

On the side of application of the fund there are also many lacunae. First of all, this question that this will be given in other forms as well but also for equity capital of the concern attempting R & D efforts. This should directly be given for the R & D effort and for directly financing those which have been cleared by the Planning Commission, DGTD and also concerns like CSIR etc and that is how instead of general financing, the direct financing into the effort itself would help instead of equity capital which would not be worthwhile as the fund is not large.

It is also interesting that among the concerns which will be helped there will be no discrimination made between one concern and another. I believe naturally as far as the normal financial transactions go, the lion's share of this help may go to MRTP and FERA companies. Nothing has been spelt out. It should be clearly stated that R & D laboratories, medium and small enterprises and various public and voluntary agencies for promoting indigenous technology development will be the areas which will be helped.

Then the question of priorities. Here nothing has been said about which will be the priority areas. So if it is to be spread out on, for example, goods like after shave lotion, it will be frittered away. They are luxury consumption goods and they should not be in any case the area of priority. So also the new-fangled electronic goods which are also luxury consumption goods and they should not be the areas of priority. Here, for example, pulses, oil seeds and such like things which we need very much—there special development of R & D should be the area which should be helped. Non-conventional uses of energy and such other areas of social necessity should have been particularly pointed out instead of making it an overall thing. Therefore, I fully agree that this Bill is really a halfhearted measure.

Finally I would conclude by saying that R & D also is an industry and is an infant industry, in my opinion, and that really needs serious protection if it has to be saved. So indigenous technological development in R & D if it has to be saved and given protection, then really the need to

impose a cess as a proportion of the local turn-over of the product using the imported technology is there in order to generate enough funds for technical self-reliance and unless you really bring down your import of technologies there cannot be any effective protection to this R & D industry. So I request you to consider that in right earnest and take out the lacunae from the Bill if you want R & D to develop.

17.14 hrs.

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

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Buta Singh.

SHRI AMAL DATTA : Is he going to reply to those charges ? The Indian Express, etc.

MR. SPEAKER : You are a lawyer. You must read your brief first and then come.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry that my rising in the House woke up the hon. Member who was enjoying the sleep.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour) : Please repeat. I did not hear you. Did you say anything to me.

S. BUTA SINGH : Sir, first of all, with folded hands I have to make a very humble submission to this august House which I hold in highest esteem. It was mentioned on the floor of this House by my honourable friends, distinguished colleagues, Members of Parliament that we were callous and we were not attending this House. Even for the sake of imagination, a man like me who is humble, humbled by the onerous task which this nation has given to me, it will be far from my imagination that I would like really to be so arrogant as not to be present in the House. The hon. House knows that I was constantly busy in the other

House for two continuous days from the sitting till the rising of the House. My distinguished colleague Shri Chidambaramji was present all through the debate. I admire the way in which he took the sense of the debate and the reply that he made yesterday. I was feeling as if I cannot improve upon what Shri Chidambaramji has said because he has really developed a grip over the situation. He spoke about the Government's policies and his own experience. He has first-hand experience of what happened in Ahmedabad. I am grateful to you in the first instance because you really set the tone of the whole debate by giving us your fatherly advice. You laid the foundation on which the whole debate was to take place.

Then my grateful thanks to Professor Dandavateji for having raised the standard of the debate by keeping himself away from the current political developments and the incidents and the things which have taken place. He spoke on the basic, on the fundamental issues which are cutting at the roots of the unity and integrity of the country.

Sir, then other distinguished leaders like Shri Indrajit Guptaji and many other hon. leaders of the respective political parties represented in the House made valuable contribution and the overall impression in the country is that this House, for the past three days, has been discussing one of the most important issues—I should say life-line of this country, the communal harmony—as to how best we can ensure the peaceful life, the law and order in the most difficult areas in our country.

