

SHRI PILOO MODY : There is no attempt to guide Mr. Banerjee. He is a guileless missile. I am only trying to guide you, Sir.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुबनी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जो डिस्कशन है वह डिस्कशन अन्डर रूल 193 है। उपाध्यक्ष जी, आप जानते हैं कल युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन संशोधन विधेयक पर विचार की फर्स्ट स्टेज खत्म हो गई है। सेकंड रीडिंग और थर्ड रीडिंग पर एक घण्टे से ज्यादा नहीं लगेगा। यह बीच में आपने डिस्कशन लाद दिया है। अच्छा तो यह होता कि युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन का बिल पहले पास कर दिया जाता और उसके बाद इसको लाते। आपको पूरा अधिकार है, आप चाहें तो इसको एक घण्टे बाद भी ले सकते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : As you know very well, the business of the House is arranged by the Speaker and I understand that this was done on a decision of the Business Advisory Committee.

Therefore, I think we should continue with it. Mr. Vajpayee.

14.53 hrs.

DISCUSSION *Re* : SITUATION ARISING OUT OF RECENT COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTRY

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी अनुमति से मैं देश के विभिन्न भागों में हुए साम्प्रदायिक उपद्रवों से उत्पन्न स्थिति पर विचार आरम्भ करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं आज कुछ साफ-साफ बातें करना चाहता हूँ। अब चिकनी चुपड़ी बातें करने का बखत नहीं रहा। परिस्थिति गम्भीर है।

देश की एकता दांव पर लगी है। सांप्रदायिकता के ज्वार में राष्ट्र की नौका डगमगा रही है। पानी हमारे सिर तक पहुंच गया है। आवश्यक है कि हम सारी परिस्थिति पर गम्भीरता से सोचें और इस स्पष्टवादिता का आश्रय लेकर अपने विचार सबन के सामने रखें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एक संयोग है कि भिवांडी महाराष्ट्र में है। यह भी एक संयोग है कि इस समय महाराष्ट्र में इंडिकेट की सरकार है। लेकिन इन संयोगों का वहां पर हुए साम्प्रदायिक उपद्रवों से कोई सीधा सम्बन्ध नहीं है। भारत के किसी भी नगर में भिवांडी हो सकता है, किसी भी सरकार के अन्तर्गत साम्प्रदायिकता का दावानल फूट सकता है। अभी बिहार में चायबासा में साम्प्रदायिक उपद्रव हुआ था, बिहार में इंडिकेट की सरकार है। जब बिहार में राष्ट्रपति का शासन था तब भी वहाँ 70 के करीब साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुये थे। पश्चिमी बंगाल में, जहाँ संयुक्त मोर्चे की सरकार सत्ता में थी, साम्प्रदायिक उपद्रव हुए, जिनकी संख्या करीब 25 थी। कलकत्ते में, हावड़ा में, तैलानीपाड़ा में, जगतदल में साम्प्रदायिकता की चिनगारियाँ भड़कीं, जान और माल का नुस्खान हुआ। अभी 19 अप्रैल को मैसूर के चामराजनगर में छोटे छोटे बच्चों के जुलूस पर 300 गुंडों ने संगठित आक्रमण किया। चामराजनगर से पहले चिकमंगलूर में, रामनगर में, चेन्नापटना में दंगे हो चुके हैं। मैसूर में इस समय सिडिकेट की सरकार है। मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे कहीं भी, कभी भी और किसी भी शासन के अन्तर्गत हो सकते हैं। इसलिए अहमदाबाद में दंगा हो जाय तो गुजरात की सरकार को बलि का बकरा बनाया जाय, महाराष्ट्र में दंगा हो जाय तो महाराष्ट्र में इंडिकेट का शासन है, उसकी खबर ली जाये—यह कुछ मात्रा में आवश्यक हो सकता है—लेकिन इसके

समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है।

गुजरात में सरकार ने भूखें की थीं, उनकी आर हमने अपनी उंगली उठाई थी और भिबंडी में महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने जो गलतियों की हैं उन का भी हम इस सदन में उल्लेख करेंगे। लेकिन मेरे कहने का अभिप्राय इतना ही है कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे पार्टी का प्रश्न नहीं है। आज देश की स्थिति ऐसी है कि कहीं भी उपद्रव हो सकता है, प्राज जनता की मनःस्थिति ऐसी है कि कहीं भी हिंसा, हत्या और अग्निकाण्ड का आश्रय लेकर कानून और व्यवस्था को भंग किया जा सकता है। हमें इन दंगों को पार्टी का चश्मा उतार कर देखना होगा, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि कामरेड डाँगे चश्मे को उतार कर इन दंगों को देखें मुझे खुशी है कि उन्होंने अपना चश्मा उतार लिया—दलगत स्वार्थों को अलग रख कर इस पर विचार करना होगा, बोटों की चिन्ता को छोड़कर राष्ट्र को बचाने की चिन्ता करनी होगी।

अहमदाबाद के दंगों के बाद जिन्होंने गुजरात सरकार के त्याग-पत्र की माँग की थी, और उनमें मैं अपने संयुक्त समाजवादी मित्रों को शामिल नहीं करता, मेरा इशारा किधर है यह स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिये, आज वह महाराष्ट्र की सरकार से त्याग पत्र नहीं माँग रहे हैं। क्या अहमदाबाद में जो खून बहा था वह खून था और भिबंडी में जो बहा है वह पानी है? क्या साम्प्रदायिकता को नापने के अलग अलग गज होंगे? क्या अहमदाबाद, भिबंडी और जलगांव में मरने वाले भारतीय नहीं हैं? क्या इस राष्ट्रीय महत्व के प्रश्न पर भी हम दलगत स्वार्थ से ऊपर नहीं उठ सकते? हम देश की एकता को विचार कर के नहीं चल सकते? यह विवाद इस बात को साबित करेगा कि यह सदन, इस सदन में जिन दलों को प्रतिनिधित्व मिला है वह दल और उन दलों के प्रवक्ता इस महत्वपूर्ण

समस्या पर कैसा दृष्टिकोण अपनाते हैं। हमें सच्चाई का सामना करना होगा, सच्चाई कितनी भी कठोर हो, कितनी भी भयानक हो, उसका उद्घाटन करना पड़ेगा। आज लाग लपेट से काम नहीं चलेगा, किसी के पाप के ऊपर पर्दा डालने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

पहला प्रश्न यह है कि इन दंगों को आरम्भ कौन करता है (व्यवधान), दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि यह आरम्भ क्यों किये जाते हैं, तीसरा प्रश्न यह है कि यह दंगे क्यों फैलते हैं और चौथा प्रश्न यह है कि इन दंगों को रोकने के लिए कौन से अल्पकालिक और दूरगामी उपाय किये जाने चाहिये। दंगों को आरम्भ कौन करता है इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना, लेकिन यह मंत्रालय ने जो रिपोर्ट तैयार की है, वह मेरे पास है, अगर आप इजाजत दें तो मैं उस रिपोर्ट को टेबल पर रखने के लिए तैयार हूँ। राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता परिषद की एक सब-कमेटी बनी थी, साम्प्रदायिकता की समस्या पर विचार के लिए श्री नाथ पाई उस समिति के सदस्य थे। उसके लिए भारत सरकार ने एक रिपोर्ट तैयार की, जिसमें देश में डेढ़ साल में हुये प्रमुख दंगों के कारणों की जांच और उनका विवरण दिया गया था। उस काल में 23 दंगे हुये और यह मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार उन 23 दंगों में से 22 दंगों का आरम्भ उन लोगों ने किया जो अल्पसंख्यक सम्प्रदाय के माने जाते हैं। यह रिपोर्ट अभी तक प्रकाश में नहीं आई है, मगर यह प्रकाश में आनी चाहिए।

इन 23 दंगों में कलकत्ता, नागपुर, औरंगाबाद, कटक तथा देश के कुछ और भागों के दंगे भी शामिल हैं, इलाहाबाद का मऊ नाथ भंजन। मैं मानता हूँ कि यह मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट राज्य सरकारों से प्राप्त रिपोर्टों के ऊपर आधारित है। लेकिन राज्य सरकारों की रिपोर्टें तथ्य पर आधारित होनी चाहियें, और तथ्य पुकार पुकार

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

कर कहते हैं कि इन दंगों को प्रारम्भ करने वाले हमारे कुछ मुसलमान मित्र थे।

जब मैं यह कहता हूँ कि कुछ मुसलमान मित्र थे तो मैं बाकी के मुसलमानों को अलग कर देता हूँ। सब मुसलिम सम्प्रदाय दंगे नहीं चाहता। मुसलमानों में देश भक्त भी हैं, मुसलमानों में अमन पसन्द भी हैं। जो रोटी रोजी के लिए मजदूरी कर के बीबी बच्चों का पालन करते हैं। वह हिंसा, हत्या और अग्निकाण्डों से खेल नहीं खेलना चाहेंगे। मगर मुसलमानों में एक वर्ग जरूर है, और आज यह बात डंके की चोट पर कहने की जरूरत है, जो देश में साम्प्रदायिकता लाना चाहते हैं। आज हम तथ्य पर पर्दा डालने की गलती न करें। एक वर्ग जरूर है जो दंगे की आग भड़काता है, जो चिनगारी लगाता है। यह बात मैं अपनी तरफ से नहीं कहता, यह रिपोर्ट है।

इस रिपोर्ट के आने के बाद 2 जून को इन्दौर में दंगा हुआ, जहाँ मास्टर चांदगी राम के जुलूस को 300 लोगों ने मुसलिम मोहल्ले में रोकने की कोशिश की। यह भी गृह मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट है। उसके बाद जगतदल में दंगा हुआ जहाँ श्री दुर्गा श्री महावीरजी के जुलूस पर मस्जिद पर पथराव किया गया। तत्पश्चात् चायवासा में दंगा हुआ जहाँ रामनवमी के जुलूस पर बम से हमला किया गया।

अब मैं भिवंडी की तरफ आना चाहता हूँ। भिवंडी बम्बई से 35 मील दूर है। भिवंडी में मुसलिम बहुसंख्या है। कई सालों से भिवंडी नगरपालिका का अध्यक्ष एक हमारा मुसलिम भाई होता आया है। इसमें कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं है। भिवंडी में गणेश उत्सव को लेकर या शिवाजी जयन्ती को लेकर कुछ कुछ तनाव हर दम पैदा होता रहता है। दो तीन साल पहले जब से महाराष्ट्र के हमारे कांग्रेसी नेताओं

ने शिवाजी जयन्ती समारोह में बड़े उत्साह से भाग लेने का संकल्प किया, भिवंडी के हमारे मुसलिम भाइयों का रवैया भी बदला। शायद उन्होंने सोचा होगा कि शिवाजी हमारे राष्ट्रीय नेता हैं, उनकी जयन्ती है इसलिए हमको भी भाग लेना चाहिए। भिवंडी की जनता ने इस का स्वागत किया। लेकिन इस बार जयन्ती से कुछ दिन पहले भिवंडी के 30, 35, 37 प्रमुख मुसलमानों ने शिवाजी जयन्ती जुलूस पर कुछ शर्तें लगाने की कोशिश की।

शर्तें लगाने की कोशिश क्यों की गई? क्या ये लोग तय करेंगे कि शिवाजी जयन्ती का जुलूस निकलना चाहिए या नहीं? क्या ये लोग तय करेंगे कि शिवाजी जयन्ती का जुलूस किन रास्तों से निकलना चाहिए? क्या ये लोग तय करेंगे कि शिवाजी जयन्ती का आयोजन करने वाले किस तरह के नारे लगायें?

मुझे आश्चर्य है—और खेद भी है—कि गृह मंत्री, श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण ने, जो इस समय सदन में नहीं हैं—वह रोग-शैया पर हैं—, राज्य सभा में यह कहा कि वे शर्तें ठीक थीं। उन को यह बात नहीं कहनी चाहिए थी। क्या कोई स्वाभिमानी समाज ये शर्तें मान सकता है? और वे शर्तें क्या थीं? एक शर्त तो यह थी कि छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज की जयन्ती के जुलूस में भगवा झंडा नहीं रहेगा। क्या भगवा झंडा शिवाजी महाराज का झंडा नहीं है? क्या तिरंगे से पहले इस देश में कोई झंडा नहीं था? क्या हम गांधीजी की कल्पना बिना तिरंगे के कर सकते हैं? सेंट्रल हाल में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का जो चित्र लगा हुआ है, उस की पृष्ठ भूमि में तिरंगा है। अगर तिरंगे के बिना गांधीजी की कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती है, तो भगवे झंडे के बिना शिवाजी महाराज की भी कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती है।

फिर भगवे भंडे से मुसलमानों का क्या विरोध है ? क्या इस्लाम कहता है कि भगवा रंग बुरा है ? क्या कुगन में लिखा है कि भगवे रंग का विरोध करना चाहिए ? देश की स्वाधीनता के बाद यदि कांस्टीटुएण्ट एसेम्बली यह फैसला कर देती कि भारत का भंडा भगवा होना चाहिए, तो क्या भारत के मुसलमान बगावत करते ? फिर भी मिबंडी में यह शर्त लगाई गई कि शिवाजी जयन्ती के जलूस में भगवा भंडा नहीं रहना चाहिए । और शिवाजी महाराज का उत्तराधिकारी होने का दावा करने वाले श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण कहते हैं कि ये शर्तें ठीक थीं ! हिमालय की रक्षा के लिए आने वाले सहयोगियों का कितना पतन हो गया ! शिवाजी जयन्ती के जलूस से शिवाजी महाराज के भंडे को अलग करने की मांग कभी नहीं मानी जा सकती है । और मुझे खुशी है कि मिबंडी के चर्चे मराठियों ने इस मांग को मानने से इन्कार कर दिया ।

दूसरी मांग यह रखी गई कि गुलाल न उड़ाया जाये । क्या आपत्ति है गुलाल पर ? गुलाल अनुराग का प्रतीक है । अनुराग का रंग लाल होता है । जब हम आनन्द में होते हैं, तो गुलाल उड़ाते हैं । गुलाल का धार्मिक जलूस से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है । जब मैं अहमदाबाद गया था, तो वहाँ एक लाख लोगों का जलूस निकला और अहमदाबाद के लोगों ने मुझे गुलाल से लाल कर दिया । वह एक राजनैतिक दल का जलूस था । अगर शिवाजी जयन्ती के जलूस में थोड़ा सा गुलाल फँक दिया जाये, तो क्या किसी को आपत्ति होनी चाहिए ?

एक शर्त यह लगाई गई कि जलूस किन रास्तों से जायेगा, यह हम तय करेंगे । दोनों पक्षों की जो बँठक बुलाई गई, उस में नगर-के अध्यक्ष नहीं आये । जिन प्रमुख मुसलमानों ने पत्रक निकाला था, वे भी नहीं आये । लेकिन बाद में कहा गया कि हम अपनी शर्तें वापिस

लेते हैं । अब मुझे लगता है कि शर्तों को वापिस लेने का वह कदम एक नाटक था, एक जाल और धोखा था, जिस का उद्देश्य था हिन्दुओं का असहान कराना और महाराष्ट्र की सरकार को गफलत में डालना । और उन लोगों का वह उद्देश्य पूरा हो गया ।

अब कहा जाता है कि जलूस में गड़बड़ इस लिए हुई कि जलूस में भाग लेने वाले कुछ लोगों ने अनधिकृत नारे लगाये । ये अनधिकृत (अनएथाराइज्ड) नारे क्या थे ? कितने लोगों ने वे नारे लगाये ? समाचारपत्रों से ज्ञान होता है कि मुट्ठी भर लोगों ने लगाये । दस पंद्रह हजार के जलूस में कुछ लोग ऐसे निकल सकते हैं, जो निश्चित नारों से अलग नारे लगायें । उन नारों के ऊपर रोष होना भी मैं समझ सकता हूँ । जो चन्द मुसलमान जलूस में शामिल थे, वे उस से अलग हो सकते थे, अगर उन नारों पर बड़ी आपत्ति थी, तो वे दूसरे दिन भिवडी में शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से हड़ताल कर के अपना रोष प्रकट कर सकते थे । वह महाराष्ट्र सरकार के पास जा कर यह माँग कर सकते थे कि इस तरह के नारे लगाने वालों के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए । लेकिन उन्होंने नारों का बहाना बना कर जलूस पर हमला कर दिया । जब जलूस फिश मार्केट की सकरी सड़क पर गया,....

श्री सीताराम केसरी (कटिहार) : वे नारे क्या थे ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: मुझे मालूम नहीं है । सरकार पता लगाये । जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा है, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वे क्या नारे थे । लेकिन गलत नारे लगाये जाते हैं, इस लिए किसी को जलूस पर हमला करने के अधिकार नहीं दिया जा सकता है । अहमदाबाद में भी गलत नारे लगे थे—“जो इस्लाम से टकरायेगा, वह चूर चूर हो जायेगा”—, मगर उस

[श्री घटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

जलूस पर किसी ने हमला नहीं किया। किसी को कानून को हाथ में लेने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती है।

किन्तु जलूस पर हमला हुआ और उस के साथ भिवंडी शहर में जगह जगह पर आग लगाई गई। हमला होना और आग लगाना एक साथ हुआ।... (व्यवधान) ..इस्माईल साहब पूछते हैं कि आग किस ने लगाई। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि भ्रामग हिन्दू मुहल्लों में लगाई गई। मैं उन मुहल्लों के नाम गिना सकता हूँ, लेकिन उस की जरूरत नहीं है। यह स्पष्ट है कि जलूस पर हमला करने की तैयारी थी और पहले से सामान इकट्ठा किया गया था। यह धारणा थी कि लोग जलूस में चले जायेंगे और मुहल्लों को जला कर खाक कर दिया जायेगा।

पहले से तैयारी थी, इस के और भी प्रमाण हैं। दंगा करने वालों ने पानी काट दिया, बिजली काट कर भिवंडी को अंधेरे में धकेल दिया, टेलीफोन के सम्बन्ध तोड़ दिये। आग बुझाने के लिए जो फायद ब्रिगेड के इंजिन आये, उन को बम और पत्थर मार कर रोका गया। फायर ब्रिगेड का जो एक इंजिन कल्याण से आया, उस को चलाने वाले की छाती में भाला मार दिया गया और वह इंजिन भिवंडी में अग बुझाने के लिए नहीं आ सका। क्या ये काम बिना तैयारी के हो सकते हैं? जो हथियार पकड़े गये और जो भिवंडी के थाने में देखे जा सकते हैं, उन में नये बने हुए भाले हैं और मालोटीव काकटेल हैं—बोटल में पेट्रोल भर दिया और ऊपर कपड़ा लगा दिया, कपड़े को आग लगा कर उस बोटल को फेंक दिया, वह बोटल गिरेगी, पेट्रोल फैलेगा और आग लग जायेगी। इस तरह सारा भिवंडी शहर जल कर राख हो गया।

कांग्रेस के मित्र भी उस क्षति से नहीं बचे हैं। भिवंडी हथकरघों और पावरलूम के कारखानों का एक बड़ा केन्द्र है। हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्र जो कारखाने चलाते हैं, वे भी राख में बदल गये हैं। एक डा० भ्राचार्य बारह बँड का अस्पताल चलाते थे और उन के 99 फीसदी मरीज मुसलमान थे। उस अस्पताल को भी खाक कर दिया गया।

सवाल यह है कि महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने इस सम्बन्ध में क्या किया? भिवंडी बम्बई से 35 मील दूर है। शहर में तनाव हो रहा है, कुछ प्रमुख नागरिकों ने शिवाजी जयन्ती के जलूस के बारे में शर्तें लगाई हैं और उन शर्तों के कारण जनता का मानस उत्तेजित है, क्या महाराष्ट्र सरकार को यह पता नहीं था? क्या महाराष्ट्र सरकार उन 35 या 37 नागरिकों को जेल में बन्द नहीं कर सकती थी? क्या महाराष्ट्र सरकार जलूस के लिए प्रबन्ध नहीं कर सकती थी? गृह मंत्री, श्री चव्हाण, ने कहा कि वहाँ पर पुलिस के सात सौ आदमी थे? क्या आप को मालूम है कि उस सात सौ आदमियों के पास बन्दूकें नहीं थी? बाद में बम्बई से जो पुलिस भेजी गई, उस को भी बन्दूकें नहीं दी गई। उन के हाथ में बन्दूकें नहीं थीं, लेकिन उन को गोली चलाने का आर्डर दिया गया। तो क्या वे चूर्ण की गोली चलाते? महाराष्ट्र सरकार को इस बात का जवाब देना होगा कि जो पुलिस वहाँ भेजी गई, उस के पास बन्दूकें क्यों नहीं थीं? गोली चलाने का आदेश दिया गया, लेकिन गोली चलाने के लिए बन्दूकें नहीं थीं।

स्वयं मुख्य मंत्री, श्री वसन्त राव नायक को बम्बई से भिवंडी पहुंचने में चौबीस घण्टे लगे। 7 तारीख को विरोधी दलों के नेताओं ने मुख्य मंत्री को टेलीफोन करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन सफल नहीं हुए। फिर भी कल्याणराव

पाटिल को, जो गृह विभाग में राज्य मंत्री हैं, टेलीफोन किया गया। कहा गया कि राज्य मंत्री महोदय निद्रा में निमग्न हैं। भिवंडी जल रहा था, वहाँ पर होलिका-दहन का दृश्य हो रहा था और महाराष्ट्र के मंत्री अक्षरशः सो रहे थे। क्या यह तरीका है साम्प्रदायिकता से निपटने का ?

मैं यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि भिवंडी में फौज क्यों नहीं बुलाई गई। अगर जलगांव में फौज बुलाई जा सकती है, तो भिवंडी में क्यों नहीं? अगर जलूस पर हमला होते ही फौज बुला ली जाती, सशस्त्र पुलिस तैनात कर दी जाती, जिन घरों के बारे में लोग बता रहे थे कि उन में हथियार हैं, अगर उन की तलाशी ली जाती, तो भिवंडी में जो दारुण दृश्य हमें देखना पड़ा है, वह दिखाई न देता। लेकिन महाराष्ट्र सरकार उदासीन रही, कर्तव्य-पालन में चूक गई, उस ने शिथिलता से काम लिया, वह घातक उदासीनता की दोषी है।

भिवंडी के साथ जलगांव में भी दंगा हुआ। कहा जाता है कि वहाँ मुस्लिम मुहल्ले में कोई जुए का अड्डा चल रहा था। और उस जुए के प्रड्डे से सगड़ा शरू हुआ। पहाड़ में दंगा इसलिए हुआ कि मंदिर पर लगा हुआ भगवा ध्वज हटा लिया गया। हटाने वाले गुन्डे थे। किस सम्प्रदाय के थे, यह कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं। पुलिस वहाँ मौजूद थी और पुलिस की मौजूदगी में मन्दिर पर से झंडा उतार लिया गया। इसके बाद गोरेगांव में भी गड़बड़ हुई। 5 तारीख को गोरेगांव में एक ट्रक आई जिस पर लोग लदे हुए थे, जिन्होंने लोगों को डराया, धमकाया और कहा कि शिवाजी जयन्ती के दिन दंगा होगा। उनके खिलाफ भी पुलिस ने कार्यवाही नहीं की।

भिवंडी में बने पूर्व-नियोजित थे। इसका एक और प्रमाण मैं लोकसत्ता से भी उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। यह मराठी दैनिक है। हमारी

पार्टी का अखबार नहीं है। अपने 11 मई के पत्र में उन्होंने एक समाचार दिया है। उनका विशेष प्रतिनिधि भिवंडी गया था। एक दूकानदार ने उसे बताया—पत्र मराठी में है, मैं उसका हिन्दी अनुवाद बता रहा हूँ—एक दूकानदार ने बताया कि एक मुहल्ले में उसकी राशनिंग की दूकान है। उपद्रव आरंभ होने से 1 दिन पूर्व 6 मई को एक विशेष सम्प्रदाय के लोगों ने 8 बिन का राशन एक बड़ी संख्या में उठाया। दूकानदार ने कहा कि इस प्रकार बहुत बड़ी संख्या में राशन उठाए जाने से मुझे लगा कि 7 तारीख को कुछ गड़बड़ होने वाला है। स्पष्टतः राशन उठाने वालों को मालूम था कि 7 तारीख को भिवंडी में कुछ होगा।

सरकार ने दंगे आरंभ होने के बाद भी कैसा इंतजाम किया इसका उदाहरण भी हमारे पत्रों ने प्रस्तुत किया है। श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण भिवंडी गए। जाना चाहिए था। मैं उनकी प्रशंसा करता हूँ। यद्यपि यह बात मुझे पसंद नहीं आई कि महाराष्ट्र में दंगा हो गया तो चव्हाण साहब रोने लगे और अहमदाबाद में दंगा हो गया तो उनकी आंख में आंसू नहीं आये। मैं उनकी वेदना समझ सकता हूँ। मगर भारत के गृह मंत्री को एक राष्ट्रीय नेता के रूप में अपनी प्रतिक्रिया प्रकट करनी चाहिए, केवल महाराष्ट्र के नेता के रूप में नहीं। जब वह भिवंडी गए थे, कहीं सभा कर रहे थे और जब सभा चल रही थी, पुलिस का इंतजाम था, तो उस सभा में एक व्यक्ति भागा भागा आया यह कहते हुए, दौड़ो, दौड़ो, मुझे मार डाला, 17-18 लोग मुझे भाले से हत्या करने के लिए आए हैं। उन्होंने मेरे होटल में आग लगा दी है। जहाँ चव्हाण साहब बोल रहे थे, वहाँ से 20 फुट की दूरी पर दिन दहाड़े एक होटल में आग लग गई। यह ठीक है चव्हाण साहब दौड़ें, चव्हाण साहब के साथ पुलिस भी दौड़ी। लेकिन तब तक होटल राक्ष का ढेर बन चुका था।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक और घटना है। शुक्रवार की रात को उपद्रव आरंभ हुआ। गुंडे इकट्ठे हो गए। उन के हाथ में बम थे, हथगोले थे, मोलोटोव काकटेल थी और लोगों ने फोन कर के बुलाया पुलिस को। पांच पुलिस वाले गए और जब उन्होंने देखा कि दंगाई दो सी हैं तो वह उलटे पैर भागे। भिवंडी की जनता ने अपनी छात्रों से पुलिस वालों को भागते हुए देखा और जब किसी ने उन को रोका कि क्या हुआ तो पुलिस वालों ने कहा कि हमारी भी तो जान है। क्या हम खाली लाठी लेकर उन से लड़ेंगे? हमारे हाथों में बन्दूक होनी चाहिए। बन्दूक में गोलियां होनी चाहिए। मुझे इस बात पर सन्देह है कि क्या महाराष्ट्र की सरकार सचमुच में इन साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को फँलने से रोकना चाहती थी?

अब सवाल यह है कि यह दंगे क्यों आरंभ किए जाते हैं? मैं मानता हूँ कि दंगों में हमारे मुसलमान भाइयों का नुकसान ज्यादा होता है। वह मरते भी ज्यादा हैं और उनके माल का भी नुकसान अधिक होता है। लेकिन गृह मंत्री महोदय राज्य सभा में यह बात कहें यह उन्हें शोभा नहीं देता। अगर वह न कहते तो मैं इस बात का उल्लेख न करता। गृह मंत्री महोदय ने राज्य सभा में कहा कि भिवंडी में सबसे ज्यादा मुसलमानों का नुकसान हुआ है, बच्चे मरे हैं, औरतें मरी हैं। क्या केवल मुस्लिम मरे हैं? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, उनका बयान सत्य से परे है। 7 तारीख की रात को वहाँ हिन्दू अधिक मरे। लेकिन अगर मान लीजिए कि बयान सत्य भी है तो क्या मरने वालों की संख्या अब हम सम्प्रदाय के हिसाब से देना शुरू करेंगे? हम ने समाचार पत्रों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है कि मरने वालों में यह मत बताओ कि कौन हिन्दू है कौन मुसलमान है। मगर गृह मंत्री महोदय ने सन्तुलन खो दिया, बिबेक को तिलांजलि दे दी

और ऐसा बयान कर दिया जिस की महाराष्ट्र में भीषण प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है। श्री चव्हाण के बयान से सारे महाराष्ट्र में एक असंतोष की लहर दौड़ गई है। हिन्दू इसलिए नाराज हैं कि उन्होंने एक गलत बयान दिया और मुतलमान भाई इसलिए बिगड़े हैं कि उनका नुकसान बहुत ज्यादा हुआ। उन्हें ऐसा बयान नहीं देना चाहिए था।

लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि यह दंगे क्यों आरंभ किए जाते हैं? मैं चाहता हूँ कि सदन इस पर विचार करे। मैं अभी तक किसी परिणाम पर नहीं पहुँचा हूँ। दंगे आरम्भ करते हैं मुसलमानों में से कुछ लोग। यह जानते हुए कि मरना पड़ेगा, यह जानते हुए कि सम्पत्ति से हाथ धोना पड़ेगा। वह दंगे आरम्भ करते हैं क्यों तीन कारण हो सकते हैं—एक कारण तो यह हो सकता है कि हमारे मुसलमान भाई इस नतीजे पर पहुँच गए हैं कि अब हिन्दुस्तान में हमारे लिए जगह नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान में कोई हमारा मुस्तकबिल नहीं है, जिन्दा रहने से अच्छा है कि हम लड़ते लड़ते मर जायें। एक कारण यह हो सकता है।

दूसरा कारण यह हो सकता है कि मुसलमानों में कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो पाकिस्तान से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, जो पाकिस्तान के इशारे पर दंगे करते हैं। पाकिस्तान हमें बदनाम करना चाहता है। आज पाकिस्तान से हिन्दू निकाले जा रहे हैं। अगर भारत के मुसलमानों पर अत्याचार होगा तो पाकिस्तान को भारत के विरुद्ध प्रचार करने का मौका मिलेगा।

और तीसरा तथा सब से महत्वपूर्ण कारण जो मालूम होता है वह यह है कि मुसलमानों के कुछ नेता नहीं चाहते कि मुसलमान अपने को राष्ट्रीय जीवन की मुख्य धारा का अंग बनाएं। वह नहीं चाहते कि मुसलमान राजनैतिक विचारधारा के आधार पर अलग अलग दलों में

जायें। वह नहीं चाहते कि मुसलमान कम्युनिस्ट बनें, वह नहीं चाहते कि मुसलमान काँग्रेसी या जनसंघी बनें। वह यह चाहते हैं कि मुसलमान अलग थलग रहें, कठमुल्ले मौलवी उनके नेता बने रहें और इसलिए लोगों को आग में झोंक कर भी वह अपने नेतृत्व को प्रस्थापित करना चाहते हैं।... (व्यवधान)... हाँ, हाँ, मुस्लिम लीग ने यही किया था। उसी इतिहास की पुनरावृत्ति की जा रही है। हमें इन कारणों पर विचार करना पड़ेगा।।... (व्यवधान)... अध्यापक महोदय, मुसलमान दंगे करते हैं या नहीं, यह विवाद का विषय नहीं है। यह गृह मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट है। ग्रांफ़े बोलते हैं। आंकड़े जलते हैं। सच्चाई से मुँह नहीं मोड़ा जा सकता। हमें इन कारणों पर विचार करना पड़ेगा।

एक प्रश्न और पैदा होता है। यह कहा जाता है कि मुसलमान भले ही दंगे शुरू करें, मान लीजिए अहमदाबाद में श्री जगन्नाथ मन्दिर पर हमला हो गया तो लोगों ने बदला क्यों लिया? मान लीजिए, चाइबासा में राम नवमी के जुलूस पर बम फेंका गया तो हिन्दू क्यों बिगड़े। मान लीजिए दो चार मुसलमानों ने गड़बड़ की तो जो निर्दोष हैं, जिनकी गलती नहीं है उन से बदला क्यों लिया जाता है। मैं मानता हूँ कि निर्दोषों को सजा नहीं मिलनी चाहिए। मैं मानता हूँ प्रतिशोध की भावना अच्छी नहीं है। हम किसी व्यक्ति को कानून हाथ में लेने की इजाजत नहीं दे सकते। लेकिन क्या यह नियम केवल हिन्दुओं पर लागू होगा। क्या यह नियम मुसलमानों पर लागू नहीं होगा? क्या राम नवमी के जुलूस पर बम फेंकना यह कोई व्यक्तिगत भ्रगड़ा है। क्या शिवाजी जुलूस पर आक्रमण करना यह कोई व्यक्तिगत भ्रगड़ा है। और इस भ्रगड़े के साथ ही जगह जगह प्राग लगा दी गई। दो बातें हमें समझ लेनी चाहिए। कोई भी कारण हो, हमारे मुस्लिम बन्धु अधिकाधिक सम्प्रदायवादी होते जा रहे हैं और

मुस्लिम बन्धुओं की प्रतिक्रिया के स्वरूप हिन्दू अधिकाधिक उग्र होते जा रहे हैं। हिन्दुओं को उग्र किसी ने बनाया नहीं।... (व्यवधान)... अगर यह श्रेय आप हमें देना चाहते हैं तो हम लेने के लिए तैयार हैं। मगर इस देश में उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब हिन्दू मार नहीं खाएंगे। 700-800 साल तक मार खाने की परंपरा थी। हिन्दू शुरू नहीं करेंगे। हिन्दू पहल नहीं करेंगे। हिन्दू अपने हाथ से चिन्गारी नहीं लगायेंगे।... (व्यवधान)... हाँ, हाँ, मैं एक भारतीय के नाते बोल रहा हूँ। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसलिए मैंने प्रारंभ में निवेदन किया था कि जो लोग साम्प्रदायिकता से लड़ना चाहते हैं उन से मेरा निवेदन है कि मुस्लिम साम्प्रदायिकता को नजर अन्दाज कर के साम्प्रदायिकता से नहीं लड़ा जा सकता। अगर मुस्लिम साम्प्रदायिकता को आप बढ़ावा देंगे तो फिर दूसरी भावना भी भड़केगी। साम्प्रदायिकता एक दुधारी तलवार की तरह से है, साम्प्रदायिकता दोनों तरफ काटती है...

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling):  
Thank God, I am not a Hindu.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर आप हिन्दू होतीं, तो हिन्दू समाज के लिए लड़ना की बात होनी... (व्यवधान)...

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : हिन्दू ऐसी बात नहीं करता, जैसी आप कर रहे हैं। यह बहुत गलत बात है, इस तरह से भाषण नहीं होना चाहिए...

श्री यमुना प्रसाद मंडल (समस्तीपुर) : प्राज्ञ आप ध्रुवने असली रूप में बोल रहे हैं, बड़ी अशोभनीय भाषा का आपने प्रयोग किया है... यह साम्प्रदायिकता की भाषा है...



श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप इन को चुप कर दें तो अच्छा होगा, वरना इन की प्राइम मिनिस्टर भी यहां नहीं बोल सकेंगी। हम भी देखेंगे कि वह कैसे बोलेंगी ... (व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All the other hon. Members who are interrupting will have their chance to speak and they can refute the arguments of Mr. Vajpayee. They should listen to him now.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : महिलाओं के बारे में ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिए।

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF FINANCE, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : I do not like to interrupt and I have always advised members on all sides of the House to listen to whoever is speaking. If I have done so on this occasion it was to point out to hon. Member Shri Vajpayee that he was using this opportunity to say things which well deeply hurt all minorities... (Interruptions.)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It is a matter of opinion.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I shall take only one second more to say... (Interruptions) I am indeed expressing my opinion.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : इन रायेट्स के लिए ये जिम्मेदार हैं... (व्यवधान)... हम आप की इस मेन्टेलिटी से एग्री नहीं करते हैं। यही मेन्टे-लिटी रायेट्स के लिए जिम्मेदार है..... (व्यवधान).....

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am perfectly entitled to say that his speech is going to create a bad atmosphere in the country. I am certainly entitled to draw the hon. Member's attention to that. It is

not only a question of Muslims ; it is a question of sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Christians and all other minorities... (Interruptions.)...as also of Harijans and backward communities.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am not yielding ; the hon. Prime Minister did not raise any point of order.

AN HON. MEMBER : We do not accept that he speaks on behalf of all Hindus.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : The Prime Minister has no right to interfere like this... (Interruptions.)

श्री रबिराय : इस सदन में हम सब भारत के हैं, न हिन्दू हैं, न मुसलमान हैं।

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : Is it chivalrous to address the other hon. lady Member like that ? Would you do it to your sister ? The basic question is, because we enjoy certain immunity, are we completely free to cast off all decorum and are we free from the law of decency ? Is he entitled to call the lady what he said ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे खेद है...

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) : Sir, on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is not yielding. Let him finish his speech. All right. What is your point of order ?

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : The point of order is this. This is a very serious question. It may incite riots in our own country. So, I want to say that that portion of his speech should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is your opinion. Now, only without being tense, can the debate continue. Mr. Vajpayee, please conclude.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने कुछ नहीं कहा है। यह पहला मौका नहीं है, जब मैं सदन में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इस सदन का कोई मेम्बर ऐसा नहीं कह सकता है कि मैंने भावनाओं को भड़काने वाला भाषण दिया है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : मैं समझता हूँ कि वाजपेयी जी कुछ जोश में आ गये थे, लेकिन उनका वह मतलब नहीं था। माननीय सदस्य के लिए जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा था, मैं समझता हूँ, उसे निकाल देना चाहिए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कुछ नहीं निकालना चाहिए।

SHRI S. A. DANGE (Bombay Central South) : I want all those words to remain. I do not want any expunction. (Interruption)

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS—rose

MR. SEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order, order.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं नहीं समझता कि अपने भाषण में मैंने कोई ऐसी बात कही है, जो भावनाओं को भड़कानेवाली हो। अगर महिला महोदय यह समझती हैं कि मैंने उनके लिए कोई अपमानजनक बात कही है तो मैं उसे वापस लेने के लिये तैयार हूँ।...(व्यवधान)... कोई यह कहे कि मैं हिन्दू नहीं हूँ और उसके बदले में मैं यह कहूँ कि आप हिन्दू नहीं हैं यह अच्छी बात है तो इसमें क्या आपत्ति है।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रणधीर सिंह : हम सब भाई हैं—क्या हिन्दू, क्या मुसलमान। सब हिन्दुस्तानी हैं.....

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कह रहा था कि सदन इस बात पर

गम्भीरता से विचार करे कि मुस्लिम साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा देकर इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता से नहीं लड़ा जा सकता...(व्यवधान)... अरे, चुप रहिये, देवी जी। मुस्लिम लीग के साथ हाथ मिलाते हुए आपको लज्जा नहीं आई...(व्यवधान)...

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने केरल में मुस्लिम लीग के साथ हाथ बढ़ाया...(व्यवधान)...

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : अब और भी साफ हो गया कि आप जनसंघ के साथ हैं।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : आप ने भी सरकार बनाने के लिए मुस्लिम लीग के साथ हाथ बढ़ाया है।...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दो महिलाओं के भगड़े में मेरा क्या होगा ?...(व्यवधान)...

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am not speaking as a woman or as a lady ; I am speaking with great indignation on behalf of the Indian nation...(Interruptions).

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You are heading a minority Government. You resign and get out...(Interruptions). जिन्होंने अपनी पार्टी को ही तोड़ दिया वे नेशन की बात करती हैं।

मैं फिर एक बात स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहने में कि हिन्दू उग्र हो रहे हैं, मेरा उद्देश्य उनकी उग्रता का समर्थन करना नहीं था...(व्यवधान)... आप मुनिये, समझिये। अहमदाबाद में जाकर, जहाँ दंगे हुए थे, मैंने लोगों से कहा था कि कानून हाथ में नहीं लेना चाहिए। मेरे भाषण इस बात के माथी है। अपने आज के भाषण में भी मैंने अभी कहा था कि प्रतिशोध लेने का मैं समर्थन नहीं करता हूँ।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]  
लेकिन परिस्थितियों से आंखें मूंदी नहीं जा सकती हैं। परिस्थिति यह है कि हमारे मुसलमान भाई अधिकाधिक सम्प्रदायवादी होते जा रहे हैं और हिन्दू अधिकाधिक उग्र होते जा रहे हैं... (व्यवधान)... आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम इन दोनों खतरों को समझें और उनका निराकरण करने का उपाय करें।

जहां कहीं दंगे होते हैं जनसंघ का नाम घसीटा जाता है।... (व्यवधान)... रघुबर दयाल कमिशन की रिपोर्ट आ गई है कि रांची के दंगों में जनसंघ का कोई हाथ नहीं था।... (व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We have allotted 3 hours. I am not shutting you out, but I am putting it to the Hoase. We have taken about 40 minutes. I am just drawing your attention to it.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : प्राइम मिनिस्टर से कहिये कि वे डिस्टर्व न करें :

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि साम्प्रदायिकता को वोटों का खेल बहुत बना दिया गया है। मैं राजनीतिक दलों को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि मुस्लिम सम्प्रदाय को बढ़ावा देकर अब आप को वोट भी नहीं मिलने वाले हैं।... (व्यवधान)... केरल में मुस्लिम लीग... (व्यवधान)...

श्री रणधीर सिंह : यह सब वोटों का ड्रामा है।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : केरल में मुस्लिम लीग के मुंह को सत्ता का स्वाद लग गया है। अभी मेरे मित्र श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव मुल्तानपुर से आये हैं और वे कह रहे थे कि

मुस्लिम मजलिस का जो उम्मीदवार है उसे सभी मुसलमानों के वोट मिलने की सम्भावना है।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव (आजमगढ़) : यह आप गलत बात कह रहे हैं। आप हर चीज को गलत तरीके से पेश करते हैं। भारतीय संस्कृति और भारतीय सभ्यता का भी आप गलत तरीके से पेश करते हैं।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अब आप मुकर रहे हैं, क्या यही आपकी नैतिकता है? कल आप ही ने यह कहा था।... (व्यवधान)...

प्रश्न यह है कि हम साम्प्रदायिकता से किस तरह से लड़ना चाहते हैं। भारतीय जनसंघ एक असाम्प्रदायिक राज्य के आदर्श में विश्वास करता है।... (व्यवधान)... यह हंसने की बात नहीं है। जिन्होंने मुस्लिम लीग के साथ गठ-बन्धन कर लिया वे हमारे ऊपर आक्षेप करने का दुस्साहस न करें। कांच के महल में बैठने वाले दूमरों पर पत्थर फेंकने की हिमाकत न करें। इनकी सरकार मुस्लिम लीग के भरोसे टिकी है और हम को सम्प्रदायवादी बनाते हैं। जो चुनाव में साम्प्रदायिकता के आधार पर उम्मीदवार खड़े करते हैं वे हमको सम्प्रदायवादी बनाते हैं। जो भारत को रवात के सम्मेलन में ले जा करके अपमान का विषय बनाते हैं वे हमें साम्प्रदायवादी बताते हैं।... (व्यवधान)...

भारतीय जनसंघ ने कभी यह नहीं कहा कि देश में साम्प्रदायिकता के आधार पर भेद-भाव होना चाहिए। हम न भेदभाव चाहते हैं, न पक्षपात चाहते हैं। हमने संविधान की समान नागरिकता को स्वीकार किया है। भारतीय जनसंघ के दरवाजे भारत के सभी नागरिकों के लिए खुले हुए हैं। लेकिन अगर कोई मुसलमान

जनसंघ में आता है तो दिल्ली में उसके खिलाफ पोस्टर लगाये जाते हैं कि वह एक काफिर हो गया है। जो भाषा मुस्लिम लीग बोलती थी मौलाना आजाद और अन्य राष्ट्रवादी मुसलमानों के खिलाफ, आज वही भाषा जनसंघ में आने वाले मुसलमानों के खिलाफ बोली जा रही है। साम्प्रदायिकता से लड़ने का यह तरीका नहीं है! ... (व्यवधान) ... मैं समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ।

प्रश्न यह है कि साम्प्रदायिक उपद्रवों से लड़ने के लिए क्या किया जाये। कुछ तो दूर-गामी उपाय हैं। हमें इस प्रश्न को राजनीति से निकालना होगा और राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हल करना होगा। प्रधान मंत्री ने राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता परिषद का प्रारम्भ किया था लेकिन उसे मेरे दल के विरुद्ध प्रचार करने का एक हथियार बनाया गया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता परिषद का विस्तार किया जाये। आज उसमें कांग्रेस संगठन नहीं है, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी नहीं है, संयुक्त सोशलस्ट पार्टी नहीं है... (व्यवधान) ... प्रधान मंत्री ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करें कि देश के सभी राष्ट्रवादी दल मिलकर बैठें। ... (व्यवधान) ... और साम्प्रदायिक समस्या के निराकरण के लिए ठोस उपाय अपनायें।

यह भी आवश्यक है कि राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता परिषद में श्री एम० सी० चागला, श्री हमीद दलवाई, डा० जीलानी और श्री अनवर देहलवी जैसे राष्ट्रवादी नेता लिये जायें। प्रधान मंत्री किसको लें, यह प्रधान मंत्री की कृपा पर निर्भर नहीं रहना चाहिए। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ क्या प्रधान मंत्री मुस्लिम सम्प्रदायवादियों के बारे में कुछ कहने के लिए तैयार हैं। यह बात छिपी हुई नहीं है कि भिवंडी में तामीर ए मिल्लत ने वातावरण बिगाड़ा। लेकिन क्या किसी ने तामीर मिल्लत का नाम लिया है? शिव सेना की आलोचना हो रही है, होनी चाहिए। ... (व्यवधान) ... हमें भी लपेटा जा रहा है। लेकिन हम उसकी चिन्ता नहीं करते

हैं। हम प्रधान मंत्री की कृपा से इस सदन में नहीं आये हैं, उनके बावजूद आये हैं। इस राष्ट्र की जनता का हम भी प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ... लेकिन तब किसी मुस्लिम सम्प्रदायवादी संगठन का सवाल आता है तो मुँह में ताले पड़ जाते हैं, सांप सूँघ जाता है। जमाते ~~ब्लू~~ उल्मा क्या कर रही है। जमाते इस्लामी क्या कर रही है? तामीर मिल्लत ने भिवंडी में क्या किया? लेकिन है कोई बोलने वाला। ... (व्यवधान) ...

आवश्यकता इस बात की भी है कि जहाँ साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हों वहाँ अदालती जांच कराई जाये। अगर महाराष्ट्र की सरकार तुरन्त अदालती जांच का आदेश दे देती तो भावनाये धम सकती थीं। लेकिन विधान सभा में कहा गया कि मैजिस्ट्रेटी जांच करायेंगे और इसलिए लोगों को अदालती जांच का आदेश लेने के लिए आन्दोलन करना पड़ा। जहाँ कहीं दंगा हो तो अदालती जांच करो और जो रिपोर्ट आये उस की सिफारिशें कार्यान्वित की जायें।

मुझे शिकायत है कि महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने इंटिग्रेशन कौंसिल की सिफारिशों को लागू नहीं किया। वहाँ पर गुप्तचर विभाग को मजबूत नहीं बनाया गया। वहाँ पर दंगों को रोकने के लिए पुलिस तैयार नहीं की गई। रघुबर दयाल कमीशन ने जो सिफारिशें की हैं उनका क्या हो रहा है। अहमदाबाद में कमीशन बना, भिवंडी के लिए कमीशन बना है। लेकिन क्या इन सारे कमीशनों की सिफारिशें रही की टोकरी में फेंक दी जायेंगी? क्या हर सवाल को राजनीति की कसौटी पर कसा जायगा। जब से कांग्रेस का विभाजन हुआ है देश में सम्प्रदायवादियों और साम्यवादियों का गठबन्धन बढ़ गया है, और उनको प्रधान मंत्री का बरद हस्त प्राप्त है। यह है सम्प्रदायवाद के बढ़ने का कारण।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट मित्रों से कुछ नहीं कहता, मगर कांग्रेस में बैठे हुए जो देश भक्त हैं, और राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव में जिनकी आत्मा की आवाज जागी थी, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि सम्प्रदायिकता के सवाल को आप उस की वास्तविकता में देखने के लिए तैयार हैं या नहीं ? इसे एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न के रूप में हल करने के लिए तैयार हैं या नहीं ? परिस्थिति गम्भीर है, देश विनाश के कगार पर खड़ा है, वोटों की राजनीति से ऊपर उठकर इस प्रश्न पर हम को सोचना चाहिये। अगर हमारी कोई गलती है हमें बतायें, हम अपनी गलती ठीक करने के लिए तैयार हैं। अगर भिवन्डी के जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ताओं ने कोई दण्डपूर्ण आचरण किया है तो हम उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही करेंगे। उसे ठीक करने के लिए तैयार हैं। लेकिन और दलों का क्या हाल है ? हमें आत्म निरीक्षण करना होगा, अपने गरेबान में मुँह डाल कर देखना होगा, और सम्प्रदायिकता की समस्या को राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हल करने के लिए एक देश-व्यापी अभियान चलाना होगा। जितनी देर होगी यह समस्या बिगड़ेगी और फिर न इस देश में लोकतन्त्र रहेगा, न समाजवाद स्थापित करने का आपका सपना पूरा होगा।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now, I am in a difficulty. I would like the House to help me out. I do not want to shut out anybody. Mr. Vajpayee has already taken 50 minutes out of the allotted time of 3 hours. We must decide on something so that reallocation of time is made,

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) : We may extend the time for this discussion by 2 hours.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I put it to the House. The suggestion is that the time should be extended by 2 hours. So, instead of 3 hours, we have 5 hours. If you agree, we do that.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : There is a discussion on Prohibition also coming. I have no objection to the extension of the time. But it may be extended by 1 hour.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH ; This can continue tomorrow. The time should be extended by 2 hours.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : All prohibition should be postponed.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I think, we agree that we extend the time on this discussion by 2 hours. So, we have 5 hours and reallocation of time will be made accordingly.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Are you finishing the debate today?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Yes, Shri Tulsi Das Jadhav.

श्री तुलशीदास जाधव (बारामती) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सामप्रदायिक भगड़ों के बारे में जो डिबेट यहां शुरू हुई है और पहले वक्ता की दृष्टि से माननीय वाजपेयी का भाषण हुआ तो मुझे एक बात याद आयी कि एक वक्त एक ऐसा ही वक्ता एक सभा में बोला जिस का भाषण सुन कर दूसरे दिन हिन्दुस्तान में अल्पसंख्यकों और बहुसंख्यकी के भगड़े पैदा हुये। इतना ही नहीं रास्ते रास्ते में फूट और खून बहता रहा। मुझे माननीय वाजपेयी जी का आज का भाषण बहुत बुरा लगा। मैं जन संघ की नीति, उन का जो प्रोग्राम है और जन संघ के अन्दर जो काम करने वाले दूसरे वर्कर्स का भाषण सुनता हूँ, उस से भी ज्यादा मैं वाजपेयी जी को कुछ मान से, कुछ संयम और संस्कृति की दृष्टि से इन की तरफ देखता था। लेकिन आज का भाषण सुनकर मुझे बहुत बुरा लगा। बुरा इस दृष्टि से कि इन्होंने

हाउस के अन्दर जो भाषण किया वह यहीं रहता तो मैं समझ लेता। लेकिन जनसंघ के लोकप्रिय अध्यक्ष, आल इंडिया प्रेसिडेंट का भाषण जब अखबारों में छापा जायेगा तो मेरी राय यह है कि इसका देश के लिए भी एक जबरदस्त खतरा है। जब जब एकता की बात हुई, चालीस बरस पीछे का इतिहास देख लिया जाये, पोलिटिकल इतिहास को देख लिया जाये। इसलिये मेरी इन लोगों से विनती है कि देश के अन्दर आपकी राय, आपकी नीति, आपके प्रोग्राम ये सब देखकर आप इस तरह करें तो आपको छोड़कर कोई दूसरी अल्पसंख्यक जमात हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर रह नहीं जा सकती। रहना है तो प्रेम से रहना है, मोहब्बत से रहना है और हिन्दुस्तान को एक अच्छा राष्ट्र, डेमोक्रेटिक राष्ट्र बनाना है और बनाये रखना है तो ऐसी भाषा और ऐसी स्पीच से यह नहीं होगा। कोई भी आर्गनाइजर को आप देखें, उसके अन्दर ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुसलमान, क्रिश्चियन, हरिजन और इनको छोड़कर जितने अल्पसंख्यक थे, उनके ऊपर हमला हमेशा होता है।.....(व्यवधान).....जरा शांति से सुन लीजिये। तुम्हारे लीडर का जब-जब भाषण हुआ, मैंने काटा नहीं। आप पार्लियामेंट में भी नहीं सुनेंगे तो दूसरी जगह क्या ख्याल रखेंगे। आपको दूसरों का ख्याल रखना चाहिए।

मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह था कि इनका जो हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दू धर्म के नाम पर जो हमेशा से रवैया चलता है, उसके इतिहास को भी आप देखें। इनका पहले से इतिहास देखा जाये। जैसा उन्होंने कहा उस वाक्य के अन्दर बड़ा अर्थ है। हजारों वर्षों जिनके हाथ में हिन्दू धर्म की बागडोर है, ऐसा यह खुद मानते हैं दूसरे मानने हों या न मानते हों, उनके जुल्म से इनके रवैये से हिन्दुस्तान की हिन्दू धर्म को मानन वाली जितनी जमात थी उसमें सब खल-बली मच गई है इनके ऐटीट्यूड से। बाहर तो

क्या होता होगा, पहले से मैं कहूँ तो ज्यादा बक्त लग जाएगा, लेकिन मैं इनको कह देना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे ही भाषणों से गांधी जी का खून हुआ होगा। मैं आपको 1930 का भाषण मैंने जो एसेम्बली में किया, उस समय का रिकार्ड बताऊँ तो पता चलेगा कि ये समाज में गंदी हुवा फीजाने वाले और समाज में भड़काने वाला इनका विधान, इनकी स्पीच और इनका रवैया हमेशा से चलता है। मैं आठ वर्ष से इस पार्लियामेंट में हूँ। जब इनका मैं भाषण सुनता था तो इनके लिये मेरे दिल में मान था, लेकिन आज उन्होंने वह मराठा, वह हिंदू कहने से अच्छा नहीं किया। वाजपेयी जी, यह बात आपने देश के अन्दर कहकर अच्छा नहीं किया। आपने बहुत बुरा किया। आप बाहर अखबारों के अन्दर लिखते हैं दूसरे भी लिखते हैं, मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन यह हिंदू की पल्टन है, या मुसलमानों की पल्टन खड़ी है—आप हिंदू की तरफ से यह कहते हैं ये बुरे लोग हैं, चलाओ लाठी। यह आपने बहुत बुरा किया।

आप ने यह कहा कि आप का यह सेंटेंस नहीं है। लेकिन आप ने क्या कहा ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हिन्दू मुसल-मान का नाम चव्हाण ने लिया, मैंने नहीं।

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव : चव्हाण की बात छोड़ दीजिये। चव्हाण ने जो काम किया है उस का भ्रूणूठा भर भी आप नहीं कर सकेंगे। आप उन की बराबरी नहीं कर सकते। आप ने क्या कहा?... (व्यवधान)... सुन लीजिये। आप ने क्या कहा ? भिबंडी के मर्द मराठे हैं। ऐसा ही हुआ गांधीजी का खून होनेके बाद। उन लोगों का अखबार था। उस में क्या लिखा ? मराठे ने खून किया। जब लोगों ने यह पढ़ा कि मराठे ने खून किया तो उन को अच्छा हुआ। कौन

[श्री तुलसी दास जाधव]  
मराठा ? वहाँ मराठा के माने क्षत्रिय कम्प्यूनिटी थी। दूसरे दिन श्रवणार में आया कि गोडसे ब्राह्मण था। तब महाराष्ट्र में गड़बड़ हुई। आप मराठा के नाम पर यह नहीं कर सकते। आप ने बहुत बुरा किया है, यह मैं आप से कहता हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप मर्द मराठा पर नाराज हो गये ? क्या मराठा मर्द नहीं है ?

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव : मैं कल्पना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप के हाथ में वचस्व होगा, आप के हाथ में बागडोर होगी तो मराठा को पाँवों के नीचे कुचलेंगे, यह मुझ को मालूम है।

अब मैं भिवंडी की बात कहता हूँ। आप ने नहीं कहा, लेकिन सब भाषणों में मैं सुनता था मुसलमान, मुसलमान, मुसलमान। आप जरा सोच लीजिये...

श्री राम सक्क यादव : मेरा माननीय सदस्य से अनुरोध है कि अगर वह अपनी बात कहेंगे तो हम को जानकारी मिलेगी, नहीं तो हर जगह भिवंडी की ही बात कही जाती है। उस से क्या होगा ? (व्यवधान)

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव : भिवंडी में जो कुछ हुआ उस के लिये उन्होंने क्या कहा ? जनसंघ के जो श्री भिडे हैं उन्होंने जो भाषण वहाँ दिया उस में उन्होंने क्या कहा कि ए भिवंडी बालो, शिवाजी यहाँ आये थे, और जहाँ शिवाजी आये थे वहाँ मस्जिद कैसे रह सकती है ?

श्री नारायण स्वरूप शर्मा (हुमरियागंज) : यह बात गलत है। शिवाजी ने कभी भी मस्जिद नहीं तोड़ी। उन को कुरान की एक प्रति मिल

गई थी उस को भी उन्होंने वापस कर दिया। शिवाजी ने कभी ऐसा नहीं किया।

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव : सुन लीजिये। ऐसे भाषण होते हैं जिन के द्वारा मुसलमानों के खिलाफ भड़काने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह कौन से भिडे हैं ?

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव : उन का भाषण आप ने देखा नहीं कि वह किस तरह का था।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : आखिर वह कौन से भिडे हैं ?

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव : हिन्दू महा सभा के।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : वह हिन्दू महा सभा के हैं, जनसंघ के नहीं। माननीय सदस्य जनसंघ का नाम ले रहे हैं और हिन्दू महा सभा के नेता का भाषण उद्धृत कर रहे हैं।

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव : आप देखिये कि हिन्दू महा सभा, आर० एस० एस० और जनसंघ यह तीन मूर्तियाँ हैं। यह कोई अलग अलग नहीं हैं। उन के इस तरह के भड़काने वाले भाषण के कारण से वहाँ के मुसलमान बहुत घबरा गये और वैसे हालत हो गई। यही नहीं, जब उन के जुलूम चलते हैं तो जिस तरह से मस्जिद के सामने चलते हैं उस तरह से जाने के बजाय, उन के सामने आधे घण्टे तक ठहरना, मुसलमानों को जितनी गाली दे सकते हैं उतनी गाली देना, अपने ऊपर कंट्रोल न रखना, इन सब का असर हुआ। अगर कोई प्रोसेशन निकालना चाहता है तो जरूर निकाले, लेकिन मस्जिद के सामने जा कर उन लोगों को

गाली देना, अपशब्द बोलना, यह कहीं तक उचित है ?

आप ने क्या कहा कि जो स्लोगन है उस के ऊपर कंट्रोल क्यों ? उस में भी लिखा हुआ है कि स्लोगन पर कंट्रोल क्यों । अगर स्लोगन पर कंट्रोल न हो और दूसरी जमात उस से चिढ़ जाय, उस का अपमान हो जाय, तो क्या इस तरह के स्लोगन का आप को अधिकार है ? ... (व्यवधान) ... अगर कोई शिवाजी महाराज की बात करता है तो जरूर करे, अगर शिवाजी का गुणगान आप को करना है तो जरूर कीजिए, वह तो सारे महाराष्ट्र में होता है, लेकिन मस्जिद के सामने जा कर इतनी देर तक आवाज करना, जिस से लोगों को यह ख्याल हो जाय कि यहाँ युद्ध छिड़ा हुआ है, अगर प्रोसेशन में ऐसी बात होनी है तो उस से लोगों को बहुत तल्लीफ होती है, और आप को इस का ख्याल रखना चाहिये... (व्यवधान) ..

दूसरी बात यह कही गई कि मरने वालों में ज्यादा हिन्दू हैं और आप महाराष्ट्र गवर्नमेंट के आक्रिडें को भी देखिये । उधर भी आधे मरे हैं और इधर भी आधे मरे हैं ।

माननीय सदस्य को केवल एक पक्ष को ही नहीं देखना चाहिये ।

16 hrs.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : श्री चव्हाण ने यह कैसे कहा कि मुसलमान ज्यादा मरे हैं ।

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव : अगर कोई व्यक्ति अपने दल या समाज को अपने नियन्त्रण में नहीं रख सकता है, जो वह लीडर नहीं कहला सकता है । जब गांधी जी के किसी आन्दोलन में कोई हिंसात्मक घटना हुई, तो उन्होंने उस आंदोलन को वापिस ले लिया । उसी प्रकार अगर मान-

नीय सदस्य द्वारा आयोजित किसी जलूस में कोई गड़बड़ या हिंसा होती है, तो उन्हें उसको बन्द कर देना चाहिए । लीडर वह होता है, जो लीड करता है, जो मासिज को कंट्रोल करता है । वह लीडर नहीं कहला सकता है, जो कोई गड़बड़ या उपद्रव होने पर भाग जाये ।

हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों दोनों से मेरा निवेदन है कि न तो हिन्दू इस देश से मुसलमानों को निकाल सकते हैं और न ही मुसलमानों को ऐसा कर सकते हैं । दोनों को यहां रहना है—गङ्गीसी और भाई की हैसियत से रहना है । जिस तरह हिन्दुओं की अपनी धार्मिक भावनायें हैं, उसी तरह मुसलमानों की भी भावनायें हैं और उन का पूरा आदर किया जाना चाहिए । जब नमाज पढ़ने का समय हो, तो हिन्दुओं को मस्जिद के पास बाजा बजाना बन्द करना चाहिये और इस बारे में कोई जबर्दस्ती नहीं करनी चाहिये । लेकिन कुछ लोगों के काम और बातें इस से बिल्कुल उलट होती हैं, जिस से दूसरे वर्गों में चिढ़ पैदा होती है ।

गांधीजी ने हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता के लिए अपना जीवन दे दिया । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि सामने बैठने वाले माननीय सदस्य गांधीजी की तरह अपना जीवन दे दें, लेकिन उन को कम से कम अपने लेखों, भाषणों और कामों से एक ऐसा वातावरण उत्पन्न करने के लिए नेतृत्व करना चाहिए, जिस में हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों शांति से रह सकें । यही बात मैं अपने मुसलमान भाइयों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ ।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री वाजपेयी, ने भिबंड़ी के रायटम के बारे में जिस तरह कहा, उस तरह जलगांव के रायटम के बारे में नहीं कहा । लेकिन जलगांव में आर० एस० एस० और जनसंघ के लोगों के लोगों के मकान जलाने में लीड लिया था ।



एक माननीय सदस्य : गलत ।

को कहे देता हूँ ।

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव : गलत कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा । सैकड़ों बरसों से जलगांव में इस प्रकार की कोई घटना नहीं हुई, लेकिन इन लोगों के अनुपायियों ने वहां पर लीड लिया और सैकड़ों मकान जला दिये गये । (व्यवधान)

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Bhopal): A Committee is already going into this matter and if they come to the conclusions that R. S. S. had nothing to do will you resign ?

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव : यहां पर इस प्रकार के आरोप भी लगाये गए हैं कि किस ने किस का सहयोग लिया । प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने मुस्लिम लीग के साथ लिखा-पढ़ी में कोई सरोकार नहीं रखा है । ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री रामसेवक यादव : माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं कि लिखा-पढ़ी में उन दोनों में कोई समझौता नहीं था । इस का मतलब है कि अन्दर ही अन्दर कोई समझौता जरूर था । (व्यवधान)

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव : राजनीति में किस पोलिटिकल पार्टी का किस के साथ एलायंस होता है, माननीय सदस्य यह ज्यादा जानते हैं । ... (व्यवधान) ... और वह एलायंस अभी भी किया । निजलिगप्पा ने कहा कि स्वतंत्र पार्टी से हमारा कोई एलायंस नहीं, मगर वह अभी भी किया । खैर, कुछ भी हो । इसलिये प्राइम मिनिस्टर को यह कहना कि मुस्लिम लीग से एलायंस किया, ऐसा बार बार कहना, यह हिंदू धर्म के लिए, हिन्दू कहलाने वालों के लिए और सारे देश के लिए खतरा है, यह मैं आप

SHRI S. K. PATIL (Banaskantha) : Mr Deputy-speaker, Sir, on a subject like this, it is nearly impossible to free oneself from a certain amount of emotion and sentiment. I can understand that But we must realise that this is the highest House, representative of 550 million people in this country, and what we say and do in this House is going to have repercussions everywhere not only on this situation but on the other situations too. I am not giving any advice. Therefore, I shall try to be as free from emotion or sentiment as possible and come to the subject, namely what exactly are the causes, not of this particular thing that has happened in Bhivandi or Jalgaon, but of these communal outbursts in general, why these communal outbursts every now and then come up, what are the remedies that we are applying, and whether they are sufficient, whether we are sincere in implementing these remedies etc. These are the main questions. Let us not waste our time on merely going over the symptoms and totally forgetting the disease from which this country suffers.

These communal mass murders that are taking place in Bhivandi, in Jalgaon and in Mahad and now in Thana and Kalyan and everywhere else are really too shameful for words. Now, we find that despite the professions of the Maharashtra Government that the situation is under control—I wish it was under control; I sometimes laugh at it that every morning we read that the situation is under control but every evening we read that it has opened somewhere else and a few people have died—really it is not so. I am saying this not with the intention of apportioning any blame; for God's sake, I would say, do not issue statements of this description. The situation has gone completely out of your control. You are trying your best to bring it under control, and we wish you success in that process. But every now and then to hoodwink people and tell them that the situation is under control is not what a representative and responsible Government can do and should do.

The maintenance of law and order is the responsibility of the Government. Let us not quarrel because in this case, it is squarely the responsibility of the State of Maharashtra because it is not a Centrally administered area. Therefore, I may suggest for future that if the Government falls and so signally and so ignominiously falls in maintaining law and order, whether it is the Maharashtra Government or any Government—I am making no distinction at all—at least for good reasons and for moral reasons, the Government should resign. I do not say that some other party should take it. There ought to be some severe shot in the arm so that the Government's responsibility can be realised. The Government cannot run away by merely saying 'we did our best and nothing could happen', and then appointing a committee and then our finding that even before the Ahmedabad commission's report is out, another commission has been appointed; and perhaps, a time will come when this House will be faced with half a dozen commission's reports, and they will indicate nothing. That is not a remedy which will be really a good or effective remedy in this matter.

Apart from the horror which everybody shares—I do not think there are any parties here who do not share the horrors of this; I do not think anybody is proud of it, and that was what my hon. friend, Shri Vajpayee said about it, emotional though he was, for it is impossible to break free from emotion. But mere emotion will not help us on an occasion like this, unless the House comes to the conclusion that where communal riots are concerned, there are no parties, the whole House is one to whatever party, one may belong, there are no Hindus, no Muslims, all are citizens of this country. If that is spirit to be brought to bear, not merely as an after thought, after things have happened, but as a normal way of life then alone there would be some kind of a remedy.

But I am afraid that ever since this happened in Bhiwandi and Jalgaon and now in these two or three places and more in Maharashtra, Government's approach does not correspond to that. They say that 127 people have died; whatever it is, ultimately that number may go even beyond that. But I am not fighting with that. Even

assuming that it is 127, does it stop there?

Today I could see tension in the city of Bombay. The city of Bombay was subjected to these communal riots in the old days during the British raj. People used to be killed sometimes 50 sometimes 100. Thank God, after freedom, we have had no such occasion in the city of Bombay. But in a vulnerable cosmopolitan city like Bombay, where there are nearly half a million Muslims who are quite peaceful, very nice and are in the mainstream of our national life—they co-operate with us in every possible way; if some of us do not co-operate politically with others, surely there is nothing wrong as it is an individual's right to do what he may—in that city also, there is a terrific tension today. I do not know, but I think a lakh or even more police are simply engaged in the 'alert', just being afraid that any time a little single spark may touch of riots. If, God forbid, it comes there, I do not know how many hundreds of people might be massacred.

So even at the cost of being a little misunderstood, even at the cost of not getting everything we want, we have to assume a posture which is not one of defiance but one where national unity can come about as a result of it.

We have in this country, right from the beginning, Mahatma Gandhi's whole life. It is nothing but communal unity. His meaning of national unity was communal unity. He worked for it; he endeavoured for it and he ultimately gave his life for it. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru took over, one word he popularised—many of us did not understand it—was Secularism. We swear by it. But do we understand what it means, what it connotes?

We talk of democracy, socialism and secularism and speak of them as the sheet anchor of our polity. Some may not agree with the socialism part of it. But this is our sheet anchor. Why did he introduce that word, the word used centuries ago in the European countries in a different context? He brought it in just to teach us and tell us that in this country, if all the communities, be they Hindu or Muslim or any, learn to live together as brothers and do not bring

[Shri S. K. Patel]

their particular religion in the exercise of many things they do day in and day out, there is progress in this country ; if they do not there is no progress in this country.

Secularism in this country has been defined from time to time by Jawaharlal and many others. Religion is a matter absolutely individual. It is a relation according to him between man and his maker. Nobody has a right to come in between and say that his religion should be this or the practice of that religion should be that. It is precisely for this reason that in our fundamental rights chapter in the Constitution we have cashrined some of those articles by which we gave to ourselves freedom and liberty. Therefore, just as I have got a right as a Hindu to go to my Mandir and worship God in the way in which I like, similarly equally the Muslim has got a right to go to his Masjid and worship God in the way in which he likes. So also the christian, Jain or anybody for that matter. This should not remain merely advice or theory. Unless it becomes a practice and a way of life of everybody, there is no future for this country. It should not be a case that because somebody takes a pound of flesh, we shall take two pounds of flesh. That is not the spirit in which we can live. We can only live in the spirit that even if there is a kind of situation where somebody has acted wrongly ; we should not retaliate. But we find that there is retaliation, and that retaliation takes the form of reprisals hundreds of miles away in places which have nothing to do with it. When we hear of the case in which a whole marriage party of 21 was burnt alive, including several children, I wonder if there is any humanity in man. Howsoever bad a man may be, he may be a decoit, a murderer, still, after all, there is some spark of God in everybody. Every body is God's creation.

When these things happen, when this theory of retaliation comes in, man gets obsessed, he does not know what he is doing. He forgets who he is, he forgets his religion, he forgets that he is a human being, he goes and sets fire and commits murder and comes back. There is not one man, even if hundreds of people were pre-

sent, to say that this has happened. This is the obsession. This is not a good obsession. It is a very cruel, mean type of obsession, an obsession of which we should be ashamed. We have no business to be proud of it.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave gave a very sensible and correct definition of secularism. I am merely repeating it so that we may understand what it is. His definition of secularism is *Sarva Dharma Samanta*. In his own prayer he uses this, that we have got the same respect for every religion. That is secularism. I do not ask the Muslim to become a Hindu, and he need not expect a Hindu to become a Muslim, but I must have as much respect for Islam as I have for my own religion. I will not practise Islam, I will never practise it, I am proud of my own religion, I shall grow in it, but surely I must understand the right of another man, a Muslim, to grow in his own religion and practise it in the manner he likes. If that is not done, I do not know what is going to happen to this country.

We want that this country should make progress. I do not know how many years the clock is put back once such riots or communal outbursts take place. Maharashtra is known to be a most progressive State, but I think it will take at least five years for Maharashtra to undo the mischief that has been done. The life of Hindus and Muslims has been inter-twined like a mosaic. Bhiwandi is a progressive little town, good in its own way. Kolaba is one district in Maharashtra which is self-sufficient in food. It produces twice the food that is necessary for it, but since it is a small district, it is not enough for the whole of Maharashtra. Bhiwandi produces excellent rice. So much of cottage industry has grown there with thousands of power looms, with thousands of people getting employment, skilled Muslims, skilled South Indians, all are there. There is no question of any religion there. It is such a good town, ideal town, that in can be taken as a miniature of India. If this thing can happen in that town, I do not know why similar cannot happen in other towns.

The remedy is not to say you have done this, I have done it. These Committees and Commissions, of course, are necessary

In order to do something, to immediately put a stop to it, but this habit of sitting over their Reports for months together and years together is not good. Mr. D. P. Madan is a very able man, a good man. Nobody can doubt his impartiality. He will go into it. It is not his business to suggest how you should behave. You will find the cause, who threw the first stone. I am not interested in finding out who threw the first stone or first acid bomb or Molotov cocktail. Apart from knowing what is the reason, and symptoms apart, I am interested in the disease. Unless the disease is eradicated there is no future for this country. Therefore it must be our endeavour to clear up things so that people may know when the proceedings of this debate are read tomorrow, what we have to say on this matter. The point is not how many persons went at the throat of how many other persons. I think there is no harm in coming to this decision; as responsible representatives of millions of citizens sitting in this House it becomes our paramount duty to find out means and methods in our own behaviour by which we can ask other people to follow our behaviour, we must behave in such manner.

I was really pained to hear the speech of my friend Mr. Tulsidas Jadhav. He spoke as if it was his responsibility to reply to my friend Mr. Vajpayee somehow or the other. I do not understand why it should be taken in that fashion. Some persons may have more intimate knowledge and they may give some instances. That is a different matter. But our attempt in totality ought to be to see that this was the last of its kind and such things do not happen again. I do not think that the leftist and the rightist communist parties have any difference so far as this is concerned. I think they are on the national unity platform and many other such conferences that are held. I agree with my friend Mr. Vajpayee that it must not be the sole responsibility of the Prime Minister to choose people from every community. Then it becomes a kind of show which is not a national show. If it is to have meaning surely the people must be really representative so that they can bring their experience and give good advice. I remember one of the meetings which I attended when I was a Member. Our late President Dr. Zakir

Husain—he was then Governor of Bihar—made a beautiful speech in which he said that it would be a red letter day in India when 90 per cent of the Hindu voters elected Muslim candidates as their representatives and *vice versa*. That will show that they are not guided by communal or religious considerations and that they elect people for their ideologies or policies, whatever their religion might be. Then we shall establish a proper atmosphere and will show that we are not guided by religious or communal considerations. All these difficulties arise because of that. We go into those things with the idea of self-aggrandisement because we are politicians with fond hopes. I do not like to accuse them of anything just now. Politics must be kept out of this minority business. I am not prepared to call the Muslim a minority. 50 or 60 million people cannot be called a minority. They may be less as compared to Hindus, but surely that is not a minority as Christians or Parsees or other people. They are a strong people. In order to get their votes if we use such methods it may help you for some time but a time will come when not only the Muslim will suffer, but the Hindus will also suffer more than anybody, and the nation will suffer. Therefore my advice is this—I have got the right to give advice to Muslims, I had been their friend in the city, nothing like this happened in that city to the Muslims, and if anything happens I shall be the first person to care for them, and what happens in Bombay should, I wish, happen elsewhere also. If anybody tried to get advantage because there was election and he wants votes and on that basis he wants to deal with this matter in a particular fashion it will not do good. If my Muslim friends unwarily fall into that kind of a trap they will not only bring harm to themselves but they will also bring harm to democracy and to the nation itself. I know many instances and if we go on narrating incidents now I shall perhaps miss the big point which I am making. The point is that we must create an atmosphere as a result of this debate that we are not a party, whatever we might have said to each other in anger; sometimes when a man says something in anger, that does not mean that his heart is not pure. Therefore, I appeal to the Government that the time has come when not only the appointment of a Commission or a Committee or the convening of a conference occasionally publishing

[Shri S. K. Patil]

their report will end these troubles. These things will only end when we all, Muslims and Hindus, work together in everyday life as brothers, and sisters, and we must show it. The larger responsibility is on the Hindus to create a sense of security where every man belonging to the minority—if you call the Muslims a minority—will feel safe; it is more that we have got to give and less that we have got to take. In this fashion, if we go on, then surely, the progress of the nation will be assured, and I am sure that the speakers after this speech will take this trend which I have tried, in howsoever small a manner, to set, and create a condition at the end of it wherein we say in a unanimous voice that we all condemn this kind of irresponsible acts and emerge out of it not because it is there but to see that there should not be a repetition of such horrible incidents anywhere in this country.

श्री सीताराम केसरी (कटिहार): उपाध्यक्ष जी, जब देश की एकता की नितान्त आवश्यकता है, ऐसे समय में दंगे क्यों होते हैं? दंगों में किसका हाथ होता है? आखिर ये कब से शुरू हुए?

उपाध्यक्ष जी, आप देखेंगे कि 1921 के बाद इस मुल्क में दंगे होने शुरू हुए। इससे पहले हिन्दू-मुसलमान दंगे नहीं होते थे, मगर आज आपने देखा कि अहमदाबाद के बाद भिवन्डी में और जलगाँव में निर्भय हत्याएं हुईं। उसके पीछे कौन सी भावना काम करती है? मेरा ख्याल है, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके पीछे साम्प्रदायिक भावना है। आज बच्चों के दिमाग में जो एक भावना पैदा की जा रही है, सारे देश के अन्दर इस तरह की भावना है, हिन्दू-मुसलमान का अलग करने का जो तरीका अख्तियार किया जा रहा है, उसकी वजह से ये सारी चीजें हो रही हैं। आप देखिए कि आज हालत क्या है। मैं आपके द्वारा ग्रह मंत्री महोदय से यह अर्ज करूँगा कि इस तरह के कांड,

इस तरह की हत्याएँ और इस तरह की जो घटनाएँ होती हैं, उनको मुस्तेदी के साथ रोकने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। यह ठीक है कि आज हमारे अटल बिहारी वाजपेयीजी ने भाषण दिया बड़ा तगड़ा भाषण था लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हिन्दुओं में दूसरे संप्रदायों के लिए जब सम्मान की भावना घटेगी इस देश की अखण्डता चूरचूर हो जायेगी। हिन्दुओं का हमेशा से यह स्थान रहा है कि उन्होंने अल्पसंख्यकों की भावना का सम्मान किया है, उनकी सुरक्षा की है मैं जानना चाहता हूँ दक्षिण भारत में इस तरह के हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगे क्यों नहीं होते। मलेशिया में और इंडोनेशिया में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगे क्यों नहीं होते। दुःख है कि उत्तर भारत में इस तरह के कांड होते हैं, इसके पीछे कौनसी भावना है कौन सा ख्याल है। मेरा ख्याल है कि जितने अखबार हैं, जितनी पुस्तकें निकलती हैं वह पुस्तकें इस तरह का विपाकत वातावरण सारे देश में पैदा कर रही हैं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार को इस दिशा में मुस्तेदी से ऐसे साहित्य, ऐसे अखबारों और ऐसी विचारधारा को जिससे कि साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर भावनाओं को उग्र बनाया जाता है, उनको उत्तेजित किया जाता है, उनको आज रोकना चाहिए। मैं कहूँ कि इससे हमारे देश का हित भी होगा। मैं आपको एक बात बता देना चाहता हूँ कि आर० ए० ए० के छोटे छोटे बच्चों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है, ड्रिल जो होता है उनके अन्दर कोई सदभावना की बात नहीं बतलाई जाती है। उन्हें नहीं सिखाया जाता है कि सदभावना क्या चीज होती है। उनको साम्प्रदायिकता ही सिखाई जाती है। उनके अन्दर सांप्रदायिक भावना पैदा की जाती है। आपने देखा, जैसे मैंने कहा, ये लोग राम या कृष्ण या भगवान के प्रति कोई प्रचार नहीं करेंगे ये हमेशा उन पुस्तकों को पढ़ते हैं जिसमें मुगल पीरियड का इतिहास हो। कैसे बहादुरी से हिन्दू लड़ें मुसलमानों से। उस समय सत्ता की लड़ाई थी। लेकिन उन्होंने रंग दिया सांप्रदायिकता की

भावना — कि देखो मुसलमानों ने अत्याचार किया। परन्तु स्थिति यह थी कि उस समय सत्ता में जो मुसलमान थे वह हिन्दुओं के खिलाफ लड़ते थे, वह आजादी की लड़ाई थी। अगर अब उन्होंने उसको लाकर साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं में परिणत कर दिया और उनके दिमाग में यह बात पैदा करने का यत्न शुरू कर दिया कि जो हमारे राणा प्रताप थे वह आजादी की लड़ाई के बहादुर नहीं थे, शिवाजी हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई के प्रतीक नहीं थे, उन को वह लोगों के दिमाग में हिन्दू के रूप में बिठलाना शुरू कर दें, तो इस सारे देश में इस प्रकार की भावना इस प्रकार का एक विषाक्त वातावरण पैदा होता है।

16.30 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair.]

मैं आप के द्वारा मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि जो नानकम्प्यूनिस्ट लोग हैं, जो असांम्प्रदायिक लेखक श्री विचारशील प्राणी हैं, जो अच्छे साहित्य की छान बीन करें तथा सांम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं देश में न फैलने दें उसमें रुकावट डालें, ऐसे सांम्प्रदायरहित भावनाओं को रखने वाले लेखकों का एक बोर्ड केन्द्र में बनाया जाये। साथ ही प्रदेश स्तर पर भी जो लोग इस तरह के हों वह इन सब चीजों की छान बीन करें ताकि जो लोग सांम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं को फैलाते हैं, भले ही इंडाइरेक्टली हो, उन पर अंकुश लगे, जो लोग इस तरह के अखबार निकालते हैं और प्रचार करते हैं उन पर भी अंकुश लगे।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से एक चीज और कहूंगा कि जहां भी इस तरह के दंगे होते हैं वहाँ के लोगों पर प्युनिटिव टैक्स लगाना चाहिए, जिस से आगे दंगे होने में रुकावट पड़े।

एक मन्त्रालय इस सरकार के अन्तर्गत होना चाहिए जो कम्प्यूनिस्ट डिस्तरामोनी पैदा करने

वालों पर और कम्प्यूनिस्ट टेंशन पैदा करने वालों पर अंकुश लगाये तथा ऐसी चीजों के लिए पहले से कार्यवाही करे।

इसके बाद मैं आप के द्वारा कुछ सच्ची बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। आप देखेंगे कि अभी यहां पर माननीय सदस्य खाली बोटों की बात कर रहे थे। क्यों कर रहे थे। वह जानते हैं कि अल्पसंख्यकों के अत्याचार की बात कह कर वह मुसलमानों के खिलाफ हिन्दुओं की भावनाओं को जगा कर बोट मिल सकते हैं। उनके कथन के पीछे यही भावना है। भिवन्डी और जलगांव में जो कत्लेआम हुआ, अहमदाबाद में जो कत्लेआम हुआ, उस सबकी चर्चा के पीछे यही भावना काम करती है। आज इस देश में इस बात की जरूरत है कि आपस में सांम्प्रदायिक सदभावना हो, जो हर धर्म के लोग हैं, जो हर जाति के लोग हैं वह छोटे छोटे अल्पसंख्यकों को सुरक्षा दें, उनकी सदभावना को जीतने की कोशिश करें, न कि इस सर्वोच्च सदन में यह विचार देने की, यह कहने की कि कांग्रेस वाले या सत्ता में रहने वाले यह लोग इसलिए अल्पसंख्यक का पक्ष लेते हैं क्योंकि उनको उन लोगों से बोट लेने है। आप बहुसंख्यकों के बोट लेने के लिए इस तरह की बातें कहते हैं, यह गलत चीज है। आज जिन परिवारों को नुकसान हो गया है, जिन के घर बरबाद हो गये हैं, उनके प्रति आपकी हमदर्दी होनी चाहिए, आप को चाहिए था कि आप उनके प्रति सदभावना प्रकट करते, सहानुभूति प्रकट करते। इसके स्थान पर आपने कहा कि हिन्दुओं का रूप उग्र होता जा रहा है। यह दुःख की बात है। मैं माननीय सदस्य के प्रति व्यक्तिगत आघात पर सम्मान की भावना रखता हूँ, लेकिन यह धर्म की बात है कि अल्पसंख्यकों की कास्ट पर जहां उन के प्रति हमदर्दी की भावना होनी चाहिये, इस सदन के द्वारा उनके घावों पर मलहम लगाने की बात होनी चाहिये, उसके लिए अपनी सम्मति देते,

[श्री सीताराम बेसरी]

वहाँ उन्होंने ऐसी तकरीर की जिस से देश का वातावरण खराब हो जाये। अगर इस तरह बातों की गई तो कम से कम 100 दंगे निश्चित रूप से इस देश में हो जायेंगे। अगर आप ने हिन्दुओं के वोट उभारने के लिए यह सब किया तो इस तरह से आपको उनके मत मिलने वाले नहीं हैं। आज हिन्दुओं में जागृति है, हिन्दू जानते हैं कि वह गांधी के वंशज हैं। गांधीजी किस वजह से मौत के शिकार हुए। उनका असैमिनेशन क्यों हुआ। गोली क्यों लगी। जब गांधी जी अनशन कर रहे थे तब भी बहुत के हिन्दू विचारधारा के लोगों ने अनशन के विरोध में बहुत सी बातें कही थीं। लेकिन उसके बाद क्या हुआ। गांधी का बलिदान। उसका प्रभाव देश पर हुआ और बीस साल तक रहा। यदि इस तरह की कुर्बानियां होती रहीं तो चाहे हिन्दू हो चाहे दूसरे सम्प्रदाय के लोग हों, उन में साम्प्रदायिक भावनायें बहुत दिनों तक नहीं रह सकतीं।

अन्त में मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन सब बातों का असर क्या होता है दुनिया पर। आज रब्बात के सम्बन्ध में श्री वाजपेयी ने कहा कि आखिर वह क्यों हुआ। रब्बात का मामला इसलिए हुआ कि अहमदाबाद में हिन्दू मुस्लिम दंगा हुआ और पाकिस्तान को मौका मिला कि वह मुस्लिम देशों को हमारे खिलाफ उभारे। उसने उनको हमारे खिलाफ खड़ा कर दिया जिसकी वजह से इस देश की बेइज्जती हुई।

माननीय सदस्य हमेशा याद रखें कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगों से, हिन्दू जाति की कल्पना से, वे देश में शांति नहीं ला सकते हैं। वे छः करोड़ मुसलमानों को खत्म नहीं कर सकते हैं, उनको निकाल भी नहीं सकते हैं और उनको कनवर्ट भी नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए उनको अपने भाई समझ कर, सिटिजन के नाते उनके जो

अधिकार हैं, उनकी रक्षा करनी चाहिए, उनकी भावनाओं का आदर करना चाहिए, उनको आजादी के साथ सोचने और अपनी बात कहने का अधिकार होना चाहिए और उनमें सुरक्षा की भावना पैदा करनी चाहिए।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि जिस किसी संस्था से साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना की जड़ आती हो, वह उस को फौलादी हाथों से और बहादुरी के साथ बंद कर दें। इस समय इस मंत्रालय के मंत्री श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण हैं। जो एक बहादुर आदमी हैं और राष्ट्रीय क्षितिज पर जिन का उदय उस समय हुआ, जबकि देश सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से खतरे में था। भिवन्डी में निर्मम हत्याओं को देख कर उन की आंखों में आंसू आ गये थे और वह बहुत दुखी हुए थे। उनकी आंखों में फिर कभी इस प्रकार आंसू न आयें, इसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वह फौलादी हाथों से इन सारी साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाओं को बंद कर दें।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस मुल्क में छोटे छोटे बच्चों को ड्रिल और फिजिकल ट्रेनिंग केवल स्कूलों के द्वारा दी जानी चाहिये और नक्सलाइट्स आर० एस० एस० शिवाजी दल आदि किसी भी दल या संस्था को इस की इजाजत नहीं देनी चाहिए।

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM (Chitra-Durga): Mr. Chairman, I am speaking with a heavy heart. I have heard the aggressive speech of the President of the Jansangh. I have also heard the conciliatory and meaningful speech of Shri S. K. Patil, who comes from Bombay. I know that I am in a vulnerable position. I cannot make an aggressive speech. My only concern is to see that the 60 million Muslims, who are an integral part of India, whose co-operation and integration is absolutely necessary to forge the Indian nation, their lives are honoured and protected. I do not very much mind the destruction of the property. But I do say that

the Muslims in India must have an honoured place and the government, the society and the various parties should take necessary steps to see that this minority, which is a vulnerable minority, live in peace and in harmony in this secular land.

Shri Vajpayee has given a number of instances—Muslims inciting the people. I have no personal knowledge of them. Perhaps, he has his agents and they are giving him information. But the speech that he made today is not new to me. Such speeches I have heard and they are constantly being made throughout the country by him and his followers to incite the mob.

SHRI SHASHI BHUSHAN (Khargode): You have political allies with Mr. Vajpayee.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: That is not correct. Please withdraw that. The Swatantra party by itself has no alliance or political alliance; it has its own independent policy.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): Your leader visiting the R. S. S. leader Golwalkar.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: There is nothing wrong in that. If I hug you, that does not mean I am a communist. Politics has nothing to do with personalities.

As a man of national stature, I wish Mr. Vajpayee had a more soft corner towards the minority instead of branding them wholesale as being the instigator of all the communal troubles, as being responsible for all the communal troubles and calling them as anti-Indians and also anti-nationals.

We have read the statement of the Home Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan. He has described in the House the number of deaths, the number of persons that were killed in these riot-affected areas. He has given a graphic account of it and he has said that most of the persons who have been killed are Muslims. As the Home Minister, he has gone to the spot and he has first-hand information. We have to take it as having the semblance of truth. I remember a famous

Shakespearean passage which I may quote with some alteration. "As flies are to wanton boys so are the Muslims and minorities to these wanton parties and to politicians."

I can speak with confidence that the Muslims are dejected and frustrated. They feel that the Government of the land is unable to protect their lives and honour. They feel that in every part of the country, they are sitting on a live volcano which can explode at any time claiming hundreds and thousands of lives. They feel that their future is dark, gloomy and uncertain. These are not mere surmises. These are hard facts and conclusions which one has to arrive at by the events that have happened. The events have happened in the past; the events are now occurring and, I am afraid, they will occur in the future also which compel us to hang our heads down in shame and in sorrow. Our image is tarnished in the whole world. Our country has fallen down from its proud pedestal of secularism. The communal monster has raised its ugly head and communal virus is being injected in the minds of the people throughout the country. At present, there seems to be no antidote for that.

During the last two years, the communal disturbances have taken place. Mr. Vajpayee has narrated them. There are the famous riots at Nagpur, Cuttack, Ranchi, Meerut, Kanpur, Allahabad, Indore, everywhere.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Except Delhi, everywhere.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: Thanks to Jana Sangh. I give that credit. Please keep it up.

But the riots at Ahmedabad will go down in history, as a inglorious and ignominious monument of our communalism and I will also say of the rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi wherein thousands and thousands were butchered and massacred. We thought, Sir, that the death of these 4000 people, mostly Muslims, would satisfy the communal appetite of the communal monster and there would be some respite and we would have more time to recover from the shocks. But that is not



[Shri J. Mohamad Imam]

to be, because, within a month we had a recurrence of it in Chalbasa in Bihar where property worth lakhs of rupees were looted and many lives were lost. Even before the blood there was dry, within a fortnight we find these communal riots of vast magnitude and of intensity in Bhiwandl and various other places in Maharashtra. What is more? These riots have been occurring in quick succession without giving any respite and the most tragic portion of these riots is this: that all these riots involving loss of life have been occurring in the centenary year of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life for Muslims. But for his sacrifice, perhaps, the future of the Muslims would have been different. Where is the Ahimsa and peace which he taught? All that has been murdered. I can state that with every communal riot we are murdering Gandhiji. We are murdering Gandhiji and with every murder a number of Godses are coming up. After all, at the time of his assassination there was only one Godse. But every time we murder Gandhiji as a result of communal riots, any number of Godses are coming up.

What is the anatomy of these communal riots? What are the causes? A close analysis of these riots, a close study of these riots, will reveal that they are all alike in character. They are all of the same standard. The reason is the same. Generally the riots are between Hindus and Muslims and these riots are invariably directed towards Muslims and it is only the Muslims and a majority of them suffered in these riots. We find that when these riots occur, the victims of the riots are helpless. The police are always late on the scene. The Government is always lethargic and indifferent. The police come on the spot after the destruction is over and the massacre is finished. Finally, the Ministers go there, shed their tears and appoint a Commission and come back. They feel that they have done their duty and they become complacent and think they have nothing to do with it further. They become complacent and sleep over it till another riot occurs. This is the common feature of all these riots.

The Central Government may say that they have appointed the National Integra-

tion Council, that they are appointing a Committee through the National Integration Council. It met once or twice at Srinagar. Conferences are held, Resolutions are passed, but what is the use? These Conferences and these Resolutions do not stop the communal orgy.

What is needed is clear thinking and effective action. Shri Chavan introduced the Bill called the Criminal Law Amendment Bill by which he made the punitive measures and penal actions most stringent. That Bill provides that those who foment communal trouble, who spread communal propaganda, who incite one community against the other, who either by deed or word, take part in communal troubles, would be punished severely. It also said that if any organisation indulges in such kinds of activities, that would be dealt with severely. But, more than an year has passed and what action has been taken on this Act? How far this Criminal Law Amendment Act has proved effective? Has it in any way mitigated the communal trouble?

I am sorry Shri Chavan is not here. But, I may say, that Act is safe in the statute-book but no action has been taken. After that, so much of anti-national activities have been going on. There have been many literatures and many magazines which have come out in which the Muslims are condemned as anti-national. May I ask: How many people have been rounded up for publishing literature which incite one community against the other? I can just mention one instance. I don't know how many of the Members have read 'Mother India' edited by an Hon. Member of this House. Please read the last 2 or 3 issues. You will find what I say.

I may say, there is a great deal of controversy going on about Indianisation. It is said that Muslims must be Indianised. I can tell you, Sir, with all the emphasis at my command, that the Muslims in India are loyal. They never think of divided loyalty. There is no question of dual loyalty. They are the sons of the soil. We live here and we die here. Our descendants will, for ever, live in this country.

Hundreds and thousands of them may be massacred but they will always be here. At least we know after our death we will have a permanent home here which nobody can disturb. We will all be here.

Sir, I would like to know this. After Independence, has there been any instance of any Muslim betraying his country, or acting as a traitor?

Let the Home Minister quote whether there has been any instance where the Muslims have gone against the interests of this country. In 1965 war against Pakistan, did not all Muslims stand behind you? Was there any single instance that any Muslim was against this country? In spite of this, Shri Vajpayee accuses them and says that they need to be Indianised. I may tell you that Indianisation is necessary for those who foment trouble and those who create communal troubles. They are not Indians but they are anti-Indians and it is they who need to be Indianised. Those who kill their own countrymen and those who destroy the national properties of India are not Indians and they need to be Indianised; those who are against the interests of the country and against the unity need to be Indianised.

So, let them take a lesson from this that we, Muslims, are solidly behind the country and we are Indians. Shri S. K. Patil just now said and quoted Dr. Zakir Husain that he wanted to see a day when a Muslim would be elected in a place where there are only 10% Muslims. Here is a Muslim—myself—who was elected from a Hindu constituency where there are only 7% Muslims. This is not the first time that I am being elected from here. For the last forty years I am being elected to Assemblies and other bodies.

I have great respect for Shri Vajpayee. I know that in his heart, he feels that the Muslim are nationalists. So also Shri Gupta,

**SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA** : There is peace in Delhi.

**SHRI J. MOHAMAD IMAM** : Jan Sangh, please keep this up and spread the message of peace to other parts of the country also.

Sir, I am an incurable optimist.

**SHRI NATH PAI** (Rajapur) : That is why you are in Swatantra.

**SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM** : I am sure that we will build up the nation. Things must get worse before they become better. We can build a magnificent edifice only out of ruins. I am an ardent believer that there is no conflict between religion and religion and there is no conflict between Hinduism and Islam because both are the religions which believe in one God. I also know that by tradition, by our Indian culture, Hindus and Muslims have lived side by side exchanging blessings for centuries and centuries and I can tell you that in the South, there are Muslims who have helped and contributed for the renovation or building up of temples. And there are instances where Muslims have endowed lands to temples and Hindus have helped the Muslims institutions. There is so much of cordiality. I am glad to say that as compared to North, we are living in peace in the South. So, Jan Sangh, please do not go there.

**SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA** : But, in Delhi, you have peace.

**SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM** : I know there is a crisis of confidence. Some of our friends think that we are not Indians and that we are against India. They must please dispel these suspicions from their minds. We are also aware as Muslims that it is only the confidence that the Hindus or the majority community will repose in us that will protect us and help us and that it is only that which will be our *vaz-rakia-acha*. This mutual confidence has to be restored, and I expect that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee will contribute for this.

17 hrs.

After all, we are in a minority. We can never aspire to dominate or do any thing

[Shri J. Mohamad Imam]

of that sort. But though we are in a minority, we are in a vulnerable position. But still, we want to be Indians, and we want to forge the nation. I appeal to the leader of the Jan Sangh to change his outlook. Let him imagine that all of us are Indians. Let him rest assured that we will live here and that we will not leave India. We want to help the nation and we want to be a part of the nation.

I know that it is very difficult to achieve Indian unity, because India is a land of diversity. Nationalism has to be forged out of this diversity. There are different religions and different sects and different communities. All these communities must strive for it. As I said last time, in fact, India and Indian unity must be taken as a spiritual conception. It is not an earthly thing. It must be fostered and nursed as a spiritual conception. It is only when we nurse this that we can form a nation. It is only then that a nation can be formed.

We know we have been fighting with each other. But for how long can we go on fighting with each other? For how long can we go on killing each other? I must say that the choice is clear. The time has come when all of us must live together and we must proclaim our resolve that we must live together and work together to mutual advantage and exchange blessings with each other; then alone, the purpose will be accomplished, and Indian unity will then only be an effective or living reality. On the other hand, if we forget this and we go in the same old way and we cast away this opportunity that is given to us, then I am afraid that we shall not be able to extricate ourselves from the trouble; I cannot predict what the future will be; there will be great difficulty; I do not know what destiny has ordained.

I shall conclude my speech with a quotation from Omar Khayyam, which I shall adapt for the occasion :

"The moving finger writes  
And having writ, it moves on,  
Not all the tears of Government or  
Vajpayee can change even a bit of  
it."

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : The most gruesome and heinous story of the communal carnage, the communal genocide of the last decade, which commenced at Jabalpur and has now reached Bhivandi and Jalgaon via Calcutta, Rourkela, Ranchi, Nagpur, Allahabad, Meerut, Ahmedabad and Chaibasa, reveals a very morbid mockery of our avowed allegiance to the entire concept of secularism, our Constitution and the very ideals of democracy. Each communal riot has had the dreadful outcome of human indecency and barbarity at its obnoxious worst and, therefore, is pointed out by Shri Patil, each such riot has been a curse to the entire nation. It is the single biggest slur on the Indian nation, the greatest disgrace to the rich heritage of this ancient land which teaches us so much of catholicity and tolerance.

But while the riots are a real curse, we have noticed there are two concomitant events which follow every riot. These two are even worse than the riots themselves. The first of these is the usual statement by the spokesman of the State Government where the riots have taken place. Invariably they come out with absolute monotony a stereotype explanation giving out reasons for the inaction of the district officials, for their failure to act sternly and in time to prevent these communal riots.

With a little experience in my own constituency, I can say that if the district officials are willing to act in time and act with honesty, severity and sternness, they can certainly prevent the occurrence of a riot. As has been pointed out by the Home Minister some time ago, the best way of checking a riot is not to allow it to occur. Once you allow it occur, it becomes difficult to control. Therefore, when the State Governments justify the action-or inaction—of State officials to a point of fault, almost to the point of justifying the riot, there we have a concomitant event.

The second event which follows a riot is much worse. A national debate follows every riot. After innocent men, women and children have lost their lives, after there has been wanton destruction of property, there is a national debate. Public meetings are held,

statements to the press issued, discussions take place in the Assemblies and in Parliament. In this national debate, certain political parties—I use the word in plural; I am not referring to any particular party—adopt a rank communal posture which is infinitely worse than the posture struck by the rioters themselves. All these political parties indulge in massive political verbosity, unleash a deluge of it, and worse, without a drop of sincerity about communal harmony and amity.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why does he do it himself ?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : This type of attitude on the part of these political parties does the greatest harm to the cause of communal harmony because they thereby virtually set the stage for an ex-communal riot, as it were.

It is with the utmost poignant distress that I have to describe the *modus operandi* of these political parties. Ostensibly they condemn and disapprove of the communal violence and the riots, in principle. They are even agreeable to shedding some crocodile tears for the loss of life of innocent men, women and children and destruction of property. But these very parties are unwilling to ruthlessly condemn and rebuke the participants in the communal carnage regardless of caste, creed or religion. They find fault only with one community and find every justification for the other community to indulge in violence, lawlessness in retaliation and retort. If one community is allowed to become more communal in attitude, that is reprehensible. But by what stretch of imagination or parity of reason or logic is it justifiable for the other community to unleash violence, to retaliate and kill innocent men, women and children? How is this militant aggressiveness justified? This has to be rebuked, disapproved as much as the alleged communalism of the other party, if there is even a modicum of sincerity to the cause of communal harmony.

It is my experience that these parties masquerade naked communalism, under very catchy, deceptive slogans of neo-nationalism. Therefore, it is high time we

realised that these varieties of national debates are not going to solve the communal problem in which the whole country is hopelessly engulfed, and this is not going to eradicate the root of the hatred and bitterness between the communities. No amount of pedantic discourses and no amount of high-sounding speeches are ever going to change the hearts of the people. I submit that a down-to-earth attitude is now necessary if we are serious about tackling this problem firmly.

A pragmatic and realistic assessment will reveal that the cult of sacrifice, the cult of bigotry and religious tyranny and oppression are very much on the increase, with the utmost of respect to revered Vajpayeeji, I submit that it is a complete mis-reading of the Report of the Raghubar Dayal Commission to say that this increase is only in one community. The Committee has pointed out that the entire country, all the communities, are guilty of this heinous mentality.

This is hardly the occasion for me to go into the historical genesis of the problem. The communal problem is a bitter reality and we have to live with it, but there have been some self-seeking historians with vested interests, who have painted a picture of this great country as if in the four or five centuries which preceded the British advent in this country was a period in which there was a continuous conflict between Islam and Hindus. These historians have pointed out that the invaders like Ghazni and Gori came to this country not as ruthless dictators, selfish men in search of power, wealth and money, but as if it was an attack of Islam on Hindus. The latest historian, very fortunately, has come out with proper overtones about the secular attitude of various Mohammadan Rulers like Humayun, Jahangir and Akbar.

Even assuming that there are historical reasons for the communal trouble, are we going to penalise, hold to ransom, the weak for the sins of their forefathers? If we do this, it will be an Indian version of the justice of the wolf to the lamb. We are not going to do this. This country will never do this. Therefore, I am unable to see any conflict, any contradiction whatsoever in the essential postulates of these

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

two great religions which should make their followers live happily in amity in this country, especially when they are born of the same motherland, the same sacred Mother India.

Atalji wanted to do some very blunt and frank talking. He has done that, and it is my turn to do a little more blunt and frank talking. I submit that the responsibility for the extraordinary growth of communal hatred in the Sixties has to be fairly and squarely cast on the heads of certain political parties, pseudo-religious and communal institutions and bogus cultural organisations organising para-military activities. Political stooges of these master minds are working some of these organisations, and they are the worst enemies of communal harmony.

I would be falling in my duty if I did not mention the very grave risks involved in any State Government patronising overtly or covertly any organisation with para-military activities for political ends. The State Government in doing so would be nursing a Frankenstein. If we are to analyse objectively the facts and figures in the Raghubar Dayal Commission's Report on the communal riots in the Sixties, the conclusions we reach are poignantly shocking. The number of riots, their periodicity, their frequency, the killing of thousands of innocent men, women and children and the crippling of tens of thousands, the magnitude of the destruction of property, etc., make one's inference absolutely clear that the people seem to participate in communal riots in increasing numbers with a sense of complacency that the participation is not going to involve any serious consequences. They seem to feel that they can participate in the communal riots and get away with it.

An eminent Professor of Sociology from Lucknow, after doing some research, has brought out fairly and squarely the lapses of various parties, including my party. This is of very great importance. With your permission I shall quote a few lines. This is not what I am saying. He says :

"The initial mistake was made by the Congress party when it started wooing Muslims and other minorities after partition for its short sightedly planned political stability. Hindu communalists took an exceptional advantage of this partisan policy of the Congress (the then biggest political organisation in the country) and conveniently formed a party like the Jana Sangh to appease the injured ego of staunch Hindus."

"RSS—a so-called cultural organisation—is at the moment the best organized para-military body in the country, which has a huge army of loyal and youthful workers, with Guru Golwalkar (a rabid communalist) as its C-in-C. RSS and Jana Sangh like the Nazi Party of Germany thrive in India on its anti-Muslim posture and appeal to those Hindus who are deceptively caught in the catchy slogans like—'Akand Bharat' 'Indianization of Muslims' and 'Long live our Hindu culture' etc.

The Jamate Islami, the Majlis-e-Mushawarat, and a few others of this type are the political organizations of the frustrated Muslim communal politicians who could not find advantageous positions in the higher Congress hierarchy. They outrageously talk of Muslim exploitation and remain small political parties of a few self-seekers."

I do hope the Home Minister will take care to see what he has stated about the role of the various parties.

The menace of communalism has stared eating dangerously into the very vitals of our national life and the matter has to be looked with urgency and desperation. Certain long term and short term measures have to be taken. The long term measures should seek to achieve better socio-religious relationship between the two communities through better and adequate education. For that purpose Shri Raghubar Dayal Commission report is a very valuable document and I hope that the Government

of India will not shelve it. Immediate steps must be taken with urgency and desperation. I hope the Home Minister will give very serious consideration to my suggestions. Firstly, it should be recognised that existing criminal laws of the country are not adequate to curb the occurrence of communal riots. We should, therefore, make a new law for prevention of communal disturbances and riots.

My second suggestion is this. Under the law a permanent Commission should be set up with judicial powers and authority to investigate, examine and fully screen the set-up, financial working and various activities of different institutions, organisations and political bodies against whom there is evidence of communal activities *prima facie*.

Thirdly for arson and stabbing the maximum punishment should be death and minimum punishment should be ten years rigorous imprisonment. Fourthly, for participation in communal riots and causing minor injuries the minimum punishment should be ten years rigorous imprisonment and maximum life sentence and lastly, for inciting communalism in any form whatsoever, either by spoken words or in writing or by deeds the minimum punishment should be five years rigorous imprisonment.

We have been sitting for too long on the brink of a volcano which is showing very dangerous signs of large scale eruption. If we continue with our present attitude of complacency I have no doubt left in my mind that it will bring about the complete disintegration of the country and the complete ruination of the Indian nationalism.

**SHRI S. A. DANGE** (Bombay Central South): After hearing Mr. Vajpayee's speech one need not question who stated the riots. It also makes it very clear that if there was anybody who did not start the riots, they were the Muslims. Why? Mr. Vajpayee himself says that it was a Muslim majority town and that the Mayor was a Muslim. Will the Muslims and the Muslim Mayor prevent the fire engines coming into the town to extinguish the fire in which the majority of the Muslim property will be burnt? I think in

his zeal he forgot the logic of his position. He only gave instances, this was found and that was found. Yes; it was found; but where was it found and who pushed where and for what use? So, one need not go into all the facts that he recited. Being an eloquent speaker, he did arouse passions and he did that in order to do what? You must remember Mr. Vajpayee's speech as a manifesto calling for a civil war of the Hindus against the Muslims; a civil war of the Hindus against all non-Hindus, not only Muslims, and that is why when others began to remind him about the existence of Christians and so on and so forth, he rather tried to correct himself. Thank God, he corrected a little here, but I hope he would correct himself more later.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Will you correct yourself now?

**SHRI S. A. DANGE:** I am correcting you very much now and you will hear more about the corrections. So, in regard to this speech, I wanted it to come round in its complete form and that is why when some of my party members suggested that some references should be expunged, I said, "No; let everything remain for all people to read and for all people to refer to."

What was the keynote of his speech? His assumption is that as the Muslims were communal, the Hindus उग्र स्वरूप धारण कर रहे हैं। What is meant by उग्र स्वरूप? That means that we are now going on a war-path and deal with these fellows by means of massacre and war.

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** Shame, Shame

**SHRI S. A. DANGE:** What is *Ugra Swarup*? There are Hindu historians. I do not know history is being preached now, there are Hindu historians, who said there must be a Hinduism now which must be a Jaishnu Dharma and not Sahishnu Dharma. So I long as Hinduism was Sahishnu Dharma, a very tolerant one, what happened? Well, when the great Hindus of South India, the landlords, burnt the Harijans. 40 of

[Shri S. A. Dange]

them, in their huts for demanding higher wages, what kinds of Sahishnu Hindu landlords they were, I do not know. But then when distinctions are being made, with a call for militant Hinduism--their manifesto is now being circulated, and that was the speech of Mr. Vajpayee. What is the answer to that? The answer of my hon. friend, Shri S. K. Patil is no answer. The answer of some of our people who were speaking here, "No, we preach brotherhood and all that" is no answer. Mahatma Gandhi spent his whole life for communal unity and he was ultimately shot by a militant Hindu. That is the fate of Hindus preaching peace to be beheaded by the monster of civil war and massacre. In the present massacre, Mr. Vajpayee ought to have really felt a little sorry, if not ashamed that carrying the tradition of the Rajputs, and speaking in the name of Hindus and Shivaji and all that, he has not a word of regret that children were being massacred, that Muslim women were being massacred. Did ever Shivaji kill Muslim women or Hindu women? I know in fact it is on record that when an eminent commander got a beautiful Muslim girl from Kalyan, next door to Bhiwandi, presented that girl to be the slave of this monarch and then Shivaji said, "oh God, I wish that my mother had been so beautiful, what a beautiful son I would have been." Shivaji did not resent the idea that he could not have been born of a mother like such a Muslim woman. And now in Bhiwandi, what were they doing? They were doing exactly the reverse, and so let them not quote Shivaji or any slogan in the name of Shivaji and all that, because that kind of thing is being misused in many ways.

So, let not any one say in this House homilies on religion, because, religion is such that I do not want to define it. I know best the Hindu religion in this country of ours. In this religion, there is a beautiful preaching of love and peace. But when it comes to social rights, various *panthis* are born, one says that if you want success for your building, and prevent it from being haunted by ghosts, please get a child and put his blood in the foundation. This also exists amongst Hinduism.

In the *Aghora panthi*, these rites are provided for. These cases have happened. They are on record, in Rajasthan and other places. From where do they arise? They arise from a wrong conception of what religion is in the modern period. It might have had some justification in the ancient period; I am not discussing that. Religion, its preachings and principles will not help us out of the present situation and therefore, I do not want to go into that. Mr. Patil gave all that in his lecture and he revived memories of Nehru and Gandhi. We have all those memories but that will not help.

17.25 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

There is a sect there which preaches loyalty to Shivaji, called Shiva Sena. There is one merit about the Shiva Sena leader. He openly and straightforwardly says, please go and break this meeting and kill that man. A really honest gentleman, I should say. His main enemy is the communist party. Sometimes he also honours me by naming me as the man who should really be killed. That does not matter. That we shall see. When this matter was raised in the Assembly, the Chief Minister, who belongs to the Ruling Congress said, "I am not here to solve your internal quarrels. You do what you like." We had to ask him, is that a pact between you and us that they do what they like and we do what we like and you will not intervene? I am prepared to take the challenge to fight the Shiva Sena in the way we like and in the way they like. What happened? They gave a challenge. We held a meeting. He brought his goondas and we had our volunteers. The goondas were worsted. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: All those goondas were sent to Parliament.

SHRI S. A. DANGE: The one sitting behind me.

SHRI PILOO MODY : It is Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who is sitting behind you !

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Now, what was the result ? The result was, the police officers, who did not intervene and due to which the Shiva Sena volunteers were worsted in the fight, were transferred from that police station. (*Interruptions*). The result is, for the last two months, a consistent propaganda is going on and openly masjidhs have been attacked. The one in Kousa has been attacked openly by Shiva Sena leadership. They go in organised bands, 40 or 50 of them come in a lorry with *churas*, lathis and stones, right under the nose of the police, attack the mosque and return peacefully to their homes. A complaint is lodged, but nobody bothers about it. This was the preparation for Bhiwandi, Mahad and Kalyan. These riots are a little different from the other riots taking place in Ahmedabad and other places. In this particular case, I hold the Maharashtra Government completely responsible. In this guilt, both the Congress Chief Ministers are responsible—Mr. Hltendra Desai in Ahmedabad and Mr. Vasant Rao Naik in Maharashtra. We cannot choose between the two, whether we want to support the Indira Government or Morarji Desai Government. Both are impartial in seeing that the rioters are not arrested. Police are of no help, because unless the ruling class tells the police that "we are really against the riots", the police themselves are taking sides. The officers have their own attitudes. The policemen have their own attitudes. If you go on preaching religious values of civil war, every Hindu policeman or Muslim policeman is going to act according to his subjective notions. What is the cure ? The cure suggested by the Jan sangh is : do not have any more more recruitments of Muslims into the police force, so that there will be hundred per cent Jansangh police, if possible but, to begin with, at least hundred per cent Hindu police ; later on, we shall see how the position develops. But this is no solution.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : Then there would not be any riots.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : There would

not be any violence against you. So, the analysis of the riots in terms of the religion is not possible.

Now, where is the leadership of the nation ? I do not know whether we are really the leadership of the nation. The way shouting, cross-shouting and abuses are hurled and the way we behave in this House, I do not know whether we can be emblem of national leadership ; I do not exclude anybody, including myself ; I do not matter. What can we do ? We must remember that the atmosphere of civil war is not only in this country but in the whole world. In America they are murdering Negroes. When the university students asked for some relief, the National Guards came and shot a woman student and two boy students in front of the university camps itself. Therefore philosophy of suppressing any protest on behalf of democracy by means of violence of the State power is gaining ground. Therefore, the opposite is also gaining ground. The Naxalite phenomenon is the opposite of that. For example, if the workers are on strike and if they are not going to have a peaceful strike but are going to be attacked by troops, by the gangsters and police, what answer is there if they do not take to the stone and the gun ? Therefore, in the world as the whole, in the capitalist world, in the imperialist world this is happening. In Vietnam they are murdering boys and girls, 10,000 miles away from the American continent, and for what ? So, people ask : where have we come to if this country is going to do like that ?

17.33 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the chair*]

My submission is this. The established values of the ruling class have collapsed ; very good. The collective values of the exploited class are coming up ; very good. But they are being met with the answer of the civil war. Can we stop that answer in this country ? Can we protect the Harijans, the workers, from being massacred by the orthodox Hindu landlords ? The Shiv Sena chief is an amiable gentleman, a very brave man, I must tell you, because he



calls all others to be murdered, but himself he ask for a revolver licence and the Government of Maharashtra has given it. Whenever he sees any five people around him he fires in the air. Then the people say : we have not come to beat you, we have come to salute you, and then he is happy. The other day he went to Goa with forty lorries filled up with Shiv Sainiks. They are not Shiv Sainks. We know what they are. Why did he go to Goa for? Not being content with this state of rioting in Maharashtra, he went to Goa. If you do not hear of Hindu-Christian rioting these I shall be surprised. And yet this man was let loose on the people of Maharashtra by a Chief Minister who belongs to the camp of Indira Gandhi.

SHRI KANWR LAL GUPTA : Your allies.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : They are my allies on certain point.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : Not on this points ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : If you want to give morale to the people in Maharashtra, my suggestion is this. I do not want you to ban anybody. I am not here to demand the banning of RSS or Jansangh or anybody else. Bans are not going to help you. They will go underground. And your police force cannot unearth even a handful of Naxalites because they are backed by the peoples sympathies. So, banning is no good. Don't do that. But will you ban the wonderful monopoly papers, backed by owners who call Viswa Hindu Parishad in the Ram Leela ground, giving headless of civil war and preaching civil war? Will you ban the monopoly papers spreading this kind of thing? No, they will not ban them. It is no use banning the RSS and Jan Sangh. The people should learn to isolate them by ideological, political, social and moral propoganda. By that alone, we can win over these people and isolate the civil war champions like my friend Shri Vajpayee who get support from below. *(interruption)* We have conquered one-

third world and the rest is also ours. The red flag stands for the exploited masses in the world and they will fight you. Don't worry about that.

What I am saying is that there are many people who have got the dreams of Hitler. But, unfortunately, they forget the end that Hitler met with. Let them not imitate such things and ideology. Let us in our country establish a rule of law in which democratic processes should decide the fate of things. Let there be democratic re alignment of forces protection of democratic ideology, and psychology, democratic method of deciding values, quarries and so on in which strikes have a place, elections have a place. Even if you want to quarrel, have 10,000 masses of people on one side and 10,000 masses of people on the other. But if you go in for personal terrorism, individual murders or murders of women and children, it is not going to solve our problem. I am not going to give more homilies on morals and all that.

For one thing I am very glad that my friend Shri Yashwantrao Chavan made a frank, a forthright, statement, statement that when he saw a muslim mother whose child was burnt, when he saw her face, that face was going to haunt him all his life. What about the haunting slogans of my friend Shri Vijpayee that haunt him in this House, on these Treasury Benches in the front? How is he going to deal with his friend Shri Vasantrao Naik who belongs to his party, who belongs to his faction, who belongs to his class? It is not only Hindu-Muslim thing but castelism also in this country is causing civil war, the upper class is hitting the lower class. What about the class war that is going on where the unarmed millions are being suppressed by the State forces?

Take an overall view, my suggestion is that no peace committees, no bans, will help. Let those who have democratic values to push forward in this country through both parliamentary struggles and non-parliamentary struggles defend the exploited class. Let them come together and launch a new movement of democratic units in this country. The National

Integration Council will not help there. In the National Integration Council, there are members who themselves foment riots because they are represented in this House and the Committee must be composed of all the parties in the House. In such a mess, what can be born except one report this way and another report that way.

I propose that first an example be made and this Chief Minister of Maharashtra is removed. Let the Government be strong enough to deal with bad people in their own party. It does not matter if they lose majority on a democratic issue and dissolve the Parliament and take the verdict of the people. Let my friend Shri Morarji Desai agree to the dismissal of Shri Htendra Desai. In Madhya Pradesh, where they have got wonderful things, let them agree to the dismissal of those people in Madhya Pradesh.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :** Let Madhya Pradesh Government be dismissed.

**SHRI S. A. DANGE :** When the riots took place, they were there; they had Ministries there.

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Bisti) :** First dismiss this Government. We are with you in that...(*Interruption*)

**SHRI S. A. DANGE :** Having dismissed themselves from that side, now they are eager to see them dismissed. I have no objection. Let them dismiss them on a real democratic issue, not on an issue which really benefits again their own purses. Otherwise, why this inordinate desire to be the paid Opposition of Her Majesty? (*Interruptions*)

Therefore, you cannot put yourself on a higher pedestal than they. Therefore, my last appeal to you is: take strong action against the Maharashtra Ministry

and see that the Press is properly guided in terms of democracy and solve the problem of the whole country.

**MR. SPEAKER :** