

Shri Narayan Choubey also welcomed the Agreement and I am thankful for what he has said. He wanted to know about the Indian army, under whom it was functioning. It is under the command of the President of Sri Lanka who is the supreme commander of the Sri Lankan forces. It is there on invitation, on agreement and will carry out the orders; it is working jointly with the Sri Lankan forces and we have had no problems at all.

The differences within the Tamil groups were also referred to. We are aware of those and I think efforts are being made to minimise those differences, to reconcile the various groups, and make it possible for them to participate in the interim administration which, we hope, will start functioning very soon.

I would also like to thank Mr. Somnath Rath and Mr. Ramoowalia for their interventions. I also thank Dr. Rajhans and Dr. Datta Samant. He wanted to know how we are going to implement this. A team, as I said, has gone this morning with experts from the various Ministries; they will sit down in Colombo in the next week or so to work out the various details.

Finally, a word about Prof Kurien.....
(*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, it is leaking here.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: We welcome showers, but we do not welcome them inside the Chamber.

SHRI. K. NATWAR SINGH: Sir, I would like to conclude my intervention by saying that I thank Mr. Gill and Prof. Kurien for their support and the observations that they made. I think, we in Government on this side are very appreciative of almost all Members of the House about what they said about Agreement. We are grateful for their under-

standing for their support for the interest that they have taken in the subject because this is not a party matter, this is a national matter in which we have taken a risk. I am not unaware of the imponderable risk involved. Nothing venture nothing have. If this problem had to be resolved, if an end had to be put to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, if the security environment had to be prevented from getting worse, if the refugees had to go back, if the prisoners were to be released, and if the events that had darkened the life, and menaced the future had to be terminated, then something like this Agreement had to be produced. I want to here pay tribute to the two principal authors of this Agreement - the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India - for having come out with a document which meets all the fundamental, basic demands of the Sri Lankan problem and the fact that the Agreement has held for the last three weeks is a great tribute to all those who are involved in having it implemented. Here is an Agreement in which there are no vanquished only victors. Thank you.

16.13hrs.

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

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We now take up item No.8; Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia to initiate the discussion under Rule 193.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, To-day, we are initiating a discussion on communal

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]
tension.

[MR. VAKKOM PURUSHOTHAMAN *in
the Chair*]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am of the view that communalism cannot be fought at the political level. It requires political will and sincerity. When the time for fighting communalism comes, we talk of fighting it bravely, but our mind changes at that time when we give more weight to the political gains. It am of the view that as a result of communal violence, the poor, the downtrodden people and the common man suffer. The rich and the big political personalities do not suffer. May it be ourselves or anybody else, do not suffer. Therefore a very serious problem is being discussed in the House to-day. Now-a-days everywhere people talk of guns, rifles, stenguns, pistols, knives, iron rods, acid etc. It may be that there are some gentlemen in this House whose friends might have used them. But it is dangerous for the country. I want to say that communalism is a national problem, it is not a minority issue. Therefore, even after 40 years of independence, if we go through the balance sheet, we get distressed that in Gujarat, the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi, communalism has taken deep roots. To-day after 40 years of independence this thing is being discussed among people. I would not like to talk about any politician. The leaders, whether in opposition or in power, talk of theory, they talk of principles, but they never put them in practice. Therefore, an atmosphere of doubts, distance and hatred exists. This atmosphere should not be allowed to continue and internal communal ties, association, and friendship should be strengthened so that this country may become strong and the unity, integrity and sovereignty of the country, is strengthened. Now the situation has come to such a stage and it is a matter

of concern that it has been reported in a newspaper.

[*English*]

"More important than a crusade against communalism is the need for a fresh attempt at understanding its complex nature and friendly dialogue between communities and view points".

[*Translation*]

The situation goes on aggrauating. It is being said that some parties are based on religion. In fact, religion is being used for wining an election and achieving political power. The conflict or the confrontation which takes place at the time of election gives birth to certain things and in order to take political advantage out of them, we people suggest some inflamatory, slogans which create an environment of unrest in the country. Political partonage is not the only thing. Apart from it politics, police and goondaism, sometime, not always, get together in connivance with each other and disturb peace and create problems. We should find out the cause of this malady. We have constitutional power which ought to have been used against communalism but the same is not being used with that much force. If it is used, its results would come before the public and it will restore confidence among the people. It is often alleged that the police has colluded with rioters and the police did not take any action. It is not a wrong charge. It is confirmed when the police finds that there is some influential personality behind the people participating in agitation. The police official thinks that when this rioter can please a political leader, why should I not establish direct contact with him. This aggravates the problem. Therefore, we will have to think about this aspect also. There is another serious thing. Some people think that patriotism is

the monopoly of only one religion, I would like to say in unequivocal terms that our countrymen desire that this country should not be a theocratic state but it should remain a secular country. Everybody, whether he is a Hindu, a Muslim, a Sikh, a Christian, a Jain, a Buddhist, a Parsi, has patriotic feeling in this country. The country does not belong to any individual nor it is the monopoly of any body. Therefore, steps should be taken to ensure that people live in harmony, co-operation and goodwill. We talk to secularism, but it disturbs our mind when....

[English]

"The decline of secular spirit in India is not unrelated to the decline of its institutions. Judicial delays, denial of justice, incompetent and glaringly partial law and order agencies, demoralised democracy, ill-informed media, inequitable economy and near paralysis of political parties have robbed the system of its credibility leading to a parallel politics in which people do not depend on the State for justice, security and punishment but to their respective community."

[Translation]

All of us should look into this aspect. I am not opposing it. It is a malady which should be cured. When decisions are taken in Minority Commission, National Integration Council, discussions take place, as being held to-day in the Parliament also, we take concrete action and when we fail in taking effective action, outside people lose faith. As a result of this such problems are created and it provides opportunity to incite the feelings of somebody.

[English]

"National harmony will depend to a large extent on the ability of the system to

ensure an equitable sharing of power by components of the nation either as individuals or as members of diverse identities."

[Translation]

With these sentiments India has marched ahead. It is said that religion is the root cause of all evils, I would like to say that if religion is practised properly, there is nothing wrong in it. As has been said by Mahatma Gandhi, "I take inspiration from religion". Maulana Azad said :

[English]

"His whole politics was based on the teachings of Islam. He led the revolt against the Muslim communalism after going through the teachings of Islam."

[Translation]

Sheikh Abdullah fought a battle for the unity of the country from the mosques of Kashmir. The Akali movement had base in Gurudwaras. Mahatma Gandhi described it as a right step and blessed it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself joined the Akali morcha and was put behind the bars. Therefore, I feel that while defining something if we try to mix up things it will not be correct. It is a question of selfishness. If selfishness prevails, religion will be misused. The capitalists create such a situation in which rights of the farmers, labourers and the poor people are suppressed. It gives rise to communalism and it is dangerous for the country.

I would like to say that whenever a small incident takes place everybody is held responsible. When something wrong takes place anywhere, all are condemned. I have got a paper which I went through very attentively. Perhaps anyone of my learned friends may help me in understanding the correct position, but it is a fact that a

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia] question was asked in the Rajya Sabha as to how many incidents of communal riots took place in the whole of India during 1987. It gives me pleasure in saying that in reply to the above question, the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs, Shri P. Chidambaram, furnished a list which included information from Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Maharashtra. But according to him, no communal riot took place in Punjab. There are 12,800 villages in Punjab but 'there has been no communal riot anywhere. I am telling on the basis of the report furnished by the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs. As against this there are organised terrorists, fundamentalists, foreign hand behind them and they disappear after committing reprehensible, inhuman, heinous, whatever words you may use for it, crimes within 15 minutes in a very systematic way and go scot free. In retaliation, shops, houses and schools of innocent Sikhs are set ablaze in Shimla, Kullu, Delhi, Rishikesh or Haryana. They are murdered, insinuations are made and schools are burnt. Is this type of mob terrorism less severe than that of the organised terrorism having foreign hands? It is my submission that the country and the Government should be prepared to deal with both the types of terrorism.

A little while ago a lot of things came up in the National Integration Council meeting in which.

[English]

Our Prime Minister admitted deterioration in the communal situation.

[Translation]

I cannot squarely blame the Government for this. But hon. Prime Minister has also to admit that a situation is being created in the country which is giving rise to the

communal tension. Therefore, I would like to say that it is necessary to convince the people to have confidence in the law and order enforcing agencies. A newspaper 'The Hindu' published from Madras has published that.

[English]

".....The Provincial Armed Constabulary put into action to quell the riots has itself, according to first hand reports, become the aggressor and its personnel allegedly opened fire and set ablaze several houses....."

[Translation]

If such things about our law and order enforcing agencies will come to light, people will lose faith in them. Now the question comes how to deal with such a situation. First of all, I would like to suggest that the provisions of punishment laid down for miscreants in the Cr.P.C and I.P.C etc. should be enforced strictly and honestly. It is possible only when our political leadership, whether belonging to this side or that side, behaves as a true model and proves that it has no desire to suppress one side and instigate the other. What happens is that some innocent people are caught hold of. In a similar case when some people were caught in Delhi, their deputation met the hon. Member, Shri Madhu Dandavate, and the same deputation met me later. They said that they are the people who are fighting the miscreants, but it is they who are being caught. 'I would like to say that:

[English]

".....Ruthless action against the genuinely frightened persons rather than the really aggressive constituents, as often happens, leads to total frustration with the agents of law with the result that, as the Commission was constrained to observe,

those who should normally be counter rioters are pushed by in-judicious action into the very vortex of the riot. The planning for the quelling of a massive disorder should be done with great deliberation and the police must be taught to deal with delicate and intricate situations".

[*Translation*]

It was agreed. Therefore, it was also recommended in the meeting of the National Integration Council that the minorities should get more representation in the Police Force. Three language formula was favoured and it was also stated that

[*English*]

Police Force should be trained and minorities should be given more representation in the Police Force.

[*Translation*]

Secondly, political leadership should set a true model. Government should take note of mob violence. In Punjab, 2 Lakh and 40 thousand people were put behind bars on Sant Longowal's testimony but no notice was taken thereof. Only when Bhindrawale started using the gun, it was taken note of. This is wrong approach. Therefore, I want that mob violence should be taken due note of wherever it may take place in the country. If the terrorists indulge in violence, then after appealing to them once, twice or thrice, they should be dealt with sternly. The nationalist forces should be encouraged.

The Barnala Government in Punjab was dealing with the problems so efficiently. The Hon'ble President himself praised the Barnala Government in the Central Hall but it was dismissed. What for? Perhaps it was done to win the elections. But this action proved to be a failure on both

ends. Barnala Government was dismissed and elections were also lost. Soon after the dismissal of the punjab Government, one of the Ministers in it, Shri Chandumajra was arrested on charges of corruption. I do not defend him but at least, he should have been arrested through the legal process and prosecuted. But he was tortured for 28 days with third degree methods. A person who was a Minister till the 11th of May was treated as a criminal from the 12th of May. According to Medical reports, he was brutally beaten up, his legs were torn apart and he was hung up with a rope. This is on record. All this is very bad. It is heart breaking.

AN HON. MEMBER: He had links with the extremists.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: He should have been prosecuted. But no legal action has been taken until now.

At present Shri Badal and Shri Tohra are in jail and they have not been given any special facilities. I mean to say that there can be divergent political views and nationalist forces should not be discouraged. The persons indulging in riots are moving about freely and no one arrests them. If we are honest enough, then those persons who are indulging in riots, inciting riots or protecting the rioters should be sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment after summary trial. The Government should make such a provision in the law. The rioters should be isolated. The local officers should be held responsible for riots in their locality. Whenever such riots take place, 90 percent of the S.H.Os are involved in them. The Integration Council has also recommended the same. The Minorities Commission does not wield any power. It has not been able to satisfy any minority community so far. It should be provided with statutory power. The credibility of the National Integration

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

Council should be built up. Stringent measures should be taken against Bajrang Brigade, Shiv Sena, Akal Sena, Adam Sena and other such senas operating in the country. I want to suggest that these people have a hand in the riots. Their membership in political parties should be put to an end. You should pay attention to the media also. They indulge in giving publicity to wrong things. Recently, a Hindu doctor in Delhi had protected a Gurudwara and the entire community gave him 'Saropa' but it was not even mentioned in the media, appreciated. Shri Barnala, participated in the joint 'Bhog' ceremony of Ramayana and Guru Granth Sahib, our holy scriptures, in the memory of 40 Hindus and the Sikhs killed in Lalru incident but it was not mentioned on the AIR or T.V. Are the Doordarshan and A.I.R. only interested in giving news about killings? Therefore I suggest that services of theatre people, the artists and the writers, who are committed to national integration, should be utilised. Only pro-Government people should not be given time on T.V. and radio but others who speak of national good should also be encouraged. I mean that the politics, police, goonda syndrome should be put an end to.

Our intelligence agencies have totally failed as they could not apprehend a good number of people who came from Pakistan to Gurudwara Darbar Saheb. They took arms outside and still they could not be nabbed. The intelligence agencies are not able to detect mischief anywhere. They should be manned by specially trained, active and efficient people. The police should be trained properly. I am saying this thing in the context of the whole country.

So far as the para-military forces are concerned, recently Shri Siddharth Shankar Roy in one of his speeches had stated that the para-military forces including the B.S.F., the C.R.P.F. etc, should be

polite and reasonable in their behaviour with people whether in Punjab, U.P., Delhi or anywhere else. What happens is that the mischief makers run-away and the innocent onlooker is taken to task.

In the peace-committees also, those very people are appointed as President, Vice President and General Secretaries who had incited riots. Therefore, Government should intervene to ensure that persons of good standing came in such bodies.

Similarly, when riots occurred in the Kulu valley and some Sikhs went to the Deputy Commissioner and asked him that should they leave? The reply came in the affirmative with the comments who has stopped you, you can go, no action is called for. Again, the peculiarities of the adjoining states should be recognised while tackling the problem of one State. In Haryana, the first language is Hindi and the second language is perhaps some southern language and not Punjabi which is spoken by 25 lakh people of that State. Therefore I want to suggest that the conflicts between the Centre and the States should be resolved, it is not enough to manage them. Mere managing is not enough.

In the end, I want to submit that anti-social elements may exist in every community whether Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Christians, or any other community but the entire community cannot be blamed for it. If the whole group is condemned, it is bound to invite adverse reactions from the entire community

Finally, I want to submit one more point before concluding. In this connection I will quote Shri Siddharth Shankar Roy,

[English]

He Said:

"Hindu terrorists, Sikh terrorists should not be used. Terrorists are terrorists. They have no religion."

[*Translation*]

I mean that our two colleagues in the Parliament namely Sardar Tarlochan Singh Turr and Shri Charanjit Singh Ludhiana were searched in Punjab. They showed their identity cards, still they were not spared. Finally, when they demanded that this sort of action must be put in writing, the investigating officials did not object. How long can a community tolerate such harrassment? During the ASIAD all Sikhs were searched. Therefore, I want that(*Interruptions*).....

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL (Chandni Chowk) : This is false... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Shri Harbhajan Singh was searched during ASIAD (*Interruptions*).....

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL : Sikhs are not singled out for search anywhere. Everyone is searched.

....(*Interruptions*)....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : This is wrong.

[*English*]

At the time of Asiad, every car carrying Sikhs was stopped. Even Shri Harbhajan Singh of Janata Party was searched. Afterwards he was tendered an apology(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL : You yourself want to create divisions among the

people.....(*Interruptions*).....

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA : Shri Agarwal ji, do trust me. I have no such feeling which may incite communalism. Kindly listen to me, I am not of that type to create disputes. What I have said is a fact and the hon. Minister has also agreed that it was wrong. Hence, I want to request you to constitute a secret committee consisting of 10 members (but it should not be like the Bofors Committee) and to send it to Punjab. This committee should visit Punjab to make an assessment of the actual situation and it will find that the Sikhs are in great trouble. On the one hand, they are in despair because the Centre is not finding a solution to the Punjab problem and on the other, they are unhappy because the terrorists had killed 500 bus passengers which included many Sikhs also. So the Sikhs are unhappy both ways today. Therefore, Hon. Shri Rajivji, people may come and go but I want to appeal to our people, to the Members of Parliament, to the senior Members of the ruling party and to all the respectable citizens that Punjab problem is a national problem and it should be resolved by putting in joint efforts. Sikhs are unhappy because the terrorists have attacked the poor people, the helpless women, the priests and religious places and that is why 99 per cent of the Sikh community is against terrorism. I want to inform you that the income of Golden Temple which used to be Rs.2 lakhs earlier has come down to Rs.3,000 now. No one visits the Golden Temple these days, even the Sikhs do not go there any more. In this situation, we should have open mind in finding a solution to the Punjab problem and the problem of the unity and integrity of the country. The Akali party will cooperate fully in your efforts to bring about unity, integrity and communal harmony of the various communities of Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI SHRIPATI MISHRA (Ma-
chhlishahr) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Discussion
on the subject of communal harmony has
taken place several times in this House and
perhaps it has been discussed in the State
Legislatures as well but the situation re-
mains the same. In fact, it seems that this
problem is assuming alarming proportions
in our country. In this connection, I would
like to go into the historical background.
During our first war of Independence in
1857, the entire country had stood up under
the leadership of Bahadur Shah Zafar with-
out any ill-will, caste considerations, sec-
tarianism or communalism and the Hindus
Sikhs, Muslims, and Christians had fought
unitedly to oust the British. At that time the
Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians had
no problem in this country and in this way
the freedom struggle continued till the end.
After the formation of Congress in 1885 and
even after that also this problem did not
exist. I would like to bring about those points
as to when the problem was visualised and
when did it take a serious turn and why did
it take a serious turn. Mahatma Gandhi
joined this struggle for freedom. He felt that
if the army fights all the battles or a few
people participate in it, it is not the battle of
general public. When it is not a battle of the
general public, it does not become effec-
tive. The battle which is not effective, it does
not influence others. Therefore, he gave a
call to the general public and associated
them in it. In 1920-21 the imperialistic
forces visualised that the general public of
this country has joined the struggle for
independence. At that time they became
were very much concerned for the reason
that it was possible for them to crush the
power of the army, but how to face the
public. They thought of finding some other
way out for this. At this stage you will find
that these issues come up for the first time.
A slogan of separate electorate was given
at that time that Hindus will elect Hindus,
Muslims will elect Muslims. The matter was
stretched so much that idea of a separate

electorate for the Harijans was also
mooted. Gandhiji refused to attend the
round table conference on the very ground
that he does not want to take part in it as a
representative of the Hindus or any particu-
lar caste, because it was the beginning of
the practice of divide and rule. When the
public force emerged in India, this practice
was started. Consequently Gandhiji
agreed to represent the country only when
Sardar Baldev Singh and Dr. Ambedkar
themselves said that Gandhiji will repre-
sent them and there is no need for them to
go separately. Other people went in the
conference as the representatives of the
Muslims, but the invitation was not ad-
dressed to the representatives of any par-
ticular religion. Rather it was extended to all
as representatives of India and then only all
the people participated in the conference.
Thereafter, much emphasis was laid on it
which resulted in separate electorate in the
country and it was the result of separate
electorate that partition took place. Two
nation theory emerged and under the two
nation-theory the country was divided. Af-
ter the partition a situation emerged in
which some people began to feel that there
will be Hindu raj in India and the Muslim raj
on the other side. In this way some people
had to leave their hearths and homes on
both sides. But the people of this country,
the leaders of this country never accepted
it to be a Hindu raj nor they accepted the
other part as Muslim raj. Rather they ac-
cepted it to keep it as a secular state. As a
result of this, after the independence in
1947 and upto 1967 nothing untoward has
taken place in this country. There were no
communal riots from 1947 to 1967. But later
people of majority community began to feel
that now this country belongs to them only
and they started committing some ex-
cesses. It is my country and why others
should have any influence over it. They
initiated some discussions. Others thought
that when they can divide India by fighting
against one another, why can't they fight

here for their rights. The struggle started afresh. Even then nothing significant happened between 1967 and 1980. In the mean time riots took place several times, but they were never so violent as they are now.

These riots would not have taken place in this proportion. One of the reasons for this is that India's position has become stronger in the world. Had this thing not been there, had the non-aligned movement not taken roots and had the foreign powers not realised that India can emerge as a developed country in the world again, the riots would not have taken place in this proportion. However they might have occurred as minor incidents. The foreign powers found that India want to become a developed country which they do not like. Apart from this when we gave the slogan of entering the 21st century, some people ridiculed Shri Rajivji with the remark that it is certain that 21st century would come, whether Rajiv Gandhi will bring it? By entering 21st century we never meant that 2001 will come just after the year 1987. It meant that we will enter the 21st century on sound footing with significant technological advancement or at par with the big countries. Due to our efforts in this direction, a conspiracy was hatched all around and as a result thereof these riots took place in such serious proportion. In order to check the aggravation of these riots, I would like to tell all my colleagues that we should imagine that our country stands as a sub-continent from cape comorin to Kashmir and from Gauhati to Kutch.

Our Hindu brethren, who read big epics like the Ramayana, the Geeta and other bibliographies may, on the basis of those books, find some way out so that these riots do not take place over petty matters. I would like to state further and this point may please be taken note of that our country was never so big. We read the stories of

hundred such empires in our history out which several such empires would not have developed more than Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh. We have been reading their legends. Now the biggest responsibility lies on the shoulders of those who consider themselves to be custodian of this vast country. It is they who should take the initiative to observe tolerance and solve the controversial issues. It is they who should prove that though in majority, they will themselves live in peace and make efforts to provide protection to others.

Besides, I would like to point out that when small communal organisations come into being, we do not take any note of them. When they gain so much strength that they can cause harm to others, we try to control them. There are several organisations which have already been set up and registered. These organisations are not so dangerous, so harmful. But there are organisations which are running at places without registration. They are more harmful. Diagnosis of the disease should be made at the initial stage. Only when the disease is diagnosed, the medicines will be effective. If you do not know the disease the medicines will not be effective.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that a serious controversy has arisen in Uttar Pradesh. This confrontation is about Babri Masjid and Ram Janmbhoomi in which both sides are indulging in propaganda tactics. If any Hindu or Muslim sincerely tells then it will be revealed that there had been no confrontation before 1952. Prior to 1952 neither any Hindu visited that place as Ram Janambhoomi nor any Muslim to offer Namaz. No incident took place there upto 1952. There might be any temple or mosque. But neither anybody went there to offer namaz nor for worship. But the issue that came up in 1952, by instigating individual sentiments and with the help of vested interests, has become such a painful issue for India in 1987 that on heads hang in shame for the same. Now the

[Sh. Shripati Mishra]

situation has reached such a stage that every respectable citizen, he may belong to any caste or creed, should take a balanced view of things.

16.58 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Whenever the riots take place, whether it is in Bombay or in Ahmadabad, a balanced view has never been taken. No clear action has ever been taken against those persons found responsible for instigating riots. Every time efforts were made to say and advise that nobody should indulge in rioting. After ascertaining as to who was responsible for riots, after knowing the background of riots very well, no action is taken against the hooligans with the fear that the hooligan is a Hindu and Hindus will be annoyed if action is taken against him and that the hooligan is a muslim and the muslims will be annoyed if action is taken against him. He also knows that no action is taken against the hooligans or the rioters. Simply and advice is tendered. This has become a common feature and he always considers himself safe. He does not bother or fear. Therefore, it is essential to take action courageously after identifying him without hesitation that somebody will be annoyed or somebody will be pleased. This should be done very meticulously.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the general public has no interest in committing such acts. Three types of people take interest in committing such things. One of them who take interest in such things are those people who want to become a leader from political point of view. You think of bringing everybody in the main stream. But there are some people who think that if people from unimportant places join the main stream what will happen to them. Therefore, let them rot in darkness. Then only they will get the opportunity of becoming their leader.

They will become leader at their cast. Let them rot wherever they are. If these people will come in the main stream, what will happen to their leadership. There are some people who believe in individual leadership in the name of caste, creed and poverty and who treat it as a profession and make it a point to march a head. Such persons should be identified. There are some businessmen and traders who silently extend a helping hand to such persons with a view to enhance their own area of influence. As stated by Shri Ramoowalia, these people distribute weapons and sit in the National Council. Such persons should be identified. It is necessary to identify these anti-social elements and those who take advantage of such situations and take action against them. If no action is taken against them then they will take advantage of this situation and will not allow it to come to an end because they have vested interest. Often we say that religion should be separated from politics. Our colleagues from the opposition and this side talk of separating politics from religion. If it is so, I shall also join them. But when the question of putting up candidates in elections come, why the question of religion or cast to which one belongs is asked for? Then the likely candidate is asked to tell the number of those people belonging to his community who will support him in the election. If our position is judged from our places in religion and society and only after extending support to their fundamentalism, orthodoxy our position can be maintained and if such position or status is not there, then you will not allow us to win. Then what will happen? If you do not allow to win, then the opportunity of delivering speeches here while enjoying facilities of air-conditioning will be stopped. The media will not publish our views. It should be decided once and for all that no ticket will be given on the basis of religion, caste or sub-caste. Tickets should be distributed in a manner that two candidates belonging to the same caste are selected to contest from the same place and the voters are not able to

find a candidate belonging to their own caste. This kind of a political view should be adopted. Let the electorate use their option to cast their vote or not.

It has been stated that Government officials also play a negative role in such situations. There cannot be any doubt in this regard. If they get a chance they also play a negative role. If recruitment in Government service is made on caste consideration on proportionate basis will then there be PAC comprising Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis? If this is done then the feeling which is now apparent in people will creep into the armed forces and then the riots will be among the armed forces and not in cities. Therefore, a separate riot police should be created who should be given special training, special emoluments and secular education so that they are able to rise above such feelings and sentiments. If this is not done then riots will spread from the cities to the armed forces wherever they are stationed.

In the end, I want to submit 2 or 3 points more. Two peculiarities can be noticed in all the communal riots which have occurred so far. Firstly, that each community is afraid of cultural invasion by another or at least some religious and cultural influence and secondly, the majority community is apprehensive of losing its majority status. The Government should themselves initiate action to eliminate such fear. One step in this direction would be to set up a Tribunal in which matters relating to communal riots and disputes should be decided. Such matters should be decided after thorough study and examination in detail. Regular courts cannot devote that much time. Therefore special courts should be set up for this purpose and their Award should be binding. After the Award we, the House or any other individual or body need not interfere in the same. I want to submit in the end as to why are we not paying attention to all this in order to protect our national unity and integrity? Are you pre-

pared to take action against those who speak against national interest and insult national symbols and festivals like 26th January, 15th August, national anthem etc. which are recognised by our constitution? Not a single notice has been served to any individual on delivering inflammatory speech and calling the people to break the legs of the Ministers, set their bungalows on fire, drag them out of their bungalows and loot their houses. The notices were not issued because of the apprehension of further deterioration of the situation, but I would like to say that if notices are not issued, the situation will further deteriorate. Such atmosphere should be created in the country in which there will be no Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian but all should live as Indian. If any one does anything contrary to it, he will have no right to live in this country. No one is above the nation. One who insults them should be awarded exemplary punishment. One who speak against our national interest and insult our national symbols should be told in clear terms that he has no right to live in this country and he should go to some other country.

[English]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada): First of all, I thank the Speaker for permitting discussion under Rule 193 on this important issue which is causing great concern to all right thinking people in the country.

I need not emphasise the devastating results of communal riots that have taken place in several parts of the country. However much the Government may try to take the rehabilitation work and measures, we cannot bridge the real loss that had been sustained by the people who were affected during those riots.

The recent communal riots in Meerut will remain as deep scar on the much

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boasted secularism said to be practised by the Government in our country. It has surpassed all previous records of communal riots that have taken place in the country.

The non. Home Minister, the other day, has told that 105 people died and a few hundreds of people injured in the Meerut incidents. The recurrence of Meerut riot in May 1987 is partly due to the failure of the State Government as well as the district administration to take necessary, firm and appropriate steps at the right time.

You are aware that on May 16, an incident had taken place which is said to be a dispute between a landlord and a tenant as a result of which one Hindu was shot dead. It was just a month earlier. There was tension in the city. Government knew that Meerut was a very sensitive area in respect of communal violence. Earlier during 1967 and 1973 major riots had taken place. Even after 1982 this is the fourth such incident. In 1982 32 lives were lost whereas in 1986 12 lives were lost due to the violence that had erupted over a certain place of worship which was said to be the effect of tension that had arisen due to Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid issue. The intelligence reports had predicted that something might go wrong on Ramjan or Id day. But in spite of that, the local administration as well as the State Government had withdrawn nearly 35 companies of PAC for reasons only known to the Government. They may say that they have done that with good intentions. But the mere fact that nearly 35 coys of PAC were called back immediately, cannot justify the action of the State Government as well as the district administration. The small number of personnel of police and para military forces could not contain the communal violence that had freshly erupted on 18, 19 May. In fact, the anti-social elements and the rioters had got an impression that the small force would not be able to contain them. As

a result of which they had gone all out in their effort to settle scores. Unfortunately, during the communal riots of May, armed mobs swarmed the streets with molotov cocktails, sticks, choppers and butcher knives. Use of pistols and guns was extensive. From mid night till day break violence continued unabated.

As a result of this, the Government now says that 105 persons were killed. The toll must have been much more. I very much doubt this figure because in Maliana alone people say that more than 100 people have died. Even a senior police officer who visited on 25th May said that the toll may be around 80. You can imagine the brutality, the barbarity, the savagery with which the PAC people have behaved in Maliana. It is most unfortunate that even some senior officers of PAC are a party to this heinous crime. The behaviour of the PAC at Maliana has brought a disrepute to the entire PAC in Uttar Pradesh. Today, the fact is that the minority community has lost faith in the impartiality of the PAC of Uttar Pradesh. It is a clear failure of Vir Bahadur Singh Government as well as the district authorities. We are not able to understand why the MPs belonging to our Telugu Desam, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Janata Party, Forward Bloc, Communist Party of India and Lok Dal, who had gone from New Delhi to visit Meerut, were not permitted to meet the affected people in the disturbed areas, why they were not permitted to go to Maliana or to the affected areas in Meerut, in spite of the fact that their programme was intimated to the Home Minister in New Delhi. It only proves the shameless efforts of the U.P. Government to cover up its failures in Meerut as well as the unbelievable, brutal, savage behaviour of the PAC in Maliana. It is shameful in not allowing the M.Ps to go to the troubled areas to ascertain the facts, console the affected people and appeal for communal harmony. This incident shows how far the country has travelled since the days of

Mahatma Gandhi. While the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who had given a new twist and turn to the freedom struggle and who was more instrumental than anybody else in this country in achieving the freedom, was trying to put down the flames of communal violence at Noakhali at the time of Independence, unfortunately, the present Prime Minister did not find time to go to Meerut immediately when these incidents had taken place. He should have gone there immediately and if he had taken necessary steps to assuage the feelings of the affected people and to tone up the administration, and if he had tried to infuse confidence among the people about the para-military forces and the police personnel, things would have been much different. The loss would not have been so much. The trouble would not have continued for so many days. I may be clarified, I have read in a newspaper that Shri P. Chidambaram, the Minister of State for Home Affairs who is sitting before me, Shrimati Mohsina Kidwai, Union Minister and the Member of Parliament representing Meerut, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, and the Home Minister, who visited Meerut on 19th or 20th of May, did not make an attempt to meet the residents to restore their confidence in the administration, but residents to restore their confidence in the administration, but simply met the officials and industrialists in a guest house at Partapur.

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): It is totally wrong.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: O.K. That is what I am asking. I am asking for a clarification from you. So, Sir, is this the way in which the Union Minister as well as the State Ministers should act in such a grave situation?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: When I say it is totally wrong.....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: O.K. I accept. Is this that our great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel have taught us? Those great leaders went unarmed in the midst of the people who were fighting each other during the days of partition as well as other incidents of communal violence not at all caring their personal safety. For them people are more important, communal harmony is more important. It is shame that with much escort and security, the Ministers could not dare to go to the people in distress.

Recently, the communal violence that erupted in Delhi is causing great concern to the whole nation. It is quite distressing to find that these riots should follow an eve-teasing incident. Not only about six persons died, the disturbing factor is several parts of the city were tension ridden for a long time. At several places from house tops, police parties were fired indicating as to how far this danger has spread. These incidents have clearly brought out the fact that the rioters are more organised, possessing deadly weapons and arms. This is the state of affairs in the capital city of nation.

The fact that two Pakistani Nationals viz., Mohammad Yunus and and Mohammad Yamin of Karachi were caught and arrested in the incidents of arson, looting, and rioting at Meerut gives indication of involvement of Pakistan behind the communal violence in our country. Of course, Pakistan wish disorder, anarchy in our country. It will be carrying on lot of mischievous, distorting news through its media to mislead Indian Muslims and try to encourage dissatisfaction, insecurity among the Muslim minority in our country. But what is our Government doing? Why is our Government allowing so many Muslims who have come from Pakistan to stay back in our country and operate

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in this way to disturb communal harmony in our country?

We have to take stern action on the elements which are trying to spoil this harmony. Let the Government come out about the number of Pakistani nationals that are in our country. Is the Government tracking their activities? What are these Pakistani nationals doing in our country? Why are they not sent back? Is it not failure on the part of Government to curb the anti-Indian, underhand activities of these Pakistani nationals and Bangladeshi nationals in our country?

Let the Government also come out with the information regarding the inflow of money from Gulf like Saudi Arabia and other countries into our country for repair/reconstruction of Mosques and for running madrasas. Let the Home Minister inform this House-how this huge money sent to Muslim revivalists is being utilised, the activities of the persons/organisations receiving this money, its effect on the society?

Is the Government keeping track of the money said to have been received by Roman Catholic Diocese, Kottayam? It is learnt that during the period 1981-84, from institutions in Europe and U.S it has received nearly Rs. 97 lakhs. For what purpose and how this huge money is spent? Is it being tracked down?

The recurrence of communal riots in Meerut just after a month after violence in April 87 clearly shows the serious deficiencies in our system.

Though the Union Government has been sending the guidelines to tackle the communal riots and maintain communal harmony, it is more on paper rather than implemented. The Centre cannot satisfy by merely issuing the guidelines to States and thinking its responsibility is over. The Union

Government should closely monitor the implementation of these guidelines. It must hold periodical meetings with the States representatives regarding the steps taken to contain and prevent recurrence of communal violence in particular in the 88 districts identified as hyper sensitive and the 98 districts identified as sensitive districts from the angle of communal violence. Media can be made use in building harmony effectively between different communities.

The communal organisations should be put down firmly to which-ever religion they may belong. Those organisations which are trying to create differences between different sections of society, creating misunderstanding, for meeting communal violence should be dealt with mercilessly. The reports that an organisation Bhajarang Dal has recruited more than three lakh volunteers in U.P. alone is causing great concern. Let the Government clarify the position.

Already country, in particular Punjab is experiencing endless sufferings at the hands of Sikh militants. Similarly, the militant organisation having connection with Muslim Fundamantalists also should be firmly dealt with.

Sir, has the Government made efforts to appoint a high level committee of experts to analyse the reports of Commissions of Enquiry appointed at the time of communal riots, which will be of great help. The Justice Jagan Mohar Reddy Report on Communal riots in Ahmedabad in 1969, Dayal Report on Ranchi riots in 1967, the Madan Report of the Bhiwandi riot in 1970 and several other reports subsequently have made available a lot of information about the causes that lead to the incidents the role played by individuals, people, organisations, political parties, political leaders, press media, district official machinery and local police set up in regard to those disturbances. If the Government has not made such an effort earlier, I suggest

that it should immediately take it up now. It is very necessary for prevention of the riots recurring in the future. An elaborate and exhaustive enquiry almost on the pattern of the Presidential Commission of America which went into ethnic riots in the United States in 1967 to cover the entire gamut of problems in the cities and towns which have become prone to communal violence in the recent years. I should examine, analyse the earlier reports and the reports on socio economic and political condition in sensitive areas and suggest measures, short range as well as long range to be taken in different hyper sensitive and sensitive identified areas to bring communal harmony.

I wonder whether the Government has taken action on the religious people who have incited violence through the worship places. It is not sufficient to take action on the anti-social elements, rioters or the political elements who are behind the riots. Also the religious persons who preach hatred and incite communal violence should also be taken to task. Under Section 153-A of the IPC, a person who promotes feelings of enmity, hatred, ill-will, commits any act which is prejudicial to maintenance of communal harmony between different religious or regional groups or caste or communities shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or both. Let the Government clarify, come forward to say how far this provision is being used effectively to contain violence. This Section also deals with the misuse of places of worship. It is clearly mentioned in the Section 153. A (2) - whoever commits an offence specified in Sub-Section (1) in any place of worship or in any assembly engaged in the performance of religious worship or religious ceremony, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to five years and shall also be liable to fine.

I want to know how far this present provision in IPC is effectively used to punish

the religious heads or leaders who are violating the accepted limits and going to very far extent. Is it fair to a big person like Shahi Imam of Delhi Masjid, to make such a provocative speech on March 30 rally at Boat Club just a few yards away from this place, on the Babri Masjid - Ramjanam Bhoomi issue? Has he not incited his community to burn houses of Muslim Ministers' Policemen? I would appeal to them not to repeat such type of speeches and give a call to boycott the Independence Day and such other days of national importance because that will vitiate and spoil the atmosphere of communal harmony.

Sir, I feel that Babri-Masjid - Ramjanam Bhoomi issue is one irritant spoiling the atmosphere. The Government should find an amiable solution to this problem because in this the sentiments of crores of Hindus who regard Rama as God and that his birth place is involved in the issue. It also concerns to Muslims who want that it should be continued as Masjid.

It is most unfortunate that the Government has not derived any lessons from the communal riots which took place in Malad in Maharashtra on the 8th May, 1970. An innocent proposal with a desire to acquire a property without paying compensation to the concerned community evolved into a public controversy that the present building under the control of Muslims was felt by Hindus as a result of desecration of a temple. It is only an example to illustrate that the social-psychological mechanism by which a town ordinarily free from communal tension can be stirred into aggression, hatred and blood shed. So, it must be constantly kept in mind that decisions or proposals which lead to stir the communal passions should be taken only after careful consideration and discussions at the highest level.

Several reports have suggested that as soon as intelligence reports are in about the

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MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: In the case of Meerut riots, it is a clear lapse in not posting adequate force in spite of the reports. The Home Minister told that the Government proposed to bring forward a legislation in consultation with all parties to separate religion and politics and to prevent misuse of places of worship by terrorists or rioters or anti-social elements. It is strange that the Minister of State for Home Affairs had stated sometime back in Parliament that there was no proposal to curb the use of religious places for political or other activities. Is the Government fearing that it may lose votes? Is not the nation's interest more important than the party interests? Let the Government clarify its latest stand on this issue.

Sir, the silver lining in the dark sky is, South is relatively free from communal tension. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala have not witnessed such ugly incidents in the last two years.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SULTAN SAHABUDDIN OWAIISI (Hyderabad): Communal riots have taken place in Andhra Pradesh many times.

[*English*]

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: It was because of you in collusion with Nadendra Bhaskar Rao. (*Interruptions.*)

Our State Government in Andhra Pradesh has taken very strong measures to prevent the build-up of communal tension. It takes into custody all known and suspected anti-social elements, people with bad past history and having connection with clashes earlier. The Government does not spare even the leaders of the political parties who are involved, to prevent this communal tension. We are very happy to say that there are no communal incidents or clashes in the last three years in our State.

It is most unfortunate to observe that the communal riots are on increase in the Congress-I ruled States. This is not to criticise any party but I am only stating the fact so that it can be taken note of in all seriousness and a deeper study can be made into this aspect.

The Government should see that the causes for communal clashes are thoroughly analysed. They may vary from place to place. But it will be highly useful to make such a study so that corrective and preventive steps can be taken, so that these unfortunate incidents which cause untold sufferings to the people, some families losing everything they had and which only strengthen further divide of the society on communal lines do not repeat in future.

17.35 hrs.

MOTION RE. EXPRESSION OF TRUST IN THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO ENQUIRE EXPEDITIOUSLY INTO PAYMENTS MENTIONED IN THE REPORT OF SWEDISH NATIONAL AUDIT BUREAU

[*English*]

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA A7AD (Bhagalpur): May I request you to take this