It is a matter of shame that after nearly 40 years of independence we are faced with the same situation year after year ; every quarter ; every six months. There is something for which we are all ashamed. It seems that our body-politic is really, if not irrelevant, becoming a little—I mean—not effective. We are becoming ineffective to what is happening in the country. I am not here now to point an accusing finger on those forces. But everybody knows ; all the political parties and organisations know really who are the elements ; how they are

being helped ; by which elements they are being helped ; what are the reasons and what are the causes. Every year we are faced with the same situation. It reminds me of my previous charge as Minister of Agriculture. I was faced with the national calamities like floods. Every year floods come. Thousands of lives and crores of rupees of property is washed away. We wake up—'we' means the State Governments—only when the area is flooded. We take out emergency boats, rush to our doctors, send food packages and we air-drop things like that. As soon as the water recedes, everybody goes back. We try to forget. When I was looking after agriculture, I made a study. There are very, very clear-cut directions given, books printed, rules passed by the Assemblies and this august House that such and such area is in the feet of the Brahmaputra, in the feet of the Ganges, in the feet of the Yamuna and, therefore, there should not be any habitation, there should not be any industry, there should not be any building construction, in this area, but every year we find that nobody takes care to see what is mentioned in those manuals and books. Similarly, every year we have major incidents and tragedies. Prof. Dandavate has very rightly mentioned that our approach is that of a fire brigade. Perhaps, that has been the training to our law-enforcing agencies, that you come into play only when there is a crime committed. Before that, no action. After that, after making certain arrests, no action ; you just forget. Book some of the people who are involved in the crime and submit the challan and forget about it. Now, this ad hocism, this approach, will have to be given up. Today I am not going, as I said, to score points or make any allegations. I am going to, generally, spell out the response of the Government of India to various situations and major incidents that have taken place in the country. We must learn lessons from each incident, big or small, and we must take corrective measures, so that same thing should not be allowed to happen, and even if it happens, it should not be allowed to have that much damage which it did in the last year, we should try to reduce the damage, we should try to stand by the victims, we should try to see that such calamities do not

take place. It is a man-made calamity. Unfortunately, the men who profess themselves to be the holiest of the holy are not ordinary people. They are not common men. The common men are the victims. They are the holiest of the holy who will not touch an *asparsh*. But when it comes to shedding the blood of innocent people, they will be the ones behind gruesome tragedies and what has been happening in this country.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) :** If you don't mind, the analysis of your own colleague, whose speech I admired very much, was different. His analysis was that the people who are responsible are only the bootleggers, smugglers and anti-social elements. You are rightly pointing out that there are other people behind them.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** I think, Shri Indrajit Gupta, perhaps, could not realise this. He said, one of the criminal elements was, mostly, the bootleggers, the exploiters. But that is one of the elements. (*Interruptions*) This is the tip of the iceberg which is over the water. He mentioned certain forces, communal, political, religious. These are the big forces behind these criminal elements, these exploiters.

It has already been mentioned in some sections of the press that well-known smugglers and builders are helped by some of the organisations, communal organisations, political organisations, religious places in most of the communities, whether it is a *Dharmasthanam* or a Mosque or a Gurudwara or a temple; they get their backing or strength from these religious places. When he said that we would take stern action against these elements, let me assure this august House that, now that the judicial inquiry process is going to be there, in case any of these elements, whether it is a political organisation or a religious centre or a communal organisation or anti-social elements, are found guilty, the same treatment which is given to a criminal will be given to these elements. We will ensure it. Nobody will be allowed to get away with this kind of carnage on humanity.

I have been very seriously thinking over the apparatus—whether it is the State Government or the—Central Government. I am simply amazed why every year in the same period, same time and on same celebrations these things should happen. This means that we have hardly anything called the advance intelligence gathering system. If it was there, which my Hon. colleague mentioned, yes it was there, then there should not have been any reason why this thing has happened. Advance intelligence should have been processed properly. About 200 and odd people were picked up. I find that most of these people belong to the category which my colleague has mentioned.

**MR. SPEAKER :** Prevention is better than cure.

**S. BUTA SINGH:** The elements mentioned by Shri Indrajit Gupta seem to be absent from that list. Therefore, we will see to it in future that even in the advance intelligence whenever there is an apprehension that communal riots will be taking place in this very particular locality, not only the bad characters but the forces which are against the national integrity, people who are behind these forces will also be hauled up, so that the situation is avoided.

Yesterday, one point made by my distinguished colleague Shri Chidambaram was that we will hold the district authorities responsible—both police as well as the administrative service. He mentioned very clearly that from both the ends we are competent and we will do it.

I had a detailed discussion with the officers to follow-up what my distinguished colleague has said. We are going to impress upon the State Governments to see that a system is evolved where the district authorities not only will ensure, but in case there is a failure on the part of the district officer—whether police officer or a collector—an entry will be made into their CRs that they failed to discharge their duties with regard to keeping communal harmony in their respective districts.

Intelligence is the most important aspect. There are five or six aspects of the whole situation. One is the intelligence.

**SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) :** Just one clarification. The responsibility means only an entry made or will it be something more ?

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) :** Entry must result into exit.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** Banatwallaji, that entry is something which permanently will be there in his service book. But if an officer is found overtly or covertly involved, he will get the punishment that he deserves. In addition to that he will carry throughout his career some kind of a stigma that as and when he was called upon to control a situation created by communal riots, this is what he did.

**SHRI K.P. UNNIKRSIHANAN :** You will keep him in the service all the same.

**SHRI ATA-UR REHMAN (Barapet) :** In actual practice the direction will go from the top starting from the Chief Secretary down to Commissioner and the District officers who will try to toe the line of the Chief Minister.

If the Chief Minister does not take a balanced view in such situation, then the whole thing falls through and all these assurances which are being given will not hold any good.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** As I said, we are trying to impress upon the State Governments. The point raised by the Hon. Member will be well taken care of. We will see to it that the higher authority is made responsible to undertake this exercise.

**SHRI AMAL DATTA :** Do you start character roles of the Chief Ministers also !?

**S. BUTA SINGH :** This morning, when all the leaders of the opposition met you in your chamber. I expected that they will pass such a resolution. I will be willing to accept it if it comes from the Opposition

side. Unless we really bring in this kind of responsibility or discipline among the politicians—whether they belong to this party or that party—the things will not improve. Therefore, this kind of discipline and this kind of responsibility must be on the Chief Ministers and leaders of the party. Not only the Chief Minister but the Leader of the Opposition is equally responsible and he should also discharge his duty as a leader of the Opposition.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** We are ready.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** As a matter of fact I will go further. Every politically elected representative in the country, MPs, MLAs and even Sarpanches should be responsible in their respective constituencies. Perhaps that is the correct line. Only then and then alone our political system will get toned up. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** There should not be any double entry as in a business ledger. Only single entry should be there.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** Prof. Dandavate, Prof. Swell, Shri Owaisi and Shri Indrajit Gupta raised an important issue about restriction on the religious processions through the sensitive areas. There was a demand that they should be banned. I am afraid it is not practicable because our society basically is a society devoted to religion. Therefore, we cannot afford to restrict the peoples' feelings. But what we can do is that we can devise some way. We know most of the national, regional and local festivals sector-wise and sect-wise. Everybody knows as to when in particular part of the year that festival will come. We will try to impose some kind of restriction though not in the sense of curtailing the religious worship. It will be regulation in which the district authorities should know what kind of slogans are going to be chanted and what kind of speeches...

*[Translation]*

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora) :** We should also ensure that processions

besides the traditional ones not taken out in this manner.

[English]

S. BUTA SINGH : As I said these national, regional, religious and traditional festivals are things which are known since centuries. These are not new things. Their regulation by way of use of loud speakers, use of obscene slogans, banners and placard...

SHRI ATA-UR RAHMAN : And use of elephants also.

S. BUTA SINGH : I am coming to that. I am reminded of very many incidents in the country. On a particular day a particular animal is pushed into the mosque and people lose their lives. On a particular festival another animal is pushed into a temple and so many people lose their lives. On these things there should be self-restraint. The primary responsibility will lie with the organisers. Of course, they have to ensure that their processions do not go out of discipline and they adhere to the norms which will be conveyed to them from the district authorities and through voluntary organisations.

There should be peoples' involvement in that. Why should it be only one religion or one community procession? Now there are so many common festivals in which all the communities and all the religions participate and it should be as was done in Gujarat and also mentioned by Shri Chidambaram yesterday that when this Rath Yatra was coming a section of minority community came forward and garlanded the 'murti'. They also accepted 'prasad'. They welcomed the yatra. That kind of spirit should be there. If one community, one religion brings out a *sabha yatra*, the other religions should respect it. That is the way that the people should cooperate with each other. By that only this country could be saved from this kind of politics.

SHRI HAROOBHAI MEHTA  
(Ahmedabad) : What about the selection of routes?

S. BUTA SINGH : I would come to that. Prof. Madhu Dandavate, Shri Mehta and Shri Owaisi wanted to know about the review of text books, specially the history books. It is being undertaken by the Ministry of Education under the recently adopted National Policy. The work has been completed in most of the States except West Bengal, Kerala, Assam and Meghalaya. We are pursuing it and we hope what Prof. Dandavate, Shri Owaisi had in mind in the near future will be done and we will be having a full review of the text books specially of history.

