

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: They are dreaming to come to power over the dead body of secularism in this country. But, I am sure, the people of this country are true democrats; they will never allow, never, never allow this brand of communal party to come to power. (Interruptions) We shall fight them in every forum, in every place and we shall fight them politically. And I want that this Government must behave as a Government, strong Government and should not allow this political party to take advantage of any inaction on the part of this Government.

Therefore, today, when the country is facing a serious problem, I, once again, before resuming my seat, appeal to the people outside also that this is a very serious moment that the country is facing. Let us unite and unite to fight this cancer in our body politic.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: (Dum dum): What happened to lunch? It is already 1.30.P.M. when will we adjourn for lunch?

AN. HON. MEMBER: After this discussion.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE: We do not know. We have not been told.

MR. SPEAKER: You sit down. I will tell you. We will have lunch and the lunch hour also. You will have lunch in the lunch hour. We will be adjourning now. But then let oime make it clear to hon. Members that this may be continued up to 4.30.p.m. Then the second matter will be taken up. I hope that you will agree that as the second matter is also important it shall have sufficient time and it should go on up to 7 p.m. today. Then tomorrow the Railway Budget and other

things are there. So, it may be difficult. Let us discuss today itself and help each other. We now adjourn for lunch up to 2.30.p.m.

13.37. hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till thirty minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at thirty four minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

#### INTRODUCTION OF MINISTERS - CONTD.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF WATER RESOURCES AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA): Sir, departing from the formal Business of the House, I have to introduce to you and through you to the House. Shri Salman Khursheed, who has been promoted as Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs.

14.35.hrs.

#### DISCUSSIONS UNDER RULE 193 - CONTD.

(i) Ban on Political Rallies at Boat Club - (contd)

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER): Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to intervene.

Sir, first of all, I would like to make a request to the Home Minister. When Mr.

Somnath Chatterjee was speaking, he mentioned that this ban is for three months for all the parties. I believe that this ban should be for all the communal parties. Any other party which is not communal, which does not have a communal base, should be allowed to express its opinion. I here when we are fighting communal forces in this country, Mr. Pilot and Mr. Chavan will please make a note of it and see that this ban which is for three months, should be for all the three communal parties which are anti-secular... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): Do you remember the definition of communalism? Is it not communal to form a Government with the alliance of the Muslim League?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: We have called all the communal parties in general. We have not made even a reference to your party. We have not mentioned the name as yet. Let me start, I have not started yet. I do not know what will happen when I start. (Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): Why was then a ban imposed on our party's rally, Our's is a national party. (Interruptions)

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: It is like a wishful thinking. (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Definitely, it will be told. It will be told after some time. I have said that it will be told just now. (Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: No other political party is more communal than yours. We do not require any certificate from you.... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Please listen,

I made a mention of the communal parties only and did not make any reference to B.J.P. at all.

SHRI KALKA DAS: When our party is not a communal one, why then a ban has been imposed on the proposed rally of our party? (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: You speak when your turn comes... (Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: Ours is a national party, a recognised national party and a party that is to come to power in the days to come.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I will just explain it, how it will come.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us hear the views of the Government please.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: Our party will come to power and your party will lose.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I will soon dispel your illusions. Let me, at least, speak.

SHRI KALKA DAS: You should think of yourself.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: If you think of coming to power by creating disturbances, organising rallies and raking up the Mandir-Masjid issue, then it is nothing but a dream... (Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: It is never like that. The people whom you want to appease will desert you any moment.



[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let there be no cross talk please. Let us hear the view of the Government.

[Translation]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura); Nobody interrupted when Advaniji was speaking.

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: You were not present here when Advaniji was speaking.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Your rally is to be held in Delhi, if at all it is held, I would, therefore, like that you should listen to me, at least for two minutes.

Shri Advani was just now saying that the rally would be peaceful and for that they should be relied upon. Shri Somnath Chatterjee has put this matter before you in details. I do not want to repeat it. But I would certainly like to submit one thing. I have quoted Shri Somnath Chatterjee. You can refer to 20 to 25 years of political history of Delhi itself. The B.J.P. has never stuck to its assurances.

I remember the days when Advaniji was a member of the Corporation. I may be corrected if I am wrong. The B.J.P. then took up the issue of abolishing the use of English in Delhi. A total bandh was observed in Delhi. Figures written in English on the shops were all painted black, the Buses having any words of English written on them were damaged and destroyed. They said that they cannot tolerate even very utterance of English. But do you know what happened? The leaders of B.J.P. got their words admitted into English Medium Schools shortly after the Corporation elections were over. Who will then rely upon them?

The issue of protesting against cow

slaughter was raised by them thereafter. I too strongly protest it. Saints and sages from all over the country were invited to assemble. They were brought to front line and killed. There was violence all around. There were incidents of arson in Connaught Place. Shops were looted. There was innumerable loss of life. Even then the B.J.P. assured that its rally would be peaceful and that there would be no violence. We know that consequently half the Connaught place kept burning and shops were looted. After that the people... (Interruptions) I am giving reply to all the points..... (Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: What happened in 1984.... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: By raising this issue, you have given me an opportunity to express my views on the issue... (Interruptions)

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: The police fired on the saints resulting in death of many of them. There will be a reaction to every action. (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I am happy that I have got a chance to explain the 1984 riots. I wished very much that it would really be so nice if I got an opportunity to give a reply on this question inside the Parliament. I do want to give a reply..... (Interruptions).....As many as three Inquiry Commissions were set up. It is very necessary for me to explain it because allegations have been made against me. Three Commissions were set up and more than ten thousand applications were received. But nobody brought forward an application against me even indirectly.... (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: What a fun!

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: It is not a fun! Your party rally is held at the Boat Club again and again. Shri Madan Lal Khurana

was the leader and he repeatedly demanded that Jagdish Tytler should be hanged. But no proof could be produced. There was no direct charge against me when Mishra Commission was set up.... (Interruptions)

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: Well, the saints were killed, but the point is who killed them. Did they commit suicide?... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: You know, there is only one leader in Delhi who defeated three top leaders of the Bhartiya Janata Party. Among them, there was a Vice-President, a General Secretary and a President of your party. I know fully well how to defeat a person and how to win. When you failed even on this front, then you started befooling people by filling Ganga water in bottles bought from the market. The interesting thing is that the Indian Express published the photographs of people who were filling bottles with tap water to sell them to people in the name of Ganga water. You then dropped the tactics of befooling people the name of Ganga water and tried to further befool the innocent people by asking them to donate bricks for constructing a temple of Lord Ram. It hardly needs emphasising that every individual has something of God in him. It hardly requires any explanation as to what sort of relation develops between a devotee and God when prayer is offered. The B.J.P. cannot explain the relation that exists between an individual on the one hand and the God on the other. I would like to have attention drawn to a mother whose two children have lost their father. She asks as to what was the fault of her innocent children for which they suffer. They neither went to Ayodhya nor talked of Masjid, nor even pronounced the name of Ram Who will answer her questions. You cannot reply her... (Interruptions)

SHRI VINAY KATIYAR (Faizabad):  
But what do you say about Bombay and

Ahamedabad? (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: am coming to that point. Please have patience... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You kindly hear him. Whenever there is an occasion for you to speak, you can express your views.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: Sir, he should not mislead the House... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: You correct me when you rise to speak. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is a very pertinent point. Delhi is a business centre. I tell you one thing about the year 1984 and I would certainly sit down for two minutes if you still have something more to add... (Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: No proof could be given for the Inquiry Commission that was set up by the Government of your party. What happened to the Sikh Community in Delhi in the 1984 riots, who engineered that riot... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Delhi is a business centre where lakhs of people come from all over India to seek out a living and after the whole day's work they take shelter in their jhuggies. They suffer the most in the wake of such rallies. You can recall that whenever rallies have been held in the past the business activities of the poor come to a standstill. Shops are forcibly closed. I am the Minister of Transport. During my tenure so far the call for Delhi bandh has been given twice in the past. The B.J.P. men who organised the rally give a written assurance to the police that no damage would be

[Sh. Jagdish Tytler]

caused to public property during the rally.  
But buses were damaged and set ablaze.  
Who will then rely upon them?

SHRI KALKA DAS: We fulfilled our  
promise. The damages were done  
deliberately.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Advani ji said  
one thing.... (Interruptions)

[English]

THE MINISTER OF WATER  
RESOURCES AND MINISTER OF  
PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI  
VIDYACHARAN SHUKLA): Mr. Deputy  
Speaker, Sir, our Members should be allowed  
to speak. If the Members are interrupted like  
this, then the debate cannot go on smoothly.  
They can rebut the charges when their turn  
comes to speak.... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let the hon.  
Minister explain what he wants to say. If you  
want to rebut it, you can definitely do so when  
your chance to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I simply want  
to say that in the name of religion.....  
(Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: One should not  
mislead the House and we should refrain  
from bringing about false allegations against  
each other.... (Interruptions)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Sir, I live in  
Delhi and I represent one of the  
Constituencies of Delhi in the Parliament. I  
have thrice defeated their top leaders of  
Delhi in the electoral battle. The truth is bitter  
which I can now realise easily. One thing is  
now very clear that the people of Delhi have

come to know the truth. Not only that the  
false design of the conspirators is yet to be  
exposed when the people would come to  
know that false marriage cards were prepared  
and circulated. (Interruptions) False marriage  
cards bearing the names of I.A.S. officers  
were circulated and are being displayed on  
boards. The BJP workers are attending  
marriage ceremonies (Interruptions) You  
make false statements in the House and  
claim that you worship truth. (Interruptions)  
You made false statements in the Allahabad  
High Court, in the Supreme Court and even  
in this august House and did not apologise.  
(Interruptions) The country is in flames.  
Gujarat is burning. You did not think of the  
consequences. Shri Advani had said one  
thing, today morning.... (Interruptions)

14.40 hrs

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE in the Chair]

Shri Advani has rightly said that  
countdown has begun. But whose countdown  
is it? The is a constituency called Iaman in  
Meghalaya where majority of populac belongs  
to plains. A Congress candidate in that  
constituency got up on the stage and said  
that if Lord Rama is really there, let Him make  
him win the election. (Interruptions) Lord  
Rama has given his verdict. (Interruptions) I  
must say one thing. (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly take your seat.  
If the speech is irrelevant, I will stop the  
speaker. Please sit down.

[Translation]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: I would like to  
make a point on which they may not speak  
much. Everybody should take a lesson from  
this. There was a country called Yugoslavia.  
People in that country indulged themselves  
in war in the name of religion and within a

year Yugoslavia ceased to be a member of the United Nations and disappeared from the world map. Religious leaders are sitting comfortably in their houses. People in their thousands. (*Interruptions*)

You should have the courage to listen. We will not allow our country to become on an other Yugoslavia as long as this type of people live here. (*Interruptions*)

I can also speak as loudly as you can. I thought that they would have no objection to mention of Yugoslavia. I was not aware that their guilty conscience has reached such heights. In that country people fought in the name of religion and in the name of ethnica local people. Today the situation is that after partition of states, battle is going on for the division of districts. We do not want to witness such a situation in this country. Before concluding, I would like to submit one thing. (*Interruptions*) Only yesterday, I returned from Nagaland. There is a small place where there is a cherry tree near a small tennis court .... (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: No reply like this. Kindly take your seat. Please wind up now.

[*Translation*]

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Please listen. I am talking of the rally only. One should hear it. What has been written there. When this country was engaged in freedom struggle, many names viz, Ram, Shakur Khan, Jacob and thousand others had been written there. Please pay due attention to it and listen. It is written under a cherry tree. When the freedom fighters were struggling for freedom, what were their thought:-

[*English*]

" Go home and tell them that we are giving up today so that you can have

tomorrow".

[*Translation*]

AN. HON. MEMBER: It is very old.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Yes, it is very old but you have forgotten it. Had you not forgotten, you would not have caused such a devastation in the country. What I want to say is that nobody can divide this country. We will not allow anybody to divide this country. The rally which is being organised by communal forces should be stopped with a firm hand so that an important city like Delhi is not polluted.

[*English*]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapur): Sir, after these Members display here, how can we believe that these protestations of this Rally being peaceful? This is an example. If ten lakhs of people or five lakhs of people behave like this, what will happen? (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

Please wait and speak only when your turn comes. If you have the courage please listen and speak thereafter. I am not preventing you from speaking. Then why are you preventing me from speaking..... (*Interruptions*)

AN. HON. MEMBER: You are getting the response for what you were doing a little while go (*Interruptions*)

AN. HON. MEMBER: Please do self retrospection. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please listen to the directives of your leader. At least you should respect your leader. It does not look nice. You are showing disrespect to your leader... (*Interruptions*)

[English]

**SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY** (Jagatsinghpur): They are going to have a peaceful rally here in parliament itself.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Shri Indrajit Guptaji, kindly address the Chair now.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** The question which arises is whether we can afford to run the risk of having a repetition of what happened on the 6th of December. I know that was a question of protection of a structure of a mosque. But this is not that. Though there may be many mosques in Delhi on route to the Boat Club, but no declaration or announcement has been made, thank goodness, that mosques in Delhi are going to be demolished. Not even the Jama Masjid is going to be demolished.

The point is I am totally against any kind of ban on the activities of political parties. But we have been fooled once. We cannot forget that. I said in this House to the Prime Minister that he should be given a prize for gullibility because he always said that he had believed implicitly in all the assurances which had been given by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and by other BJP leaders, to the National Integration Council, to the Parliament and to the Supreme Court and, therefore, he had not expected that he would be betrayed. The word he used was 'betrayed'. Let us not go into that question now as to why he believed so implicitly in them or not.

The tragic thing is that—anybody who has studied the whole situation knows very well—that destruction of that mosque would have been stopped. It was not something which was inevitable. It could have been stopped if this Government and its Prime Minister had the will and the courage to stop it., it could have been stopped. The tragedy is that it was not stopped and that has emboldened these friends of ours here because they think

that they are dealing with the weak, vacillating and indecisive Prime Minister. That is a very uncharitable interpretation, I should say. Many people in the country have begun to suspect that there was some kind of a secret understanding, some kind of a collusion, between Mr. Lal K. Advani and Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao as to why this was allowed to happen after all the assurances which had been given publicly in the court and everywhere.

I regret to say that after the 6th of December, neither the Prime Minister nor Mr. Advani—he was, of course, not here—has uttered a single word in public, at least expressing grief over the thousands of people who have lost their lives in the fall out of 6th December. (Interruptions) There may be Hindus, Muslims or anybody. They are our brothers and sisters, whether it was in Varanasi or in Kanpur or in Jaipur or in Bombay or in Surat or in Calcutta or any place, the people who lost their lives, whose houses were burnt, whose shops were looted and whose children were killed. I do not want to go into what happened in Surat to women, the horror story in Surat.

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI:** (Gandhi Nagar): Indrajitji, this is not fair because something has been said which goes on record uncontroversed. It would be totally unfair to my Party and to me. And therefore so far as the killings of people in these riots are concerned, irrespective of whether they were Hindus or Muslims, I regarded it as a shame and a stigma for the country and I condemned those killings.

15.00 hrs

And I do feel that if the Government had been alert, what happened in Bombay and Maharashtra would not have happened. (Interruptions)

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** We were

informed through the Press on thing.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I had been to both the places personally and condemned it there itself unreservedly. (Interruptions)

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): Who is responsible?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: But I did mention and I do reiterate that Ayodhya has got nothing to do with what happened in Bombay. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: They are very much connected with that. (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK): Have they condemned the root cause of the whole situation? (Interruptions)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I will come to the root cause at some appropriate day and time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him continue, please.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We were informed through the Press - if it was wrong, Shri Lal K. Advani will correct it, I am sure - that when the news of these demolition at Ayodhya came, Shri Advani had said- I do not know to whom he said it; to some reporters, perhaps - that he was overcome by remorse and later on, after a few days, he said: " I express no regrets for what has happened".

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am sure, we will have an occasion to discuss Ayodhya when that Ordinance comes up for discussion.

There, I do propose to give at length my own stand. There is no contradiction between whatever I said on the 6th and whatever I said on the 8th - within two days I would also like to say that I do think that what happened was regrettable but it is not the kind of a calamity and shame that many of you think it is a shame. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is a shame for the nation but not for you (Interruptions)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: So far as the riots are concerned, so far as the killings of innocent people are concerned that is shame; I condemned it unreservedly.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: These are some of the basic human instincts or values on which we differ Maybe, they think that that demolition was not a calamity because - what did he say? it was, after, all, a dilapidated structure or something like that.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The point is that has to be shifted by due process of law. That is what we said. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: There was a big controversy created by our friends here as to whether it can really be called a Mosque or whether it actually has become a Mandir long ago; the structure may look like a Mosque but inside the structure what was going on was all the functions of a Mandir. I had said on the previous occasion, here, that whether it was a Mosque or a Mandir, you can go on arguing.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: We will discuss that later.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Even if it was a Mosque or even if it was a Mandir, it was a place of religious worship. It was a symbol of some religion. They have not been able to answer why they have demolished; why they broke that. Well, Shri Advani was away then, not in the House. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRIMRUTYUNJAYANAYAK: Please say what are you going to demolish next?

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: The Congress structure would be the next target.... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him speak now. Please do not interrupt now.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: My old friend Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee here in the House, sitting here, had also expressed remorse and grief at what had happened. He said: " We were not able to control those people; these were not our directions, what they carried out was something on their own volition". He also said: " We should find out who are those people who defied our instruction; who climbed on to the Mosque and how they demolished that." He further said that they should be brought to task. This is what he said here. Who is to be brought to task and by whom? I do not know. They will probably be hailed as heroes or something for having demolished the Mosque. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA (Firozabad): Please speak on the rally.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We will not allow you to hold the rally because you resort to manhandling and destroying public property in such rallies.

[English]

Sir, there are several lakhs of Muslims living in this Capital city of Delhi. I will tell you that in the old City, the Walled City of Delhi as well as in certain parts, in certain colonies

of New Delhi where there is a big Muslim population, there is, at the moment, utter panic prevailing among them at the thought of what may happen on 25th. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM KAPSE (Thane): Created by the Government.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Created partly also by Mr. Khurana because Mr. Khurana only a few weeks ago was trying to mobilise people, taking the law into his own hand, and proclaimed that we must march to such and such place and catch hold of immigrants from Bangladesh and see that they are thrown out. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get your turn, please.

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: I have never said it .

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Listen, I agree with you....

SHRI KALKA DAS ( Karol gh): These people had gone there to serve the country and not to scare those people who are outsiders and have settled here. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Why are you laughing after uttering these words?

SHRI KALKA DAS: What else can anyone do on hearing your statement. Earlier also you mentioned such things in regard to Ayodhya incident. You are mentioning the same things today also. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If you so desire I will sit down. You may speak. (Interruptions)

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur): You are playing the same record time and



again. We want that it may not be replayed.  
(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is not the way to  
reply. You reply when your turn comes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Shri Somnath Chatterjee has already mentioned the fact that the Government in the name of this ban on the 25th rally took advantage of it in order to impose a blanket ban on all parties for three months throughout the region of Delhi. I protest strongly against this, this attitude of neutrality as it were, between communal forces and anti-communal forces because we do not believe in that. We believe that people must be mobilised politically against them. You would not allow it. Only three days ago I was to address - posters and other things were there - a meeting in East Delhi, in the area near Mother Dairy. At the last moment, police came. They took away all the mikes, loud-speakers, stage and everything and chased the people away from there as though they had committed some crime or something. This is because, a blanket ban has been imposed. I do not support this idea of banning. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is too much now.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The question is, if you impose any ban either on a meeting or on some so-called illegal organisations or on something else, are you in a position to implement that ban effectively? You are not. They know it very well also. What is the use of this kind of half-hearted ban which does not have any effect at all? How many RSS people who had been rounded up in the first few days in Uttar Pradesh I know, were released on the same day? In fact, in some cases when the warrants of arrests were taken to them, the bail bonds were taken

along with that. They took one, signed the other, spoke on the telephone and were released immediately. We the communist in this country also have had some experience of being declared illegal and banning of the party. We never knew this kind of a thing, this kind of half-hearted farce of ban. We know how we were rounded up in the middle of night without any previous warning. Here five or six day's warning was given to the RSS and others as, "ban is coming, ban is coming, ban is coming." They had enough time to make all necessary arrangements.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) Van is coming.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Van came after the ban.

We still feel that something more effective than any kind of police measures or any kind of ban is necessary. Somebody talked about the barbed wire being erected. I do not know whether the barbed wire is being erected or machine guns are being erected. I do not know whether the barbed wire is being erected or machine guns are being erected. I do not know. I have not seen anything. But, peoples' mobilisation is essential. This Congress Government and Congress Party, up till now, are signally failing to do it. Even in this House, I said this.

I have been to many places - to Bihar, to Rajasthan and other places - and everywhere we find this Congress Government and Congress Organization are inactive, paralysed, not moving, not going to the people. In some places, of course, they are busy breaking each other's head. That is another trouble. It is giving them a lot of encouragement. What has happened in Kerala? What has happened in Orissa? What has happened in Maharashtra and in Bombay? That is not the way to fight against these forces.



SHRI MRUTYUNJAYA NAYAK: They do not have that much support in Orissa.

SHRI RAM NAIK: You did not say that in the GPC meeting.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Shri Advani, persisted here with his old charge which is being bandied in the country that somebody has opposed the playing or the singing of *Vande Mataram*. I categorically deny it. The argument that went on - the dispute, if you like to call it - was whether at the beginning and end of the Parliament session which one of the two - the National Anthem *Vande mathgarm*-, would be given precedence.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever has been said in the Committee is confidential. Please do not discuss about that here.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : As far as the precedence is concerned, it was agreed. But, there was an opposition about playing *Vande Matharam*. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I want to say one or two things more because of the attitude and practice of our BJP friends. They are conducting some kind of a signature campaign in Delhi and maybe at other places also. They are collecting mass signatures on some appeal or demands or something. They are going from house to house. I have it on reliable authority and I can produce witnesses if you like, that in places like Chittaranjan Park - it is the favourite target of Mr. Khurana - or in some other areas like Karol Bagh and so, on, there, people are going from houses to house with signature forms - I wish you would look it - and threatening some people saying that for any reason if they refuse to sign, they will be marked out, singled out and they and their family members will be endangered. It is a fact.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: And all the newspapers were briefed to say that we were opposing the very idea of *Vande Matharam*.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The person who opposed *Vande Mataram* is also here.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This is all a calculated move, just to blacken us.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Indrajit ji, did you not agree in the beginning that *Vande Mataram* will be sung first and *Jana Gana Mana* afterwards? You were present in that meeting. You had agreed to that. Then, why did you change it?

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karobagh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am ready to face any punishment if they cite any such incident at any place.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I never agreed.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Pansukura): Let him speak. Please do not disturb him.

SHRI RAM NAIK: It was a decision of GPC, in which all parties were present.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I said that we cannot tolerate the *National Anthem* being relegated to the secondary position. It must be given precedence.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Regarding what happened in Bombay, your city, Sir, it is too horrifying to narrate, not necessary also. The entire world Press has covered Bombay in reportage, in photographs and in everything

else. I am sure that Shri Advani would definitely condemn what has happened in Bombay, in terms of human suffering and vandalism. But, politically the Shiv Sena and the RSS...

[Translation]

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Not the R.S.S. Nobody has ever accused the R.S.S. You are alleging it for the first time. The people have not levelled allegations against B.J.P., the Bajrang Dal and the V.H.P. They have accused only the Congress or Shiv Sena.

[English]

These are the two names that people took in Bombay - Congress party's internal quarrels and then Shiv Sena. So far as I am concerned, whoever, is, the rioter - he is a rioter - he must be punished whether it is Congress whether it is Shiv Sena. Let them be punished. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am asking you Mr. Advani whether politically the Shiv Sena and the BJP are not alike.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Today, politically you are aligned with the Congress party, having appointed a Commission of Inquiry. I am to emphasise on one aspect. If you have got to say anything, I would not say. But I would certainly say that whosoever is guilty in Bombay - Bombay is a shame; it is a disgrace - he should be taken to task.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Very good. The BJP and the Shiv Sena are very much political bed-fellows. They have already announced after they Bombay events that in the next elections, they will have an agreement or alliance. So, what are we to think? What are we to say? Their hatred or whatever you would like to call it, their bias against the minority community in this country is common. That is the common ground you have got along with Mr. Bal Thackeray. His

open calls to kick the Muslims out. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK: Point of order, Sir, My point of order is that Mr. Bal Thackeray's name has been taken. Now, he is into a Member of the House. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Name of the person as head of a political party, please.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK: A senior person should understand. He cannot take the name of the person who cannot defend here. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The name of an individual taken as a leader of a political party is allowed.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay South Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, my point of order is that Shri Bal Thackeray, the Chief of the Shiv Sena has said only that those who are not loyal to the country they might be thrown out. What is wrong in his statement?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Not like this. You can reply to it in your speech.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is not my business to give advice. But I would suggest for the good of the BJP. Mr. Advani would do well to declare openly that they have got nothing to do with the Shiv Sena. (Interruptions). Otherwise, people will say that BJP has condoned what the Shiv Sena has been doing. I do not think anywhere in

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

the world you find any section of public opinion which will support the activities of the Shiv Sena. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: No shouting like this, please.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: vents of the last 2 1/2 months - I do not know if the BJP friends agree with it or not - have blackened the face of India throughout the world. You have only to read the international Press to see. People do not understand what we are doing now. Why suddenly it seems as though we are going back on all our old traditions, our history, our sense of values, our international prestige and everything? We are not agreeable that we should go on repeating such events and incidents any further to blacken the country's image and isolate it in the international affairs.

There was a time when the British came to this country as innocent traders, I am referring to it long time ago. We all know now step by step the East India Company found that the Indians were busy quarreling and fighting among themselves and not able to put up any kind of show of unity. We know how East India Company was able to take over from his country gradually isolating one part of the country from another, with the help of the army which was mostly recruited people in this country and with a handful of British people to train them. I do not know whether today's events in this country will bring comforts to anybody except some such foreign elements who may have got hostile intentions towards our country. Whom else will it comfort? From that point of view also, we are all Indians irrespective of our parties. We should think about those and besides this, it is high time that we gave up projecting all these divisive issues, whether in the name of religion or anything else, which are separating our people into different

communities and religions provoking clashes and conflicts and much blood shed among them.

There is Sangh Pariwar of which BJP is also a constituent. The Sangh Pariwar people have come out with all kinds of new programmes and ideas including that the Constitution must be radically amended and all the provisions or reservations which are already there for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or backward classes must be removed. It is published openly and nobody has denied it.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: There is no such proposal. (*Interruptions*)

KUMARI UMA BHARTI (Khajuraho): Sir, I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI KALKA DAS: The B.J.P. has supported the interests of the people of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes above all. I am proud of it. Merely telling a lie serve no purpose. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Anyway, that is his information and it is denied. Please sit down.

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: Sir, I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I will sit down to listen to your speech. I am ready to hear your sermons. But you need not interrupt me. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Umaji, it is denied by your leader. Please sit down.

(Interruptions)

be allowed to say.... like this (Interruptions)\*

[Translation]

[English]

KUMARI UMA BHARTI (Khajuraho)>  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on point of order.  
Kindly allow me to speak. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on  
record. You are speaking without my  
permission. Whatever you speak without my  
permission will not go on record.

[English]

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are not allowed to  
speak. Please sit down. You cannot interrupt  
a speaker.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: He made a  
mention about the Sant Summelan of  
Allahabad. And here, I certainly speak on  
behalf of the BJP.. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: She can reply when  
her turn comes and not like this.

KUMARI UMA BHARTI I will not sit  
down unless you listen to me. You should  
not ask me but him to sit down. Will he  
continue to speak like this? Will a person  
continue to speak like this...? Hon. Indrajit  
Gupta is a seasoned and respected Member  
of this House. Today he is saying a baseless  
thing. (Interruptions)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: She spoke  
because it is a serious allegation  
(Interruptions)

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: Mr. Chairman,  
Sir, he has leveled an allegation against the  
Sangh Parivar. (Interruptions)

[English]

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get your turn  
please. You cannot address like this. What  
she has said will not go on record.

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: I was on a point  
of order, Sir. I have all right to stand up and  
speak on what he was saying. What he was  
saying is totally baseless.

(Interruptions)

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: This is very  
unpleasant and very unfair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you are on a point of  
order, only then I will listen to you, otherwise  
not.

[Translation]

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS: The biggest untruth  
of this session has been uttered by Shri  
Indrajit Gupta. (Interruptions)

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: He cannot make  
any allegation against the Sangh Pariwar.  
He has to clarify.

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: No, he cannot

\*\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

\* Not recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot interrupt the speaker who is on his legs. Since he is not yielding, you cannot interrupt.

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: When I am on a point of order, he has to yield.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to know whether this act of furnishing misleading information would continue... and one can mislead the House like this. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, my point of order is whether one can be allowed to speak like this in the House? *(Interruptions)*

[English]

AN. HON. MEMBER: What is the rule applied here, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not for you to ask. I will decide on the point of order.

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARTI: It is there in our manifesto that we are the supporters of the reservation for the backward classes. We had also got the Shilanyas performed by a person belonging to Scheduled Caste.... *(Interruptions)* He is an hon. Member and he has been honored recently as the best Member of Parliament. You are speaking untruth for such an hon. Member, on the floor of the House. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of

order. Please sit down.

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY: She does not know what the Sangh Pariwar is doing !

ONE HON. MEMBER: Sir, it should not go on record.

MR. CHAIRMAN.... is not parliamentary.

*(Interruptions)*

[Translation]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: He is a new Member, it he feels that I am speaking untruth, there can say so.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA (Firozabad): Everyone, who comes for the first time is new. You might also have been new sometime.

SHRI INDRAJEET GUPTA: You have become old. Even than you are new and you have to learn a lot. *(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Indrajit, Gupta, please address the Chair.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If I have ascribed something to the Sangh Pariwar, which is not correct it is for them to contradict it. By hurling abuses at me and saying nothing will be solved. Let them contradict it openly.

I would say finally Sir that sometimes the leaders of BJP do come out with statements saying that they are not in favour of any kind of a theocratic State. My only submission is that this slogan which is being spread thought the country

[Translation]

"A Hindu Rashtra will have to be formed here".

[English]

If this is not a theocratic slogan in the conditions of India, then what is it? It means that all those who are not Hindus, all people who observe other religions and who belong to other communities in this country, whether they are Muslims or Christians or Sikhs or Parsis or Jais or Buddhists or whoever they are, who are not Hindus, they are threatened by this slogan here that they are going to set up a Hindu Rashtra and everybody else who is not a Hindu may be second class citizen, or if he is capable of leaving the country and going somewhere else, he is free to do so. We cannot allow this to go on.

But I will address the Government once again. If you want to fight this vicious philosophy, this poison which is being spread in the mind of the people, it cannot be done by ban orders or by such type of administrative measures with the help of the police and the bureaucracy. It can only be dealt with by relying on the good sense and basic secular values of our people. They must be mobilised. Then only, this process can be made to retreat. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is not the way. Please sit down.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Finally Sir, my friend Shri Vajpayee is here. He is an old friend of mine. I hope he will not deny the fact that one day I asked him a question. Before the 6th of December, I expressed some apprehensions and I said,

[Translation]

If some people try to damage the structure of the mosque, then what will

happen. He told me that such thing could not happen, that would not happen, that the B.J.P. will lose face. Next day I asked him, what happened, have you lost face. The he said that the people did not pay any heed to his requests and went out of control. What type of these leaders are, who mobilise a large number of people and then say that people did not pay any heed to their request and went out of control. Either they should lead the people, control them or they should say that they are free to do anything and they would not condemn anyone. It is a very dangerous theory. There is one other leader, if I mention his name then it will be said that he is not present here. His name should not be mentioned in his absence. He was also a great leader of these people.

[English]

I can only give a hint. He is one of the four former Chief Minister whom I happened to meet here, just by accident in the waiting room of the Prime Minister. It is before the 6th of December and I asked him.

[Translation]

What is going to happen, what will happen the day after tomorrow? He said there is nothing to worry about, Guptaji, nothing would happen. Don't get panicky.

[English]

Either these people did not know what they were doing; or they were incapable of controlling their followers; or they were making fools of people and such irresponsible people whose credibility is enstigmatised; now nil in the country, cannot be allowed to continue goaded with this type of incitation and initiation of the people.

Sir, I am sorry that I was responsible for so much 'golmal' here, but what is to be done!

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (BARH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion is going on the ban on the rally. I will try my level best to confine myself to that subject only.

Sir, there was a couple. The wife dominated the husband and the husband felt disturbed. Even after one year of marriage, he was very sad. He narrated his sad story to one of his friends. The friend was taken aback at his condition. He said that on the first night of his marriage, a glass of milk was put on the table near the window. A cat came and started drinking the milk. I picked up my pistol and killed that cat. From that day onwards the wife remains afraid of me and is under my control. The man thought it was a very good trick. He went home and put a glass of milk in the same way on the table and opened the window. The cat came and the same incident took place. He picked up his pistol and killed the cat. The wife called him a sinner, since he had killed a cat. The wife picked up the broom and started beating him with that. Instead of being afraid, his wife started beating him. The next day he went to his friend and recounted the entire story. He said that earlier he used to face her taunts but now he has to face the broom. His friend said, the cat is killed on the first day and not after a year. I would like to submit this much only to them that if anything was to be done, then it should have been done before 6th December. Now there is no use of doing anything. If anything is done now, it will give strength to these people. Everyone was asking you to take some action before 6th December. The hon. Home Minister was very much present here at the time when the former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh had asked what would happen if Shri Kalyan Singh tendered his resignation in the nick of the time. At that time he had mocked at Shri V.P. Singh and said that he is unable to understand it. If Shri Kalyan Singh tendered his resignation, the B.J.P. would nominate

another Chief Minister. The B.J.P. did not nominate another Chief Minister. The former Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh, Shri Chandra Shekhar and the great leaders of the country knew it as to what they could do. You should know that we have worked with these people in the J.P. movement. We know as to what these people can do. We had warned on the basis of our experience and our leaders had also done so on the basis of their experience. But you did not pay any attention to that warning as you were busy in scoring the debating point.

Mr. Home Minister, when the mosque was demolished on 6th December. Why did they demolish it when they did not accept it as mosque. The publicity was made throughout the country that it was the Babri Masjid. They have such wonderful double character. Here in the House Advaniji says something and his men speak something other outside the House. Here they speak.

[English]

to put the record straight.

[Translation]

They want the record to be put straight. Here, they will say that nothing has happened but their people are saying outside that the Babri Masjid has been demolished. You know that there is competition outside, they are not defending the Shiv Sena. One of their colleagues Shri Ram Naikji, I beg your pardon, I don't know whether he was afraid of the Shiv Sena, stood here and recorded the protest. Everyone was terrorised there. They forbid the name of that man to be mentioned. I don't know what laws will be resorted to in the country for forbidding the names of the people to be mentioned. A number of people will be doing anything then but their names will not be allowed to be mentioned. But they are saying something or the other to save their skin. The reality is that there is a great



competition between fanatic line of thinking and the Shiv Sena.

The Shiv Sena workers say that those people are coward. They demolished the mosque and the leader of the opposition resigned and Vajpayeeji made a statement saying that something serious has happened. Those people demolished temples. Those people are coward. He said it is the Shiv Sena workers, who have brought down the structure and Jam proud of them. It means even the fundamentalists are divided today. The Shiv Sena workers are dominating

Mr. Home Minister, the fact is that whatever you are doing is going in favour of these people. We fail to understand why are you doing so. People do not appreciate the ban you have imposed on it. Even we cannot support the ban either. The leftist parties are however coming to your rescue saying that they don't believe their statement but the Bharatiya Janata Party cannot be trusted. What sort of precedent you are setting up in the country by putting a ban? People have already experience the result of bans. We are worried because you are not imposing ban and not meeting their activities at the political level but you are heading towards the path step by step to create circumstances in which Advaniji may get up from here and sit down there.

If you switch on television, you will find what is being done on television. The day before yesterday I watched the television, a pandit-looking man sporting trident-shaped mark (tika) on his forehead with long hair was brought, whose features showed that a panditji was being brought before us. Now that Panditji is made to deliver a sermon on the television that rallies are not proper; bandhs are not proper. after that two traders were brought, who were also made to speak.. So, what is it all. Is it not giving a propaganda to their rally?

We know their power. Had they organised the rally, their power have been exposed. The farmers' rally organised by Chaudhari Charan Singh was greater than any other rallies held so far in Delhi. You could not beat its records. Even late Mrs. Indira Gandhi too had organised a farmers' rally, but that too would not bet a the record of Shri Charan Singhs' rally. But now you have banned their rally. When you have imposed ban, it has propagate the rally throughout the country. Today the press reporters ask any person from a political party is to what is his stand on the rally to be organised on t he 25th, February. Thus, you have brought the situation to such a pass that you react to what they do and all the political parties are left with the only job of making that comments either in their favour or against them. So, what is this all about?

The Home Ministry was already somewhat deficient and with Rajesh Pilotji taking office it has become al the more deficient . I do not know whether the Department of Internal Security is an independent department or is under you. But you go on making all sorts of statements and go on taking decision which are not able to fight the communal force on idedogical level. Rather, a psyche is being created to the effect that we were to attend the rally but all these arrangements are being made to deter it.

They merely talk of elections. Somniah Babu and Indrajit Babu may please forgive me, you might be afraid of elections but these people are not likely to tear from the talk of elections. Rather it should appear to them that elections are not held. It seems to me that they just talk of elections, in fact they do not have to fight elections. They want from the core of their heart that elections are not held because the day the elections are held, their present position is no longer to remain as it is. Today they are creating a payche. This psyche is unlikely to prevail any



[Sh. Nitish Kumar]

longer. The saddest thing is that "Ka Par Karoon Singar, Piya More Aanhar" no There is no use of throwing pearls before swine. You are in power. You have to take initiative. It was expected of you that you would fight communal forces, but you are not doing so. You are rather trying to run away from the place. You have already made necessary preparations of camp-fire.. It seems that preparations are being made in the North Block and the South Block to hand over the charge. It appears to me that there is a well-organised agency to spread rumour throughout the country. You may not know but the R.S.S. has acquired specialisation in spreading rumour. However, the word has spread that the padlock of the Ram-janambhoomi is kept in the almirah of Shri Narasimha Rao and he will use it in locking the Congress Bhawan. It seems to me that this is happening. You are going to use that padlock. You have brought the congress party to this position. The Party is hundred year old. It has to die. None can save it. The type of leaders have begun to come to vantage be positions on compassionate ground is not concealed from anybody. In Government services, employment is given on compassionate grounds. The children of the deceased employees get employment in on compassionate grounds. He is not competent enlought get employment on the basis of competition. Similarly, no one is becoming nor can become leader in the Congress Party on the basis of competition, everything is going on here on compassionate grounds. One dies, the other comes. If someone is assassinated, the other comes. So, this is a party of compassion. This party is not likely to last any longer. It is the misfortune of your party that is it vitiating the atmosphere in the entire country and striking secret deals instead of fighting the wanted forces. The ruling elite of the country, which supported you till today, has decided to shift its loyalty to the Bharatiya Janata Party ever since the National Front

government has implemented the Report of the Mandal Commission. Their entire Hindutva is an imitation of Hindutava. Their Hindutva is a Hindutva, of ten per cent people. In thier decretion of Hinduva. 90 per cent peole are not covered. Hust now an hon. Member of the Shiv Sena was speaking. He was saying that his party's head. I do not want to mention his name, has said hat those whodo not have their allegiance to the country should be expelled from the country. Many people from Bihar. North-Eastern region and Orisa, have been turned out from Surat and 2-4 lakh people of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have been turned out from Bombay.

Those poor people, the poor labourers did not have allegiance to the country. Will they or the Shiv Sena decide the definition of allegiance in the country. Will their fellows, as Indrajit Gupta ji has said bad fellows, decide it. They do not have moral right to do so. They do not have any such right. Their loyalty to the country is unquestionable. Really speaking, they are vitiating the atmosphere of the entire country. They want such riots of take place frequently in the country and the Government too is helping them. Had they organaised rally, nothing would have happened by you created an atmosphere of rally throughout the country. Your carried out propaganda equal to thousand rallies just for one rally. So, the situation you continue to create may assume alarming dimensions if you did wake up in time. It seems that we are understanding your conspiracy. Such a ghost has been raised so that people are compelled to keep you in power. In order to ensure that there is on revolt in the party and that a fear psychosis is created outside that there is danger from communalism so that people are compelled to think that these are the from which are dangerous to the country and thus people may continue to bear with the Government. I would like to submit that this Government is no way and at no cost able to be tolerated. The more we tolerate it, the more the country

heads towards ruination. They and they have conspiracy, a Washington Pact is there, we will not raise any economic issue because both of them are supporters of economic reforms. Both have decided as to what do they have to do. They raise such issues so that issues of poverty, hunger and dignity are not raised. So, issues like religious fanaticism should be raised to deviate the attention of the citizens of the country and they remain absorbed in these deceptive issues althe time. In this matter both of them are hand in glove with each other at one or the other stage. Unless it is exposed, these issues will not come before people, I want to say that the people of the country are not innocent, they will certainly find out a way. Both are in collusion. Leaving aside them both, a third force will emerge which will take the country out of communal tension and which will really lead the country to right path.

With these words, I conclude.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (DR. ABRAR AHAMED): Mr. Chairman, Sir, hon. Advaniji has argued very emphatically that the ban imposed on the rally is a wrong decision and he has weighed the pros and cons of the ban on the rally. He has said that ultimately his party will be benefited by imposing ban on the rally. I wondered to hear such a thing from a leader of the stature of Shri Advaniji. On the one hand he raises objection to imposing bas on the rally and on the other hand he talks of benefit to his party from this ban. We can draw this conclusion from his speech that the Congress is ready to suffer any loss for the sake of the country and is ready to take such decision which may be in the interest of the country. Shri Advaniji himself has accepted this thing. We know that they may take political mileage out of it. But the ban on this rally has been imposed to save this country.

If we go through the history and also have a look at the incidents of past few years, be that the Rath Yartra of Advaniji, or Aayodhya incident of 6th December Bharat bandh on 8th December or the present rally, we will reach the conclusion that it was not a wrong decision to ban the rally as the country knows what the two lakh people assembled in Ahyodhya did despite giving assurance . in and outside the House to the effect that no untoward incident would happen these. But whatever has happenxed that is there before the whole country. Similarly, if the people were allowed to assemble in Delhi, the incident of Ayodhya is befit the country, anything could have happened in Delhi? (*Interruptions*) They would have caused damage to the Parliament House, India Gate, the residence of the hon. Prime Minister or to some other property somewhere else. After that these people would have said that they were not their partymen. They had not brought them to Delhi.

I would like to tell you one thing more. Shri Advaniji is not present here. He has left the House (*Interruptions*) I belong to Rajasthan. I remember whatever had happened there, when the rally was held. I still remember that bitter experience. An open threat of large scale blood shed was given in the speeches made at that time. The scene of the massacre of men, women and children is still before my eyes.. After the incident of 6th December a call of Bharat Bandh was given for 8th December. (*Interruptions*) One person s who could not close his shop, was burent alive along with hs white financily I would let you know as to what happened in the incident of 6th December, the Bharat Bandhu on 8th December. After such incidents these people want the permission for collecting so many persons in Delhi. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say one thing more. Some people were saying that those people who do not have any faith in the nation should be driven out of the

country. I wonder on such news, statements and persons who have such mentality. People were saying that those who do not have any faith in the nation, on behalf of Muslims, I would like to say that when partition of the country took place between India and Pakistan then there was a choice before every Muslim living in this country either to live in India or to go to Pakistan. (*Interruptions*) At that time Muslims who had chosen to live in India, had also to take one more decision that they might be killed in those circumstances. But they decided to stay on in India even if they were killed. They thought that they were the sons of Mother India, were born in this country that they would live here and protect the Mother India. So they stayed back in India and have been protecting the Mother India and have been loving the soil of this country. If some people think that they can succeed in sending these people out of the country by creating such religious frenzy and impression that they are anti-national, then I would like to tell them in clear terms that they were not going to succeed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in his speech Advani ji levelled allegation the hon. Prime Minister, some other members have also leveled similar allegations that Prime Minister is in league with Bharatiya Janata party. I would like to say that the hon. Prime Minister had reposed faith in them. He believed the assurances given by the BJP people and accepted the affidavit submitted by them. He believed that they would not violate the directive of symbolic Kar Seva given by the Supreme Court. As a true man the hon. Prime Minister reposed faith in them and now some people are alleging that the hon. Prime Minister is in league with the Bharatiya Janata Party. After the incident of 6th December BJP first of all brought the No-Confidence Motion against him and said that the Prime Minister Shri Narsimha Rao was a bad person and today Advani ji says that all

this, prove it. The incident of 6th December, and the development which took place thereafter and the way people were terrorised in the country expose them fully. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the people who raise the slogan of nationalism and make tall talk of nationalism actually they want to disintegrate the country by their such activities. It exposes their motives. The decision of banning rally is very important as well as very essential. Had the ban not been imposed on the rally the country would have faced their evil consequences. Therefore, I would like to thank the hon. Prime Minister for taking decision of banning rally.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to confine my speech to the reality. A comprehensive discussion had taken place on Ayodhya issue in the last session. In this session too, several chances will come to discuss the Ayodhya issue. A reference to Ayodhya incident, has been made in the President's Address. An ordinance has been issued about Ayodhya. The Ayodhya issue will also come up again while discussing the demands of the Home Ministry. Therefore, it is better to confine the discussion to the rally only.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we wanted to premiss for the Adjournment Motion because this Motion is always confined to one specific issue and the discussion is confined to that only. But the Hon. Speaker has not accepted our request and now the discussion is taking place under certain other rule. The discussion is becoming comprehensive one. For instance it has been alleged that the Bharatiya Janata Party does not accept the Constitution. It is wrong. We have taken oath under the Constitution. We regard the Constitution as a new 'Smriti' (Law Book) Smritis (Law Books) have been changing in this country. Dr. Ambedkar is our new Smritikar or the author

of new law book. There is no question of following the old Smriti or law book. Society is changing fast, We do not consider the Constitution as anti-Hindu. There is sharp difference of opinion with those people who express such ideas and we made such differences very clear. However if these allegations are leveled time and again it will only create confusion. If we want to create confusion in the country then I have nothing to submit. It is also being propagated that the B.J.P. believes in the caste system viz. the 'chaturanra Vyavastha'. Nothing could be more serious a charge than this one. If some 'Sadhu' has made such a statement then we do not agree with his point of view and will definitely argue with him. Discrimination in the country cannot be allowed on the basis of birth, caste and religion. However, it will not be in the fineness of things to question our loyalty on the basis of just one incidents viz the ayodhya episode, on which I do not want to dwell any further because in the previous session itself I threw light on all the aspects an even today prepared for debate on this issue. Mr. Chairman, Sir, some of my hon. colleagues are training their guns on only the 6th December episode.. (Interruptions) Often it happens the tiff any part of the body is hit it becomes benumbed and the affected persons becomes almost inert Some of my hon. Colleagues are not prepared to forest the 6th December incident.

Since 6th December lot of water has flow down Saryu and Yamuna rivers because time and tide wait for none and the life keeps on moving in an unbiterrupted fashion. It should be our endeavor to march forward in the right direction.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIP.M.  
SAYEED):** Till such a situation arises.

**SHRI ATAL BIAHRI VAJPAYEE:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Minister is a very old friend of Maine and has only recently become

a Minister. Therefore, I do not want to east my limited time by responding to him. I would like to submit that the reasons given by the hon. Minister for disallowing the rally is lack of normalcy in the country. However, rallies are being allowed in the States. I have toured Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Shri Advani has paid a visit to Bihar, the State of Shri Laloo Yadav. Shri Laloo Yadav has challenged anybody for opposing him i.e. he says 'Jo Hamre Khilaf Ayega Hum Uska Bhurkus Kar Denge'. I cannot translate this.

**SHRI CHHEDI PASWAN (Sasaram):** You are misquoting him. Shri Laloo Yadav promised security to Shri Advani.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** I am not talking about Shri Advani but only referring to his general utterances. O.K. I amend it. It Shri Laloo yadav has not made such comments and is opposing us now in a decent language., then pleas pass on my congratulations, to him. However, I am not referring to anyone, but to am simply submitting that no untoward incident did take place during Shri Advani's visit to Bihar. Dr. M.M. Joshi is also touring extensively in various States and addressing big rallies, but neither any riots took place any where no any tension was developed.

It is true that during my visit to Kashi I was advised against holding rallies by the district officials and accordingly i did not address any rally over there. It would have been proper on the part of the Hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs to have taken us into confidence on the issue of the proposed rally in Delhi. However, they did not do so. It is not for the first time that we propose to hold rally Delhi. Shri Advani has thrown light on this issue. Railes have always been allowed in Delhi. Here I would like to make a mention of the rally hold in 1966, when Shri Chandra Shekhar was a Member of Rajya Sabha during the Congres rule, for demanding a ban on cow slaughter, The

[Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

Directive principles of State policy provide that steps will be taken for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter of cows. If somebody makes a demand of it then it cannot definitely be opposed. It was a non political agitation and a big rally was held in Delhi. Mr. Chairman, Sir, till then Boat Club was not used as a venue for holding rallies. Rallies were held on the parliament street. We used to erect stage just at a arms length from the parliament Hosue.

16.00 hrs.

Rallies used to be totally peaceful. People owe allegiance to the democratic set up. Democracy cannot develop under terror of the Government. If democracy is not a cherished ideal then not to talk of strengthening it will not survive. People of this country are undoubtedly democratic. They want to resolve their differences through discussions. However, problems do get aggravated if the Parliament and the judiciary takes unduly long time for finding their solutions. I do not want to discuss these things in detail. In the rally for demanding a ban on cow slaughter situation did go out of control. When a sadhu, whom I identified, did hit me on head and snapped the wires of the loud speaker. This way trouble started. At that time I told the then hon. Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Nanda, after visiting jail that of all the persons arrested for causing trouble. I could not locate that Sadhu who had hit me. So, whose agent that Sadhu was?

Shri Chandra Shekhar has challenged the assertion of Dr. M.M. Joshi that if the Government permits, rally will be peaceful. The Government do formnt trouble, but I am not accusing the present Government of this. You did not allow the rally altogether. 6th November, 1966 is clearly etched in my memory, the day on which Shri Aasopa of

Bikaner was not.. (Interruptions) He was a native of Jodhpur. When his son identified the dead body in the hospital then next day his body disappeared. Shri Jaisukh Lal Hthi had stated that of the eight persons killed only five could be identified, but in fact seventeen persons were killed. I at that time had laid in the Rajaya Sabha the Doctor's slip who had clearly identified the body and had also allowed that the dead body may be claimed the next day. However, during the still of the night the dead body was removed. This was the internal conspiracy of the Congress to remove Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda from Home Ministry. I do not think at the present juncture there is any conspiracy to dislodge anyone. (Interruptions) This time the Government has put its survival at stake. The dilemma at present is the Government, weak in the eyes of the people, wants to demonstrate its strength and force. When the weak demonstrates its strength all limits are crossed. This is what is happening in Delhi these days. All efforts are being made to prevent rally. People coming from States are being rounded up midway. Cannot violence break out wherever these people are being stopped? Trains are being thoroughly checked. People are being forced to come out of the buses. People are coming from all over the country but are being prevented from converging at the Boat Club. However, they can stay in any part of Delhi. Boat Club is a vast ground. Let the things be allowed to take place. Allow the people to come.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, people are prepared to come from all parts of the country to Delhi as long as they have got faith in Delhi, the seat of Parliament and the Government, and feel that their grievances will definitely be redressed in Delhi. Till this faith is not belied the country will be safe and secure and their won't be any threat to the unity and integrity of the nation. Country's unity and integrity will be jeopardised the day the people refuse to come to Delhi for redressal of their grievances

and sit back in their respective States and take up arms for finding solution of their grievances. Please let that day not come.

Delhi is the Capital of India and is the heart of the country. However, whatsoever happens in the capitals Delhi is no exception to it. I would like to quote from the speech of the U.S. President about the capital of that country delivered at the time of taking over the reigns of his nation. Those words are applicable in the case of Delhi also.

[English]

This beautiful Capital like every Capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people manoeuvre for position and worry endlessly who is in and who is out, who is up and who is up who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way.

[Translation]

Conspiracies are being hatched in Delhi just to outmanoeuvre others. A recent newspaper report says that the sitting place of Shri Arjun Singh in the House has been changed. Do not know how far it is correct, but when all this appears in the Press it is supposed to be correct. All such activities are going on in Delhi these days.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAHESH PILOT): Your position is also not the same.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: So, you are supporting what is happening in Delhi.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is no need to impose ban on the rally. Unfortunately there is a communication gap between the ruling and the opposition parties these days. A

letter was written by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, Shri S.B. Chavan, to the President of the B.J.P. Dr. M.M. Joshi on the 6th of February where in the former has mentioned that in view of the prevailing conditions it is hoped that the B.J.P. will reconsider its decision to hold rally. The copy of the reply of Dr. M.M. Joshi is also available with me. In response to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs letter dated 6th February Dr. Joshi on the 9th February has written that on returning from tour he will discuss the matter. However, the hon. Minister of Home Affairs has not invited him for talks.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): He had promised to write and had assured that as soon as he would return he would unite.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Was it not possible to proceed without writing? You could have said that there was no need of negotiation at all and whatever he wanted to tell, may he given in writing.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: You can twist things.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: You had given it in writing.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: That is why we wanted a reply in writing.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: If Joshi had met you, would you have then asked him not to talk and to give only in writing whatever he had to state.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: If he had met me then it would have been a different matter, but he neither met nor did he write.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: No, no, Joshi had stated that he would talk on that matter when he would return in two-three days. In the meanwhile the Government



[Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

declared imposition of ban on the proposed rally and it did not wait for the return of Joshi, the Government did not call even Advani to hold talks. I am supposed to be a moderate leader, but too was not called for talks.

SHRI S B CHAVAN: What was the use of calling a moderate leader for talks?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE Mr Chairman, Sir, the Government had made up its mind not to allow the holding of rally. But I ask why did the Government not allow the holding of rally. Does the B J P not enjoy the democratic right of staging a rally? The ban was imposed on the rallies of other political parties as well alongwith that of our party. If the Government is allowed to continue to treading on wrong path, then it has to face the ugly consequences. We may have ideological differences between us, but will the Government snatch away the democratic right of holding peaceful rally in front of Parliament House. Now it is being said that the type of editorials that the being written and the type of editorial that are being published nowadays do not really leave the scope for holding any rally. The kind of propoganda that is being spread through television regarding the ban on rallies and that on strikes is not going to serve any interest of the country. Since when this consciousness dawned upon you? Is the Government conscious of this fact only in Delhi or even in these States where the Congress Party is in the opposition? The Congress Party can hold a demonstration in Calcutta. My colleague sitting on my left is complaining that the Congress Party damaged the platform there. Due to political rivalry there, they are trying to disintegrate the country.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTER-  
JEE (Bolpur): If they are trying to disintegrate  
the country why do you repeat the same

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Some of the basic questions are not replied to. I wished Khurana ji to be here. He could have explained the atrocities being committed by Delhi Police as also the kind of atmosphere being created by the police. The whole of Delhi has been converted into a Police Cantonment. The barbed-wire that is generally laid across the border of the country has been fixed around the Boat Club. A piece of cloth was put on that barbed-wire and it was demonstrated as to how the cloth was torn into pieces. People are being threatened that if they dare go there and if they are entangled in this wire fences then they would also be torn into several pieces. Is it the only way left in the democratic country to ban a rally. Can the Government not adopt any other method than this?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: They have staked their last bet.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: No, they are actually yielding now. Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to give an example of the nefarious tendency that is disseminating fast. You know, we are holding rallies in every State and in this connection, I was going to Guwahati. The B.J.P. is not a very strong force there. Moreover, peace prevails in Guwahati and there was absolutely no disturbance there. We wanted to hold a rally in the town, but a ban was imposed on holding of any rally. We contacted the hon. chief Minister of the State to know the reasons as to why we could not hold a rally. We asked why the ban was being imposed. The reply of the hon. Chief Minister was that the Central Government had given such a directive. After that I contacted some of the hon. Ministers of the Union Government including Chavan Saheb and Pilotji. They replied that they were quite unaware of that..

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: I would like to clarify that I was really not aware of that. And I would also like to further clarify that the

Government does not like the B.J.P. to go ahead with its mission

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: No., how will be clarify it? How can he clarify the truth?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: You are not correct when you say that we were not aware

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Well, what did you say then?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: You were going to Guwahati. I was also there in Guwahati holding talks with the Bodo people.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I am not talking of that day. I had already informed you about this proposed rally. Chavan Shab said that he was not aware of that rally..

