping force, in every district, in every State. The Centre must finance the constitution and maintenance of the force. The force should combat communal violence and maintain communal amity in the areas of their jurisdiction.

I am also constrained to point out that many incidents of communal incidents start from a petty fight. A small issue blows out into a unmanageable communal conflagration. This is mainly due to the lackadaisical approach of the district authorities. Sometimes, even the officials entrusted with the district authorities collude with the arsonists and perpetrators of communal violence. Such officials should be punished severely.

I also request for the institution of special courts to adjudicate matters on com-

munal disturbances on the parallel of special courts constituted to deal with terrorist cases.

Sir, communalism is assuming such vast proportions that even schools and colleges are not spared. Groups and Organisations based on religion and caste are fast emerging in many educational institutions to divide young students on communal lines. This must be stopped. This would require the cooperation of all sections.

MLAs and MPs who incite communal violence should be disqualified. Laws must be enacted to ban communal parties and to prohibit parties using communal symbols for election purposes.

Lastly, let me say a few words about the Ram Janam Bhumi issue. Many members have expressed many views on this issue. My suggestion is that efforts must, first, earnestly be made to solve the issue by negotiations. In case no solution is forthcoming, then, Govt. must declare the area a site of historical importance and take over the place.

I would also appeal to all parties including the opposition parties not to make political capital out of communal disturbances. They must cooperate with the Govt. in coping with communalism.

I also appeal to Govt. to prohibit religious, sectarian and Casteist broadcasts on radio and TV.

[English]

SHRI HUSSAIN DALWAI (Ratnagiri):
Mr. Chairman, today we are discussing a very important subject of communal situation in India. When we think of the communal situation in India, we are reminded of the two vital incidents which have taken place in India after freedom. Our leader and father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi who gave his whole life for communal harmony had to fall a victim to the bullet of a fanatic.

Similarly, our late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi who gave the dynamic 20-Point Programme for economic emancipation of the poor and downtrodden had also to fall a victim to the bullets of a fanatic.

If we do not deal with these problems very seriously taking into account its gravity when compared with all other problems we are facing today in our country, we cannot go further and march ahead.

I am very happy to say that even the ex-Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai said the other day that in years to come India is going to be the most powerful nation in the comity of the nations and we will certainly forge ahead to achieve the same but the cancerous growth of communal virus in India should be mopped in the land to achieve our goal to make India a powerful nation.

In order to achieve communal harmony, what should we do? The seeds of divide and rule policy sown by the British empire are deep-rooted in the country. When the Britishers were forced to leave India, they went away by dividing our country. But today what do we see? If we take a dispassionate view, the country was partitioned.

Religion has not proved to be the binding force for fostering nationalism. You have seen that both the Big powers of the world, USA and Russia are following Christianity but are confronting each other. In our Western neighbourhood, both Iran and Iraq are following Islam but still they are fighting with each other. The other day, the veteran former Chief Minister of Sind Mr. G.M. Sayed was in India and was saying that we partitioned our country on the basis of religion. See the creation of Bangladesh. In Pakistan, Sindhis are feeling that they are not being given due weightage under the military regime of Pakistan where some other people are having predominance.

India is the largest democracy in the world. I have to make a fervent appeal to the largest religion of India i.e. to my

[Shri Hussain Dalwai]

Hindu brothers. If anyone of them has an illusion in his mind that religion can play a dominant role, in fastering spirit of nationalism he is sadly mistaken.

I was very much proud to see that when our late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi had gone to Arab countries, she was given more respect and better welcome than even the leaders of the Pakistan. The admiration is solely due to our lofty concept of secularism.

Our position as the leader of non-aligned country is very good and we have been helping the countries which have won freedom but the citizens of which are suffering from disabilities.

Similarly, the majority community should come forth with good gestures to minorities because that is the magnanimity which the minorities expect from them.

I was very much disheartened when a senior Member of this House and former Minister said that now the time has come when majority community needs protection. If that feeling is allowed to grow and if such a tendency is nurtured in India, it will be a negation of the concept of secularism to which we have been committed. That is why I would insist that we must be clear in our mind that religion should not be allowed to interfere in politics. Actually, religion has no place in politics, according to me. So, all the religions are based on good moral principles. No religion teaches hatred against other religions. That is why the most eminent poet *Allama Iqbal* said in his tarana.

Majhab nahi sikhata
aapas mein bair rakhna

If you study all religions, you will find that the basic principles of all religions are very good. Then, why we are fighting? Every religion teaches us that God is one; you must worship God. Still, fighting among different religions is going. It is because

that there are certain elements—certain fanatics preaching religion in our society, are creating the communal troubles. When there was riot in Bhiwandi, on the second day of the riot, I and our most veteran leader of Maharashtra and a great reformist Shri Hari Bhau Joshi and ex-Speaker of Maharashtra legislative Assembly Shri Silam wanted to go and see as to what was happening at Bhiwandi why Bhiwandi was burning? We were going by the Bombay-Agra road to Bhiwandi. Along with me Shri Silam was there; Shri Hari Bhau Joshi was accompanying me and there were two Muslim brothers also with me. On the road, the entire traffic were standing in the middle of the road and they stopped our cars at every point. One such group asked, "Have you got any Muslim member with you in the cars and if so you hand him over to us". They were so furious because the propaganda made by some anti-social people was such. They should have told them so many things. That is why they were very furious. They further said: "Any Muslim who comes here, will be killed by us". Shri Hari Bhau Joshi was a person who never liked to tell a lie. But he was so embarrassed. Then he said pointing at me "He is Shri Dalwai, an MLA from Ratnagiri and there was no Muslim with him." The mob allowed us to go. But while coming back, they again stopped our car. At this stage, Shri Hari Bhau Joshi was annoyed. He got down from the car and we all sat on the ground and also asked the mob to sit along with us. There were 50 persons having various arms and ammunitions, and so many weapons. Then, he explained, "I have myself seen Bhiwandi burning and many Muslims have been killed. Their property is burning and you do not know to what extent the damage has been caused to the lives and the properties of Muslims. I am a Hindu. You don't worry. I am telling you the truth." But they said: "No. It is not like that. Yesterday some people came and told us that some Muslims molested our sisters and our mothers. They killed 500 Hindus. 2000 buildings and were gutted. All this information was given to us. We are aware of it. Tonight we have decided to burn 10 houses of Muslims which are in

our village in retaliation. Then Hari Bhau converted their feelings by persuasive arguments. After that they said that they would protect the Muslims of that village. At this stage, Shri Hari Bhau said : "It is your duty to protect the Muslims who are in minority there. Nothing has happened to the lies and properties of Hindus at Bhiwandi. On the contrary, Muslims have suffered a lot. That is why, you should not do anything." Then they agreed to his suggestion. After this incident was over, Shri Hari Bhau said "In the morning, you were asking us to hand over the Muslims to you. He informed them: "These are the two Muslims with me. Now, whatever you want to do, you do." They had, by that time, been pacified and they had changed their mind. So, what really happens is the organised rumour-mongering playing a very dominant role during such riots. In such cases, it is the duty of the police officers, the local leaders to go to the affected areas and study the situation on the spot. Unless we do that, anything can happen because of the rumour-mongering. We, the representatives of our people have a duty to discharge viz to see that the communal harmony is maintained in our areas. I always tell our Muslim brothers that after the partition the treatment given to the Muslims in India is for better. We are proud of it. In our country the spirit of secularism and National integrity has developed in such a way that the Muslims in India are far happier than the Muslims in Pakistan. Not only that. Our Hindu brothers should also know that the Muslims in India are much more in number than those in Pakistan.

We do not want that separatist tendencies should be allowed to develop. We do not want reservation of seats for Muslims. But the real thing is that today what happens is that one-sided decisions are taken. In the police force also, recruitment from minorities should be done. In the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs, of which I was a Member, I told the Home Minister at that time, "We do not want reservation; but what we want is that the whole society should have reflection on our police force and also in banks".

If you go to a bank, you will find hardly one per cent Muslims there. In the police force also, if a Hindu sees a Muslim along with him, he will not feel that something is wrong the other man also will not have any communal feeling and will not do anything wrong. So, it is imperative to have cross-section of the people recruited in the police force. I do not find even five per cent Muslims in so many offices—employees both in Government and public undertakings including the banks. These things should be seriously considered. Due representation to Muslims should be given in every sphere.

I would not like to touch the question of Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi. It is a very delicate question. It is a question which is not restricted to a particular place—mosque or temple. If you read the history of India, you will find that, long before the Britishers, the Muslims were there in India. Mughals came as invaders and rulers. I come from Maharashtra and I am proud to say that in Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj's time, it was a Muslim soldier, his trusted lieutenant, who rescued Shivaji Maharaj from Agra fort. There were so many Muslims who were his confidants. Not only that. I am proud to say that even in the war against Pakistan, so many Muslim soldiers fought as true Indians on the side of India. There, communalism did not come in the way of defending our country because we are Indians first. I am proud to say that I am a Muslim, but when it comes to the question of our country, I am an Indian first and then a Muslim. We have to say like this. Everybody should have that feeling. We have always to respect our religions also. Then only we can have national integration. So, these things must be taken into account and practised honestly. We have to foster national integration by keeping religion out of politics. Even about my own party, I am very sorry to say that our Party has an alliance with the Muslim League, which is not in existence in Pakistan. The Muslim League was responsible for the Partition of this country, but that Party is not in existence today in Pakistan, but the Muslim League is very much a

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Party in India, and our Party had made an alliance with them. Our local Congress representatives have to face so many odds because of this. These things should be abandoned. I want to be very outspoken on this issue.

Once I praised Shri Morarji Desai for his very firm opinion when he was a Chief Minister of Erstwhile Bombay. He said, "Unless the members of Bombay Assembly unanimously elect me as the leader, I would not accept the Chief Minister. When there was one man who opposed him, he said, "I will not contest", and he withdrew from the contest. But, after some years, there was a demand for the removal of the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry in Gujarat on the ground that, according to him, the Government was corrupt, and when election took place, Mr. Morarji Desai's Party was falling short of eleven MLAs. At that time the *Times of India* had come out with a nice cartoon showing the Chief Minister Shri Babubhai Patel sitting on the Chair of Chief Minister with only two legs and behind it were the two hands of Shri Chimanbhai Patel to support his chair. The heading of the cartoon was "But for Chimanbhai's eleven, the Babubhai's Cabinet would not have seen the light of the day". At that time, Mr. Morarji Desai failed. I told him that he should have withdrawn from that, he should have said, "I do not want to form the Government". I told him, "You made our country lose Rs. 2 crores on election; you fought on principle at that time, but now you have joined hands with the same persons for whose removal you had gone on fast into death.

He said that he put a condition that Chimanbhai's MLA will not be taken in the Ministry. That is not sufficient. Our leaders also who are at the top, should keep on acting consistently with the principles they preach in the larger interest of the country. I would suggest, in our day to day Government functioning the religions are not given importance. I am against the Govern-

ment encouraging religious functions in Government programmes. Whenever you go to enter your child in the school, they first ask you, what is your caste, what is your sub-caste, what is your religion? Dis-integration start there only.

Similarly, in job. I recommended one boy for employment. His name was Chogale. He had written I.A. Chogale. When he was selected he was asked to write his full name. He wrote Ibrahim Abhas Chogale. Then he was discarded. Why? Because he was Muslim. There was Shiv Sena Labour Union in that concern. I went and met the head of the Shiv Sena and discussed with him and said that he speaks better Marathi than you and you still call him a Muslim. Because he is Muslim he is not entitled to get this. He is Maharashtrian. He is better Maharashtrian than anybody else. Then that matter was settled

Similarly, our approach should be in the larger interest of the unity and integrity of the country and to see that this communal tension does not grow more. I remember, that in good old days, the country was having lot of communal tension when partition of the country was being demanded. At that time, in Noakhali, there was a lot of mass killing and the Chief Minister of Bengal Shri Suhrawardy could not control the same. He approached Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi. He came all the way to Delhi to invite him. Mahatma Gandhi agreed to go there by staying there for one week and by moving in the riot affected area he restored peace and normalcy.

AN HON. MEMBER: Not Mahatma Gandhi but we have got Hon. Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI HUSSAIN DALWAI: But we have got Gandhi at least. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has got implicit faith in the communal harmony. It is the duty of yourself and mine also that if something happens, we should go to the area and see that communal harmony is restored and we should see that no further incident take place.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Mr. Chairman, we may be able to satisfy our conscience by saying that after all a discussion on communal situation has been held in the House. But I think there is poor consolation for our conscience when we see the poor participation, the poor attendance on this occasion. I am afraid, the scale of value in our country has changed very much. And a monster is stalking the land at the moment, it is the monster of communalism. We should have absolutely no complacency whatsoever about the danger which confronts our country. And I would say that the Government of India is primarily responsible for drift, for a policy of appeasement, a policy of compromising with this communal monster instead of confronting. The situation is not better. It is getting worse. It is very well to say in speeches here that we are confident that the situation will improve and we will turn the tide and all that. We have been debating communal disturbance over the years. Last time, we had a big discussion here at the time of Ahmedabad riot when they were at their worst. Many assurances were given by the Government. The Hon. Minister who is going to reply to this debate was here on that occasion also, I believe. He tried to satisfy the Members by giving some assurances of firm measures which were going to be taken.

I want to say quite clearly that from my understanding of the situation, as far as communalism is concerned, the danger is growing, it is not getting less, it is growing. It is not a matter which can be handled only by administrative measures.

Last time we were regaled with a whole series of promises on administrative measures—that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police would immediately be made responsible and taken to task wherever there is a disturbance in their area; that long promised mixed anti-riots police force would be constituted, precautionary measures would be taken in time based on improved intelligence system, etc. All these things which

are administrative measures—I hope the Minister will have the courage to admit—first of all are not being implemented and secondly they are totally inadequate to meet the situation.

We went to Meerut and saw what happened there. I don't want to single out any individual. It is true that the District Magistrate, the Collector there was removed; but when? When all the damage had been done, when everything was over, when the massacre of Muslims was over and when the vandalism indulged in by the PAC was over and had become a national and international scandal. Long after that, the District Commissioner, whom I met when I went there, was removed. That also was on the basis of so many complaints and on realising that there was no other alternative but to remove him.

The mixed police force which has to be specially created in order to handle the communal disturbances is nowhere in sight. At least I don't find it operating anywhere. On the other hand, you have an extreme spectacle of a body like the PAC, a thoroughly communalised force. When demands were raised that this PAC should be removed from the scene at least in areas where the minority community is living predominantly we were told by the Government that they are helpless because this is a State matter, the PAC is the only armed constabulary which is at the disposal of the Uttar Pradesh Government, they cannot interfere and tell the State Government to remove its constabulary from the scene unless that Government itself agrees to do so and asks the Centre to send its paramilitary force. It is true that some paramilitary force was sent to Meerut; but it was after the whole trouble was over.

The minimum precautionary measures were not taken. Everybody knew, it was in the air that there was going to be a big outbreak in Meerut because of what had happened in April. No resident in Meerut at least thought that after what had taken place in April, the situation was going to be normalised and become peaceful, because

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preparations were going on for a bigger outbreak.

If your intelligence system was not able to convey even that to you, then how can you take precautionary measures? Normal minimum measures are taken everywhere. At least I find that in West Bengal our Government does it. When there is any sense of trouble coming, all anti-social elements, bad characters, people who are known to be *goondas* are rounded up and locked up first of all, until the situation returns to normal. Was it done in Meerut? Was any attempt made by the administration to bring prominent people of the localities belonging to different communities, leading citizens of the city together in order to form some kind of a committee before the trouble broke out? Nothing was done. So I say these administrative measures are really quite useless. They are not implemented. There is no seriousness about it.

The Government is following a policy of appeasement. Sometimes they are appeasing Hindu communalists and sometimes they are appeasing Muslim communalists as and when they consider it to be suitable for their own political purposes. Therefore, they can never fight this monster of communalism seriously and boldly.

I must congratulate Shri Shyam Lal Yadav for the speech he made here today. He was bold enough to call a spade a spade but is that the thinking of the Government, I would like to know? There is no doubt that in that past few years the aggressive attitude, the aggressive attitude of the communal forces among the Hindus has grown considerably. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav has mentioned the names of so many parties and organisations. I do not want to repeat them. This slogan which Mr. Dalwai referred to that Hindus are being told that you are in danger here in India. In Bharat the Hindu religion and the Hindu culture and the Hindu Society is in danger. Therefore, you must get ready to protect it.

All Hindus must unite. The Shiv Sena leader says it in Bombay that you should be prepared for the religious war which is coming and he is allowed to go about making speeches like that. I would also like to say here that do not pass the buck to the State Government as to why don't they take action if they think it is necessary. This is not a question of technical differences between the Centre and State Government powers. It is a question of the outlook and the policy we are trying to follow.

I find that a planned vicious attack is going on by obscurantists, fundamentalists and religious forces against the whole concept of united India, against the whole concept of a multi-religious society which can live in harmony. This whole concept of a secular country is being sought to be destroyed in a planned manner.

Now a days we are hearing slogans which for many years we did not hear that India should be a Hindu State. If there can be an Islamic State across the border there should be a Hindu Rashtra here. In Punjab we are hearing there should be Khalistan. In Kashmir we are hearing that there should be an Islamic State in Kashmir. This country will be torn in pieces if everybody who cherishes the unity of this country and cherishes the ideals of secularism does not have the courage to come together and take a bold step to fight these forces which are trying to destroy the country. I find there is an air of complacency. I do not agree with some speakers who have said that the Muslims because they are in a minority are passively and meekly submitting to all these attacks. That may have been so some years ago but not now. Now there is a new temper especially among the younger generation. There is a feeling—I have heard from many of them—that after all we are Indian Muslims. We are not going to Pakistan. We have to live here and die here. This is our country and if we are going to be deprived of our rights and suppressed then it is better that we fight and let us die if necessary here. But we should fight and not bow down meekly. This spirit is growing among the younger Muslims.

am warning the Government. An aggressive spirit among the Hindu communal forces is to some extent being sought to be matched by a militant posture on behalf of the younger Muslims.

15.00 hrs.

This is what happened in Meerut in the beginning—before the PAC appeared on the scene, before the administration took a hand in this communalism in Meerut. In the first one or two days, it was like a pitched battle—a civil war—between two sides. Both were well-armed, both were well-equipped, both were well-trained, both were well-prepared in their respective

Mohallas. Muslim were killed; Hindus were killed. Once the PAC took a hand in it, then the whole administration stood behind the PAC. Then, of course, the Muslims are bound to be butchered. What else can happen?

But I say that in these riots and disturbances, which took place from time to time, the Government is responsible for creating a feeling that nobody is going to be taken to task, nobody will be punished, no strict action will be taken. Today, you know very well that one of the biggest factors which is playing in the minds of the Sikhs is the fact that people who are responsible in 1984 riots in Delhi for the killing of so many Sikhs and burning of their houses and looting of their shops, nobody has been punished. No action has been taken and the same thing is happening in Meerut today. How do you hope to instil any kind of confidence in the minds of the minorities? This kind of drifting and this kind of attitude is responsible for creating more terrorists—if you call them that. That is what is happening. This attitude is giving a premium to the communal forces. Nothing will be done to anybody. So many people are going about whose hands are stained with blood, who have taken part in this looting, butchery and arson. They know nothing will be done to them; nothing will be touched. This way, you cannot fight this communal monster. All people, at least who took part in the national movement,

who are patriotic and who love this country, they should open their eyes to the reality now. The reality is that everything that this country and its freedom movement stood for are above all—the unity of the motherland, the unity of the country, communal harmony, secularism. Everything is being sought to be destroyed by the most dangerous and vicious forces which have grown in the last few years and have been allowed to grow.

The other day in some context of the other debate on the national security thing, one of my friends of the Akali Dal speaking here tried to make a distinction which I do not agree with. He said that communalists are communalists; that terrorists in Punjab make no difference between Hindus and Sikhs; they are killing both of them. That is rather an over-simplified analysis in my opinion. There is a deeper game behind the killings in Punjab. The killing of Sikhs is going on there by the terrorists but it is a selective killing with a purpose behind it. It is a selective killing. You know who has been killed yesterday or day before yesterday. Therefore, that Minister is not here to reply to this discussion obviously. We feel very sorry for him, for what has happened no doubt. I convey my party's sincere condolences to him... (*Interruptions*)... Selective killing of Sikhs is going on. Those whom the terrorists consider to be their opponents, opponents of Khalistan or who are dubbed as Police informers, those are the Sikhs they are killing. But the killing of Hindus is indiscriminate because there is a purpose behind it. Whether they kill Hindus in Punjab or whether they kill them outside Punjab, there is an indiscriminate killing which has a purpose behind it. That purpose is also to stoke the fires of communalism, to instigate retaliatory action against the Sikhs here outside Punjab. It has got a very well-planned communal purpose behind it. Nobody should try to excuse the terrorists by saying that they don't bother about the Hindus and the Sikhs. They are following a method, a tactic which is much more diabolical, I should say, in this context. But anyway, why has the Government

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not taken the slightest initiative till today to try—they may fail, but they should at least try—to bring about some solution to this Ram Janambhoomi and Babri Masjid affair? What initiative has the Government taken? Has it got any responsibility or not? This is a matter which is spreading communal poison throughout the country on both sides. Passions are being roused. One of my friend from Kerala was telling me that a couple of years ago, perhaps Muslims in Kerala would not even be able to tell you where Babri Masjid is; they would not have even heard of it. But now in the name of Babri Masjid huge gatherings of Muslims take place in every part of the country and on the other side there is the counter propaganda that this is the birth place of Lord Rama. The worst kind of poison is being spread not only in the north, not only in the Hindi speaking States, but everywhere. I want to know from the Government: Have they got any responsibility for trying to take some initiative to bring about some solution of this? They may try and fail—I would not blame them for that, but I do not see any effort being made at all. The National Integration Council—excuse me for saying so, we are represented there—has been reduced to a talking shop. Nothing follows from it, no action follows, no programme follows. Even when it was suggested in the last meeting of the National Integration Council that a delegation on behalf of that Council should go and visit Meerut and see things for themselves, it was rejected on the ground that this is a Council which is only constituted for discussions and deliberations; it cannot go on sending delegation here and there; it was not its job.

I do not know, whether I should mention it, but I cannot resist that one gentleman—of course, I would not mention his name—who, we were being told, was being considered as one of the probable candidates for the vice-presidency was rejected—may have been rejected in any case, but that is a different matter—because some Members of the ruling party

feel or know or hear that that gentleman is an atheist.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : That is what the papers said.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : No, no, your Prime Minister told us. Do not force me to come out with the whole thing. The Prime Minister told us in the meeting of the opposition leaders, when we asked him, what about that gentleman, whose name we are reading in the newspapers: "Some of my people believe that he is an atheist." Is that a disqualification? A new definition is being given to this. I am an atheist; he does not say leftist. Since when has it become a disqualification? You want to force somebody to say his religion, as Mr Dalwai was saying that for admission to a school or for a job, you must say which religion you belong to. If you are a candidate, Mr Ranga, for vice-presidency, first, you will have to satisfy the power that be, whether you belong to any religion or not. If you are suspected of atheism, you are finished. This is where the secular State is going. I protest most vehemently against this kind of attitude.

Anyway, I do not want to take more time. At the end, I would like to make a few suggestions for consideration. Primarily, do not consider it an administrative problem. Administrative thing comes at the end, when the riot takes place, when the riot is broken out, when people are burning and looting. Only then the question of administration comes. But what goes on before that? What are the factors which lead to this ultimately, or are leading to it every day? I am afraid, it is rather going to lead to it more and more unless we boldly take a stand all together and the Government must be the main mover against the communal forces even if it is going to cost you some votes. You are bothered about votes. If you do not appear to be a Hindu, Hindus would not vote for you or vote less. Some

Muslim Members think that if they do not parade as great champions of Muslims, then Muslims won't vote for them. What is the result? The most communal forces are getting more votes from the people now-a-days. Those who play a role in the riots can appear as big fighter, defender, and champion of that particular community. I have seen this happening in Jamshedpur. An Inquiry Commission was set up by the Bihar Government to go into the Jamshedpur riots. The Commission's Report has named some people as being among the instigators. I think that was enough qualification for him as he was elected with a thumping majority in the next election. I think he belongs to Mr. Janga Reddy's party. When he went to the Assembly to take his oath, while taking his oath he shouted the slogan in the House. "Nathu Ram Godse zindabad". And I am sorry to say that that gentleman has been again re-elected in the next election. Well you may consider it as a laughing matter, I consider it a very frightening thing. Where is the conscience and minds of our people going? They are surrendering to the forces of communalism.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Prof. Janga Reddy should answer.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, I would like to know as to what happened to the administrative measures which you were promising. Of course, everybody wants to know what happened to them. If it is not possible for some other reasons to constitute such a mixed force, please tell us and say that we have given up the idea as it is not practicable. But at least we should know about it. Some guiltymen have to be punished. I do not know whether guiltymen of 1984 can be found out? But the Sikhs are very much hurt and very much aggrieved, justifiably on this ground. But what about the guiltymen in Maliana? What about the guiltymen of Hashimpur? Is anybody going to be taken to task and punished? Have you ever heard in any

country of this kind of action by the police themselves? Breaking into houses, shooting and killing people, looting the houses, have you ever heard? But nothing is done. How can you expect people to live in any kind of sense of security in this country if this kind of thing is allowed to go on?

Separation of religion from politics, separation of religion from State, has been adequately emphasised by many Members and I fully agree with them. Let everybody enjoy his religious beliefs. It is a personal matter for every citizen of this country. If he wants to pursue a certain religion and performs religious functions and rites, it is his right to do so. I may not agree with him, that is a different matter. I am an atheist but you may not agree with me, but I won't allow you to compel me to adopt some religion if I do not want to. But if you follow a religion, I have to respect your right to do it. But don't mix it up with the politics and the State. Don't go on showing on the television pictures of Ministers prostrating themselves before certain temples and idols; State functions and the Government functions being preceded by certain religious rites which are naturally associated with a particular community. What effect does it have on the people in this country? Is it essential that you must do those things. Even the Prime Minister is not above that. Especially during the election campaigns, why should he go to various places of worship and appear before the Priests?

The one basic question is education. I do not know that when there is serious debate on communalism, at least the Minister of Human Resources Development should at least be interested to listen. Can you root out this evil without the proper education system? Children at the tender age are taught not only history—of course history is distorted and taught to them—but the whole sense of value which children will not get automatically. Many of them were born after independence came to this country. Many of them have not heard

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

about the sacrifices and sufferings of the people who went through that period to get freedom. What are they being taught? Has anybody taken the trouble to go deeply into the whole educational system at primary stage and at secondary stage and see what our children are being taught, whether a sense of secularism and unity of the country is being inculcated in them? I do not think so. We got so many reports and complaints.

I think the Media Minister also should be here. You have got such a powerful weapon in this country, the state controlled media. Just now, somebody was saying quite correctly that there were instances in every riot when people of each community helped people of the other community and saved them even at the risk of their own lives by giving them shelter and hiding them in their houses. We do not see these things on the media! The media does not think it necessary that these are the things which can be highlighted. On the contrary, we see all sorts of things are allowed in the media during the Meerut riots. If I talk about the newspapers, the Minister may say, "Do you want us to use censorship or what?" I don't know. In Meerut, during a situation like that, newspaper reporters were publishing anything they like. These things had nothing but an inflammatory effect on people who read them. The reports included even names of victims, names of people who were lying in the hospital beds in Meerut, their identity, community, and everything. Why are these things permitted? The whole administration is, sort of, impotent, either deliberately impotent or has become impotent by nature now and it is not willing to stand up and fight these things.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Most of the time, deliberately!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Thank you Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Deliberate impotence!

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: So, I would say: let these basic questions of education, of mass media and of our own behaviour be gone into more deeply. Something should be done, but I do not have much faith that anything can be done, the way things are going. The main thing is that these communal forces, whether they are Hindu or Muslim or Sikh, whose whole propaganda is such that it is meant to instigate the people of their own communities against each other, not to live in communal harmony but to hate each other, to suspect each other and to distrust each other. And this propaganda is being allowed to go on freely in big gatherings. All your political leaders will not be able to stand up against these so called leaders now, who in the name of religion are permitted to say and do anything. That is what is happening and because we are a religious country, a country of so many religions with such a long history and tradition and all that, nobody has the courage to speak up against these people and control them.

Ultimately, people of each community have to control their own so called spokesmen, who are preaching all wrong things. No religion—Islam, Hinduism or Sikhism—preaches these things. They are all great religions. They never preach that you should hate people of the other community. All of them preach brotherhood, fraternity and love. But what is going on now? In the name of these religions, people are being taught to hate each other, to suspect each other and to kill each other. If you go to Meerut, you must have seen Sir, it is a completely divided city now. People in Meerut used to be proud of the fact that no Muslim family had left Meerut and gone to Pakistan at the time of Partition. 51 per cent Hindus and 49 per cent Muslims have been living side by side in peace and harmony. You go there and see the situation now. Today, it is like a city divided. The two communities do not want to mix with each other; they do not even want to talk to each other. They suspect each other all the time and are willing to lend their ears to any kind of rumour, any kind of rumour however unsubstantiated, provided it is against the

other side. Are we going to allow this to go on? What will remain of this country?

I do not want to take more time and I end here. I would like to hear from the Government how they propose to deal with this situation. The young Minister was very eloquent at the time of Ahmedabad riots as to how they were dealing with it. He has said that this is not a fire fighting exercise and that it should not be a simple fire brigade at work. He has stated that we have to do things from beforehand, we have to prepare, the administration has to be streamlined, the intelligence system has to be improved, the police force has to be constituted on a new basis, all those who are doing all these things have to be rounded up and punished, and so on and so forth.

He did not say very much about the education of children or about the media. It is all right. Those Ministers are also not interested in it. They should have been asked to be present here. You cannot fight this thing without education and media being overhauled completely and changed and put in really on a secular basis. Is it being done?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I thought you would say a good word about the *Rath Yatra* in Ahmedabad two months ago.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: *Rath Yatra* in Ahmedabad was an issue, on which great apprehensions arose in the country. At least, I was very much afraid. Because it happened to be a day on which, it was also announced that the police force was going on strike. That *Rath Yatra* would pass through Ahmedabad and there would be no police on duty because they had decided to go on strike for some demands of their own. You tell us. I will give you the credit for that. I also know that some parties and organisations though may be numerically not very strong, but who believe in fighting communalism and their volunteers also had lined the streets. They were wearing, their arm bands. Of course, they had no weapons. They did not have *lathis* even. (*Interruptions*)

You had to airlift para military forces there. This is not the spectacle which I relish and which I want to see being repeated in our country all the time. Or, then you have to make a candid confession that the normal police is useless. It is proved to be completely bankrupt and every time we must bring in the para-military forces.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: The Minister is remembering that *Rath Yatra*. Fortunately, Muslim women in white sarees remained at the forefront of the *Rath Yatra* telling the Hindus that we are there to remain with you and to protect you. That was also a great thing.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I wanted to take you but you were not available at that time.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The fact remains Mr. Minister that what we have to be more worried about was that this communal situation and disturbances, in Gujarat particularly, have become chronic. You may be able to handle one situation at a particular point of time but from what we see, it has become an epidemic kind of a thing, endemic—in Baroda today; in Ahmedabad tomorrow and in Bharuch the next day. Sometimes there is mass participation. Sometimes just stabbings are going on. People are just pulled off their bicycles and stabbed and then the whole thing starts again.

What had happened in old Delhi—the walled city—where your Government is sitting? We passed through a period last month, when the curfew could not be lifted because the moment you lift the curfew, there is an outbreak. Is it not a sad commentary on what is happening in the minds of the people? I am more bothered about the minds of the people, you are more bothered about your airlift of para-military troops. The mind is being destroyed. And the forces which are trying to destroy

them, you are not out to fight those forces. You are not out to have a face to face conflict with them. Because you want sometimes to appease them; sometimes to align with them as in Kerala. Sometimes you do something else. You can never fight them like that.

15.24 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH RATH *in the Chair*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You please conclude.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: So I conclude at your request. I would like to speak many more things but I do not want to feel sound too bitter because I am quite convinced that this Government can never handle this communal situation. That is one reason why this Government should go.

[*Translation*]

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL (Chandni Chowk): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have been elected from a constituency where there is the biggest Temple, the biggest Mosque, Gurudwara and the Church. But it is very regretful that people are fighting with each other and want to kill each other. Though we boast of many things in the name of religion, yet in actuality, we are not broad-minded enough to tolerate each other's religion. Who are responsible for this? What is the reason for our present intolerance of each other when we have been living as good neighbours for years and have shared all our joys and sorrows together? I do not want to speak about the whole country but I want to limit myself to those lanes in Delhi where they have lived harmoniously for ever. Whenever there is a communal incident in any part of the country its reaction is always witnessed in Delhi and communal riots break out here. What are the factors which lead to these riots? Who are the people who incite communal feelings in the name of religion? Who compel us to destroy our fraternal relationship? Who goads us to take each others

life for protecting our religion? We must identify them today and stop them from causing any further damage, otherwise fighting in streets will come openly in bazars and then nobody will be able to prevent disintegration of the country.

They are these people who in the garb of religion want to serve their political interests. If we do not identify them now and take stringent action against them, then it will be too late.

Even today we are afraid of raising our voice against social evils. Our daughters and daughters-in-law are burnt and we do not do anything. But when the question of religion comes up we are all prepared even to sacrifice our lives. This is because our religious teachers do not let us learn the values of brotherhood but teach us to burn and destroy shops and houses of the people belonging to other religions.

Again, a Hindu is trained to touch the feet of his elders from his very childhood. When the child grows up he is taken to the temple and taught to bow before the idol of God. He is taught to respect all his elders. But who are those people who incited the children between 13 to 16 years of age and told them to kill the Muslim as they do not belong to this country and are not loyal to it? Why any action has not been taken against them and why are such things allowed to spread?

Similarly, as a counter action one of our religious leaders has called for the formation of an 'Adam Sena'. It has been formed and arms have been given to it. All such people are guilty. If we let them go scot-free now then they will become active again some time later. Either they will incite communal violence or let power not remain in your hands.

You observe our history. Three people were arrested in Red Fort on charges of treason. One of them was a Muslim named Shahnawaz Khan, the second was a Sikh named Dhillon and the third was a Hindu, named Sehgal. These three people had

fought shoulder to shoulder for the freedom of the country. Now some crazy people want to raise a barrier between us. We have to counter them effectively and isolate such elements from the society.

I want to put a question to those people who fight in the name of religion. When one of them is dying and he needs blood, does he request the doctor to give him blood of a person belonging to his own religion only? At that moment, he is only concerned about his own life. Still, can we not understand that in spite of our separate religions, we should live in harmony?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are many such people and many such parties which want to take undue advantage of these things. It is not that everybody thinks on these lines but there are certain people who incite the Hindus and tell them that this country belongs to them and to nobody else. They threaten and terrorise the Hindus. We must identify such people. When the question of staging the Ram Lila in Delhi came, these were the people who insisted that Ram Lila should pass through a particular route. It is very strange. It does not make any difference to the deity as to what route a religious procession takes. In which religion do we find a greater or a lesser God? No God can become big or small by taking out procession on a particular route. When different Ram Lila Committees are formed in place of one Committee for the sake of posts, the God is not divided but God is considered to be divided if the procession is not taken out on a particular route. They instigate the people. As you know that the Sikhs used to take out procession on the day of 'Ganga Snan', but this time they advanced the date by two days because they were facing certain difficulties in taking out the procession. Had the Government requested for this, they would have not agreed to it and would have resisted the move. Similarly, Jama Masjid was closed for the public. Had it been asked by the Government to close it for certain reasons, they would not have agreed to it. We should have raised our voice against the

person who had closed the door of the biggest mosque and deprived us from offering prayers. But only few people raised their voice against it whereas the entire society should have opposed the closing of the doors of a religious place. This poison, which is spreading in the society should be checked. The Police force which has been meant for our protection cannot win our hearts by bullets. We do not need the bullets of the police to unite Hindus and Muslims. The bullets will exhaust but the wall of hatred between the two communities will remain there. We need political persons and political parties to unite the different communities. Police cannot set things right. The involvement of political persons is necessary in such things. The police can suppress these things with the use of force for a short period only but to win the hearts of the people or to unite them we will need political persons and you should always be ready to listen and to understand them. Police force is not meant to govern us but to assist us. Today you can see that meetings are convened by the police where it uses force to control them and political speeches are delivered there. The era of police rule will come and we will have to abide by their instructions. But I would like to say that the police will not be able to unite the people and the conflicts will go on increasing. Some places in old Delhi are very sensitive. Cannot our police force and administration see the communal disturbance happening there? Whether our police has no intelligence of their own to get prior information? If the riots have been taking place from the same place for the last 10 years, then should not the police force take precautionary measures so that nobody may use bottles and stones? But today it has forgotten its duty. It wants to keep the disturbances alive to maintain its own importance. Will you try to constitute a committee of political persons to sustain communal harmony and ask the police force to assist it? Only then you will be able to check communal disturbances. Therefore, I request you with folded hands to take preventive measures immediately, otherwise the time will come when in Delhi

[Shri Jai Prakash Agarwal]

areas will be divided on the basis of religion and Hindus will not be able to pass through Muslim areas and Muslims will not be able to pass through Hindu areas.

[English]

SHRI BHADRESWAR TANTI (Kaliabor): In the Preamble to the Constitution it is written that we the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens justice, liberty, etc., in our country.

All people, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, are permitted under our Constitution to promote their religion. But, now, there is a feeling of insecurity in the mind of the people because of communal disharmony that takes place in season and out of season in almost all parts of the country. It is high time to realise the grave situation arising out of communal disturbances that take place in season and out of season in the country. You may create laws but you cannot compel the people, you cannot compel the minds of the disruptive forces to stop the communal disharmony. You may create laws on this subject, as the Government is master in creating laws. But unless you purify your own mind you cannot stop the social evil.

Communal disturbances have become a cancer on the society it is time we stopped it. From our experience it appears that some people are always sowing the seeds of disharmony in the country in the name of religion and there is no way to stop it. And sometimes the Government is also helping those communal forces. It is known to us, and it is known to the Government also but even then the Government failed to stop them. Today you see the circumstances in Meerut, Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Moradabad and Hyderabad and the incidents about Ramajanna Bhoomi and

Babri Masjid. Why have these incidents taken place? Who are the persons responsible for it? Everybody knows it but there is no authority to stop it. And in these communal disturbances who are the persons affected? Who are the victims? The common man, the poor man, the innocent man, not the person who sowed the communal disharmony in the country. They fly away from the scene the moment they sow the seed of communal disharmony. We must realise that we cannot progress without unity and integrity. The master of unity and integrity should not confine their work to issuing statements alone but they should give a touch of reality by some acts on their part to achieve this unity and integrity. Because, there is some discontentment in the minds of the people of some parts of the country or some States. Why? Because of the step-motherly attitude that is shown to them. Why? The people then revolt. It is because of the political reasons also. If any natural calamity occurs like a flood or drought or cyclone or epidemic the Government considers, whether that State is ruled by the ruling party or not or whether it is ruled by any Opposition party and they take action accordingly. That is why there is discontentment in the minds of the people.

You should not forget the Delhi incidents, that took place after the dastardly killing of our Prime Minister in 1984. Who were the persons responsible? The Government knows. Everybody knows it. Why has not the Government taken any action? If you see the TV news and the records you will find the persons. Have the victims been rehabilitated properly? Even if you rehabilitate, can you recall the lives of the people who died? Thousands of people lost their lives. Loss of property also took place on a large scale. And you are only merely shedding tears for it!

I am citing one example. During the Assam agitation from 1979 to 1985, the people of Assam were not agitating against any community, the people of Assam were agitating against the foreign nationals, and

this is admitted on the floor of the House by the Government. At that time there was Congress rule in the State. Some people sowed a seed of communal disharmony in the State of Orissa saying that their tea garden labourers who were working in Assam had been harassed by the Assamese people. As a result of that, the student community in Orissa retaliated. They wanted to take action against the non-Oriyas, particularly the business community. Immediately there were communal disturbance. Then these people went over to the State of Assam, took some labourers and made a statement through them that there were no communal disturbances and there was no enmity against them by the Assamese people. Then only the commotion subsided. This was done at the instance of the Government at that time. We have a great precedent that in Assam, nowhere communal disturbances took place, even during the time of Assam agitation. We must also know the words of Gita: *Janani Janmabhoomi Svargadepi Garoasi*—Mother, motherland is greater than the Heaven. 'Try to read this and understand. Simply if you go on saying this, that will not do. This is high time to realise it.

In 1984 we had witnessed the Delhi incidents and recently in Meerut also. In Meerut, the PAC people took active part to destabilise a particular society. They looted the people, mercilessly beat up the people, shot down the innocent people, and the Government has failed to take action against them. Why? Why there have been communal disturbances in Ahmedabad, Gujarat and in all other places? You constitute a committee after the incident is over and the committee also remains a silent spectator. They cannot take any action.

I have many things to say but I do not want to take much time, and you have already alerted me to cut short my speech. So, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to ventilate my grievances.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, two days ago when the demand for discussing this subject was raised, the Hon. Speaker had rightly pointed out that communalism was penetrating like cancer in our society and if it is not checked, it would shake the very roots of our democratic set up.

On the eve of fortieth anniversary of our independence, we are discussing communal riots in this House. The problem of communalism has posed a serious challenge before our country. Some communal elements have posed this threat which is contrary to the basic principles of democracy and secularism. Though the present challenges are certainly serious but our country, our people and our Congress Party have faced such challenges in the past also.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to take you back to 1947 when this country was divided and a new Muslim country, Pakistan was created. At that time Muslims were migrating to Pakistan and Hindus were coming from Pakistan to India. There were communal riots and bloodshed everywhere. Trains full of dead bodies were entering the two countries. Pakistan declared herself as Islamic Republic. That was the biggest communal challenge ever faced by this country. It was said that when Pakistan had been declared an Islamic Republic and the Muslims have taken a separate country why then India should not be declared as Hindu nation. This challenge was not resisted by the Muslims because at that time they were highly demoralised and they did not have the courage to say anything against the Hindu communalism. But that communalism was faced then by the people of this country, the Congress Party and other democratic parties and India was declared as Secular Republic. At that time our society was behind the Congress Party. At that time the attention of the society was towards declaring India as a secular State about which decision was taken during freedom struggle and

[Shri Zainul Basher]

that was why we could bravely face those communal forces. But today we do not have that zeal to face these forces. At that time communal forces were weak whereas secular forces were strong. Today after forty years of independence, we observe that the communal forces have become stronger and secular forces weak. Had it not been the case, we would have not discussed this communal problem in this House almost in every session. Communal riots are frequently taking place in our country, be they between Hindus and Muslims or Hindus and Christians or among different sections of Hindus or Muslims. But it is a fact that every now and then these communal riots are taking place in one part of the country or the other. The most disturbing thing is that these riots are taking drastic turn day by day. Every new riot is more serious than the earlier one. We witnessed certain new things in Meerut riots towards which I would like to draw your attention. Atrocities and excesses by the police are now very old phenomenon in our country. The instances of atrocities, plundering, beating etc. by the PAC in U.P., by BMP in Bihar, by special police in Gujarat etc. are well known to all of us about which the Government has been talking but it is for the first time that in Meerut riots, the police lined up the people and shot them dead. We never witnessed such an instance earlier. This happened in Hashimpur and Maliyana in Meerut. You can call it police terrorism because police is doing the same thing which the terrorists in Punjab are doing. Now they are trying to hush up the matter. For the first time in Meerut bus passengers of a particular community were dragged out and killed. Earlier, such incidents were taking place in Punjab only and not in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or any other part of the country.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Such an incident has taken place in Bihar also.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: If such a thing has happened in Bihar that is very wrong, but no such incident had taken place ear-

lier in Uttar Pradesh in which the people of particular community were dragged out of the bus and killed.

Thirdly, the most disturbing thing is that Muslims arrested in Meerut were sent to Farrukhabad jail where some of them were shot dead at the jail gate. They were killed in police custody. If the police cannot protect the prisoners, how it can protect the other people?

These three things came to light after Meerut riots. Is it not a very serious matter? From these incidents we can very well judge the seriousness of the situation in Meerut.

Sir, through you I would like to tell Shri Chidambaram that his speech delivered after Ahmedabad riots gave us great encouragement and assurance but the Meerut riots have greatly disappointed us again.

What has been committed by the communal elements in Meerut riots or what has been done by the P.A.C., has certainly weakened our secularism but it is not still dead. I would like to appreciate the role of press and journalists of our country, a majority of whom consists of Hindus, that they brought to light the incidents of Meerut before the entire country and the entire world. Though the Meerut riots have widened the rift between Hindus and Muslims but there are still some Hindu friends in Meerut who told us the factual position about riots. During riots, many Hindus gave protection to their Muslim brethren and many Muslims protected their Hindu brethren.

Today, our secular forces feel ashamed when they look at the Meerut riots. They are thinking as to how such communal riots can be checked. The incidents of Meerut have weakened our secularism but it is still alive and if we strengthen the forces of secularism I think we can easily prevent such happenings in future.

I would like to draw your attention to one

more point. As has been said earlier also, the dispute of Ram Janam Bhumi and Babri Masjid should not be prolonged. It is not confined to Faizabad and Uttar Pradesh only. It has rather become a matter of great concern for the entire Muslim Community in the country and that is why similar incidents are also taking place in some other parts of the country and such things are fanning communalism in the country.

You will have to pay attention towards it. In 1952, when an idol was placed in the Babri Masjid for the first time, one Hindu had observed 21 days fast to remove that idol. His name was Akshaya Bhramchari and he was the President of Faizabad District Congress Committee. He had fought this battle for several days. We are Muslims and we can ask that our mosque may be returned to us. But we cannot fight for that. The majority community will have to fight the battle for us in this secular country. The secular forces will have to fight the battle. They will have to solve this problem. We cannot solve this problem. You will have to solve this problem. How will you solve it? It should be solved in such a way that no one—neither the Hindus nor the Muslims—should feel that any excess has been committed on him. You will have to solve this problem. The Government will have to solve this problem. There are number of ways for this. If you want to adopt legal methods why do you not constitute a special court for this purpose and refer the case to it? Why do you not declare it a national monument? Or alternatively, why do you not arrange for some agreement between the two communities? You say that you will get it done but you do not translate it into action. We do not find any initiative either from the Central Government or from the Government of Uttar Pradesh—wherein any effort might have been made to solve the Ram Janm Bhoomi—Babri Masjid issue. What the Government is doing secretly is not known to us. But we find that no initiative has since been taken by you. We want that the Government should take initiative in this regard. All the parties, not only the Congress Party, but all the secular parties,

should decide unitedly as to what is to be done in this matter. You will have to fight the communal forces that will come forward in this matter. You successfully fought these forces in 1947. As compared to that this is a very minor challenge. This challenge is nothing. We can easily face it.

Now I would like to draw your attention towards the 15 Point Programme of the Prime Minister. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister and a riot took place in Moradabad, she had drawn a 15 Point Programme thereafter for the welfare of the Muslims. (*Interruptions*). Moradabad and Meerut are situated very close to each other. The above 15 Point Programme is not being implemented. From Giani Zail Singh, the then Home Minister to Shri Buta Singh and Shri Chidambaram all have been laying emphasis on this 15 Point Programme, but so far it has not been implemented. It is not being implemented, because the State Governments perhaps have no intention to implement it. Your intention is clear. The Hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs have clear intentions and we feel that they want to do something, but the State Governments are posing obstacles in it. It has been written in that 15 Point Programme.

[*English*]

"Special consideration should be given to the minorities in the recruitment of police force."

[*Translation*]

7 to 8 States have sought clarification from you as to what "special consideration" means? But you have not given any reply to that though several months have elapsed. In what way special consideration will be given in the recruitment? Have you given any guidelines for special consideration? What are those guidelines which do not supersede the rules, regulations and the Constitution? You have written only

[Shri Zainul Basher]

"special consideration" and they want to put it aside and with this purpose in mind, they have queried as to 'what special consideration is'?

16.00 hrs.

We should issue clear guidelines to the State Governments in this regard. Not only that, I would like to submit to the hon. Prime Minister that he should convene a meeting of the Chief Ministers of the States and find some ways and means to implement this 15 Point Programme. This 15 Point Programme which was given by the Prime Minister is in the interest of the minorities. There is provision of recruiting people belonging to minorities in the police and a number of other things are there which can easily be fulfilled. If this Programme is implemented, we will be successful in checking these riots to a great extent.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are 18 crore Muslims in India. They cannot go anywhere leaving India. To-day our Hindu brethren should understand that these 18 crore Muslims are to live in this country. Whether they are beaten, pleased, given love or sorrow, these 18 crore Muslims are not going anywhere. No country can take them. The Muslims of this country also should know that they are to live in this country and they have to live with the Hindus under all circumstances. They have to share the sorrows and sufferings of one another and live together. When we have to live together, why not to live happily and peacefully?

Today there are some communal forces in this country. There are certain young Muslims also who are misguiding them, instigating them. If fighting between the Hindus and Muslims starts, if they start stabbing each other, this country cannot live in peace and cannot march towards prosperity. Its development will be stopped. Neither it will benefit the Hindus nor the Muslims. Both the communities will suffer due to it.

Everybody admits to a great extent that there are some communal elements in both the communities. We will have to curb them. They should not be allowed to disappear from our eyes. We will have to keep a vigilant watch on them. If their hands pose any threat to the unity of our land, then we will have to mercilessly chop their hands. Until and unless we intensify our battle against them, the venom of communalism will not disappear from this country. These elements, who pose a threat to the democracy of this country, to the future of this country, will have to be rooted out permanently.

16.04 hrs.

[SHRI N. VENKATARATNAM *in the Chair*]

SHRI HAFIZ MOHD. SIDDIQ (Moradabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for providing me an opportunity to express my views in this discussion. Our colleagues have said that these riots have put the democracy and the future of our country in danger. There is no doubt about it that our leaders have taken this country ahead. After independence our country has made progress in every field and we have marched forward. But with the passage of time, communalism has been rising speedily in our country. It is a matter of concern for us. If we do not pay attention towards it, then there is no doubt that there will be obstacles in achieving the speed at which we want to develop the country. As has been said by Shri Zainul Basher, whichever party we may belong to, we will have to keep a watch on those people who fan communalism and we will have to curb them. Today we find that the country earns bad name by this communalism and Hindus and Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs fight against each other. We will have to think as to how to end it. For the last 40 years, there have been riots in the name of Hindus and Muslims in some form or the other in one or the other State. In Gujarat also, which is the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi, riots between Hindus and Muslims have been taking place. But the

Government of Gujarat has failed to check them. It has not been able to apprehend those people who instigate the riots. Similarly, riots took place in Meerut also. The riots which took place in Meerut have no parallels because the newspapers have reported that people were shot dead in Hashimpura and Maliyana. These people who are responsible for this, whether they are in the police or in the society, should be punished. If they are not punished now, they will be encouraged and we will never be able to put an end to communalism.

Today, we have a lot of work to do for the development of our country and for doing them, we require an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood. If we are able to create such an atmosphere, then we will definitely make progress and we can set an example in the world as a nation where people belonging to different religions and speaking different languages live together harmoniously and share the fruits of development equally. I think, if the recommendations of the National Integration Council are implemented, then this tension between the Hindus and the Muslims can be put to an end for ever. The 15 Points Programme of Late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, if followed in right earnest, shall remove all grievances regarding employment in the Police Forces and other services. In the riots which took place in Moradabad in 1980, several people were shot dead. Persons who had a hand in that riot have not been punished so far. Government should take stringent action in such cases, otherwise the people will have to face a lot of trouble. For example, in the Meerut incident where the Police personnel, PAC and others were involved, if the guilty persons are not punished, we will not be able to contain the spread of communalism in the country. We have been discussing this topic since a long time and I think that if the suggestions are followed, it will help in checking communal violence and also in our efforts for the development of the country.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAIISI
(Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this

House several speeches have been made regarding the issue of increasing violence in the country and measures to be adopted to control it. It is not the time to indulge in weaving stories that our country is like a bouquet in which every kind of flower has a place and so on, but it is time to discuss as to how to deal with the situation effectively and suggestions should be given in this regard. We have been discussing this issue for the last 2 or 3 years and it seems as if we are like people going on a Urs or a pilgrimage every year, who go there only to offer flowers and come back, but this will not do. We have to take concrete steps to contain violence in the country. If you do not take any concrete measures, but merely indulge in abusing each other, it will not solve this problem. Everyone in the country is acquainted with what is happening today. The riots are no longer confined to the Hindus and Muslims only, but have spread to the Hindus and Sikhs also and I would even say that it has infected the Reddys and Kamas also in Andhra Pradesh. If this disease continues to spread, then what will be the outcome?

The most heinous incident has been the Meerut incident which has shaken the humanity. The people with conscience were utterly grieved at the inhuman killings of a particular community at Maliyana. The newspapers have brought out all the details as to how the weak and the old people were arrested and children and women insulted and humiliated. All this was done by persons who call themselves guardians of law. The P.A.C. is praised for its good work and experience. I want to say that if they are so efficient and have shown such good results, then they should be sent to Punjab so that the daily violence can be put to an end there. But you will not do so. However, I want to suggest that Government should impose ban on taking out religious processions. Whatever, processions were taken out before Independence were alright, but the new processions which are being taken out since Independence should be banned. Besides, you should ensure that minorities are represented in the Police force so that action

[Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi]

cannot be biased. It will help in maintaining peace and harmony and excesses will not be committed. Apart from this, the Senas of military and para military nature should also be banned. I want to ask whether R.S.S. or any other group armed with lathis, swords and such other arms can really protect the country in this progressive world with its modern techniques of warfare?

We had to fight two or three battles against Pakistan, but we have never seen these musclemen going to the borders. Then for what purpose are these Senas being formed? Why are they being trained to use lathis, swords and tridents? You will come to know all about it, when you conduct an enquiry into it. Our T.V. should be secular, but it is being used for the propagation of Hinduism only. The whole of Ramayana is being telecast, but when it comes to showing some Muslim figure, then generally Wajid Ali Shah is shown. A very distorted picture of Muslims is being depicted on T.V. as if the Muslims do not have any other purpose in life except singing, dancing and drinking since morning to night. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah is shown as a representative figure of the entire Muslim culture. On one hand there is so much of talk about national unity, but on the other hand a distorted picture of the Muslims is presented on T.V. and as a result such words cease to hold any meaning and remain a question mark. After all how is the T.V. being used for such purposes? Do you want that tension should arise out of T.V. programmes? So much happened, yet the Babri Masjid issue has not been solved. Instead, a 500 year old issue is being raised as to what was there 500 years ago and so on. Should the whole country now investigate whether there was a temple at that place 500 years back or what had happened 2000 years ago? Now should we all do research work in this regard? Not only this, but for about 300 mosques also, it is being said that there were temples at those places earlier. After

all what is the issue all about? How long will we be entangled in it? On the one hand, we say that we will jump into the 21st century through our science and technology and on the other hand we are going back by thousands of years. Strange ideas are being put forward. Such things must stop. You should see to it that the people inciting communal violence are punished. Yesterday one hon. Member was saying that there is peace and harmony in Andhra Pradesh. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you may remember, as yourself and myself were both M.L.A.s then, the incident when the shops of 600 Muslims were set on fire in broad daylight and in the presence of the Police, but no one was arrested. Not a single 'challan' was made in this connection. To say even after this incident that there is peace and harmony in Andhra Pradesh is to be blind to the truth. Could they not see the burnt shops? Why wasn't even a single person challaned? It is regretful that in spite of all this, some members are talking of peace and harmony in that State. The Hon. Prime Minister made a tour of the areas recently where so many vending vehicles were burnt. Along with that houses of 4 poor Muslims were also set on fire. It is your responsibility to pay attention to all this and adopt a principle by which if in a particular State, riots continue for 4 or more days, the Chief Minister of that State should be removed on the basis of inefficiency. Similarly, concerned Police officials should also be removed, because all this could have happened because of their incapability. After all, why stringent measures are not taken in this regard?

SHRI ABDUL GHAFUOR (Siwan): And the concerned leaders should also be arrested.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAIISI: Yes, I say that first of all those leaders should be arrested who for the sake of their tickets or for maintaining their position or due to their sycophancy say at the time of distribution of tickets that Muslims should be given seats in Lok Sabha and the

Assemblies on the basis of their population, but when they reach here, they keep mum. Such leaders should be arrested immediately so that they do not remain a slur on the community....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Salem-pur): Should those leaders be allowed to go scot free who plead for arsoning and looting and cutting the hands of the people?

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI: That is what I have been saying since long, If you are unable to understand that, what can I do? Should I mourn my own wisdom or should I mourn you? In any case, you have to think over it as to what sort of treatment is being meted out to us.

In Meerut, when people go for providing relief, police does not allow them to provide relief. How this will help? If a search is made of P.A.C. Personnel, you will find that entire property looted in Meerut is available with them. You will come to know as to how much P.A.C. has looted? When riots took place in Delhi, the Government got the looted property of Sikhs recovered but why do you not now get the property recovered from the P.A.C. Personnel which they have looted from Meerut? You are not taking any action in this matter. After all, upto what time we will keep on merely delivering speeches and remain inactive? If situation remains like this, then you should know that it will be harmful for the future of the country. Today everyone thinks that he is not safe and he himself has to arrange for his own safety. Such a situation will create a sense of disunity in the country which will result in dismemberment of the country. We want that the persons indulging in such activities must be punished severely. I fully endorse such an action. The problems which we think will be over with the passage of time are not going to be over. Therefore, the Government should solve the issue of Babri Mosque. We had suggested that whichever religious place was in the possession of any community on 15 August, 1947 should remain with it. A law to this effect

should be enacted by Parliament. This will end all the disputes. Otherwise you may go on discussing it in the Parliament or in the newspapers, it will not be solved, though every one will go on giving his own opinion. I want that alongwith all these things, history books should also be rewritten and the poisonous literature studied in the educational institutions should be withdrawn as it creates hatred in the mind of innocent people. With these words I thank you and conclude.

[*English*]

SHRI C.K. JAFFAR SHARIEF (Bangalore North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of speaking on this occasion.

As an Indian I am ashamed that even after 40 years of Independence we are still discussing the communal situation in the country. Not merely we are discussing it; but we are now showing signs of fear to deal with the situation.

It is very unfortunate that the recent incidents in Gujarat, Meerut and Delhi have not only cleared any earlier scars, but created new scars on the secular character of our country. This is not something new but what is more disturbing us is that there is increased attack and brutality of the licensed force which is killing the people. It is all right somebody starts the problem. Maybe to begin with it is communal? But the force which comes to establish peace they take the role of becoming rank communalist force and act in one-sided manner and kill the people.

I would like to clearly say that the PAC of Uttar Pradesh is not a police force. It is a notorious gang of killers, looters and rapists. To call this as a police force, I think, does not speak of any decency of a Government. This is not the first time that it has happened. This has happened repeatedly. Every responsible citizen of this country should defend the police because

[Shri C.K. Jaffar Sharief]

ultimately whatever may happen we look to that force for help to maintain law and order and to establish peace. It is not befitting anyone of us to speak bad about the police. We know they do a thankless job. Whatever may be the circumstances they risk their lives. They get into the problem. They deal with the problem. We would not like the police to get demoralised. We would like to go all out to support the police force. But how is it that the people have got faith and confidence in BSF, CRP and the military but this particular force has lost its credibility and still we make use of this force.

I am sorry this is not an occasion when we should hurt our esteemed colleague, the Home Minister, who has suffered a great shock and terrible loss in his family. We all express our condolences to the bereaved family but we have no option since the subject has unfortunately come for discussion today.

Sir, my friends Shri Indrajit Gupta, Shri Zainul Basher and Shri Shyamlal Yadav have spoken much to their credit. Many things have been said but what is disturbing us is the education factor. I am not bothered about this generation getting affected. Let us suffer. Let us pay if we have committed any sin. It does not matter but our goal should be that the next generation should not get affected. They should at least remain as secular Indians and live with happiness and pride in a peaceful atmosphere and for that the basic question is education. Even today you take the textbooks. A few Mughal Emperors have been brought to the textbooks. The Hindus are made to hate the Muslims and the Muslims are made to hate the Hindus. Is it going to benefit us? Even among the Muslim rulers why don't you think of Tipu Sultan who gave a secular rule and administration? Why are you blind to these realities? We do not teach about them. We do not say about them. We do not explain to the people about them. This is where the responsibility

of not only the Government of India but also all other State Governments lies.

Sir, now I come to the current issue of Babri Masjid. How long the debate should go on? How long the people should keep on agitating? I am not blaming that the Government has not done anything. It may be difficult for the Government to come out and say all that it has done. It may not be in the public interest. The Government is sincerely attempting to do something. But there are people outside who always want to be heroes, who want to be champions of a certain cause, who want to be saviours of Muslims. When we speak or keep quiet in a moderate way, we are called 'Sarkari Muslims' because we happen to be in the ruling party. The people outside do not care for the life and property of the people, do not care for the consequences, do not care for the poor who have no protection. I have protection; every Member of this House has got protection. What about those unfortunate poor, illiterate and ignorant people, whom we try to call 'anti-social elements'? Who are these anti-social elements?

Sir, I have said on a previous occasion in this House that the Home Ministry or the Prime Minister should take an initiative to analyse these anti-social elements. Have they come from heaven? Have they come from abroad? Have they been brought by a particular force? They are the children of our own society. Neither the Government nor the society takes the responsibility of these poor and unemployed people. I would advise the Government to appoint a team of political scientists to go into this question and analyse how to channelise the energies of the unemployed poor youth. When they are poor and unemployed, they are bound to be misguided and land into the hands of extremists or criminals or may be got exploited by any religious party or leadership. What is our responsibility as Government or society? Only to brand them, only to kill them, only to accuse them? Don't we have our moral responsibility to do something about

them? This is where we should do something urgently.

Sir, as rightly some friends have said, in this kind of situation, I have also observed that every Government has become incapable of dealing with the fanatics. It is the fanatics—whether religious or political—who create these problems. The Government dare not touch them because they are very strong people. They may be able to sustain religiously and economically. They may be able to meet any challenge because they are well protected by the people and the Government. It is only the poor who are left out.

Sir, a time has come in the history of our country. As Mr. Zainul Basher rightly said, today the Indian Muslims do not prefer the partition of this country. The other day this country had a large heart when it looked after the Frontier Gandhi Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. I had the privilege to go along with him to Peshawar. The people of Peshawar could show their gratefulness to the Government, the leadership and the people of our country the way we had shown our respect not only as a leader but also as a human being. We took care of him and took him back. While we commend respect outside, what are we doing inside our country?

Sir, I must tell you one thing. Many friends have spoken. I do not want to repeat. But what is really lacking? There are a number of reports and recommendations of the National Integration Council, the various Commissions of Enquiry, of the various Judicial commissions; there have been a number of debates on the subjects in this House and suggestions made. But what is lacking is the political will. Political will not come from the administration. The administration will never have a political will. It is the political leadership which should have political will. Merely saying that we are having political will is not sufficient, it should be demonstrated in action. The spirit should be demonstrated. Only then we would be able to contain the situation. As long as we do not do it, there is no

point of all this. We have been repeatedly discussing it, what is the good of it? The National Integration Council has discussed this subject many times, there are a number of reports and recommendations of Commissions of Enquiry. But I must tell you that need of the hour is that the political leadership of this country should make up its mind to tackle this problem, whether it is a Congress Government or a non-Congress Government. As my friends rightly observed, whether it is the administrative set up or the political set up, if they are incapable of dealing with the situation and giving a good performance, if they are not able to control the situation, they must be sacked and kicked out. That is the only way we can control the situation.

Sir, the 15-Point Programme is one programme which is meant for the welfare of the people. It is not that there is no political will, but the political will needs to be shown firmly so that we are able to tackle the situation and meet the challenge of these religious and fanatic leaders, who try to poison the atmosphere of our country. I hope and trust that the leadership of the Government will rise to the occasion. But it is not only the responsibility of the Government, it is also as much the responsibility of every party here, who believe in secularism, who speak and profess secularism; they must also give all the support to the Government to meet this challenge. Only then we will be able to do justice to our people.

With these words, I conclude and I thank you for the opportunity given to me to participate in this discussion.

[*Translation*]

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI (Satna): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the war between communalism and secularism in this country is a long drawn one. Several of my friends have mentioned about the Congress Party and Party in Power. I would like to submit for their information that if any party in this country has launched a crusade against communalism as a movement, it is the

[Shri Aziz Qureshi]

Congress Party alone. It was this Party which has first of all passed a resolution of communal harmony in 1888 in its Allahabad session. Since 1888 this Party in one way or the other has been fighting against communalism and for the communal harmony. Just now it was said by Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary that we entered into an agreement with the Muslim League in the elections and formed Government with them. I would like to ask with humility that if we are bad, where do you stand? In 1967, in the name of non-Congressism, you also joined the SVD Governments which were formed in the country. You also joined hands with Jan Sangh and RSS. In Kerala, have not the CPM and CPI people joined hands with Muslim League? What had happened to your ideals then? I would like to submit that it is easy to criticise others, but what is required is to peep into your own deeds and see as to what your deeds have been in the past.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when democracy is to be defeated or suppressed in this country, all the fascist elements incite the people in the name of communalism and fundamentalism, because they want to create a fascist society here. If you permit me to say I would like to submit that basically it is a socio-economic problem, a problem which relates to economic disparities and exploitation. It is an issue which relates to social injustice. I would like to quote in this connection the words of the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. he had said:

[English]

"Poverty and unemployment will become permanent features of our life, if communal peace is not maintained. Our freedom is not only to be guarded, but has to be given practical shape."

[Translation]

I was submitting that there are such fascist forces in this country which make the

people of majority community feel, in the name of religion, that this country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari belongs to them, because they form 80 per cent of the population of the country. These forces want to incite fundamentalism and obscurantism in this country and for this all sorts of methods are adopted. Mahatma Gandhi has given us the philosophy of Sarvodaya which is based on the theory propounded by Ruskin in his book 'Unto the Last'.

[English]

While writing 'Unto the Last', Ruskin had sought inspiration from the Bible to express himself.

[Translation]

The theory that has been propounded in this book is that howsoever big a majority community in any country may be, it should provide full protection even to the minutest minority of that country, be it cultural, linguistic or religious minority. Unless we provide protection to them, the foundation of any society can not be sound.

Gandhiji based his philosophy of Sarvodaya on this theory by Ruskin. He had said that it is our duty to provide protection to even the smallest community, be it cultural, social, linguistic or religious. Until we do this, the foundation of India can not be strong.

In this connection I would like to quote Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru again. He had said:

[English]

"I am proud of India not only because of her ancient magnificent heritage, but also because of her remarkable capacity to add to it by keeping the doors and windows of her mind and spirit open to fresh and invigorating wind from distant lands. India's strength has been two-fold—her own innate culture which flowered through the ages, and her capacity to draw from other sources and thus add this to her own. She was far too strong to be submerged by outside

streams and she was too wise to isolate herself from them, so there is a continuing synthesis in India's real history, and the many political changes which have taken place have had little effect on the growth of this. "Variegated and yet essentially unified culture."

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now mention about Meerut, Maliana, Hashimpur and other places was made. These incidents are a blot on our society. We will not be able to wash it for generations to come. It will be difficult for us to answer the posterity as we are standing in the dock as culprits. I would like to say that to stop recurrence of such incidents, the local administration should be streamlined. It is true that it is not possible that riots may not occur, but it is definitely the duty of district administration to stop them from spreading. People who are unable to curb such activities have no right to remain in service. They should be removed from service and strict action should be taken against them. Not only this, the political leadership of that State should also be held accountable. The Chief Minister who is unable to stop riots in his State has no right to remain in his position even for a minute. He should be warned and then should be ousted. Only then, you can stop communalism in this country. Mention has been made about history books also. But till date no action has been taken in this direction. Today how many persons know that Hakim Khan Sur was the General of Maharana Pratap. He was a Muslim. He had badly defeated the army of Akbar. How many persons know that when Akbar attacked Chittor, real younger brother of Maharana Pratap was on the side of Akbar and was fighting against the armies of Maharana Pratap whereas two Muslim Pathans saved Chittor and pushed Akbar's armies back. Till their last breath, they did not allow the gate of Chittor fort to be opened and Akbar's armies could not enter it. No historian tries earnestly to inform the people about such incidents. I support the plea that history books should be re-written.

I would also like to say something about the religious ceremonies held during Government functions. No Government has any right to hold religious ceremonies in a function where money from public exchequer is spent or tax payer's money is involved. It is a serious blow to secularism. This system should be done away with and no religious ceremony should be held in any of the Government functions. Our rulers should ensure this. Whatever administrative steps you may take to curb riots, you cannot be successful unless you are able to finish the psychology which incites people to indulge in riots and also, unless you take steps to remove unemployment or poverty. Those people who deviate from the right path and are misled should be provided jobs and security. Unless a psychology is created that this country is ours, we belong to this country, we have been born here and we will die here, our culture, religion and traditions are part and parcel of the country, there is no danger to us neither any one is going to dominate us nor any one is going to destroy us, the communal riots cannot be completely rooted out from this country. All other things are meaningless. We have been debating the issue and have been getting publicity in the newspapers etc., but that is not going to solve the problem. Lastly, I want to quote Pandit Nehru what he said in 1948 in the Aligarh Muslim University. He had said for the posterity;

[*English*]

"I invite you as free citizens of free India to play your role in the building up of this great country and to be sharers in common with others, in the triumphs and setbacks alike that may come our way. The present with all its unhappiness and misery will pass. It is the future that counts, more especially for the young, and it is that future that beckons to you. How will you answer that call?"

[*Translation*]

This was the question Pandit Nehru had put to the posterity. I think it is sufficient to surprise the future generations. We will

*Disturbances**Disturbances*

[Shri Aziz Qureshi]

root out communalism in India and the voice raised in this august House against communal forces will be heard by the future generations and they will defeat these communal forces.

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I offer my deep condolences to Shri Buta Singhji, not only on my behalf but on behalf of my Party also because he has suffered bereavement in Punjab. His close relatives were assassinated in the most barbarous act. I denounce that act of violence and condemn those terrorists. I am very sorry, he has suffered a great mental anguish all these months and the tragedy is that he had to be present here to reply to the debate.

The time at my disposal is very short Mr. Chairman. So I will try not to repeat what others have said.

In fact, after hearing Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav and Mr. Indrajit Gupta, there was no need for anybody to speak on this subject. But there are some points which I must express. It is also my duty to represent my Party.

The communal situation in Merrut must cause an awakening in India. If we ponder at this juncture on the consequences, it will not remain merely a communal question; it is essentially the question of India's unity and integrity. That is what U.P. administration and particularly the marauders called the PAC, have not understood. I do not understand where to start when I come to discuss Meerut where the most heinous crimes have been committed. I have a couple of reports available on my left side. There have been so many riots in India but the most shameful of these riots is the one which took place in Meerut, recently.

Now, I have had a privilege—I should not call it a privilege, but it was my duty—to go

to Meerut. I succeeded in going there. What did I see in Meerut? I went to Hashimpur. I went to all the riot affected areas. But I could not go to Maliana. It was a heart-rending situation. Even after visiting Meerut, my conscience pricked me that average Hindu is not communal. That the average Muslim is not communal. But in the middle and lower middle classes in India, there are elements who have received mental training to propagate communalism in India. When I saw the style of U.P. administration, Mr. Chairman, I put a question to myself. How could Muslims remain safe when there was no administration? Then I realised that an average Hindu in Meerut or in other parts of U.P. is not communal. If they were so, what should have happened to Meerut one can imagine? It is the PAC and the Magistrate, the one who was transferred after the intervention of the Central Government who should get the Blame. Somebody told me that he was promoted. But Mr. Chairman, through you, I want to inform all concerned that this Magistrate was a rumour monger. I have a solid proof to offer to the Home Minister of India that he was the worst rumour monger.

Some of the ideas I have shared with the hon. Home Minister. I went to the Prime Minister also; but today I am telling you: that he (Magistrate) is the first-rate rumour monger. As I told you I have solid proof, and if the Home Minister invites me, I will give him the proof, because I had visited Meerut myself.

How could that Magistrate control the situation there? There was a great pressure on the Hindus to remain turbulent in that situation, where a Magistrate himself fans communal feelings?

Much has been said about PAC. I was told by Hindus—I do not want to mention names here. But the greatest hope in India is that common man is not communal. Hindus came forward and told the story of atrocities against Muslims. Three prominent Hindus in Meerut told me the story while I was in the Rest House, while the

Magistrate tried to obstruct me from talking to the people, obstructed me from talking to Muslim particularly. But still he failed when three prominent Hindus came to me. And they told me how the Magistrate was misbehaving, how it was difficult for him to control the situation, because he was totally biased against Muslims. It is those prominent Hindus who told me that six units of the PAC were totally communalized. They want only one thing: they have their hands on the trigger, and they know how to pull the trigger against a particular community. These six units will have to be disbanded. I wrote letters to the Home Minister and the Prime Minister in this connection and suggested that PAC will have to be trained. You will ask a question: How can PAC be trained? They know how to pull the trigger? That training is not required. I had recommended to the Home Minister—and I repeat it today—that they will have to be taken for a rigorous training to some place in the South; and they will be trained in the philosophy enshrined in the Constitution of India. They will be told what Mahatma Gandhi stood for. They will be told that India stands for a secular polity. That rigorous training will have to be organized for them. As of now, it is a band of marauders. You set them free to do what they liked.

You have non compoops in the Administration. I have some examples where the Hindus saved Muslims and vice versa and the tribute goes to them. But a very weak administration creates problem for the moderate Hindus also. An average moderate Hindu strives and does not offer a hand of cooperation to save Muslims, because he knows he is not safe in a poor administration which is of no use during the disturbed situation.

16.58 hrs.

[MR DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the chair*]

So, these PAC jawans should be trained, and they should be told that India's bright image is tarnished outside India. I was in Algiers sometime ago. I was questioned:

about the communal riots. We hear that Muslims are massacred there." I had to explain the whole dimension of the problem. I told them that even harijans are burnt alive in this country. India has a population of 70 crores. So, there are problems. There is a class struggle. There are Harijans and Adivasis who have suffered. The poorest of the poor suffer at the hands of caste conscious zamindars. But even with all the explanations the question mark remains in the minds thereof. This is what you gather in Algiers, may, in whole of Arab World?

Not only that. I went to London. I was interviewed by the BBC. One of the question related to the communal riots in India. I answered as I should have. But the suspicion persisted. So, these PAC people will have to be told that the fair image of India is tarnished outside. The Home Ministry of India must take notice of this fact. I do not say: disband all the PAC, but disband these six units. It is common knowledge in U.P. that they are communalized. They should receive rigorous training even for living as citizens in U.P. They must be told that all the 13 crores of Muslims cannot be killed through bullets. And they must know that while they kill, they actually kill the very spirit of our social existence.

I was telling you that the average Hindu is not communal. I cannot believe that he is, because I have so many examples where Hindus came forward to save Muslims. Similarly Muslims saved Hindus. In Hashimpur itself, 7 or 8 Muslim families saved one Hindu family. There are such examples in Meerut itself. The majority community has a special responsibility, because Muslims are in minority and a very backward community economically and educationally.

17.00 hrs.

As for a Musilman, there is an injunction in Quran; and that is what Jamat-e-islami in Kashmir does not understand. We are in

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a difficult situation. On the one hand, we have to fight Hindu communalism and Hindu chauvinism, which is a galore now as Mr. Indrajit Gupta said earlier. On the other hand we have to fight Muslim obscurantism. I am represented by Jamat-e-Islam Propaganda in Jammu & Kashmir State. They do not understand the spirit of the Quran i.e. injunction. Quran tells Muslims Lukum Dinukum Vali Yadin.

If one believe in Hinduism, it is a matter of pride for him as Islam is a matter of pride for me. Christianity is a matter of pride for somebody else. There is no question of coercion in religion. This is what the Jamat-e-Islam does not understand and they indulge in parochialism. A particular note should be taken of what the Jamat-e-Islam in Jammu & Kashmir preaches and how we combat that. Now I come to Babar before I come to Babri Mosque.

[*Translation*]

Babar had taken the dust of this pious land in his hand and had said to his son that they had to live there and die there, and this land was their country. Muslims will have to act on the advice of Babar and I am fully confident that the Muslims think on this line.

[*English*]

Therefore, Muslims should stand for unity and integrity of India; and I believe they stand for unity and integrity of India. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of the Government—they cannot say that this is a State subject and Shri Virbhadra Singh will deal with the situation. I know how the Government of India intervened and the Magistrate was transferred from Meerut. Even the Home Minister of U.P. and the Chief Minister of U.P. until the last moment resisted the transfer of a small officer like the District Magistrate. They were concerned about a Magistrate's transfer and not with the fact that hundreds of innocent

people had been murdered. The PAC had taken people from Hajimpur and killed them on the bank of a river. Maliana had witnessed terrible scenes of massacre of innocent people. But they were resisting the transfer of a District Magistrate. If the Government of India was to deal with a situation, such officers should be imprisoned; they should be charge-sheeted, and dismissed.

After the expression of these emotions, I have a couple of suggestions to make to the Government of India because I know how the Prime Minister was worried about this situation. I bear witness to the fact that the Home Minister was very much concerned about the situation. The Government of India intervened in Meerut in a big way and therefore they could control the situation. Otherwise, depending on the administration of UP you would have seen much more and far greater massacre in Meerut.

My first suggestion is that this Babri Mosque dispute should be resolved. I have no readymade solution, but I want to tell you that there is a secular history of Babri Mosque.

There is paucity of time, otherwise, I could have explained it in a great detail. The first man who went to the police station and recorded his evidence was a Hindu. He made a statement before the Police Inspector that somebody had put an idol in the mosque. It was in 1949. This man, the first informant who made a report to the Police Station was a Hindu. Then you know who was this fellow who went on a fast unto death—because he found that it was a Mosque and Hindus were not permitting Muslims to offer prayer there and he also found that Muslims had a lot of fear in them and they were not in a position to bury their dead—it was Akshey Pandit a senior congress leader of Ayodhya. On the 11th day of his fast on the request of Lal he broke his fast on the request of the then Home Minister of U.P., Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. This happened in 1950. And, who was it who went to the

Sessions Judge in 1950 and recorded his evidence as the District Magistrate. It was Mr. Ogra a Kashmir Pandit. He recorded evidence after studying all the revenue records and said that, "I have come to the conclusion that this Mosque was built by the Muslims during Babar's time and it was raised on a vacant land. It was not that a temple was converted into a mosque". So this Babri Masjid had a secular history. Akshya Pandit is a Hindu (and he is alive still), the man who lodged F.I.R. in 1949. And Mr. Ogra the Magistrate who deposed before the Sessions Court that the mosque belongs to Muslims was also a Hindu. Now the matter is before the court. It is for the Government to fight the battle in the court. But if you have any other solution, you can tell us. It is possible to settle it. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister should invite the Muslim M.Ps because otherwise they will have to deal with men like Imam Bukhari at the Boat Club. We are the representatives of the Muslims in India because seven lakhs of people have voted for me for instance. After all, there has to be a discussion around a table. It is not the question of one mosque. It is the question of keeping secularism as enshrined in the Constitution of India intact. We want the Constitution of India to remain as a political bible for us. We have to salute the Constitution of India. The danger is not to the Muslim community. It is a danger to the very Constitution of India. It is a danger to the very existence of Indian society. Therefore, the Babri Mosque question should be resolved and I feel that the Muslim community will come forward for a just solution. Now the ball is in the court of the Home Minister of India and the Prime Minister.

Then, we have so many reports about these riots. I have not read these voluminous reports fully. These are gathering dust in the Parliament Library. Aligarh, Jamshedpur, Ahmedabad and other places there were riots—so many riots—wherever the riots have taken place the reports were obtained. It is very unfortunate that these reports proved useless. There should be a committee to go through the recommen-

dations. Who cares for these recommendations? It is not even research material for any Ph.D. scholar. These are gathering dust in the Library. I would request the Home Minister that he should constitute a committee to examine all these recommendations. There is no need for further judicial inquiries in riots. We know the disease and we know how the disease can be eradicated. Therefore, a committee could go through these recommendations and then we could see whether these recommendations came closer to the recommendations of the National Integration Council, because, the National Integration Council has discussed this issue a number of times.

The National Integration Council has also recommended that there should be a riot fighting force in which the Muslim community should be represented and other minority communities should also be represented properly. This is the recommendation of the National Integration Council and we only talk about it and never do anything concrete. If the riot fighting force were there, these wouldn't have not been the kind of massacre as was witnessed in Meerut. But there is no such force. The result was that people were at the mercy of P.A.C. Therefore, this riot fighting force has to be there if we are very serious about solving this problem.

Then my next suggestion is the Radio and Television should be secularised. I am the staunchest opponent of the way in which Television and Radio are being used. It is not necessary that the Milad-ul-Nabi procession or the Rath Yatra should be shown on the Television. It does not do any good. So, you use Television and Radio for propagating religion and still you say we are a secular State. How are we a secular State? Somebody was taking objection to Ramayana. Personally, I would not take any objection if some Shlokas of Geeta are recited by anybody. Because, it is a book which charges one with emotion and one feels ready to act against vice. I read the translation of

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Geeta by Khan Saheb Asar Lakhnavi. I was charged with emotion for a good cause. Geeta is essentially the Saga of action against all that is bad, but propagation of religion should not be permissible at all. If you show a Rath Yatra on T.V. for ten minutes what happens? And you show Milad-ul-Nabi for nine and a half minutes for instance Muslims will say that they spared half a minute more to the Hindu community and vice versa. Muslims feel hurt on this account also. It is very difficult to satisfy the people. So, why don't you decide that Radio and Television should be totally secular. In fact it is possible for the Government of India to ban all processions. It may be Rath Yatra or Milad-ul-Nabi procession or other religious processions. All these processions should be banned. Religion should not become the basis of contention between the communities. Religion preaches peace and brotherhood. But now religion is being prosecuted as the bone of contention. So, neither Rath Yatra nor any procession that Muslim organise usually! Let us be secular in the finest way we can.

Then, the electronic media is supported by the loudspeakers in propagating religion. I raise a question. The loudspeakers should be banned in every mosque and in every temple. It is a very difficult proposition. Earlier, on the Lahore radio, they used to say in the morning and in the evening. I suppose AIR does not do it. It should do it.

[*Translation*]

May be in your neighbourhood some child or elderly person is sick or some student is preparing for his examination. Therefore, tone down the volume of your radio so that others may not be disturbed.

[*English*]

You enjoy discourses on your own religion but someone else may not like it because he does not believe in the religion in which you believe.

Loudspeaker similarly has become a great source of trouble. If we were to be a secular society, then we should ban all these things. I do not know how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru tolerated this in his life time. I do not remember whether radio and television were used in the same way in which they are used now. I am the student of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Philosophy. He was the beacon light for all of us and above everything else. He was the greatest nationalist and the greatest secularist we have ever produced.

(*Interruptions*)

My point is that we must be secular in the real sense if we want to be an emancipated people.

Then, Sir, before I conclude, I would like to throw some light on a very important matter. There is a 'Fifteen Point Programme' for ministries. It was propounded by Indiraji. I want to pay tribute to her for this, because she was concerned about the minorities. This fifteen Point Programme is for the amelioration of minorities in India. Why I referred to this is because, I have a hunch. I humbly request the hon. Home Minister to kindly understand the dimension of my hunch. The bureaucrats are sitting over this. Indiraji wanted it to be implemented, but the bureaucrats have not circulated it. It was not circulated to States. It was not circulated to Agencies for wide publicity. There was a verbal word going around that it should not be implemented.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur): Is it not published in all the papers?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Perhaps not? This Fifteen Point Programme is a programme for the amelioration of minorities including the Muslims.