There was a question of adequate representation to minorities in the police force, particularly the Armed Forces, specially in the sensitive States. Shri Zainul Basher, Prof. Dandavate and Shri Owaisi wanted this. Already as mentioned by my colleague Shri Chidambaram, according to the 15-Point programme of the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, all the States were directed, were advised to follow this. We, on our part, have raised six battalions of the peace keeping force. We have ensured that due representation is given.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Has it been given or you are going to give?

S. BUTA SINGH : It is already given.

[Translation]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur) : Six battalions are far from adequate. These have to be deployed everywhere in the country that is why they are inadequate.

[English]

S. BUTA SINGH : In the newly constituted six battalions of the Central Reserve Police Force, we have ensured that proper representation is given in addition to the reservation which is given for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Were they deployed in any of these areas? Were they ever used in these areas?

S. BUTA SINGH : In Ahmedabad they were used and you have seen the result.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : After Shri Chidambaram reached there.

S. BUTA SINGH : Before that the forces were there and they brought the situation under control.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA : These forces must go, but there is another important point. When these forces go, they are put under the State control and the same State Government officers direct them whether to use them or not to use them and it is about this that we are having the complaint. If they are placed under their control, the deployment is not effective.

S. BUTA SINGH : I am sorry, I am not competent to educate Shri Banatwalla, but he knows it that the deployment of Central Forces has to be with the cooperation of the State Government concerned. Therefore, if you want to have a change, by all means have it; this is the forum, bring a Bill and let everybody accept it. Let all the parties accept it. Under the present provisions, the Central Forces have to be deployed in consultation with the State Governments. The very fact that at the first instance, there is a demand from the State Governments, from the affected areas, to send CRP, BSF etc. is itself a proof that they have a faith in the Central Forces and the Central Forces have discharged their duties in Ahmedabad. Not only we have given representation to the minorities and the other weaker sections in this force, the fact is that the whole training has been reoriented. It is not the traditional training of the British period. They have been given special training to meet the special situations. They have been given special equipment to be used under special circumstances. Therefore, the entire force is being given a new orientation and training. As has been mentioned by my colleague yesterday, we are laying more and more emphasis on training. Unfortunately, what we found from the results arising out of such situations is that the people are so scared of the local armed police. We found that the training received

by the local armed police is not adequate. It is not keeping in line with the requirements of modern life. Therefore, they are falling a little behind, and they are not able to cope up with the situation.

Also, one hon. member, Shri Ram Nagina Mishra mentioned one thing yesterday. I find one thing in this debate which is unique and that is Shri Ram Nagina Mishra and Shri Sahabuddin agreeing with each other. Yes. We have to agree, because this is a fundamental question, this is a question of human life. You may afford to make big lectures outside before the communal gatherings. But when it comes to save the life and property of your kith and kin, you cannot afford that kind of a separatism. We have to come together. Bharat Mata is our only common *Bhoomi*. Our blood falls on her. Therefore, yesterday when Mishraji mentioned that it is in our blood, he was right. He said, "What training can you give to a man who is born and brought up in a particular atmosphere?" In the family, a small child is given training in the open park with a lathi. He is taught that he is the only true nationalist in the country and that the other communities are not true nationalists. Right from the very childhood, they doubt the integrity of their next door neighbour, simply because he wears a different kind of uniform or simply because he worships a different kind of God. This tendency has to be curbed. We will not allow this kind of a tendency, especially in the younger generation at the tender age. This kind of thing should come up in the society.

I agree with Indrajit Guptaji that our secularism should not mean that we get a licence to spoil what through ages, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our great country has been able to establish. We must inculcate the feeling that every Indian, to whichever hue, to whichever religion or to whichever community he may belong, first and foremost he is an Indian and then only, anything else. Only then, we can build that kind of an atmosphere in the country and only then we can create that kind of confidence in the people,

MR. SPEAKER : We can do that through the small children, if we educate them from the very beginning about the importance of national spirit and unity.

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central) : As for the training given by religious fanatics either in Gurdwaras or in Mosques and in all those things, you stop it upto 4th Standard.

S. BUTA SINGH : Those who profess that religion and politics should be kept together, let me remind them. I do not know much I am not that well educated. A very great learned scholar of Political Science said that politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel. Surely...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Probably, he anticipated us !