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: You informed me on teleph one in the morning t 7.30. a.m. that you were going to Guwanti for this proposed rally which had been banned. At this, I told you that I did not have many such information, but would fond out and let you know after collecting the information in that regard and after that you informed us that there was no ban on the rally. You had wrong information about the ban. You formed the impression about the ban through newspapers reports; because when I went there I found no ban being imposed on the rally.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: This does not suit you.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: The President of the State, B.J.P. was present there.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the rally was banned there. The ban was declared by the Kamroop district authors. Ites Then the Centre intervened. I am ready to give credit for this

to Pilot Sahib. He might have thought that his party was already facing trouble in Delhi so there was no need of taking further risk in Guwahati. He might have also stated that Vajpayee ji was going there; he is a moderate leader, so his rally should be allowed. Did he say that?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Mr. Chairman, Sir, when I reached the circuit House in Guwahati, the President of the State B.J.P. came to meet me. He was present there. He came by a matador and said that the leader of his party was coming the next day. He said that there was a rumour that the rally had been banned. You can inquire it from him. They were two persons. Saikia Saheb was with me in the room No 1 of the seam guest house. He said that he was not aware of the ban on the proposed rally of the B.J.P. I further told them that the banners of his party were hoisting all around, announcement was already being done. Preparations to hold the rally were in full swing. I myself saw the preparations while passing through place. Thereafter I asked Saikia ji about this. He said that there was no ban on the rally of the B.J.P. and that he was prepared to welcome Vajpayee ji, he can hold his rally without any problem. And when the State Government had no problem, why should the Central Government have any problem. The Central Government was not required to give any instruction to the State Government.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the permission for holding the rally was given at behest of the Union Government. The permission was accorded at 12 O'clock in the night whereas the rally was to be held the following day. It was then not at all possible to circulate the news that the rally was allowed to be held. People were, however, aware that there had to be a large gathering. Buses and trains were therefore, canceled. Where is Jaffer Shariel Sahib? Two Guwahati bound trains were stopped mid way. Passengers were forced



[Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

end to get down. There was an incident of lathicharge in Nowgong. The Government may get it confirmed.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI C.K. JAFFER SHARIEF): I have no such information.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Now I am giving you the information in this regard. I know you do not get information so fast. Buses were cancelled. There was lathicharge in Nowgong. Four injured ladies have been admitted to the hospital. Several persons have visited them in the hospital. The police stations had the information that the rally had been banned and that the policemen had not to allow anybody to go to Guwahati. I ask what was the need for all this. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to refer specially one incident that occurred prior to this one in Guwahati. A Seminar of Assam Sahitya Sabha was organised in Shiva Sgar district. Lakhs of people attend that Seminar as. The activities of Sahitya Sabha have created literary interest among the people. Someone attached with ULFA organisation circulated a particular pamphlet in that Seminar. ULFA is a banned organisation. Only the State Government there can give a proper reply as to how the particular persons attached with ULFA were able to sneak into that Seminar. One of the pamphlets being circulated there fell into the hands of a journalist. A newspaper published a report in this regard. Now, you will be surprised to know as to what was the reaction thereto. The editor of the newspaper was arrested, the reporter and the publisher too were arrested. All of them were arrested under TADA.

The Government may silence us by referring to the incident of Ayodhya that occurred on the 6th of December, but I must ask as to where the Government is itself heading now? What is the ultimate motive of

the Government? Is democracy safe in the hands of the present Government? How people in Assam were arrested under TADA. Is the Press Council not there to take action against the newspaper if it publishes anything objectionable? Has the Government lost faith in the Press Council of India. Is it justified that the Government should arrest the editor and the reporter of a particular newspaper under TADA? This is not the end of the story. There was a meeting in the Press

Club of Guwahati to protest against the arrest of the editor, the reporter and publisher. This meeting was attended by the journalists and the former Chief Minister Shri sarat Chandra Sinha. When they wanted to go to deliver a memorandum to the Governor, the police and the C.R.P.F. plundered and beat the people and the journalists. Those who assembled to participate in the meeting could not even march from the Club to present there memorandum to the Governor; they were, however, preparing themselves to march from the Club. Seven journalists have been injured seriously and admitted to hospital. Is suppressing the voice of people or banning the rally in Delhi not the sign of coming danger for the Government? Really it is a sign of danger. When the Government is in trouble and unable to match the arguments of the opposition and resorts to use of force and is even prepared to suppress the people at the cost of the democratic system then what will be its fate? I doubt that the Government would hold elections after six months. It may extend the period by another six months but what would happen afterwards? Why does the Government not announce the election date? When the Government is sure to lose then why delay the announcement of elections?

It will relieve the tension that has already been built up as a result of ban on the rally and it will also help avert the confrontation. Above all our party workers, who are busy in

pulling up the Government here in Delhi will get busy in election campaigns etc. Likewise Congress workers will also get busy in elections. Elections should also be announced in Madhya Pradesh and Shri Arjun, Singh should be directed to take the charge of elections there. However, the Government is afraid of going to polls because of its failures, and internal party feuds. It is afraid of a possible civil war within the Congress. The Government is not ready to meet the challenge at political level. We are suspicious of the Government's going to polls because of the imposition of ban on rally by it. It is also a warning to all the parties who believe in democracy.

Mr. Chavan, still there is time. I do not know what will be his reply. Actually, we should congratulate him for committing another mistake, is committing mistakes one after the other. What would be its consequences? The need of the hour is to create an atmosphere of dislodge between the ruling party and the opposition. The Government has discontinued the practice of dialogue. It is not good in its part. There could have been several alternatives to banning the rally. Government could have called us for discussion, but the Government instead of doing that issued an order. But it is still to be seen how far the order is obeyed what would be the activity of this order if lathi charge is resorted to at ten places in Delhi an èndenuowe to ensure complain e of this order. Government would boast of its success. But the vacant ground of Boat club would not sing there song in Government's failure. It would be an evicden to the fact that Government has lost its self-confidence and has decided to use weapons to win the battle of thoughts. Such a day should never come.

Therefore we oppose it.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am taking part in this debate with utter grief. I did not wish to

express my views on this issue if Shri Vajpayee had not spoken I had thought that there would certainly be some change in thinking on that side. But I regret to say that after the speech of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, I am forced to say something.

I did not want to say anything on Ayodhya issue. Shri Vajpayee had raised the matter, a debate was held on it and I had presented my views while taking part in the debate. However, Shri Advani, the her of Ayodhya was not present at that time. All that he said returning from Auyodhya pained and disturbed me a lot and created a suspicion in my mind. Like Shri Vajpayee Shri Advani had stated in the very beginning that they were sorry that they failed and could not control the crowd there. But I find Shri Advaniji saying in his later speeches that he had got a new inspiration from Ayodhya incident which inspires them to redefine Hindutva. Now Shri Advani would deine the Hindutva after Yagyavalkya, Kanaad and Kapil. Shri Advani had said that the Muslims of this country should call themselves 'Mohammadiya Hindus' (Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, does this new definition not point out to the emergence of a theocratic state? I would like to know from Shri Advani as to what does it mean otherwise? Had he started making a new dictionary? Has he become eligible to define Hindutva after Kapil, Kanaad and Yagayavalkya? This is the question that continues to Prick my mind.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has just now said something with great pride. I too support his contention, that they have taken oath in the name of the Constitution. Is it not true that after the Ayodhya incident, a saint had said that this constitution is a blot on our nationalism, so much so that he also formed a Committee. I do not think whether any of the B.J.P. leaders or workers has reluted it (Interruptions)

SHRI LAL. K. ADVANI: It was refuted immediately, thereafter. Moreover it is also in my knowledge that the 'Sant Sammelan held in Allahabad had also not supported this view. They had said that they did not agree with it.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKAR: Allright, I was pained particularly by what Atal ji has said that just now that the statements of Shri MURILI Manohar Joshi did not hurt us. The President of a party says that about 10-15 lakh people would gather there and it would be a peaceful rally. But who would be responsible if they create disturbances? I immediately rang up Shri Vajpayee, he was not available at home. Next day, he rang me up I wrote a letter to the Hon. Prime Minister the same day. Generally, I do not write letters on such issues but the attitude of the Hon. Prime Minister during he last three months gave me an impression that oral words would have no meaning. That is why I was forced to write a letter to him pointing out that he had called the Ayodhya incident on 6th December as a betrayal but actually it was a betrayal with the nation. I cautioned him in that letter saying that the Government must have received the information regarding the rally on 25th February and on that basis it must have prepared itself mentally to meet the challenge so it should ensure that 25th February may not become the 6th December.

Thereafter, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs rang me up and sought my opinion. I suggested to him to let the rally be held, provided all precautionary measures were taken to maintain law and order. If any untoward incident took place in Delhi, communal riots would spread all over the country and we would lose our face in the whole world. I had told Shri Rajesh Pilot at that time- Sonathji, I beg your pardon - I had asked him that if at all he suspected any untoward incident, then the Government should not give permission for that rally.

Shri Atalji, it is not a conflict between ideologies. The answer to the conflict of ideologies will be given in terms of ideologies. Today you are not propagating any ideology you are rather propagating the wrong practices. In order to curb these activities the Government will have to take action. There is difference between ideologies and immorality. The war of ideologies is fought with thoughts or ideas while the war against immorality is fought by using the weapon of power or authority. Shri Somnathji I would like to explain as to how the institution of "State" came into being and why the Governments were formed. Individual could not solve his problems on his own. Therefore, he thought to create the institution of State from tribes.

We authorise the Government to exercise certain powers so that in the event of any threat to our property and life it might protect us. It is the duty of the Government to protect every citizen, his dignity and life. The police and army are formed for this very purpose and not for singing religious songs, perform ceremonial duties or offer namaz. Every citizen of the country now has a novel confidence that he is secure or safe. There is no ban on the exchange of ideas. But if the Government is a mute spectator to the immorality then, it has no right to continue in power even for a minute.

I, therefore, raised the question as to why the laws were made, why bans are imposed? Why rallies are banned? Shri Somnathji you too imposed ban on rallies in Calcutta when you apprehended a greater risk? Why are you afraid of saying the truth? This is regarding the Government. If the Government assures that the rally will be peaceful, I would be very happy. They are sitting here. I am saying it before them. But if the Government feels that it has received information that some people may create disturbances during the rally then Government should ban the rally. I do not

think that heaven will fall if ban is imposed. There is no ban on propagating ideology.

I would have very humbly agreed with Shri Vajpayeeji. He advises us to forget Ayodhya incident. How can one forget that incident? He himself assured us inside and outside the House that no untoward incident would take place there. What happened in Ayodhya? Today, Shri Advani has come to the House for the first time after the incident? That is why, I am saying all this. He stated that when one and a half lakh people were listening to the speeches very peacefully some persons reached there and started demolishing the mosque or the structure, whatever they may call it. Those one and a half lakh people were so helpless and demoralised that they could not prevent those 500 persons from demolishing the mosque.

Shri Advani, is the future Prime Minister. But now-a-days he makes speeches in such a way as if he has become the Prime Minister. He thinks that he is ruling the country. The arrogance in the language of his speeches reminds us of the arrogance in Hitler's speeches. Shri Advaniji I respect the moderate persons. But when we remember moderates like Churchill and Chamberlane, I fear that some day Shri Vajpayee too, may not turn the same way. He may not .... (Interruptions) I do not talk in lighter vein.... I may be wrong. I am saying all this with anguish and grief but he has fixed his eyes on the post of Prime Minister. Today Shri Rao may seem to be incompetent to tackle the situation, but tomorrow he may turn strong or strict enough to take action even against Advaniji. He will be responsible for compelling others to indulge into unpleasant things. So I warn him that there will be nobody with him to support or console him in that hour of crisis?

Today the country is facing double threat. The one is from this idle Government which

cannot discharge its duties efficiently and effectively and the other threat is from people like him who do not know their own limits. He thinks that his words can change the course of history and his words can destroy the history whereas we people think:

Karwate/n le raha hai janmanas

Kal hamari hukumat banane wali hai kaun jane.

Today, morning I cautioned Shri Khurana lest he should reach Tihar jail for dreaming to take oath in Ashok Hall. I am apprehending this very danger.... (Interruptions) I do not laugh. You know that I oppose that type of tendency. I opposed it in 1975, and I oppose it even today. Thousands of people are dying and being ruined and they are showing much sympathy for them. What happened in Bombay and Gujarat? Whatever happened there is a matter of shame for us.

When Shri Indrajit spoke on Shiv Sena, they said that they have no links with it. One of the hon. Members for whom I have great regards stood up and started pleading for it. What kind of mentality is this? What happened in Ahmedabad and in rest of Gujarat? Riots took place there. What was their reaction when Government tried to curb and check the riots? What role did the Bharatiya Janata Party play there? Have you ever thought over it? They condemned Shri Chairman Bhai Patel, I have no objection. But what the B.J.P. and the R.S.S. did in Gujarat that is a lot on humanity. If somebody tries to curb such evil forces they complain that they are being subjected to repression.

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am sorry for whatever he has said. I am a resident of that very place. All the incidents in Ahmedabad are the result of the failure of the present Government there. Arms worth Rs. two crores were seized from there, but the Government did not take

[Sh. Harin Pathak]

any action. It failed to take any action even in the earlier incidents. The role of the Bharatiya Janata party was for creating harmony. The Government there has never arrested any B.J.P. worker. Not even a single B.J.P. worker was directly or indirectly found involved there. The Government did not take any step which it was expected to take. On the 8th some miscreants came out on the streets with swords and spears and they stabbed 155 persons ..... (Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is possible that the hon. Member might be having more information which might be correct. I am confident that the Gujarat Government will take some more steps. I welcome his views. The strict action should be taken against all rioters irrespective of their religion. I am expressing my opinion on the basis of newspapers reports and on the basis of the reaction of your leaders to these incidents. Shri Vajpayee just now reminded me of the 1966-68 incidents. I do not know as to how serious injury he has received on his head. But it is fact that fire was opened. Shri Guljarilal Nanda was the Minister of Home Affairs at that time. Shri Guljarilal Nanda was more ardent supporter of cow protection than Shri Vajpayee. Once he had said that socialism can be brought about in the country only through protection of cow, I still remember that day. That time I had told Shri Nanda that I would learn from him the process of bringing about socialism in the country through protection of cow but he should first do something immediately in the capacity of Home Minister. I was an ordinary member of the Congress Party at that time. That time during 1966-68, I considered myself an important member of the Congress Party. Though I was a disciple of Gurudev, yet I was disciple of no one in the Congress. I do not know whether any conspiracy was hatched within Congress Party to remove Shri Nandaji. At least, I do

not have any such information. I do not talk about that, but it will not be proper, if I do not say that I do not know about the conspiracy behind these riots. They claimed that the number of sadhus and saints was about one or one and a half lakh, but actually 50 thousand sadhus and saints had assembled there. Speeches were made for several hours. People understood that the Government would not do anything. When they started crossing the boundary wall of Parliament, firing was resorted. 7 or 8 persons were killed and some dead bodies were taken away of which I have no information. But I want to ask as to why a person like Gulzarilal Nanda was compelled to order firing. Shri Somnathji I would like to submit to you that the champion of the cause of cow protection, Shri Nandaji had done his duty. I would like to submit to Chavanji and Pilotji that as far as possible, they may not order to open the fire but if the fire has to be opened to protect the dignity and honour of the country, they must not sit silently. This should be kept in mind. Therefore, today it should be clarified to all in the country. Innocent children and women... (Interruptions) Those who have the tendency of burning the innocent children and women alive must be prepared to face the bullets. If fire is to be opened in the country, those people will be responsible for it who have created the atmosphere of burning innocent children and women alive in the country and they have to take responsibility for it. Now the country has to decide it in clear terms whether spears and tridents will be used against innocent children alone or whether the demonstration of Government's power will be used against those who are responsible for killing innocent people. If you do not do this today, Shri Narasimha Rao is not present here, Chavan Saheb, had you not come under pressure of Shri Narasimha Rao to continue in the Office of Home Minister, the country would have not faced this shameful situation. It may be possible that ten, twenty or twenty five people might have been killed but his country would

have not been blamed for killing thousands of people.

Sometimes unpleasant decisions have to be taken. It is not an inn or orphanage. It is the Government and in order to run the Governments, sometimes power has to be demonstrated. I would like to submit to my young friend Nitish Kumarji that I know the weak points of this Government but kindly don't further demoralise the morale of this weak Government. Ideologies should be replied ideologically..... (Interruptions).. But strengthen their hands to face the immorality. Today, there is conflict between immoral and moral forces, good and evil forces, we will have to fight for the victory of the good and the defeat of the evil. I don't know what will be its result. Every time you will win by politics of vote. Several persons have won the elections. Several persons have come and gone. It is the thousand-year-old history. Advaniji, in the history of 5000 years which man in power has made this culture? I would like to submit to those, who talk of the Indian culture, that this culture has originated from the dense and lonely forests and from the peaks of the Himalayas. Aiming at power, don't talk of Indian culture. If you have to follow the Indian culture, if you have to define Hindutva anew, then sit in a cave in the Himalayas like the sage Kapil and talk of it. The crime of making the Hindutva a ladder to reach to the parliament must not be committed in the country. We know that this crime is being committed today and its ill consequences may come out in elections. But it is our duty to highlight the truth. Chavan Saheb, I am confident that you will remember the old traditions, have some courage in the name of Indian civilization, Indian culture, as well as honour and history and dignity of this country. Please change your mind. The Leader of the Opposition and the Hon. prime Minister have had negotiations for several days.

Atalji, you should have no complaint. No matter if you have not been consulted

because you are moderate but the dialogue between Advaniji and Shri Narasimha Rao that appears frequently in newspapers and we come across and that is not losing its relevance today on account of us but it is losing its relevance on account of the trust reposed in us by them. The words of Advaniji are still resounding in my ears. He said in the United States "The best Prime Minister of India." Neither I know what is that trust nor I would like to know about it. Atalji, it would have been better if you had come to know about it and enlightened ignorant people like us. I hope at least this much from a Guru (a teacher). But the dialogue that was concealed from the country, the dialogue that was concealed from your party, from the Congress party, from the Parliament is the same dialogue as has become the reason for the miserable condition of the country and for which Narsimha Rao and Advani are equally guilty.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: It was announced in the morning by the hon. Speaker that this discussion will conclude at 4.30 p.m. Still at least three Members and three Ministers have to speak. So, shall we extend the time? If so, for how long?

HON. MEMBERS: Yes, for about one hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time for this discussion is extended by one hour.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion on price rise can be held tomorrow.

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY: There are many speakers.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is also a very important subject. I think, they have no objection.



THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS) AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK): It is an important matter. So, it was decided that the discussion should also start today. So, as you have suggested, this can be concluded within one hour.

HON. MEMBERS: Tomorrow, tomorrow.

SHRI MUKUL BALKRISHNA WASNIK: We do not have any problem.

MR. CHAIRMAN: So, I take it that the House agrees that the other discussion will be taken up tomorrow. Now, Shri Mohan Rawle.....

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE (Bombay-South Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of Shiv Sena I support the discussion raised by hon. Lal Krishna Advaniji in the House under Rule 193.

Sir, the name of Late Mahatma Gandhi is being mentioned by the ruling party again and again. Mahatma Gandhiji said that a movement should be launched against injustice. This Government is imposing ban on the people who are coming forward to express protest against the Government. This Government is suppressing the movement launched against injustice. This Government is taking action in violation of law and the Constitution. Earlier Shri Arjun Singh had said that ban should be imposed on the speech but when he visited Bombay he said that ban should not be imposed on speech. I think the mind of the hon. Home Minister sitting in front of us will also change like that of Shri Arjun Singh and he will give

permission of the rally which is going to be organised.

I would like to draw your attention to one thing more. The entry of people is being restricted in the North Avenue area where M.Ps reside. Roads have been blocked and searches are being carried out. Roads have been blocked and borders have been sealed. The Government has forgotten one thing. What were the consequences when late Smt. Indira Gandhi had created such situation in the country. Before staging come-back, she had said that she would never proclaim Emergency. She would not create such situation. But such situation is being created now. It seems that Emergency has been proclaimed. We are not independent, rather we are living in slavery akin to that of the British period. We are feeling so. Today I wanted to confine myself to rally only, but some of our hon. Members like Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Chandra Shekhar have presented their views in a different manner. That is why, we want to clarify the position. Somnathji has said why are there separate laws for Muslims in the country. Indrajit Gupta has said that we all are citizens of India whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, then why are there separate sets of laws for them. When we talk of Unity, it is opposed. Who is there to oppose the religion, it is we who are there, it is they who call us a communal force. We say that there should be a uniform law for Muslims. Similarly, there should be a uniform law for Indians. We say the planning of a family is the family planning. It should be equal for all. We say 'Vandemataram' should be recited in the country. Advaniji had recited 'Vande-Mataram' in this very House but that was opposed. He talked of secularism, is it the secularism? Vande Mataram must be sung in this country. Tricolour is our national flag. We should have regard for our flag and protect it. Just now Shri Indrajit Gupta has said that the Shiv Sena was behind the riots in Mumbai city. Afterwards, Shri

Chandrasekharji tried to level allegations against us. I have the report about your Government in Maharashtra. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you are sitting in the chair, we should get that report. Maharashtra Government has given that report to us. It has been categorically written therein that two labourers were beaten up and murdered in a Muslim dominated Mohalla in Dongri Area on 6th January. Afterwards on 6th January, within 48 hours 138 people were murdered in the areas of Dongri, Nagpara and V.P. Road. These all are Muslim dominated areas and the people who were attacked were Hindus. On 7th and 8th January at Radhabai Chawl in Jogeshwari, innocent people were burnt alive, because they belonged to Hindu community. Afterwards, entire Mumbai city came into the grip of communal riots. (Interruptions) It was the feeling prevailing in the hearts of the people that only Muslims attacked on them. That is why Hindus came out for the sake of their protection. You have witnessed what the Hindus have done. I am welcoming and supporting those Hindus who came out for the cause of Hindus and conveyed the Government of their intention. Today I have seen with my own eyes that lakhs of Hindus were protecting themselves. (Interruptions)

Respected Shri Rajesh Pilotji visited Mumbai city and I had requested him to visit the Hindu areas as he had visited Beharampara. He stayed there for 45 minutes. You acceded to my requested but you had no time for Hindus though you remained for 45 minutes in Beharampara.

[English]

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI  
RAJESH PILOT):**

[Translation]

**SHRIMOHAN RAWALE: Definitely you**

visited our Nagpara area also. At that time you were told that Shiv Sena had been involved in the riots. I apprised you about the whole situation you visited only the building No. 17. I requested you to visit the building No. 18 also and the temple opposite to building No. 17 which was burnt. I would like to tell you that the people belonging to building No. 18 told you that they were attacked by the Shiv Sena People. But if you go and see the F.I.R. registered in Nagpara you will find the different story. In the F.I.R. it has been mentioned that the people residing in building No 17 were attacked by the people residing in building No. 17 were attacked by the people residing in building No. 18 and efforts were made to burn the building and to demolish the temple. But you did not listen to that. I am not saying that you did not visit there. But I am alleging that you gave less time to Behrampara area as compared to Muslim areas. You were there for only 5 minutes whereas you spent more time in other areas. You should have taken us into confidence before going there. Our colleague Shri Ram Naik and all our members of Parliament were present in Mumbai city. They should have been taken into confidence. But you took only a few people into confidence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to tell you about the dead bodies found in Behrampara. Earlier also the people informed you about the 8-9 dead bodies found lying in a drainage. Whose dead bodies were these? These were the dead bodies of Hindus. On 29th January, Hindu areas were attacked and Police personnel were also attacked. After that attack, the Police opened fire, in which six persons were killed. These people came to attack the police after offering Namaz in the mosque. It was like that every-where. You can make an inquiry. From whom revolvers were recovered. Who has opened fire from private revolvers. From whom the petrol and acid bombs were recovered. The Government should declare the names. If these things were recovered from Hindus,



the names of those Hindus should be revealed. If these things were found from the Muslims, the Government should declare their names. It will clarify the entire situation.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shiv Sena is not against the Muslims. There is an M.L.A. named Shri Sabir Sheikh who belongs to the Shiv Sena. If the Shiv Sena is against the Muslims, the Muslims would not have remained with the Shiv Sena. In Nagpara area, from where I have been elected, a woman named Anjum Ahamed had contested an election on Shiv Sena ticket. The Shiv Sena is not against the Muslims.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, who have engineered these riots. These riots have not been instigated by the Shiv Sena. The Shiv Sena is not involved in these riots at all. The ex-Chief Minister of Maharashtra who has just resigned, has also remarked that these riots were the handwork of the goods. You as well as we, are aware of the retaliation which took place. All of us should know one thing that who had started these riots.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I would like to urge upon the Government and the Minister of Home Affairs to lift the ban on the rally immediately.

Hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta has referred to 'Hindu Rashtra'. I will conclude after clarifying it. Shri Rakesh Sharma had said from the space

"Sara Jahan Se Achcha, Hindustan Hamara". All the leaders in India since Jinnah have been using the word 'Hindustan' for India. They have been using the word 'Hindustan'. When we refer to 'Hindustan', it is wrongly interpreted. Hindustan is a country. It is a nation. Those who live in the Hindustan, are called Hindus. In this way, it is the Hindu Rashtra. That is why you are mis-interpreting

the word 'Hindu Rashtra'. It is our assertion.

In the last, I would like to request the Minister of Home Affairs to immediately lift the ban on the rally and we should be given an opportunity to hold a rally.

[English]

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijayawada): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today morning, I was hearing with rapt attention the Leader of the Opposition, Shri Advaniji's opening debate on this important issue. Sir, he has stated that in spite of the assurances given by the BJP that the rally would be very very peaceful, the Government has not permitted the rally proposed to be held on the 25th.

SHRILOKANATH CHOUDHURY: He is very clever. Such an assurance was never given.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE: Our party is of the view that banning the rally is not fair. You have permitted such rallies even in the Congress (I) ruled states and has allowed the public meetings of Shri Kalyan Singh, the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, who played a very vital role in the demolition of the Babri Masjid structure at Ayodhya on the 6th of December. Of course, you may be having the strong reasons to doubt their bonafides as Shri Advani and several other leaders had categorically stated the BJP did not intend to violate the mandatory court order which says the *status quo* should be maintained. Unfortunately, in spite of that solemn undertaking given by Kalyan Singh Government, we all know what has happened.

Today we feel that Advaniji, with due respect to him, is not standing on a strong wicket to question the unconstitutionality of functioning of this Government because his party, which was ruling Uttar Pradesh, did not act as per its own written commitment

[Sh. Sobhanadreeswara Raw]

that it will adhere by the rule of law; that it will adhere by the Supreme Court order. Advani ji was very much present there on that day when all these things happened.

Advani Ji mentioned about Gandhiji. I feel that if Gandhiji were there he would not have allowed the mosque to be demolished. He would have sat on that structure and would have said, "Let the first iron rod be blown on my head rather than on the mosque." And I am sure, irrespective of the number of people who had come to destroy the mosque, he would have succeeded in stopping them to destroy the mosque. But, unfortunately though Advaniji was present there, all these things happened there. So, today Advaniji is not in a position to question this Government in acting contrary to the rule of law or in acting contrary to the Constitutional provisions.

A point was made that the barbed fencing around the Boat Club lawn will mutilate the bodies of the persons who will attend the rally. But, don't you agree that December 6 incident at Ayodhya has mutilated the very solid foundations on which this nation's Constitution was built and the nation's prestige was destroyed beyond repair?

I feel that the Government is not doing anything to bring back the confidence among the people. The Prime Minister had long back announced that he will come forward with White Paper on Ayodhya. I would like to know why he has not come forward with a White Paper. Why is he not making the people know as to what really happened there?

I feel that the Government is not only failing in its duty but also is not sincere to fight the communal forces. You cannot fight the communal forces by simply banning a public meeting. I would like to bring to the kind

notice of the Government that today a very important political party is making all our efforts to inject the poison of communal hatred among a vast section of the people by spreading un-truths or false notions. It says that when so many temples are destroyed in Kashmir, these people are making so much *hulla-gulla* about the demolition of this very old and dilapidated mosque. I would like to tell my friends that it is not the Kashmir Muslims who have destroyed the temples but it is the Pakistan-aided terrorists who are doing all these things in order to destroy this country; in order to destroy the unity and integrity of this country and in order to separate Kashmir from India. Should we emulate their example? The other day Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad was telling the House that some 7 or 8 temples were damaged in Kashmir. In the name of obtaining the signatures for asking the Government to build the temple at the same place, the BJP party workers are going to every house and spreading this poison by giving them leaflets and brochures.

Just now one hon. Member was speaking about family planning. A propaganda is being made that in the near future the muslim population is going to increase at a faster rate than the Hindu population.

17.00 hrs.

Is it true? Only 1.5 per cent increase has taken place from 1951 to 1981. The annual increase is only 0.05 per cent. Even after four or five centuries, they will come nowhere near Hindus.

So, they are making such type of false propaganda. Why not have a Uniform Civil Code? True, it is mentioned in the Directive Principles that it is one of the objectives to be achieved. There should be no compromise on this. Even Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, when he was the Prime Minister tried to introduce a Uniform Civil Code but due to some reasons, he took

it back. There are several other things in the Chapter on Directive Principles. Because of dire economic difficulties, some people are working in the *beedi* and other such industries. The old people, just to sustain themselves, are working in such industries. Now, their health conditions also do not permit them to work in such industries.

There is also a mention of universalisation of elementary education in the Directive Principles to be achieved in ten years' time but we could not achieve that even now. So, by citing such instances, a definite effort is being made to inject hatred in the Hindu mind against the Muslims. Is it fair? I only submit that the Government must fight that propaganda of the communal forces. The Prime Minister simply making statements here and there is not sufficient. Your workers, at the grassroots must go to every nook and corner and also to every households to put out this hollow and false propaganda that is taking place. In addition to the political party, some other organisations like VHP, Bajrang Dal and so on, your Government's own apathy, over-confidence and your inept inaction is also responsible for demolition of this structure which has led to all these subsequent events.

I would only conclude by narrating a story. I would request the Government not to be so inept. It reminds me of a story which is as follows: Kammamma was married at a very young age. Her husband also was of a very young age. After some years, one boy was coming to the village. Some ladies of that village who had gone to fetch drinking water saw that boy. They thought, perhaps, that boy was Kammamma's husband. They started asking that boy: "Are you Kammamma's husband?" That boy kept silence. Those ladies took that boy to Kammamma. That boy was made to bathe. They gave him good clothes. He was, then sent to live with Kammamma. For a few years, they lived like that. But after sometime,

some of these ladies got a doubt that that boy was not be Kammamma's husband. The other ladies had also started saying that he might not be Kammamma's husband. Then, they called that boy and told him: "You appear to be some other boy, you are not Kammamma's husband." Then that boy told them: "When I came to your village, you yourselves had told me that I am Kammamma's husband. So, I accepted your words. I am living with her. Now, if you say that I am not her husband, you give my umbrella and the stick, I will go away."

Like that, this Government does not have any responsibility to protect the Constitution of this country, to protect the secular character of this country. It is responsible for not taking strong measures against the communal forces who are bent upon trying to create insecurity among the vast numbers of Hindu people by saying that Hindus are being treated as second class citizens and that the minorities are being pampered. They are creating such an impression among the people by injecting a sense of feeling that it is only the BJP that can reverse this tide. They want to come to power through back door. This propaganda should be fought with all efforts not only by the ruling party but also by all other political parties who stand for secularism. They must also take such measures. Our party feels that merely by banning the Rally or a public meeting of a particular political party will not help in fighting these communal forces.

If you are really sincere to fight them, then you must do it from the grassroot's level. We all will extend our co-operation.

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI  
RAJESH PILOT): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the  
Minister of Home Affairs will go into detail  
while giving reply to the questions. I will stat-

only two things. As my name has been referred to many times during the discussion in connection with the Bombay visit and hon. Vajpayeeji and other hon. Members have said something about me, I have to say that one has to take hard decision when he is holding a responsible position in the Government. It is one of those hard decisions which the administration had to take. The administration has allowed as well as banned rallies in the past also. The administration has to see the after-effects and counter effects of the rally. The Government has to take decision keeping in view the credibility of the organisers of the rally. I referred to the incidents of 6th December. Today, I would like to repeat it so that the citizens of the country could be apprised of the situation. To whom we believe and on what basis we believe. Today, all the hon. Members are citing examples. Shri Nitish Kumar has said that Shri Rao Saheb said about one 'Gharwali' and Gharwale' but the Government has also followed the saying that a burnt child dreads the fire. These people have downgraded their credibility so much so that I am not ready to believe even a man like Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Though he may promise me that the rally will be held peacefully but even having so much regard for him it has become difficult for me to believe his words. For the last two-three days I am receiving telephonic messages that I should not rely upon them. I am being advised not to be dodged by them as I have recently taken over the charge of this Ministry. So, this is the impression about them in the minds of the people of the country.

As regards Bombay, I went to Bombay along with the hon. Member who is not present here at the moment. The people of every colony said that the Shiv Sena had committed atrocities on them. Even some of them asked me as to why that particular hon. Member is accompanying me. I replied that he is the elected Member of Parliament from this

constituency. It is his area. Shri Syed Saheb was with us. We went there and met the people at different places. We met the people where we were taken. We as well as he heard all that was narrated to us by the people. The people of all communities were present there. I would like to mention one thing before the House that there is still apprehensions that violence may break out in the country. When we were visiting the constituency of Shri Sunil Dutt, an old lady came to me. Her child was killed by these people. She was holding a photo. She was weeping and asking to safeguard this country though her child had been killed. It appeared that there is still a spirit in the country which can enlighten and strengthen the unity. Even after sacrificing her child, the old lady was requesting me to protect the country. It is the duty of the Government to promote this feeling among the people. It should not be weakened at any cost. As far as the administration is concerned, it is its duty to maintain law and order situation in the country. Normalcy must be maintained. Those who want to take law into their hands would be strictly dealt with. We have been assigned this responsibility by the Constitution of the country. We will discharge our duty with best of our ability.

**SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU** (Secunderabad): What are you doing in Andhra Pradesh? There you are entering into an agreement with the Naxalites who are freely moving with weapons in their hands.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT:** I will reply to it and talk about the Naxalites too, later on.

**SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU:** They are making a compromise with them there.

**SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI** (Kota): Their M.L.A. was kidnapped there. That is why they made a compromise and now they are talking of the law.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: I will do that also. Please take your seats. We have been listening to you since morning.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly take your seats. No shouting. Please sit down. I don't allow you. Nothing will go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI DATTATRAYA BANDARU: \*\*

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the people, throughout the country are scared after the 6th December incident. It is a fact that I too had gone there. I was not in the Home Ministry then but I had gone there in my capacity as the Minister of Communications and met people.

17.10 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

As Shri Chandra Shekhar said, a doubt has been created in people's minds that these people will take the law into their hands on that day. This feeling has gone round the country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, these people are responsible for that. One should go through the statements made by their leaders after they sought permission for the rally. Someone talked about Kashi and the other about Mathura. Some other talked about some other thing. Please go through the newspapers and see the statements appearing in them. Nobody knows what will happen on 25th under such a situation. It has been created by them and not by us. No one has said as to what type of a rally will it be on the 25th. Shri Vajpayee wanted to have a dialogue in this regard. It was initiated by them and later they kept quiet. We were ready to hold talks. It is not a minor issue.

They made a beginning and kept quiet later. The Government did not leave any stone unturned to know their mind. It will not be proper on the part of the Government to show any slackness in maintaining law and order and if it fails, then it does not have any democratic right to rule. We have made this thing clear to them. Today, I am here to say a few things to you. Shri Chandrashekhar openly said the feelings of his heart about the Congress. I think him because, he is an old congressman. There is no harm if he takes deep interest in the Congress but if he talks this type of things without being in the Congress party his intentions are not unknown to Congress workers. The Government is also not unaware of it. People are questioning the relationship between Shri Vajpayee and the hon. Prime Minister and that of Shri Advani and the hon. Prime Minister. The same charge is being made in regard to hon. Prime Minister's relations with Shri Chandra Shekhar. Advaniji used to be a member of Chandra Shekharji's Government. He had been his partner, but Congress has never supported any communal party and it will never support. This is the history of Congress party.

SHRI BHOGENDRAJHA (Madhubani): it has links with the Muslim League even now....

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is our historical battle. We will continue to fight it. The Congress party made sacrifices for it and it will continue to make the same sacrifice, but it will never stand by such forces and will never join hands with them.

Sir, I would like to say one thing about the rally that every effort will be made by the Home Ministry and the Government to maintain normalcy on that day and no interference would be allowed from any quarters. Some of the hon. Members have



said in the morning that very hard steps are being taken. I myself drove to North Avenue and South Avenue in the morning...

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: I would like to bring it to your notice that two Gurjars of Hindoli were beaten up mercilessly in the North Avenue. They have been hospitalised in the North Avenue Hospital....

MR. SPEAKER: Joshi ji, please take your seat..... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I am not allowing.

(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Minister, please do not yield very easily; because we have one more item and if we do not take up that today, tomorrow the Railway Budget cannot be presented.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to assure the House that the Government would make all our efforts to maintain normalcy in the country. No citizen will have any difficulty. Buses will ply as usual. If anybody tried to take the law into his hands, he would be dealt with firmly. It is the duty of the Government to safeguard the law and the constitution. It is the responsibility of the Government.

At last I would like to request my hon. friends to keep quiet. This is a fact that these people say something here and some other thing outside. It causes a great loss. Secondly, challenges are thrown time and again to hold elections. I would like to assure Shri Vajpayee that it is certain that elections would be

conducted. Elections will not be postponed for long. We are sitting in the Government. We will see that elections are held when the situation becomes normal. Elections will definitely be conducted. We too will join the fray. On that day it will be seen as to who wins. There is a saying that a bad workman quarrels with the tool. Therefore, it is no use in making a noise here that they will win. Shri Jaswant Singh is sitting here. He knows about the present situation in Rajasthan. Even then he wants elections at the earliest and see that the B.J.P. is swept out. Why do they want to expose the weakness of the B.J.P. We accept their challenge. When the time comes, we will face them in the election fray and we have decided that all the secular forces will fight the communal forces in the country. We will fight with our full might, until it is decided whether the secular forces or the communal forces will survive in the country. This is our political decision also.

With these words, once again I assure you all, along with my senior colleague, Shri Atalji that normalcy will be maintained at all costs. Banning and holding of rallies will continue. There is nothing to bother about it. There will be no problem and no harm will be caused to anyone. We have banned the rally peacefully. Law will be enforced and rally will not take place. I assure you that we will try our level best not to cause any hardship to you.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now, I would like the House to decide because we had decided in the afternoon that we will take up the other matter also today because tomorrow is the Railway Budget day. If we do not take it up today, then we would not be able to take it up until the Budget is over.

AN HON. MEMBER: Will finish today.

MR. SPEAKER: We can take it up later

the Budget is presented but not before the Budget is presented because the discussion will be half way in between.

**SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura):** Tomorrow, the Railway Budget is slated to be presented at 2.00 P.M. But the convention is that the Railway Budget is presented just after the Question Hour. Last year also this matter was raised when Railway Budget was to be presented at 5.00 P.M. It was then decided to take up just after the Question Hour.

**MR. SPEAKER:** We have realised how difficult it is to present the Railway Budget after the Question Hour. That is why we have fixed it at 2.00 P.M. Please do not discuss that matter. We had decided and announced that Budget Speech is going to be shown to the entire country on T.V.. The people will be waiting at 2.00 P.M. to see the Budget and all arrangements have been made. Now, that is why we shall have to keep all these mind before making long speeches or many speeches on one issue only. Otherwise, the entire schedule gets disturbed.

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh):** I think, there was some discussion. We should fix a time. For example, we will sit upto 7 o'clock this evening. In the given time that is available after the Minister's reply, we will start the discussion.

**MR. SPEAKER:** This is exactly what I have said on the floor of the House itself that this matter will continue upto 4.30 P.M. and afterwards the second matter will be taken up and we will continue upto 7.00 P.M. Tomorrow for one hour or so, we will discuss and complete it before the Railway Budget is presented. But, now it is disturbed. Let us have an understanding that immediately within five minutes one or two Members can speak. The hon. Minister can reply and then we can take up the second thing and go upto 1.00 P.M. tomorrow and if necessary adjourn

and take up the Railway Budget and afterwards that will be continued. These things have to be kept in mind before we decide as to how to go about. So, it should not be easily changed. If it is easily changed, then there are difficulties.

**SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY:** The discussion on price rise will start tomorrow upto the time fixed for the presentation of the Railway Budget. After the Railway Budget is presented, the discussion will further continue and would be concluded. So, there are no difficulties.

**MR. SPEAKER:** Let this also be understood that once the statement is made on the floor of the House, it should not be easily changed. Otherwise, sitting here, I get into difficulties. For me the Railway Budget is important and if you do not have the Railway Budget then there is a difficulty. Anyway, what has been done has been done. Now, Shri Suraj Mandal, please finish within two-three minutes.

[Translation]

**SHRI SURAJ MANDAL (Godda):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, today Hon. Members are expressing deep concern in the House over the ban on the rally. I think for the one year Ayodhya issue has been engaging the attention of the people. This dispute has now reached Delhi. The people had said at that time and are saying even today that they no longer have any faith in the ruling party as well as in the opposition parties. (Interruptions) I am a neutral person. So I cannot side with you entirely. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a saying in the countryside that big people are not penalised even if they do any wrong. The big people can never be penalised, but the poor and small people do get punishment if they violate law. It virtually sounded nice. You must be remembering that when the election of Speaker for the 10th Lok Sabha was being held, I was the



proposer of a motion. I had said at that time that since the two parties with different ideologies have agreed on this issue, I withdraw my motion. It looked very pleasant at that time. On this Shri Advani had said that there should be the union of the hearts too. But that has not materialised.

Today a ban has been imposed on the proposed rally on the 25th and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs says with an authoritarian way that he will not allow the rally to take place, come what may. I would like to ask one thing. In this very House he had said while speaking on the Ayodhya issue that — if the need arises the army can surround the disputed structure within 8 or 10 minutes. The Hon. Minister of Home Affairs had said this but he did not take any action for twelve long hours after Ayodhya incident. Has the people of the country not lost faith in him?

I had read in the newspapers of 16th instant that the Central Government would ban the rally. But what is the guarantee that Ayodhya incidents will not be repeated here in Delhi? How can the people believe? What action is being taken by him to assure the people? He is similarly speaking with great confidence that he would not allow the rally to take place. The Government is deploying police to prevent people from attending the rally. They are those very B.J.P. men. Their fellowmen are moving free. They are roaming like Untethered bul.. The month in which farmer Yoke the Ox, he puts a wooden plank round its neck...

MR. SPEAKER: There is no time to narrate stories. Please come to the point.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am speaking to the point that calf works well, but —

MR. SPEAKER: Please do not discuss calf. There is no time.

[English]

Otherwise I will shut it now. You please come to the point.

[Translation]

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am citing an example only.

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. It is not required.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: Then, I sit down.

MR. SPEAKER: Brother, this is a Parliament.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: In Parliament village can also be discussed. I am talking about village only. I am not talking about any foreign country. I am talking only this much that I am against imposing ban on the rally. The rally should not be banned. Moreover, it must be ensured that nothing untoward will happen in the rally. We too hold meeting in our areas and we deliver speeches there with arrows and bows in our possession. On many occasions the attendance is as much as 40 thousand or 50 thousand, some times it goes upto even one lakh. No body moves even an inch from its place. But there is a saying in Bengali

"Sapar age bega naache  
Teu kichhu bhed achhe."

The Government orders do have such connotations.

I would like to talk about principle. But they will not budge even an inch from their stand. If they believe in religion and act in this manner then we too believe in religion. We too worship. The people of our home also worship. They all worship. But why they are now remembering religion so earnestly? Was religion not an issue when the Harijans and the Adivasis were not allowed to drink water

[Sh. Suraj Mandal]

from public wells? Who were those people? Have you ever seen them? Who compelled Harijans to convert into Muslims in Arankulam who compelled the Hindus to embrace Christianity? I know it that today they are doing all this for raising their vote/bank. The entire vote bank of Congress is now slowly becoming the vote bank of B.J.P. The votes are being shared between these two parties. Therefore, they should not cheat the people in the name of religion. Who are called Hindus? Adivasis does not go to temples.... (Interruptions) Only people like him might be going there. Therefore it is wrong to talk of a Hindu nation. Harijans too do not go to temples. (Interruptions) Only those who aspire to become M.L.As or M.P.s go to temples... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, if every sentence is to be contradicted like this, how can it go? (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Mandal, you please take your seat now.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: I want to know where would those persons go who are not Hindus and who do not go to temples but sit under a tree and worship the God with their inner soul? I would like to know whether these people will be accommodated in the Hindu nation or they will be treated like the persons, round whose neck bell used to be tied by brahmins in Tamil Nadu.

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. I have allotted you time to speak on the rally. Now the hon. Minister will reply to it.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: Will I not complete my speech? How can I speak when members are disturbing me. I will sit only after completing my speech.

MR. SPEAKER: Please confine yourself to the issue you will not be disturbed. The time allotted to you is over.

SHRI SURAJ MANDAL: So far as the issue of holding a meeting is concerned, it must be held. I am of the opinion that no ban should be imposed on the meeting of any political party. If meeting is banned and law is violated by them then first of all the political party should be removed from the list, and then it should be banned.

The hon. Minister of Home Affairs, I again submit that the people of the country are worried that incidents of 6th December may not be repeated on the 25th February. The Government should take effective steps in this regard. A trial has been made by ringing the bell to ensure that they may not enter the Parliament also. The letter has been sent to your house also. The situation is just like the same as that in a story "the wolf came, the wolf came" and the Government is doing all this out of fear. The Government should tackle the situation with courage and punish those who violate the laws. Laws, military, C.R.P.F. should not be for the poor people only. Stern action should be taken even against the big people. With this, I conclude.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): Mr. Speaker, Sir, about the holding of the rally on the 25th of this month, different leaders of political parties have expressed different opinions and as was expected, there is a sharp division between those who are secular minded and those who consider that they have different definition of secularism.

I was very carefully listening to what our esteemed friend, Shri Vajpayeeji was saying that there must be sufficient reason as to why the rally is being banned. I am sure that he must have gone through the letter that I have written to their President which clearly shows that in the entire country after the 6th of December episode, there has been a terrible amount of disquiet and a kind of communal upsurge; minorities are feeling very much insecure; the image of the country in the international community has been very badly damaged, but apart from what the international community thinks about us, we have to consider whether really we believe in the oath that we have taken. Every hon. Member who entered this House had taken the oath under the Constitution and thereafter if he tries to put his own interpretation as to what exactly is the kind of secularism that he has in mind, then of course, with the kind of situation that we have found in Ayodhya, we were really apprehensive, and I must tell you very frankly, and this is not just to score a debating point, but I must frankly admit that I am also equally apprehensive about the peaceful conduct of the rally that the BJP has been claiming. When I told Vajpayeeji...

[Translation]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: What reply have they given? (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: When I told Vajpayeeji that some of the BJP leaders had issued the statement that 'our intention is to hold the rally in a peaceful atmosphere, but if some outside elements were to create a problem, certainly we are not responsible for the same.' He himself was also taken by surprise saying, 'How is it that this kind of a statement has been made?' When the idea was to take the responsibility, when the rally is being held by a particular party and when they claim that this rally is going to be a

peaceful rally, then of course, those who organise the rally have to take the responsibility and they cannot possibly taken refuge by saying that 'if outside elements create a problem, then of course we cannot be held responsible.' I was myself surprised and that is why I became more apprehensive. First of all we had that apprehension. I must tell very frankly that in the case of Ayodhya also, we were equally apprehensive, but all kinds of promises and assurances were made by very responsible leaders. It is not an ordinary person, an ordinary follower of either Atalji or Lal Krishna Advaniji, who made this kind of statement, it was the Chief Minister of U.P. who gave the assurance to NIC, it was the Leader of the Opposition on the floor of the House and it was the solemn affidavit filed before the Supreme Court. These are three very important institutions where a solemn assurance was given by all the party leaders. When the Supreme Court had only permitted symbolic *Kar Seva* at Ayodhya, why was it necessary that lakhs of people should assemble there and thereafter take the plea that we tried our level best, but some other sections were involved in this and so we could not control the mob? I have seen the photograph of two very important ladies embracing themselves when the demolition took place. I have seen the video tapes and I was, myself, surprised. Added to that, one very important leader of the BJP made a statement that if it is a choice to choose between the loyalty to the God and the loyalty to the Constitution, he will choose the loyalty to the God.

[Translation]

KUMARI UMA BHARATI (Khajurahs):  
When did Advaniji say it?

[English]

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I did not name Advaniji. I said, an important leader of the BJP said like that. In fact, I do not have any

[Sh. S.B. Chavan]

personal knowledge. That is what I have read. If I am wrong, certainly I am prepared to take it back. But, let somebody take the responsibility of saying that it is not a fact as is being stated or as is being alleged. Then I can very well understand that.

Sir, now Mr. Kalyan Singh, the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is being paraded throughout the country as if he has done something very heroic. He has become a great hero for them, he goes everywhere and takes big rallies and there he announces that there was nothing wrong and we take pride that this structure was demolished; he got some kind of a divine inspiration and out of that divine inspiration he says that he could not do anything and he now feels proud for that. Then, there is a competition going on between the Shiv Sena and the VHP in claiming the responsibility for the demolition of the structure. Now, both are claiming the responsibility for the demolition. One was claiming in the beginning and thereafter, even the VHP also is now claiming the responsibility saying that only Shiv Sena cannot take the credit and they are also equally responsible for demolishing the same. What does this indicate? Is it merely an escape route that three or four are together and sometimes, if it suits them, they say that this is not their responsibility and somebody else has done it? Is that the escape route that you have kept for yourself? I am sure that you do not mean it. But, this is the kind of atmosphere which has been generated.

Sir, as one of the hon. Members has correctly stated, there is an apprehension in the minds of the minorities. I have received a large number of letters asking me as to how we are going to protect the places of worship. There is an apprehension expressed by a number of people that there is a possibility of some of the elements entering the places of worship and hoisting there saffron flag. I do

not know how far it is true. But, these letters have been coming to me and I had to ask the police to see that these places of worship which, in fact, can attract the attention of such - I may be allowed to use the word - 'hooliganism' should be protected against such elements. I do not think that they can possibly belong to any political party. If this act of hooliganism is indulged into by any section, then the police authorities have been given the full authority to use the maximum force and put that down. We cannot allow this kind of hooliganism to continue in places of worship; whether it is a Muslim place of worship or a Hindu place of worship, both have the equal sanctity in our minds. I will not be surprised if some of the elements, for just creating some kind of a terror in the minds of the people themselves, may do something. If this kind of rumour is spread, then of course, it goes very difficult thereafter to stop the whole thing. We have not taken any alarmist view of the entire thing but at the same time, I must assure this House, the Government will be held responsible if anything were to go wrong. I can assure the hon. Members that we are not against holding political rallies. We understand, the political issues will have to be fought on political lines only. But you cannot fight communalism of the type or nature which we are seeing now-a-days. You are trying to create some kind of ill-will between the two communities. For that matter, I may be allowed to say, it is against all minorities, not one section of minority. When you talk of Hindutva, you say Hindutva is the Rashtriyatva. That is the kind of definition which is being put forward. If I am wrong, let Advaniji explain to me. This kind of philosophy of Hindutva being Rashtriyatva be their feeling, then there can be no other meaning than Hindu Rashtra. If there is Hindu Rashtra, then everybody will have to be at the mercy of those who consider themselves to be the Hindus. Is this the kind of definition you have in mind about the secular polity of this country? If that be so, then we must

frankly admit that there can be no meeting ground on this issue at all.

Secularism and Hindutva with the kind of definition that is put forward, I can say, without any fear of contradiction there is no meeting ground in this. Once you say we believe in equality and all the religions are equal and they have been given equal rights and they have been given equal opportunities to develop themselves, but if there is a major section which says, "We do not believe in this; our definition of secularism is a kind of Hindutva that we are preaching and those who have to remain in India—! do not know where the hon. Member from Shiv Sena has gone. I know Shiv Sena has always been saying those who are not loyal to the country will have to leave this country. Who is going to decide whether they are loyal? Is it only amongst one section that disloyal people are there and all other people in the other sections are very loyal.

**KUMARI UMA BHARATI:** What is wrong in it if somebody says a person who is disloyal to this country has no right to live in this country?

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** Are you going to decide as to who is loyal and who is not? Who is the authority which is going to decide? Can you take the responsibility that in the majority community, there are not people who are disloyal at all. If you want the list, I can show a number of people who are indulging in anti-national activities, smuggling activities, drug trafficking activities and still you claim this...

[Translation]

**SHRI DILEEP BHAI SANGHANI (Amreli):** The people who burn the National flag in Kashmir and else where in the country, are anti-nationals.

[English]

**SHRI S.B. CHAVAN:** I have clearly stated that there is fundamental difference

on this point. We also believe on the fundamental point that there can be no meeting ground with the kind of definition they have. Let us clearly state that, On behalf of the Government, I say that there can be no meeting ground so long as this is the kind of definition that they have. You do not believe in the kind of secularism that is enshrined in our Constitution. You have a separate kind of definition. If there be anything wrong, certainly we are prepared to correct ourselves but if this is your Rashtriyatva then, of course, I must clearly state that there is no meeting ground.

I must again say that the minorities have great apprehension in their minds. This rally has been announced at a time when the kind of communal situation which was prevailing in the country is limping back to normalcy with great difficulty.

I have my own apprehension about the objectives and that is, about the socio-economic programme that we are very keen to take up. I do not allege any kind of motive but sometimes I do get this kind of suspicion in mind that in order to stall this programme of socio-economic development, in order to stall the Mandal Commission report which has been announced by the Government and which we are very keen to implement, these are the devices which are being made, if I am allowed to say so, sometimes we feel suspicious... (Interruptions)

[Translation]

You are feeling sorry for it. You are feeling sorry about the Mandal Commission (Interruptions) I know this thing that you can never have faith in our traditions.

[English]

I must fully say that sometimes I do get this kind of suspicion in my mind whether they have any such idea in their mind to

[Sh. S.B. Chavan]

somehow start this thing and everybody will be engaged in this communal atmosphere and they cannot think in terms of socio-economic programmes by which the poorer sections of the society were to get something and thereafter be the part of the mainstream. That is also one of the issues which, in fact, I sometimes get in my mind and, that is why, I have just made a mention of it.

So far as the rally part is concerned, I must inform the House that there can be no question of reconsideration by the Government, of ban on holding the rally. In fact, we have put a ban and that too very consciously, not because that we do not believe in giving political freedom. Certainly we are prepared to give it to you fully but not in the fragile communal atmosphere in which the country is today. We are more interested in bringing about normalcy in the area and thereafter, by all means, you can have the political rallies. Nobody will oppose it. But so long as such a situation continues, allowing any section to have this kind of a rally will add to our difficulties and will add to the apprehensions of the minorities that they have in view.

I really request the hon. Members that they will take the responsibility of going along and seeing that even if there are some mischievous elements who are creating some kind of problem for the minorities, they will see to it that they should not be allowed to function in that manner. That was the only point I thought that I should clarify.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am sorry. I had made two points when I initiated the debate and they are not replied to. Number one is that the ban on the rally is contrary to the assurance given by the Home Minister in this House that there would be no curb on legitimate political activity of the BJP. You are merely saying that on this account there

would be communal tension. I feel that, when the Government makes these statements, communal tensions are created unnecessarily and needlessly.

Number two is that there is not even a mention of the point I made that the ban on the rally was been implemented, is lawless. Total lawlessness prevails in the country. No reference has been made to the point of implementing the ban on the rally.

We are totally dissatisfied with the explanation given by the Government and, in protest against the Government's attitude, undemocratic, lawless attitude, we would like to walk out of the House.

17.49 hrs.

*Shri Lal K. Adwani and some other Hon. Members then left the House.*

MR. SPEAKER: Well, Shri Amal Datta, I think, on this matter, you would be the first Speaker. I am sorry that at the flag end of the day you have to start.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I just want one clarification from the hon. Home Minister since the debate is not over.

MR. SPEAKER: Let us go to the other matter.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: No. Shri Srikanta Jena, I have called him to speak. I am asking him to speak. I am not allowing you. I will not listen to you.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: He wants some reply.



MR. SPEAKER: All right, you can reply.  
Shri Amal Datta, please wait for a minute.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA: I want a clarification on the blanket ban imposed on other political parties to hold rallies in Delhi. Why there is the ban?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I can very well understand the anxiety of the secular parties who would like to hold the rally and give a befitting reply to such anti secular forces. But if you have to do it, then, of course, it creates a kind of discrimination. If somebody were to approach the court of law on the point of discrimination, we feel that it would be struck down. That is why we thought it necessary. If we do not give permission to them, others also cannot do it because that can also create problems if there is a friction among themselves. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY (Jagatsinghpur): How can you equate those who are communal and those who are secular? It is most unfortunate to equate the two. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Papers to be Laid on the Table of the House.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN.

17.52 hrs.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE- *CONTD.*

Proclamation dt. 22.2.1993  
revoking the proclamation issued on  
2.4.1992 in relation to the state of  
Nagaland.

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(SHRI S. B. CHAVAN): Sir, I beg to lay on the

Table a copy of the Proclamation (Hindi and English versions) dated the 22nd February, 1993 issued by the President under clause (2) of Article 356 of the Constitution revoking the Proclamation issued by him on the 2nd April, 1992 in relation to the State of Nagaland, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 79 (E) in Gazette of India dated the 22nd February, 1993, under Article 356 (3) of the Constitution

[Placed in Library. See No. L.T. 3380/93]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Sir, before the next item is taken up, I would request the hon. Home Minister one thing. He should not say 'no'. He should say: "Well, we will assess the situation when any other party wants to do it." You consider it on merit. Why do you say here and now?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: We can discuss the matter. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: This cannot go on like this. I am not allowing Shri Nitish Kumar. His statement is not going on record.

(*Interruptions*) \*

17.53 hrs.

DISCUSSIONS UNDER RULE 193 -  
CONTD.

(ii) *Rise in Administered Prices of Coal, Steel etc. and Introduction of Dual pricing system for LPG and Kerosene*

[*English*]

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for calling me although it is nearing six of the clock. However, since an opportunity is being given on the very first day of this session, we must not miss that opportunity.