The recruitment policy is such that the muslim youth does not get recruited. Large scale employment opportunities are there in the Railways, Nationalised Banks and Public Sector Enterprises but Muslims do not get representation. The concerned

Departments should ensure that special consideration is given to the minorities. Muslims want these fifteen points to be implemented fully, particularly in Police, in Defence, in Railways, in Banks and other sectors there should be representation not only for Muslims, but for Christians, Jains, Sikhs and others also.

This programme was particularly designed for the upliftment of minorities in India. But this has not been done. My hunch is that this was not done deliberately. The Cabinet took a decision. Indiraji was keen to implement it, but she could not succeed because the Home Ministry did not like it. Why I express a strong opinion on this subject is that we have lost a lot of time. It is time for the hon. Home Minister to take stock of these fifteen points and take measures to implement them vigorously.

Sir, you have been very kind to me that you have listened to me patiently.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think, you also be kind to me.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Yes, Sir. I must conclude now. Last of all, I have to say one thing. Kindly do not misunderstand me. I want this country to be great in the real sense of the term. And this is what marauders and communalists do not understand. We must remove this menace of communalism from India. Before I conclude, I want to quote from the report of the Commission of Inquiry that was set up under Justice D.P. Madon, to inquire into the riots that took place in Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad in 1970, and then I will resume my seat: At the end of the report Justice Madon made the following observation which is so poignantly relevant today. I quote:

"We have had enough of a time to hate and a time to kill, a time to destroy, and a time to rend. Let there be now a time to heal and a time to build, a time to clasp hands and a

time to be one. With the memory of those bright encounters on the way let us then end, in hope and confidence."

[*Translation*]

SHRI SALAHUDDIN (Godda). Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, much has been said on this subject. I do not want to repeat the name of Hashimpura and Maliana and the incidents that took place there.

In India particularly during the last few months the feeling of communalism, specially in Uttar Pradesh, has been spreading fast which is a matter of grave concern. Similar was the situation in America before 1967 when ethnic riots between blacks and whites took place. At that time the Government there appointed a Presidential Commission in 1967 and when its recommendations were received, those were implemented. After that, such incidents either stopped fully or were reduced. I do not want to repeat all those things. I would rather like to recommend to you that in India, a Prime Minister's Commission should be appointed and it should be asked to give its recommendations so that feeling of communalism is rooted out from India for all times to come.

Several hon. Members have spoken about 15 Point Programme. I want that the Government should make the 15 Point Programme mandatory which was formulated by the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi in an advisory nature. Unless it is made mandatory, no State Government is going to accept it. One or two Points have been accepted by some State Governments, but Hon. Prime Minister should adopt the 15 Point Programme formulated by Smt. Indira Gandhi as the will of the late Prime Minister. In 1948 and afterwards several instructions were issued by the Home Ministry. I do not want to read out all of them. I just want to make a mention of them and want to tell that afterwards when certain objections were raised, the Home Ministry kept mum on them. They related to the minorities of the

[Shri Salahuddin]

country. A lot of discussion has taken place on the instructions of the Home Ministry or the incidents of Hashimpura and Maliana. I would like to tell only this that communalism is fast increasing in the country and I would like to tell the Muslim leaders that they should see that the Muslim youths absorb themselves in the mainstream of the country and take active part in national activities. It is our responsibility and it is not confined to the responsibility of the Government. We have also to share some responsibility. We should not allow our youths to be carried away by the emotions. They should rather spend their energy in the developmental programmes like 20 Point Programme and other programmes. We should pay full respect to all the religious places, be they temples, mosques or gurudwaras. The problem before us is not that in case of riots, who should control the situation with the help of military or police, but the problem relates to the unity and integrity of the country. The communal forces are raising their heads and we have seen that in 1947 and even earlier similar atmosphere was created in which communal feelings were aroused, but at that time, some leaders, the Jamiat-Ulma-e-Hind and the Momin conference faced these communal forces. They said that this country is their country and this is their land. They said that they loved the temples, mosques and churches of the country, they loved its nook and corner. In this way the Momin Conference and the Jamiat-Ulma-e-Hind should show the same way which they had shown at that time. Neither they had accepted partition of the country at that time, nor they accept it now. To-day I challenge those forces once again and call upon them that the country is facing the same problem now and we have to face communalism. I would like to tell the people living in this country, whether they are Hindu communalists or Muslim communalists that we will have to face both the communalists unitedly. It is the responsibility of our party and our Government that they encourage secularism. It is our principle that we have

an uniform outlook towards everybody. I do not accept that our party is responsible for the incidents taking place time and again. I do not admit that our Government is responsible for this.

A few months ago an incident took place in my constituency. The district administration did not allow the procession organised for immersion of the idol to pass through the route it ought to have gone through and the procession continued to pass through its scheduled route. In the morning some people belonging to minority community were standing there to watch the situation. The police seeing these youths standing there started firing at them with the assumption that they may assault them and three young people died as a result of that firing. I received telegram at 11 P.M. I reached my constituency in the morning by aeroplane. At that time the area had been put under curfew. I reached there with the permission of the district administration. The next day I apprised Shri Dubey, the Chief Minister of Bihar of the incident. I would like to thank him for appointing a commission at my instance. The shops of the minorities which were looted had been identified before the incident took place and they were looted in the cover of darkness. There were 45 shops belonging to the people of the minority community. I met the Chief Minister of Bihar again and he sanctioned Rs. 5,000 to each shop-keeper. I distributed the relief amount myself and rehabilitated them. I express my thanks to the Chief Minister of Bihar, Shri Bindeswari Dubey for this.

It is not a question whether somebody is a Hindu or a Muslim. It is the question of such an incident which will make any human being weep. Whether one is a Muslim, Hindu, a Christian, any justice loving people will always say crime to a crime. Nobody will say it to be a good thing. Whether it is the blood shed of Hindu, it is human blood only, I get astonished, when the throat of a small child is cut. Some woman is widowed, some mother or sister

is disgraced in front of her son or brother. I do not think that any Hindu, any Muslim or any Sikh will commit this act. Those who are mean, they commit such an act. Only the cruel, cowardly and shameless human will commit this act. A Hindu or real Muslim cannot murder a child. I can say this thing confidently. If anybody murders a child, he cannot be a Hindu or a Muslim. He may be a dangerous fascist or a shameless beast.

Our colleagues narrated the incidents that took place in Meerut in a very painful voice in the House. I have read in a magazine. A jawan of the PAC is going. He asks if you want to take the sixes of Kapil Dev or Imran Khan. Now the question here is whose sixes does he want to take? Whether you kick a six or a four, I am quoting it from a newspaper. It is the question of the unity and integrity of the country.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, to-day the communal forces are raising their heads again. I would like to suggest that these institutions and these armies in India should be identified.

People having links with these institutions should be identified. It should also be identified as to what type of people are attached to them. They should be isolated from the society. Until and unless we isolate them from the society, their morale will go on boosting. It is the call of the time that we should put down their morale and crush these forces.

I would like to express my thanks to Shri Rajiv Gandhi for the work undertaken by him in this direction. People are raising their fingers. Those people who happened to be with him till yesterday and everything ran smooth till such time. Today when they have parted company, they are raising their fingers at our party and Government in collusion with these forces. Why would our party indulge in such a thing? Are we going to get any political benefit or votes by these deeds? Neither our party nor the Government will be benefited by such action. Why should we commit this type of heinous crime. Only those

people who are likely to get any political benefit out of it, may indulge in such type of work. These are the people who create differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. They want to isolate one brother from another. We do not indulge in this type of politics. Our party believes in politics of Hindu-Muslim unity. We encourage secularism. We do not want to get any benefit for our party by creating this type of confrontation or atmosphere.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to pay my tributes to the deceased and assure that our Government and the youths of our party are prepared to make any sacrifice for the unity and integrity of the country in future and they will come forward to protect the minority. If anybody is a friend of the minority, then it is our party and our Government. As and when such opportunities have arisen, it is our party and Government which has come forward as the true friend of the minorities. History is a witness to this.

{*Translation*}

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, before I say something on this subject, I would like to present a complete in support of my argument.

"Hawen Pur Dard Aphasano Ki
Jisja Khatma Hoti Hai,
Wahin se Sunane walo Ab Suruhai
Dastan Meri."

There has been a lot of discussion on it. Long speeches have been delivered on the riots that have taken place at various places. I listened to the speeches of Shri Agrawal Saheb, Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, Shri Gupta and Shri Zainul Basher. There are no two opinions that their speeches were very clear. We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of India's independence, but we observe the anniversary of the riots every year. When shall these come to an end? How long will we suffer and what is our fault? Have we not fought the battle of independence and have we not made our

[Shri Mohd. Mahfooz Alikhan]

contribution for this? After all, why are we being beaten? It is because our intention is bad. It has not changed. It needs to be changed. Is there any difference between Hindu blood and Muslim blood, why has this blood changed? I would like to know the reasons behind it. Its main reason is that divide and rule is the main policy of the Government, which the Britishers used to follow. They want the Hindus and Muslims to fight against one another so that their party could continue to remain in power. Its proof is before you. Why do you not decide to Ram Janmbhoomi and Babri Masjid issue? What is the difficulty in it. I do not know much as to who is the owner of the Ram Janmbhoomi and the Babri Masjid? But the common man is having a feeling that the Government does not want to solve this problem. I had discussed this issue with the hon. Minister and he had told in the meeting of the consultative Committee when I was the member of the Committee that they would try to solve this issue by inviting a few persons and having discussions with them. But our Government is silent till now. This attitude of the Government has its effect on the communal situation also. I would like to narrate the incidents that took place in Meerut. The Muslims keep fast during the Ramzan month. At that time innocent children, men and women were made to drink urine at the time of Iftar. Who does not know about it? It is a matter of great distress that they were not given water in the evening. I would like to say that the Government of U.P. was involved in it ** was involved in it **. It is ** who created this. He was aware that riots are going to take place in Meerut. But it is a matter of regret that they did not take any action.....(Interruptions)...

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No Chief Minister's name.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN: Just listen, please. Whatever was done, was done at the instance of the Government of Uttar Pradesh. The people have proved that it was not a riot between the Hindus and Muslims. It was a riot between the PAC and the Muslims in Meerut. The PAC has done it and no Hindu has indulged in it. The Hindus saved Muslims and the Muslims saved the Hindus. An incident took place at Daurala on 22nd July. People were dragged from the bus and were killed there. One of my colleagues was present in that bus. He told that people belonging to one particular community were dragged and killed. What happened in Hashimpura, Maliana, Shastri Nagar, Moh. Imlan, Rashidnagar and Tarapuri. Thousands of houses were destroyed. Prisoners were taken from here and some prisoners were killed in Fatehgarh Jail.

I regret to say that the prisoners were killed and their bodies were handed over to their relatives telling them that these were gifts for them. I can challenge the incident which happened during Ramzan and can present evidence in the House. They requested for water, but instead they were given urine. I can challenge you. Such an excess has never been committed in the history of the country. I feel very sorry. We belong to this country and we have to live here. We have to die here and we have to live here. Pakistan had been created and those who preferred to settle there, had left for that country. This is our country and we have to live here and fight for our rights. But sir, don't be angry with us. Is the education which is being provided to the children? Is this the way? There is one organisation—R.S.S., The R.S.S. volunteers putting on half Pants hold parade in the morning and what is taught to them? Has Government ever tried to ban it? Even now R.S.S. Shakhas are held daily in the morning, but it has not yet been banned. Our colleague Mr. Owaisi has rightly said

that unless you put a ban on these institutions, riots will continue to take place. I would once again repeat that if the Government wants, riots can be prevented. Why do you not take stringent action? Why don't you identify those officers who have undergone OTC training. You verify the character of the officer from the LIU whether they have undergone OTC training. Information regarding OTC training is available in the record under LIU. Even if it has been entered into the record of L.I.U. that a particular person has undergone the training of OTC, he is recruited in the Government services. They have the same views as that of R.S.S. It has been told that in Meerut, the P.A.C. officer went berserk and he fired in this state of mind in Maliana. But this is not a fact. He was not insane. He was in his senses. It was a month of Ramzan when such bloodshed took place in Meerut. I would like to give some suggestions. The riots are taking place in the country and these incidents have not been checked. What are the reasons that some places have been identified for inciting riots. I am not saying that the Government has done this thing. It is the handi work of communalists. For example riots generally take place in Aligarh, Meerut, Moradabad, Firozabad, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad. What are the reasons for this? The main reason is that Muslims are making progress in these places and are earning a lot. And they don't want to see that the economic status of the Muslims should improve. They want to ruin Muslims economically. These are the sensitive towns where trivial matter assume serious proportions. Our Government should check these things in time. I do not say that there are no goonda elements among Muslims. Such persons are there among the Muslims as well. Hindus are our brothers. Goonda elements are there among Hindu and Muslims both. It takes two to make quarrel. It is a matter of regret that P.A.C. committed excesses in Meerut. If you make searches at the residences of P.A.C. personnel, you will find fridges, almirahs looted from the houses of Muslims. Searches have not been conducted at few localities in Meerut. Some items which

have been looted have been kept there. Why was action not taken in this matter? Transfer of the officers is not punishment. You have transferred Mr. Kaushik, the D.M. The Government should tell us as to what action has been taken on the reports in regard to the riots and on the reports of the Commissions which had been appointed. The S.S.P. and the D.M. were transferred. But this is not the new thing. Have you suspended any officer and have you prosecuted any one of them? What is the number of cases of riots in which you have convicted the persons who had been found guilty. At how many places you have levied criminal tax so as to teach a lesson to the people? The criminals are still free, because they say that no one can harm them. Crimes are committed by someone and somebody else suffers. I am narrating to you a true incident. If you want, you can go to Meerut and see things for yourself. Meerut was an industrial town earlier where Hindus and Muslims had been living cordially, but now differences have been created between the two communities. They have taken different ways. They are not in talking terms now. No one knows as to what will happen the next moment. I would like that not only the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh be dismissed, but action should be taken against him, because he is personally responsible for the riots in Meerut. You have transferred Mr. Kaushik and the S.S.P. but this is not sufficient. You can not strict your responsibility by saying that it is a State matter and you can not do anything. We first belong to this country and this House also belongs to this country. Therefore, you should look into the matter seriously.

Now, I would like to give you some suggestions. First of all, I would like that the issue of Babri mosque be solved, on account of which communal riots are taking place in the country. This is not a trivial issue, but an important one. As Shri Zainul Basher has said that this communal fire has engulfed not only Uttar Pradesh, but the entire country and it will be difficult to extinguish it. Every Hindu and Muslim should regard themselves as members of

[Shri Mohd. Mahfouz Ali Khan]

one community. We never say to whom does the Babri mosque belong or Ram Janm Bhoomi belong? I regard them as place of worship. Do not make the Hindu and Muslim fight on this issue. My first demand is that this issue may be solved as soon as possible.

Secondly, I want that religion should not be mixed with the State and politics, because religion has no relation with the state and the politics. Thirdly, a new force should be created to check riots as per the commendations of the National Integration Council in which minorities and backward classes be given due representation. The P.A.C. should be disbanded totally because every member of the minority community is afraid of the P.A.C. In our country, only persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Muslims among the minorities have to face excesses. This you can see anywhere Whenever persons belonging to high caste want to beat them, they beat them at their will and their houses are set on fire. In our Mainpuri, a village belonging to minorities has completely been destroyed. Fourthly, I want that the D.M. and the S.S.P. should be held responsible for the riot and action should be taken against them. Merely transferring them will not suffice. They should be chargesheeted and prosecution be launched against them. If we set a few such examples, I can say with authority that no riots will take place anywhere. I belong to a small town Aliganj, but I do not agree with the views of Prof. Saifuddin Soz who says that loudspeakers are played. It does not make any difference if loudspeakers are played or not played. If a Muslim or Hindu is worshipping with dedication in a mosque or in temple, the sound of loudspeakers can not distract him. This is only a pretext. Therefore, he is wrong. These processions are being taken out since the time of Britishers who did not belong to this country. Now you are also adopting the same approach and putting ban on their processions. Next time you may put a ban on the procession of Muharram. I would

like to tell you that in the last three years, it has been a coincidence that Ram Lila and Muharram fell on the same day. You might be knowing that in our community festivals are held when the moon is sighted, but now we are celebrating the same festivals two times. I would like to tell you as to how much unity is there among both the communities. Although there is a big centre of R.S.S. at our place, but there has never been a riot between Hindus and Muslims in my town. However, when both the festivals fell on the same day, the Police called a meeting of the Peace Committee. Although our festival is held at the appearance of moon, nevertheless we decided to celebrate it one day later and asked Hindus to take out their procession first and we would participate in it. We participated in their procession, because there is no dispute in the name of religion. However, we decided to celebrate our festival a day later and allowed them to take out their Ram Lila procession first. If people have large-heartedness, there is no reason that we cannot celebrate festivals and there is no need to put a ban on processions. It makes no difference if loudspeaker is on in the mosque. If bells are ringing in the temple, it makes no difference for the person offering namaz. In the same way if the loudspeaker is on in the mosque, it does not make any difference for a person worshipping in the temple provided he is worshipping with dedication. The sound of bell does not distract me while I am offering namaz with dedication at my house.

The procession of political parties should, of course, be banned, but no such ban should be imposed on the religious processions for which routes are already fixed in the old register and which can not be changed. The Police should make arrangement for taking out such processions. It is not proper to impose blanket ban on the processions. The argument to put a ban on the ringing of bells and playing of loudspeakers is beyond comprehension. Of course, ban should be put on the way of thinking. When the blood is needed for a patient, we do not see whether the blood belongs to the Muslim or Hindu. If our Government does not take deterrent

action, things will not improve. The Government should, therefore, deal with the situation with a heavy hand.

The education should be made secular. You should see as to what is being taught in the Shishu Mandirs. If children of very tender age are taught as to how the Muslims came in the country and how Mohammad Gauri, Babar came here and did excesses on the people, a communal feeling may creep into their mind. I think that these are things of history and these should not be taught in the schools. Such things should be deleted from the History which create a feeling of tension and communalism. The communal forces should be banned. These forces make the people fight with one another. A small thing is published in such a big way that it creates tension, although whatever is published is totally false. Only the factual thing should be published. Whatever has been said about media is also correct. No religious propaganda should be made on the television. The Government should not mention about the festivals of either Hindus or the Muslim on the television. The T.V. is like a cancerous disease. The children glue to the television all the time. This thing should be looked into and the Government should put a ban on it.

The persons involved in the murders of the members belonging to the minority community in Hashimpur and other localities of Meerut should be punished and the loss suffered by the poor should be compensated by the Government.

The Minorities Commission should be wound up as there is no need to continue it. Justice Baig, the Chairman of this Commission, I think, is already 80-85 years of age. We are carrying on with this commission unnecessarily. Hence, it should be wound up.

The cases against the communal convicts should be speedily disposed of and they should be awarded punishment for at least 14 years. Crime tax should be

imposed on the localities which are frequently hit by communal violence so that the tax so imposed could work as deterrent for the people living in such localities. If the Government takes such measures, the communal clashes can be checked. If even one of these suggestions is put into action, the communal violence will not recur. The decisions of the National Integration Council should be implemented. When injustice exceeds all limits, it heads towards its own end. One thing that these communalists should remember is that once its limit is crossed, Punjab like situation will develop in all parts of the country. The minorities want to see this country united. Do not commit atrocities on them to the extent of making them rebels.

In the end, I would like to recite an Urdu couplet;

Na samjhoge to mit jaoge, e Hindustan walo,
Thumhari dastan tak bhi na hogi,
dastannon mein.

One more couplet—

Jab pada waqt gulistan par to khoon hamne diya,
Jab bahaar ayeee to kahte ho ki tumhara Kaam nahin.

With these words, I conclude my speech and express thanks to the hon. Deputy Speaker for giving me an opportunity to speak.

[English]

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD (Hingoli): Sir, I rise to express my views on the communal troubles that we are facing all over the country. I do not know whether to call it a speech or a monologue. As a child, I have seen the Congress Party asking for freedom and Muslim League asking for Pakistan. Simultaneously, the Hindus claiming Hindustan for themselves. I have heard the song played on gramophone record:

"Hans Ke liya Hai Pakistan, Lad Ke lenge Hindustan".

[Shri Uttam Rathod]

Let us not forget that the people have not forgotten these stories. Under these circumstances, we got our independence on 15th August, 1947 and as the Congress did not want partition, it did not believe in two nation theory, it did not allow Muslims to leave this country and go away. We accepted secular, democratic constitution. When we accepted democracy, I think, that was the mistake, to some extent? That is how I feel. I will explain this later.

Another thing we gave is citizenship to everyone irrespective of caste, community and sex also. But today when we speak of minority it means only Muslims. If chairman is to be appointed on Minority Commission he has to be a Muslim, He cannot be a Parsi, he cannot be a Christian, he cannot be a Jew. All these people have lived here. Sardarjis have also lived here. Why cannot they adorn this office? What type of secularism is this? Are we going to accept that minority means only Muslims? If we are doing that, I think, we are failing.

Sir, I will come to democracy. When we accept democracy people have to get elected. And to get elected one has to collect people around him. If he has to get people around him, he will find out causes which can get people on his side. The same thing has happened here. It is a fact. I am ashamed of it that after freedom, the Muslims were not treated properly. It is a fact. The Muslims thought that we have nothing to do with this. That is why they kept away from the national mainstream as was said by Mr. Salahuddin. Even if they wanted education, they tried to learn it in Urdu. That is why, during Shri Bhauguna's time, 33,000 Madrasas were declared as Government institutions on the same day and they were paid grant-in-aid. What was the harm if they were inducted in Hindi schools and at the same time teaching them Urdu? It was done in my State where we were taught Marathi but simultaneously, from the second and third onwards,

we were taught Urdu as it was the course language. But it was not done. That is why, Muslims could not join the mainstream. That is how I feel.

18.00 hrs.

When it is a question of number, question of getting elected, one is bound to exploit the situation. This is the fact. For this, I blame all the parties. Just now, Mr. Mahfooz Ali Khan charged that the ruling party is responsible. I think that if anybody has failed, the whole nation has failed in this regard. We all tried to cooperate with communal forces, rightly or wrongly, took them on our sides and then allowed them to exploit the situation. Had we stopped that, as it has been done in some of the Leftist ruled States. I think we would never have had such a situation.

How can we do away with the demagogues the parochial feeling, the communal feeling and the casteist feeling? Why do the people get around their communal leaders? It is because they assure them all benefits which are denied by the ruling party. If the ruling party the people who are in power are just, then there is no reason why these people deviate from the ruling party and turn to demagogues, knowing fully well that if there would be a communal riot, firstly these poor men will be killed and the man who is instigating them will be safe. The permanent solution for this lies only in the just behaviour of the Government. The Government must assure them free education, service if they are able bodied and everything else that is allowed to the people of majority community. There should be no discrimination. Only by that we can inculcate a feeling of confidence among them that no community is above others.

I remember, the Indian Army is the same as it was in pre-independence days. But many of us know that in the Indian Army also there are religious preachers. There are Hindus who preach Gita, there are Muslims who tell them about Quoran, there are Sikhs who tell them about Guru

Granth Saheb and there are Christians who tell them about Bible. This is just to keep up their morale. But the same military has also told them very specifically that when they meet or come to the club, they should not discuss politics, women and religion. If we have that discipline among us, then only we can overcome the communal feelings. Otherwise speaking on such issues is just a ritual.

I would like to suggest certain points. First of all, when we speak about secularism, we should know that secularism expects tolerance for other religions. But I find that we have become more intolerant after the Britishers have left. We have become more touchy over sensitive and I think this is the real risk to secularism. We must try to look at that point and see that the essence of tolerance is developed among our people.

In Maharashtra I have seen that when there was a quarrel between two pimps in a red-light area, one happened to be a Hindu and the other a Muslim. Later on, it became a Hindu-Muslim communal riot! The Hon. Member from that constituency is here, he can tell you more if you ask him privately. Such generalisation should not be allowed and they should be prohibited and crushed immediately.

The minorities along with the backward classes should be educated. They should be inducted in the mainstream. They must be given Government jobs. What has happened to the promise that was given by Mr. Zail Singh as Home Minister when the Punjab issue and communal riots were discussed that very shortly we are going to have a force which will have representation from all the communities? Does it have the representation of all religions and backward classes or it represents only the upper strata which can take vengeance as and when it wants. We would expect a reply from the Home Minister in this regard.

Mr. Indrajit Gupta long back while discussing Moradabad trouble had spoken

about the economic and social disparity and tensions. I think it is a fact. We should try to curb the economic and social disparities and tensions. Why should it happen in Moradabad and Meerut alone? Why does it not happen in Calcutta? All these things should be sensed and crushed immediately.

Sir, when we are discussing this resolution we should not feel that it is only a discussion just to give vent to our view but let us see that we are one and that we all belong to the same nation. The national problems are our problems and we should try to face them whether it be security of the nation, eradication of illiteracy, family planning and conservation of environment. All these problems should be faced equally by all the communities. Then only a feeling can be created among all the castes that we are all one. If we fail in the implementation of any of these schemes then again the majority community may start feeling that it is a kind of a game of numbers.

Lastly I will say the Congress which has been ruling this country for all these 44 years has not been very kind to the progressive and nationalist minority community leaders. If we have done harm to anybody we have first harmed the nationalist and progressive forces. This is the pity of our party. Why a person like Salebhai Abdul Qadir who did not sign the document to go on parole when his father was ailing? Why should they not be brought back? I do not know. Somehow we are after winning elections. That is the whole trouble. We shall have to decide between the two—whether we want secularism here or we want power by hook or crook.

Lastly I pray that sense may dawn on all of us so that we bring amity and unity in this country and hereafter there is no communal riot.

Sir, we have given equal citizenship to all but when there is even a small Hindu-Muslim riot it becomes an international

[Shri Uttam Rathod]

news. If it is against a Harijan it also becomes a State news but if it is an excriminal tribe and upper community it does not even become a district news. This is the irony of our promise given in the Constitution for equal rights. How is that not a single member who spoke today participated in the Punjab discussion? Only Hindus and Sikhs participated. Let us all fight together then only we shall see that we are one.

18.10 hrs.

ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES (SPECIAL PROVISIONS) CONTINUANCE BILL

[English]

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF FOOD AND CIVIL SUPPLIES (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT): Sir, the Essential Commodities (Special provisions) Continuance Bill is listed for today. The previous Act is going to lapse and it needs to be extended in the present situation. This has to go through the Rajya Sabha also. I therefore request that this Bill may kindly be taken up now and further discussion on the communal situation taken thereafter.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Majeri): What happens to the discussion on communal situation?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): When will the Minister reply?

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: So far as communalism is concerned, the Minister will reply only after all of you have spoken.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla): We have no objection.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER I think the House accepts the Minister's request. We will now take up the Essential Commodities (Special Provisions) Continuance Bill.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: I also wish to inform the Hon'ble Members that after 8 O'clock - I hope this Bill finishes by then - dinner will also be arranged for the Members.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: We can continue further discussion on the communal situation tomorrow after Zero Hour.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER Up to 3.30 we will discuss it. Tomorrow we are discussing definitely.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Kindly understand. It is a very good suggestion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: They will take into consideration your suggestion.

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT: Sir, I beg to move: "That the Bill to continue the Essential Commodities (Special Provisions) Act, 1981 for a further period be taken into consideration "

The Essential Commodities Act, 1955 provides for the regulation of production, supply and prices of essential commodities. This act has been amended from time to time to make its provisions more effective. The Essential Commodities (Special Provisions) Act, 1981 was brought into force with effect from the 1st of September, 1982 for a period of 5 years. The objective behind the enactment of the above Act was to make the penal provisions of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, more stringent for dealing more effectively with persons indulging in hoarding, black-marketing of an profiteering in essential commodities.

The Essential Commodities (Special Provisions) Act, 1981 which is to expire on the 31st of August, 1987 also provides for summary trials to ensure effective and quick disposal of cases, setting up of special courts to expedite the process of prosecution. It has provision for a mandatory minimum punishment of three