S. BUTA SINGH : If their intention seems to be that politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel, then let religion also be the last refuge of the scoundrel.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa) : This is a very serious thing, this mixing up of politics and religion. Can you tell us who is not doing it ? Who is doing it ? We demand that politics must be separated from religion...

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : That is what I have said. We all will have to come together to root out that thing.

S. BUTA SINGH : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not have to reply to his question. He has to look right and left and front and backward...

(Interruptions)

S. BUTA SINGH : It is the company that you keep. All kinds of elements get mixed up.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : We do not keep their company.

S. BUTA SINGH : I have seen that the most progressive Marxist forces—the other day when this situation was being discussed, when it came to a walk out, although they agreed in principle with the approach of the Government—they walked out with all kinds of communal forces.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : On what issue ?

S. BUTA SINGH : Just to express their integrity with the rest of the Opposition. Sir, the hon. Members wanted the identification of the communally sensitive areas. Yesterday, my distinguished colleague gave the information that throughout the country, we have been able to identify about 88 districts which are hyper sensitive and 98 which are sensitive. In every State, these districts have been identified. Now, it is for the State Governments to ensure that the district authorities of these districts which have been identified are of very-very high integrity. The people who are known for their being secular and who are known for not being partisan in communal walk life, the people who are known for their commitment to the national solidarity are posted as the district heads in these districts.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If you announce the sensitive districts, I am afraid, those who want to engineer trouble, they will choose the non-sensitive districts. So keep them to yourself only.

S. BUTA SINGH : That is why, I have given only the numbers and not the names. Now, Sir, as I was saying that preventive measures must be taken and also we must try to immobilise the trouble makers. That can be done only if we are able to identify which I said, through the intelligence cadre, through the involvement of the people in that area. So that we can immobilise these people. Then Sir, we must act swiftly. After the incidents take place, as the time passes, we tend to relax also there are all sorts of pressures—political pressures, religious pressures, communal pressures—and then the guilty

gets away with it. Therefore, we have already informed the State Governments that in case they find it difficult through their normal legal process, they must resort to the institution of special courts. In Ahmedabad, some hon. Members said that some, district judicial officer will be posted and he will give a wishy-washy report. That is not the fact. A High Court Judge, preferably who is not anyway connected with any community or locality will look into the whole thing and we will process the findings. We will ensure through the State Governments that the findings are processed quickly and the guilty is punished.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question is that the States must have some kind of a contingency plan to avoid the seriousness of such situation. In some of the incidents it is found that although there was sufficient information available with the district authorities and the State authorities, they did not move to the requirements of the situation. The forces could be mobilised from the neighbouring districts. We could be informed to keep the forces ready and also other political parties could be involved, the social organisations could be involved and we should have a contingency plan. As and when such situation arises, some of the inbuilt systems should come into play. That we must ensure to avoid the fire brigade approach. That can be done only if we have full co-operation of all the political parties, of all the voluntary organisations and the State officials are efficient enough to keep that contingency plan ready to be used in a given situation.

Now Sir, this morning, you were kind enough to give some most constructive suggestions. I would like to respond to these suggestions. You mentioned that there should be a provision for summary trial of offences arising out of communal clashes, and these offences should be tried by Special Courts. I have already said that we should not wait for the normal law and order machinery to come into gear. They take time. Their attitude is traditional, and sometimes casual.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : With Special Prosecutor from outside the district. That is the recommendation of the Madan Commission of Enquiry. I had in my speech given two or three examples, but the Madan Commission have also said that the prosecutor must also be a Special Prosecutor from outside the district.

S. BUTA SINGH : We will consider this. This is a healthy suggestion. There should be a complete bar on recognizing sectarian societies, councils or organizations by the State, for any purpose whatsoever. Yes ; the States dole out huge funds, and some of these so-called voluntary organizations have various names. Behind them there is some big communal organization. We should make a thorough investigation before we extend patronage through the States and the Government agencies, to see that this money is not used to harm the society, but that it is utilized to expand the area of amity amongst various sections of the society. (*Interruption*)

Let me inform this hon. House that we have already taken concrete steps to check the inflow of foreign money to most of the organizations which are working under various names and garbs, spoiling the unity of this country. We have taken very stern measures and I will request hon. Members : 'As and when these organizations come to you, don't recommend them to me,' because I am not going to accept them.

Administrative steps you had mentioned. The officers in charge of the districts shall be personally held responsible. This has been spelt out. About processions also, you were kind enough to mention. There was a broad agreement with the Opposition leaders that we should have regulations, and that we should try to regulate the processions with a view to seeing that they do not end in this kind of communal riots. They should end in a very happy tone. People from the processions should go with blessings, with flowers, with *prasad* in their hands, and not with ??? with emergency vans running round. The



processions should end in a very very happy tone.

You had asked for a Code for the Press. Yes ; the Press has a very very important role to play in such situations. What the Governments or the other organizations cannot do, the Press can do with one stroke of the pen. One line appearing in the Press can set ablaze the whole town. Therefore, we must impress upon those who control the Press - the editors and the leading journalists that while they should report facts, there are ways and ways of putting the facts into their columns.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It will have to be a uniform Code.

S. BUTA SINGH : There will be a uniform Code, and preferably it will be a voluntary Code ; it should be voluntary, because unless it is voluntary, you cannot really have it enforced, do whatever you may. You may be branded as a dictator or whatever. You know they are free to write. They can make man into something else. They have that mighty pen.

Now about news and views. Yesterday, my colleague mentioned a very good example, viz. that one of the leading dailies of the world carried the same article on three consecutive days, and nobody bothered to know that the same articles had come every day. It is the news which makes the difference. News must not be published in a manner which will further escalate the situation. It should be published in a manner that it will try to stabilize the situation, it will try to eschew violence out of it, and it will make the people realize that what has happened is shameful, and that we should not try to repeat what has happened. What has happened has resulted in the death of so many innocent people. Repeating the news should be in such a manner that it should try to stabilize the situation, and not aggravate the situation.

Some of our leaders, whether political or religious or representing the communities,

they have a flair of reacting, giving their views even on a rumour ; they do not take the trouble of verifying whether something has happened or not. If there is a small quarrel between two individuals at a bus stop, suddenly, if some communal leader comes to know that one was Sardarji and the other was without *pugri*, the whole town is in trouble ; they do not know whether they had fought on some issues which were not at all connected with the community. So, the communal leaders and specially the political leaders should always try to restrain themselves, try to ascertain facts if they have to react. In the first instance, my request will be that they should avoid reacting to the rumours unless, of course, they know that the facts are correct.

Regarding the code of conduct for the political parties, as I mentioned in the morning in the meeting with the opposition leaders, we are all here to serve the great country called Bharat, India. We should not carry the petty political considerations, the petty political games, when it comes to maintain, when it comes to protect the life and property of our people ; we should be guided by the great Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who had a vision of what he wanted Indian to look like. He said :

[Translation]

"In the India of my dream, there should neither be any rich nor any poor, and the poorest of the poor must feel that his opinion counts and his voice is also heard."

[English]

This is the reflection of Mahatmaji's dream. This House itself, we represent those poor and downtrodden people who cannot speak themselves ; we have to speak on their behalf. We must see that no injustice is done to the poor and the have-nots in this country. We must not always try to project the views of multi-nationals, the big industrialists and the capitalists.  
(Interruptions)

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Some-times !

**S. BUTA SINGH :** We should try to project the expectations of those who are under-dogs, and in the next sentence, Mahatmaji says :

[*Translation*]

"In the India of my dream, there should not be any high or low and all the communities must coexist."

[*English*]

This is the crux of the present situation which we are discussing. Now, if one *Jati* says that India is their monopoly, what will happen to other *jatias*.

This will not be Mahatmaji's India ; we will not be serving the motherland in the true spirit in which the great Father of the Nation wanted us.

[*Translation*]

All the Communities should co-exist—

[*English*]

—Which means that we should have equal respect for others' religion, not impose our religion on others, we should have respect for their religion. Only then we can create a situation in which all the communities, all the castes can have the sense of belonging to this country as a free citizen. (*Interruptions*) I could not hear what Dr. Datta Samant had said.

**SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA :** Just ignore it.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** Yesterday, Syed Shahabuddin, Mr. Banatwalla and many others made a mention of Ram Janambhoomi and the problems arising out of it. Will it be out of place or will it be too much on my part if I say Ram Janambhoomi—

[*Translation*]

—The entire country is Ram Janambhoomi. My heart and the heart of every Indian is Ram Janambhoomi.

[*English*]

Heart is Ram Janambhoomi. If there is a dispute over a small piece of land called Ram Janamistan, I can understand. But

why bring in Ram Janambhoomi. You say, Ram Janambhoomi. That means that you are doubting that Ram does not belong to Assam or Ram does not belong to Kashmir.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY :** You also said like this.

**S. BUTA SINGH :** Yes, I believe in that!

Let me tell you that we have not forgotten that small dispute. We are very much alive to it. Some people tend to believe that we have forgotten. I am constantly in touch with the leaders and I can assure this august House that we are trying to find an amicable mutually agreeable solution and I have hope that with the blessings of all those who matter in this particular subject and with the blessings of this House, with your blessings, a day is not far, I am sure, in the near future, we will be arriving at a mutually agreeable solution and the country will heave a sigh of relief. There is no problem on this earth which cannot be solved through mutual consultations, mutual agreement. There is always scope for give and take ; there is always scope for accommodation, and if you are prepared to accommodate others' point, there is always coming forward. We have seen in the history the forces which never saw eye to eye with each other, at the end, when it came to sit down, they resolved the issue. Let me tell you that this fundamentalism of any brand is dangerous, is poisonous, it will spoil, it will sap the whole strength of the country. Fundamentalism cannot be allowed and shall not be allowed, in whatever form it comes ; fundamentalism is something which is basically opposed to the idea of one nation, of great India of which our forefathers, the patriots, our martyrs laid their life ; and this fundamentalism cuts at the root of the unity of India. We will not allow this fundamentalism to come. Who are the fundamentalists, who want to force their way of life upon all others, whether they like it or not? And, every religion preaches two aspects. They do not preach, but we ourselves take two facets of every religion. One is that we must push it down and we say that we become missionaries and we try to push it down on others. And there are people who preach their religion

through their own deeds, love, compassion. There are examples in every religion. I can cite a number of examples from all the major religions. There are always two sections of preachers : One who says, "I will give my life and take others' lives for preaching my own religion." There are others who say, "No, no. I will preach my religion and bring by persuasion, by love through compassion ; I will bring as many people to listen to the message of my great Prophet, my Great Guru, my Great Avatara, for the rest of the world because that message which was given should be given to everybody."

Religion by the founder of any religion is for that Particular community or for a particular section meant for the men of that section ; and the undiluted message whether it comes through the Vedas, or whether it comes through the Quran, through the Gita, through the Guru Grandh or the Ramayana the message is the same, that is universal love. And this fundamentalism is working exactly against what has been taught to us through these preachings and let me assure the House that the Government of India ..... (Interruptions) that our great Prime Minister, our young dynamic Prime Minister is being accused that he is making accord after accord. Sir, he is doing it in the spirit of a great democratic tradition of this country which has been taught to us through generations. He is trying to invoke the people in building a new and vibrant India. We are all dreaming of entering into a new century.

Shall we enter the new century with our hands stained with blood? Shall we enter with spears with *trisuls*, with sten guns or with *Suras* in the next century? No, in the next century the India of our dreams for which Shri Rajiv Gandhi is working day in and day out it will be only with the involvement of all the sections of the society, whether they believe in one religion or they do not believe in any religion at all. So, therefore, we have to take that broader perspective and see that

no power, big or small whether outside or inside the country is allowed to stop the basic unity and integrity of our country. And let me tell you that not one but in every village and in every town you will find the great brothers of Bhagat Singh, Udham Singh, Chandra Sekhar Azad, who will stand up when there is a call from the motherland to shed their blood for the survival of the great Indian people and for maintaining the unity and integrity of this country. The Government of India will spare no effort, we will not spare any force whether it comes from one religion or the other and especially those who claim or profess themselves to be the great saviours of one particular religion, they will not be allowed to endanger the life of other religions and society.

With his humble submission to this august House, let me assure you that our Government will always be ready to see that the life and property of all the Indians and specially the minorities, who sometimes feel that they are at the weak end, will be protected, because when there is an aggressive posture, you have to ensure protection to those who naturally get scared whether it can be majority in one State or minority in other State. I am not having any community in my mind. But Dr. Datta Samant, I would request you to kindly utilise your pass given to you by the Lok Sabha Secretariat and travel from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and see the people of India so that you know something about their life.

DR. DATTA SAMANT : The working class has no caste.

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M tomorrow.

18.07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, July 25, 1986/Srayana 3, 1908 (Saka)