 अम्पया क्षतरा सामने है।

## MOTION RE: SITUATION ARISING OUT OF RECENT COMIMUNAL RIOTS IN DIFFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY-Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Wo now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Prof. Samar Guha on the 4th December, 1978, namely:-
"That this House do consider the situation arising out of the recent communal riots in different parts of the country."

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy $t_{0}$ continue his speech.

DR. SUBRAMANLAM SWAMY (Bombay-North-East): Madam Chairman, I barely spoke for four minutes yesterday and I had pointed out that whenever we talk about communalism in Parliament, it ultimately bolls down to a discussion of Hindu-Muslim confict and also the alleged role of the RSS in that.

I have always wondered why this is never a discussion of intra-Hindu comunalism or intra-Muslim communalism, such as, between Shias and Sunis about which there are riots every year, between Brahmin and nonBrahmin and all kinds of communalism that is there in the country. That is what we should be concerned with. But, unfortunately, there are no political dividends to be gained by this and that is why every discussion ultimately comes around that and does not go to the root of the issue.

Therefore, I wanted to bring out the fact that it is not a question of a minority; it is not a question of smaliness of a community. I pointed out that the Parsi community which is the smallest minority in this country feels $n_{0}$ insecurity in hin country. There must be some study made as to
why is it that some other communities teel this way. (Interiruption) Minrrying a Parsi is not the privilege of the people on thie other side ouly. (Interruptions)

I think, some law and order should be maintained here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think; you can play your role in maintaining it.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: The RSS is being constantly brought here to seek some political advantage. It is a growing organisation, it is a patriotic organisation. They do not know of any other way to stop its growth. This kind of irresponsible charges may be made all the time on the floor of the House, but when you pin them down and ask them to produce the facts, they are not able to produce the facts. I want to know why is it that the previous Government, despite the fact that it was armed with the Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act 1967, further strengthened in 1972 by the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, had not fled a single case under the Act against the RSS. That was because they have no proof.

I will read out to you, very briefly the Question that came up in Farliament on 8th May, 1975 ..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please try to conclude.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: I have hardly spoken. You are ringing the bell!

MR. CHAIRMAN : I ace sorty. You have to conclude.

DR. SUBRAMANLAM SWAMY: On 8th May, 1975; Starred Question No. 214 was put by Mr. Dattopant Thengari and several others. The question was:
"Will the Minister of Home Afiaire be pleased to state:
(a) the number of caseg and the number of pereons involved in eache.

## [Dr. Subramaniam Swamy]

case, State-wise, wherein courts of law have decided during the last three years that the RSS has been responsible for acts of violence."

This was a straightforward question. The second part of the question was about acts of violence engaged in by the CPI. The answer to this Question was read out by Mr. Brahmananda Reddy. who functioned then Constitutionally as the Home Minister-whether he was actually the Home Minister or not, I do not know. His answer was:
"(a) to (c). In 1972 and 1973. there were no cases in which a court of law decided that the RSS had been responsible for acts of violence. Information in regard to 1874 is being collected from the State Governments and Union Territory Administration.. ."

At the same time, it says:
"In 1972 and 1973, some members of the C.P.I. were convicted in some specific cases involving acts of violence...."

Here is a Parliament Question which clearly says what is what.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:
Again the question comes up on the issue of riot reports. Riot reportafter riot report have exonerated the RSS, whether it is Ranchi or for that matter the Bhiwani report which Mr. Sathe quoted. Today Mr. Sathe is minus his topi: when he puts on his topi, he takes leave of his senses. I do not know why. The fact of the matter is this. He read out the Bhiwandi report. Nowhere does the Bhiwandi report mention the RSS; it mentions the Congress Party, it mentions the

PSP, but it does not mention the RSS. This was a misreporting on his part....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.
DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: I am surprised. Mr. Sathe quoted Mr: Raj Narain...

MR. CHALIRMAN: Please resume your seat. I am calling the next speaker.

DR. SURRAMANIAM SWAMY: He quoted Mr. Raj Narain as his proof. I am surprised to hear what Mr. Raj Narain says has become the gospel of truth...

MR. CHALRMAN: I have asked him to resume his seat. Do not record any more what he says.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:**
MR. CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI Chikmagalur): Madam Chairman, the subject of communalism is an exceedingly important one because, in foct, we believe that it is central to the unity and strength of our country, and this is why. . (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would remind hon. Members that they are expected to observe decorum in the House and not interrupt a maiden speech. Kindly don't interrupt.

SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GAN-
DHI: I think the hon. Member who spoke last rightly pointed out, and I would support him, that communallsm does not relate merely to the chauvinistic feelings or friction between Hindus and Muslims but also to other minorities, and even, I would say; the tensions which are now being created
between different castes and the attitude of aggressive groups and dominant groups, whether they are socially dominant, economically dominant or merely numerically dominant, towards those whom they consider to be weaker then themselves. And the present general atmosphere of violence does conlribute to the aggravation of tensions.

Now, I want to make it clear that I do rot think that Hinduism is. in any way, threatened either by Islam or by Christianity. I say this because this is fometimes the basis of the propaganda that is made. What does threaten it is those who want to narrow down the breath of its vision and the grandeur of its whole concept and the wide sweep of its thought. India has an age-old tradition of acceptance of the fact that there are many ways to truth and of giving respect to different relirinns and different approaches. It is this tolerance which has given Hinduism its resilience, and therefore its sustaining power. It is India's capacity for synthesis and adaptation that has created our composite culture which cian flourish only in an almosphere of mutual understanding and accommodafion. This has been the Congress rreed and our aim.

Now, I must admit. that as human beings. we congress men and women scmotimes faltered and failed to live up to our high precepts; but I think that the people and the Administration knew that we stood firmly for Secularism and that we shall continue to do ${ }^{\text {so }}$ always. As I said, it is the very hasis of our existence and, we think. of the existence of the country.

AN HON, MEMBER: Which Congress man?

## SHRIMATI INDIRA NEFIRU GANDHI: All congressmen.

[^0]I was advised at that time that this Bill would strengthen secular elements and therefore generally strengthen the Muslim cause. It was never our intention to hurt their feelings in any way. or to weaken the university or to change it character. So when certain representatives and different delegations came up to me I agreed to reconsider the matter. We did indeed express this view later on in our election manifesto.

Any discussion with regard to questions concerning the minorities should be taken only after the fullest consultation with all groups of them. I am afraid that we did not give full consideration to this at that time. However, the situation is always too delicate, for their sentiments to be wounded.

Now I should like to add my voice to the many members who spoke yesterday in expressing my appreciation and in congratulating the faculty and the students of the Aligarh Muslim University for the help and succour which they gave to the Hindus and the Muslims who were victims in the Aligarh riots and also to the many Hindus and Muslims who helped one another at such a time of distress.

As I was passing through Aligarh station by train, many people came from both communities and gave me a vivid account of the mischief that was done and the many acts of violence as well as of this help and the human itarian work of the students and the faculty. If there was a newspaper report attributing the remark to me that I did not need Muslim votes. I can only reiterate very strongly that it is entirely false and baseless.

Speaking about what Dr. Sushila Nayar has said recently, I have referred to the atrocities on Muslims, on Harijans and on Adivasis and the hardships they have to suffer. I have also referred to the barbarous shooting in Pantnagar in which the victims belonged to different castes, but my speech also covered economic and foreign policy issues. Would it be falr

## [Smt. Indira Nehru Gandhi]

to Harijans or the Adivasis or the Muslim minority if we were not t" refer to these matters? Why are we discussing them here today? Would the Muslims and others be safer if such attacks are hushed up? I have said and I ask again what meaning can democracy have for the man whose house and belongings are destroyed and his loved ones killed and for those whose lands are being snatched away. who are beaten or maimed?..

## (Interruptions).

## AN HON. MEMBER: When?

SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI: At any time.... (Interruptions)

I am not excusing any riots which look place at any time, before, now or which may take place later. We have to condernn all riots anywhere, where people have suffered. I have always condemned every riot and every act of barbarism which has taken place anywhere.

AN HON. MEMBER: Even during emergency?

SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI: Yes, during emergency also, if there were such acts.

I am now speaking about the sufferings of the poor people and sufferings of Harijans. Even yesterday when 1 returned from the House in the evening. I found various groups waiting for me. In fact, I have their applications with me right now. I am not speaking from hearsay or on the basis of newspaper reports but from my personal experience of the many sorrowtul groups who come to me. The applications which I have here with me are only representative of something that is happening every day ever since jur defcat as the ruling party. It is not that the people did not come before. People did come before also, but toriay they come and when I say that I am not in a position to do anything, they say: Well, somebody has to raise sime voice. . . (Interruptions) My speeches
in this House are on record and anybody can see what I have said earlier also in this regard. When these people come to me, what I can do is to mention their cases in public, to try and rouse the public consciousness and to refer their grievances or get our local people to reter them to the concerned authorities. There is nothing more that I can do. Therefore to say that this should not be mentioned would be very unrealistic. It is only when public conciousness is roused, that we would be able to achieve our objective; at least the neighbours would feel constrained to prevent such acts in their areas. As we know, today these incidents are on the increase. Unfortunately. when one goes to make a complaint. it is the complainant himself who gets involved in the trouble. Either he is arrested or he gets involved in some police case.... (Interruptions)

When the hon. Member, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. was giving out the information with regard to the number of riots earlier, the hon. Members must have noticed that there was a steady decline in the figures. With regard to the atrocities on Harijans also, according to the newspapers and the vartous Government reports which I have seen. the figure is now on the increase. When I passed through Calcutta airport, I think, it was some time last year, a leader of a Union came to me and I myself put this question to him: Did you not have this type of difficully earlier? Fie sald: We did, but when we went to the authorities, may be they could not deal with two out of our ten grievances. but we always had a hearing and at least some of them were solved, but today nobody is giving us a hearing.... (Interruptions). I am only repeating what the gentleman told me.....(İnterruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I wquid like to draw the attention of the hon. Members to the fact that this debate continues throughout to-day. You will have your opportunities to say something. You can continue, Mra Gandhi,

## SHRI DINEN BEATTACHARYA

(Serampore): May I ask whether the complaint received at the Calcutta airport was conveyed to the West Bengal Government? What was the reply of the Government? So far as West Bengal is concerned, I can categorically state that every complaint is looked into, and action taken. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI: With regard to democracy, I would like to say that democracy can survive only on the basis of socialism which stands for economic justice. and secularism which stands for social justice. (Interruptions) it does not help to misrepresent others, nor is it my intention to do so. Other hon. Members ably quoted facts and figures.

If the Jana Sangh and RSS are mentioned, it is certainly not out of any allergy to them, but because of the ideology of Hindu militancy and supremacy, and the mention of Hindu Rashtra which they have been preaching, and of the remarks regarding Little Pakistans within India and so on, which we hear from time to time. (Interruptions) Para-military training to children and young people is not conducive either to communal harmony or to giving a feeling of security to members of other communities. Photographs have appeared and all newspapers and other reports have mentioned children with imitation guns. Naturally, I have no inside information. I know only what has appeared.... (19terruptions)
AN. HON. MEMBER: You never had any. It was all hear-say.

## SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU

 GANDHI: Consistently the newspapers have mentioned; with regard to AHgarh and certain other matters the names of important people " of the local RSS (Interruptions) The names in the MIR read out yesterday were those of one group; as tar ins I know. (Interruptions) The phifotophy of the dominant partner of the rullify J'anita Party is retponsible for creating as atmosphere in stear and liwegarity in theminds of minoritles and weaker sections.

It is no use blaming the Administration; unless we know that they have been given firm and clear instructions which they have defled.

SHRI RAM DHAN (Lalganj): What about Mr. Tandon who was serving under you? (Interruptions)
मैने तब भी कहा या कि कापलूसों मे लावधान रहो, भ्रा मी कापलूस बेरे हुए हैं।
SHRTMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI: We did not have party members as officials under us at all Therefore; what an official did then; or now; he did according to his ideas; and certainly not because the party directed him. . . (Interruptions)

One point which I have always em-phased-I am glad to say that one hon. Member from the ruling party who spoke yesterday also said so-and which I should like to reiterate is the importance; first of trying to prevent tension from coming to the boil and secondly to take the firmest measures if there is any trouble; right in the beginning as soon as trouble appears. From this point of view it was certainly a mistake to lift the curfew and endanger the lives of people as happened in Aligarh from what I can see from newspaper reports. Our policy was not evenly implemented but we did try te take a large number of minority personnel in the police and other services at all levels. . (Interruptions) Employment opportunities must be given to them in industry also. Whenever there was a new industry established; muslim minorities and other weaker sections and those who were dislodged by the start of new industrial undertakings should be given jobs there first. It is equally necessary to ensure that every subject in our education programme gives the child the right attitude towards its fellow citizens and other religions languages and so on. This we have tried with some success. I wonder if the gevernment is giving full consideration to ati the repurcussions which might artie out of the Anti-Converstion
[Smt. Indira Nearu Goudhi]
Bill which is on the anvil. A secular attitude must be an essential requireneent for all officials teachers and others in responsible positions. I entirely agree that questions regarding communal tension law and order situation and violence are national questions. But some of the issues raised and the manner of mentioning the $m$ did not indicate that the ruling party is entirely of this view. I have earlier spoken very strongly about the Jan Sangh; about the R.S.S. Some Member said that no case tau ton rought out. I think it was mentioned yesterday; again by an hon. Member from that side: not from our side it is not a question of who throws the first stons. It is very difficult to prove who threw the first stone. The question is wha! is the atmosphere? An atmosphere of bitterness and hatred is spread through statements. I have mentioned some of these things; Little Pakistan or something like that; o: a whispering campaign which inflames hatred. It is this which creates an atmosphere in which any child can be induced to throw a stone or do somethng like that which can spark off such a situation. Why is it that at other timeg similar acts do not have repercussions? Things are normal if a Hindu and a Hindu fight and the metter ends there. But if the game fight is on a very trivial matter between a Hindu and Muslim why should it immediately degenerate and rous such passions? Some propaganda has been going on which creates this sort of atmosphere. My humble submission is and it is not at all with a view to get any political advantage. I do not think any political advantage is gained out of communal violence... (Interruptions). Everybody suffers; the Muslim suffers and the Hindu suffers and if there is any gain at all it must be a very temporary gain. . . (Interruptions).

SHRI C. M. STEPTHEN (Idukkd); It this the treatment you want from this side alnof

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would requeat the hon. Members to be serious; thls is a serious discussion.

SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI: The sort of remarks that were made here earlied by people belonging I believe to the Jan Sangh...

## DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:

 There is no Jan Sangh; why don't you get out of that psychosis?SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHFU GANDHI: I think you were one of the strongest suokesmen of this so-called group. . . (Interruptions) shall I say, a segment of the Janata Party? They have a very definite view. I have stated with great humility that today, if we are discussing this matter, it is not to blame either the Jan Sangh or the RSS; they have been propagating a point of view which was very dangerous to the unity and integrity of this country. Because if any one group which is unsafe, or even if not actually unsafe, feel that they do not have equal opportunity, and it is obvious now that the muslim minority does feel this. . .

## (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM DHAN: What about Andhra Pradesh?

## SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU

 GANDHI: 1 am not justifying anything. But just because something happened in Andura Pradesh, you cannot say that Muslims are feeling safe in other placer.Something was said about the Parsi community. It is because they are so small that nobody thinks of them as a threat. They are living in one or two places. But Muslims are spread all over India. When I speak of minoritiem I think of othor minorities also. In different places other communities ure in a minority. There are towns and villages whare other people are in a minoutity.

1 would onk the how membucs on the oflere the who bitune to whit
uned to be the Jan Sungh'. They gay it is no longer there. Mogt of us here see, it is very much there and in a most dominant position. The other constitutents of the Janata party should try to wake up to the realities of the situation and the dangers to our country, from their point of view. I am not saying that Jan Sangh should be removed from Government but there must be an effort to at least convert them or atleast try to show them that their attitude will not be tolerated. If you use R.S.S., for instance, for adult education, then this kind of attitude is spread, it is not curbed and contained. The R.S.S. is called a cultural organisation. Well. rulture is a word which covers many things. But culture is equally dangerous if communal feelings are spread. Whether it is culture, politics or education, the main thing is that this kind of attitude must be curbed by the Government; otherwise not only will communalism grow there will be growing violence and it will affect the country in many other ways and undanger our unity and what we have struggled and stood for.

 वरे़ेत तर्प्र्पूष्ठ के चाष यह केसला कर रहा हैं कि में ₹स नाजुक मसले पर कापन छजहाँं उ्याल काँं। पीर नातुक्त मसल मैं हममिये मानता हू कि यह़ ममला पाटियों की रूाष्त तक महृद्यद नरीं हैं। बह मसला कोमी मसला है. सारे मुलक की हैजल पोर गीरब का मसला हैं। सम मँसले को सिर्भ किसासी रकाषत के दायरों में लेला इन्माफ की बात कहीं है। और ओो लोग ज्यादातर इमसे विवासी कायद्न उठाके की कोषिए करते हैं वह किरकापरन्ती को चस्म करने के माभसे में हमानषार कीी. हैं।
14.52 hrs .

Surt M. Satyanarayan Rao in the
Chair]
सबर माह्ब; मै दूरी काजिए कसंगा कि इस नाजुक मसले पर हजहुते ख्याल करसे हुए कोई
 पगर उसको पूरे मूल की क्तीर साममे सब कर मी वेथा आंय ती उुछे पहल ऐेसे जल्र भिकलेने कि जिनको कियायो काँ आा सकत्ता है। हो सकता है कि उसमें हुछ का वाह $ट$ के पदूू मी निकलें।
 लिया जक्या का एक चनियादी तोर पर

किसी किस्म का एतराज करसे का वहीं होगा। लेकिस किर भी धणर किसी की नालक तनियत्र पर मेंी बात, हो गुजरें तो मे पहले से भाफी साहता हैं।

मूले भीमती गांधी की तकरीर सूनने का मोका मिला । घागे घस कर में इस सिर्लससले में कुछ पंत्र करने की कोलिस कस्रंगा । लेकिन जित्र वै्न मुसलमानों की नाजुक हात्रत का हैहाइ करते हुए उन्होंने कुष्य भूचछे फ्रलफाज द्स्तिमाल किरों, तो मेरें जेहन में एक घोर भाया :

की मेरे कर्ल के बाद उसने जफा से तोबा, ज्ञाय उस जूद पगोमां का पगेमां होना।
गनीमन है कि अपाल तो पाया । फिकर्काबराला कमादान प्रेे मूल्क के लिए खर्म की ब्रात है। हनूमल के लिए़ गमं को ब्वात हैं। पौर कोई विछका फसाद किसी नये फसाद की मिसाल नहीं बन मकता है, उसकी बजह से जायज नहीं करार दिया जा मकसा हैं। हन फसायात के सिए जनता पार्टी पूरी नरह से चामम्दा है। यह बहुत जहली है, पावश्यक है कि हन नग्र से फमादात त हों। है हूकूमन का यहु फर्ग है कि वह भपने मूल्क के मब घहिं्यों के आनो-मास घीर हुज्जतो-कामूस की हिकाजयू करे । कोई एक बंगुनाह किसी जामिम के उुल्म का जिकार हो, उसके लिए हुक्मत को जवाब देने के लिए तैयार ह्रोना काहिए। उनता पारीं की हुक्मत उस जवाबदेही से. उम जिन्षेदारी से, मूक्स नहीं हो सकती है: उसके लिए वह ल्रामेन्दा है। :

फसावान तो हिन्दूम्तान की तारीख से जिरसे में मिलें है। मूर्क की पालादी से पहले की फसादान सेतें थे। पाबाद हिन्दूस्तान की तारीब
 हूण तों। फसावात तो घहीी कोर जह़री के उरमियान हैंते हैं। लेकिन उस फल के मूरास्लिक में दोक्तों की क्या राय हो सकती है, जहा मासूम जहरो क्कमत की गोलियों के किकार हों ? पाज मूसमानों धोर षकलियतों से हमबद्धी का हजहार करने बानों से मैं प्रधना काहता हुं कि हैी राजघानी में कुर्मान गेट में काल्ल करने बाले कौन से जनसंष के घे । (घ्वसषाज) में उनसे पूछना बाहता EC कि मुज्फफ्फरनगर की मंत्उवों में घुस कर गोलिया किस ने बलाद घीं-वहां भुमलमानों को मारने के लिए कीन uार 0 एस 0 एस 0 वा जनसंष का भावमी भाया था। (Шलबसाल) गेसा मालूम होता है कि मेरी ज्ञात चूभी है। में तो बहुत मूपर्याबना मरं कर रहा था।

में पूष्डा बाहता हूं कि घहूरी और सहतरी का फासाष, बीर एक घहीत हुकमत की गोलियों का किकार हो, क्या वह बराजर है। भाजाद नित्दुस्लान की बारीब में कोई वमत्त पेसा हीं षागा कि जाल वहां के वहुरियों को बुप हैकमत का किकार होता पष़ा हो, मौर बकहरंफा fिकार कोणा वक्षा हो। नमीणा ने भुसलमान कहल हाए, अुल्तालपुर में मुसलभाभ कल हुए, नुख्फरनगर क्र
[晎f fivive amer
 क्रे कहा है कि मनी मोहतरिमा के ीिल में बंब उठा, गनीमत्त हैं कि भाज हम याद तो क्षाये । फायष घह उस पुराने नारे को बोषारा लगाने की
 खमलयतों के षोटों को ध्रपनी आगीर सम्भ तबा गया था ।

भार० एस० एस० का बहात जिक होता है। मबर में बताना बाहता हु कि जनसा पार्टी की घहुत सी आदूगरियों में एक आाूूगरी यहु मी हैजो सोग समक्षते हैं कि पार० एस 0 एस 0 किसी किस्म की फिकापरस्ती की नुमायंषी करता था थोर करता है, उन्हें मी बह मानना होगा-कि बे प्रार 0 एस० एस० के लोग, ओो अनसंघ के बरिये से जनता पार्टी की तहरीक के धारे में चामिस है है, के कस जहां बरें चे, वे च्राज वांद नहीं लह़े हैं। जनता पाटीं का पूरा विधान गांधियन ताने पर बना है। मैं पहा कह़ता चाइना है भाप से कि भगर वहा लोग समभ्रते हैं कि वार।एस०एम० हिन्द्ध फिरका परस्ती की नुमाद्वन्वगी करता था तो उहें छृश्रोना चाहिए कि भार० एस० एस० भ्रपना पसल काम छोश़ कर गांघियन वालीम की तरक चा रहा है। ये लोग वह है कि जो ज्रारण एस० एस० की . (ब्यक्याज) . मैंे सबर साहैब, ह्टीफेन सग्रु्ब के हृमजोलयों कों . . (ब्यबत्रान) ... जिस बमतन हस मबन के फलोर
 निलकता है ां मैं गांधियन तालीम पर चलना चाहता हर पौर बह लग्ज पहले प्रल्काज होंते हो उन की जबान संत्रनकलते हैं तो ये मामने कि हैए हमारे बीस्त चरीते हैं एक हाय, क्ष हृम किस का नाम लेंगे, किस का नाम लेकर मुमसमा ं। को पपनी जागीर समरेंगे । . . (Шमयबाल)

15 hrs .
SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Gandhian principles of RSS variety?

बत fिंकमरश चबत्र : भाप की बात मेरी समक्ष में नहीं माई। मूं स्रें यहा कहना काहता
 कहुंग, प्राप से भी कहूंगा थोर ध्राप की सबन सर्गाइिया से भी कहूंगा कि-

रतनी न बढा फांतिय वामा की हिकायत, दामन को जग वेब, उराबन्दे कमा वेंख। । सू
 हुए हैं मीरेर उन मूसलमानों के घूल क द्वा लगे ए है किल को फाज किर से फें में मूबतला एरमे की कोफिए होती है।. . (ब्यक्ताज) . . पाहरी
 द्वार कास है मपर मुससमानों को हैकमत मित
 सैम, बह दसरी घात है । प्राप के यद्वं तो ऐक्ष भुस्ताकिल साजिए थी कि क्सबल्दी के बहाने




एक मोर बहा विंमेंस्य वहलू है हन कसानात का 1 फसांद मैन बार बार कहा है 隹 घुकिस्मती की बात है, श्यामन्दीी की क्षात है चौर क्रम हत पर किलकुल मूत्रफिक है मौर हमारा इसराए है कि हन फसात्रात्त की: किटा कर बम लेंगे। लेकिन मैं यह कहलता बाह्ता हूल प्राप से कि एक दूस्सरी आवृगरी है। हर बहु मक्त जो फसादात को सामने रब कर बयानात देता रहंता है वह भुर्वा लालों के ऊपग सियासी मौवागरी करलो है। जिस बक्त मौन प्रपना नंगा नाष रही होती है उस वष्त कुछ लोगों को पयनीं सियामी दूकान सगाने की लगी हुती है । मै आनला जाहता हां. . (घयखाल) . मुले पाप की परेणानियों का एहसांम है। लेकिन चभी मुर्मे हन के बहुत हुन्नोकबएए बोलने हैं। भभी हुत्ता खोसमे हैं, जरा एकिए 1 में आनेना बा़्रूा कि जो लोग फमादान है किन्रमिने में ब्यामात बेते हैं बह फसादान से मुबतला, त्वाहेहाल जिएन्दfंगयों को क्या तस्कीन पछंचाते हैं ? तो लोग हस में प्रानदारी मे यकीन रखते है कि हू मुल्फ में फिरकाबाराना कमीदगी बतम होना चाहिए उन को बहिए कि वह जन फसाबात की का को द्रा तब. न फैलने हे, कम से कम रहें। सियासी सौषागरी में मुवनला न हों, सियासी दूकानबरी हसानों की लाघों पर थौर हडियों पर कायम न करें। लोक्षन कौगन बन गया हैं। हमबर्दीं में ब्यान दिया करण मयसे कि भपने तथाम करायक स मुक्त हो गए थर चनला गुल्ष मष्षाया कि जो मियासी कसीषणी को कम किया जा सकता हो वह उस की बू पूरे हिएवृल्ता में मौनूू है। औोर उसके सह्बर की सेसेषिट्य कसाय युते काते हैं। बह क्माब अनला पार्टीं की जिम्नेवांती है, वह कसास कोत्रेस (घाई) की अंस्मेषारी है, वह जुएम क्तहा है fि हम घलनी हसाली निम्वगियों को घवने सियास्त बैल की पृनियाव जजाना चाहते हैं बजाये सलके कि कमाहात कों गम्बती - हू हू को कम नें फम बामरें में रचें, हम गुल वकाती हैं। काली जक लोग अब्म काकर मी उफ

 होतेते हैं वे गेने मोके को कियासी दृकानदारी का कायम बनाते है। धार्वी उफंके लोग बे लोग होते हैं जो कहृते है-

बाम को fिमों दे वार्नी क्षाूू तो बह कलरा है,

कोष वो एक करा से खे पर रौ देती है। कौन







 काहते कि हैस भुल्न से किरकापरस्ती की किला मिटे 1 (ब्यापाल) है काम तोर पर फसादात के बारे में कलना गबारा महीं करता, बोलना पसन्ब नहीं करता लेकिन कुछ हीय ऐंते है जिन्होंने तारीबी तोर पर हमेथा हमारे तरें खालाल की मुब्रालिकत की है हमारे तर्गे सियास्त की मुब्लिफल की है उन्होंने प्राजकल कुछ हस कदर हमसे करीबी रिम्तेबारी का छगहार करना घूरू कर दिया है-"मै" का लफ़ण हस्तेमाल करते है या "हम" का लकज सस्तोमाल करते हैं जोर कहते है कि हम चाहते हैं कि मुसलमान fिनिस्टर इस्तीका दे । पहली चीज तो मैं यद्टा पूछना काहना हों नि. भाई, मेने कह बताब में प्राप लोगों की मूर्नें देखां जो एक नयी रिएतेदारी कायम हो रही है ? उम्र भर घाल लोगों ने एक नया कल मिन्तयार किया, प्रपनी अखलाकियत का कम्स किया है, प्राप लोग जन्मन्धाता है फिरकापरस्ती के हस मुल्क नें, फिर मेरा प्रापसे कौन सा रिणता कायम हो गया है जो घ्राप मेरे बर्द में मरे जा रहे हैं कि मुसलमान fिनिस्टरों को इस्मीका बेना काहिए। वह मी एक मयी प्रया हैं। जिन लोगों ने हस बीज की दाषेषाती की है, में उनसे कहना बाहतना है कि मजहब हनमान ह्रीर चुदा के बम्प्यान एक रिश्ता है, क्या पाप मेरी या जनना पार्टों के किसी बादिम का उम्तहान लेभा घाहते है? गो उसका घौर भापका दिण्ता है. की उसका घोर भहती का रिण्ना है, जा उसका घोर हिन्त्रस्तनी का टिखता है उस तगजू पर जालने की कोषिक्ष कीजिए। जनता पाटीं के सोगों का हराषा हो यह है कि बह़ ष्नमाम के मजहाँ, थार्षोब को अहनराम की
 पाटीं के लोगों का कहाहा बह वहीं कि हैम किसी दूनरे के मकहष के केकेार हों। 1 . मलज़ सो कीमदी एक निता है तो हमसान परर ब्दुदा के बीच हो सकता है घोर उसक मुतास्टिक सबाल करोे का किमी को हक नहीं हैं। प्राज हम इस्तान पर उतरने की तैयार हैं। पाज हम एम्तहान की कसोदी पर लायं आने को सँचार है। ह्वारा रिएता मुलक के लोगो से क्या है- इसके सुत्तिस्तिक जिक किया जाये, संकं मुतास्सिक प्रहा आये तो में बकीन रबता हु. कि क्युत कारे से सोग को मान दूष में नहाकर सामने काने की कोतिए कर रहे है। उनको कपना केहा ऐसा नजर आयेगा कि हु घपना बेहा


मैं वह धर्य करना काइता हिं कि एक भीज है कहा को न रोकाता किन एक दूसरी

 है, मैं ने करणा।

[^1] पदूली ब्यका कोलगे के जिए बंक्षा हमो है। सका तीन बले प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहुक बयान दें, मे उसके बाल आरी रखूंगर। बैसे में पाब मिनट मे ही चरम कर पूरणा। में वह कहना काहता है कि उनरा पार्ट्री का घकलियतों की तरक क्या रवया है। मैं यह कावा करता है-तो पिछ से 31 सालों में कमी नहीं हुधा, वह हमने करते विजलाया है। आ्राप जनते है-सदर माहूब, मलक
 मुल्क की सीमाभों के उस तरफ़ मूल्क को एक विभ्रन्न विया गया, ओं थीयोकटिक था, मत्रहष पर मबनी चा। उसके मुकासले में मेंर मुल्क का जो प्राईन बना, उममें एक आटूरती का लफ़ रका गया, जिसको कह़ते है-सकुर्लार्जम। कुछ ख्वावगे नोगों ने, बजाय हसके कि पाईंन में हस लफ़ए। के गर्ष जाने की पहमियत को ममधने की कोशिए करते, उस लफ़्ज को छांटा करने की कोfिया की भोर कहा कि नफ़ज तो रब बिया गया है लेंकिन घमी उस पर भमा नहीं हुपा है। मगर इस वाकये से हिनुस्लान छैकाए नहीं कर सकता कि हैमने उस लफ़्ष को रख कर भपने सैकुलर किरदार को साबित करने की भी कोगिए की। भाप ज अनते हैं-जनला पाटीं के क्षाने के खार पह्ली मतंबा-यद्ध दुषा है कि हमे यानी हमारी माइनारिटीज को माइनार्टीज-कमीयन मिला। हुछ लोगों की नजर में पह् मामूली बात है। Fुछ बहाना करने वाले खूवग्ग सियासलका इसको होटा बाकया बतलाना खाहते हैं घंर उसमे भ्रापसी आगते का जिन्ध करते है। हो सकता कर- लेमा हो, लोकि क्या हस वाकये से हलकार किंया जा सकता है कि fिअस 31 वांदों में भकलीयतों के माय हुमब्वी का ठोल पीदा भया, सेकिन हम किस्म की नायाकाब कीज़ नहीं दी गई-यह है अनता पार्टी का किरदार।

मैं भसीगढ़ यूनीर्षासट्री के खारे में की घ्रजे कखंगा। पहले उद्दूं को लेना चाहता हा। उद्रा का बड़ा अवरवस्त जिक किया गया। उर्यू और मज्रहम्य की बिना पर हमारा भूलक त्रकसीम हुआक्षोकम तकमीम होने के जाए बहा क्या हालात प्वान हाए ? हापरे जुएन को तकसीम करमे बाले जानते हैं-सिए में लिसानी-किसाषात हुप । साहोर में उर्पू के fिलाफ़-डो मुजाहुरा हुपा, उस को जनाष कैब-पहृमव-कँज ने लीड किया। लोफक बहुष पर 30 बर्ष तक उर्दू के लिए कहु तो बतुक कुछ गया, लेकिन विया गया हुछ गहीं। सेंकिन भान यह पहली मतंबा हुषा है-पाशाह fहन्युस्तान की तबारीब में- 00 पी० एस० सी. 0 के इसित-
 है, किन हैं उद मी आगमिल है। हुवारे एवूकेषन भिनिस्टर साहु का बायांन का परका है जो
 कुपान उ़ी को रि्तियार किया जा सकता है क्या घंत्र हस किस्फ का कोर जमस जलता वार्टो
 जहता हर-काप बोड़ा किसातात से wसन हो कर
[ $\$$ सी सिकाम्बर बत्र]
हस को देखिए। मुसलमानों भोर थकलीयतों की बहुदी के लिए हुमागी हुक्मत ने तो कदम उठाये है-क्या ज्याप उन को fिसादात की बदयू, मोर बन्द्वरो में ड़बोना चाहते के ?

भ्रलीगढ़ मु स्लिम "यूनिब्वमटटी को" लीजिए--
1951 के उस एंक्ट का भाप हुजरान घौर श्रीमती हन्दिरा गांधी के जरिए कत्ल हैधा था। लेकिन हमारी हुकूमत की तरफ से उस के लिए fबल देश हो चुका है घोर हुम हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों थर हिन्दुस्तान के घकलीयतों के उम मत्गालबे को पूरा करने जा रहे हैं कि उम युनिवंमिटी को ंउम के भुराने fिरदार की तरक़ लौटाया जाये । हम सिफे 1951 के प्क्ट का ही लोटाने नहीं जा सहे है, बल्कि उस में बहत सी भच्की बातों की एटीघन्ब्ब की करने जा रहे है।

पाडीर में में सिफं यह पर्तां करना चाहता हु-सिफं भ्रपना बाल पीटने से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। जफ़ंवाले के लोग होते हैं जों जब्म बाते हैं मीर चुप गहते हैं।

शमा जिस क्षाग में जलती है नुमाया के लिए
हृम उसी ध्राग में गृमनाम से जल जाते हैं । खुदा करे-इन को जफ़े fमले घोर इस मएक्क से फिरकापरस्ती मिटानें में ये जनना पार्टी के मबदगार हों ।
15.15 hrs .
[Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair]
THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): Mr. DeputySpeaker, Sir, we are having this debate on a very sensitive issue and it is very vital for the well-being of our country. If we can keep out politics and political considerations, we shall be able to find a solution which will free us from this shame of communal troubles.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: That was the tenor of the ex-Prime Ministers speech... (Interruptions) If you want that sort of treatment, that respect must be shown to this side also. You cannot have it one way. (Interruptions) If shouting is the method of replying, shouting can be replied to by shouting. Let us have it. (Interruptions)
MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No shouting please; I do not want shouting from either side.
SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: We had of it.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: May I appeal to my colleague opposite who
is the Opposition Leader at any rate not to give a lead in a wrong direction.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I did not shout.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I am not shouting either. At any rate let him $\because$ free from it. If we two are free f:om it, we will be able to do a lot. That is why I am appealing to him. That is all. I do not want to take away his right. All rights are precious. This is also his right. I do not deny it.

Why have we to do this? This very debate shows how the disease has gone deep. I wish these passions had not arisen in this House. On both sides, it is happening. I am not saying it is happening on one side. This canker has afflicted everybody. Whom have I to blame and whom have I not to blame? We have inherited jt. Should we not get out of it? This is all I want to ask. If we have to get out of it, shall we get out of it by blaming one or the other? Is that the way to meet the situation? That is all I want to ask. There are Communal troubles. Then, there are trobules about Harijans; there are other trobules which take place between communities. These are all troubles which were not there before the British Government came in. There were only comumnal troubles. The Hindu-Muslim troubles started first in 1893 in this country. Let history be properly seen. And this was the creation of the British Government. But when we blame the British Government, have we not to blace ourselves? Why did we play to their tune? But we did. There is attack and counter-attack. I do not know whom to blame, to blame the first man who threw the stone or, one who retaliated and over did it? Both things are equally blameworthy in my mind. That is the attitude I have always adopted in dealing with these matters. There has been a response to $i t$. That is why I am encouraged in pursuing this attitude even more.

I went to Aligarh recently and met as many people as wanted to see me. I discussed with them and I mppealed to them, and I found that they were all amenable to reason, but many of them had suffered from prejudices and passions. Now, when it happens in the highest political tribunal-of this country, what shall I do about the rest of the people? That is why I am appealing to my friends here not to be carried away by political considerations in this matter, and blaming this side or that side. I take no consolation-even if it is one-that there are less incidents now than some time before, and that there is a better handling of disturbances than there was before. That is not the solution. The solution is to find out the best way of seeing that these things do not occur at all. Till then, we will suffer from these things and, if we are not careful, these can never be stopped. This kind of attitude cost the life of the Father of the Nation. That came out of this poison. It did have an effect... (Interruptions).

He was not a Member of the R.S.S. when he committed the murder, but he was in the R.S.S. before. I myself have said that. But it is not merely rne man who has gone wrong: it is the general atmosphere which is responsible for it-which makes people mad. And when we go on here, shouting at each other in the manner in which we $d_{0}$ it here, will this not create a riot if you are outside? It is only because of the restraint in the House, that we do not come to blows. Otherwise, the way we exchange epithets, I don't know whether it will not lead to it. But all this goes out from here. We have therefore to set an example: that is all I am saying. And how does it help us to throw blame at each other-I do not know. The canker has gone deep and it has to be eradicated. That is how we should apply our minds to the problem. Thote can be no justfication for anyboty to have suy communal consideration, and yet, are there any
sections of people for whom one can say that there is nobody with a communal feeling? That is the inheritance we have got: it is that which we have to live down. But how to do it is the main question. We can do it only if all of us get united in this matter, irrespective of political views, and apply the solution that we find without any bickering, without biaming each other. Then only we will be able to find a solution.

I have therefore invited a Conference of all Parties on the 17th to consider this calmly and to come to conclusions which will help all of us to fight this canker and eradicate it. It is easy to blame the Government at any time, and Government cannot take refuge under the pretext that these things happerred before and they were more before and are less today. That is no satisfaction or consolation to me or to my colleagues. It is certainly Government's responsibility to see that if such troubles take place, they are scotched as fast as possible, and the guilty are punished without any political considerations whatsoever and in a manner which will set an example for other people to follow. This has been the attitude of Government throaghout. To blame any one person or any one body would be totally wrong, because it is not one body which is responsible. When political passions arise in a democracy and we are not able to cooperate even in matters like this, why blame, communal passions then? Communal passions have no such justification. We are a democratic people. We believe in democracy. Then there can be political differences. There are bound to be political parties. But should not the political parties work together, and even when they have differences, should they not give expression to their differences in a manner which does not create passions? This may be an expectation of perfection perhaps. But can we not approximate to it? That is all that I want to know. Is that not the hertage of four country past? Should we not again get it

## [Shri Morarji Desai]

back? It is only in the last several centuries that we have gone down. Even the British Government could take advantage of it and could incite these passions and foment these trou-bles-only because we were willing to oblige. We have inherited the capacity of quarrelling with each other, and that is what we have got to eliminate. It is not so easy, but it has to be done. Therefore, it is in education that we have to bring this up, so that the younger generation is free from this canker. We are applying our mind to this to consider how best this can be done. But it is not something which can be easily found and declared. But I am sure that, in a short time, we will be able to find a proper solution for it in consulta-- ion with all people. It is, therefore, that we are consulting all people; fven if we are blamed, we do consult them, and we would try to take them with us, and we would like to go with them wherever they are reasonable or where they have only this attitude in mind. These communal troubles are sometimes more and sometimes less. But they go on. There have several complaints in the matter of deployment of Aligarh PAC in that the PAC has done a lot of harm by acting arbitrarily against only one community; that has happened because in the PAC there is very little representation of the minorities. I find that that is true; there is a smaller representation of the minorities. Are we responsible for it? Is not the previous administration responsible for it? Why did they not see to it that this had not happened? I am trying now to see that all the police forces have a proper and adequate representation of all communities. That is what I am trying to see. That is what I did in Bombay, and that was why we were able to hold this in check; we had comparative peace and amity between all communities there. But what could happen there can happen in the whole country. It is not that it cannot happen. But all of us have to contribute to achieve this. No one pertion can achieve it. When

DECEMBER 5, 1978 ing of recent 292 communal riots (Motn.)
a person like Mahatma Gandhi who gave his life for it could not achieve it, what can one person do? All of rus can do it together. That is why I would like to appeal to my friends. I do not want to blame anybody here or there. That is happening, I find, in the debate. But how will that help? That does not help. It has been pointed out by my friend there that my colleague said something. My colleague had to give, in reply, several facts $_{s}$ when he was provoked. I would certainly say that he ought not to have been provoked. But if my friends are not prepared to hear that they should not provoke, how can I force him to hear it?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: What was the provocation?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: All the while it is going on. The charges are being levelled in a manner which I don't think is very dignified in any way.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: It is not from here. It is from those benches. From those benches charges were rade.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: It is very easy for my friend to get excited. I know. He does get excited light that. But let him examine himself and he cannot say that it only comes from this side and does not come from that side.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I did not say that. From there it came. That is what I said.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I don't want to go into it as to who started it and who did not start, because that does not help. How is that going to help? I don't want to commit that mistake. But it has happened and it is happening. Should we not resolve not to repeat this kind of a thing at any rate? I was, therefore, not very anxious for this debate: because I knew that passions would be roused. But I cannot say : 'no' when a legitimate demand for a debate in made. Therefore; the debate is held and held for
two days. Can we say that we have achieved any good by this debate?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Very much.
SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I hope it has, at any rate, taught all of us not to go mad about it. I hope it teaches us that. But we ourselves are getting into passions. We are only trying to apportion blame on one another. How does it help? Whatever may be the Government, how does it help? Is it not vital for this country to get rid of this canker? And that is what we have got to do.

We have appointed the Minorities Commission for the first time in the history of this country and yet attempts are being mate to put up the Minorities Commission against the Government. I don't know why that is being done.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Was Mr. Masani our member?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I don't want to go into it. I know what has been done. Where have I said that only one side is responsible? I have never said that. That is not my thesis. But after all what is the purpose of the Minorities Commission? The purpose of the Minorities Commission is to see that no injustice is done to the minorities, that there is no oppression of the minorities, It is also to see that this question of minorities and majorities is forgotten and there is no minority and no majority in this country. There they will have to help. They must not be parties to this. So. that has got to be seen. And this is where we must be he!pful to them and not try to do anything which will make them go in another direction. That we have to see.

[^2]So, that is what we have got to arrive at. We are trying to find the best solution for that purpose and I hope my friends in the opposition would cooperate with us.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): You have not said anything about the para military communal organisations. Are you trying to defend, cover up or to protect them? What have ycu got in mind about it? If that thing remains, communal poison from this country cannot go. What have you got to say about those para-military organisations?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Don't keep on repeating it.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: As I have said, already and I would like to say again that all communal organisations must cease-not one, but all. I don't want any. educational institution on a communal basis. But can I achieve it in a day? I have got to see that that happens. But for that, we have got to work together. That is what we are trying to do.
fifi vasant sathe: At least proper para military training. . .
(Interruptions)
SHRI MORARJI DESAI: What is the meaning of para military training? Without any para military training. my friend there is more than that. It is not para military training which is responsible for it. (Interruptions) If he wants that I should blame, I should agree with him in blaming the R.S.S. for this purpose, I cannot oblige him, because a Commission has been appointed and a Judge is going into it. If the Judge finds it, I will certainly not hesitate to take the strongest action possible against whoever is found responsible. But before that, I cannot give any opinion which would not be fair to anybody. How can I do it? I cannot come to a judgement and I refuse to do so. I refuse to discuss this question because I do not want to prejudice the working of the Commission in one way or the other.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Don't try to side-track the issuas. (Interruptiong).

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I go straight at the problem. I am not going to be involved in that controversy, if my friends want to do it. I won't be involved in it. Let him not attempt it. Whatever he may try to do, I won't get provoked; I won't be involved. There, you won't succeed. Sometimes evils are better avoided and wrong advices must always be avoided. This is what I believe in. I am not trying to accept any wrong advice. That is all that I would say. I do not want to speak anything long on it because 1 do not want to speak. even indirectly which might contribute to increasing the tengion. I do not want to do it. That is the first precaution that we have to take and I beg of my friends also to do it. Then only we will be able to find a solution. This is a matter of common concern for all of us. It is not a matter of concern only for us, it is a concern for all. Therefore, even apportioning blame here and there will not do. We have got to see that we remove this canker and I would appeal to my friends to co-operate with the Government in this matter.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): Mr. Deputy-Spaaker, Sir. I thank you for giving me this opportunity and especially to speak after the hon. Prime Minister. I have heard the speeches made by the hon. Members from both the sides of this House. I am in agreement with the Prime Minister when he preached so many good things in the riouse and I also agree with many hon. Members who spoke in this House. There are certain things which are very easy to preach but very difficult to practice. Sir, I want to abide by the general feeling of this House, that is, we do not want to politicalise this Issue in this House and I believe the idea behand thls.. (Interruptions) I think I can better speak after this commotion is over, because in the background

I am afradd of having a lullaby for a riot inside this House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPRAKER: No, no. You can continue.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: I am happy because the commotion will be over soon and certain amount of serenity will prevail in the House. Mr. Samar Guha's intention to move this Motion is to re-examine our conscience so that the outside world will understand what the House is thinking about the proposition. But unfortunately, Sir, we have been witnessing certain factors which tend only to promote communal teelings instead of curbing it. I rannot understand how some individuals are so vehement In defending certain communal organisations. They are going very deep in this country's political and special life. But at the same time, Sir, if it is outside the political sphere, we cou'd have tolerated. The preachings were so good that at times I felt whether it was a sermon on the Mount, or it was a preaching of the Buddha or a saying from Gita or Ramayana. But all these preachings are no good for the political functioning of a House of our type. Personally, I feel that the idea of such a discussion, if at all it could be, is to draw the attention of the Government as also the people to these riots and to think of preventive measures. Naturally, we had Aligarh before us. Besides that, many other such incidents have taken place. Some hon. Members traced the history from 1893, the establishment of the British raj and tried to put all the blame on them as if they are the only people who divided this country and created communal feelings in us; I will not be a party to it. If you want to go back to the history, you must go back to the crusaders also. It is a guestion of your own training, your blood and your society. That is the real cause for this. We strongly condemn the RSS business in this country. Whether it is RSS or any other organisation that is giving any para-mildtary training in thim eountry should be put an end to without any heaitation.

People will not ask me to take action in this matter, secause I am not in power at the Centre, but it is the Morarji Desai Government and that is the reason we are demanding this of this Government. At the same time, I have no doubt about the feelings of the Prime Minister in this matter; he is very certain about it. However, at times, I am bound to entertain a certain amount of doubt, because these happenings have been taking place for the last several months and the Government has called a meeting of the opposition leaders only on the 17 th of this month. They want to discuss how to solve this problem of communal riots in the country. I am very happy, but the point is that such a meeting takes place only during the session time. I feel, there may also be some poiitical reason behind it. When the Parliament is not in session, We do not take this matter so seriously and do not take into confldence the opposition leaders or the opposition groups on how to solve this problem.

Then, whenever such matters are discussed here, you think of Muslims, Hindus, Harijans, non-Harijans, caste Hindus, and backward classes. But what about the Christians? May be that they are a small minority for you and may not be of any benefl to you in your political ambitions. As I said, 1 do not want to politicalise this issue, but we as a party, have a strong faith in the casteless and creedless society in this country, and we can proudly claim that we have established it to a great extent in the South, in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry. When we field our candidates for contesting elections, we do not go by caste considerations and nominate the candidate according to the majority caste. Then these people who are preaching us, put their hand on their heart and tell us that they are getting out of the caste feelings when they nominate candidates 'for contesting elections. I belong to a minority in my place; we are not even three percent, but MGR made me contest the elections and I Won by a thumping majority, when
others had joined together against us. It is not a question of caste that counts at our place. It is, therefore, very easy to preach, but very difficult to practise. I am noticing that in this House also. Even in the Cabinet, you may have these considerations sometimes. I am not exempting even the previous Government, but I do not want to go into it in detail and make it a political issue.

I am in agreement with the Prime Minister, when he said that education must be given on these lines, which would preach national harmony in the country I am, however, unable to follow how the Prime Minister has given his consent to the Arunachal Bill, which they are saying, is coming up. They say, it is on all-India basis for the indigenous faith in this country. I want to know what that indigenous faith is. What does it mean? Does it mean Hinduism, Buddhism, or Christianity? Christians have been here for the last two thousand years; you are now saying indigenous faith. What is the background?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA: Humanism.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: I can understand my communist friend's anxiety, because they have certain motives behind it and they want to achieve classless society by some other method.

As I said. I have come to entertain a certain amount of doubt in my mind, because the persons in power are preaching something which is meant for something else, and not for following a correct line of action in such matters.

I cannot understand, how the Prime Minister amitted to mention a very important thing. I do not know who is handling the Defence portfolio now. What happened on the 18th of the previous month in the small arms factory at Tiruchirapalli? Some Christians used to have a Masg, far a long time now, in the defence colony of the Arms factory; but one particularly zealous ofticer had the

## [Shri A. Bala Pajanor]

audacity to remove the statue of our Lady from that place. I do not say he was from the RSS. (Interruption) Perhaps he had training in Dr. Swamy's school, or had received paramilitary training prior to joining the Defence services. I am not a man to politicalize that issue. We are in power in Tamil Nadu. You know; and we could have created headache for you. But we did not do it. I only wrote to the Defence Minister on the 21st, he acknowledge it on the 22nd. But no action has been taken so far. I want to bring it up under rule 377, and not under this Motion.
You are thinking of one Hindu Raj of your own conception. That is wrong. If at all there is any religion which is highly catholic in this country, it is the Hindu religion. It has taken the best among men, into its fold, but unfortunately these days there are fandtics who proclaim themselves to he true Hindus, but they are creating these nasty things. They are the first traitors to this country. They must be expelled from this country, before Hinduism is ruined.
I had an occasion to have a discus. sion with Mr. Barua tor 3 hours, because he is a learned man in the matter of the development of culture in this country. He said: 'You people must join us. Minorities should be protected from the majority rule. it was in 1975.

The idea of majority-minority is a relative one. In Goa, who constitutes the majority, and who the minority? In my own town, who is in minority or majority? the troubles arise because people who were in power nourished these days, and the people now in power nourish it, in order to acquire power again. These attempts should be crushed. We are bold people. We will put it to you and let me not be mis. taken. I have said this in public-i.e. about this Scheduled Castes business. When a Harijan is attacked people go there-more especially non-harijans go there-and at the top of thetr voice they defend the Harljans and say: "Poor Harijans are being
beaten up; and so, we must detend them." Defend them-for what? For political gains. You are also doing it for political reasons; and for your owin benetit you say that the reservations must continue. To what purpose is the bloud of this society being sucked? Please examine it. The concessions that are given in the name of Harijans, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are eaten away by the rich people in the society. The rich are enjoying these benetits for the past 30 years.-not the people living in hamiets and cheris. You go to the educa. tional institutions like colleges und find out as to who are getting those benefits. You will see that the benefits are enjoyed by people who wear dresses worth Rs. 2000/-, watches worth Rs. 1000/- each and have a gig car. They are the people who enjoy women and wiat. l'he beneficiaries are not people who are not able to have their next meal, or the dress, I change of dress for the next week. Such people do not get concessions, vecause they belong to the higher caste. The richer sections of the society try to get the benefits, because of our ignorance.

I am sorry to say we are a party to it, not only for the last 30 years, but even before. We, the Youth, when we hear these things from both the sides of the House, laugh at you. We think: when will that day come-not for revolt, but-for putting an end to this hypocrisy and coming out of petty feeings and party considerations?

If it is a matter of any political division, I could have understood and appreciated your feelings. This is a matter for the nation to rise like one man and say that this is something bad to play to the galleries and to publish in press toworrow for the correct reformation in this country from the bottom of our hearts. I am not above all those things. We do commit mistakes. When tome Tamil people are attacked, I come and shout. Natural feeling is there. Next moment we make a re-examination. 1 think this motion is for that re-examination so that we can come out with some good
conclusion. I am sorry to say that neither the Prime Minister nor the many hon. Members from whom 1 expected many concrete things came out with certain good solutions. You may ask me a question: after all, young man, you represent a smail party. You took away the Ministry because of your generosity, you dismissed that ministry. Mr. Chavanji was speaking on this motion yesterday and was saying that the causes are to be examined as a post mortem is done, why a person died. You come to some conclusion. The Aligarh riots have taken place; the reasons may be 3 months old or four months old or four years old or as old as 1895 as the Prime Minister explained. You are not examining the vital question here, the intelligent people who were behind it. People sit at the top. People here yesterday said so; in the top peo. ple are interested only in getting intelligence reports about political movements in the country, not about social things. What Bala talks to Stephen or what Bala Speaks to Prof. Madhu Dandavate or what Bala mentions to Dr. Subramaniam Swamy will be watched and reported; these things are watched.... (Interruptions) I wonder what intelligence people are doing. Reports are submitted; post mortem is done. What action have you taken against the concerned police official or other official in that place who had failed? Because if you are sincere in this matter, you can do things. 1 listened to the Prime Minister saying: we are helpless; in the past it was there; in the present it is there, I am not happy about it; all of us must condemn. But what is the action you have taken against people concerned? If there is a breach in a dam or if there is overflow, the CPWD immediately dismisses the laskar and the englneer, it takes action against those peo. ple because they have not prevented this happening. That is also post mortem but they take action against people who are responsible. So far as communal riots are concerned, they find out Thuk Ram or Muhammad Ali; then automatically polltical conai-
derations come in; they do not dismiss them. On the contrary he is being promoted. I wrote about the incident in Tiruchy. What action have you taken in 15-20 days? Suppose there is communal riot there after five or six days, they may blame me because I ralsed the matter in this House. That is why I doubt your sincerity. If you have courage, you will take action imme. diately, whatever may be the political consequence for your party or for this country. If you do not do that, I doubt your sincerity, because preaching is meant for the third person and not for yourself. I am happy to say that in yesterday's discussion some members belonging to the Janata Party were bold enough to come forward and say what RSS did and what was done during the Emergency. I' was shocked when Dr. Subramaniam Swamy defended the RSS in such a fanciful manner. I was astonished to see that when Mrs. Gandhi referred to them. about a group, they said: No, we belong to one particular party. The entry of Mrs. Gandhi has made you one; I am happy about it. But beyond that what is there? Beyond Mrs. Indira Gandhi, what is there? You are working in groups. Within groups you are also finding certain fanatic feelings, thinking one day you can conquer this country with petty feelings of Hindu Raj. I challenge you, that day, you will be out. You will be singled out of this country and this country will not be a party to it. We are the people who are to have unity from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari. It is not that I support all your fanatic feelings, but 1 support all our sincere feelings to have oneness because my father and grand father have shed blood for this country's independence.

Not only that, our great heritage and Hindu culture, the Catholic culture are aspiring for all the good things from othera; majority of us have sincere feelings, whether he is a Muslim, Christian or Hindu, and we want to live together.

## [Shri A. Bala Pajanor]

With these words 1 close with a firm hope-1 make the same appeal againyou give this country to the youth who are away from this petty feeling. You said that you have inherited this bad tradition. I have sorry feelings that the old people have inherited it from the British and they want to retain it with them. I do not want that my son and grand son may have this dirty evil. I am afraid that Mr. Swami has inherited it. but he would not pass it on to the future generation.

With these words I conclude mv speech.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): The communal situation as abtaining today is a metter of grave concern and anxiety for, I suppose, all of us, cutting across the party affliations and loyalties represented here. But what has practically disappointed me is that. everybody has taiken to the method o: indulging in some kind of academic exercises, jargons or cliches without going to the root cause of the probiem. The situation is such that it is not only the wishes, not only the jargons which can strike at the real problem, but the situation needs a well concerted and multi-pronged attack. Communalism is raising its ugly bead. It is hydra headed monster which is to be fought and it has to be defeated completely and inally. This communalism has posed a challenge to the feelings of secularism and nationalism. Now, I think the House is posed with the question-shall we allow this Indian society of ours to be permanently divided on the basis of communal consideration?

I think the Indian society cannot aftort to be divided on communal lines. Communalism, which I have deacribe: as a hydra-headed monster, is a challenge to all those people who cherish the belief and faith that Indian nationalism should remain secular and free from all shades of communalism, chauvinism, obscurantiem. This is again a chalienge to all those people who want to fight the common and real enamien i.e. the neo-coloninlist
exploiters, the ageold poverty anci ignorance and ever widening chasm of disparity between a very few and vast majortity of our countrymen.

16 hrs.
Comming to the point. the Prime Minister has been pleased to give some statistics with regard to communal in.cidents in our country. 1 am not going to analyse the statistics whether they were on the decline or on the increase but these very statistics convey a theme that even today the sucial, economic conditions which breeris communalism do not only continue to $_{0}$ exist but are being expanded. It also proves that the steps so far taken with regard to curbing the communal forces in the country have not yet had the desired effect. It also goes to prove that there are certan forces which cannot be curbed merely by a plethora of jargons or wishes or by expressing certain good wishes. It is necessary, therefore, for us to go into the root causes of communalism now spreading in our country. It is well known that not merely what outwardly had happened should be considered but wbat was behind the riots that should te our primary consideration if we are really to put a stop to the occurrances of communal riots in our country. Communal riots in our country has been legion committees and commissions of inquiry have also been legion. All of them or many of them have gone into the real cause. If we have got the time to put them together, we will find that there are in genexal, mentioned certain conditions which breed a feeling of communaliam. Let me catalogue them. The root cause of communal disturbances is the forces which sedulously keep the mistrust between the communities alive and exploit it for its own purpose. (2) Tension mounts not only spontancously but also due to the concerted efforts of a group intereated in etiring up ornotions on communal lines. The Vythayathil Commisaion had given a catalogue of certain circumstances where well-organised comraunal torces act in
a prejudicial manner. Its very inuportant recommendation number one says:
"Rousing communal feeling in the majority community by the propaganda that the Musims are disloyal to the Nation."

This is one of the important :ecommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Government itself.
(2) "Deepening the fear in majo. rity and playing upon that fear complex.
(3) Infiltration into administurtion and inducing the members of the civil, police and army services into adopting communal attitude.
(4) Spreading rumours to widen the communal cleavage and giving to any incident or movement a communal colour."

These are the general recommendations. All these recommendations are irrelevant to them.

Aligarh provides a singular example. If we go into certain statements made by some of the responsible persons regaraing Aligarh, the position will ne very clear. I quote below the statement of one person:
"From all accounts, it is clear that it was an organised force under the leaciership of RSS actively alded and abetted by the local police and the Provincial Armed Constabulary, that was responsible for the bloady programme of Aligarh.... The close liaison between the City Magistrate and the PAC Commanding Offcer on the one stde, and RSS elements on the other could be clearly seen by everybody."

[^3]In the past RSS was not a part ef the Government. Now, the RSS ielieving in the particular theory and ideology of establishing Hindu Raj, have not only extended their area of operation but they have also extender the area of operation into the seat of power. They are not only in the seat of power at the Centre, kut they are in the seat of power in the States also. This is a new element which cannot but create a sense of fear and insecurity among the minorities. It is for the Government and the Janata Party to make it clear that this new development wouid not have a grip over power or maintain a stranglehold over power, and the life and property of the minorities would be as secure as the Constitutions guarantees.

I have got some words for the Janata Party men. I want to quote just what Mr. Madhu Limaya said. There are radical elements in the Janata Party. There are some people in the Janata Party who want to fight the monster of communalism and they have their faith in secularism and nationalism free from communalism and chauvinism.

Mr. Madhu Limaye said.
"My complaint with the RSS is first, its organisational principles are inimical to the concept of pluralist democracy. Secondly, the ideology of Hindu Raj is alien to secular democracy which is part of the Janata Party creed."

Therefore, I hope the Janata Party would adhere to the....
घल इंकार्केत । घार एस एस कोई राजनितिक
थार्टी रहीं है, किर चमाप उसको गयमेंमें का हिम्से-
वार क्ता फही है ?

SHRI CHITTA BASU: That he says. Therefore, I think the Janata Party membern, those who are really azaingt the forces of communalism, should rise equal to the occasion and should realiy create an atmosphere wherein the

## [Shri Chitta Basu]

communal forces do not get an up. perbend in their party.
'My last point is that there is a circular still in vogue in the country. Meslims can be recruited in the P.A.C. If it is a fact. I think Governmer:t should come out with a statement. Therefore, I want the Home Minister to make a statement clarifying the position as to the representation of the minority comunity in Goveriment services, in the police, in the army and in other parts of the administartion.

I have some suggestions to make.
MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Sorry, you should have made the suggestions first. I am calling the next spaker.

यी ताम प्रताष तेलनुष्ता (हाषरस) : घ्रादरणीय उमाप्मक्ष मह्रोबय, मुले भापे ने समय विया, इसके जिए घ्राप को घन्पबावं हेता हैं । कल से में यहां पर तरह्तरह के भाषण सुन रहा हैं. उन सब बो हुन कर मे यही कह सकता दू- औसे कोई जर्सात में गया, हो घस मे बरसात की बात की, बोर्म हारिमाली में गया, उसने हरियाली की बात की, किसी मे धघ बारों की ज्वात की, सेकिन यदू कोई भी कमीं बतला पाया कि मसला क्या है। चहीकद में ये कम्पूनल राषट्स क्यों हैए ? बहां पर कम्पनल राह्स नहीं बे, बाल्क कुछ पुज्डों की लढ़ाई थी जिसे दूसरे लोषों में उकसाने को कोंचिए की। में घह बान दावे से का सकता है कि जितने लोग बहां से गये, उन की वजह है किजा बिगत़ी. उन्होंने भ्राग में उपादा षी हालने की कोमिल्य की, बजाय ₹स के कि हे उल को भुषा कर पूछ्ति कि फाधिर कसला क्या है, किस कज्ह से चान्ति मती हो पा रही है।
4. शसल में वह अगत़ा हो पद्यलबानों के कीष बा, जिन में एक हिन्द्र था भौर दूसरा मृमलमान। स में "हिन्दू केसरी" बनाने घोर छानाम की ब्रात यी-पही बात उस भगदे की जत़ थी । वहा युकाबला सित्वाबर में हुमा था। उस के एक महीने बाष यानी 5 सक्पूषर, को बह सग़ाई हेती है। 3 भक्रूबर को भूरे को स्टिब किया काता है होर 5 चक्वूतर को वहू मस्पताल में मर जाता है। जारचार क्षाकिसर्त बहा पर fिप्पूटे बे, उन्होंगे उस की लाए को नहीं रोका घ्रोर लोग उस की साल्त को लेकर दूसरे इलांके में चले गये, नारे घारहह लगयें णये पोर उसके बाद से सब बातें हुई ।

वरदों का प्रकासन बराबर यह बाते कहता था कि ज़ो को पकद़ों। यानिक बीक, जहां पर यह

 हैं, बतायां गया, नारा कया, सारा हगत्रा बहो ते

क्षा होता है। किसी मे उस को नहीं प कहा़। एक तरह से बहां पर बो मिनिस्टरों का चु गक्ष
 का हतना गीमोरसात्व कर धिंया कि कोई भी उस पर हाथ नहीं रब पाया 1 जिन को पकहा जाता था. पूतरे प्रुप्राने की कोगिए करते थे। मैं यहां का कर प्राइम मिनिस्टर माहुत्त के fिला, बीफमिनिस्टर साहल से मिला पोर कहा कि गुण्डों को
 जायेगा ।

बहां पर एक टण्डन जी कमिश्नर थे, वह्रो पर बहु बराबर बेटे रहे, लेकिन उन्होंमे काई सिपोटं सरकार को नहीं दी । कलैफ्टर बराबर पहा कहता रहा कि कस तरह्रु से नहो चलेगा, भाप गबनेमेंट को लिबिये या मुमे निबने दोजिए, लेकिन घह लिखने नहीं वेना खाहतंते से, ब्योंकि उन के विमाग में 5 छछ घ्रोर बान थी। एँ घोर्यूह्य कास्ट के ही० एम० की क्या जरंत थी, जो टँंडन के मामने कुछ कहे पोर टणहन मी वह्ट टण्डन जो कमी हत्विया की के वहां रहे के । वह चाहतंते हे कि भगत़ा होना याहित, अयोंके ममस्तीपुर का हलेष्लन होने काला बा, उस का एँ्बाटेज वह लेना चाहते बे, इसी लिए किसी ने उस ही० एम० की वात को नहीं सुमा । ... (पयाधाज) ..

