

[Translation]

(viii) **Need to regularise the services of Extra-departmental postal employees**

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the posts of extra-departmental postal employees were created in 1885. They work like departmental employees but are called extra-departmental employees. They work for five hours but they are paid only Rs. 150 to Rs. 250 per month. There are about 3,00,000 extra-departmental employees in the country. The main question is of declaring them as departmental employees. About 25000 such employees are working in various branch post offices in Bihar. The Supreme Court had given verdict on 22.4.77 that their services should be departmentalised, but the Government of India has not implemented that decision. I would, therefore, like to request the Centre to absorb the extra-departmental employees in the departmental services.

14.33 hrs.

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

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House shall now take up further discussion on the communal situation, in various parts of the country. We have been discussing this subject for the last two days and today is the third day. Many of the members contributed more. Today, at 2.50 P.M., Mr. P. Chidambaram, the hon. Minister will intervene and at 5.15 P.M. the hon. Minister, Shri Buta Singh will reply.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : The House will adjourn at 6 P.M. as usual.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Yes. So, I request all the members to take five minutes or ten minutes so that we can accommodate more members.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Salempur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I

may submit that this is a very important matter and you may kindly enhance the time in this case. At times this House has been sitting for the whole night. We have been waiting for the last three days. We should also be given opportunity to express our views.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can convey your views within five minutes when your turn comes.

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA (Pali) : I request you to regulate the time fixed. Some members speak for half an hour ; some members speak for three minutes or five minutes or get 7 minutes. You always try to regulate the time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I am regulating it, but the difficulty is that the list of names of the members comes very late. Members give their names very late. I am sorry for this. Please take your seat.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity.

[Interruptions]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA : Sir, I want to.....

[Interruptions]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You are wasting the time. I am not calling you. You continue, Mr. Goswami.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI : I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this subject and I am also thankful to you that you have given sufficient time to discuss this subject and the matter was not hurried in the way Rule 193 discussions take place and are concluded in a day.

I would like to start my speech with a premise that the overwhelming people of this country are secular at heart and have the interests of the country at heart. Otherwise, the Indian civilization would not have prospered when civilizations

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

which were playing a more dominant part in human history went by the way-side and our democratic Institution would not have survived the many complexities of the nation so long, when in the neighbouring countries or in many of the neighbouring countries all the institutions have collapsed. But I feel that there has been no comprehensive effort to tackle the communal problem in the manner in which it should be tackled. The communal problem in this country has been taken merely as a law and order problem. When there is a communal disturbance, the Police is sent. If the police is unable to control para-military forces are sent. Some of the anti-social elements are rounded up, some evade their arrest, some remain free, there is some furore in Parliament, discussion takes place after sometime innocent people suffer, the atmosphere calms down after sometime and we sit down and wait for next.

I have not come across any report up till now from the Government of India, of any sociological study of any communal disturbance that has taken place in any part of the country. There are many key and sensitive areas like Bhiwandi and Moradabad where every year we see such communal disturbances. But has there been any study whether before or after disturbances, what were the causes of those disturbances, to seek remedial measures? We do not do it in our country, but there are countries where such studies have been made and these countries take advantage of those studies, not for the purpose of benefiting this country but in order to de-stabilise this country.

As Mr. Dandawate put it well while initiating the debate, our approach has been rather like that of a fire-fighting department. There are very many causes for communal disturbances which we have not tried to identify. The primary one, probably is the socio-economic cause. There are very many sensitive spots in this country where people occupy traditional occupations, for their livelihood, and those traditional occupations have been unable today to absorb the millions of job seekers, with the result that there is discontent and unrest and let us not forget

that the Indian people are very emotional people. They live under great stresses and strains because of the social and economic inequalities. The undesirable elements, the anti-social elements, and even the politicians play upon these sentiments and emotions and take advantage of them. We have not really tried in any way to go deeply into the social and economic conditions of these particular areas where there is recurrence of communal violence and tried to find out some long term solution to it.

The second cause is the presence of Mafias, there are economic interests controlled by the persons belonging to different communities. Some economic interests are controlled by the Hindus, some economic interests are controlled by the Muslims; but when the economic interests of an individual is hurt, then he tries to identify his interest with the interest controlled by his community or the community interest, with the result that even because of those economic causes if a Hindu or Muslim individual is hurt, then it is translated into a communal disturbance. We have never tried to identify these persons and take stringent actions against them. There is also the third factor, and that is the new phenomenon of increased assertion of the religious communities. How unfortunate it is, that in the State like Uttar Pradesh, we have seen that a Mosque and a Mandir have become the subject matter of deep cleavage between two communities.

I can point out happily that in our State we have a place called Hajo where mosque and a mandir stand face to face and there is an communal disturbance. One who goes to the mosque invariably goes to the mandir; one who goes to the mandir invariably goes to the mosque. A tradition has been built up.

The assertion of religious communities today is getting increasingly a dominant pattern in this country. That is something which should be tackled. One also sees political patronage. I do not really want to introduce politics here. But the foreign rulers tried to rule this country by the principle of divide and rule. And if we look into our own hearts, we will find that there are many occasions where consciously and sub-consciously, in order to

bargain for our own political interest, we have followed the same pattern of the foreign rulers by playing one community as against the other community.

There is the especially police actions— police indifference on the one hand and police over-actions on the other. The police men also feel helpless because if they take some action, if there is firing, then immediately every one jumps for a judicial enquiry and the poor police man ultimately is asked to face the dock with the result he is in the horn of two dilemmas.

The political interference in the actions of the police administration has also become a day to day affair. The police administration is not allowed to tackle the situation in the way it should be done. What has been the result? The result has been increasing use of the Army. One statistic shows that in between 1980 and 1983 the Army went for police help 747 times out of which 397 times it was only on the question of law and order. In 1984 the Army was called 175 times out of which 95 times it was called to protect law and order. Now, this has a dangerous dimensions. I come from a State where we had agitation for six years. I do not want to go into that. The Army was used there. I have found that when you increasingly use the Army the people's support for the Army gets eroded. It has two dangerous possibilities. One is that the Army itself becomes politicalised if we increasingly use the Army for the purposes of controlling law and order situation. Second is that if the Army loses people's confidence, then our defence will be in jeopardy. Therefore some of the essential steps must be taken, not merely keeping it as a law and order question but trying to get deeply in the root of it.

As you have already rung the bell, I will only give some of the suggestions that I have in my mind. I think, it is high time that we should identify some of the sensitive areas of this country where communal violence is a recurring phenomenon. Let us have a deep sociological study. The Government has all the forces at its command. When I say 'forces', it does

not mean police force or military force, but all the ammunition to make this study and to find out the solution as to how to break up the traditional occupation and how the increasing influence of mafias can be controlled. It is necessary also to have a total new re-orientation of the police force. There is no education and training to the police force to meet this situation. They are brained only on the question of law and order. I would not like to dwell on this point because we have got in our own party a very distinguish former police officer in Mr. Rahman. I hope that he will be given some time to intervene and make one or two suggestions.

We always give homilies to the people. I believe the politicians should be the first persons to correct themselves. Political patronage and political interference in communal disturbances must be done away with and a national political consensus on it must be evoked. There has not been serious effort in this direction. Those who are found guilty must be punished stringently and also prohibited from holding any public office. If a person is guilty of encouraging, abetting or taking part in a communal disturbance or in giving help to the communal forces, I do not think he has any right to hold a public office. There should be some measures, some amendment in the law, by which we can bring in stringent steps to see that the person who encourages, abets or takes part in communal activities, is not permitted to hold a public office.

As I said, it is no use giving homilies to the people. Let us also not think that we are all free from communal tendencies or secularism is the monopoly of any particular party. I believe, as I started in the beginning, that overwhelming members of Indian people are secular at their heart and if communal disturbances have taken place, it is not because of them. The fault does not lie with them but the fault lies with us and it is high time that we try to find the fault that lies with us either in not being able to identify the reasons and to find out the solutions for it or trying to take political advantage of this situation. I would have liked to continue but I can see that there are a number of Members to speak and, therefore, with these words I conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI BAL RAM SINGH YADAVA (Mainpuri) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you that you have given me an opportunity to speak on the issue raised in regard to the communal situation in the country.

Sir, India is a country where the people belonging to different religions live—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis. It is a matter of great pride for the country and history also bears witness to it, that inspite of diversity in the country, we are one. This is the greatest strength of the country.

Sir, it is unfortunate that some vested interests engineer riots and due to these riots, the country has suffered a great loss. When the Britishers were in power in India, they continuously raised a wall of hatred between the Hindus and Muslims and they greatly harmed the interests of the country by following the policy of divide and rule. When the Britishers left India, the condition of the country was quite miserable.

After independence, the process of development started in our country. We made great achievements in the field of industry, science, technology, education and urban and rural development. But there are certain forces in the world which do not want that India should become a strong nation and march towards progress. They do not want that India should remain one. All these powers want to disintegrate the country. We know their designs. Sir, you are aware what is happening in Punjab today. You also know what China intends to do in the north-eastern States of the country. The USA is inciting some people of Punjab, who are called extremists, and providing them training, arms and ammunition and funds. In this way, a few persons are creating destablity in Punjab and they want to disintegrate Punjab.

Sir, I had an opportunity to stay in Punjab for 60 days. I was sent to Punjab for 30 days on behalf of the party to contact the people there. Later on, I was sent to Punjab for 30 days in connection

with the elections. During these 60 days, I had an opportunity to see Punjab closely. Generally, the people of Punjab want to live in peace. They are sad over the fact that such a situation is being created in Punjab. All these things have done much harm to Punjab. Punjab was in the forefront in the country in the field of agriculture, industry and prosperity, but now the same Punjab seems to be on the verge of ruination. We have to ensure at any cost that such forces do not get strengthened and they are suppressed. I think the Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab are determined to put such things down.

Sir, the policy of our Congress Party has always been to unhold the unity of the country. Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi had done a lot to keep the country united and maintain communal harmony. Sir, the sacrifices of Mahatma Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi are proof of it. You might recall that when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was assassinated, riots were taking place in the whole country. I have all praise for the Prime Minister for his far-sightedness and courage. On the one hand, the dead body of his mother was lying in the Teen Murti Bhawan and on the other, in spite of having been advised by the administration not to do so, Rajiv Gandhi went to visit riot-torn areas of Delhi to check the communal riots and you must be aware that riots were controlled in the country within 24 hours. This is an example of the far sightedness of our Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

Sir, it is most unfortunate that these riots are the result of trifles. The communal riots which broke out in Ahmedabad, Lucknow or in other parts of Uttar Pradesh were the result of petty issues. One rarely finds communal frenzy behind these riots. Mainly the anti-social elements and smugglers are behind all these things. Sir, only the Government is not responsible to deal with all these things, the political parties, social-organisations, voluntary organisations and religious organisations should face this challenge collectively. Then only we can achieve success in this matter.

Sir, so far as the issue of Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid in Uttar Pradesh is concerned, for the last two and a half years, Vishwa Hindu Parishad had

been taking out the Ram-Janaki rath in Uttar Pradesh which had certainly caused tension in that State. But I want to thank the Chief Minister and the Government of Uttar Pradesh for completely banning the taking out of the Ram-Janaki rath and religious leaders of both the communities were...

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj) :

*Ki mere katl ke baad usne jufa se tauba,
Hai us zood pasheman ka pasheman hona.
(Interruptions)*

SHRI BAL RAM SINGH YADAVA : A ban has been imposed in Uttar Pradesh on all those custodians of religion who incite communal riots and the situation is completely under control today.

In the end, I want to give some suggestions. Firstly, the district authorities should appoint such police officers as have a secular image, because, sometimes administrative lapses are also responsible for such riots to some extent. Stringent action should be taken against all those responsible for creating communal tensions. Press should also not publish such reports as may create hurdles in the establishment of peace. There are communal harmony committees in all the district and they should be activated. Those places should be identified where communal riots occur. These occasions should also be identified on which these riots take place. And arrangements should be made in advance for checking them. A special machinery should be set up to control all these things. With these words, I condemn communalism.

[English]

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) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 23 hon. Members have spoken so far on an issue of grave concern to the whole country. I have listened them very carefully and I am grateful to them for their valuable suggestions.

Sir, one thing which I think we should all keep in mind—and I think, all of us agree on that—is this. In any communal riot, in any communal disturbance, in any situation of this kind, the people who are affected are the poor people. Whether he be a poor Hindu or a poor Muslim or a poor Christian, eventually it is the poor man who has lost his home, who has lost his wife, who has lost his son, who has lost his shop. I was in Ahmedabad only last week and I heard for myself very harrowing tales how a small cycle shop was burnt down in 1985.

SHRI DATTA SAMANT : Textile workers were affected.

MR. DEPUTY SAEAKER : Cycle shop man is also a worker.

SHRI DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central) : In Gujarat there are 60,000 textile workers.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Cycle shop man is also a worker. You forget about the other workers.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : He builds up his shop and again it is burnt down. This time I was told about another case. I don't know how far it is true. A landlord tried to evict his tenant. He could not evict his tenant. He got hold a group of people and then burnt down that shop. The tenant got back the possession, got some compensation, built up that shop again his shop is burnt down. I am therefore convinced in my mind that the poor people in this country realise that communal harmony is in their interest ; they have a vested interest in communal harmony. I will not subscribe to the theory that poor people instigate communal disturbance or poor people start the communal riot. Be they know very well that at the end of the day or at the end of the week, it is they who have suffered most. It is they who have lost most. I think therefore that we must ask ourselves a question who is behind these riots, who causes these disturbances. I cannot speak with the vast experience of Prof. Dandavate or any one else. I come from a State which has been fairly peaceful. My first real exposure to a communal riot was when I visited Allahabad shortly after I

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

joined this Ministry and then when I was in Ahmedabad for 3 days. While everybody here accuses political parties,—I am sure that some political forces have a role to play—I am fairly convinced in my mind that every situation which has the potential of a conflict is exploited by anti-social elements.

15 hrs.

Take a city like Ahmedabad. Ahmedabad city over the years has grown in such a way that there are pockets in which one community is heavily concentrated ; there are pockets in which another community is heavily concentrated with a sprinkling of people of other communities. In the inner city itself, like in every other major city, I think the antisocial elements have taken control. By and large, I think, there is large concentration of people who indulge in bootlegging, prostitution and in some cities even smuggling. These are the forces who seem to be in control of inner cities, and I think these forces look out for situations which have the germs and the seed of the communal conflict in them, exploit them and then create a holocaust. I dare to think that we must now look beyond the traditional forces, traditional groups to work against this kind of communal holocaust—I will come to this presently, and I have some tentative thoughts on the subject and I will make my submissions presently. But all of us here are agreed, and I think it should be agreed that every kind of fundamentalism is wrong. It might be religious fundamentalism, it might be linguistic fundamentalism. Every kind of fundamentalism is wrong. Each one should ask himself or herself : How many of us are truly catholic, truly liberal, truly secular in every aspect of our lives ? May be in religious matters we are secular, but then when it comes to language, we cease to be catholic and liberal. May be we are secular and catholic in matters relating to language, but when it comes to our own caste, we tend to become very inward looking and very sectarian. Every kind of fundamentalism is wrong, and I think it is this revival of fundamentalism, revival of bigotry, revival of the very primitive urges in man which is the cause of all the troubles that we see around ourselves. I

think the model is—and I cannot think of any greater model in this country than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I think he was the greatest model, and I think we should emulate that model in matters relating to religion, in matters relating to language and in matters relating to caste. I think he was so much above all these prejudices and all these sectarian views that I think we must hold him up as the model not only for our children—we are very good in preaching to our children and our grand children—but we must hold him up as a model for ourselves, and that, I think, imposes an obligation upon people in public life. For all of us in public life to whatever religion we belong, to whatever caste we belong, I think there is an obligation to observe self-restraint. It is very easy to participate in a religious festival, it is very easy to participate in a caste sammelan, it is very easy to go and join an organisation and march pleading for some caste or some group. I think it is a more difficult task, and the task, which imposes an obligation upon every one in public life is to restrain yourself from this kind of identity with one religion or one caste. So long as we are in public life, I think we must exercise a tremendous self-restraint in identifying ourselves with any one religion or any one caste or any one sectarian group.

Sir, it is true that in the last five years the communal situation has taken a turn for the worse. Some of you think, and I also thought that 1985 was a very bad year. 1985, minus the incidents of Gujarat, turns out to be a relatively stable year in terms of figures. But then the intensity of communal disturbances in Gujarat really put everything else into a shadow and 1985 turned out to be a very bad year, and I am afraid 1986, the first six months of 1986, have been quite bad. Eighty-eight districts have been identified as hypersensitive in terms of potential for communal violence. Ninety-eight districts have been identified as sensitive. Now, I am sure there are Members of Parliament in those districts. Now, it is a matter of shame that one should come from a district which has been identified as hypersensitive in terms of communal violence and sensitive in terms of communal violence. What are we doing about

this? What are the State Governments doing about this? What is the Central Government doing about this? I want to explain presently what we are doing about it and what we expect State Governments to do about it. In October, 1980 guidelines were issued to the State Governments how to control communal violence and how to prevent occurrence of communal disturbances. These guidelines were revised, reviewed, updated and revised guidelines were issued in July, 1985.

I want to emphasise some of these guidelines because, I think, like all guidelines, what we find is, they are honoured more in breach than in observance. Guidelines are read, guidelines are put away. But if guidelines are to be read and merely put away, these guidelines are of no use. One hon. Member mentioned yesterday every party represented in this House is both a ruling party and an opposition party. It may be an Opposition party here in Parliament but, every party on that side is a ruling party in one of the States. The CPM is a ruling party. The Janata is a ruling party. The AIADMK is a ruling party. The Telugu Desam is a ruling party. The Muslim League is in a coalition with a ruling party. Everybody has an obligation. I do not think you can stand up and say "We accuse the Central Government." I can turn round and say that we accuse the State Government for not implementing these guidelines. It is not a matter of accusation and recrimination. How far have we implemented these guidelines? If these guidelines had been implemented strictly and if we had merely summoned the political will to implement these guidelines, I think much of this communal disturbance and communal violence could have been avoided.

I want to make one thing clear. The guidelines clearly say that the Collector, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police of the district are primarily responsible. I think, I speak on behalf of the Home Minister also when I say that, in future we must make it very clear and let this message go very clearly to all Collectors and all S.Ps. that they will be held responsible if there is any

communal violence in the State. (*Interruptions*). Please bear with me. (*Interruptions*). S.Ps. and District Magistrates are under control of the State Governments. They are allotted to the State cadres. They are essentially answerable to the State Governments. If the consensus of the House is that if there is communal disturbance in any district, the Central Government should intervene and hold the SP responsible and hold the DM responsible, we have no objection. We will hold the DM responsible. We will hold the SP responsible. As far as I am concerned, speaking not only as the Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs as well as the Minister in the Ministry of Personnel, I intend now to make it very clear as the cadre controlling authority of the IAS and as the Minister and cadre controlling authority of IPS, we are going to hold DM and the SP directly and principally responsible for any communal violence.

Secondly, on this matter of putting some curbs, some restraints on religious processions, I have my personal views. But this is not a place where I should express my personal views. I should express views which are the views of the Government and I shall also take into account the views expressed by hon. Members.

I notice that Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi is not here. He said that let us curb all processions.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : Certainly.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Answer is 'Yes'. There is a view which says "Let us curb all religious processions".

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : No.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : That is not the tradition of this country.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Political party procession also creates some problems. What to do? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : He says it is the tradition not to hold processions, not to curb religious activities. There is great merit in both views. It is not for the Government to judge the views. We have to take the people with us. We have to carry the people with us. All I want to emphasise is even short of total curbing, and moving away from the position, that there must be a total licence. I do not think he said that there should be a total licence. I am not saying there should be a total licence.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : There is a distinction between freedom and licence.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am not saying there should be a total licence or total curb. There should be a middle ground which has been recognised by the guidelines. I want to emphasise that these guidelines must be enforced in future. For example, as far as loudspeakers are concerned, I think we must all agree that in a procession if it is really supposed to be pious and religious, why should there be loudspeakers and music blaring all kinds of noise, a cacophony of noise. I do not think there is any rule about loudspeakers and music being played. I think we must curb that.

Secondly, the route of the procession. It may be that for one hundred years somebody has taken a particular route. It may be so. This civilisation has survived for 5000 years. Are we going to survive as a truly civilised people for the next 100 years? We are talking about the next 20 years or 30 years or 40 years. We must review all these things. We must not cling to what has happened in the past and merely say that because something has happened for 100 years, so we should do it for the next 20 years. When it happened for a 100 years, there were not so many people. There were not big cities. There were not so many situations. To-day I think we must prevail upon our people to see that processions should be short, that processions should be symbolic and they should avoid routes which are sensitive and where people of other communities reside. I think ritual has dominated over true religion. I think

religion has been pushed to the background and rituals and in the name of rituals all kinds of things have sprung up and there is hardly anything deeply religious about what goes on in the name of religion to-day. I think we must review the rules. We must control the loudspeakers. We must control music and I personally feel that we should not allow people to go by trucks or jeeps in any procession. If people are pious, they should be pious enough to walk behind their respective Gods.

I think some mistakes were made and I will not name the places where the mistakes were made. But we must learn lessons from our past mistakes. We must make our possessions very simple and involve people with a certain amount of piety in it and see that these processions and very quickly.

I would emphasize paragraph 20 of the guidelines. 'Indiscriminate use of loudspeakers in religious places has come to the notice of the authorities in the recent past having the potential of creating communal tension. It is necessary to ensure that the use of loudspeakers in such places is regulated in a more effective way in the interests of maintenance of communal harmony and peace.'

Thirdly the question of bandh. Since I was in Ahmedabad and references were made to Ahmedabad I must mention this. I think those who called for the Bandh did no service to the community. The call of bandh was very unwise. It was an intemperate move. It was a move which was done knowing full-well the consequences of such an action and in violation of the agreement with the Chief Minister on 11th July. I have spoken to the Chief Minister myself. I have spoken to a large number of people. What happened was that after the incidents of the 9th and 10th various religious leaders and the office-bearers of various organisations were called for negotiations on the 11th of July. During the meeting the Chief Minister appealed to the leaders not to observe the call of Gujarat bandh. The trustees of the Jagannath temple at one stage asked for a judicial inquiry. After a prolonged discussion with the members present at the meeting, it was

agreed that a high level enquiry on the terms of reference agreed to by both the parties would be sufficient for the purpose. However, when these leaders left the meeting, they decided not to withdraw the bandh call. I think this call of a bandh was intemperate, specially in a situation surcharged with emotion. I think all the leaders, whether political leaders or religious leaders, should have observed great restraint, should have appealed to the people to remain within their homes and go about their peaceful avocations. Instead of that, the call of the bandh was a very unwise move and we have paid a very heavy price for that.....

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : When was the judicial enquiry ordered ? On the 10th or 11th ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am answering that. Because on the 11th of July there was an agreement that a high level enquiry will be ordered and that the call of the bandh will be withdrawn, at that time, as a matter of judgment there was no need to order a judicial enquiry. But unfortunately as it turned out, there was, as I would characterise, a breach of faith. They went ahead with the call of bandh and the bandh took place and immediately thereafter a judicial enquiry was ordered. It is not correct to say, as the hon. Member mentioned, that only a District Judge is going to enquire. The Chief Minister has categorically informed us that a High Court Judge will be appointed to conduct the enquiry. The terms of reference are being drawn up. It is a matter of judgement as on the 11th of July. It is easy to be wise after the event. But you put yourself in that position when everybody agrees that the call for the bandh will be withdrawn ; when everybody agrees that the high-level enquiry will be sufficient. I think the question of judicial enquiry did not arise at that time. But now, of course, we are wiser. We will be more careful in future before we are taken in by such kind of agreements. I think the Chief Ministers of the States will take note of this lesson which has happened in Ahmedabad.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN : Has any action been taken again those who called the Bandh ? Had they been identified ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : One moment. I will come to that. Paragraph 24 of the guidelines again emphasises :

“No meeting should be permitted to be held and no processions, marches should be permitted to be taken out in protest against any communal incident which seems to be used to provoke communal trouble”.

In future, I think, whenever there is communal trouble, the State Governments will have to clearly lay down and tell everyone “we are not going to allow any protest marches, any processions and bandhs until the communal situation returns to total normality”. We should not allow further protest to provoke the communal situation. I think the bandh was unwise and I have no hesitation in condemning those who called the bandh on that day.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please listen what he is saying.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Now I would like to talk about the role of the newspapers. We have had some very bad experience with some newspapers ; we have also had very good experience with some newspapers. I was in Ahmedabad. Even after the whole situation had come back not to normality but to a certain peaceful situation to a certain amount of control, I found newspapers carrying 8 column headlines, screaming headlines. But they were editorialising in the second page that people should remain peaceful and on the first page publishing news which was certainly not a very balanced presentation. I pointed out to them that nobody reads the editorial. People only read the headlines. I gave the example of *The New York Times* which ran the same editorial for three consecutive days. Not even 10 readers pointed out that the same editorial was being run for three consecutive days. We seem to have a kind of split personality. On the news page, everything is blown up. On the editorial side there is a lot of moralising. I would urge upon the newspapers that they should observe a great deal of rest.

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

rained. After the situation came under control, even then what was the purpose of publishing 8 column headlines, screaming headlines. It is not correct to say that no action has been taken against newspapers. In the year 1984, Andhra Pradesh instituted a case against one newspaper; Haryana instituted a case against three newspapers; Karnataka instituted a case against 9 newspapers...

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : What was the result ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please do not interrupt. First, listen to what he says.
(Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Punjab instituted a case against 4 newspapers; Tamil Nadu instituted a case against 5 newspapers; Uttar Pradesh instituted a case against 4 newspapers; West Bengal instituted a case against 2 newspapers, and Delhi instituted a case against 4 newspapers. So, they have instituted cases against newspapers for un-balanced and provocative news being published, taking advantage of the communal situation. Now, we cannot do this beyond a point. People will scream that we are curtailing Press freedom. All I can submit is that—this is the sense of the House also—the newspapers should observe balance and restraint. The State Governments have taken action against newspapers. I sincerely appeal to all newspapers, all editors, all newspaper publishers to kindly cooperate with the Government in controlling a situation of this kind by observing balance and restraint. What about the further course of action? To that, the Hon. Home Minister will reply in great detail as to what action is going to be taken. I only want to emphasise one or two things. We have the political will. Please do not doubt our political will. We have the political will. We will summon the political will to control the situation. In Ahmedabad, we did bring the situation under control within 24 hours after the 14th July; thanks to the Chief Minister for taking some very decisive steps. Let there be no apprehension in the mind of any community that Government does not have the will to

control such a situation. Let there also be no misapprehension in the minds of any anti-social element, any political force, any other social group, the Government is soft and weak to allow whatever they like. We have the political will; we have learnt lessons and we will bring to bear the entire might of the Government upon a situation where people violate communal harmony.

As far as compensation is concerned, there was some discussion here about the scale of compensation. I wish to read the guidelines, so that State Governments also will know that Parliament has been informed about it. The following scale of payments of *ex-gratia* would, accordingly, be considered appropriate in such instances :

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| (i) Death (whether of a earning or non-earning member of family) | Rs. 20,000 |
| (ii) Permanent incapacitation (whether of earning or non-earning member of family) | Rs. 5,000 |
| (iii) Temporary incapacitation | Rs. 1,000 |
| (iv) Grievous hurt short of incapacitation | Rs. 500 |
| (v) Loss of movable property | Rs. 2,000 |
| (vi) Loss of House | Rs. 5,000
to
15,000 |
| (vii) Loss of earning assets like vehicles, boat or bullock etc. | Rs. 2,000 |

Sixteen State Governments have accepted these guidelines and we appeal to all other State Governments to accept these guidelines. These are the minimum. If the State Governments want to give more, they can give more taking into account the gravity of the situation. But we are

keen on people being compensated for getting affected by communal violence and riots.

We are looking into the question of representation of minorities in police force. It is not at all a happy situation. Let me mine no words about it. I think there are two kinds of forces working ; one is the status-quoist who says, well people are disqualified, they do not measure up, we cannot recruit them. The other is like this which says, well joining the police force is not considered to be a reputed profession and therefore, we would not join police force. I think, minority leaders must encourage their young men to join the police force.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur) : There are many.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I agree. That is why I said that there is the status-quoist who says that if somebody comes up, he is short by quarter of an inch or he is underweight by half a pound. That kind of thing is there. Therefore, I think we are looking into the matter and we would ensure that police force is adequately...

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : You have to take the communal consideration also—whether they are Harijans—while recruiting them.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Yes, minorities, Harijans must all be represented.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I may go on record that some years back a Commissioner of Police had issued a confidential circular saying that as far as possible Muslims should be avoided from the police force. I went to just keep it on record.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am sure, Prof. Dandavate is correct when he says that. That is a deplorable attitude and we will not allow any State Government do that. This is deplorable. We will monitor.

SHRI ATA-UR REHMAN (Barpeta) : Could you hear from the horse's mouth ? I come from a State where I have had consultations with my colleagues. One colleague who is a good friend of mine told me, "Look, Rehman, it is all very good talking about secularism. But there is a word of mouth passed on by some of them, not all—that some of the minority types—should not be taken into police force." That stands even today.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : We are going to monitor it very carefully. I want to emphasize about training. One thing I find is that our State Armed Constabulary is not being trained periodically while the CRPF & BSF have a rigorous training schedule and a training manual. But the Armed Constabulary in the States somehow seem to avoid training or they are not given adequate training.

I discussed it with the Home Minister. We are drawing up a programme where the State Armed Constabulary will be trained in companies and batches and at any given time a certain proportion of the State Armed Police must be under training. Training has been the casualty in the last few years and I think with the new emphasis on training we will extend this training to the State Armed Police Forces also.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Do you give them training that they should not take part in the riots themselves ?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Unfortunately it does.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : My answer to that would be, if there are any biases in their approach it is because of lack of training. Training is to clear those biases, training is to inculcate the right attitude, training is to give them the correct approach to the situation. It is the lack of training which is causing this. I think we will train them.

In Special Courts again, I think our experience has not been very happy. We have some statistics here. Only five states

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

and two union territories have appointed special courts. In the other states the regular courts have been asked to look into the cases related to communal disturbances on a priority basis. But the less said about it the better. The special courts have not really done what they should do. I think we must make a beginning somewhere and, I think, the Home Minister categorically told me that we will make a beginning. I think he said so when he made a statement earlier in this House. He made a statement that we will make a beginning. At Ahmedabad we will punish very severely those who are responsible for inciting communal riots and we will have speedy trials of these offences. Kindly judge us by what results we show in the next few months.

We have to make a beginning. Our experience has not been happy but we will make a beginning. I do not wish to take more time. I only wish to say one or two things by way of conclusion. I want to quote what the Prime Minister said in January :

“Secularism is the basis of our unity. Communalism and all other narrow loyalties are incompatible with unity. It is my first duty to safeguard the right of property and legitimate rights of citizens belonging to every faith. We must go beyond the prevention and suppression of violence. We must take the campaign for unity to every village and every street of our town and an ideological battle against communalism and fanaticism must be waged in our schools and universities and in our work places”.

This is the charter for the Home Ministry so far as maintaining law and order is concerned.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : But that is the Prime Minister's message to the nation.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : This is the charter for the Home Ministry. We will live by that charter. We will work by

that charter. We will enforce it throughout the country.

Sir, may I say one thing ? Today there is talk of back lash, siege mentality and revivalism. Let me not go into all that. Very senior members have spoken and I am sure they speak from experience. But I think all this is bad. What did Mahatma Gandhi say : An eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth will leave the whole world toothless and blind. We cannot allow this kind of backlash mentality to develop. What is the backlash and what is the provocation. There is a provocation in Allahabad. There is backlash in Allahabad. Then that backlash gives rise to a provocation in Ahmedabad and there is backlash in Ahmedabad. This I am just giving as an example. Where will this end ? The whole nation will go up in flames if we do not stop the talk about this siege mentality and provocation and backlash.

I think in the name of religion all kinds of monstrous crimes are committed. Somebody said God is in danger. I almost laughed. Who says so ! Man says God is in danger. I thought the other way round. I thought God said man is in danger and I have come to redeem you. Today we have got this rather fatuous situation of man saying God is in danger. God is not in danger. It is Man who is in danger. Civilisation is in danger. I think men should preserve sanity and God will take care of himself.

Sir, may I finally say that secular forces must assert themselves ? I was deeply touched when one or two members mentioned what the secular forces are doing. I ask the same question. What are the secular forces doing ? What are the people with liberal catholic views doing ? Rabindra Nath Tagore's poem starts by saying : 'Where the mind is without fear'. Why are we not going out into the streets when there is communal violence ? What does it matter if a couple of us are killed or maimed ? Why are we not asserting ourselves ? Why our trade unions and leftist forces not asserting themselves ? Why our youth forces not asserting themselves ? I think we have simply surren-

dered the ground to forces of reaction and retrograde forces. We must occupy the main ground—the middle ground. As far as I am concerned thanks to some efforts made by some people in Tamil Nadu—I want to share its news both with the Home Minister and the House—on the 26th of this month, that is, three days from today in the southern most tip of India, Nagercoil we are organising a huge peace march where Christians, Muslims, Hindus and all other religious leaders are going to organise a huge peace march. Now I would appeal to all members with folded hands let Parliament be over and let us go back to our constituencies and mobilise the youth force, trade union force and secular forces. Let us occupy the middle ground, let us stand firm and show our unity among the people ; let us have peace marches, let us have peace demonstrations and peace rallies. If you surrender the ground to people and we look after only our own interests and our own avocations...

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) : Who is going to do it ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am saying, you do it and we will join you. We will give you all the support. Let Prof. Madhu Dandavate start it, will support ; let Shri Amal Datta start it, we will support ; let Prof. So start it and we will join you. There is no question of a leader or a follower there. The Congress Party is willing to join any party, any force, any trade union in starting these peace rallies and peace demonstrations. I would humbly appeal to all...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Let there be some guidelines.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : The guidelines will be there. You start and we would come to West Bengal, we will come wherever you want. (*Interruptions*).

The whole nation is being held to ransom by a small number of people who are interested in destabilising the country. The whole nation is being held to ransom, but here there are so many people of goodwill. We are the people who represent millions of men and women in this

country. It is upto us to take the lead, go back to our constituencies, go back to our districts, go back to our States and assert that secular, liberal, progressive, catholic and non-sectarian forces will continue to command and occupy the middle ground and command the allegiance and support of the people. Let us isolate and eliminate the small number of anti-social forces and on that the Government seeks the cooperation of everybody in this House irrespective of party, irrespective of his religion, irrespective of the language he speaks. We seek the cooperation of everybody.

I am once again grateful to the House for giving us valuable advice and I assure the House, and through the House, to the people of this country that the Government has the will and it will assert its will in controlling the situation of this kind and we will maintain law and order ; there will be no let, no hinderance in discharging this duty.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : You mentioned some district. Why not we go there on a single day ? We can declare that from the Parliament. Let us all together take peace marches.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : We accept the suggestion.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Parvathipuram) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this debate has gone on for two days and we are on the third day of the debate today. I have heard with rapt attention the views of several hon. Members of this House.

15.34 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

The Minister of State also spoke very eloquently just now. Despite what the Prime Minister has said and despite the unanimous views this House has expressed, as far as the communal situation is concerned, it was rather disturbing to hear from the hon. Minister that 98 districts have been identified as sensitive areas which have communal disturbances. On several earlier occasions, the Parliament

[Shri V. Kishore Chandra S. Deo]

has discussed the situations arising out of the communal tensions and I would certainly like to look forward to the day when there shall be no occasion for this House to discuss such a situation again.

Mr. Chairman, in situations like this, as the Minister has himself stated, it is generally the poor people who are affected. There are definitely socio-economic reasons underlying these riots and it is always that the poor people are exploited not only economically, but politically also they become victims on such occasions.

A reference has been made by several hon. Members to anti-social elements which intervene in the situation and make it take an ugly turn.

The Minister has also referred to people like boot-leggers, smugglers, or those who involve in prostitution or such other things, who try to take advantage when such a situation exists. But I would like to know from the Minister as to why there has been a difficulty to identify such people, when you know that boot-leggers are involved in a communal situation. Sometimes, when there is a conflict between a boot-legger and may be his customer, it is given a communal turn if those people happen to belong to different communities. Likewise, when a smuggler is involved with somebody else, or if a pimp gets into a quarrel with his customer. When you can identify the kind of people who are involved, why have the State Government not been able to identify those people and taken them to task?

AN HON. MEMBER : Because they have their patrons !

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : Who are the patrons or god-fathers of these boot-leggers or the smugglers ? Let us search our hearts. Whether it is the police, whether it is the politician or whether it is the rich businessman in that area, unless the petty boot-legger or the smugglers or the anti-social element has somebody's patronage, does he have the courage or guts to get into such kind of a situation and how is it that he eventually escapes scotfree ?

Sir, it is quite right that a fundamentalistic tendency has taken roots in our country now. Whether it is one of religion or whether it is one of language, there has been a revival of fundamentalism. But why ? Yesterday, hon. member, Shri Zainul Basher while speaking, said that Muslims felt very insecure today. Likewise when my hon. friend Shri Ranjit Singh Gaekwad spoke he said that he met certain Hindus who felt that for the first time the majority community was feeling insecure or left out. Have any efforts been made to contact the leaders of those people belonging to those religions to find out as to why the Muslims are feeling insecure or as to why the majority community is today feeling insecure ? It is rather ridiculous to think that a majority community is today feeling insecure for reasons best known to them.

Every religion has the background of a few centuries in our country. Whether it is Islam, whether it is Christianity, whether it is Sikhism or any other religion, these are not new religions which have mushroomed in the last few years. All these religions have had a background of a few centuries. Why is it that today all these religious communities including even the main majority community are feeling insecure and are worried about their existence or about their rights ? What is it that the Government has done to find out why these people are feeling insecure ? I would like to know from the Home Minister when he replies whether he has spoken to all those people and asked them what they want and if not, whether he would do it. Because, unless you go to the root of the problem and find out the reason as to why they are feeling so, it will not be possible for the Government to take any measures to redeem ourselves of this situation.

Sir, several members of this House have spoken regarding the necessity of delinking politics from religion. Mr. Chairman, in this connection, let me give an example of a very small State in the South. Kerala is a State where almost every religion or community has its own party. But there have been no communal riots in Kerala. Now the religious communities, for historic reasons are synonymous with

politics in our country. Somehow, all of them feel that they have to redress their grievances through one political party or through their representatives in the party. That is why we even have reservations for certain communities, so that their voice can be heard. It is not necessary that if certain religious communities have their representatives in the political parties, this should lead to communal riots. The difficulty arises only when, as a politician you want to create a communal situation, to make use of this opportunity to get votes and to reap electoral benefits out of it.

When our Minister spoke of self-restraint, I would like to inform him that in a situation like this, it is the vested interest which comes in the way of self-restraint. Self-restraint should be counselled by whom? It should be counselled not by those people who actually suffer in the riots, but for those people who instigate it. It is, these people have to be identified. So many Enquiry Commissions have been held. We have discussed this problem on various occasions in this House. So, I would like to know on how many occasions, they have been able to identify the people involved in the actual disturbances and in how many instances was action taken by the State Government, let us say during the last two or three years.

Then, Sir, we were given to understand that certain guidelines have been made. Today, it is learnt that certainly guidelines have been made and certainly the administration should be held responsible for this sort of a thing which happens within the jurisdiction. But Mr. Chairman, while fixing the responsibility on the Collector or the District Magistrate or the S.P. I have strong reservations about the Central Government directly intervening in this. This should not also create conflicts between the Centre and the States or it should not also erode into the powers of the State Governments. But you always have the power to review later on. While this putting the responsibility on the D.M. or the Collector or the S.P. who is at the spot, I think the State Government and the Ministers concerned should also be equally responsible. While, I admit that all of us have equal responsibility in con-

taining situation like this, you will agree with me that a higher degree of responsibility vests with those who are in power where such a situation had taken place or is existing. Therefore, it is not only the Collector and the police who are responsible, but it is also the Government which have to be held responsible, who will have to explain the situation. I would also hasten to add that in such an event the transfer of an official found guilty is not the answer. It is not enough to transfer the officer from one district to another. I mean, specific action will have to be taken to prevent recurrence of involvement of officials or politicians in ugly incidents like this.

Several opinions have been expressed about the religious processions. I certainly appreciate the spirit with which the Minister spoke regarding processions with the said should be short and people could go walking and that there should be no mikes used in such processions. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make only one more point. As I have said earlier, religion has got a very long background. There have been certain religious processions and functions which have been held in various parts of the country not now, but from centuries. Now, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether he would be prepared to draw a cut off line. Say for example 15th of August, 1947. What about the religious processions which have been created after independence? Are you prepared to at least ban those processions? Let them have processions which have been held for 300 years or 400 years or even 500 years. Before that belonging to all religions. But what about the processions and functions which have been created with ulterior motives and which have also resulted in this kind of situations? I think the State Government and the Centre should think seriously about banning such kind of processions and activities which have mushroomed in recent years adding to the confusion as far as the communal situation is concerned. When one talks of political will Mr. Chairman, the Minister referred elaborately to the situation in Gujarat. But I would like to go to the situation in Allahabad. I am told that the situation in Allahabad

[Shri V. Kishore Chandra S. Deo]

started off and it gained momentum since February. It first of all started with hoisting of black flags and saffron flags by different communities on the housetops and Mohallas. Then, it was done on the highways. The police enforcement went there, collected these flags took the black and saffron flags and presumed that the matter ended there. But after that, I am told that even some pork was found in the mosque and beef was found in the temple and again it was cleared up by the police, and Holi and Moharram also passed off peacefully. And on the presumption that Holi and Muharram passed off peacefully and no tension had taken place and it was in January, I don't remember the exact date, when the Prime Minister visited Varanasi, the Police forces were taken away from Allahabad and shifted to Varanasi. I am not blaming the Prime Minister or his visit or the Government, but they should have taken forces from elsewhere. Just on the presumption that the situation had completely normalised and caused out and to shift the police force from the place where actually these communal tensions were increasing day by day, probably just gave an opportunity for those who were waiting to strike and create more troubles.

Sir, we highly appreciate the suggestion of the Hon. Minister to create special courts, but let the fate of these special courts be not like the other courts that we had seen. If we have Special Courts, we have to have Special Courts to go into these cases, and take immediate action in the matter. Unless we are able to identify and bring the culprits to book promptly, this situation will continue to exist.

Before I end, I would like to say that we are sitting on a volcano of communal violence, and before it spreads like cancer to all parts of the country and destroys the very fabric on which our entire society has been built, I would like to urge upon the Government and colleagues from all sections of the House to find a way out, and to talk to the leaders of various communities and State Governments. As see that this House will not ever have to go through the ordeal of discussing this kind of a situation.

[*Translation*]

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI (Satna) : Hon. Chairman, Sir, first of all I want to congratulate the hon. Minister Shri Chidambaram, who put forth some basic problems before us very intelligently. I intended to ask many questions but he has already clarified them, so I would not repeat them now.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, history bears testimony that man has killed man in the name of religion and has written the story of atrocities, barbarity and killings on the pages of history by dipping his sword in man's blood. This evil came to India when the Britishers thought that they would not be able to rule here until they made the Hindus and Muslims fight against each other by adopting a policy of divide and rule. History bears testimony that the Congress Party is the only Party which has been fighting against communalism at every step during the last 100 years and has also been calling upon the whole nation to fight against it unitedly. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have got all the resolutions with me which were passed by the Congress and which were aimed at fighting against communalism, at maintaining Hindu-Muslims unity and national integration during the last 100 years. But it is unfortunate that in one such resolution of 1979, the Congress had to say :—

[*English*]

"Forces of evil and darkness try to create the sentiments of racial supremacy, religious fanaticism and chauvinistic tendencies which ultimately result in communal riots."

[*Translation*]

Just now, my friend Shri Chidambaram spoke about backlashes and mentality. Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is not a new phenomenon. If you turn over the pages of history, you will find that it has been happening in the world previously also. The Muslims, the followers of Islam, used to think that theirs was one of those religions which constituted the largest population of the world. In 1930s and 1940s, a movement called "Pak-Islamic"

movement started which aimed at the unification of all the Muslim countries of the world. But today if you throw a glance over the Arab World, you will find that in spite of their having the same culture, the same religion, the same kind of climate, the same dress habits and the same eating habits, they are unable to unite. The religion could not unite Egypt, Syria, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. If you turn over the pages of history, you will find that—

[English]

—religion has failed to be a rallying force.

[Translation]

Why go far, you may see in our neighbourhood. Nepal in our neighbouring country and she is the only country of the world which has Hinduism as their official religion. After independence, we had to fight three wars, twice with Pakistan and once with China. All the three times, we were attacked without any fault on our part. But the history bears testimony that Nepal neither condemned nor criticized Pakistan and China for the attacks even once. What is the reason? The reason is that today religion has failed to be a rallying force. You cannot unify the peoples in the name of religion. This is a sinister, nefarious and strange propaganda that majority is in danger in this country. I want the Members of all sections of the House to see whether it is the same type of propaganda which was made in this country when the Congress was fighting for the country's independence. On the one hand it was said that the minorities were in danger and on the other it was said that the majority was in danger. In this manner there was an attempt to divide both the communities. I want to ask as to who are the people and which are the elements responsible for spreading this kind of thinking? The hon. Home Minister should see and inform all the Members of the House about it. Just now, Shri Chidambaram said that we should face this challenge unitedly. I remember that after independence and even before independence there was a time when the communal parties

used to be identified and the people treated them as outcasts. I remember when I was in school, at that time Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru once visited Bhopal. He had referred to Hindu Mahasabha and said that whenever he talked about that organisation, it was most abhorring for him and its name was not worth mentioning. We should consider over this important point that all the communal parties and elements, which we had been condemning and criticizing, how we developed our relations with them and surrendered before them. I would like to say that all those people who talked about class-struggle in this country, who wanted to establish dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of the theory of surplus value, who gave slogans of progressive ideology, those very people gave shelter to those communal forces who wanted to destroy the history of our country and also all our traditions, in the name of congressism and minimum programme. I remember, I have read it somewhere, that a big procession was taken out in Delhi after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. That procession came to the Parliament and submitted a memorandum demanding the banning of the R.S.S. That procession was led by the late Jayaprakash Narayan. But the history also bears testimony that thereafter those very communal forces were given shelter and a government was formed in alliance with them. Principles were forsaken in the name of power which poisoned our body politic to such an extent that we may have to face that for years together and also face the evil consequences of that.

I would like to conclude after mentioning one point. Just now it was said that to fight against communalism, we should organise the teachers and students, join hands with them and declare a war against this evil. In this context, I would like to give you an instance. When Muslim communalism gained strength in Delhi, then the personalities like Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Ali Brothers, Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad laid the foundation of Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi. They fought against communalism from there. I want that the Government should fully help the institutions and

[Shri Aziz Qureshi]

universities like Jamia Millia so that they may progress and once again we may be in a position to fight against communalism in this Country. Lastly—I would like to say that we have to convey this message to the people.

[English]

It is not the common culture, it is not the common religion, it is not the common language, which makes a nation. It is only the common heritage of the territory which makes a nation.

[Translation]

We live on the Indian soil which belongs to all of us, which constitute a country, a nation. It is our religious and moral duty to defend it. I am conveying the feelings of the crores of Muslims of this country who have only one aim and that is to defend this country. Whereas as Indians it is their duty, being Muslims it is their religious duty also to shed their last drop of blood to save the country if China or Pakistan attack even on an inch of this land. But this is also to be seen how you defend them in this country. Just now Shri Chidambaram said that the shop and house of a person were razed to the ground thrice in two years in the riots. I would like to ask as a common citizen that if you burn the house and the shop of a poor man to ashes thrice in two years and make him homeless and then ask him as to how much is he loyal to this country, what reply he will give? This is a big question. We will have to think over it.

I once again appeal to all the sections in this House that it is true that Mahatma Gandhis are not born every time but the killers of Mahatma Gandhi can always be there. Therefore, we all should come forward and sacrifice ourselves like Mahatma Gandhi to save the integrity and secularism of the country.

[English]

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINH (Surendranagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I heard a very impressive deposition of the Minister of State, Shri Chidambaram,

and it is very re-assuring to know from him that the Government will leave no stone unturned to see that this great calamity—I would say a social calamity—will be brought—

I will not say brought to an end—to an end but also it will be controlled. He also laid down certain guidelines and norms that the Government will give. There is only one thing that was missing in his deposition, which I think that the hon. Home Minister Shri Buta Singh in his final deposition will give, that is about the guidelines to political parties how the political parties should have adopted certain guidelines and norms. I think that is very important.

Lot of fervent hope has been expressed here, in very high sounding terms about what the country is, its culture, the heritage and great names like Mahatma Gandhi were mentioned. And I think that this is an excellent occasion and opportunity for us to be more introspective. The first thing was to think as to what the causes are. And the causes, to my analysis, can be divided into two major segments: One is political and the other is economic. Bringing it down to the brass-tacks, it is the vote and the note which bring about this kind of fissiparous tendencies right now to the village level. And when it comes to the vote, it is by and large these anti-social activities, employed in various nefarious vocations, that too, to gain an extra buck deploy the religious sentiments and incite religious dogmas. I think this is a very large problem. But we, who are the custodians of the people's holy postulates, because we represent the millions, can at least by to see to it that even the anti-social elements to some extent can be controlled by us—and certainly not supported by us—for whatever reasons.

16.00 hrs.

The other is, of course, the political angle. When we talk of the political angle, it is very very depressing when one analysis and asks: is there loss of certain democratic principles in our society or in our ethos or is it that we have become so unscrupulous, whichever party and whichever election, that to gain an extra vote

we go to any extent even if it means stimulating or aggravating the religious sentiments? To what extent does one go? Do we not introspect? We go about saying.

[English]

[Translation]

They do not do, they do not, do, Government should not do this. But what do we do in our constituencies, in our own home-towns? How much are we doing personally? This is something we should do at this stage and introspect. When I say that I want to make a very specific recommendation. And I do so because I can talk from my personal experience. When you come to a stage in the whole electoral scenario that all other isms are relegated like socialism, communism or whichever ism, then the society falls back on something which is aziomatic which is like caste or creed or religion. This is what we fall back. When this happens let us, at least, take one decision. If we represent various political expressions in this country—there are certain Members of Parliament who represent probably one Member party—let us at least have a consensus that those whose whole profession depends on religion or religious preachings—he may be a maharishi, a mahant, a maulvi, a pick, a Sikh religious head or a Christian padri—at least let such a person not have a prominence in any political party. Let him be a little above the party. I think, this is a very specific suggestion. I can make this because I am proud to say that I come from a small part of Gujarat which was once a principality with 30 per cent of the population being Muslims. I am proud to say that the ruler at that time had arranged the system in such a way that the religious trusts and the temples and mosques had both the communities placed there in position. There was such a harmony that when partition took place in 1947 and the whole drama of shifting of masses of people and killing of masses of people took place from 1947 to 1948, not one Muslim from that principality left the area. There was so much confidence created, so much brotherhood created. Of course, at that time, there were no elections. But under the present system, we must evolve a system whereby we overlook this kind of petty personal gains. I close by making this specific suggestions to the hon. Home Minister.

Let him draw out certain ethics that should be followed by the political parties and let them lay down norms and guidelines so that there is a consensus in this field, at least, of communal harmony throughout the country.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must, first of all, thank the Speaker for not only having allowed this discussion but through his initial remarks he inspired us. I also thank the Prime Minister of India for having sent Mr. Chidambaram to Ahmedabad. Things would have been worse if Mr. Chidambaram had not gone to Ahmedabad. Madhu Ji has made an elaborate speech and I felt that he spoke everything that I had to speak. Later, I heard many speeches and by now I feel very much satisfied that this House has spoken with one voice against communalism, terrorism and all kinds of anti-social activities that are going on in the length and breadth of this country.

16.06 hrs.

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHER *in the Chair*]

I had an occasion to go to Ahmedabad and I must assure this House that I did not go to Ahmedabad to count heads because heads keep rolling in this country. Ahmedabad in that respect is not unique. Earlier it happened at Allahabad and there were so many dreams of communal holocaust in this country. My concern was primarily for assessing whether there are some hopes for future. I feel, day in and day out, a natural urge to fight all kinds of communalism, whether it is exhibited by Hindus or exhibited by Muslims. But when I went to Ahmedabad this time, although I found that a very great loss of life and loss of property was caused to Muslim minority there, I returned to Delhi with some hope, and I am going to give some facts about that hope with which I have returned from Ahmedabad. Unfortunately, Mr. Chidambaram is away. I had some questions for Mr. Chidambaram although he delivered a very good speech here and I could feel that he has the guts. I do not know whether he will continue in the Home Ministry but if he continues there, I feel that he will rise to the occasion. But I have some questions after narrating very

briefly the story of arison, loot and murder that I have seen in Ahmedabad...
(*Interruption*).

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI : What about Anantnag ?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Anantnag was blown out of proportion...(*Interruption*).

[*Translation*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Soz Saheb, your time is valuable. So, please be short and speak quickly.

[*English*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : First, I want to say a word about Ahmedabad itself. Something has happened to Ahmedabad. Mr. Digvijay Singh was feeling that it was a matter of pride for him to belong to a place where there has been no communal trouble. But what about Ahmedabad ? Ahmedabad has been exhibiting a worst drama of human degradation. Be it the question of reservations or be it the communal holocaust that took place recently, Ahmedabad has been exhibiting the worst kind of vandalism and worst kind of communalism. So, it is Mr. Digvijay Singh's responsibility to come out of his district and speak for Ahmedabad itself. Ahmedabad is the capital of Gujarat. So, what is happening in Ahmedabad, all the MLAs. and the M.Ps. from Gujarat State should feel concerned about it.

When I went to Ahmedabad on 19th and 20th, I had my colleagues with me—Madhu Ji was there, Bapu Kaldate was there, Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhary and Mr. Dora went separately. We visited all the areas where communal troubles had taken place, riots had taken place—Meghani Nagar, Dariakhan Gumat, Mirzapur, etc.—and we visited the refugee camps also. We met the District Collector who distributes relief, we met the Police Commissioner, Mr. Jha, and last of all, we met also the hon. Chief Minister of that State. Now, what do we find ? I am telling you very briefly because I am constrained of time. What do I find here ? Shri Chidambaram knows it. May be, I will give him one or more ideas and he will respond to that.

Rath yatra was taken on 9th July. But there was no dialogue between the

Government and the temple people. It is a very important temple—Jagannath Temple. When the Rath yatra was taken on 9th July, at Mirzapur which is a Muslim concentration area, diety was received by the Muslims. Diety was offered garlands and flowers. Prasad was taken by Muslims and over a distance Muslims went with the procession.

Now, something happened at Shahpur and it happened all of a sudden. Stones were thrown not from the area which is of Muslim concentration. It is a mixed area. Small pebbles and stones were thrown and the motivated crowd responded not only by stone throwing—therewere truck loads of material used for killing, arson, loot, plunder—bot shops of Muslim community were already numbered and one by one they were put on fire.

We later learnt from the Police Commissioner that there was a film going on. Shri Chidambaram must be knowing. I have a graph also to show to this House. I am not speaking for Muslims. Do not misunderstand me. I want India to be great, united. I am personally interested in India's unity and integrity.

Recently, I went to America. In Chicago the members of the Indian community invited me. In one voice Muslims and Hindus told me...(*Interruptions*). I had gone to Maxico and on return I came to America,

(*Interruptions*)

The point which I was telling you was that the members of the Indian community abroad want to see this country free of riots, free of communal trouble. They want to see this country great and united. That is my wish.

In this procession more provocative slogans were raised and I saw those slogan over written—

[*Translation*]

—‘Jai ran chhod, Miyan chor.’
After this there is an abuse, and that I will not utter. ‘Pakistan Jao’, etc.

[English]

The police Commissioner said that they have film of a procession. That film must be produced before the judge who will go into it.

And despite provocation, Muslims did not retaliate. That is the story.

Then we went to the temple. I had the guts to go to the temple trustee. At one time he was in Congress. Dr. Shukla continues to be in Congress. I went to the mahant. They felt that they were not interested in this communal holocaust and they felt remorse for the members of the minority community. Somebody wanted to tell me how many shops were burnt by the majority community.

I will give an instance how communal trouble started in Ahmedabad. I am telling you what temple people talked to me. Finally cutting it short I talked to the mahant. I must tell you that he wears an aura of a religious man around him. His name is Maharaja Ram Harish Das. He said to me in Hindustani—

[Translation]

“I am now 88 years old. My body cannot now bear so much burden. What is all this happening? Had these people told us that there will be so much trouble, so many people will be killed, we would have taken the ‘Rath’ around the temple. It seems some people had pre-planned mischief.”

[English]

We must know who took advantage of the Rath yatra. It is not all. You call them anti-social elements? I have another tale to tell you.

Before I tell you who took advantage of that, I must give you one or two details of riots which we found.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not give details. Your time is over.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I shall be very brief. We went to the refugee camp with Madhuji and Bapu Kaldate.

And we talked to many people, people of representative character.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJ KUMAR RAI (Ghosi) : If the Hon'ble Members go on speaking for so long have shall we be able to express our views ?

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't disturb him.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : This is a relevant question to you.

There were 5 members of the minority community.

One more member of the minority community was burnt alive. But that is not so much important. Many people get burnt. Harijans get burnt, Many members of the minority community are burnt alive. But more important fact is that Habib Rahim Bhai tells me this. The 5-member contingent of reserve police was standing nearby about 5 or 10 yards away and they did not intervene. Halima Bai tells Madhuji. There were many women there. They were wounded. They did not go to hospital because they afraid that they will be burnt alive in the hospital. They had seen this. 2 people came to meet their relatives who were wounded. They came to civil hospital ; they were thrown out from the third floor of the hospital and burnt alive.

[Translation]

SHRI AJAY MUSHRAN (Jabalpur) : Kindly ask him to tell us something about happenings in Kashmir also.

(Interruptions)

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Sir, Kashmir is peaceful. In Kashmir there is no violence. I stand guarantee to that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your time is over. Please conclude.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I must give you instances of the communal riot in Ahmedabad. I will tell you how this communal carnage took place. Sir, I know the story.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is well known. Everybody knows it.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Sir it is actually a weak administration. (*Interruptions*). You bear with me for 1 or 2 minutes. (*Interruptions*). It is a weak administration. Chief Minister does not inspire. He is a gentlemen. He may be a good man but he is not a strong man. Mr. Jha, Police Commissioner, had presided and inaugurated several meetings of the RSS during the course of the year. The Chief Minister confirmed this.

[*Translation*]

The Police Commissioner went there. He had to go there.

I would like to ask whether that very Police Commissioner would be able to maintain peace there? No, it is not possible.

[*English*]

They said that it is this Hindu Vishwa Parishad which led this arsonist and terrorist and communal onslaught. One member who led the procession is still absconding, Kali Kamliwala Lakshman Das.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I am concluding. The Government of India headed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and represented here by Mr. Chidambaram, is saying, "we have the will to control Communalism". I congratulate them. But I have a question. Mr. Chidambaram said, we shall not allow any communal carnage in future. He said he will punish those who led this onslaught. I say, he may not punish all of them. Will he punish at least those who burnt innocent people alive those? Sir, the list is with the Police Commissioner Jha of Ahmedabad. Will he punish these people? Six plus two, eight people were burnt alive. At

least those responsible for it should be punished. Will they do it? The list is available with the Police.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. You have taken 15 minutes.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I am concluding. This is relevant. The Home Minister has to answer it. There are many papers in regional languages.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri M.C. Daga.
(*Interruptions*)

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Kashmir is peaceful ; it will continue to be peaceful ; I guarantee that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Mr. Daga.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Please give me 1 or 2 minutes more. *Gujarat Samachar* carried a column for 2 months. That column is of :

"*Vohi raftar Chalees saal*"

This is *Gujarat Samachar* which fought this communal battle. It has narrated the tale how it is a duty for you dirty for the faith ful, to take the procession through Mirapur, and Shahpur etc. It is the *Gujarat Samachar*. I have the file and the Home Minister should study the file.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I have with me the graph made by that state Government. Here is the Government of Gujarat publishing a graph.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly take your seat. I have called hon. Member Shri Daga. You have already taken 15 minutes—more than your due.

[*Translation*]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : The Gujrat Government has prepared this graph.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly give it to the Home Minister, he will see in detail. Kindly take you seat.

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : 123 rounds were fired. I would like to ask as to how it could be known that which person should die in which round...*(Interruptions)*. 9 persons belonging to the minority community and one person belonging to the majority community died as a result of police firing...*(Interruptions)*. Had Shri Chidambaram not gone there would have been massacre at that place. Had the Prime Minister not sent Shri Chidambaram, there would have been large scale killing there. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Whatever Mr. Soz says will not go on record.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Whatever Mr. Soz says will not go on record,

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Give me a minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, I can't. I have already given you enough time.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Allow me to conclude.

*(Interruptions).***

[Translation]

If you do not allow then I shall recite only one couplet.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right, you may recite a couplet.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ :

*Aaj bhi tum mein gar ho iman paida
Aag kar sakti hai andaze gulistan paida.*

[English]

SHRI AJAY MUSHRAN : Sir, after you have called Mr. Daga, nothing of what Mr. Soz said should go on record.

[Translation]

The couplet should also not go on record.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is my job.

Kindly take your seat. It is for me to decide. I have already allowed him to quote the *sher* to go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA (Pali) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me time to speak. The hunger for power is greater than the hunger of man. The people want to wield power. Those who are accustomed to the taste of power, should think over it deeply.

This is a nation whose spirit of nationalism could not be destroyed even by the foreign rulers. Whenever the occasion arose, the nation stood the test. The people of this country have proved that whenever the country faces some threat or whenever there is conflict among the people within the country, the people stand united. This country can never be disintegrated. In spite of such minor conflicts, the country will remain united. Due to the lust for power, the politics has today entered the blind alleys. The politicians have adjured all their principles, values of life and traditions. That is why we are discussing this issue today. Now the question has not remained confined to the Hindus and Muslims. The question is that of having the feeling that the country is our own country and that I am for the country and not that the country is for me. Had we understood that we have been born for this country and not that the country is for us and if the people in power had not patronised those *goondas* through whom they managed to get votes, probably this issue would not have arisen. These custodians have acted like plunderers. We have deviated from our path and now we are pondering over all these things. They say that a magistrate and an S.P. will be able to control the whole district. I agree that this will be his responsibility but the responsibility will lie on that person also who represents that area. Mahatma Gandhi had not sacrificed his life for this. The people of the country know that whatever efforts the big Powers may make to destabilise the country, whether Pakistani flag is hoisted in Kashmir or our temples are burnt

[Shri Mool Chand Daga]

down—we have not seen God in the temple and the mosque—it cannot weaken the country. Swami Vivekananda had said that if you wanted to see God, you would find Him in the huts of the poor. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru had said that you see your temples in the big dams, etc., that have been constructed for the development of the country. The forces which prosper in the name of casteism and religion should be quelled with the help of law. The secessionist forces will disintegrate the country. If the law allows such forces to gain ground, in the law allows us to form political parties in the name of religion and then we expect that we will be able to defend our country, it is wrong to think so. After all the country is above all. The loyalty towards one's country should be above the loyalty towards one's party, community and one's State. You have allotted me less time. I was reading yesterday. A Chief Minister had said :—

[English]

Speaking to newsmen, he said : "Mr. Ramchandran reiterated the suggestion that each organisation member should carry a knife." Why he said it. The suggestion is seen here against the background of the Opposition DMK President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi's recent directive to his partymen to form a voluntary force against any attack.

[Translation]

You might have read the Urdu weekly "Islami Express" of 20th June, 1986 in which while welcoming the formation of "Adam Sena", some views have been expressed. That clearly shows that extremism is gaining ground among the Indian Muslims too. Outlining the objectives of the leaflet printed in urdu under the heading "Join Adam Sena", it has been said that—"Keeping in view the present conditions of India and to meet the demand of the time and to bring the people of India on one platform and to bring about unity among the youth of the country, an organisation named "Adam Sena" has been formed."

All these senas like Adam Sena, Shiv Sena and others should be banned. The press reports regarding all these things should be gone into thoroughly. Today, one Chief Minister advises his supporters to carry knives. Such things are taking place in the name of religion, whereas religion does not preach hatred. When religion does not preach these things why then people are doing such things in the name of religion ? The Congressmen had made great sacrifices and we want to enjoy fruits of those sacrifices. At present we are not making any sacrifices and that is why there is unrest in the country. The minor conflicts should not be allowed to assume serious proportions, otherwise the progress of the country will be retarded. Only the power-hungry people indulge in such things. When the exploitation of the poor will end, their poverty will be removed, their level of education will improve, when they will gain self-confidence, then they will be able to throw out such people as incite in the name of religion to indulge in acts of riots. If strict action had been taken against the goondas and the police arrangements had been made earlier, the riots would not have escalated to such an extent. Even today, section 110 is in force in the country. You will have to amend the section 151 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Under that section such type of people can be detained for 24 hours. But to detain such goondas for some more time, you will have to make provision in that section. The laws that we enact remain on the statute book only. Do you think that the people become goondas in a day ? These *dadas*, not of course the *dada* as we call in Bengal, who spread scare, should be first put behind the bars. The hon. Minister pays visit to the riot-affected areas only when fire of riots have already broken out. I would like to say to him that the Intelligence Department should see who is spreading goondaism and which anti-social element is coming up. Those who have no source of livelihood roam about freely. You should see who are these people and from where they come. You should arrest such people and put them behind the bars. You might have seen that some people wear Khadi and become leaders. You should see what such people are doing. You should apprehend those who are indulging

in smuggling and in anti-social activities. Yours intelligence department should apprehend such anti-social elements. When the society is rid of such elements then, naturally, there will be none to indulge in such acts, and at the time of calamity, the people will be able to face it. Pakistan may do its utmost to destabilise the country but it will not succeed in its sinister designs. Then the dream of Khalishtan of some *Sardars* will never be fulfilled. Only our dream of "*Sare Jahan se achha, Hindustan Hamara*" will be realised. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKTA (Andaman & Nicobar Islands) : I rise to join my friend Dagaji to condemn communalism and communal violence in the country. While opening the discussion Prof. Madhu Dandavate has rightly pointed out that perhaps in this country we are all forgetting the effect of the communal holocaust. Sir, I myself was a victim of communalism in this country. During 1946-47 communal riots, after partition, some of us migrated to this part of the country leaving our homes and leaving everything behind, seeking shelter in this country. One thing here I must say—that I come from an area, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands which has traditionally established some norms in the society and where there is no communalism, no communal conflict or communal violence. I would like to inform this august House that you will be glad to know that there is a part in this country, there is a place in this country where while other parts are burning, there is no communal hatred or communal violence.

I would also like to mention on this occasion when we discuss here, we know what is our jurisdiction. We know law and order is the State subject and not a central subject. When we speak here, we are fully aware that we can discuss, we can judge and we can criticise our actions but ultimately it is the State Government which is to take effective steps to implement the guidelines or the 15 points or if you include more points, All these are to

be implemented by the State Government and if the State Governments are not desirous to stop this communal violence or communalism, it cannot be done.

This communalism has got a number of faces. It is not only religion. It is in the name of language. It is in the name of religion. It is in the name of caste. What is required here is that we take this as a challenge and say that in our respective areas we will not allow any kind of communal violence or communal conflict in the name of caste, religion or language. Then only we can create a public opinion by which we can face this monster.

I would like to mention here that since the last few years we are facing a lot of problems in the Bay Islands to maintain this communal harmony. How you know. This officialdom, most of the officials come from Delhi and some of the officers whom the Delhi administration or the Central Government do not like that they should be at Delhi, or their integrity is doubtful, immediately you find a place and send him to Andaman and Nicobar Islands or Lakshadweep. As a result of that, they play mischief in that part. Then we come to the Central Government complaining that this man is creating this type of problem. Then they will be coming back to Delhi again. This also should be noted and any person whom you are sending, should be one of the best lot of officers and if necessary they should be given better facilities and their tenure also may be reduced. Instead of 3 years it may be made 2 years, but the best lot of officers should be sent. Now, I would like to cite one instance. Once a Chief Secretary was sent to that part. We do not know these differences as Bhojpuri Society or other society. That gentleman, after going there, within a few days started a separate group of dividing the people. Anyhow, we faced that and ultimately settled that matter.

Then there is the role played by the Press also. That is also coming in the way. I would like to cite an example here. Once in a Government College at Port Blair, there was Saraswathi Pooja which was held by the

[Shri Manoranjan Bhakta]

students. In that Saraswathi Pooja, all the Hindu boys, Muslim boys and the Christian boys joined together to perform it. Then the press reported that the utensils for preparation of food were taken from the Masjid and it was written that since the utensils were taken from the Masjid and the food was cooked in those utensils, something wrong had happened, although the pooja was performed. Immediately, the students came to me saying that these people were creating the division. I said : "No matter. You bring out a procession and condemn them openly. There is nothing wrong in it". They went to the Lt. Governor, submitted a memorandum/representation to take action. But what action has been taken? No action has been taken. When such a thing is brewing up, and immediately action is not taken, then the situation will become worse.

I would like to cite another example also where the police and other people falsely implicate the people who are not at all involved in any kind of crime.

Sir, there is a place called Ragat in the Middle Andaman. Once there was a students agitation. Police firing took place. Three students were killed. Following this, there was a judicial commission of enquiry. That enquiry commission placed their report. Immediately after that, to cover up the police activity, more than 200 people were booked in false cases when those people were not at all involved. They were mostly Government servants and the public people and others. We brought it to the notice of the Administration that they were false cases and these should be withdrawn. Otherwise the hatred between the communities would create more problems. Then, the Government has not done anything. My point is this that in such areas where complete harmony is maintained, the Government should see that nothing can aggravate anything. If anything starts, immediately that should be stopped.

I would like to mention about the 15-point programme. There is one point. In the recruitment Board, there should be some non-officials also to be taken in,

But this is not done. If some non-officials are also there in the Selection Boards, I think, that more minority community-men and other men can get an opportunity and that will be helpful to create a congenial atmosphere in the country. I am really thankful to you and I can also only request the hon. Home Minister that when communal tension and violence is engulfing the country, at that time the authorities at places where it is not there should take special care and immediate care to see such areas are also not affected and we can keep such areas as free areas from the communal violence and communalism.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY (Alipurduars) :
Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all the Government have come forward to curb the communal tension in the country. One thing which I would like to mention in this connection is that the Home Minister in charge of the Home Ministry is a *Thankaiya*, he has been declared so why the religious head of his own community. He has been given the charge of the Home Ministry. It is quite right. People who have been already declared *thankaiyas*, they should not be the followers of that community. There must be impartiality in his administration, we hope.

So many things have already been said about communal harmony. It is a must because India is one and the people living here, irrespective of religion, caste or creed must be one when the question of nation arises.

We have so many Senas here. I draw the attention of the Government to some of the Senas. They are : Siv Sena, Hindu Ekta Samiti, Viswa Hindu Parishad, Hindu Sena, Trisul Dhari, Adam Sena, Al-Jehad, Ali Sena in Lucknow and Jehadi Laskar in Hyderabad. Please take care of these Senas. What are the activities of the Senas and what for they have been formed? There are some slogans also :

[Translation]

Symbols of Jihad Laskar, Hyderabad
Adam Sena and Ali Sena is sword.

Symbols of Jehadi Laskar is gun. All these three organisations are trying to establish their units all over the country.

They had put some questions and they appeared in the press also :

[Translation]

1. Are you a Mohammedan.
2. Do you want to lead a life of social respectability in the country.
3. Are you suffering from your educational and economic backwardness.
4. Do you want to lead your life as a true Mohammedan.

[English]

The answer is hire a membership of Ali Sena. These are the things to be looked into. Perhaps, as the Home Minister you may be knowing about them. You have the intelligence, police force and a large force in your hands.

AN HON. MEMBER : He has so many Senas also !

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY : Why don't you take care of these Senas because these are the disturbing elements ? I suspect that perhaps the Government is knowingly allowing these Senas to move and allowing them to do what they want to do in the country.

These Senas are existing in districts and villages all over the country. Most likely they are getting support from some influential persons and may be from political parties. Please take care of these, otherwise the common people will not excuse you as you have not been excused from your community, if the communal harmony is not maintained here.

Sometimes we think that the communal disharmony means Hindus and Muslims are fighting. It is not the fact. We have having scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people. They are Hindus. They

are perfect Hindus. But why these people are getting killed by Hindus themselves ? What are the reasons ? You go to Bihar, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people are burnt alive there. Hindus cannot protect their own community. Hindus kill Hindus. It is something extraordinary !

It is not that communalism means religious fighting. Religion is one thing. There are so many other things which divide us. This must be checked. For instance I have already said about SCs and STs. They are Hindus ; but they are not allowed to enter temples. They are not allowed to enter the temple and even then they are proudly calling themselves Hindus.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : Not now.

SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY : Then there is language problem. You have made so many accords—Assam accord, Punjab accord, Mizoram accord, etc. So many people have died on account of this language problem. Therefore, the question is not one of Hindus and Muslims. What has the States Reorganisation Commission recommended? The Assamese should remain in Assam and the others should go or they lose their head. Likewise Biharis should confine to Bihar. What is the Government doing on this ? It is not the question of Hindus and Muslims. The question is that you have mis-managed the entire country and there is going to be chaos. It is time to think over this very deeply. Government should ponder that some vested interests including the politicians are doing this for petty political interests. What is the main problem ? The main reason is that this problem is on account of economic disparity. Young people to whatever religion they belong indulge into such activities. Rs. 50 is enough to cut off a head because the young man has nothing to eat and wear. He wants money. Politicians because of vested interests employ these young people and get done whatever they like. You have many a time said we have sufficient wealth but I must say there is unequal distribution of this wealth. There are some who are without food and shelter whereas there are others who own multi-storeyed buildings

[Shri Piyus Tiraky]

and five star hotels. These young people do not even get a chowkidar's post. So how can you manage these people? They will try to live by adopting any means. If they do not get any suitable work they will go this way. They will become terrorists and fall easy prey to the vested interests. Your profit-oriented social structure is spoiling all the game. If it is not checked the disparity will increase and things will go out of hand.

Today everybody has to buy everything. Education, food, health care and even justice have to be purchased. If a person has to purchase everything and he does not have the requisite means to buy them then how can you expect law and order and communal harmony to be maintained. So your policy must be changed.

Indians are very religious people but what is religion. I would like to define religion. Today people go to pray in the temples and mosques for health, wealth and to have good wife and children. Why don't they pray in the temples and mosques when some communal disturbance is apprehended so that they can ask their God and Goddesses to save the people from such a situation. Why do they use muscle power or 'talwar'? It is not the system of religion. It is not the *mandir*, *giriya* or the *gurudwara*, but there must be one common mandir for all the religions and that exists already, and that is India Gate where all the people, the nationalists have died for the unity and integrity of the country. All the heads of the various religions should go there and bow their heads on some fixed date. That is the place which has been built in memory of those who laid down their lives for the unity and integrity of the country. If God exists, He exists there and not in the *mandirs*, *gurudwara* or *girjas*.

Lastly, the hon. Minister has rightly said that the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police of the district where the communal disturbances take place would be taken to task. To that I may add that all the religious heads in the district should also be taken to task as to why that had happened. They are all religious men and they should be

accountable as to how, whether they are muslims, Christians or others, have not been able to control it. Therefore, as I said, along with the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of police they must also be taken to task.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI USHA THAKKAR (Kutch): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Members from both the sides are giving important suggestions on the resolution moved by Shri Dandavateji in this House. An atmosphere of unrest is being created everywhere in the country in the name of communalism. It has been said from every section of the House that the whole country should unitedly help to check the spread of venom of communalism. The hon. Members belonging to every party are of the opinion that it is quite essential to eliminate this social evil. I would like to say something about Gujarat. The riots which broke out there on the 9th instant on the occasion of "Rath Yatra" have opened the eyes of the countrymen. This has proved that there are some forces working behind these riots which want to further their interests by creating differences among the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, who are all Indians. They want the people to be alienated from one another in the name of Caste and thus they want to jeopardize the unity and integrity of the country. A number of attacks were launched on the country and every time we faced them unitedly. Our enemies know that they cannot defeat India in war and that is why they try to divide us and to raise the wall of communalism between us. They thought this occasion appropriate for furthering their end and they triggered off riots. When the "Rath Yatra" was taken out, the people belonging to different castes and creeds went out from their houses to have *darshan* of the "Rath Yatra". In that locality, about one lakh to one and a half lakhs of people joined the procession and it is a matter of common sense as to who could be so unwise as to resort to stone throwing? Did they not know that if they resorted to stone throwing in their own locality, their own locality would be a fire first and they would have to face its consequences first?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, these are the very

occasions when the anti-social elements penetrate and indulge in such acts as raising slogans or stone throwing, etc., whereby the atmosphere is surcharged with emotions. No true countryman can indulge in dirty slogan mongering or stone-throwing in a religious "Rath Yatra". Only the traitors can do this. There is every possibility of such a thing having taken place. I would, therefore, like to give a suggestion to the Government that whenever "Rath Yatra" is taken out, surveillance should be kept on it from a helicopter, so that no anti-social element could create any obstruction.

17.00 hrs.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as a Member of this august House, I would like to say to the people of India that the damage caused on the 12th instant due to the *bandh* call given by Suraksha Samiti was much more than that caused on the 9th instant and, therefore, the Suraksha Samiti instead of giving a call for *bandh*, should have appealed to all the businessmen of the State to donate a part of their profit on that day for those people who were affected by these riots, irrespective of their religion and without any discrimination. Had the Suraksha Samiti made such an announcement, I think it would have strengthened the cause of unity and Gujarat would have been saved from the destruction that was caused on the 12th instant.

Sir, I would like to make an appeal to the people of the country, through this august House, that even after taking the lives of Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and Longowal, these people are trying to spread unrest and lawlessness in the country and so, we have to face them resolutely so that their machinations do not succeed and the country is rid of the tension.

Just now an hon. Member said that the Chief Minister of Gujarat should not have joined the "Rath Yatra". I would like to tell that hon. Member that the Chief Minister of Gujarat not only joins the "Rath Yatra", he also joins the Muslim brethren in the Mosque on Id day to offer prayers to Allah. This has been the tradition of Gujarat. But some forces are at play cunningly to defeat the policy of anti-communalism.

The hon. Member Shri Dandavate said that the programme was planned in Bharoch. But that programme had been chalked out earlier and this call for *bandh* was not proper. Then, was it proper to encourage and *bandh*? Shri Patel is not a minister, he is just an M.P. Therefore, there were no police arrangements for him.

Shri Gaekwad has said that these riots create fear in the people belonging to both the communities—minority as well as majority. I agree with this because the poor, whether they belong to the minority or the majority, remain confined to their houses for two or three days and starve. When they come out, they are not sure whether they will be reaching their homes back or not. When they do not reach their homes, the members of their families get frightened. Therefore, Shri Gaekwad's view that riots create fear in everyone's mind is quite correct.

[English]

SHRI T. BASHEER (Chirayinkil) : Sir, once again with great anguish, we are discussing the same problem which we have discussed many times before in this House. When we are discussing here this communal problem in the country, our minds are full of memories of Gandhiji. On August 15, 1947 Gandhiji was not in Delhi to great our Freedom. The frail 77 year old man was in Naokhali, travelling bare-foot, meeting men and women who bore the scars of communal agony and the people who inflicted the wounds. Sir, we should hang our heads in shame that even after 4 decades of Independence, in the land of Gandhiji, we are not able to bring amity and harmony between the communities in our society. Sir communal riots and bloodshed continue. A lot has been said about Ahmedabad by many colleagues, I am not going into details of those things, due to lack of time. But one thing I want to say is that last year also there was large scale riots. This year also everybody was drawing attention regarding the same problem. Then, I do not know what the intelligence agencies were doing there. Why the same route was selected for the Rath Yatra? These things prove that we are not even

[Shri T. Basheer]

now, taking things seriously. We allow these things to go as usual. That is the problem. I am not going into that further.

Here we are searching for some solution. Now the disease is clear, the symptoms are clear, the views is clear and the danger is clear. So we should now decide what can we do with commitment and determination.

Sir, we have discussed this problem here many times and now again we are going to discuss here and if something happens in the future, then we will come back and discuss. Is it a way to solve this problem? I do not think so. Action is necessary. What is the action that can be decided here? Based on the discussion, we arrived at a consensus. But some action from our side, from the Government, from the political parties are required. Before acting, we should evolve an approach on these matters. That is important. What should be approach that we and the Government should decide and the political parties should also decide. Sir, many learned friends and colleagues here have said, our country is a multi-religious country. We can not get away with religion. Yes, religion is a reality. Our constitution protects the right of worship. But one thing I would say, when we formulate an approach, all these religious practices should be in consistent with the spirit of our secularism. That should be kept in our minds—kept in the mind of the Government, mind of the people, mind of the political parties. Sir, somebody here said about this Rath Yatra and the religious procession. That made a controversy. Even now, the religious processions start with shouting of slogans and what type of slogans you know. What type of slogans were there in Ahmedabad that we know. But, I think, these type of processions have nothing to do with the religion. Is it a part of worship? Whether it may be Muharram Yatra, whether it may be this Rath Yatra, is it a part of this worship or something like that? Nothing. So, I firmly believe that these processions should be stopped.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It should be banned.

SHRI T. BASHEER : I don't say, it should be banned. But this is not a part of the religious worship. You know Sir, whenever there is a procession, it ends with some casualties. So, I definitely believe that we must put an end to these processions. It is true that in our country a large majority of people in any community, whether it is Muslim, Hindu, Sikh or any other, wants peace and amity. Then who are creating these disturbances? A small section. For what? They are using religion for some personal interest. They are using anti-social elements, as our friends had put it. I am not going into details. So, strict action should be taken against these people. There must be no leniency shown to them.

Government have a great responsibility towards this problem. I spoke about the approach. Some people think that it is a law and order problem. I do not think it is so simple. Its magnitude is higher than that. So, Government should have this kind of an approach. Our hon. Minister spoke about guidelines. These guidelines were issued first in 1980. We now are in 1986. What has happened to these guidelines? They re-issued again in 1985. What has happened? From the Minister's intervening remarks, what I understood was that the important suggestions were not implemented. The position about summary trial courts is not satisfactory, as also about the composition of Police and para-military forces. Nothing has happened. What about other things? The Jagmohan Reddy Commission's report is there. Nobody has any objection to those things, but nothing has happened. Within a span of six years, we are discussing it again. During this period, we have witnessed so many communal riots again and again. But we are still speaking about the old guidelines, and implementing them in the future. I think that with commitment and determination we have to act.

Then about political parties. Prof. Dandavate, my senior leader in the House, said that sometimes, in spite of our past history and activities, political parties become irrelevant, and these communal and anti-social forces carry the situation. That is the position. Why has this happened? I

think these political parties have a responsibility.

Many friends spoke about mixing politics with religion. I strongly feel that mixing politics with religion is dangerous. I have a suggestion : Through administrative measures you can only minimize the seriousness of the situation. There should be a people's movement. We must build up people's involvement. The hon. Minister said that about 80 or 90 sensitive areas have been identified. I do not remember the exact figure. It is very good. But what are you going to do, after identification ? You must build people's movements in those places.

17.15 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Apart from political parties, religious heads must also be included in such big people's movements. People in such movements should talk to the common people and educate them. As Rajiv Gandhi has correctly put it, then only we could fight against communalism, and win over the minds of people.

With these words, I conclude.

[*Translation*]

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN (Etah) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this discussion has been going on for the last three days. Prof. Dandavate initiated this discussion and we all have heard his views. I wanted to say something on this issue but Shri Chidambaram has, while expressing his views, echoed my feelings also. He had visited the riot-affected areas and seen the atmosphere and the conditions prevailing there and after seeing them expressed his feelings in this House.

It is a very big problem. I fail to understand as to why even after attaining freedom some 38 years ago we have not been able to solve this problem though we have discussed it in this House innumerable times. What is the reason for this ? What is this ailment which we have not been able to eradicate so far? Has there been none to remedy it ; has no research been conducted on it as no treatment has been

found for it ? This is our shortcoming. It is wrong to say that Hindu-Muslim riots occur as such. Incidents do occur which are converted into riots. I want to tell you that in Allahabad and Barabanki there were no communal riots but they were given such a turn. Why is it so ? I frankly say that our Government machinery, our officers who are posted there do not control the situation though they should do so. The reason is that right type of officers are not posted there. They have completely coloured views and feelings. They should think of their duty only and should be above the feelings of being Hindus or Muslims. If they think on these lines then they can control the situation. But if this thing comes to their mind that being Hindu officers they can crush the Muslims or they being Muslim officers can crush the Hindus, that will be a wrong thing. Usually it is seen that records of the officers are not screened. People who have got training from Jan Sangh, RSS, etc, are sitting over us and ruling us. By that, I do not mean the Government. I mean the officers who have been appointed as District Magistrates and SSPs. If you direct the District Magistrate and SSP that there should not be any communal riot in their area, there is no reason why such a riot should take place there. If the Government takes this action sternly, these riots can be checked but that is not done. What is the main reason for it ? I had told the Home Minister in the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry also that the main reason for this was that IAS and IPS officers were posted in the State to which they belonged. They have their relations and communities in that State and they are emotionally attached to them. If you decide that officers belonging to U.P. will be posted to Gujarat or some other State, then these things will not happen. You can do it on experimental basis. May be I am proved to be correct.

Then, the incident which occurred in Allahabad was not at all a communal riot. There the dispute related to only a small mosque, but it is matter of regret that on the day the disturbances took place, neither the District Magistrate nor SSP nor the City Magistrate was present there. The entire force had gone to Varanasi

[Shri Mohd. Mahfooz Ali Khan]

where the Prime Minister had come. PAC force had also been sent there. In Allahabad clashes were going on.....

(Interruptions).....

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN : The officers were on leave.....(Interruptions)...

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH) : Mr. Speaker: Sir, Khan Sahab is at liberty to say whatever he likes but he should present the facts correctly. The Prime Minister had gone there in the evening whereas all this had happened in the morning.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : I assure you, Mr. Home Minister, Shri Salim Sherwani is present here...

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : The Hon. Prime Minister can go anywhere. If he will not go then no one will go anywhere.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : Shri Salim Sherwani is present here. Let him say that they were present there. Let any one say whether the officers were present there or not. Shri Salim Sherwani of the Congress Party is present here, let him tell..(Interruptions)

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN : They had gone on leave.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : That is what I mean to say.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is that the Prime Minister of India will go to different places and talk to the people. There is no question of that. If someone leaves his place of duty then it is his responsibility. We shall look into it.

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : That is not my intention. There were no officers there. District Magistrate, City Magistrate, SSP, none of them were present there. I cannot say that they were on leave. What I am saying is that none of these officers was present there..... (Interruptions)...This is the administration... (Interruptions)...What I mean to say is that all this happened there due to laxity on the part of the administration. The PAC

posted there indulged in such loot and assaulting of women that it is beyond description. You can read all this in the newspapers and the people who had gone there at the place of occurrence can tell as to what happened there.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora) : You have always been stating the facts. What has happened today ?

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : I am not making incorrect statement.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Order, order please. Mr. Harish Rawat, the hon. Minister will reply.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : Ask those poor people whose *jhonprts* have been looted. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the rich never suffers, it is the poor man who suffers. It is the poor and the uneducated whose huts get burnt, who have no meals to eat and no water to drink.

MR. SPEAKER : The poor rickshaw pullers, hawkers, and others always suffer, the rich never suffer.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : In Allahabad they have been beaten this time too. There they were called to the police station and were beaten up. What I mean to say is that... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : A person who has done a bad thing is a bad man. It is very simple.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : Shri Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna had gone there. He belongs to that city. He had been the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. I assure you.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Let some work be done. Why are you wasting time ?

[English]

Why are you wasting the time of the House ?

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : When Shri Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, no riots had taken place. This is my challenge. No riot took place during his tenure. He was stopped there. When he reached there he was detained so that he may not be able to meet the people and satisfy them. Lok Dal workers were apprehended. The same thing happened in Barabanki...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Come to some other point.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : In Barabanki also the Lok Dal people were apprehended. But I praise the Hindus there who saved them. They protected the Muslims...(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT : I am thankful to Khan Saheb that he conceded this. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you wasting the time of the House.

[English]

Why are you interfering all the time, Mr. Harish Rawat ? This is not the way. Do not talk all the time. Do not waste the time of the House. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

You may conclude quickly.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHD. MAHFOOZ ALI KHAN : People there do not like PAC. It has a psychological effect. When CRPF is sent to the riot-torn area, the people welcome them but why is it so that the people hate PAC ? When CRPF is

sent, the situation is controlled. I have to say this. I wanted to say much but Shri Rawat is not allowing me to speak. Anyhow, let him not allow me to speak. It is a question of time. We will also have the opportunity. We too will interrupt Shri Rawat, Do not worry.....

(Interruptions)

The Government's intelligence has failed. They should know in advance where riots can take place. Why do the riots erupt time and again in Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Aligarh and Ferozabad ? What is behind it, that they should know. It is the failure of the Government and they should take stringent measures to check them. If the Government do not take strict measures, these riots will continue to occur.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : We have had lot of time on this discussion. The Home Minister will reply to the debate tomorrow at 5 o'clock.

[Translation]

I am giving more time to the hon. Members of the House so that they may develop a consensus. I would like that all the leaders of the groups should come to me and evolve something concrete. Only then something tangible will come out.

Shri Keyur Bhushan.

SHRI KEYUR BHUSHAN (Raipur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last three days we have been discussing the issue of spread of communalism in the country and almost every Member who spoke has expressed his views about it and all the parties have expressed their grave concern over it and have also unanimously given their suggestions to obviate the situation. I would like to submit that this situation has been created not only to spread communal feelings in the country but, I am sure, there is a deep-rooted conspiracy behind it. A few days back, when tense atmosphere was prevalent in the entire country over the happenings in Punjab, I got an opportunity to visit that State along

[Shri Keyur Bhushan]

with a team of freedom-fighters. I do not say that only the visit by the freedom fighters to the strife-ridden State changed the entire situation there, but it is a fact that because of the farsightedness of the administration and the sagacity of the national leaders as also due to the change in the feelings of the people of that State, an atmosphere of peace seemed to have been restored there. It seemed as if the dark clouds had passed over. But now there is turmoil in Gujarat. Is it only communalism or is there any conspiracy behind it? I would like to draw your attention and also that of the Government and the Home Ministry to the fact that how is it that with the change in the atmosphere in Gujarat, the atmosphere in Assam also is taking similar shape and is it mere communalism? At some places there is bitterness between the Hindus and the Sikhs; at other places it is between the Hindus and the Muslims and in still some other areas an atmosphere of linguistic riots seems to have been created. Not only this, you would see that may be in another four to seven years, the entire atmosphere would be vitiated even in the areas which have been otherwise peaceful, like Tamilnadu or Kerala, as is evident from the Hindu-Christian riots that ripped the State recently. Why did this happen? We have Hindu-Muslim riots in Uttar Pradesh. Riots also occur where Christians are in majority. Riots are engineered in the name of Harijans and non-Harijans. What is behind all this? I feel that the conspirators are making a deliberate attempt to spread riots in the country. This should be taken seriously.

I was not quite grown up during the 1942 movement. At that time all of us had only one feeling and that was how to free our country from the yoke of the imperialists. Never in their dreams had any party thought—whether it was Communist party, Congress, Arya Samaj or Akali Dal—that the country will be partitioned. After remaining in jail during the 1942 movement, when we came out we found that the officers of the Indian National Army were being tried in the Red Fort. The people belonging to all the religions were there in that army. At that time the people were so full of enthu-

siasm for the freedom of the country that nobody could even dream that the country would be partitioned. Nobody had ever thought of it. When the Naval forces had revolted, even at that time nobody thought that India would disintegrate, whether he was a Hindu a Muslim or a Sikh. The national and religious leaders had never even dreamt of it at that time.

But the imperialists had thought that if India was given freedom without partition, she would rise as a messiah of peace and would become the greatest foe of colonialist and imperialist forces. In fact it would become a power to reckon with. That was why they partitioned the country. No religious leader was ever prepared to listen to the idea that the country should be disintegrated, but they were persuaded to think in those terms and then by vitiating the atmosphere, the country was partitioned.

None of our great national leader, whether it was Badshah Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Jai Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia or Maulana Azad, could check this conspiracy. Those conspirators divided India. At that time the custodians of religion hurt the nationalist sentiments of the people and misled them. As a result of that, the nation was divided and that served the interests of the imperialist conspirators.

Has those conspirators not succeeded at that time, the conditions would have been altogether different in the country today. The conditions would not have been as frightening as they are today. Even today, these imperialist forces do not want to see India united. They do not want that India should march ahead as a torch-bearer of peace. They are deliberately conspiring so that the nation may disintegrate further.

17.33 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH RATH *in the Chair*]

Whether it is the Punjab problem or that of Assam or Gujarat, if the Government tries to ponder over it seriously it can clearly see the conspiracy behind it.

We visited 12,800 villages in Punjab along with our colleagues but not even in a single village did we find the atmosphere of communalism. Even then such clashes are occurring at those places. In fact, imperialist conspiracies are being hatched there and that is why such things are happening,

Today, in Gujarat, no community whether they are Hindus or Muslims, wants that riots should take place. They take out procession in a very peaceful manner. Recently a religious procession was taken out. I am not in favour of imposing restrictions on such processions. If it is a religious procession in the real sense of the term, then I feel that no restrictions should be imposed on it. A procession of Lord Jagannath was taken out. He is one of the most worshipped Gods among the Hindus. Even the Muslim brethren garlanded the chariot, offered prayers and took *prasad* during the procession. This was to uphold the highest traditions in this regard set by great saints like Kabir. I feel this is the revival of our culture. There is a section of the people in the country who are organising and trying to revive *Samantwad* (feudalism) wherein they used to feel safe and secured. That is the section which wants to keep *Samantwad* (feudalism) and imperialism alive in this country by vitiating the atmosphere in the name of religion. That section is not restricted to any one religion but can be found among the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and in all other religions. They want to gain ground in the name of religion and imperialism. All of us who have patriotic feelings and who know that efforts are being made to disintegrate the country in the name of religion, will have to fight against that. The people of this country are with us. I can say with certainty that had the people of pre-independence days been as politically conscious as they are today, the partition of the country would never have taken place.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You are speaking against feudalism and he thinks that you are speaking against him.

DR. DATTA SAMANT : The day before yesterday, the Prime Minister was speaking and today it is your turn.

SHRI KEYUR BHUSHAN : I was speaking of feudalism. You can understand it well, being yourself a trade union leader.

I also want to submit that those who want their interests to be served by it, should not be spared, irrespective of the fact whether it is the political capital or some one's own selfish interest. Nobody who indulges in such things should be spared.

Today, we see that the land ceiling laws have not served any purpose. Even today 1000 acre farms can be seen in Punjab and elsewhere. They are the people who are leading the disruptive forces and creating a situation to disintegrate the country. The poor people are being misguided and they are dying of starvation. We have to attack the feudalistic forces and help the common man to stand against feudalism so that their evil designs are frustrated. It is the vested interests with these imperialists who are trying to vitiate the atmosphere and, therefore, I request the hon. Minister to pay serious attention to it. Today, the political parties and the religious leaders have lost their identity and that should be restored. No political party whether it is socialist party or any other party, has a clear identity of its own. I appeal that all of us should unitedly oppose imperialism whenever we get an opportunity to do so. It is sad that at one time all of us stand against imperialism feudalism and backwardness and also against the things that are done in the name of casteism and religion, but at another time we make political capital out of them, and this results in erosion of people's faith in us. I would also like that the reasons behind these communal riots should be inquired into thoroughly, Nobody should bear malice against any religion. Whenever there has been resurgence of religion, it was for the development and progress of mankind. We should gain hold over that section in our politics who are exercising control over religion and are using it for their political ends. Besides, we should also take over the task of preaching religion from the *Mahatvas* and

[Shri Kayur Bhusuan]

Pandits or Pandas. Today, religion is not being preached properly. We should include the positive tenets of religion in the curricula of schools and colleges and make the students understand them in the right perspective, so that they may know that the religion unites people, it does not divide them. I have already made a request to adopt effective measures to change the feudalistic system and mentality. The funds collected in the name of religion are used to destroy. The entire funds of all the temples, Gurudwaras and Mosques should be the national property and they should not be allowed to use them for wrong purposes. Those organisations or parties, which do not allow admission to the people from other religions, in their society or party, may be to the extent of minimum 25 per cent, should not be provided official facilities, whether it is Akali Dal, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Congress or any other party. In every party, the members should not be belonging to a single caste a religion. The members of other castes or communities should be allowed to become its members.....(*Interruptions*).....We should together form committees to convey the message of peace. This work should be undertaken at the level of every village. .. (*Interruptions*). I thank you for giving me time to speak.

[*English*]

DR. A. KALANIDHI (Madras Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I express my thanks to you for having permitted me to speak on behalf of the DMK and to express my opinion on the communal violence that is prevailing in Gujarat and other parts of the country.

It is not the first occasion that we are discussing with a deep sense of agony and anguish the communal incidents in this august House. Last year 20 minor incidents have occurred and this year the communal violence incidents have erupted on a mass scale in Ahmedabad and other parts of the country. I always feel that communal violence lurks like a sleeping dog and erupts like a volcano.

All the political parties irrespective of their political affiliations should come

forward to help the Government to bring about communal harmony. It is not an ordinary State that is in fire. It is a State of Mahatma Gandhi, the Factor of the Nation who has preached and practised and propagated nonviolence in this country. Now his principles and his philosophies have gone with the wind. You have given a go-by to these principles. Sir, not one but sixty people have lost their lives. It is an irreparable loss. I do not want to go into the details about the causes and the reasons responsible for these communal incidents. But I am of the firm opinion that stringent measures should be taken against those persons who fanned the communal violence.

I understand, Sir, that the Police and Intelligence informed the trouble spots well in advance to the Chief Minister of Gujarat. But has not taken any measure to prevent this gruesome murder, massacre and communal holocaust that has happened in Gujarat. Hon. Home Minister mentioned in the other House that colonial rule is responsible for communal disturbance in India. I do not agree with him. On the other hand, the Indian society was divided on caste basis long ago. I want to know what action you have taken after 39 years of independence. I want to know what concrete steps you have taken to remove communal violence in this country. I do not agree that the religious persons alone are responsible for the communal violence that has happened in Ahmedabad. It is the anti-social elements who have taken the upper hand and taken the law and order in their own hands who are responsible. Govt. should take active steps to catch and punish these anti-social elements and they should not encourage these anti-social elements for the sake of political gains.

Hon. Justice Madan of Supreme Court has given some detailed guidelines to prevent communal violence. Have you followed this? Have you had any intention to implement this? If you have followed this, you could have avoided this arson or tragedy or malady that has happened in Gujarat and other parts of the country.

Sir, in my opinion if any person preaches violence in the name of religion or God, that person is not fit to preach religion and that religion cannot be accepted as a religion and that God cannot be accepted as God. Luckily, in Tamil Nadu we did not have much communal violence. I do not say that it is nil, but it occurs sporadically. For this the compliments go to the great social reformer, the leader of the rationalist movement, the late Thanthai Periyar, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, the founder-leader of my Party, Anna, and my beloved leader, Dr. Karunanidhi, who has not only preached, but practised communal harmony. He got his son married to a Harijan girl. In 1952 he had produced a film by name *Parasakti* in which the present Member of the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Shivaji Ganesan, acted as a hero. In that film he said :

"We do not oppose the existence of worshipping places, but we only oppose that worshipping places should not become the den or shelter places for hooligans and anti-social elements."

The Home Minister has said in the other House about the Special Courts established for conducting the communal violence cases. Here, our State Minister for Internal Security has expressed displeasure about the functioning of Special Court. He has mentioned that only five States have accepted the proposal for conducting special courts for communal violence. I want to know from the hon. Minister how many communal cases have been registered in special courts, how many miscreants were caught and punished, what action are you going to take against the States which are not going to accept the special courts. Preaching of secularism is not sufficient, it should be practised. Secularism will be a hysterical slogan unless and otherwise social, educational and economic reformation takes place. Modernisation cannot be the answer. Feeling of discrimination and repression should be removed.

I am quite happy, and I congratulate the hon. Minister of State, Mr. Chidambaram for his unperturbed, balanced and eloquent reply which he has given to this House. I only wish that he should be

elevated to the higher rank. He has conveyed the Prime Minister's message to this country. I would have been much more happy if the hon. Prime Minister finds some time to visit the troubled spots of Gujarat so that the affected victims can have some consolation.

Before I conclude, I would say that now the time has come to revamp, restructure and reorganise the police and paramilitary forces, as we cannot allow the fence to eat away the crops.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, I suggest that tomorrow only the Home Minister will be replying. So, why not extend the time today beyond 6 o'clock ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, we can do it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Extending by one hour we can complete the speeches because some Members are speaking, let us give them the opportunity.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, if the House agrees, no objection ; we can extend by one hour.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Let us have it, because tomorrow only the Home Minister should speak. That is all.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT) : Yes, Sir. It has already been decided that we are going to extend the time of the House till 7 or 7.30 p.m. when all the Members are going to complete their speeches.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura) : Up to 7 O' clock only.

(Interruptions).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It is very sweet of the Parliamentary Affairs Minister to hear.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it the opinion of the House to extend the time up to 7 O'clock ?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Yes, up to 7 O'clock only.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI :
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for calling me to speak on this very important discussion which has, in fact, caused a great deal of concern to the Government and also to the Members of Parliament. We have already discussed this matter for more than eight hours or so, and this august House has rightly, felt concerned, and distressed at the communal happenings all around us, which will be evident from these figures. In this year 1986 only, that is within a period of about 7 months—7 months also have not been completed—145 persons have been killed in communal riots spread over five States. And as many as 432 persons have been injured. The estimated loss of property is of the order of about Rs. 5 crores, according to the Government estimate. This amount of Rs. 5 crores does not include the loss of property in the riots that took place recently at Ahmedabad, the communal flare-up that happened in Ahmedabad and also the one that took place in Navada in Bihar and the other at Deoria in Uttar Pradesh. All these places are excluded in the estimate that was given by the Government and the estimated loss of property in other places is about Rs. 5 crores. 145 valuable lives have been lost and 432 persons were injured.

In the annual report of the Home Ministry that was presented during the Budget Session about communal harmony, there was some amount of complacency. It was mentioned in the report that the year 1985 more or less passed off smoothly as all the celebrations, religious festivals passed off peacefully. I think, that was a full before the storm. That is why, our experience all along shows that a vigil has to be maintained all over the country and particularly in the riot-prone places. Ahmedabad happens to be such a riot-prone place.

Sir, this communalism is not of today's origin. It has its origin during the British days and the root, of course, as we expected, should have been uprooted during the period after independence. It is surprising and it is a matter of regret and misfortune that the roots of communalism, instead of being uprooted are rather going deeper. Again, this com-

munalism is the product of Colonial Administration and it was a weapon used by them to strengthen imperialism and communal outlook was, in fact, built up by the British and with the cooperation of such elements in our society, who stood against freedom struggle. After independence also, such elements are continuing to create disturbances affecting the material unity not also the economic development of the country...*(Interruptions.)*

I will give some new suggestions. I have been carefully listening to the speeches delivered by the hon. Members and therefore, I will give some suggestions without making any repetition. As you know, these communal riots are of two types. One is inter-religion and the other is intra-religion. Inter-religion is between this religion and that religion. There are so many types of disputes and differences that arise between two religions. For example you can say Hindu-Muslim or Hindu-Sikh and so many things. Again intra-religion is between two sections of a particular religion or community. Within the Hindu community also, as pointed by some hon. Members, there was a clash has between Harijans and *savarnas*, and similarly among Muslims, between Sunnis and Shias. Besides, you know there are language riots and other things that are going on. In Assam, something like a serious riot over the language issue has taken place. In Karnataka also, there was a serious riot on the language issue. So, we should see that not only the symptom but the disease itself is treated. That is quite a challenging job. We have to rise, all of us, the secular forces should rise sinking personal and political difficulties to fight the menace because if secularism is destroyed, this nation will collapse. Therefore, democracy and secularism which are so dear to us will suffers, in that case. That would be an irreparable loss to the nation.

Communal parties should be banned. It is not communal parties alone, there are some communal elements in different parties. Besides banning communal parties, the political leaders, the leaders of all political parties have to control and have to ensure that communal elements in their parties are not given tickets for

Assembly or Parliament seat during the elections.

Another suggestion is, at different places these days, there are riots and serious riots. It is not a mere law and order problem. Whenever there is a riot, people go out with knife and five arms like individual guns. What for fire arms licences are given to these people? In some countries, licences for fire arms guns are not at all being given to individuals. Why do we not attempt to do that? We should not issue licences to anybody and we should not give them guns. Let us not arm the people, the anti-social elements who use fire arms in the riots.

There is a question of culture also. Right from our primary education, we should give such syllabus to our children that would create a good condition promoting amity. We should teach them restraint instead of blow. Communal amity, passion and all these things should, therefore, be included in the syllabus right from the school days.

With these words, I thank you.

[*Translation*]

SHRI K. J. ABBASI (Domariaganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I thank you for allowing me to speak. I have been listening to this debate continuously for the last three days. This debate has been going on quite seriously, I am happy that the tempo with which Professor Dandavate had started it, that very tempo has remained throughout. Every Member has expressed his views. During this discussion, I was carried away to the by-gone days, when in 1946, Muslim communalism was at its peak and atrocities were being committed against us. There were big *Ulemas*. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni had been abused and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who even 'did not know how to offer *Namaz*, was made the *Kadia-Aazam*. At that critical time, we fought against the Muslim communalism in which we had to lose our brothers and sisters and other relatives and our relations got snapped. Many families lost their sons. We fought in that atmosphere and secured 33 per cent of the votes and 66 per cent

votes went against us. For 33 years we made sacrifices and heard abuses from our community. Today, very politely I want to ask whether Muslim communalism is on the increase at present? I am a Muslim but I have been brought up in the traditions of the Congress. Would you please tell me honestly whether the Hindu communalism is not spreading fast today? Are we not facing the same situation now which we had faced in 1946, when we fought courageously against the evil of communalism? Today, it needs to be fought in the same manner and the abuses of the community would have to be faced. The criticism by the community is not a bad thing, we have been facing that. When Bangladesh came into existence. I was a Minister at that time. I went round on tours and a case was filed against me which was fought up to the level of High Court. Since then, the Muslim community has been annoyed with me. I did not care for that and pleaded for the truth. We have to follow the truth. Sir, I come from the area where a riot had taken place in 1966 during the Jan Sangh rule and after that, unfortunately, there was some problem regarding Babri Masjid, but no riot could take place. Some Muslims came to me, most of whom were my opponents, at 11 P.M. I asked them whether they would agree to my unpleasant suggestion. They replied in the affirmative. I told them that the Hindus would help them. I further asked them whether all the Hindus had gone berserk whereupon they replied in negative. I asked them to approach the good-hearted Hindus in their village. What happened was that the Muslims were abused and they tolerated that. Even after the Hindu procession was banned, a lot of people gathered and there was a confrontation with the police. One Hindu was killed. The Hindus were standing by the side of the Muslims to help them.

18.00 hrs.

I want to tell you that we controlled the situation like that. We also organised *Holi-milan* there in that atmosphere. A number of people opposed that, but even then a large number of Hindus and Muslims participated in that. I was dissuaded by the Muslims from going to the village of the widow whose husband

[Shri K. J. Abbasi]

had been killed in the police firing. They said that that was the village of Brahmins and that it was not proper from me to go there. But even then I visited that village along with one of my Hindu friends. I was given a warm welcome by the Hindus there. I gave Rs, 5100 there by making a collection from the Muslims. Then the atmosphere became peaceful there.

25 years ago, a case regarding a Masjid was raised. We declared that the Masjid would not be built unless its foundation was laid by the Brahmins who were opposing it. The same thing happened. The foundation stone was laid by the Brahmins and the Masjid was built.

Muslims cannot fight against the Hindu communalism, it is the Hindus who would have to fight against it. Wherever is a problem of this nature, the Hindus are sent there. As you have Hindu friends, so do we have. They are in the Janata Party also. Today, there is no question of Party. Rather there is a need to think about whether it is the Hindu communalism or Muslim communalism which is raising its head.

Some of our Muslim brothers want to solve the problem of Babri Masjid by raising slogans, but merely by raising slogans this issue cannot be solved. Our *Ulemas* are also of the view that that we should neither take out processions nor raise slogans. We should leave this problem to Shri Rajiv and the Courts.

A number of people from Uttar Pradesh went to Ahmedabad but I did not go there. The problem of Babri Masjid in Uttar Pradesh is not a small problem. Its ramifications have been seen even in Maharashtra. But there were only 5 incidents of riots, in fact only 4, as the riots in Allahabad were not in the wake of the Babri Masjid issue. There the problem was different. I would like to thank our Chief Minister for completely banning the taking out of procession by the Hindus on the Babri Masjid issue.

Mr. Shahabuddin will again recite a couplet. How the lock was opened, it is different matter. But had the procession not been banned, a number of people would have died due to the riots. It is

you who lit the fire and the more you lit, the more it will, spread. The fire cannot be extinguished by fire but by throwing water on it.

AN HON. MEMBER : You are asking Mr. Shahabuddin to lit the fire ?

SHRI K.J. ABBASI : A number of riots have taken place in our area, we visit every such area. The riots could not spread as the Chief Minister took timely action and strict action. The situation was brought under control at the earliest.

I had heard a lot of praise of Mr. Chidambaram, which has been proved true after his speech. He said that it was his duty and now it is our duty to congratulate him for the feelings that he expressed. Mr. Nanda had also acted likewise in the riots, and sacrificed a lot. He tried to extinguish the fire. You should work in Ahmedabad with the same spirit. Our Minister of Home Affairs should also feel his responsibility in the same manner.

Now I would like to give some suggestions. As the time is short, I shall try not to repeat them. The Hindi and Urdu newspapers publish anti-Hindu and anti-Muslim photographs prominently which have an adverse effect.

Our former Prime Minister had said that the people of all the communities should be recruited in the P.A.C., but that proposal has not been implemented so far. I want to say with the full force at my command that I am deadly against the judicial inquiries. Can you not go to Ahmedabad ? You should go there, hold inquiry yourself and then take action.

You should think of imposing punitive tax. That punitive tax should be imposed both on the Hindus as well as the Muslims, but the poor people should be exempted from that. Hindu-Muslim peace committees should be formed in the sensitive areas, which should include the representatives of all the parties, like the Janata Party, Lok Dal, Congress and others. All the good citizens of the area should keep an eye on such incidents and see that such incidents do not recur. They

should get full help from the Government in this matter.

I conclude my speech with these words. I am grateful to you for the time granted to me to speak. I hope that this communalism will not raise its head again and our Home Minister will remain impartial and neither side with the Muslims nor with the Hindus. Only by adopting such an attitude the sense of humanity will prevail.

[English]

SHRI SALEEM I SHERVANI (Budaun) : I have had the pleasure of listening to Prof. Madhu Dandawate. It is an extremely balanced speech which covered all the aspects.

Communalism is an evil which has to be fought jointly by us irrespective of which party we belong to or what religion we practise. In a few days from now we will be celebrating the 39th year of our independence. We have seen tremendous progress in these 39 years. But unfortunately there are still people who exploit religion, take advantage of religion and make the situation bad.

Dagaji cited a part of Iqbal's couplet. I will complete it.

*Mazhab nahin sikhata aapas mein vair rakhna
Hindi hein hum vatan hai Hindustan hamara.*

We are Indians first, no matter what religion we practise and this feeling has to go down the line to each and every corner of our country. Only then our country can progress. I would like to give an example as to how communal we are. If our child falls ill, we do not think whether the doctor to whom we take the child belongs to Hindu community or Christian community or Muslim community. We want to take him to the best doctor because we love our child. Similarly, if we are fighting a case, we will hire the best lawyer. At that stage we will not think whether he belongs to this community or that community because we want to win the case. Then what happens to us when it is a question of the country? We have to love our country as we love our child,

Recently Allahabad had witnessed some communal unrest, a situation which, I personally think, could have been avoided. I do not think it is in the power of any district administration to stop the communal riot from taking place because anything can spark off any time—whether it is well within the rights to control it within 24 hours. The anti-social elements should be arrested within 24 hrs. because after that they cannot be found. They leave the town. They go away. It is the innocent, the helpless who are arrested and who have to suffer the pains.

Sir, I was going through the 15 point programme of the hon. Prime Minister for the welfare of the minorities. But before I comment on that I would like to say that some of our history books need extremely deep review. I would like to quote an article that came out in the Hindustan Times on the 20th February 1986 by Mr. N.C. Menon. In a paragraph he says : "There are many such distortions deliberately introduced by the colonial historians to accord with the divide and rule policy of the Raj. This continues to poison our minds making us pre-dispose to accepting communal propaganda. There is an urgent need to review the history book. Or else the communal forces will continue to take advantage of the unfortunate situation.

We talk of programmes. We come out with schemes. But what we have to monitor closely is its implementation. I was greatly impressed by the views expressed by our hon. Minister of State for Internal Security. I have been listening so many speeches for the last three days. I personally feel that it is high time that we start practising what we have been preaching during these three days. We took a oath. We go about it. We get many opportunities to speak in our own constituencies on many occasions from different platforms. In every part of our speech, we must keep the aspect of national integration. We must tell the people how important it is for us to live together.

Some of the measures I would like to suggest is that whenever a riot takes place there is a process of rehabilitation. I only see that a junior officer like the tahsildar

[Shri Saleem I. Shervani]

or someone like that who takes a survey going into the areas and seeing and meeting the people who are affected. It is so important that in any district where such incidents take place, then the Magistrate, SSP should be responsible for reLabilitation. They should themselves go and verify and initiate the process.

A lot has been said about the PAC. This is a force which has totally lost its credibility. Whether it is minority or the majority, I do not think any one has faith in this force. The only way we can revive it is by representation of each and every community in this force. There are many agencies like the Lions Club, the Rotary Club which are non-political agencies. Why don't we use them ? when we start rehabilitation. They are not political organisations. They can go into the areas. We have the peace Committees which are never used. A peace Committee will meet after the riot is over. Why cannot we have good people in these peace committees who can go into the areas at the time riot is taking place and speak to the people concerned so that better sense prevails.

Sir, the Intelligence Network in the sensitive areas needs to be strengthened. I personally think that Allahabad situation could have pre-empted if the Intelligence would have worked properly.

As you have been pressing the bell, I would not like to take more time. One thing I would like to stress on is that today our TV has got wide coverage. If we have programmes on national integration in the TVs, where famous personalities talk, like sports personalities or film personalities or Ministers whom people would like to listen to, I think this can be another area through which we can promote national integration.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, an Urdu poet has said :

*Kya is liye takdeer ne chunvaye the tinke
Ki ban jaye nasheman to koi aag lagae de.*

Sir, it is with deep anguish that I rise to participate in this debate on the communal situation in our country. Several

places in Gujarat, Maharashtra, U.P., Bihar and M.P. went up in communal flames. Indeed there are no sufficient words to condemn adequately and fully the communal violence. No doubt, communal riots cannot be treated merely as law and order problem ; but law and order management assumes a great importance. Hence we must identify the areas of various shortcomings.

In the first instance it must be borne in mind that communal riots do not flare up suddenly. They are pre-planned. In Maharashtra, the Chief Minister himself lamented that the riots there were pre-planned. However, the need is to expose those elements who indulge into this pre-planning, to punish those elements. There is hardly any evidence whatsoever of work in this direction.

Here in Ahmedabad also it was known widely and it was even admitted by the Government itself that there was a possibility of violence breaking during the Rath Yatra. Still what happened ? Despite all th's, when the violence broke out, there was a total collapse of the police and the law and order machinery, so that violence continued unabated.

I must say that the incident at Meghani Nagar exposes the careless attitude of the police and the law and order machinery with respect to the protection of life and property and security of the minority community. There were apprehensions that there would be violence and yet a small police picket was put up over there with hardly four SRP Jawans without any means whatsoever for those Jawans to contact the control room. Armed mob moved, locked up those Jawans in a room and indulged into a carnage over there and people were roasted alive. Who is to be held responsible ?

I heard our Hon. Minister Shri P. Chidambaram with rapt attention. I appreciate his speech ; but there was not even a single word to look into the role of the police.

Not only is there the question of a complete collapse of police and law and order machinery ; but also there are series

of wide spread allegations about the partisan role of the police. I must say with my heart burning and with great shame that the task unfinished by the rioters was completed by the police at several places ! The police broke open the doors of the innocent victims of the riot themselves, beat up those innocent people, looted their houses and arrested them also indiscriminately.

Come with me to Umapur, a small village in Maharashtra, there are instances after instances where mob came to eat a house on fire and tried even to push the people into that fire. The police later came, arrested the very victims and charged them with those offences that they were setting fire to their own houses.

In the case of another house which I visited the head of the family was roasted alive and the two sons of the very same person were beaten mercilessly by the police and charged with murder of their own father. Such are the indiscriminate arrests. I can go on giving you instance after instance. What are we going to do about this ? In Allahabad indiscriminate arrests of doctors, lawyers and even IAS officers have taken place under the anti-Goonda Act.

Look at the police firing at Barabanki. It is not what I say. A committee of the journalists went there and declared that the firing was not only unnecessary but it was resorted to in order to intimidate the Muslim satyagrahis. The committee of journalists came to the conclusion that firing was resorted to not to disperse but to kill the peaceful satyagrahis over there.

Now a word about the character of the PAC. I have with me the first annual report of the Minorities Commission for the year 1978 and I quote :

“The Commission also expressed the view that the PAC adopted a partisan attitude against the Muslims.”

Further it says :

“The Commission recommended that the PAC should be withdrawn from Aligarh and that minorities, espe-

cially Muslim community adequately represented in the services in general.”

They have repeated the same at various other places. Where is the action ? Every time we come to know we are told that now we shall make a beginning. I wish the hon. Minister to succeed but how many times will we be told that now the beginning will come. This has shaken badly the confidence, I must say, of the Muslims in the police and law and order machinery. But when I say so I must say that though the confidence of the Muslims in the law and order machinery and police is shaken I am not here as a frustrated man. Wherever I went the Muslims and people told me : Go to the Parliament and place our woes and hardships before the Parliament. And I am here to say that Parliament today inspires the confidence of the people and the people look at this Parliament to give a direction to the Government as to which direction they should move.

Sir, there is a question of summary trials and special courts. Even Prof. Dandavate referred to it. The hon. Minister has referred to the same. But then, Sir, before that recommendations have been also made by several judicial commissions on the same lines but there is one more aspect. In Bhiwandi last time we all know about the Ansari Bagh incident and there was a special court. Forty accused were presented and just a few days back all the forty accused were released and the judge of that special court waited and lamented that I am helpless because he said that the prosecutor had not uttered a single word against thirty of the forty accused let alone involving them in the crime. This is the nature of prosecution. I suggest that when you prosecute for communal offences let there be a special prosecutor also from outside the district. There are various other points but then I must conclude in deference to your bell and I will conclude with this note that the communal riots should not be considered merely as a handi-work of anti-social elements. Anti-minority communal propaganda has given virulence to the communal canker in our society. There are various organizations which have not made secret of their poisonous

[Shri G.M. Banatwalla]

and vanomous attitude towards minorities in the country. What action have the Government taken? What to talk of any action, in the last session I had pointed out that in Delhi trishuls were being distributed freely and you should take care, but my plea fell on deaf ears, and sometimes back we had the clash even between the police and the trishul bardars. We had the trishul holding people attacking the door of the Jama Masjid. Today I am giving you another warning. There are letters and here is one inland letter distributed widely; it is addressed to Sunheri Masjid, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-110006; it is in Hindi intimidating and threatening them. It has the trishul mark over it.

I conclude by saying that the Babri Masjid question must be properly tackled. A high level officers concerence of the Central and the State Governments was held in April, 1980 and it had suggested a ten-point programme to prevent communal riots. That included one point that prompt decisions of the courts should be obtained in disputes over ownership of land/properties belonging to religious institutions. Therefore, do not take an indifferent attitude with respect to the controversy of Babri Masjid question. You must intervene and have this question settled once for all.

I will conclude by quoting from an Article on 'Militant Revialism of Hinduism published in *'India Times'* on May 31, 1986 on page 83. It says :

"And more holy wars loom ahead. During the next phase of its battle plan, starting this summer, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad will move towards Kashi (Varanasi) and Mathura to reannex the Vishwanath temple and the Sri Krishna Janambhoomi which, they claim, were captured and converted into mosques and idgahs by Mughal emperors. Though Vishwa Hindu Parishad and RSS leaders openly assert that their targets are just these two temples, they are also working on a list of 25 other Muslim shrines which they say were ancient Hindu temples."

Sufficient unto the day is the evil hereof. Let us work hard and see that the hearts of the different communities are filled with love and their hands clasp.

I hope the Government will rise to the occasion and take necessary action.

[Translation]

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA (Jammu) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion on the communal situation has been going on for the last three days and it is a matter of happiness that all the hon. Members, whether they belong to the Congress Party or the Opposition, have condemned the communal riots. The way in which our Hon. Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi and his Government have dealt with this situation, has not only been commended in this House but outside this House also much has been said about that. These communal riots, whether in Ahmedabad or in Moradabad or in Kashmir or in any other part of the country, are very dangerous and it is a malady which can create great problems for the country. I congratulate our hon. minister Shri Chidambaram who has said that he feels concerned about it and that he has got the political will to deal with the elements who want to create such type of atmosphere in the whole of the country or in some part of the country.

Here I would like to say that it is correct that there should be no restriction on the people of any religion or community to organise processions and celebrate festivals to promote their respective religions, but all this should be managed in such a way that the feelings of the people of some other religion are not hurt so that the anti-social and anti-national elements may not be able to take undue advantage of that to incite such riots so as to vitiate or spoil the atmosphere.

My friend Shri Soz has mentioned about Jammu. His speech somewhat hurt me. I agree that the riots in Ahmedabad was a very bad thing. It would have been better had he named Kashmir also. (Interruptions) I am not criticising his community or any other community. But

I want to stress one thing that the riots, wherever they occur, and the anti-social or anti-national elements of every place should be condemned by all of us. It is our duty to deal with them strictly. It is also our duty to deal strictly with the rumour mongers and those who vitiate the atmosphere. No one knows from where these people come. Prof. Soz will agree with me that when a procession was taken out in Jammu, at that time no riot had occurred. The people of both the communities took out processions on the occasions of 'Guru Parv', 'Id' and some other festivals and nothing untoward happened. But somewhere some slogans were raised by some people which were not tolerable. Some anti-social elements had sneaked there. But the rumour mongers in Kashmir spread the rumour that some persons of one community had been killed in Jammu and this caused flare up. It was mentioned in Parliament also. Many of our friends, the hon. Members visited that place. Such type of poison was spread in that Kashmir were our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, had seen a ray of hope.

*(Interruptions)***

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Whatever the other Members say does not form part of the record.

*(Interruptions)***

[Translation]

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA : I did not say this. I am only talking about your behaviour. When I come to that point then you answer that. You are also in the House. I am saying that.....

(Interruptions)

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Mr. Chairman, Sir, my name has been mentioned thrice. Please give me one minute to speak.

*(Interruptions)***

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : It will not go on record. Mr. Soz what you said will not form part of record. Please take your seat.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I am proud to be a Kashmiri...

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will not go on record. Except the Member whom I am calling, rest of the thing will not form part of the record. What Mr. Soz says will not form part of the record.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Soz, what you are saying will not form part of the record. I have not called you. I will ask you later on. Please take your seat.

PROF. SAITUDDIN SOZ : Whatever goondaism was there...

*(Interruptions)***

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : He has named me three times. He has spoken something about Kashmir...

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : It will not form part of the record.

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) : Let us not mar the debate. I am sure the Chairman will give you time. Let him finish first, then you can ask permission from the Chair. You please sit down. Prof. Soz, let him finish first.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is your point of order, Mr. Patil ?

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seats. Mr. Patil, what is your point of order ? No cross-talking please take your seats.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Prof. Soz, you are not hearing me.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seats. Order please...Nothing will go on record. Yes, Mr. Patil. What is your point of order ?

SHRI D.B. PATIL (Kolaba) : My point of order is whether an hon. Member is entirely, or not, to state the facts in the House. The hon. Member who was speaking, was about to state the facts, and he was obstructed by Prof. Soz. Is this correct ?

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please take your seats.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : These will not form part of the record. Nothing is going on record. You are wasting the time of House. Nothing is going on record.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : What you say has not gone on record, and will not go on record. Mr. Gupta, you please continue.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order please.

[Translation]

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA : *(Interruptions)* I was saying that in Kashmir where Mahatma Gandhi had seen a ray of light, we are proud of it. I was talking about those rumour mongers, anti-national elements and secessionist forces, who in February, 1986...

*(Interruptions)***

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please don't interfere.

*(Interruptions)***

MR. CHAIRMAN : If you interfere, I will be compelled to do something. I have requested you often.

[Translation]

SHRI KALI PRASAD PANDEY (Gopalganj) : I mean to say that we four are independants. When Prof Soz was speaking, nobody opposed him. If this type of noisy conversation between the ruling party and the Opposition goes on, then how the work in the House can continue ? Independant Members are not

given time. In future it will become a convention.

*(Interruptions)***

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : What other Members say, will not go on record. I have to regulate them.

[Translation]

SHRI JANAK RAJ GUPTA : I was saying that when this rumour was spread there, then so many things happened. The anti-social elements of that area, who included the people belonging to Jamaat-e-Tulba and Jamaat-e-Islami, indulged in hooliganism about which you have already come to know. They attacked the people of the minority community. I do not want to name anybody, but those who indulge in tall talks did not condemn what happened there at that time. I condemn that. What has happened in Ahmedabad was also very unfortunate and unjustified. I want to urge upon the Home Minister that the people who want to incite conflicts and riots in the name of religion or caste should be dealt with strictly. They should not only be dealt with strictly but also punished heavily so that they could not create such an atmosphere. Some foreign powers are also there behind all this and we should give attention to them also.

As already said, a joint force of all the communities should be formed soon so as to avoid any such happenings in future. Screening should also be done to identify the persons responsible for such activities so that such people may not feel encouraged and they should be dealt with strictly.

DR. G.S. RAJHANS (Jhanjharpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, after three days of discussion if a person is allotted only 5 minutes' time to express his views, then what can he say. I want to say that I was overwhelmed by what the Hon. Speaker, Shri Balram Jhakar, and Prof. Madhu Dandavate said on that day and I thought that whatever they said regarding the communal riots and the prevailing communal atmosphere in the country, was an eye-opener. Prof. Dandavate is venerable to me, he is my leader. I respect him

greatly, but whatever he said in Ahmedabad has hurt me greatly. I would quote from 'The Hindustan Times' dated 21st July, 1986, in which he was reported to have stated thus :

[English]

"Mr. Dandavate said several people in the affected areas had told the delegation that anti-social elements and disgruntled elements of the ruling party were responsible for the disturbances."

[Translation]

I don't know from where Prof. Dandavate came to know of this.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Let me clarify it here. Four members of the delegation are present here. I did not say it at all. They only say, "Are there differences of opinion?"

I said, "Yes". That is all. I did not say anything else.

DR. G.S. RAJHANS: This is a U.N.I. despatch.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : There were three more who were present.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member may take his seat.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If he accepts my integrity and honesty, I can say that this sentence was not uttered by me. (*Interruptions*) Because, some disgruntled elements are also there.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : We accept your words, Sir.

AN HON. MEMBER : We take your words, Sir.

[Translations]

DR. G.S. RAJHANS : Let us leave it then. What I want to say is that the Members from both the sections of the House complained vehemently against the newspapers. Although it is true that some

of our newspapers are bad, filthy and their publications must be stopped, yet there are some others because of which our democracy has sustained. It was only due to those newspapers that the opposition could come to power and thereafter had to fall also because of those newspapers which exposed them. I clearly shows that our newspapers even today do not hesitate to tell the truth. I will illustrate my point. There are certain local newspapers which may have made some complaints regarding these riots, but the pattern of reporting of all the national dailies has been the same and this will come to your notice if you read the various newspapers as carefully as I have read. So, should we take it that all the newspapers are liars and are dishonest? Shri Chidambaram has done laudable work in Gujarat, and I have congratulated him in person and also on the floor of the House. And I am congratulating him once again. But I would also like to make a submission to him. I hope he would not mind that. He being my friend, I can take some liberty with him. We have both received education in the United States of America. He must be aware of the fact that if the 'New York Times' publishes an editorial on the same subject continuously for three days, it is not taken any notice of by the people. In America, the people read one newspaper, throw that away and then read another one. But in this country, the people keep the entire year's newspapers with them. In the rural areas, news-items published in the dailies are discussed every day. He there been no substance in the newspaper editorials, All India Radio would not have commented on them everyday. Therefore, I agree that if some newspapers have blundered, they must be punished. Newspapers have been punished several times here. In our country, we have the Press Council and so many other forums for newspapers are there. But you should not pass sweeping remarks about them to the effect that all the newspapers of the country are useless and it is they which are responsible for the spread of riots. This is not true. I would like to tell you that one newspaper published from West Bengal had reported on its front page that the Prime Minister, while on tour to Mizoram, had telephoned Shri B.K. Jha, the police Commissioner of Ahmedabad,

[Dr. G.S. Rajhans]

after every hour to keep himself informed about the riot situation there. It was also mentioned that no Prime Minister of any country would have ever taken so much trouble. This is a matter of great pride for us. If the newspapers were to present a distorted news, then they could have reported differently.

I want to say one more thing. Three or four days back I saw the 'London Times' in the Library, which contains, at its third or fourth page, a photograph showing the riots in Ahmedabad, showing a man having been stabbed and the people running about near him. I would like to ask as to how did the Home Ministry allow this newspaper in with such a photograph to enter our country? If such a thing had happened in any other country, then such a newspaper would not have been allowed to enter into that country. And this newspaper is still there in your library. Again, when Smt. Indira Gandhi was assassinated; I was not an M.P. then, I myself saw an American photographer telling a Sikh in Connaught Place to stand beside a burning taxi, although that Sikh said that vehicle was not his own. Nevertheless he was told to stand and pose for the photograph. And after a few days, I saw the same photograph printed in 'The News-week'. All over the world they are bringing bad name to us. Then what is the Home Ministry doing? Why does it not arrest such people and send them behind the bars? The people abroad will naturally think that the people of one community are stabbing the people of other community in this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, give me a little more time, I have been continuously waiting for the last three days and today only. I have been given the time. Sir, I have been sitting here hungry for two, three days in the hope of getting time to speak. It has never happened with me during the last two or three years. Therefore, when you have with much difficulty, given me time, let me speak for some time more.

Few years back I had gone to Canada. I was going to Toronto with my friend in

Canada. At the three red light stops, the Canadians said to me and my friend—"You bloody fool Paki". Till two stops I could not follow what they were saying but at the third stop I asked my Indian friend that his and mine features were similar, therefore. I could understand the meaning of "You bloody fool" but what did the word 'Paki' mean? He told me to try to understand. We the Asians who had gone there, were depriving them of their jobs. Therefore, because of the economic reasons they are behaving in such a manner and 'Paki' meant 'Pakistani', which they are addressing to us. They consider everyone, whether he belongs to India, Sri Lanka or Indonesia as Pakistani. I told him that it was strange that because of economic reasons everyone for them had become a Pakistani in India, the Hindus and Muslims were fighting with each other and here all were considered Pakistanis.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had gone to Assam. There I asked the Muslims residing there as to why they were fighting with their Muslim brethren who had come from Bangla Desh. They replied that the land did not differentiate between the Hindu and Muslim and if those Bangla Deshis left, that land would be available to them.

Lastly, I want to say that you are talking of Ram Janm Bhumi. I belong to the area where Sita was born and Sita's place is earlier. We recite Sitaram and Radhakrishan but in our Mithila area no riots have taken place after independence. The Muslims of that area quote Ramayana, Gita, Mahabharata and Sanskrit shlokas. So such places still exist in our country. We should take those people who cause riots to such places. The whole problem is economic. This we will have to understand. I may also submit that there is a Commission report which says that before independence the Britishers used to adopt the policy of 'Divide and Rule' and riots used to take place only in those areas where Britishers were ruling. In the Princely states riots never occurred. Since you are not giving me time I am concluding,

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI SHEILA DIKSHIT) : As a number of Members are yet to speak, I request that the time of the House may be extended by one hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it the pleasure of the House to extend the time of the House by one hour ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJ KUMAR RAI (Ghosi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in this discussion on an important matter which is the subject of concern all over the country. Sir, we are discussing in this House the communal harmony and we want to assure the entire country, as our senior hon. Member Shri Dandavate and the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Shri Chidambaram have unanimously put it; that this country is the best country, India is the biggest and the greatest country and patriotism is the biggest devotion. Devotion to religion, language or the State is smaller before it. On this the whole House is one. There are no two opinions about it. There cannot be two opinions on this. All are of the same opinion that the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians should forget the differences of caste, religion, region and language and live like Indians. Wherefrom this point arises ? First of all my query should be solved.

19.00 hrs.

The point is that the more we emphasised on politics and diplomacy the more we forgot the morality in this country of Kabir, Gandhi and Indira Gandhi. With the growing importance of politics, we considered it synonym of wisdom and took morality for foolishness. A person who is simple, defends the moral values of the country, is considered fool by the people and is neglected and a person who dominates by adopting diplomatic and political ways is considered clever and intelligent. But the first requirement is of patriotism, be he a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian

politician wearing khadi or in the clothes of a Sadhu. Alongwith it, we should lay special emphasis on national morality. It is the moral duty of the Home Ministry also to find out the persons who, in the garb of democrats, do all these things.

Sir, it is easy to identify the enemy. If Pakistan or China infiltrates, it is easy to detect as to wherefrom they are infiltrating, but it is difficult to detect the enemies of the society and the nation who are within the country itself somewhere in the garb of Sadhus, somewhere clothed as leaders with labels of different parties. It is, therefore, the duty of the Home Ministry, Intelligence Department being under them, to expose such persons first.

We will have to see that after all who is receiving money being sent from the middle east countries ? I want to tell the Home Ministry categorically that it should see as to who gets such assistance in Pakistan. Mentality is very bad. If the Muslim mentality is bad then the Hindu mentality is worse in India. Great men have said this and they are no more. No attention has been paid to their words. Persons like Shri Jai Prakash Narayan, whatever he might have been, told about the difference between Jan Sangh and the RSS. I was a student at that time. He had told us to think of the floating iceberg, the portion which was visible on water was Jan Sang and the remaining invisible portion under water was RSS and that it was difficult to divide the two parts. An intelligent person like Shri Jai Parakash Narayan could not differentiate between the two. All the politicians today are saying that it should be unmasked. We should shun the politics of opportunism. To form Government, somewhere we join hands with the Muslim League, somewhere with the Bharatiya Jan Sang, somewhere we provide protection to Trishul, somewhere to Kripan, somewhere to cap and somewhere to turban. If we go on joining hands in this way, we will not be able to gather inner force at the time of the need. If we lack morality, we cannot sift the things. We do all these things in the greed of catching votes. Our politicians should give up this mentality. The Minister of Home is present here. 4

[Shri Raj Kumar Rai]

[English]

He is sitting at the helm of affairs of the Home Ministry.

[Translation]

In our country, the role of the police is also not above board. Wherever the communal riots occur, the police add fuel to the fire, arrest innocent people and let the culprits go scot free. A lot of cases of such nature happen. The Minister of Home Affairs and the Government then justify their cases in Parliament. This should be condemned.

SHRI KALI PRASAD PANDEY (Gopalganj) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, for the last three days we have been discussing the situation arising out of communal riots in the country, in the House. If we look back to our history, we shall find that our Maharishis tried to bring about unity amongst Hindus and Muslims through their writings. If we hailed Sitaji as mother, we also hailed Bibi Fatima as mother. If we studied the Gita, we studied the *aayats* of the quran also. If we prayed at Vishwanath in Kashi, we offered our prayers at Kaba also. But the question remains whether it is the Muslims and the Hindus that are responsible for the communal riots in India? Have Hindus and Muslims anything to do with the communal riots ?

Today, there is five per cent part of the Indian population which does not have any religion. Their only aim is to instigate and spread riots and benefit out of the same.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have come from Gopal Ganj Parliamentary Constituency by winning the elections independently with a margin of two lakh votes. I have seen that where Hindus were praying for me in temples, the Muslims were also praying for me in the mosques. I was astonished to see this. Our former political leaders who fought against the British Government and suffered at their hands in jails know closely the cost of achieving independence. After attaining

the independence they worked with dedication, patriotism and thus ensures that the country made progress.

I am thankful to shri Chidambaram for raising a good point that the use of the loud-speakers should be done away with. I have been to villages and found that the loud speakers at temples and mosques broadcast such material, the details of which will leave you aghast. If somebody offers water to the Vishwanath in Kashi, we consider him a Pandit. If a Muslim goes for Haj, he becomes Haji. But in fact, neither going for Haj nor going to Kashi can do any good. Unless we have love in our hearts—love for the country, all worship and nationalism if of no use and India cannot make any progress. I saw in my own constituency that when frustrated politicians found that the people of both the communities were not voting for them, they tried to spread riots between Hindus and Muslims at the time of Id. I met the collector and told him that that was the occasion of Id and if hundred to two hundred people were sent to jail for no fault, the news would spread all over the district and the people would have a misnotion that there were riots. Thereafter the situation became normal. But afterwards, ten bombs were planted in hay-stack in front of Hindus' houses and another ten in front of Muslim's houses. The administration claimed that ten bombs from either community had been recovered. I want to ask whether Hindus could not hide those bombs somewhere behind their houses as also whether Muslims could not hide those bombs somewhere behind their houses ?

I mean to say that unless we develop such feelings in the country which do not consist of these nasty things, we cannot hope for any improvement in the situation. The partition of united India into India and Pakistan was wrong. Our hon. Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh, is present here. Truth is always bitter, and therefore, most of the hon. Members may feel it bitter.....(Interruptions)..... I want to say if India is one then what was the need for establishing Muslim and Hindu Universities separately ? They could be

Christened them as Aligarh University or Banaras University. Had the then Home Minister wished, he could have given such names. But whatever it was, this type of feeling had cropped up and he felt it necessary to give them Hindu and Muslim names. So, till the schools and colleges are given the names based on religion, feelings cannot be developed. (*Interruptions*). I have got a chance after waiting of three days. Therefore, let me speak. I would like to make a submit to the hon. Home Minister and all other hon. Members, that I am an independent Member and, I am therefore, speaking impartially. Be it any party member or any other person but the one who is arrested in such activities should be severely punished. I am pained to see that the newspapers relish in publishing these news in bold headings. I mean to say that until goodwill and harmony develop amongst us, it will be futile to discuss this problem here ; it is of no use to discuss not only once but a thousand time.....

(*Interruptions*)

In the end, I would like you to create such an atmosphere in which the Centre could bring about peace and harmony in the entire country.

DR. B. L. SHAIKESH (Chail) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, regarding today's discussion in the House on communal riots, I want to make it clear that these riots in the country are not in fact communal riots, but by giving them the colour of communal riots, the *mala fide* intentions of the vested interests and their attempts to blur the image of Government are lost sight of and a result of it, the real culprit responsible for the killings of hundreds of innocent people escape from the clutches of the police and the Government. This is the reason why in spite of a number of preventive measures having been adopted, riots are still being organised in different part of the country. I am of the firm belief that these riots are being organised by some unlawful politicians to fulfil their vested interests. This tendency should be condemned. When there is a danger to country's unity and integrity from some powers, and at that time if somebody tries to pose a danger to country's internal security by spreading riots, he is none other than a traitor.

Sometimes these riots take place due to personal ill-feelings and animosity but some vested interests try to call them communal riots in order to get some political benefit out of them.

The House would agree with me that such riots can be stopped if preventive measures are adopted. The carelessness of the administration in controlling the riots is also not excusable. We will have to pay special attention towards this. After deeply studying the riots which occurred recently in Allahabad, I have come to the conclusion, that it seems that there also some vested interests engineered these riots to fulfil their personal interests. The recovery of large number of bombs and illegal arms in these riots is an ample proof that they occurred as a result of pre-engineered conspiracy.

The District Administration and police is required to be alert and vigilant in this regard and in order to deal with such traitors severely, stern action should be taken against them.

Sir, the way these riots are mentioned in foreign magazines shows the particular interest the foreign powers are evincing in spreading anarchy in our country as also their aim to disintegrate our country.

Sir, the House would agree with me that a nation is greater than an individual and if there is any danger to its unity, all the countrymen rise above party politics to save the country. At present there is a need to strengthen such feelings. We should protect the independence of our country so that our countrymen can live in peace and prosperity and we should work fast to achieve the aims which our young Prime Minister has put before the countrymen. We all should seriously think in order to give a shape to this laudable aim.

In the end, I would like to make a request to the hon. Home Minister through you that in order to stop riots of this nature for good, he should specially make the police administration alert and intelligence agencies more active to work in sensitive areas. I hope that as a result of taking stern action by the Government, such unfortunate incidents will not repeat themselves.

SHRI MANVENDRA SINGH (Mathura) : Mr. Chairman Sir, as communalism is being discussed presently in the House, I would like to draw its attention to our ancient history and culture. Our great country has always struggled to maintain its unity and integrity. Although we had monarchy in those days, yet our valiant men and women had shed blood for this land. So our country is great and was once known as *Sone-ki-chidiya* (land of affluence), Indian History is unique in the world. We have had heroic women amongst us. They had displayed their heroism in order to maintain the unity and integrity of the country ; they had made great sacrifices and had entered the battle-field with swords drawn.

Then Indian history changed its course. The bugle for the independence of India was blown and every Indian regardless of age and sex began to break the shackles of slavery which was imposed on us by British imperialism and its policy of 'Divide and Rule'. The people shed their blood to lay the foundation of this country and for making it free. It was only because they wanted that India should become a great nation and its unity and integrity should remain intact. Its independence should be maintained and the bonds of unity should be strengthened. India has completed 38 years of freedom and has made progress in every field. The foreign powers which were jealous of the unity, integrity and progress of this country converted it into their battlefield. The same fire was lit in Assam, Kashmir and even in southern India ; as also in Punjab. You might remember that Mahatma Gandhi had to sacrifice his life in this fire and the life of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was also not spared. Two important points can be gauged from this. Firstly, Indira Gandhi's assassination was not the result of a mere plot to kill her, but it was an effort to destroy the unity, integrity and independence of India. It was an attempt to disintegrate the country. This also led to another thing. We have lost our character. When character is lost, everything is lost. We, leaders, must build our character. We must sacrifice our own self-interest, whether based on region or religion and rise above such matters to reach the people. The people

must understand that the independence of this country has to be sustained ; its unity and integrity must be maintained for ever, and we the representatives of the people have to engage ourselves in this task.

Now I would like to give some suggestions. I would urge upon the hon. Minister that in regard to administrative matters, as it is being discussed nowadays, the police must be made more active and the Intelligence Department should be made more effective. Secondly, the journalists are also present here. What I am saying is that, in our history, the poets have from time to time created an awareness among the people about the unity and integrity of the country. Our Saints have also made efforts to bring about social change. Therefore, we want that our newspapers and magazines should also contribute fully towards this noble cause of national awareness.

Finally, I would request the hon. Minister that in our education also, the feelings of unity and integrity must be inculcated fully. These feelings should be instilled among the children through the medium of education.

CH. SUNDER SINGH (Phillaur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir,

*Bhala kya kar sake ilaj marz-e naatwani ka,
Pakarte hain agar baju yahan shaane utarte
hain.*

This problem cannot be solved. It is very difficult to provide a solution to this problem. As Prof. Dandavate has said, this problem will not be solved. Mahatma Gandhi's name is referred to. The Mahatma had said and I quote,

[English]

"Bitter experience has taught me that all the temples are not houses of God. They can be habitation of Devils....."

[Translation]

It is because of the Gurudwaras, temples and Mosques that riots take place and these places of worship are located all over India.

*situation in**country*

[English]

“Where do you seek for God? Are the poor, the miserable, the down-trodden, Gods? Worship them first. I do not believe in God and religion which cannot wipe out the tears from the widow’s eyes and cannot bring a morsel of food to orphan’s mouth.”
Swami Vivekananda.

[Translation]

The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs are in the Police Force and riots take place because of them. What I want to say is that these people should be dismissed and replaced by Harijans. Although the Harijans are deprived classes and do not possess either land, houses or shops yet they think of India as one entity and raise slogans in praise of it. You should recruit, these people in the Police Force. Then it would be their responsibility to ensure that there are no riots. Mahatma Gandhi wanted that a Harijan should be the President of India. Now the time has come that Harijan should be the President of the country.

Again, each M.P. should be held responsible for any riot taking place in his or her constituency. These M.P.s deliver speeches here and speak against one another. I want to say that so far as the Police Force is concerned, it must be set right. And whose responsibility is this? Obviously, it is the Government’s responsibility. People beat about the bush and try to shift responsibility. It is the police which should stop the riots.

I would like to say that, when I came to India from Pakistan in 1947, I handed over all my ornaments to the Muslims therefor, for their safe-keeping. They told us to take those ornaments along as they would be of much help to us in the long run, but we told them that we had been going for a short duration and would return soon and take them back. We kept those ornaments with them and they have been selling them in bits and remitting us the money till date. Those Muslims are of such high character. Therefore we must first set ourselves right.

[English]

“Be of good cheer and belief that we are selected by the God to do great thing and we will do them. Hold yourself in readiness. That is, be pure and holy.”

—Swami Vivekananda

“Love for love’s sake. Love the poor, the miserable, the down-trodden. God will bless you.”

—Mahatma Gandhi

[Translation]

The Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs have lands and are well-off and, therefore, they have become spoilt. I want to say that the Harijans should be recruited in the Police and should be extended other type of help. Further, the Harijan must also be made the President and only then the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi would be fulfilled. Shri Buta Singhji, please be prepared for this. Now, the time has come for this. I would reiterate that the concerned M.P. should be held responsible for any riot occurring in his constituency. We have to ensure this. Prof. Dandavate delivers a very good speech, but the same cannot be said about his followers. If this is the quality of their speeches here, then, I wonder as to what they would do outside. They should not speak in this manner; instead, they should speak with love.

[English]

“All expansion is life. All contraction is death. All love is expansion. All selfishness is contraction. Love is, therefore, the only law of life. He who loves lives. He who is selfish is dying. Therefore, love for love’s sake because it is the only law of life.”
—Swami Vivekananda.

“I suggest that we are all thieves in a way. If I take anything, that is not for our immediate use and I keep it. I thief it from anybody else.”
—Mahatma Gandhi.

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central) : Since January 1986 I think about 140 people died in communal riots. This is the Government figure given to-

[Dr. Datta Samant]

day, this morning, in reply to a question. Bihar—10, Gujarat about 18 in both riots, Maharashtra 10 and UP 37. About 408 people were injured and property worth about Rs. 5 crores was burnt, 11 people were roasted and 2 people who were admitted into the hospital have been discharged. This shows the seriousness of these riots. Previously we were only have having one or two riots in a year and now we are having 2 or 3 riots in a week. It is surprising that in spite of education, communications and modernisation the riots in this country have increased by 20 to 30 times. This shows where we are.

We cannot avoid. We have heard the speech of the hon. Minister. The Government administration has miserably failed to take adequate measures. When it cannot be proved, the Government must admit. They must admit its failure. It is all right as to what should happen and what should not happen. I really agree with the Government. Every man in Gujarat knew what was going to happen at the time of the Rath Yatra. Even the Chief Minister has admitted to the Press that something is going to happen at the time of the Rath Yatra. Even the Police Commissioner has admitted that they were apprehending some trouble. Then what about keeping the para-military forces as watch dog? The Government has miserably failed. They say that as watch-dogs the Police were observing. They were observing that somebody was going to fire. But they say they cannot take action as the Rath Yatra temple will be spoilt.

Hon. Minister, Mr. Chidambaram has said that there are some anti-social elements. I have got the record. On the 24th of June two notorious elements were released from jail. 8 days before the well-known Jogi and Bakia were released from the jail. They have assaulted the Customs Collector and no proper action was taken. This is the border with Pakistan and Pakistani intrusion was there. I think they have also some role to play in these riots.

We talk of Gandhian concept. I follow Gandhian concept. They say that there is prohibition. I think maximum number

of liquor dens is there only in Gujarat and that too in Ahmedabad. Politicians and especially the ruling party people are helping them. Nobody was arrested prior to that and actions are taken only when the Minister visited the area...

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI : The hon. Member is making wild allegations. I protest against that.

DR. DATTA SAMANT : Why cannot the Government take proper action and in time? When the Minister visited from the Centre, about 168 anti-social elements were arrested and then the riots stopped. This is a very important feature. We are discussing it so that such things should not happen in future.

There are two or three points which I would like to mention in this House. The Minister has agreed that we have to take certain measures in future. We want to please the minorities. That is the tendency of the majority people. I am sorry to say here and I observe Prof. Dandavate may not like my statement. Sir, in the Karnataka State there is a tendency to harass the border-line people, the Marathi people are creating linking for the majority people. There are 400 Marathi Schools in these border areas. Pupils in these schools are forced to accept the Kannada language from the primary stage. All the name-boards are in Kannada. 100 per cent Marathi-speaking people are there in Nippani and Kanapur. I would like to ask whether the Karnataka Chief Minister does not know this thing. Why they are making Kannada language compulsory? Because they want to please the majority people and take the popular votes from the majority people. I am not sparing even the Centre. We have mentioned about this thing. But the Centre is keeping silent.

We are discussing and talking a lot of things here. We are not silent. We are for the votes. Therefore, this has become a post-mortem discussion. No political people want to follow the principles.

I want to make only one final suggestion. It is very important. In our country, education is given to all children when they are five years old. Political parties

are so intelligent. I do not mean they are religious. But they are making them fanatics. I am sorry to mention about the RSS. They start training from the age of three or four years. Such type of training is given. I am sorry to say that even in the Masjids, Gurdwaras etc. such type of child fanatics are there. They are giving religious training. I am not against it. But they are giving such type of fanatic training. I would suggest that the Government has to bring a legislation to ban this.

Sir, this is the country where Ashoka ruled once. Though he preached Buddhism, he was for all. He was is secular. The great Akbar ruled this country. Though he followed the Koran and Muslim religion, he was for all. Mahatma Gandhi followed Hinduism. But he was for all. If all of us try to follow such type of things, I think, we can contain the communalism in our country.

[Translation]

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS (Bhilwara) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion on the communal disparities has been going on here for the last three days and as far as I understand economic disparity is the main reason behind the communal disparities spreading in this country. So far as the economic disparities are not removed from this country, the big people will definitely continue to cause riots. It is our good luck that today a Harijan is the Home Minister of our country and due to him and his approach these disparities would certainly be removed. When we have agreed to adopt secularism, socialism and democracy then why are they not working well in this country? Why are disparities not removed? Today one who owns land is trying to own still more of it and with this end in view he is indulging in various sorts of riots. One who has got property, is exploiting others to increase his property. Why is this disparity not being removed? Just now Shri Samant has rightly said that the reason behind the recent riots in Gujarat was prohibition. Due to prohibition, some people have become prosperous by earning

crores of rupees through selling liquor illegally. Only these people are behind these riots. At some places, they are Hindus and at others they are Muslims and only these persons cause ill-will which results in communal riots. I am taking the case of Rajasthan where during prohibition, the Government used to suffer loss of about 100 crore rupees. Today, though there is prohibition in Gujarat, yet everyone takes liquor either by going to Bombay or to Rajasthan. The Government is suffering the loss while some people are getting rich by instigating conflicts and riots. Same is the case of smugglers. The biggest problem in Punjab was that of smugglers. Only the big smugglers had raised the slogan of Khashistan or something else. This type of thing should definitely be stopped. All the riots in Maharashtra or in any other place, viz., U.P., Ahmedabad or some other place are caused by these notorious smugglers. The big landlords and the big farmers of Punjab try to instigate riots and disturbances in the name of religion or so. You should implement the Government policies strictly. The land from those who have got it in excess should be taken from them and distributed among the poor. The money and property of those who have accumulated huge wealth should be confiscated by the Government and it should be used to give employment to people so as to remove the disparities. All these arrangements should be made in a concrete way. In all the sensitive areas, where riots occur and Hindus and Muslims fight with one another as Shri Chidambaram has said, the Collector or S.P. should be from some other caste so that he can strengthen the administration impartially. Persons with administrative capabilities should be posted there. You post newly recruited officers who cannot take timely action. All these things should be stopped forthwith. In our country this venom has spread in the name of language, provincialism, casteism and communalism and the reason behind this is the greed to accumulate property and wealth. This is the biggest drawback and it is very essential to stop it. I think that our hon. Home Minister will certainly take some step in this regard.

SHRI HAFIZ MOHD. SIDDIQ (Moradabad) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am grateful to you for granting me a chance to participate in this discussion. For the last three days the discussion has been going on how to prevent communal disturbances. There are different religions in our country and many languages are spoken here. The people who want to defame and disintegrate the country create trouble by raising one issue or the other. Our administration has to identify the districts and the States where disturbances are caused. If we know some States or district where disturbances take place then we should depute our intelligence personnel to those places to find out the persons who cause these disturbances and who want to destroy our integrity. Whether the disturbances occur in Allahabad or Ahmedabad, all these riots in the name of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian are a matter of great shame. More than 38 years have elapsed after the independence but even then such type of things happen in our country. Had there been no such incidents, then in my view we would have made more progress in comparison to what we have already achieved. I suggest that if anywhere some possibility of a disturbance arises, the administration should arrest the suspects in advance and monitor their activities. Even after that if the disturbance takes I think that the police of that area commit excesses on the minorities and because of it the minorities consider themselves unsafe. Those very people are harassed, looted and cases also are registered against them. I want that the administration should control these disturbances in an impartial manner and not allow them to spread further. The type of measures you have adopted in Ahmedabad have proved beneficial because the conflict has not aggravated. It is true that there were heavy losses and many untoward things happened but we can control all that. The control should be immediate and this could be possible only when there is equal representation of different communities in the police force. We should ask the administration to hold the D.M. and the S.P. responsible for the riots in their area ; they should be made accountable for those riots. All this will lead towards creation of congenial atmosphere and it

may have good impact on other people also.

[English]

SHRIMATI D. K. BHANDARI (Sikkim) : Mr. Chairman, I come from that part of the country where our people not only preach communal harmony but also practice it. I would not like to repeat whatever has already been said by other members but I would only like to make one or two humble suggestions.

My first suggestion is that there has to be an adequate machinery in the form of committees to tackle with such forces at State and Central level. The most important thing would be to involve voluntary organisations consisting of students, intellectuals, media men and cultural groups who are engaged in constructive activities.

The hon. Minister, Shri Chidambaram said that the Government has ample political will. If the Government has the political will then kindly ban all the communal organisations, which have political objectives. In my opinion this will be a positive step towards thwarting the evil designs of communalism.

Sir, I thank you for the time that you gave to enable me to participate in this debate.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA (Salempur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for granting me permission to speak on such an important subject. Due to lack of time, I do not want to repeat what my predecessors have said. I want to confine myself to expressing my views only. I have heard all the speeches delivered by all the hon. Members whether of ruling party or from the Opposition and they all have demanded the safety of minorities. I want to know from the House and from the hon. Minister whether the majority also would be protected or not. It is a common phenomenon today that the majority in every country is facing problem. Punjab is clear example before us. The Hindus are migrating everyday

from that area. Not a single day passes when there is no news about killing of 5 to 10 persons in that State. In a country where 80 per cent people are from one community and those people are migrating from one State to get shelter in other places, it is surprising that in that country there is a demand to protect the minorities ! I want to say that the present state of affairs can further deteriorate. The big leaders talk of secularism. Some people say that economic problems are causing these disturbances. I talk about the pre-independence time when Gandhiji had requested with folded hands Mr. Jinnah to remain on the top so as to avoid the partition of the country. Today, we swear by the principles of Gandhiji. The country got divided even in the presence of Gandhiji. Did the disturbance occur at that time also due to economic problem. I say that all these disturbances are caused by the politicians. What is happening today in Punjab? The Ministers in the Government are hand in glove with the terrorists and Hindus are being massacred. A State whose Chief Minister, on the instance of his community, can clean shoes for weeks cannot make progress, that country also cannot make progress.

I want to know from the hon. Minister whether he will assure us that the Hindus in Punjab will remain safe. Very elderly persons have talked about Babri Masjid and Ram Janm Bhoomi. It is true that a very long procession was taken out but no Hindu, until the court ordered for opening, had even touched the temple before that. The lock was opened only after the court had ordered to do so. But after that there was revolt in the entire country. The example of Kashmir is before you. Lakhs of houses were ruined, scores of temples were burnt down; who did this? Was it done by the members of the majority community or minority community or by the Government? Everyone knows what sort of assistance was provided to the victims?

Sir, I, therefore request this House that a committee of this House should be constituted which should consist of men of wisdom like you and every leader of the opposition parties in the House should be included in that. The Home Minister should also be included in it. You go and see the position on the spot. It is

written in Shariat that in a mosque 'namaz' is read facing Kaba and no idol is allowed in the mosque; you can see this anywhere. But there, upper portion has been constructed after demolishing the temple, and even today idols are there in the pillars of the mosque. There namaz cannot be read facing Kaba and if it is read other way, it is wrong according to Shariat. If it is true, then I pray with folded hands that, leaving behind the sentiments, you may yourself decide the matter keeping in view the whole situation.

My second submission is that the way my Muslim colleagues feel that by going to Kaba, Mecca and Madina all the earlier sins are washed out and they will go to heaven, we Hindus too, in the same way, feel that by going to Ayodhya, Kashi, Mathura etc. we are relieved of our earlier sins. It is a very sentimental issue. If you think that Hindus and Muslims are brethren and both are to be protected, then as it is the duty of the elder brother to embrace him, it is the duty of the younger brother also that he should embrace his elder brother. If both cooperate with each other, then no sentimental issue will come forward and all the things can be settled peacefully and amicably. I would like that you may yourself go to Ayodhya and see the place which is being called as Babri Masjid. If you find everything contrary to what has been said in the Shariat, then I would request my Muslim colleagues to come forward and say, "Dear brothers construct your temple, we are not going to instigate the people". Only then Hindu-Muslim unity in the country can be sustained. With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

SHRI YOGESHWAR PRASAD YOGESH (Chatra) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the House has been discussing for the last three days the subject of communal harmony and, the feelings expressed by the Hon. Speaker as an introduction to the subject, shows miserable story of our past. We are undergoing the punishment even after 38 years of independence for the sin of partition of the country we committed at the time of attaining independence. Here I recall a couplet :

[Shri Yogeshwar Prasad Yogesh]

*Taareekh ki aankhon mein woh jabr bhi
dekha hai,*

*Lamhon ne khata ki thi, sadiyon ne sazaa
pali hai.*

It means that we are suffering even today for the sin we committed centuries ago. We have not come out of that fear yet.

The background of secularism on which Shri Amal Datt and Shri Indrajit Gupta were speaking yesterday was the communist background of secularism and the theory of negation of religion had been propounded in that. In Communist States, secularism is there but they do not have any religion. Religion has no place in those States but that theory has no recognition, no importance in our country. In our country in place of negation of religion, there is a long and high tradition of religion. We have been following that tradition for centuries and on that basis we have enlightened the whole world.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, our country is a universe in miniature where Hindu, Buddh, Islam, Sikh and Zoroastrian religions—all have born and flourished. (*The bell rings.*) Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have not started yet. In our country all religions have established proprieties and human values. In Islam, there are 70 branches of Hadis. Hadis says to worship God as the biggest and the highest thing. Do not worship any body else. Do not do a thing which hurts others' feelings. In Ramayana also the same thing has been said :

*Parhit saris dharam nahin bhai,
Pat-peera sum jug adhinaai.*

and in Guru Granth Sahib also it has been said that *Ek pita ek hi ke hum balak'*. Bible also emphasises the same thing—service to man is service to God.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we need not go far off for communal harmony. We should learn a lesson from history. Akbar had conceived 'Tohid-e-Ilahi'. He was both politician and a religious man. He got the inspiration of secularism from Babar and Humayun. Babar had written to

Humayun not to ever attack the religion of the country he was ruling because that would hurt the feelings of the people. For that Akbar had constructed an Imamkhana in Fatehpur Sikri where followers of all religions used to gather and religions discusses used to take place. Akbar himself used to preside over these meetings.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to tell that Akbar did certain good things at that time to which we should give our thought at present. He got Ramayana, Yog Vashishtha, Puranas and Upnishads translated into Persian by Faiz and propagated them amongst Muslims so that good feelings for Hindus could be inculcated in them. He got "Allopnishad" written and distributed among Hindus so that goodwill for Muslims could be instilled among Hindus. Abul Fazal had assisted him much in this effort.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, time is short and as such I shall not take much of it. I shall conclude in one minute. This country does not want to be involved in communal clashes and no one is either against secularism. It is all politicking which instigates us to fight with one another. Otherwise, if we were to fight, we would have fought by this time because thousand of communal riots have already taken place in the country. In 1947, country faced a big danger and it was divided. But today, the country is not prepared for this.

Unfortunately when some Muslim comes forward to protect some Hindu, that Muslim is killed by the Muslims and when some Hindu comes forward to save Muslims, the Hindus murder him. The biggest examples of this are Dara Shikoh and Mahatma Gandhi and in the present era the martyrdom of shrimati Indira Gandhi has become a glaring example of this in the Indian history.

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj) : Mr. Chairman, much water has flowed down the river Sabarmathi since Gandhiji established an Ashram on its banks and many a time has Gandhiji been killed in our country ever since the

Mahatma was assassinated in 1948. We are speaking here today with a deep sense of anguish. We are all hardened criminals. Mr. Chairman and I appreciate the response of the Minister of State Shri Chidambaram to the situation he saw on his visit, to Ahmedabad, Perhaps he is new to the game. He is fresh. He is young mind. His mind registered the violence, the intensity, the tragedy, the horror, the brutality of it all and he came before us and spoke from his heart and he touched our hearts. I appreciate very much what he said. I wish that recrudescence and recurrence of communal violence in our country will not brutalise him as well, as it has brutalised many of us.

Today, we are not sensitive to human pain ; to the human sufferings. Let me say Mr. Chairman, that we must share the suffering of everyone who suffers. We must share the agony of every heart. We must not confuse the insecurity in the minds of the minority with the insecurity in the minds of the muslim community alone. We must see to it that every single individual, every single citizen in our country, where-ever he be, feels secured and safe and happy and has due protection of law, whether it is Kashmir or Assam or whether it is Gujarat or Maharashtra or Uttar Pradesh.

Sir, we are speaking here of the right of to life and the right to life Mr. Chairman is the most basic right and it is the most fundamental right. It comes before civilisation. It comes before culture. It comes before human history. It comes before everything else. And it comes before all human values. And it civilised Government cannot protect the life, it has no right to exist. Government as such, as an institution must go, if we are left with the law of the jungle and we have to face the brutal dagger or the brutal fire at any time.

20 hrs.

Sir, between communal tension and violence, we must distinguish. There is a communal consciousness in our country which is being propagated not only through textbooks, not only through press, but also deliberately by organisations which are committed to rousing communal

consciousness, It is they who go on preaching the gospel of communal violence. It is they who go on saying that the country belongs in a special, sense to one community. It is they who go on casting aspersions on all other communities, and calling them unpatriotic, and questioning their loyalty. It is they who sow bitterness and hatred and violence in the hearts of men of goodwill. It is there that we have to build our defences. It is there in those hearts that we have got to protect the integrity of our country. It is those organizations that we must identify, we must expose, we must unmask even if they wear sometimes a religious garb, if sometimes they wear a holy mask. Still it is our duty, as citizens, that we must unmask and expose them.

When we have fought communal consciousness, then alone Mr. Chairman, we can begin to fight communal violence, because violence begins in the hearts of men. It is not the hand alone which commits violence. Communal violence is engineered. It is planned. Arms do not appear from nowhere. They are collected. They are distributed. Rumours are manufactured and spread. Plans are made, organizations get into the game, then they commit deliberate violence.

Mr. Chairman, we must understand one things : communal violence has permeated perhaps into all walks of life. How can the Police force be free from it ? And, therefore, today communal violence has adopted other manifestation. It is no longer as much mob violence as the frenzied, violent confrontation between the Police force, the guardians of law and order, the guardians of life and honour and property, on the one hand and communities after communities on the other. It is there that the hon. Minister has got to do something concrete.

I would suggest one or two things, Mr. Chairman, with your kind permission. People have talked about processions. Processions cannot be banned. But a fine distinction can be made between artificial, politically-motivated processions which are being invented every day, and processions which are traditional, with which emotions of the people are

[Shri Syed Sahabuddin]

attached ; These historical and traditional processions can be properly regulated.

Mr. Chairman, action must be taken against the Press. The figures that were given by the hon. Minister of State just the tip of the iceberg. I also say that the Police force cannot and should not only be a composite force. It must also be deployed as a composite force in sensitive areas, all sections four people see face in the Police so that people have confidence. We have spoken about the Senas. You cannot abolish the Senas. You cannot eliminate the Senas from our country, until the average citizen, to whichever community he belongs, develops a sense of confidence in the Police force, and he will not, if the Police force is partisan ; he will not, if the Police force is centred on a single caste or a single social group.

Finally, I would also say that the punitive fine idea must be revived ; but I would like to add something, Let the punitive fine be collected and distributed in a manner that the Hindu community pays for the losses suffered by the Muslim community, and the Muslim community pays for the losses suffered by the Hindu community. Thus we shall develop that rapport and that feeling of inter-dependence which is the essence of civilized living.

Finally, I would like to make a suggestion. We have spoken of judicial enquiry. I have lost faith in judicial enquiry. In any case, nobody looks at their reports. Under the new dispensation, we may not be able to have its report in Parliament. I plead with you, I appeal to you, I appeal to the Government through you : let a Parliamentary Committee be established as a monitor, as a permanent monitor of all communal violence, because there is nothing more important than saving human life and the country from the scourge and fire of communal violence. Let violence be monitored ; and let this Committee visit every area which is engulfed by fire ; let it pour water over the fire. Today, government policy has been criticised of as a fire brigade approach. My complaint is not that it deploys a fire brigade. My complaint is that this fire brigade, instead of pouring water over the fire, pours petrol all over the fire. This

fire brigade helps conflagration to spread, and does not extinguish it.

S. IRI S. B. SIDNAL (Belgaum) ; The problem before us is whether we can reduce the extent of communalism or root it out, by legislation or by social condemnation. India consists of many religions, castes, sects etc. It is not only a question of communalism between Hindus and Muslims. There are sectarian feelings between different castes within the same religion or community. We have disputes over languages and also State boundaries. What are we to do ? Can we control these things by social institutions or by legislation or through a strong Bill ? Many things cannot be controlled by legislation. They can be controlled by social condemnation through various institutions.

Disparity in education is one of the important things. So, my suggestion would be to educate the people. If we educate the people, it can be routed out by itself because when a citizen is highly educated and qualified, he would know the consequences of communal disturbances : he cannot be brain washed by any other institution or religion. He can know his responsibility, duty and liability towards the society.

Economic disparity also creates frustration in the youngsters' mind when they do not receive education, when they do not get jobs and they are unemployed. Any rich man, any smuggler, any bootlegger can employ them for a few chips and make them set fire to a particular thing, whether he belongs to this religion or that religion. There we have an example in the whole of the globe, that is Iran-Iraq war ; it belongs to the same community. What is there ? What is the dispute ? It may be economic disparity or misunderstanding or mutual suspicion or mutual distrust.

What are the remedies before us ? The police is accused ; the Press is accused and the political leaders are accused. Are they responsible ? In my opinion, there are many other sources which are responsible. We know many things and we do not talk of them. Many a time we preach a philosophy but we never practice it.

Recently, in Karnataka, over a language, about a dozen people were killed for no reason and we are all Indias and we are brothers, but, still we kill mutually. This is most unfortunate. It is high time for us to achieve national integration. Everybody knows that only communal disturbances are flared up in big cities where slums are there, where over population is there. Why has it been created? The reason is people go from villages to cities and stay there; there it takes place. It never happens in the villages. Communal mongers are very few; they are known to everybody. So, they should be looked after properly.

Recently, in Karnataka it had taken place. It was never known to us, but, still, it was engineered properly, thought-out properly. For example, in Muib one fellow was sitting in a rickshaw. The man who was sitting in a rickshaw belonged to another community and the puller of the rickshaw belonged to another community. Over payment, they quarrelled and the communal disturbances flared up. We did not know where it had started and how it had started: when a house was set on fire: we did not know from which direction the fire came. So, many sermons were made, many doubts were entertained; It percolated to each man and each place doubting everything. Therefore, I feel that a special recruitment of the officers should be made; they should be trained properly just like commandos are trained, and they should be kept to monitor because we have identified districts in U.P. and throughout the country where it always happens. Right from our school days, we have been reading the newspapers. Even in U.P., in Varanasi and Banaras, all these things are taking place. Are we not able to control them? I thank the Minister and the hon. Prime Minister for having thought of all these things. In Press, anything is highlighted just to inflate it; and especially a code of conduct should be laid down by a legislation that such things should be condemned. And secondly, lastly, communal harmony should be encouraged, In many of the text books when big personalities are mentioned the first sentence which the child reads is that man belonged to such and such a community. Therefore, we have to exercise caution and ensure communal harmony

irrespective of the party to which one belongs.

Lastly, I quote :

*Tu Hindu banega na Musalmaan banega
Insaan ki aulad hai insaan banega.*

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI (Raiganj) :
After independence of the country it was expected that communal riots would end. But unfortunately we have seen that thousands of such riots have occurred in our country recently in Allahabad and Ahmedabad. In spite of the machinery with the State Government, repeated riots are taking place at Ahmedabad. Only when our hon. Minister, Mr. Chidambaram, went over there riot was controlled. Our reputation in the foreign countries is going down because of these communal riots and we must curb all these communal riots.

It is observed that these communal riots take place at such places where the Muslims are a little well-established economically, and these are pre-planned riots. The aim of these riots is that the Muslims at these places should be destroyed by capturing their trade and business. In many places the Police has been found to be helping the attackers. In Ahmedabad it has been found that many Muslims have suffered losses at the hands of the police during the curfew hours.

Communal hatred against the Muslims is at the root of all such riots. Such feelings are being spread by communal organisations like Viswa Hindu Parishad, Bharat Hindu Parishad, the R.S.S., the Shiv Sena, etc. The R.S.S. is now a paramilitary organisation

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad has been holding mass meetings at various places and at many such meetings they have been expressing the opinion that Muslims are enemies of the Hindus and they are actually even saying that they will be having blood bath with the blood of Muslims and that the Muslims would be driven out of this country. Mr. Bal Thakre of Shiv Sena is on record of saying this. He also said that Muslims will be thrown out to Pakistan.

(Interruptions)

This Government should take note of these communal organisations etc. And, primarily I think that the responsibility

[Dr. Golam Yazdani]

for these riots lies with the State Governments where these communal riots take place. They have got all the resources and all the means to stop those communal riots. And for the continuance and recurrence of these communal riots I think that again the State Governments alone are responsible. They have got the I.B. Department which is sufficient to give them information so that they can prevent riots in time. The State Governments should give standing orders to police to shoot to death anybody who would try to initiate communal riots and should punish the police who fail in such duty. On the contrary, we see that when riots took place in Moradabad and Meerut, the Police and the PAC who were responsible for those riots were not transferred, and they were not punished.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI : You are giving time to everybody. Let me finish. As the Police and PAC have been found to be at great fault, during those communal riots, it was suggested that Muslims should be inducted into such services in large numbers to assure the Muslims. But that has not been done.

It is found that no culprit responsible for the communal riots has ever been punished. I think that such culprits should be hanged so that they may be examples to others. Many newspapers publish false and inflammatory news of riots against Muslims. Such papers should be taken to task.

Due to frequent communal riots in the country the Muslims feel insecure and the Government should assure them.

I like to suggest one thing more. Some School text books are full of hatred against Muslims. The Government should take note of these text books.

Lastly, I have a suggestion to make, that the National Integration Council should make a move and visit places of communal disturbances and with the help of the local secular minded persons and other democratic forces should tackle the communal problems-

Lastly, I would say that there is a communal tension throughout the country about the Babri mosque. This problem should be solved.

With these words, I thank you very much.

SHRI D. B. PATIL (Kolaba) : As the time is very short at our disposal, I will skip all my points and I would only ask a pertinent question the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. I hope you will give me sufficient time to frame the question properly. I am asking the question in the background of what the hon. Minister of State for Internal Security while intervening talked about some guidelines. I will refer to only one guideline. He had stated that for communal disturbances Collector and SP would be directly responsible even though their services are not directly under the control of the Central Government. When he said so, he was applauded very vigorously. I have nothing to say about the guidelines and I have nothing to say about the vigorous in which his speech was applauded. If the Collector and SP are to be held responsible directly for the failure to contain communal disturbances, for failure of the intelligence so far as communal disturbances are concerned, if the Central Government's failure is proved on this very important matter, who should be held responsible ?

We are discussing a very important subject since Monday. Many of the speakers have spoken here. The Government seems to be, appears to be and poses to be very serious so far as this problem is concerned. But so far as action of the Government is concerned, the action belies all that has been professed by the Government. The Government, I charge and accuse, is very different so far as the communal disturbances are concerned. There was a starred Question No. 89 today. Two of the Members asked it. The question was about the name of places where communal riots have been taken place during the period January to July, 1986. There was certain time prescribed. When the information was asked for from the Government on this very important subject of communal disturbances in the country, was it not the

duty of the Government to collect the information properly and supply to the House? Has it been done? It has not been done. If this has not been done, who is responsible for this. If the intelligence of the Central Government has failed, who is responsible for that? Even through communal disturbances have taken place in Madhya Pradesh and Kashmir—I can give the details—there is no mention of all places in Madhya Pradesh and Kashmir in the statement. That is not enough. I come from Maharashtra. About Maharashtra the information is only about Nasik and Panval that is at only two places there were communal disturbances. Besides these two places, I can tell you that communal disturbances have taken place at Nanded Aurangabad, Samgamner and Umapur and other places. At these places there were serious communal disturbances. But there was no mention of these places in the statement. At Aurangabad communal disturbances took place two times—first time it took place in January and then in May. I want to ask a pertinent question from the hon. Home Minister. Is it not a Failure of your intelligence? If there is a failure of your intelligence, should we ask the resignation of the Home Minister or the Prime Minister?

The information asked was about the persons killed. Had the Government been very serious, they would have given the information very correctly. But the information that has been given is very wrong. So far as the deaths are concerned, at panvel that is, my Home town, the deaths are three but it has been stated that the deaths are only two. At Mcorut, the deaths, according to the official version, were seven but it has been stated here that the deaths are only two. Taking into consideration all these facts, the number of casualties are not being given properly and correctly. A question was asked in this House and the information on such

an important question is not being supplied properly and correctly. And since it is not being supplied properly and correctly, if I draw an inference that the Government is not serious in this matter or if I say that the attitude of the Government is very callous in this matter, am I not justified in saying so? I think I am justified because this is a very important subject which has been discussed here for the last three days...*(Interruptions.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, please conclude.

SHRI D. B. PATIL : I would conclude now. Though I have to make so many points but as promised, I will skip all those points. But I would like to conclude by saying that if these communal disturbances are to be stopped, they have to be stopped immediately. The atmosphere is so vitiated that nobody can guess when, where and for what reasons will the communal disturbances occur. Can somebody imagine that an altercation between the two passengers who are ascending a State transport bus will turn out into a communal disturbance just because there is a quarrel between those two persons? For such paltry reasons the communal disturbances have been taking place. So, according to me, until and unless the secular, democratic, progressive, left force are strengthened in this country, such type of communal disturbances are not going to be stopped. So, these forces should be strengthened and should be strengthened at the earliest possible time, that if the only remedy for the malady called communal disturbances.

20.24 hrs.

MR. Chairman : The House now stands adjourned to reassemble tomorrow the 24th July, 1986 at 11 A.M.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, July 24, 1986/Sarvana 2, 1908 (Saka).