वहु आो सगड़ा होता ह——काई भी उन जिम्मेदार घfिकारयों का ह्राने की कोरिए नही़ी करता है। जए कि श्राइम मिनिस्टर fिस्ये ये है, मीक मिभिस्टर कह रहे है, लेकिन हिम्मत गहीं पग़ती है कि उस का हूटा हें । कलेक्टर वराजर यहु कह रहा है कि उन को हटाइये, ररका जलग़ा हो आयेगा। पाबिर कसीक्टर मे मखपूर हो कर कीफ़ fिमिस्टर को थपनी रिखोटे भेजी। मैं चाहता हु कि उस दिपोटं को मंगा कर देषा काये, धांबिर वह अगत़ा क्या था। उस है० एम० की हर धाष्वी सारीक करता है, उस मे छलेता प्राम्ट्ट एकमन लिया, लिकिम कपर के लोगों को जस जात की जलन थी। बह्ध भाड़ा की कह होता ह-जल कलमफटर वादां पर नहीं बा, वह लए़की की भाषी में गया था। दो भुसलसालों का स्राड़ा कह कर गोलिया क्याई गई। मेरे पास मृं का० 7 का "भमर उलाला" हैसात तारीब को वहु कहते हैं कि मै खिखोर्ट वूपा सेकिन उनको रिपोट हें फहीं दी जरती है।
 मुले मानूम नहीं हैं। कमिक्षन की रिपोटं हा गई है मि वेल्रना यह है कि माप उसकी रिपोर्टे पर उसके बिज्ञाक कात एफलन तोते है। च: तारीब मों कष्यू कमा होता है। सात तारीष को क्रात कर गोली
 चहीं ध्रोजना चाहिए कोषिल उसमी बात को पनसुता कर धिया काता है घार कर्कू में हीज्तो ही काती है।


 ©। ख्रमर उसाल की क्याठ क्तारी का है, उस में

इस के बारे में छपा भी है। साता तारी को जन्होंने पह कहा था :

मागरा मंड्ल के मायुक्त धी बी० एन० टंखन मे भाज यात '‘परर जलाला' से कहा fि स्थिति भूणं स्व से काूू में है पौर वह प्राला करते हैं कि कल कर्प्र्व में काफी ठोल दनना सम्भब ही सकेशा ।

मात तारीब को बह स्टेटमेंट बह वेते हैं। पाठ तारीब के घकबार में उनका यहा स्टेटमेंट निकलता है। लेकिन डूसरी तरफ यह भी इसी चकबार में निकलता है :

गुह सबिस घ्री ज्याम निहु विसेन, पी० ए० सी० के मह्वानिरीक्ष क्रो वहेन्ड सिह, भागरा परिबेन के पुलिस उप महानिरीक्षक श्रो तुषारबत्ता यहुं था गए हैं औौर प्रणासन का मार्ग निर्बेत्रफ कर रदे है।
मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि सस वार्ग निर्येत्त की क्या जकरत थी। यह सारो टंग्न की बबमाशी है । उनकी खबमाली की बत्रह से वह सब हुछ हापा है। समस्तीपुर घौर फतहदुर में चुनाष होने बाले से 1 बहु चाहते चे कि दंगा हो होंर कांप्रेस के लोगों को फायदा पहुषे 1 यहां से लोगों को समस्तीपर से आरा गया, भलीगक के भुसलमानों को को जाया गया होर प्रषार करबापा गया। यह सब इसका सदूत है कि छ: तारीब को घछूतों की कोपथियों में धाग लगाई गई, कोलियों में माग लबाई गई । सिदरा जी चली गई हैं, में उन से पूधना चहता था एक सबाल । उनके घासत काल में उल कमी भगत़ा होता था तो बह घ्रमरीका बालों को हमेका इसके लिए दोषी ठहराती थीं। जब कमी उन से इसका प्रभाण के के लिए कहा जाता का तो वह कहाँ करती बों कि प्रमाण मुक्ष से क्यों मागते हैं, उन से मानें जो गढ़बड़ करते हैं। माज मैं उन से पूछता कि प्रब जब गक़्बह़ हुर्दे है तो इसका प्रमाण क्या वहा वहीं देगी ? में कहलना साहता हूं कि यह्ह जो गदृत़ी हुई है वहा एक साजिए की वज्टा से हुई है।

पी० ए० सी० ते ओो मुसलमानों को मारा इस को उस्टिकाई करने के लिए हरिजर्नों की कोलियों में वहुं पर भ्षाग समां गई। बिना इस के बस्टिकिकेलन नहीं हो सकता था। बहीं पर सात तारीब को दो सी भुसफमालों को पकड़ से गए होर वह्टा कहा गया कि उनके बहों से क्रसा थनीटह बरामव हैमा

 गया,



 लकाया गया है कि टंडन काप्रेसी है। चाज तो यावकी हकुमत है, किर टंडन को धाप क्यों प्रोटेषान ते वहे है ? एक तरक उनको कांतेषी कह रे हैं मोर दूसरी त्वरफ उसको प्रोटेप्रन के हे हैं

थो रास क्रसात्रेंलमुब्ब : माइनोरिटी कमिब्रत का कहाना है कि सारी गड़बड़ी टंख्न की बकहु से हु। मैं बाहता हूं कि छसको पाप देषें।

मैं कहला चहता हूं कि वह गृंडों के सगते ते चीज पुल हुई। भूरा एक मूंडा था । उसको मारा गया, उसके बाष यह सब हगड़ा घूल हैा कसमटर fखपोर क्ये के लिए कहते रहे लेकिन उतको रिषोटे नहीं होने दी गई । जान वूम कर भलीगक में क्षब मी टैंजन बलाई का रही है । डी० एस० ते जह कहा कि वह यह करना चाहते है तो उनफो कहीं करने विया कया। टेष्न ने कहा कि बमार का बेटा क्या जाने प्रश्रासन की ज्ञात को। में जनला चाहता हों कि क्या यदिकार की टंड्र को प्राप्त षा कलैष्टर को रस तरह की बाम कहने का ? मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि माप टंडन को दूला कर पूछें। भगर उन्होंने ऐना कहा है तो जमार का जूता उसके सिर पर होगा। वहा पर हूस बात को ले कर मझ्बूों में बड़ा टेंशन है। उसने इस तरह की बात क्यों कही, ससको से कर-खए़ा रोष दोर कोध है। वे सतका बबला के कर छोषेंगे। कमिशन की रिपोर्ट भी का गई है। सेकिन किर मी उमको हटाया नहीं जा रहा है, जानपूळ कर उनको वहां रूा जा रहा है। वह बहां पर टैंसन पैषा कर रहे हैं। बह हस काषिल महीं है कि उनको वहा रणा जाए। यहां से उनको निकाला गया तो वहां के चहिकारी इस क्वात से थूल है क्योंकि वहु पषिकारियों पर हावी दह हैंदिरो को की बजह से । यहां बाली सभी बस्टां उमूंले बहां जा कर कीं हैं। मैं काहता हं कि कानून को भाप वेबे मौर उनके चिलाफ कारखाई करें जोर उनको बिलाफ मुकदमा चसायें। किसी भी समाण के किसी धाद्यमी को इस तरह से चमार कहाना मौर यह् कहना कि षमार का बेटा प्रकासन करणा क्या जने कहीं तक उषित हो सकता है ? किसी णी घचिकारी को किसी धूसऐ को इस तरह से विमारेलाइज करोे की ज्वाजल किसी की दूरत में गहीं ही जा सकती है। पापको उसके चिलाफ़ मुक्षमा करता पट़ेगा। जब तफ ऐस्सा नहीं धाप करेज तब तक षसीगझ मैँ षाति नहीं होगी। अ्रबतारों मे तो यहा लक लिखा है कि वह पागल है उसकी पालसखाने में मेखा जाये । भगर भासम उसके किलाक कर्यंणाही महीं करता ती उनक्ता स्वयं उसें किभाज कार्यवाही करोी । पह किसी कमूनुसी का अणना महीँ है, बिक एक छोटी ती काष है तो बमेका होली रही है।

## [धी राम घसाष बेषगुल]

सी० थार 0 पी 0 से पूचुए, 6 बले से करपप लगाते हैं, यह हालत दो, तीत महीने से wम रही़ हैं, भाप खताइये कि गरीब घादमी बेचारे कसे पानाना पेषात्व करने जायें जिनके घर में घन बातों की कोई सुषिधा नहीं है ? उन्हें पीने तक का पानी नहीं लिकता । कोई मी भरेत घयर बाहर निकलती है तो उसके साष उुरो तरह से ठ्यबहार करते हैं। सी 0 भार 0 पी 0 माज हहे से काम लेती है। कल या परसों की हो बनन है एक प्राद्यो जा रहृ। था, देर हो गई तो सो० क्रार० पी० बाले उसके पीछे भागे औीर चिल्लाने लगे कि गोली मार दो। तो प्राजन सो० प्रार० पी० मी बैसा ही घन्याय कर रही है औसा कि पी० ए० सो० करती बी। बो, तील महीने से करफ्यू लगे रहने की बजह से गरीबों की रोगी, रोटी छिन गई, वह् बेबारे भलीगद़ को छोड़ कर बाहर भाग रहे हैं। उत्तर भवेष में ऐला अगता हैं कोई सरकार है ही नहीं। बही की सरकार का वाह क्रास है किष कोई सुनवा ही नी़ी। एम० पी० जा कर कुछ कहता है तो पुज्य मंबी उससे बात करने को संयार नहीं हैं। इसीकिए जस तरह की करें हो रही है, जो संषषा बलत हैं। जाज प्रलीगक्ष में पुलिस का जासन है। आयासन के किकम्बेपन के कारण फहरों यें ही कहीं बस्कि, हेहातां में गेजाना उषीतयां हो रही है, कोगों की जान माल की कोई
 है कि उत्ठर प्रवेश का चासन विल्दुज बेकार ह 1

भापने मूमे समय विया ह्सके लिए में भाषका भाषारी हूं।
 स्पीकर साहल, यही जिस हैं से कम्पुनल बाथलेस प्रोर किरकेषरान्त किसम्बात के लिए जी किख्पद्ध चोर बुले विल से घात कहनी चिएिए बी उस को च
 जिस स्स लोरों को विश्यास नछीं क्षेता कि जो क्राज हैकमत में हैं मोर जिन हो पूरा मुएक चाहता है कि जस जहीतीं मासूर को किस तरह ख्रत्र किया जाय, उस की
 "न के हरों पर गां गम है, न fिसों में पुकार है,
बती \# कातिलों से तुम्टं fितना प्यार है
हिन्दुस्वान के भ्वन्दर एक हिन्दू राष्ट्र की बात करने
 उस पर सही रोषली न हाल कर इघर दबर की बमें








 समर समले से सूरी बारें फहणा चाहीे है।

मैं फहना वाहता हूं कि वलीयद में जो रायट्स हुए वह एक भरतोनाइण्ड तीर पर किये गये हैं। आगर प्राप इस को स्वीकार नहीं करते तो हिन्दुस्तान के चन्वर सैक्यूलर किजा को घागो बकाने मोर माइनारिटीज के दिलों में क्यन चयन दिसाने में पाप नाकाम होंत्रे । क्या माप नहीं जानते कि 8 घ परन्त को घलीगक़ के पम्बर मीटिंग घलायी गयी जिस में घार० एस० एस० के मैंम्बर भी मोगूूद थे पौर जिसमें कैसला किया गया कि घलीगष्ष भूदस्लम घुनित्वटी बिल भगर पायेगा मोर जनता पार्टी वापस नहीं लेग़ी तो हम मलीगक को दूमरा मराठाबाड़ा बनायेंमे । यहु खबरें सबतारों में छप्रो। पाष्यर वह कोन मोग थे जो बहां ये ? जिन 21 माबमियो की कमेटी ने उस चहार की गली गली में मीटटरे की चौर कहाँ कि हस बिल को वापस लेना चाहिए, वे लोग कौन से ? हिन्दुस्ताल की परम्पराओं की बात छम आनते हैं। हमारी रतों में भी हिन्दुस्तानी ब्बून है उन में भी जमना, समपुक्व मौर घंगा का पानी बहृता है। यह् मत कहिए कि हुम हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं हैं। लेकिन में पूछना चाहता हुं कि ते मीटिंयो किसालए की गई थी प्रोर उस के बाद्ध का पूरा मिस्लसिला कया हुमा दा । सगर आ्यप ने हसको भपनी नजर के मामने नहीं रब्बा कि घ्रखाते़े में पहलनवानों की जो लक़ाई हुर्द, किन लोयों मे उस लड़ाई को तमाभा बनाया, कोल लोण घे, उो लाका को चीराल प्रलुलकरोम में से अये, तब तक भाप किसी सही़ी नलीबे पर नहीं पहुंच सकेंगे ।

बहां की सरकार की रखोटं कहती है हित सात्र बोराएत घहदुलकरीम पर 5 बजे पहुंची होर 5 -10 बबे ही $0 \square 0$ सी 0 ने मुहल्ला बरी इस्यादलान में र्रीकड़ों गोजियां चलारं। मानक षोक $5-30$ दोे से षस दहा था, लेकिन पुलिस सुवह 4 बते रक नही वरुषी, हालानक fिक्ष एक फलीग का कासला पा। वहा किस बात की चुगली करता है, किस क्षत की गम्माजी करता है, 渵 खनल की सरक पातरा करणा है ? मेरे कोस्तों ने कहा है कि हस में पुंडों बा हाष्ब है ।

प्रन फसावत्त से किस को कबक्ष कहुंक्ता हैं। प्रण भाप के विल में सकाई बी, तो भाप को यह्ष बात बूले बलकाज में कहृती बाहिए यी। बरल कमीकन को प्रष्नी रिपोटं में क्हा है :-
"Communal tension does nut spring un overnight. It is built up over a period of time, suckled on communal propaganda, nursed on communal incidents and fed on rumours, untll men's hearts are filled with hatred and their thoughts rurn to violence".
"The answer to this question becomes clear if we understand that RSS belleves in a creed whic: is opposed to secularism. It loses all locus standt among people, if relations between various commanities are harmonious. When stenvag
widens and tension is high this is the only organisation which stands to gain."
"This methodology provoking and organising riots can be analysed into the following aspects:
(a) Rousing communal fealing
in the majority community by the propagands that the Mustims are disloyal to the nation."

लेकिन श्राप उन को मांटिकिकट के रहें हैं। प्राप बजाय
 की एकत्ता घोर कौमी पक्रहती के लिए यह जहिर है, ससे दूर करना चाहिए, प्राप उन्ें सटिफिकेट दे रहे हैं। बहां पर 8 पासत, 1978 सें मे कर 19 नवम्बर, 1978 तक क्या वाकयात हाए, इस की तरफ यवर्नमेंट
 कि उन के बड़े बुजुर्ग नेता भारा कहते हैं :-
"Sir, I would like to draw the attenfion of the House to a statement that the RSS Chief. Mr. Ba:asaheb Deoras, has made recently ,n 19th November, at Lucknow, where six Ministers of the U.P. Goverument were present. There he announced that the R.S.S. had decided to allow such Muslims and Christians as are ready to accept Indian culture and traditions, to join the R.S.S."

में पूळ्ञा का चाहता हैं कि क्या हमारा कह्चर शंडियन नहीं हैं, क्वा हम गती देषधोगन्ज षंडियन नहीं हैं। इस नरह्ड का जहरोला पोरीगन्डा एक प्रार्गनाइएड तरीके से इम मूलक में जान रहा है। मूँ कहना बाहता हों कि बर्वा मानी मों के पेट से कोई देष्गीन लेकर नकी प्राता हैं। बह इन समाज घोर उम वृनिया में रहता है घोर यहां से सीवसा है। श्रो बनातासाहूव देगरम ने कहा है कि जन्त प्राप षंजियत कहषर द्रोर छंजिषष ट्रेर्रोणन्ज को एक्सेप्ट करेंगे, नब भ्राप को थार० एस० एस० मिन निया आयेगा। यहां पर

 जपाहिण है, उन सब को हम मुलक में हमाए़ लिलाफ जारर 中सले खाले कोर हिन्दु साष्ड का क्वार्य देषाने बाले कोतों के विलाक एक हो जाक काहिए। उम्टें साक तोर वर वाइ कहुना काशिए कि ये षम्ष लोग हैन मुल्क में अाइर कीला फर थीर वसां की मारलारिटीज को उरा-क्षमका कर हिन्द्र राष्ट्र कापम करजा काहते है। मै वह्तू पूका काहता है, क्या षजह है कि जहां पर
 के जम्यर जतो बक्री है बहीं राप् बयों कोता है ? हों मिबासी सीर पर क्रेषलो णां वह्ट प्लाल इए पार्टी की ताए

 बाला बतां की ₹ंच्ट्री मूतलमानों के हाष हैं है,

बहां तुफान हुमा । बनारस के भून्दर साष्विया बनाने का पूरा रोलगार भुसलमानों के हाप में है, बहा हूफान हुमा। अबलपुर के पन्बर तम्बाए का तमाम ध्यापार मूसलमानों कै हाब में हैं, वहा हूफान हुपा । यह किस बाँत को जाहिए करता है ? वह प्र बात को जाहिर करता है कि एक मुन्नज्जिम तोर से वह् पार्टीं जो घ्रपने घाप को सेवा को संस्या कहती है, यह् जहर केला कर उनहें कुषलगा बाहती है। घोर मजपूर करना चाहती है। हिन्दू स्तान की पर्मा को तोड़न्ना बाहती है। मौर उनें इस हिन्दुस्तान की एकता सं कोमि एकता से कुछ लेना बेना नहीं है। तो में भाप से कहना घाहता हैं कि बह एक वबा है घोर घसे फललने देना नहीं घाहिए। उस कासूम बण्ते के हाप में जो यहां पर भाया था, उस भाठठ वर्ष के बच्चे के हाथ में है ने वोस्टर देबा, उस में यह लिष्षा था कि मुके मत मारों, में हिन्दुस्तानी हैं । मै पूछता हू, नेताजी यहा नहीं हैं, बह मुर्मे बतायें कि बह क्या था प्रलीगढ़ का तृफान कि उस मासम भ्राठ बर्ष के बन्े के हाथथ में घह पोस्टर था जिस पर लिबा था कि मूक्रे मत मारो, में हिन्दुस्नानी हुं। पह जवाब दूरे हिन्दुस्तान को देना है।

उपाष्मक महोषय : श्री राज नारायण । म्राप बक्त का भी जरा क्याल रखियेगा, 15 मिनट हैं।

जी रां नारमयन (रायबरेली) : भीमती इंविरा गाधी जितमा बोली है उतना हमें बोलने दीजिये ।

उपाष्वज महोषख: नहीं, उस से हम को मतलब गहीं है। 15 मिनट से उ्याबा बकल नहीं है ।

भो ताज गारायण : में एक निठेयन पह्हले ही कर देना चाहाता है कि अंत तक को हम ने यही बहम सुनी, कहीं भी उस में हिन्दू भुस्लिम समस्या को मुलभाने का सुसाब नहीं आया । हम ने भूवपूर्व प्रधान मही को मुना, वर्तमान प्रशान मंत्री को सुना । नुक् ऐसा लगा कि हैमारा ग्रहां बैटना उसर्थ हैं।

प्रभी जो मज्जन यहां बोल रहं बे, एहीमान जाफरी साहृब, उन्हों ने एक बात सह़ी कही है कि क्याय हां पर कोई ऐमा भी तबका है जो दिन्त्र गष्ट्र बनाना काहता है। वा हिन्दु कोने घन कहृता है? भ्रणर ऐसा तबका है तो मैं गबन्नेंमेंट से कहलता हू क्रा गबने मेंट उस से मुसलमानों को घूटकारा कैसे विलाएँी? मुसलमान मिस्त्र ईसाई हन सोग्रों की ऐमे लोगों स किस तरीके से दिफाजात होती ? से एा एक सत्राल यह्रां बड़ा हैं। में प्रनाबम्यक चातें नहीं कहूंगा मगर मेरा एक सबाल है कि प्रमर मपते देश के प्रन्दर ऐसे तल्व मोगूव हैं जो वह कहते है कि हिम्दू एक राष्ट्र है तो मिं उन से पूछना वाहता हैं कि किर भुमलमान क्या है ? सिख क्या है ? साई क्या है ? यहा राष्ट्र है या एक राष्टु, कै कई राष्ट हैं।

एक मालभीष सरह्य : वारसी हैं, जन है।
 के साप कहता पख़ता है कि या तो उनहें भाषा कम क्यन
 समलते है 1 एक ने पन में का ें क्रनाषिटीज हो सकती मगर ने शन तो एक है। इसलिए पहले चन की निन्त्र सेकी बाहिए मुकल कंट से मौर सरकागी पक्ष से होनी कारिए

## [หी राजनारयया]

जो लोण हिन्दू को नेक्षन कहते हैं। पहली बात वह हमारी है । हस बात को वहले समान बें । प्रमाण छेने के लिए हमारे पास बहुत पोषा रणा है लेकिन है पूँगा नहीं मोर मे किसी का नाम भी नहीं संगा । क्रसीगक़ में प्रधान मंबी जी भी गए है, बहुत लौंग गए हैं। आयं। केबल इतना ही हमारा निवेषन हैं कि पलीगद्ध जनता पार्टी जो नगर की है उस के प्रस्ताब को पद़ लें, युषा जनत्ता के प्रस्ताब को पढ़ लें। иोर उस प्रस्ताव को पष्कर भपनी वृष्टि को जुख कर सें 1

केबस श्राब वन्द कर के सारी स्थिथति को देखें कि कहीं कुछ नहीं है तो समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। हस सबन में घमल्य वोलना, मत्य को हिपानासससे बत्रु करके दूमरा कोई पाप है नहीं। मैं तो रोज़ बोल हो रहा हैं हसलिये उमको बार बार निप्पीट करने की क्या जल रत है ? जब मेरी वात का दूमरे कहुने लरो तो में उसको क्यों दोहारं ?

जहों तक हिन्द्र ममलमानों की समस्या कें समाघा 7 की बात है, मैं सफार्ट के साथ कह्टना चाहता है कि देग का बटबारा क्यों दुध्रा ? मिं साहता हूं कि यक्ता जो नये लोग हैं या लोग हैं के कारें स के 14-15 चून, 1947 का प्रस्नाव की धोर दृष्टिपात करें। 14 जुन, 1947 का प्रस्ताव है। कांप्रेम ने भ्यपने जी बन काल से एक संयुक्त चाजाद हिन्दुस्तान का मपना डेत्रा क्रोर निममः: हासिस करने के लिए लाखों नर नाष्यिं में फष्ट सेने । दुनिया की कोई ताकते इसके मांड़े था नहीं मकर्ती है। इमके बाद प्राप देखें कि इतिहाम ने, पहाढ़, नदी मोर ममुद्ध ने इसको एक घनाया मोर यह्न एक रहेगा। 3 जुन के प्रस्तार्य को मान लेने से, मुमे फफमोस के साय कंहना पड़ता है कि हमारे केष का कुछ हिस्सा हमसे भ्रलग हों गया । किर भी थाबिर में में कह्हना चाहना हुं कि हमें यकोन है कि दो राष्ट्र का मिद्धात भमान्य हों जायेगा पर्गिन्विति बदलने पर 1 षो राष्ट का मिद्वात किमने माना ? क्यों माना ? बो राष्ट्र के सिद्याँस को मान कर ही सहवारा हैपा । हसको क्यों माना ? क्या बह्ह जहिमियत्त पाज पपने मुएक हु हुछ लोतों में है या नहीं है ? यह मेगा दूनरा मषाल है। घगर बह्ह जर्हानयत हैं तो अबसे बड़ी जिम्मेदारी उस तबके की है जिसका बहुमत है। मेरा भपना मत सिस्लेयं है कि घहा हुन्तू हिन्द्री है बासत्तिक उसके जिन्दा रहते, भ्रगर एक मुपसमान की जिन्बती जोबिम में पदे़ ती वह स्रपनी जिन्दरी को ओोकिम में धालक्ट उसं मुस़लमान की जिन्दगी को बषा से । तमी बह हित्रू है बरना उसको हिन्द्ध कहलाने का हक नहीं है । उसी तरह्ह के 俞 मुससमानों से भी कहना चाहता हुं कि मुसलमान
 को जोषिम में छालने के लिए तैपार रहें। क्या हुभारे केष में कभी भी यह्ट पज़ाया गया है कि गोधी गी का हु्यारा हिए्पू था फोर लियाकल भली का हत्पारा मुसलमान था ? क्रको क्यों नहीं पढ़ाते ? छसको पदाना चाहिए। घमाम मिभिस्टर कोलें, चर मबी बोलें, स्वास्थ्य मंबी कोले धौर हूलरे मंबी की बोलें लेकिन कोई मी कही बोंज़ा।
 माप हैमको घीिहास मत पकाषये, हमने बहुत पढ़ा है। 712 f 0 में 700 मुसलमान मुह्म्मब बिन कासिम की रहनुमाई में भारत काये। भगगर देग का बटबारा नहीं होता तो घाज हस देश में $25-28$ करो़ मुसलमान होते। क्या कोई त्वाकत है जो उनको हटा वेंगी या उनको कस्ल कर देगी ? क्या उनके लिए कोई वूसरा हिस्मा देगी? वह्ह हिन्दू बराब दिमान के हैं जों कदते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमानोंके लिए जगद्ह नहीं है । में उनको हिन्दू नहीं मानता । हिन्दू की परिभापा यह है कि गो दुष्टो का ह्नन करे वह हिन्दू है। इसी प्रकार से गो बलामत का भ्रमबरदार हैं वह्र मुसलमान है। 展न्दू का भी वह्टी श्रर्ष है जो मुसलमान का है। हैलिए दोनों एक हो जायें घौर कायदे से भाक्षाई बनकर काम करें । यह् कहना मुले बह़ा ख्यककसा है मोर मुमे भफसोस है . . .

शी घारब याब्ब (गयलपुर) : दलिहास की बात बतलाध्ये ।

की राज कारायण: 1318 ईसबी में तैमूर लूंग ने हिनुद्नान पर पाऋमण किया, उम समय यहां तुणलंक बंश्र का राज था, दिलली की गही पर ममलमान था' लेकिन प़क बाहर के लुटेंरे हम्बाबर मे, जी प्रुद्ध मुमलमान था, हमला किया प्रोर उस में 5 लाब्ब जानें गहि, जिन में 3 लाम्ब मुमलमान पे प्रोर 2 लनल्ब हित्दूर ये।

1526 में बाबर का हमला हुप्रा, उस समय शिल्ली की गट़ी पर चत्राह्दोम लोधी था।

1739 में नादिर माहु ने हूमला किया, उस ममय बिल्ली की गही पर मृगल बादणाह रंगीला षा महुम्मदलाह् उस लड़ाई में खईई लाण्ड लोग यारे गए, जिन


उस लिये भारत बंबं के प्बन्द किम्पू भीर मुसूलमानों में कोई फर्क न करो, फर्क कगो तो दैसी करी दिवेशी का फर्ष करो। जैसे उF० आाकिर हृसैन साहत्ब है। पुर्जे थे, हृमारे पूर्वंज ये, बड़े चे, मगर पेसिहेन्ट प्रयूत्व बिद्रेणी था ।

एक मालयोप लबन्य : कहा था ?
जी राजलारायण : पाकिस्तान में था। उब तक भारत भीर पाकिस्ताम एक महीं है, उन का कोt कम्मे Wम महीं है, तब लक पाकिस्तान एक प्रलग राष्ट्र है, लेकिम यदि दोलों एक हो आाये, तो फिर उन के लोग मी हमां पुर्बे हो आयेत्रे। हनलिए हैं कहता है -कम करो तो वेसी मोर विवेशी का करो। एक मारतबर्ष में रहने काले हिन्दू पौर मुसलमान्ंों का फक्ष करने धाले
 जाना कािए ।

इसलिये मे कहता हु हिमुको, जरा समत्त हो। क्या हिन्दू मे हि स्दू पर हमला नहीं किता ? ज्या सामायण काल में हमला नहीं हमा ? क्या षसरष की दीम



होष लगाएं। यह विस्हुल गकत बात है। बर मंबी絞 攺

एक ตालमीय स्षस्प्य: गृह मंब्री।
घी राज नारायण : गह से बर बज़ा होता है होर द्वेती मी है, पारतीय घाव्य की है। घर मंदी की को घ्राप पूछें कि यहा गए स्ते मलीगढ़ ? घह कहा जा रहा है कि हंदिरा गाधी जी से पूछा जाए। मैं उन से बोलना नहीं काहता था। में उनको टोकना नहीं चाहता था क्योंकि उनकी चिकमंगलूर से जीत जाने के बाद यह्र पहली स्पीष थी। बह कहती हैं कि में भ्रलीगष रेलवे स्टेश्रम पर रकी थी भौर वहां पर सब से मैंने मुलकात की थी। उनको घमं भानी चाहिये । वहु वहां पर रकी क्यों थी ? उस मूहल्ले में क्यों नहीं गई जहों दंगा हृषा था ? उन लोगों से क्यों नहीं पूछा जहां पर लोगों पर भाफत धाई थी, मुसीबत भाई थी। उन से पूहा होता, बहां गर्हे होती तब उनको पता कलता कि कितनी बड़ी मुसीबत उन लोगों पर भाई। इस मुसीबत मे इंदिरा जी का हाथ था, यहुमें प्राज कहने के लिए सेयार हैं। कलैक्टर को मब से पहले किस ने षेरा ? हंविरा वाधी के दो दाई सी युका काषेशेमियों ने, बीनी प्रसाद लक्जत। यवा कांप्रेम के लोगों नें। उन्होंने उनको धेर कर सब से पहले यह मांग की कि हमारे ओ लोग गिरपतार है उनको छांड़ो। मारी ज़राफास्त की जड़, मगड़े की जड़ उन्होंने शक्ष कर दी। में उनको कहना चाहता है कि मपनी चैज को दूनरी तरह ते लपेटने से कोई लाभ नहीं है। भगर छम में भौर भार एस एस का भी हाथ है तो उसको भी हेग्र्ड लिया जाना चािये। भार एस एस से हमारा गटसंघन नहीं हैं । हमारी जनता पार्टी में घ्राए एस एस नहीं है। भार एस एस एक कल्वरल पार्गेनाइजेगन है, संस्रुविक संगटन है, सांस्कृतिक कान्ति कर रहा है। उसको सांस्कृनक कान्ति करने दो। हमारी जनता पार्टी में है, बी ऐल ही, संगठन कांप्रेस, अन संष इसतंक्ष पाहीं वगेरा बगीरा। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी भी है। सी एफ की बाद में घ्राई है प्रोर बह भी जनता पार्टी में है। ब. जनना पार्टी के बनने के बाव प्रस्तित्व सै भाई। वह भी हमारी पार्टी में है। स्यों भार एस ऐस का नाम लेते हो। मार्फम एस जनता पार्टी में नहीं है। मेरा कहना यह है कि हर मुसलमान को राम घरोर क्षण्ण की द्रण्डन फरनी चाहिये क्रोर हर हिन्दू की वैगम्बर की स्जन करन्नी षाहिये, हर हिन्द्र को ईद पर पुसी मनानी षाहिर्य धीर हर भुसलमान की होली मोर बाहरे पर धुरी मनानी चाहिये। उसी तरंह से हिन्दू भीर मूसलमानों को मिल कर रहना चाहिये। पहले जब हा0 राम मनोहर लोहि्हिा जिन्दा घे तो राबी बंध्षा करते हें। बहै़ बह़े जंग्न करते थे । हिन्तु जाते षे पोर भुकसमानों की रका के लिए राज्बी बोधा करते पे मीर मुसलमान हिन्दुवों की रभा की राबी वांधा करते. वे कौर कहते बे कि में जीते जी चुम्हारी जिन्दमी पौर छृज्जत पर कोई बत्रा नहीं पाएगा । यह विषकास पाल हिन्दुपों को भुक्षलमालों को केना चाहिये अयोंकि हिन्टू वहूमत में है। इसलिए उनकी ज्यादा जिम्मेकाी हैं। उमकी तादाव च्याषा है। वे ध्रपणी जिम्मेबारी को समाने बीर समत्र करें को यबास्थिति उसकी कोरिक्त करें कि वह्त पमी रहें। मह जो षैकार का दिमाग का कोष है हासकी निकाल बेगा काटिए। मीता मुसलम पर्ष, उपलिष््र
[ 8 री राज करषण]
 था कि भागबत पोे। उसम किषा है हि-
"ववबत्ष्रीएव जठरेन, ताबत स्वयं ेेहिनाम्"
भागबत कहती है कि मनुप्य की उटराम्न की तृप्ति के लिये जितलो कर्वश्यक्ता है बही ठुम्कारा च्ब है। पगर उससे ज्याबा रखता है तो बह चार है भोर उमको वही सबा हो गो कार को होती है। मोर कीगम्बर ने क्वा कहा है कि "ए ₹स्सान त्र घपने कील पर चल, तेरा कोई पक़ोली भी भ्बा न रहे, घपने पाम बाने हे क्यम्न प्रनाष न रत"। बोलों का मतलब एक ही है। जराब क्ना मूपलमानों के लिये हार है। हो तो इसीलिये मुसलमानों से पूछना हुं कि घंयेंजी राज्य में उत्तर प्रवेल में तीन लात्र Aलन पराब बलती धी मोर पन्दिरा गाधी जी के राज्प में 20 लाग्ब नीलन बलने लनी। ऐसा क्यों ? एक भाध घंटे की बहस्स मे इस पर कुछ नहीं होगा, मोर मान्यबर, शूंकि भाव भी बंटी बता रह हैं इसलिये में यदिक न कही कर प्रापका गुकगुक्षार दूर कि कम से कम पापने हैमें वृला लो लिया यर्धाि कग ऐंड हैं बुलाया ।

जी औी० जी० गवां (बलड़ाना) : उपाष्पक्ष मह्रोबय, माम्प्रद्यायिक दंगों के बारे में बोलने का गो भापने घबसर किता है इसके लिये में घापका भाभारी हैं कल से में सुर रहां हें कि उनना पार्टी वाले कांपेस परटी पर पारोष करने हैं कि जो दंगे होते हैं साम्रद्रापिक बह कायूस की तरफ़ से होंते हैं मोर उधर के लोग जब बोलते हैं तो वहु बहने हैं कि घार००ए० एस० की त्रफ़ से उनसंघियों की त्रफ से, अनला पाटीं की उरफ से दंगे होते हैं। तो भै घन दोनों बातों को बेकार मानता हैं, समयें कोई थर्य नहीं है कि एक द्रमरे पर कीचढ़ु उछाली जाय। कापका तो खेल हो आया है लेकिन मूर्ग की जान आती है गीर वाने बामें की मझा धाता है। बोनों पारिया घ्रल्पसंब्यकों को मूर्णा बना री हैं, यह्ट ठीक नहीं है ।

मैं हल समस्पा की गुलिषाद की तरफ आना
 बंगे हो रहे है ? नहीं। कांरेस के ममय में भी हए थोर अनता पाट्री उब सता में छायी तब भी साम्रबायिक बंगे हो रहे है । है किसी घर्म पर संख्न नहीं लगाइंगा, लेकिन यह जो छोगे हो रह हैं इसका कारण हालरों साल से बीी हा रदी धर्म मीति हैं। इस वेष के ओो प्रम्ब घे, मनुस्पृति है, ससा राज नारायण जी ने उदाहरण विया गीता न, कुरान ने वह कमा है, लेकिस \# कहता हो कि यह़ संस्रति iो है निसमें जर्ध भरा है उसी से मनुष्य गीषन का घ्वघोपलल होता हैर वेक्ष के गीवन का मी घरोपतन होता है । भ्रणर हम घस वेता में भण्जातांकिण प्रणाली को गीवित रक्षा चाहसे है, लयर हुम सस वेष का स्थापिमान बदामा बाल़ते हैं तो किर घस बेा के करीर में जो गेग धीर कीमाषिक है, उसका सही तरीके से उायणनोसिस

 यहां एक हिन्दू राप्टु बनायेंगे, यह्ह कहूने की मी

एक सीमारी है। क्न सा बीवारियों के क्षस का चरीर धिलनिष हो क्या है घर हमें उर है नि नाधूम हस केता तै चरीर का कर थंत हो आयेगा।

मैं कहता चाहता हैं कि हस रेष में 60 करोप़ fिम्ूू, मुमलमान, ईसाई, निक्रिप्रय, बोद्ध घोर हृरिजन बतीरह हैं। हिन्दू राष्ट्र का नारा लगाने बालों को म बनाना चाहता हैं कि है 60 करोड़ में से 17 करोड़ हांरजन, बतद कीर प्राबिकासी है, जित पर भांग की भन्याय मीर प्रश्याषार हो रहा है, करीब 7 करोड मृपलमान हैं, 6 करोड़ ईमाई हैं —मेरे पांक़ें गलत मी हो ककते है- 2 करो पारसी बतरह हैं, 3 करोश़ औनी हैं घोर 11 करो बोहता समाप के लोग हैं। ये सब मिला कर लगमा 40 करोग़ है। ता हि्त्र्द कितने रह गये ?--20 करों़ हिन्दुर रह गये तो 20 करोड़ लोगों को हिन्द्र राष्द्र की बान कहते का क्या पधिकार है ? बे तो माक्षारिटी में है। उन्हे वह कहने का कोई राहट नहीं है कि हम हिन्द्र राष्ट्र बनायेगे।

प्रसीगढ में मुसलमानों के धर जलाये गये, उनहें गान से माग़ा गया, होटे होटे-बसों को मारा गया। मै परसों बहां हों कर धाया हैं। मै ने बहां के मारे वंगाप्रस्त क्षेत्रों को वेखा है। वहू केषल घमीगतद में ही कहीं चुपा है। यह सारे के में होगा ह-सहाराप्दु, उतर प्रेण थौर मक्ष प्रकेण में हैता है।

यह होता क्यों है ? क्या मुमलमानों के मीता बहोते से यह् कम हो आयेगा ? स्या दिन्दुपों के कुरान पबने हें यह कम हो आयेगा ? क्या बकरी मधन धाने लगेगी हौर गेर घास बाने लगेगा ? की राज नाराष्न करसी बात कातो ह-खाह गोर को कहूे क्रे कि बास बाबों परर बकी को कहते हैं कि मटन चामो। उन्होंगे कहा है कि
 बहे कलंक की बात है, बड़ी दुर्मम्यपूर्ण आता है कि हल वेत में घाज की घल्पस्ब्यक जोगों के जमामाल की कोt गार्टी नहीं है।

मै यद्र कहीं कहता कि गनला सरकार के धाने के बत ये षटनायें बदी हैं। जब इन्दिरा कात्रेस का राज षा, तो सराठबाक़ा में कार हरिएन वरिसमपों को कगा कर के सारे गान में पेमया गया। वहाषाट्ट के पमोना fिस्दिस में
 अनका काम की गर्वा बा। हम के कीमती यद्विरा योती को बत्तापा कि उलके साउप से कोर्वेसी


## 17 hrs .


 कोर पर ओोण है, तो ते खरे सबते चल करमे
 कोर क्या तौब्यूत्य निकालना पकेणा!




 साय होते है।

घोर भ्रगर उस हरिजन मे . . . (ध्यक्याज) . . जरा तुन लीजिए। जुनने में क्ता तबमीकीक ही पाप को । मलीगक्ष पर बोल रहा हैं। ससीणद की बता मी इत सम्वम्ध नें है। जो बुद को हिन्तू सम्मते हुं उन के दिलों में डूसरे लौतों के लिए क्या बीक्र है वह्र में बता रहा हूं।

बह् खाय तो नही पीने, पगए किसी हीजिन ने बुलाया वाय कीने को तो बोलते है कि नही, काय तो हूम नहीं पीने । सेकिन बह गनी शराय लिराएगा गुद्ध से, महुवे से थोर भापनी कोषती में रोगा तो दे लोग जाते हैं घौर बोलते है कित काई, तेरे पास जराब है क्या ? वह़ बोसता है के है, बड़ी पण्नी है। पुछते है -पण्छी हैन ? घहु कहता है कि बहुत भक्छी है। तो कहते है कि ओंश्ट लेने को कुछ है? वहु बोलता है, मेरे पहां तो कोई बर्तन नहीं है, वह संड़स जाने का टिन गट रबा है। तो उन्हें संडास बाने के टिन पाठ में लेकर टेस्ट करसे नें कोई पर नहीं लगता है ।

जाति पाति धर्म कछ उस बमय उन्हें,याद, गहीं प्रता है। मैं कहता हूं कि बत सूप्र नहीं चसता, वाय नहीं चलती तो गत्दी घराब कोर बह़ पी मंडाम जांे के टिन पाट में खलती है ? तो वह को पर्रोलाजिकस चि्रेशन तुम्हारे थन्दर है वह निकाल दना चाहिए घोर यह माबना लानी बाहिए कि है सारे एक है, हम धिन्दुस्तानी हैं।

भय भलीगक की तरफ में काता हूं। भभी ग्रलोगढ़ के एम० वी० ने भी सारा मामला बता दिया । बह्द टें बहन साहब की तरफ से हिगड़ गया। लंकित मैं पह्र कहता हां कि बहा एक बन्दा टाकीज है. बन्द्र नाम के पाषमी की लो भ्रमएयोराएँ्ड हैं।. उसको कोई परोमिन गहीँ मिसी है उसको बनाने के लिए। लीयों तो कम्प्लें की कि यह भमएधोराश्ज बन रका है । बहां मोहमडन की प्रोर हीजिन बतीष्ह की जगह है। सरकार ने कोई उस की धुनवाई नहीं की। बह ज्यर्षस्त है मोर जनता पार्टी का बक्षे है। दोरार षी भाई की मी
 है, हस को तो केता यहिए। लेकित किसी है
 सगा। युतों को उण सोलों क्र स्रालना चुल fिया। टामिक्ष खलों के ही कोंत को क्षपने साष में रा
 काता



 380 24-1

सबस्त है, उन के वदों 22 ताँपब फों एक्रका कर पाबती पए कर मीट साठिको कायी कहै
 जतो के बाह किर षुसममानों के बह औौाजा पै
 जुए हो गई 1 उस को होकने में पुलिस प्रसफ़
 टउन ची को कहा था कि घाप कर्थ्य बता हटाएए
 भाप इस को आतो रबिए। उन्होंने कहा कि तुप कमार मेरे को क्या सिबाते हो कि अभासन ख्वषली? कमे रखनी काहिए ? कपर्यू हढा देना कािए। तो उसले कर्म्यू हृा दिया घोर रात के नो बते तक उम के ऊपर कोई घमल नहीं क्रूपा उस टादम में
 स्तना ही नहीं, उस ने यह् कही कि सन् 67 में में दिस्सी 7. बा. वहां गक हत्पाबन्ती का भान्बोलन चसा था तो हम ने फई सी लोषों को वोलियों हे भून चाला।


 बागना को हटाया, कागला का तो द्रांसफर कर बिया। प्रधान मंबी मी बोले कि यहृ बात कलंकभूर्ण है, लन्जास्पष है, इस का सास्यूक्तन होगा कहिए, बिनार होना वाहिए, लेकिन भाप पुपा क्यों बैं रे ? म मूसे इसलिए बह्ह गाना याद माता है, सबन कालों से यह कहते का भ्रवसर था गया है हमारी किद्मत में कि क्या कस मां, मुले बुद्ता मिल्न गया। हमारे पध्षान मंत्री की बहुता उफ हो गई हे ... (म्यकधाल) ...

में सिकन्बर बक्र साहब से पूछना चाहता हं कि वह घलीगद़ आत्रा कर भाए क्या ? भ्रभी उन्होंने इतनी बऱी तकरीर की उर्दू में लेकिन बह म्रलीगद़ दो फल घाए क्या, भपने मुसलमान भर हयों से पूछा क्या कि क्या हो गया था ? .... (म्यकघाना) ...

उपाष्मक्ष महोदय, में यह कहना चाहता हों कि इस क्रगड़े से बबने के लिए, इत सानप्रद्वयिक ध्यों से बकनें के सिए राष्ट्रीय एकता, रान्ट्रीय प्रेम, वेत्र की धख्यता की साबना का होना तथा प्रवावानिक प्रणाली का मजबूत होना पावसमक है। इस देश के सारे हिन्दु, मुसलमात, सिब्र, (साई-सभी को दुभिबा में इस क्षेथ का नाम बमिने के जिए एक हो जाना कहिए कोर भी किसी कूतरे पर किसी प्रकार का कोर्ट जुल्म न करे। -खही केती भापके तारा सभी से प्रार्यना है । सता ही कां कर है भ्रवा भाषण समाप्त करता ${ }^{8} 1$

 fिजमय हो हता है। जसीच्ड का होगा हो,


 fित्र


## [श्री नानाजी देशमुख]

घंग्रेज़ों के काल से चल पड़े हैं, कांग्रेस के जामाने सें भी चलते रहे अ्रीर अभी जनता पार्टी के जमाने में भी रके नहीं हैं। हमें देखना होगा कि: हिन्दुस्तान में कभी दंगा होने ही न पाये। हृनसान इनसान पर हमला करे-यह्ड इनसानियत पर कलंक है, यह ग्रसभ्यता का लक्षण है ग्रौर इसको मिटाये बिना संतोष कर लेना सूर्बता है ?

इसीलिए मैं कुछ बातें गापके सामने रखना चाहता हैं। जो दंगे होते ध्रा रहे हैं उन दंगों को रोकने का काम सरकार का माना जाता रहा है और सरकार पुलिस के द्वारा देगों को रोकती आाई है--फिर चाहे वहीप० ए० सी० हो, सी० घ्रार० पी० हो या प्राविंशियल पुलिस हो। हो सकता हैं कि दंगों को तालकालिक रोकने का काम पुलिस के हारा कर लें लेकिन दंगे कभी न होने पाये- इसका ध्रंतनाम पुलिस नहीं कर सकती है। इसका इंतजाम हम लोग़ों कोकरनाहोगा जो कि इस सदन नें बेठे हुए हैं। हम बहां पर एक एक मिनट जो बोलते हैं उस पर कितना खर्चा होता है और वह खर्चा गरीब लोग़ों से "कस के रूप में ग्राता है । हम 65 करोड़ लोगों के प्रतिनिधि यहां पर हैं, हम किसी मजहब के हों, किसी पार्टी के होंइस नाते इस दंग़े के मसले को मत देखें । इस नाते हम इस मसले को देखें कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के बारिश्दे हैं, इस देश के नागरिक हैं और हस सभी मिल कर इस देश से इस कलंक को मिटा कर छोड़ेंगे। यह कैसे होणा ? यह मिट सकता है लेकिन पुलिस के द्वारा नहीं और प्यूनिटिब टैक्स के द्वारा भी नहीं। एक अ्रफसर को गलत कहा, टूसरे ग्रफसर को ठीक कहा-इससे भी यह कलंक नहीं मिटेगा। यह कलंक मिट सकती है अगर ग्राप और हम सभी मिल कर काम करें तो। लेकिन ग्रभी तक वह हुग्रा नहीं। एक दूसरें पर दोष दिया जाता है लैकिन एक दूसरे की गाली देने से यह दंगे मिटेंगो नहीं। इन दंगों के शिकार होते हैं गरीब लोग जिनके पास कुछ नहीं होता है । मैं आ्राप सभी से प्रार्थना करता हूं जसे मैं हैं, मैंने अ्रपना तरीका रचनात्मक ढंग से काम करने का अ्रपनाया हुग्रा है। इस वक्त मोहर्र्रम का सिलसिला चल रहा है, जैसे ही यह खत्म होगा, में खुद अ्यलीगढ़ जा कर जिन गरीबों के घर बरबाद हुए हैं, जिन गरीबों की दुकानें बरबाद हो गई हैं, वहां के ही लोगोों से पैसा और चन्दा छकट्रा कर के, उन के घर बनवाऊंगा, उन की दुकानें ठीक कराने का काम करूंगा। जो भी भाई अाना चाहते हैं, दह मेंरे साथ ग्रायें, चाहि कांग्रेंस के हों कम्यूनिस्ट हों, हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों, ईसाई हों, हमे में कोई फक्ष नहीं हैं, हम सब एक हैं। हम कोई भी हों, श्रसल में हम सब एक हैं, एक खानदान के हैं, इस हिन्दुस्तान के हैं, इस के लिए ही जीना हैं, इसके लिए ही मरना है अ्रौर अ्रगर हिन्दुस्तान सें इन्सानियत की कोई मुखालफत करता है तो हम उस को कलंक मान कर उसे समझा बुझा कर हीक करेंतो ।

श्राज बहुस सी बातों को दोष दिया जा रहा है--प्रार० एस० एस० का नाम लिता जो रद्या

है, लेकिन मूं इस बात पर जोर देना चाहता हूं कि ये दंगो होते क्यों हैं ? हम को पता है कि संविधान निर्माताओओं ने हम को ऐसा संविधान दिया जिस में बालिय सताधिकार मिला है: हर एक, पढ़ा हो या बे-पढ़ा हो, लेकिन 21 साल या उस से ज्यादा उता का हुर एक सर्द आर्र ॠरत मतदाता हैं ...

एक मालनीय सदस्य : जब तो उस 18 हो गई है :

शी वानाजी देशामूख : घायद होने वाली है। मेरे कहने का तात्पयें यह है कि हम जो चुन कर आयर्ये है-यह कोई नही कह्ह साकता हैं कि में मुसलमानों की बदौलत चुन कर भाय हूँ या हिन्दुओों की बदोलत चुन कर आया हूं या बाहलण के बोट से चुन कर आया हूं या चमार के बोट से चुन कर अ्राया हैं-जो भी चुन कर यहां धाया है, सब के बोटों से चुन कर आया है, यह हो सकता है कि किसी के कमम मिले हों या किसी के ज्यादा मिले हों, लेकिन हम यहां पर समी नुमाइन्दती कर रहे हैं। छ्सलिए हम को ध्यान रखना होगा---इस लोक सभा में बह्स करते समय-कि हम ऐसा fिष्कष्ष निकालें, हम मिल कर ऐसा रास्ता अ्रपन यें जिस से अब ग्राग़ो देंगे न हों। जहां कहीं भी दंगें होंग़ह्म लोगों को वहां जा कर जो उस के शिकार होंते, सब से पहले उन को बसाने का काम करता होगा और वहां के लोग़ों का सह्योग ले कर, हिन्दू-मुसलमान सब का सहथोग ले कर छूस काम कों करता होगा, ऐसा किये बिना ये दंगो नहीं कक सकेो ।

हमारे राजनीतिक लोग़ों को भी थोड़ा ध्यान रखना होगा। श्राप देखिए-जब एडल्ट फ्रैन्चाह्दज़ शेरू हुः्रा उस के श्राधार पर सव से पहले 1952 के घुनाव हुए। 1 उस समय भाप ने क्या देखाउस समय मुसलमानों के गिरोह में एक श्रांक पैदा करने का काम शुहु किगा गया। ग्राप उस सनय के सारे ग्रीबवर् निकाल कर देखिए--फं० नेहरू से लेकर मामूली से मामूली क ग्रेसी नेताांग्रों के बयान देखिए"-"देखो, "मुसलम ातनों, यह् जनसंः तुम्हें खा जायेग तुक्हें हिन्दुस्तान से निका कर बाहर कर देगा, इन से बचो।' क्यों मूसलमानों म: से ऐसा कहा गया? ईसाइयोंसे क्यों, नहीं हागया पारसियों से क्यों नहीं कहा गया ? क्योंकि मुसलभानों का ब्लाक-वोट दिखलाई देता था। सेँ लोग नहीं चाहते थे कि हिन्दू और मुसलमान एक हो जायें, यदि ये एक हो गये तो फिर कांग्रेस की हुकूमत नहीं रहेगी, इरी लिए ऐसी फ़िजा पैदा 4 रने की कोशिश की गई। दूसरे को क土यूनल कहना और अपने को सैक्यूलर कहना, लेकिन काम कहाघृण्ति श्रीर साम्प्रदोयिक ढंग से करना-यह सब से गलत काम कांग्र्रेस ने 30 सालतक किया। मे: प्रछना चाहता हूं-जनसंघ के प्रति मुसलमानों के दिलों में डर पैँदा करना, हिन्दुस्तान के नार्गिकों के दिलों सें डर पैदा करना-क्या यह ठीक काम:袁?

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 उती बी, उस समय के दूट के मूब घार० वि०

 फालघ करायं, षया उम समथ षह कम्मनन नही था?

 जोर कारवारेकन मै जनलस का बहमत हा




 फलबाफल हो रही है ? वह पहह टेना कि मूंभबमतनों की

 आतापज हैंता है ता उन को काती मालादो, थोर्टी
 उस को कासी पर लटकालो । हर ब्गा फफलाद कर्मे
 से कोर्घ मी काँ न हों, हमाग बाप की खार को तो

 फवा हैन दंगो को समाप्त किसा जा मकता है ? साम्र्र-









 कमलमान एक न हों। उत्राम लोग कल के रों तो कार










 ज्ञार से कम्युनल कीजल को चب़षा खहीं दिया जाञा कीजिए 1 हुर आर्त का सनटरें हो सफस्ता 8. हर अलह्वा का समुन हो सकता है मेकिम बद्र सेला नहीं होषा काहिए कि दूसनी काति के किए जलता घने,
 बनें। खपने मलइए को चच्हा बनाओी, खलनी जानि की
 चज्ञा यनामे ममय बकी मरी ममुदाय, खंकी सभी




 एक टूसरे के खारं में र्याबपबास, अंब्हेष, नकग्त कसामे
 है कि इम शकार ते एक दूमरें के बिलाप, नफरत फलनाले के काम को छोड़े हैना चाहिये। हस स मारत का भला वहीं होगा 1 हम से को नही हलंले। हिन्दुस्तान में देंगे न हों हम के किए़ द्वम सब मिल कर काम करें मी० बिना कोचे कि मिं हिन्द्र हैं बा मुमसमान काषेती हैं या जनलता पार्टी का हूं, काम करें। वह कम्युनिम्ट है, यह की पम
 जी गुसीबत में हैं उनर्का मूसाबत का बत्म करने की जल्तत है । हैं के लिए में कहना हैं कि में मलीगक़ जा रहा है, श्राषो मेंे साथ चलें हम माण माध। । एक एक मकान को
 को दुर करने के लिंत् हम सब्ष जुट जाएं, उस को किर से उसी प्रकार का मकान बना कहें दें, कि. से उसी प्रफ़ार की दुकान बना कार दे, जो श्रुछ मी बग्बादी उस की है है, उस को टीक्न कग्ने का काम हम मिस कर कमें।
 हषा देण में बड़ी कगें। सग्का चाहे किसी की हो, हैा में षंगा होने का कोt कारण तब नहीं रहलगार हस प्रकार का निष्मषष हस लोक म मा को निकामन्र चालिए, बह् मऱा म्राप मब लोगों से अवनम निबे दन है पोर घन्गोष है । मिं घाप को घंन्यवाद देता हैं कि वाप ने



 ने इस में दूम्सा लिया। बहस जरम हुोगी लेकिन न हा़रजल पर जुष्म बहम होगा घौर न भुसलमान पर ज़ ल्म सल्य होगां जोर मह कीज कलती ही रहली। में समक्षला हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान जो क्रवने काप को फब्थ से श्रोग सही मानों में जमूरी मूल्त कहता है, जम्दृंनियत की सब से

 जणर कापणारिटीज किती जुल्म में क्षपने चाप को
 तो चमकी निजाम है उस हों छुछ न कुष कमी है।


 कि मूल्क में फिजा बतानी हो की मोर क्रा किजा कित इनाओे. के लिए हम सब को निल कर काम करना छोगा । लेषिल कम एक श्रोफसर साहष से यहां तकरीर की, उन्होंगे
 खर उठ कर ईस मामले पर गोर करना चाहिए बमेंकि यह्ह मामता मुल्क के लिए बहुत हहुम है । उप्हों में कद्धा भगर फिरकेवराना कमाबात में द्द्ध करता है, पा मुसल है न मूससमान मरता है वर्क एकीकत में हिम्युस्तानी मरता है। सही बात कही। लेकिन साध हो उन्दोंनें यह भी किकायत की कि हिन्दुस्तान में मुसल्रमानों की पाबादो 30 प्रतिलम बढ़ गई पोर उस के मूकाबस मे हिन्दुपों की माबादी 23 प्रसियत बढ़ी। काश बह्य यद्व फहती कि पह्र स हिम्द्ध बढ़ा है, न मुमलमान बदा है, यहृ हिन्दुस्तानी बढा है। लेगन उन का मकमद गो यह़ कहिने का है कि बह़ मुसलमानों की जो पाबानी बढ रही है वहि हिन्द्यत्तान के लिए मसता वैदा हों रहा है, एली जहियति को माप का बत्म करना होगा, नानारी
 घं 0 बलराज मधांक, जिन्हों ने घ्रभी आलोगद में जा कर यह कहा कि भ्रलोगब के हेंगों में घलोगढ़ यूनिअसिटी के लक़कों का हाप है। जब कि ख्यू बंतीरे ज्ञाजम ने होर जाउस कें त्रमाम मेम्बग़ान ते हैस ब्यात को सराहा है कि भर्लागढ़ यनिष्षमहो के नालित्राल्मों पौर टीचसं ने तो तेग्जग्पलंग तोल दिखाया है कह काबिले तागेफ है, हृम उस की नर्राष करने है। लेक्रिन क्रफसोम हस ब्वान का है कि यही प्रो। बलगत मधाक मात्र कहते है कि भ्रनीवद में पाकिस्तान बनाया है।

 बैग, सैयद मीर कामिम मोर गताम माहृंम्मय सादिक
 महूं करने कि करसमाँ हिन्दुत्तान का स्रस्ट भण है तो सुनिया की कार्टानाकत कहमान का हित्युग्नान के
 बन्द कर लंते है, मोर हानग्टास मे थांलें बन्य कर क्र मुल्ष में नफलन फैनाते हैं।

हस यद नही। कहते विं डायरेष्ट प्रूफ हमारे सामते कोई ऐेमा मोजू द्व जहां पर प्रार 0 एनं० एस 0 के किसी भामी घादमी कों fिगनार किया हो। न निसमतार होने की अस्ग्र नह़ी है। लेकित जो लोगों के दिमागों में पहर भरा जा ग्हा है यहो वह जह़र है जा पेसे मीको पर उभरना है प्रोर मुएक में दगे कसाद होते हैं।

भाज तक बहृत से कमीणन बनें, रषबतर द्वाल कमीषन बना, होर मायूर कमीलन बना, सब ने घ्रपनो ररपोटे बी । उस में भाप देंदोंगे कि उन रिपाटंस् मे बातु ज्ञात यह है कि एक वो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का केख्योर
 यहा राय दी है कि यह हुरे लगाना किसी माहिए का कास
 वहीं की होणी तब तक रस किस्म की हुरेकाती वही होली । की जाहिर है कि जब साष हूल तद्द की बात करसे है, घ्राप की जार० एस० एस० की जा तापों में




 भाप लोगों घो तैयार करते हैं सा बहा सही बता है लेकिन वाकिस्ताज का मुकावसा बाप छुरे है बहै। कर सकते, कोल का गुकाबला रंड्टे से गहीं कर समखं।


 जार० प्र० एम० वर बन नहीं लगा सकवे सयोंिक जाप मखतूर हैं। मेंर मामने एक करताब है मापरकी
 अया षा कि बह कम्पुलल टि़्युनल के मापले कें, कोंों क मापले में नकफ़दार रहे है। इस में उनोंने छुद माना है ;

> "The burden of the 1ssue tramed tv the Cominission was that I was a communalist and that I supported the Hindu. against the Mustums."

Agoir be says:
"I was held ruilty for acting in a partisun way on account of com. munal bias."



 याब वह पपनी कुर्सी का बचाने के fिए, धानी स्टोबालड़़।

 अमात्त का आामी धौर नरफदार है, या उन को मद्ध करता है। है मूछना काइता कि कि 1930 का मोतरजो द्वेसाई पाज कही है, जिस ने उस बक्न मोवरों को ररक कर दिया था, उल उन के बए मे उल के अलाका कोई षोर कमाने वाला नहृद्री घा, जब उन के बर ः माने को नहीं चा 1 उन्कों में बदद कहा है कि है ने कचषा की परवाह नही की, अननदान की परवाह सहीं की, एक उस्रूल की कातिर तीकरी बोर्ड वी। लेकिन पाल उन का उस्षल कहुं गया। म्राज नाकत की घातिर बह्ड उस उमात कों मजदूत कर रह है, जिस के भाम सं पार 0 एन 0 एम 0 के नाम से-कारमीर में बकलों को
 तो तो कहा जाता है कि घार० पस० तसक कासे का
 $\Rightarrow$ का किस्म की उह्रनियक्त कला रहे है, उस को


 कर कहता द्व कि मूसलमन के मकनान को भाष न समगओ, उस्त की आयदाद को तवाह न कन्रो, कापमीर के बार

 कहतल हुए उस को भमरनाय मुका की याबा करबाने है। वे माप को दुहार्ई बेते है कि ध्राप कम से कम उन की मस्सदों को न जलाईयँ ।

मूल्भ में घार० पृस० पस० ने तबाही पोर बरबाटी
 समझंते हैंकि प्राज हमें उम के चिलाक उठना है, तो में ह्राष बटानें के लिए तैयार हू। बोंकन में बनाना बाहता है कि 1966 से 1969 तक को मादाद साल में 603 के करील द्विया करती षी।
 में महज़ गरीब लोग ही तबाह होर बबाद हैंति हैं। -ोंक्न हुम ने देबा कि घय गवनंमेंट चाहरी है कि किसी फिम्म की नान-ोलन्म बर्दाप्त नहीं होगी, तो 1972 से 1976 के दरांमयान मरने बालों का ऐवरेज किर कर 60 पर का गया ।

 बदाजत वहीं करेगी, घोर जो कोई जी खसमें चुलव्बस कोणा, बह उस से चिनाक पूरी कार्मवाही करोगी,

 सो नटीजा यह होता हैं कि गुतों जोर बवमालों की, को एते कीजों पर आाले चाते हैं, मोका मिलता है सृ करने, धाल घगाने, छू रालनी करले घोर घालू कारने का।

पायद्ध कम्न हुछ सावियों ने कहा कि ध्रसीयद्या

 iे जिम्मेबार है, लेकिन ऐेंमिनिन्द्रेल पर किन्मेबारी 8म वसह्ह से क्रायद होरी है कि एक महीने से वहां द्रेल हो रहा जा, घीर को किलं का- बो किको का वहीं, थो पहलवानों का-मापस में जगत़ था । एलिनिन्द्रेजा
 नोरमित स्यख्यार फर सकता है, दौकन एक महीले तन कुष नहीं हुषा 13 अम्ट्रबर की पूरे हास्पिटल में दाबिल किया गया मीर 5 अपरुणर को जब इह भगत, तो पुलिस के हो भववमी षेंड ले कर उसरी साम को उस के बर क्ष जने लगे।

Əेखमिनिस्ट्रेश्र को एक माह पहले मालूम था
 गो कि पूरा की लाम से जाने के fिए बहुता के नोण कोरिम करेंो। उन को यहू मी मालूम
 का साय गदीं बतयरी तथ नक माफूल सरीके से


को छीना गया, उस का उसूत क्नगाला थया हौर चूलू निकासने कर साष ही सारे भमीचष में एक ही बम्त में चार पांब 8 जगहों कों बंत्रे पसाए चुक्ष हो गए। लेकिन भ्रफसोस की बात है कि एक
 बार ज्यादा किएन से दोंा घुए होते हैं। भर्यकी दफ़त बहां पर अम इस्तंमाल हुए, षापर यार्म का
 से कि जिन जिन हलाकों पर Eस किरकेदाराबा कसाव की मनहूंस छाया छार्य हैद की क्या उन्होंजे उस की बबरणोरी नहीं रबी ? क्या उन की उटिलियेस उन को यहि नहीं बता सकी fि यहाँ पर हृ़ाषयार जमा हों रहं हैं, पत्थर जमा हो हैं है, लाटिया उसा हो गही हैं, कारूस बरोंद जा हह है? में ममझता हिं चि मामने में ऐे्रfमिस्द्ये-
 जन को कवाह़ बहा डिस्ट्रेंट लेषल का हो, स्वाह बहै स्टेट नेबेल का तो पूरं सूत्ब के लेबेल का हो उम पर यहु जिम्मेदारी पायष् होती है। 1973 में कारेत्स ने एक कमेटी बनाई की कि जहां बहा पर मी बंते द्रोंगो धगर 12 चच्टे के भ्वन्दर बहां पर दंशा कंद्रोल वरीं होता तां बहां के लांकल अाकिसमे जो हैं एम० एच० मा० है, री० एस० पी० है, उन कां फोरन बहां से नब्दील कर देना कहिए।
 होता तो उस से बड़े पफसर जो है उन पर यह किम्मेबारी पायद कर देनी चाहिए भोर सगर कोई वंगा 48 घष्टे तक जारी रहे तो भूलें के ऐंडिनिस्ट्रे. जन को उस के लिए जिम्येयार हहुराना चाहए। बूरें के जीक मिमिस्टर को उस का जिम्मेदार डहराना चदिए । लिकिन म्राज्य भलीक में दो महीये ते कथमी है। मगर गू० पी० की सरकार उस्ष से
 कोई बास तरोमी कमी तक काती नहीं दोबती।

द्वसरी बात यह है, हस में फो एर्लीमेंद्स है. औस हम ने कहा कि बहां पर ₹स से कम्न की Wालगयं सगती बीं, द्रेनिग दी जती थी जिस के बहां एक रेटामास्थेयर बतरे का घोर चर का पैका हो गया बा, तो ह्म ते हसीलिए भांग की हैं घोर में भाज को भाइस निनिस्टर में मांय करता हों कि बह घार० एस० एस० की भाबापों को जहीं पर कि से धोर छुरें की तर्रबियत्ती जाली है सारे मसक के क्रम्दर शें करें बयोंकि एक माहोल बनाने के सेए यह लह्री हैं कि माइ्रनारिटी कस्पूनिटी में, मृसलमानों में पत्रार कैषा किया जाना चाहिए और हस माहैल को बनाने हो लिए, सय से वहले अहरत इस बात की है कि हो जा सम्रों पर कैन लगा द्विया जाय। माथ ही जो पी० प़० सी० है या जो पुलिस कोर्त छमारी है जब तक उस में मिली बुली फोसं नहीं होली तब सक में समक्षता हं कि माइलागिद्टीका के षिलों में कान्किरेंस नहीं पैदा हो सकता। मांक्जि यह होती है कि एक नरक किरकादाराना बंते में चक्वियत के लोग, माइनारिटी के लोग मारे जारे है मोर फिर गबर्मेंट के पात जो मझीनरी है ला एप्ड कार्ठंर बिम्येट करमें की उस पर मी उन का


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 को कि इते मीक पर कीरी वक्ष पर पहाँ
 है, की० पस० एकण बदाई है, की० की यो षेशा मिलिटरी कोसे है उस को बद़या है। तो कौती तीर वर क्ता वर उन का हस्तेमाल किया उाप तो में लमझता हैं कि काथी द्य तफ ये दंतो बन्द हो सकते हैं।

हृमने वजीरे भाजम से यह भी कहा का कि वह्ता कलेषिट्र काइन्स ऐसे हलाकit पर लगाएँ उहा पर घहृं किराकादाराना फसाब होता है। चाज न्पेकल सकालत की बात की जाती है। म्पफल सदामत का क्याम तेसे हो दंधों को रोकने की लिए हाना चाहिए उत्रां पर कि मुर्जारमों काँ वाषा जाय पोर उन को सजा दीर आय । तभी लांगो में कुष एत्तमाद है। सकता हैं।

में घपने भाजण को घंम कग्न हा हतना ही च्रें करंगा fक मृलक मे नमास सिपार्मा पारियों

 फसाद भुह मे ही न हो।

 दिमाग बчल दिया है। मूंद मालृम नही। कि उन्होंने उन का बबला है या अन्द्रोने घार० ताप। त्र० को बदला है। ल्लक्र उन की जातों से और उन को करतूतों से पह जाहि झोषा कि वह ज्वाल



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"the burden of the issue framed by the Commission was that I was a communalist and that I supported the Hindus against the Musllms."
Agai he says:
"I was held gullty for acting in a partisan way on account of commumal bias."
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floor of the House at least somwhere else.

AN. HON. MEMBER: There is no advocate of Mrs. Gandhi here!

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: 1 piopose to level no charges: I propese to ask some questions. And I am tempted to ask these questions because. as a lawyer I know that sometimes when we cannot find the ostensible another of a crime, we investigate first as to who has benefited by the crime, who is the beneficiary of the arime. That provides a useful line of rivestigation and even produces very fruitful results.

I want to ask: was there a single election meeting in Chickmagalur in whien the Aligarh riots were not expioited by Mrs. Gandhi for the advancement of her election prospects? Sine made the utmost use. in every single speech. I was there in Chick. magalur and 1 had the good fortune to liten to some for her adresses. She exploited to the utmost all that happened in Aligarh und I am sure that some votes, at Jeast, must have gone in, her favour as a result of the propganda which she carried on.

Now, therefore, if you cannot otherwise determine the cause of the Aligarh riots, if one finds that soon after the riols somebody has tried to drive the utmost beneft out of the crime, I think it is a safe and reasonable presumption, to start with, that he had something to do with, the riots.

Now, I go further, She told us very innocently that on some day, she was passing by a train at the Aligarh Railway Station when some unknown people, whom she did not identify and whose names are not known to us-for aught we know, they might be her paid hirelingswent and reported to her something and told her that she alone is the only protector of India's Mualims She deliberately indulged in a halftruth, which is more dangerous than a falsehood. She did not tell us that Just before the chick-
mameaner election and onit the eve of the wlart of the riots in Aligarh, shen visited Aligarh. She visited Aligarh on the pretext of attending a wodding in a a friend's family. I hope somebody will take proper instruction and tell us whether this allegation is true or talse.
The second allegation is that, having gone to Aligarh, she was closeted in the secreat conclay meeting with the Commissioner of that place Mr. Tandon, whose name occurs very prominently in some of the newspaper reports about the Aligarh disturbances.
AN HON. MEMBER: Then why is the Administration sparing him?
SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I don't know why. No proper enquiry or investigation has proceeded on these lines that Mrs. Gandhi was present in Aligarh, shortly before the riots commenced, that she was present in Aligarh and talked to the law and arder authority in the region shortly before the riots commenced and that the riots commenced shortly before the Chickmagalur election and that. at the Chickmagalur election, she took the utmost, advantage of the riots xhich have taken place. If you make on investigation on these lines, you will come to realise that the riots could have been caused by the beneficlaries of the riots: and, in this case, the benefficiaries of the riots have been Mre. Gandhi directly and, indirectly, those who are her political followers. That to Mrs. Gandhi and her followers, ${ }^{h}$ er getting elected from Chickmagalur was a matter of life and death cannot be denied; that they had set a tremendous store on the Chickmagalur election that on that depended the politieal future of Mrs. Gandhh, cannot be denied. And it a tew innocent heads roll in blood, Mrs. Gandhi is not the one to give up that method if it advances her poiltical interests and gets her a few votes. Did it or did not happen that, to perpetuate herself in the mimergency, she did not mind thousands of heads of Muslims roling at various placee? I do
not wish to mientiort this agein beciause I do not Wish to pounselt on the wounds that are stlll fresh, I do not wish to touch spots which continue to be raw. But $i_{s}$ she or is she not a living example of the repudiation of Gandhijl's teachings that ends alone do not justity means, that the means, if they are impure, make the ends impure. She has always repuciated this thesis. To her it does not matter; so along as her interests are advanced, she will not mind if a few innocent lives are taken away in the process..

## SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF

 (Banglore North): On a point of order. Is he discussing how to curb communal riots or is he discussing Mrs Indira Gandhi?MR. CHALRMAN: Please sit down. Please do not interrupt.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Let me remind the House of the opportunism of Mrs. Gandhl and her Party which now makes accusations against the Janata Party and the RSS. Yesterday I found that their vociferous Member of Parliament, my very dear triend, Mr. Vasant Sathe, mentioned the Madan Report to which. I think, reference was made by Mr. Moht. Shan Qureshi also. The Madan Report indicated the Shiv Sena for having started the communal disturbance ${ }_{S}$ in Bhiwandi and at other places. Yet. they forgot all that and they entered into an electoral alliance with the Shiv Sena in the city of Bombay; throughout the Emergency, they remained in alliance with that communal organization and they continue to remain in alliance in the city of Bombay and in the State of Maharashtra. What has happened to those gallant leaders of the Muslims who are pretending to protect the rights of the: Muslims? They only talk, and when it comes to execution of princtples which they preach, the practice seems to depart vitally from their preachings.

MR: CHAIRMAN: Flease try to conclude. I have already rung the bell-
 sive me two ar suree manoitis moru?

MR CHAIRMAN: I have sume the bell to warn you that you have to wind up.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANL: An attack has been made upon the RSS. Sombody has told us that the RSS is receiving para-military training. 1 wonder how many of them have read the definition of 'para-military training'. What is para-military training? If taking up a lathi and learning a bit of lathi-practice or doing little bit of drill and improving your physique is para-military training. I think. Mrs Gandhi and the Congressmen will have to write a fresh dictionary because no dictionary will support this kind of a definition. And if they had the evidence that the RSS was receiving paramilitary training and they had that evidence. I presume, not for the first time after March 1977 hut before 1975, why did they wait until they decided to supplant democracy in this country or for the RSS to be banned in this country? Therefore, when they today make an affirmation that they have the evidence about their para-military training, it is a bogus claim, it is a false clatm. I do not belong to the RSS, I never belonged to it, and now in the evening of my life I do not propose to enter it either. But I muat say as a lawyer, that thare is no avidence and that the accusations are totally false.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Flease conclude. 1 am now calling the next speaker. Mr. George Mathew. Mr. Jethmalani. please resume your seat.

GHRI RAM TETHMALANL: 1 wil takie only one minute more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: 1 am morry. All Members have been cooperating.

SRRI RAM JETHMALANI: TMe Constitution of India ensures, by tis Constitutional phovisions, that there shaill to mecularismi.


 as comallarien enoury the wecular character of the country and the fundiompontay freedoms of all.

I now want to ask thome great chempions of Muslim rights this question: I ask Shri Banatwalla who sits there: When Article 14 was suspended what were they doing? Nobody at that time raised any finger against it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry, Mar. Jethmalani. I have called Shri George Mathew.

AN HON. MEMBER: YOu gave hall an hour to Mrs. Gandhi.

MR. CHAIRMAN: 1 am going partywise. I am going according to what time each party has got.

Now, Shri George Mathew.
SHRI GEORGE MATHEW (Muvattupuzha): Madam Chairman, it is really a sad thing that in the second half of this twentieth century such sorts of communal riots take place in this country. Uptil the Sixteenth century, wars have taken place in the name of religion. There have been many crusades and we have read from history books that crusades and many campaigns were conducted in the name of religion. During the firs half of this rentury we have soen Hitler systematically eliminating the Jews from Germany and other parts of Eurape. But now what has ihappened in Aligarh and other places is really a very shameful thing for this country.

Madam, 1 den't put the blame aquarely on any particular party-either the Janata party or the Congress party. But one thing 1 would lime to point out and it te this. The Minoritios Commission has sald deAnitely that the P.A.C. had a role in tt and they were acting actively acahnot the Musilims. I den't went to eso into the merits of this case as be wimo thas been yove caruse of an this, thecaune int proment an epop quiry is gime xo mito me wimole mitis.

Mumy Mola, Members bere have boen
 1 weador why the majortity comamuatity should have guah orgubisations or should encouragse such orgunitutians. If such organisations come up, what haypens if this. The minerities feel quite unsase and inmecure. In my State of Kerala all types of drills and other activities by the RSS in schools and other public places have been banned. In my opinion, other States should follow this example of Kerala. I am not eaying that this sort of discrimination is there only in the form of violence and violent acts towards the minority rommunity. My hon. friend Dr. Subramaniam Swamy said that the Parsi community. who are in a minority, are quite satisfed with the present state of affairs. I must say this, that when you speak about the minorities of the country you mostly consider only the Muslims who form a big part of the minority community, in this countwy. But what about the Christians who are also a part of the minority? The Christians are here for the past 2,000 years. They have been clamouring for certain rights from the very inception of our Republic. The Scheduled Castes persons are being given reservations and so on. Once they get converted to Christianity, they do not gel any reservations. Is it not discrimination in the name of religion? We have been clamouring from the very beginning that such discrimination should be avoided. But nothing has been done. This is a thing which has surprised me.

My hon. friend Shri Bala Pajanor has referred to Arunachal Pradesh's 'Freedom of Religions Bill. As per this Bill even-mere preaching of religion can be treated as an inducement. That is also considered to be an offence. According to this Bin Cbristianity is considered to be a foreign religion. $\mathrm{D}_{0}$ you consider Christianity to be a toreign melgion in lndia, when we have beon'here in this country for two thoumand yearst We were converted to Cariatiantty at the time of Christing St. Thoma and are called the Syrian

Clarlatians of KKerala. Thene convimsious had taluen place 2,000 years ago. Twonetores how can you comsicier Christianity as a foreign religion? How can we agree to such a thing? Surely you camot agree to that. The hoh, Prime Minister after visiting Arunochal Pradesh, made a statement that a Central legislation should be brought forward on the basis of Arunachal Pradesh Freedom of Religion Bill. It $i_{s}$ really shocking that the Prime Minister of our country should have taken this view. There is opposition from all the Christian leaders and the whole of Christian community in the counkry. There have been editorials in Kerala newspapers in this regard. So many editorials of the Kerala news papers have mentioned against the stand taken by the Prime Minister.

Madam. another thing I want to mention is that there is a rumour in Kerala that the present Central Government are discriminating asainst the interests of the Christian minority and the Muslim community. In this connection. I may point out that the Amendment to the Agrarian Reforms Act of Kerala regarding gift deeds has been sent to the Central Government for approval. The rumour is that the Central Government is not going to approve it because it protects the interests of the minority communities. It ahould be noted here that earlier for the same clauses clearance was given by the Central Government in 1970. Now, because there were certain defects in the wording of the Bill, it was nullified in the High Court of Kerala and just to thwart it, this Amendment was sent to the Centre and because of the Centre's non-clearance of this Amendment, the interests of the two minority communities are at atake. Is the Central Government not going to clear this Amendment to the Agrariun Hetorms Act? I bope the Janata Government will correct its present attitude and clear the Amendment ulbmittet to them so that the minority communition in Kerala get their due share and their ristits piotected. I welcome the Finite Minister's call for
[Shri George Mathew] an all-party Conference so that there can be a real exchange of views and ideas, so that the rights of all the minority communities in the country will be protected. For ail the present troubles, both the parties are to blume and I hope a meeting of all the political parties, groups and importent personalities will truly be a big step forward in this direction.
*SHRI A. V. P. ASAITHAMBL (Madras North): Madam Chairman, the communal conficts occurring frequently in India can be classiffed into two broad categories-conflicts between Hindus and Muslims and clashes between high-caste Hindus and Adidravidians. These conflicts are not of recent origin in our country. I should say that thev have a hoary tradition in India. We were deceiving ourselves. like the ostrich hiding its head under the sand, that the British rule was responsible for the beginning of communal eonflicts $i_{n}$ India, and the British Government did not take adequate steps to curb them and instead it thrived on the misery of the people. What is the sicture after 30 vears of independence?: Communal orgies are the order of the day. While this is a normal nhenomenon in North India. South Indin is a haven of communal harmony. There is no conflict hetween the Hindus and the Muslims; there are not anv clashes between Bratiminc and Dravilians. What is the reason for this happy state of affairs in South?

Even during the British days, the minorities were getting adequate protection. In Tamil Nadu, the Government have given statutory support to the rights of minorities and they are enabled to enjov their rights in an environrnent of peaceful understanding. In the North, whether it was the former Congress Government or it is the prement Tanata Government, no conscious efforts have been made to give protection to the intereats of minortcies. How was Pakistan created! Who
was responsible for the eruption of two-nation theory? Atter the sucpens of Congress Party in 1937, Pandit Nebru and other Congress leaders brushed aside the rightful claim of Janab Jinnah for equal representation in the Governments of the States. When the legitimate aspirations of the minorities were thwarted like this, they got emboldened to demand a separate homeland. Thus the concept of Pakistan took a pratical shape in the minds of Muslim naionalists of India. Shrimati Indira Gandhi stated in her speech that minorities must be given adequate representation in the Police. I wonder why she did not do it in her regime of a decade. It is inexplicable to me how the interests of minorities are being neglected. The entire Bihar is in flames because the Government in the State has come forward with a new policy of reservation of jobs for the backward classes and Hartjans. In this atmosphere of mutual mistrust and? intorelance how do you expect the minorities to live in peace and amitv?

The Congress Party was talkine. about the establishment of Ram Rajya in the rountry. The Janata Government, which claims to the the sole legnd heir of Mahatma Gandhi's herituge, talks about Ram Rajya. an utopian ideal of the Father of the Nation. It is neither democracy nor egalitartsnimm. It is based on the outmoder caste considerntions. Because Sambugar, was a non-Brahmin-this is an episode from Ramavana-he was strinner alive. as a non-Brahmin was not to be allowed to continue with his penance. If Ram Ralya is the frnal of the Central Government, then the Adi Dravidians will never be able to tive honourably in the country. The Muss lims who are nicknamed as milechas can never be free from the onslaught of communal frenzy.

Here I would like to quate from the Findu Centenary Beok, which refers

[^4]to the indomitable spirit of the great social reformer of Tamil Nadu, Thanthat periar Ramasamy. I would just read only four lines.
"In April, 1925, speaking at a public meeting at Salem, E.V.R. said that they settle the Brahmin question even while the British supremacy lasted: otherwise they would have to suffer under the tyranny of what $h_{e}$ called Brahmanocracy.
Instead of democracy, Brahmanocracy is there in our country. In 11 pro vinces. when the Congress Governments were formed in 1937, all the Chief Ministers were Brahmins. After Independence, during Pandit Nehru's rule. onl. Brahmins were ruling the Centre and the States. During Shrimati Indira Gandhi's regime also the Brahmins were the rulers. With this kind of Brahminism behind the administrative apparatus, how do you exneet that the Ardidravidians would get fustice and fairplay? The hon. Meminers who preceded me referred to Article 14 of the Constitution which speaks atout equality before law. The Tamil Nadu ©overnment enacted alaw which enabled the Dravidians also to hecome priests in the temples. which were the exclusive domain of Brah. mins. But the Supreme Court struck town this legislation. Where is equality hefore law as adumbrated in Article 14 of the Constitution?

Madam, in conclusion, I would like to demand that Uttar Pradesh, the seed bed of all communal conflicts. must be divided into two States so that the State administrations would effeclively safeguard the interests of minorities. If the Janata Government is not able to control the communal connigrations, as a separate nation for Muslims was created out of the Indian suh-continent. I am afraid that the day may not be far when a separate Dravidastan may become a reality.
With these few words. I conclude my theroch.

Mr. ChAIRMAN: I would like to inform the Members that the debate 3340 LS.-12.
should finish at 6.35. I hope, you will all cooperate. The Minister will speak first and then Shri Guha will reply.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA (Contai): How much time will the Minister take and how much time will you be good enough to give me to reply?

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA (Murshidabad): How much time are you going to give to the other Members?

MR. CHAIRMAN: The debate on this will end after the Minister has spoken and Shri Guha has replied.

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA: It is very wrong. We protest on behalf of all the minorities. The minorities are suffering in this country and you are not giving us time to mention their grievances here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat. Will you please resume your seats? What had happened was that the time allotted for this debale was 8 hours. Earlier it was 4 hours. but because of request from the House that we should extend it, the Speaker extended it. and dobuled the time to 8 hours. (Interruptions)

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA: We know it. Please extend it further.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may be knowing everything. I want to inform the other Members of this House. You are disturbing the House.

## SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:

It is a serions matter.
MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you kindly resume your seat? I am on my legs. It was because of the seriousness of the matter that the Speaker extended it to 8 hours. Speakers, according to the list given by the parties, have been called upon to speak. Some of the party speakers have taken a longer time. This has shut out some of the other Members of that Party. Everybady understand how serious it is. So, I have to inform you that the time is over. The Minister wil be speaking
[Mr. Chairman]
now. After that, Mr. Guha will reply 1 will also take up the substitute motion (Interruption) I would request Members to cooperate and wait till the reply is over.
SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA: I would request you to ask the Speaker.

MR CHAIRMAN: Only the House can extend the time. Interruptions;

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA: I make a request to the House.

PROF. DILIP CHAKRAVARTY (Calcutta South): I move that the House be pleased to extend the time allotted to this debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot put it to the House. if 5 people shout at the same time.

PROF. DILIP CHAKRAVARTY: I have aiready moved a Motion that time be extended.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Prof. Chakravarty, ynur colleagues will not give me an opportunity to put it to the House. You ask your colleagues to be silent. I want to put it to the House (Imterruptions).

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): Madam Chairman: I want to make this submission to the House, and especially to my esteemed colleagues on the ruling benches. Madam. you have now pleaded the fact that the Speaker has extended the time by $\$$ hours, and that, therefore, we have to close the discussion by 6.35. It always happens that the speakers whose names are last in the list, are shut out because the earlier speakers take more time. I take the point that some of my triends from the rulling party, particularly those belonging to minority communities, have not been able to speake; but in order to see that they get the chance, I would have liked the Government Chief Whip to have accommodated them. I am unable to understand how, because they could not accormodate them, this whole

House could be asked to axtend the time. I could have said that, because I have not spoken. We should abide by the time limit. If we go on extending the time, simply because some people are left out, I do not think it is good. I therefore request henceforth those colleagues who want to speak to persuade, not the House as a whole. but their respective hips. only a person like me who belongs to no party can request the Chair and the House, which in any case I am not doing today!

SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA: Madam, it is not a request of Members belonging to the minority community. The matter is very serious; the whole country is burning. It is a natinonal call and therefore it is one of the most heart rending and serious thing which is happening and it is this cause that we are debating. to put our hear!s together so that unity is brought about. I therefore appeal to you, not as a member of the minority community, not as belonging to the Janata Party, but belonging to the whole House. It is a national cause: it is a burning issue and the country is dying in shame and we should all put our heads down in shame. Therefore, I plead with you that time may be extended and we should not be bagged.
THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN. TARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): Madam Chairman, you have reminded the House of the history of the allotment of time for this debate.
SHERI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): Now it is a question of geography.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I know the hon. Member is interested in geography and statistics but at the moment we are interested in the history and the future of this debate I do not know whether the hon. Member is interested in either, or which one? Madam Chairman. you reminded the House that the Businob Advieory Committee had originally decided to allot tour hours for
the debate on this issue and subsequently because, many Members took up the matter with the hon. Speaker as well as the Business Advisory Committee, it was decided to double the allotment of time for this debate. I am entirely in agreement with the hon. Members who have said that this is a very important subject on which there must be full discussion. One is not quite sure when the discussion becomes full discussion and when it remains incomplete....

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Until I have spoken.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: With appropriate mutatis mutandis of the I'. Often times the entire debate on the demands for grants of the Home Ministry has been completed in this House in eight hours. Eight Hours have been devoted to this subject. I understand the anxiety of the many hon. Members want to take part in the debate: I can very well understand this. As far as this side of the House is concerned, you are aware from the list before you that perhaps there are 20 or 25 more hon. Members who wish to speak, and I have a suspicion that is we extend the time the list also will grow Therefore I plead with hon. Members to understand the difficulty in allotting time which the Business. Advisory Committee and the government face. Now in this session there is important legislation, including constitutional amendments which the qovernment wants to get through. Therefore, if the time for thls debate is extended, it may well be that we may not be in a position, neither the government nor the Business Advisory Committee to find more hours for a debate on this subject, during this session. I am not ruling it out but it may woll be that in the arrangement or schedule of business it may not be posilble to find time.

[^5]the time is extended by six hours, it may be that there are some members who wish to speak who may not be able to speak. Therefore, I plead with the House not to insist on increasing the time for this debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: But you would agree that the Minister's speech, Shri Guha's Motion and substitute motions are....
 वह्ट कब नक बसेगा. भूब से पेट उस रहा है ।
यो रवोग्र उर्मा : भगर यक्व का ऐसा
प्रस्तास है तो किर बोलने में कम ममय लगायें,
कम गमय लगायेंगे मों काम जल़ी बल्म हांगा।

I would say if the hon. members who have moved substitute motions are not insisting on their motions, then it may be possible for the House to sit for a longer while without compelling all hon. members to be around in the lobbies. If the hon. members who have moved substitute motions take this attitude, perhaps it may be possible to extend the time. Otherwise, I would say that if the House decides to extend the time, one cannot be sure when the debat will come up again.

## (Interruptions)

" MR CHAIRMAN: Prof. Chakravarty, do you withdraw your....
(Interruptions)
MR. CHAIRMAN: We will sit till the business of today is completed. All the Members who are leaving the House, even though they felt it Was an important subject, kindly do so without noise. Please do not be noisy.

[^6]
## ［听 घनिक बाल घंख्य］

जिन माननींय सवस्यों ने हस में भाज लिया意，ऐेसा तो नही कहा जा सकता कि सबने दूष में रकनाएक उंग के सुलाष बिसे हैं，कछ कागेष－ प्रह्यारोष मी हुए हैं，लेकिन मे उन में नहीं जा ऊया， कमांकि आरोप－प्रस्थिरोपों में जाने से हम उम का हुल महंं निकान काते हैं। इर्सालए अंा ग्रनारमक सुमाष दिये गये हैं，इन दंग़ों पर कात्यु पाने के लिए，₹न दग़ों को कम करने की लिए，हून हंगों को। सका की लिए समाप्त करने के लिए，पवस्प ही हैम उन पर गन्मीन्ना में बिचार करेंग़।

प्रधान मंली जी ने इम बहम में दिख्मा लेवे हृए यह घंखणा की है कि 17 fिमम्बर．को उन्होंने विगेध वक्ष के नसाभों घोर मकर मंन्तियों， को बाम करने के लिए यूलाया है। एस हैं चहल xपr्ट है कि प्रो० गुछ ने जो प्रम्नाब रला है मोर जा

 प्र户म－संक्यकों के घ्रन्दर वैदा हुत्रा है，बस्र धारो न बहे，देश में पूनः बँंगे का बनाबग्ण न बने－४न सद्य घातों को ध्यान में रल्य कर हो मग्कार ने पक्र सम्मेलन बुलाया हैं। छम में यहा भी स्पष्ट हो जाना
 रही है कि ओो घटनायें घटी है उन का प्रभाब आरते न पक़े घोर उन के राक्याम को चुरुत उपाय किए जाय，हग्गामी मक्ष्य म उन को ममार्त किया जाय－एन मब उहेश्यों को हृष्ट में गब्ब कर सरफार ने इस मम्मेलन को बलाया है।－ुस में हमान यह्द प्रयाम गहा है घौर कागे की होतोगा कि स चिषय पर एक नेशनल कर्न्येशस बने，नेणनल－ बिल बने प्रोर दंगे सका के fिता ममाल हैं，जिन को हमने माना है कि से हमते कित कल्यक की बान हैं，लज्ञा ची बान हैं घ्रोर घमं बी़ बान है।

हम मंदर्म में माननीय सदन्य ने तो रबनाएयक मुकाव विए हैं मै उन को fिण्वाम दिलाता हैं कि उम पर हैम कोग गक्षीरता मे बिघाए करेंगे । ये छो प्रारेप－प्रन्बारोप हुए है，कोगे का कारण क्या
 की सापरवाही भ्राडि की जिएली खतें कही़ गई हैं， ये सब छेसी कीज है कि मभी को मिला कर वेषा जाए हो घम मे एक हूसरे पर क्रारोंष प्रल्यागेष के घमाबा घीर क्रुछ नही है। इर्मलिए उस बियद में मैं नहीं बाजंता 1

परे० गक्षा ने ——ल बात बनाई है कि जत देत का पाटटमन क्या तो उम पाटियम मे एक क्रांप राज्य बना को व्योंटिक राज्य का। बंजमा









 उन्दुंने धपने fवार प्रकए किए हैं घोर कहा है कि प्या एक कमिसन बनाना काएिए जो समी बातों को เयान में रंत，न केषल सामाजिक，मीधणिक पिद्धरें－ पन को ही साधार बनाए वस्क धारिक विह पिपन को घी धाधार क्नाए । हय जों डनका ममाष है
 मब समस्याओों को हृल करने के लिण बकबं कलामम कमिक्रन का निर्टाण किया है घौग बह़ भपनो गाय
 बैकव＂नम को घयान हैं＂रबसे हुप बत्र चाइट्रोाराया बनाए ग्रोर ग़य हे कि क्या－क्या किया जा नक्या है हन लंगो के मिता
 मभी पार्यों के नेतास्रो समद़ मवन्यों का श़क पिनम बनाने की बान गक में की बी，तोर－चार महृीने पहले की बी उसका क्या हुषा है। म उनकों बमनामा चाहता है कि विंाध पष के वेनामों कोर घ्रधगन घंबी डी की जो आवर्बान है ई घं। उम में गी
 द्वसों के नेनाभों का，ओं संसद के भी मष्ष्य है， एक दमल बने जो हन म्पानों में जाएं उह्तां गत्मीर दंगे क्षोति है और उनके कारणों का पता वगाए， उनरी रांत्याम का ब्यबस्या करे नांक जल्दी से अल्यो किश मे कम्युनल हामंनी पेचा हो जएए， मैली，भाई चारे，मोमनम्य का बनाइ्रना विभिघ सम्र्रदायों में कैक्ष हो जाए। हम ग्रकार का प्रयाम कार्ने के लिए पैनल बनांते जी ओं बात बी यह हैठक उमी के लिए घाएत की गर्द है 17 नारेष सा घौर डूम पर उम में निण्णय के किया आतागा，यह विच्वान में उनकी दिलाना काहतना हैं।

को बनतबाला ने ता चाक बनाया क्ष f
 1976 के बाँ मे बढ़कर गए हैं। हक मम्बग्र में मुक्ने यही कह्तना है कि हमका प्रघान मंब ती अबाब
 प्रघाम यंबी जी की बाल ही पर्थिम बास मामी आएगी।

 करना काहते है，जिस कीष को ब कनलस्ट करना

 ह．，पुन：बह़ बढ़ता है，पुग：यह बटता है। 1977











 पकार के देख निया हैं। जहां चक जमाताला


 का हर्फाम न मगाये तां घ्रश्छा है।

नेना जी नें, गउ नागयण तां ने जो कातें कही हैं....

प्रो० लवर गुह : मेना जी की बान न करो, 77. बापलर्मी काली खन न करं। ।

की धरिक लाल मष्टल : में गतन नागयण की को बात काल गहा या ।

> प्रो० नमर पह :**

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Faridkol): Is that word** parliamentary?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will go through the proceedings and look into it.

भी धनिक लाल म०ुल : में छमको वायम
 नटी ।

मह्दोषय, जो किली संगठन पर श्रकिस्र्ध मगाने की बात कही गई उसके मम्बल्ब में छमना हो फहना जहना हैं fक जनलंक्न में उत्व मक हृ काम करती 7. गननाखिक स्य्यों के भनुमार काम कर्ने है तब नक किमी संगउने पर प्रमिसन्ध लगाना मक्ही बात नरी औरीजी ।

इसलिए मैं पाणक खितारों का क्याल रद्यत

 मुआाब माननीय मस्स्यों ने खिये है उन बर हुम लिखार प. रेंगे

MR. CHAIRMAN: Professor Samar Guha,

जी जी० एँ० बमानघाता (दोणामी) : मेने
 है?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Banstwalla, I want to point out to you that I had requested you yeaterdiny to kive it to the Miniteter permenilly so that you could get a repty from him. it cannot be latid on the Table of the Fiouse.
 कयों नहीं कहते कह् ?

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: Madam, I want a clarification. He has not said anything about the role of RSS, about Shri Kalyan Singh, who is the Minister of Health in UP, a known RSS man. What was he doing at the time of the Aligarh riots?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is under enquiry.

SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL: I have already given all the information.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: Madam, at the end of this marathon debate, in which 30 members participated, I can offer only one recipe, which will mitigate communal and caste violence almost drastically.

### 18.24 hrs.

[Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao in the Chair]

I find that the Opposition Memebers are going out.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Naidu is here, Mr. Nair is here; so also Mr. Banatwalla.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: If one single political recipe is accepted by all of us, this communal violence and caste violence can be mitigated drastically.

Will the Members of this House and all political parties agree that any reference, any mention of any kind of caste violence or communal violence or caste issue or communal issue will be made an election offence? If it is made an election offence, and accordingly if the Representation of People Act is amended to the effect that no reference either to any caste or communal problem would be allowed, you will see how drastically the communal and the caste troubles are mitigated in our country.

There has been a lot of chest-beating and lot of crocodile tears have

[^7]
## [Prof. Samar Guha]

been shed, but when I use the word, I use a very strong word with all sense of responsibility and consciousness that we indulge in some kind of political vulturism when we discuis the caste problems of minorities or of the Harijans or Adivasis. Our eyes, the eyes almost all the political parties. including ours I should say, are on how to catch the vote of the minorities. the vote of the Harijans and the vote of the Adivasis. Therefore, there is a competition among one another as to how to create an impression as to who are the better champions of the cause of the minorities or of the Harijans or Adivasis. Therefore, 1 would suggest that if you make an amendment in the Representation of People Act that any reference to caste or communal issue would be nade an election effence, you will see the result out of it.

EMPRI D. N. TIWARY (Gopaiganj): It is already there.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: No, but I say 'out of that'. By communal hatred. I mean reference of the communal issue, reference to the caste issue and reference of the Harijan issue. Make it a nation, issue, depoliticalise it, keep it above the political party and then you will sie how it can be done.

Madam. what a strange thing it is that not a Member of this House has maid that he was in Aligarh or in Hyderabad or anywhere and no Member of any political party has risked his or her life to save the life of a Aarijan or an Adivasi or a :ninority. The test is there. Don't take it that I am parading anything for myself, but I have earned the right to speak something about it. My half remains et Dacea and the other half is here. I was born and brought up at Dacca and I am here. I am a victim of ponitical communalism. I know what the feeling of the minorities is because I was, for many years, in Pakis$\tan$ jail also I can tell this House that in the 1946 Naokhali riots, when the police could not enter the riot area.

I with two of my Mustim students of Dacca college entered into that area for 5 days with the peace mission My life was endangered many timed and two Muslims saved me and when I reached back Chaumani, Acharya Kriplani, Sarat Chandra Bose, P. C. Ghosh and all these national leaders reached there 'and I communicated to them what actually hapened. It is known to Dacca people. Many times I was in the Hindu-Muslim processions, peaceful processions, to stop communal riots. When I was arrested and I was kept in a Pakistani jail in Dacca I interrogated the DG of police: "Why have you arrested me? Am I a fool? Yes, I was opposed to partition. It is easy to break a piece of glass just by a stroke, but it requires many hundred degrees temperature to melt it and fuse it to make it one I know, I had been in a revolutionary party, but I know it was the people's revolution for re-unification of Bangladesh or Pakistan with India. Why have you arrested me? Why have you kept me in detention?" Then, what was the answer? The answer was: "Samarbabu, you will mot be allowed to mix with Muslim boys." When I was in Dacca, in Pakistan, I used to observe Netaji's Birthday. Azad Hind Day and all days in which Fazlul Huq and all the Ministers presided over the meetings. For that reason, I can also say that in my constituency when I was elected form there, there was not a single instance of any caste violence, any violence against a Harijan, any violence against a custe Hindu or any violence against Muslim minorities.

I have the right to say. I would bave been happy if Mrs. Gandhi had said: "Yes, I have gone to Aligarh. I have faced the people, I have faced the rioters, the hooligans, the criminals." If she had said it, I would have given my satum to her. On the qontrary....

PROF DHLIP CHAYRAVARTY: Bhe organinet it.

PROF SAMAR GUHA: She muddled her maiden speech with the poison of political communalism. She said at the beginning of the speech that this communal issue should be treated as a nationl issue, it should be kept above politics. Then what did she do? She stooped so low as to say as if she was the only defender--she used the word--she posed herself as the only defender of the cause of minorities, Harijans, Advisis. It is ner language. She even went to the extent of saying that in her regime Muslims, Harijans and Aclivasis had at least the hearing of the ciovernment in regard to their grievances, but now they are not getting even a hearing.

My apprehension was tat this debate would turn into an armmonious accusation aganst each other. Everybody would appear to be more virtuous than the other. What have we done? We have proved to be more sinners. Have I not the statistics do I not know? I was born and brought up during the most critical period of our national life when there was commumal rioting all over the country. $D_{0}$ I not know what happened during the last few years? I did not cite a single incident about any communal happening. I did not cite any data or facts about any communal incident. Why? Because. Whether it happened during the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi or whether it haprens today, every Indian, every true Indian, nationalist Indian. who has faith in Indian ideology, in the outlook of Indian universality, in the ideology of the universal value of Indian synthesis, about faith, culture and religion, would feel; ashamed if there is any single incident of any violence against any minorlty or any Harijan or any Adivasi.

Mrs. Gandhi paraded herself as a great defender :of minorities. What did she do in the three elections? Going to Chickmagalur, she posed herself as a champion of Muslims and Harijans. Going to Samastipur and

Fatehpur, she became the champion. of the caste Hindus, the Brahmins, the Bhumidars, the Rajputs.

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Chittoor): She never said, I am very sorry.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: She criticised the reservation for backward classes, it is known to everybody. Not only that. She tried to instigate communal hatred in the minds of the Muslims minorities about Aligarh. Is that the way of really feeling for the minorities? As I said, like political vultures, most of the political leaders of the political parties exploit the miseries of the minorities; the miseries of the Harijans and the Adivasis. with an eye onily on their vote.

She was for eleven years ruling this country. I ask you, Nir. Chairman did she utter a single word about any constructive suggestion, any positive proposal, either economic or social or cultural or of any kind that her Government undertoak. For eleven years she ruled the country. She never took any positive steps or any constructive steps to deal with the problens of the minorities of Harijans or Advisis. She could at leastsuggest what step the Janate Government now should take. Did she make any single suggestion, any single constructive proposal that these are the things that the Janata Government should pursue? She mentioned about education a little but what did she do? I was there in this House when the Aligarh University Bill, without giving any notice, was passed, because at that time she wanted to placate the minorities. I tabled BO amendments and on each amendment 1 spoke. Let us make it an issue that no educational institution should be run in the name of any religion.

No educational institution having any comunal or religious affinity should get any kind of aid or help from the Central Government. I was opposed and I will be opposed to It. It will be

## [Prof. Samar Guha]

a conscience vote on my part. The first thing that this Governent should do, if they really want to change the history, is that name of Banaras Hindu University should be changed to Banaras University and the word 'Hindu' should be dropped. They should have the courage to change the name of Aligarh Muslim University to Aligarh University. Do you want 10 perpetuate the minorities in the name of religion? When you retain the word 'Hindu' what do you do? You are giving help to the University. The offer, the Government is instigating a separate identity and that is what the previous Government had done for thirty years, from the days of the great Nehru to those of the great daughter. they maintained the same thing.

Let there be a theological University. Let there be a University teaching only a theological subject. Let there be Aligarh University teaching a theological subject. Science-is it a communal subject? Arts-is it a communa] subject? Geography-is it a communal subject? Biology-is it communal subject? Engineering-is it a communal subject? Medical-is it a communal subject? Yet if we retain the minority character or the Hindu character I will oppose it. My party. I feel, has a tendency of competition because now if the Aligarh Muslim University Biy is passed just to give the minority character give them aid. bring the minority boys up. The minority boys, the economically backward class boys should also be included and the job security should be there not only for the scheduled castes but also for the poor minority boys, the julahas, the weavers and others. They should also be included. That is called the approach.

I am asking, is there any person in India who can say that he really established the emotional integration of the people? Only one person-it was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, only one in the history of this country. In the Azad Flind Fauj there was no distinc-
tion between Hindu, Muslim, sikh and Christian and there was socio-cultural revolution' Hindu temples in the whole of Malaysia and Burma were open for Muslims the Muslim mosques were open for the Hindus and the Gurudwaras were open for Hindus and Muslims.

I was trying and pressing them to have a film, it is only that wray you can see-Gandhiji was great, but even Gandhiji failed to achieve Hindu-Muslim Unity-only one person did it and it was with hlood not with slogans. not with speeches, but with the blood of the martyrs; Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian-all fought together, died together and shed their blood together. This saga of martyrdom christened emotion the philosophy and the ideal of Indian nationalims. I pressed and pressed them to have a film on Azad Hind Fauj. If you allow me a digression, in 1946, there were some peace meeting addressed because the Dacca communal riots were going on. It was arranged by a British Commissioner. The first meeting was to be addressec from the side of the Congress-I was then the Secretary of the Relief Com-mittee-and the Muslim Leauge. In the first meeting. in which 95 per cent of the audience were Musslims, about twenty to twenty five thousand people were there after the Muslim leauge leaders spoke, I spoke for an hour. I did not say anything. I spokiabout Netaji, how Netaji founded the Azad Hind Fauj and how Hindu. Muslim, Sikh and Christian-all shed their blood together. After the speech was over. I found that tears were rollink down in the eyes of thousands of persons. In the night. in the same place, when I was crossing thie river. a Muslim botman, he did not know me he was saying. that Babu. what he said if we are going to have a feeling of that type. there would be no Hindu-Muslim riots. Perhaps that wa: the best prize of my life. I did not disclose my identity. $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{t}}$ was dusk.

This House would be asmorer in know that $\ln$ 1946; Saridar Vallabhbhai Patel showed that firm on Axad Hind

Fauj all over the country. Now, after that, there had been several reprints, but all the reprints have been destroyed, not only withdrawn, but destroyed such a valuable document of the whole Azad Hind Movement, Azad Hind struggle. You will not find even a single print anywhere. It was done in whose regime? In Mrs. Gandhi's regime. I could not get even a single film about Azad Hind Movement.

Now they are talking a lot about RSS. What was the meaning of this debate? I am sorry that this debate was agreed upon because it has not helped us in any way either to create a sense of assurance of laith in the minds of minorities or the Harijans. But it has only aggravated and created new tensions; it has only created suspicious; it has only created some sort of a danger and it has only created a feeling as if in India the minorities, the Harijans and the Adivasis are in perpetual danger. Should it be the outcome of this debate? Should that have been the object of this debate?

During the debate, RSS was kept as a shikandi and the target was the Janata Party. With the stick of RSS, all of them tried to beat the Janata Party. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was here. I would have asked her, "Madam, after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, when RSS was banned, had there been no communal riots in India? Had there been no violence against the Harijans and the Adivasis? If RSS is responsible yor the communal riots, how could that happen? During all the wars, the three IndoPak wars and Indo-China war, your Government took the help of RSS in maintaining traffic, in helping poice and others, in giving aids and helps at all the stations all over India. Your Government did it. If RSS was so bad, what did you do? Why do you blame us? You have been in power for 11 years. Why did you not ban it? Why did you not outlaw it? Why did you not take the sternest steps against it? If para-militia train- $_{\text {in }}$ ing is given with lathis, what is your

Congress Seva Dal doing? How are they being given training? In all the meetings, they have lathis in their hands. If the lathi is the symbol of para-militia training, then the Congress Seva Dal would also have been equally guilty". If there had been any Hindu having been affected by Hindu rashtravad by anybody, the Hindu Mahasabha pream ched and is still preaching Hindutav every month that book is coming out. For 700 years, we were under the rule of Mughals and Pathans. There were only 15 per cent Muslims in Delhi. That means, you had something of the Indian culture, of art and music, as we find today, and it was the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture. There was the Sufism, the Nanak, the Kabir and the Dadu. What did they preach? It is that aggressive nature of the Islam. If it has got any lesson, it has got the lesson in India. They were conquered in a way by the soul of India, by the concept of universal brotherhood of India, by the concept of Sarvadharam Samanvaya. That is the concept of India. That is the achievement. No Hindutav. no Islamism can curb the spirit of India.

She could do it. She could take positive steps. Why did she not take any positive steps? There have been so many communal riots. Can any political party say that the hand of any member of theirs is not soaked to the innocent blood of any community? I know, in 1946, what happened. Even the two communist leaders, and I know, Abdul Halim, was saying one day frantically, "What has happened? 1 cannot trust my Hindu comrade working together for 20 years, for 30 years, for even 40 years." That was the feeling that was created at that time.

Supposing any member of any political party is found to be involved in any incident, then the whole political party is to be blamed. Give us the

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name. If anybody in the Janata party is atill found to belong to RSS or it is found that ine has taken part in any communal offence or caste offence or Adivasi offence, eher we expel him or men like us will be expelled from the party. There is no quarter in the Janata Party for any communalism or any casteism. Either Janata Party will exist or communalism and casteism will exist. The two cannot exist together. Therefore, those who accuse, they accuse us only for policical purposes, for nothing else.

I have almost concluded. One word and I will finish. I have an appeal to make through the hon. Minister to the Prime Minister and to all Members including the absentee Members. Would we pledge to observe a Na tional Unity Day for the emotional integration of the Indian people? Would we fix up a day and on that day would we take a pledge that (1) we would de-politicalise communal, caste and Adivasi issues; (2) we would not issue any statement in the name of any political party; and (3) we shall act jointly in communal. caste or any kind of violence and we shall work and act jointly as in the National Integration Council. Would we take this pledge?

Many biographers of Gandhiji missed one important aspect. Since $\mathrm{Se}-$ ptember, 1945, Gandhiji, in his prayer meetings, did not project the image of any person except one person, and that person was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. On innumerable occasions, he was praising the achievement of national unity by him. fow he brought together people of various castes, creeds, communities, regions, languages and what not.
I would draw your attention to the last speech of Mahatma Gandhi on 23rd January, 1948. It was the last speech of Mahatma Gandhi. Most of the biographers missed it. It was about Netaji Subash Chandra Rose. Gandhiji said: Neither do I observe
my own birthday, nor do I observe the birthday of any person; I do not believe in the birthday of anybody; but this is the birthday of a person who symbolises the concept of national unity and whose achievement will remain immortal because he has shown how the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs can live together and die together and how to build the concept of one, indivisible nationalism.' It is on record. I would make this appeal: let the 23rd January, 1979, the birthday of Netaji Subash Chandra Fuse be observed as the National Unity Day with the object of creating a feeling of emotional integration of the Indian people-with that immortal slogan of Netaji, Itiefaq. Etemad and Qurbani, Unity. Faith and Sacrifice for the future of Indian nation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We take up the Substitute Motions moved by the hon. Members. I would, first, like to know the intention of the hon. Menbers. whether they want to withdraw or they are pressing.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: I shall make an appeal. The Prime Minister has agreed, and he is convening a meeting of leaders of all political parties. I will make a request that all their thinking and suggestions should be taken into consideration.
MR. CHAIRMAN: Most of the Mem:hers are absent. If they are absent. I will have to put their motions to vote. First of all, we take up Substitute Motion No. 2, moved by Shri Harikesh Bahadur. He is absent. So. I shall put his motion to the vote of the House.
Substitute Motion No. 2 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Substitute Motion No. 5. Mr. Baldev Singh Jasrotia.

## SHRI BALDEV SINGH JASROTIA (Jammu): Sir....:

MR. CHAIRMAN: Under the rules you cannot speak now. Please tell me whether you are pressing or withdrawing.

SHRI BALDEV SINGH JASROTIA: There is no option for me except to withdraw. I would like to withdraw my Substitute Motion.

Substitute Motion No. 5 was, leave withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Substitute Motion No. 6. Dr. Ramji Singh.

DR. RAMJI SINGH (Bhagalpur): I would like to withdraw my motion.

## Substitute Motion No. 6 was, by leave witdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Substitute Motion No. 7. Mr. Raj Krishan Dawn. He is not present. I shall put his Substitute Motion to the vote of the House.

Substitute Motion No. 7 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Substitute Motion No. 8. Mr. B. C. Kamble. He is absent. I shall put his Substitute Motion to the vote of the House.

## Substitute Motion No. 8. was put and negateived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Substitute Motion No. 14. Dr. Subramaniam Swamy . He is not present. I shall put his Sulsstitute Motion to the vote of the House.

Substitute Motion No., 14 was nut and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri Rudolph Rodrigues, He is not here. I have to put his substitute motion to the vote of the House. This is serial No. 16. The question is:

[^8]that the Government should urgently evolve the practice of suo motu placing before Parliament a statement on any communal disturbance as soon as possible after its occurrence anywhere in the country. impose collective tines on the people of the areas affected, ensure more than adequate minority representation in the police personnel in communal trouble spots, hold officers responsible for law and order accountable for communal disturbances in their areas, while taking immediate steps to give the police forces in the country a proper motivational trust, forthwith ban all provocative communal activities emanating from any quarter whatsoever. and periodically call together all religious and cultural groups to foster a spirit of oneness in our land." (16)

The motion was negatived.
MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, last but not the least-substitute motion by Shri Banatwalla. This is item No 17.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: I appeal to the House to accept my substitute motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are pressing?

SHRI G M. BANATWALLA: It is not to be withdrawn. I am sure the House will accept it.

MR. CHATRMAN: I am putting it to the vote. The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:-
This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent communal riots in different parts of the country, expresses its serious concern on the rising trend and increasing intensity in the communal riots in different parts of the country and the continued insensitivity of the Government thereto, and recommends to the Government to take appropriate measur$e_{s}$ in the matter including among

## [Mr. Chsirman]

others the creation of such a special anti-riot force at the Centre, and securing of such a restructuring of Provincial Armed Constabularies and law and order machinery in the States, as would have adequate inclusion of Muslims and other minorities." (17)

DECEMMBER 5, 197\% ing of recent 376 communal riots (Motm)
The motion was negatived.
MR. CHAIRMAN: The discussion has concluded. The House stands adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11 A.M. 18.52 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, December 6, 1979/Agrahayana 15. 1900 (Saka).


[^0]:    Now, I would ilke just to say a word about the Aligarh Musim University, hecause this was mentioned by come hon. Membert.

[^1]:     कीजिएे है।

[^2]:    We have so many problems in this country which we have inherited, communalism, casteism and so on Which create divisions. From these come groups; from these come inter${ }^{n a l}$ quarreis, dividing and sub-dividing all the while. We have got to give up this sort of divistion and take to the spirit of integration and unity.

[^3]:    So, it is clear. Now, I do not want to go into that in detall. But the one point I want to emphasice is that on an earlier occasion the Res involvement in the communai siots was identifled by many Commattoes and Commissions of Inquiry. Brt the eltuation has become all the more, worve today.

[^4]:    ortie original apeech wis delivered in Tamill.

[^5]:    This is a risk one hin to run. fiom. Members will realle thit even if

[^6]:    
     हए समम्रधायिक ंंतों पौर उन से उस्तण स्थिखि पर विभार फरने के लिए है। उस प्रस्ताब ती मीचा गह हो कि हु पात़े हस तरह की सहतामों पूर तोक सका उुले, उल को कम कर सेके, उन को सका
     असाए को वही पर लाये है क्षोर क्ष क्जए क्र
    

[^7]:    "Expunged ondered by the Chair.

[^8]:    "That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:-
    "This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent communal rots in different parts of the country, strongly feels

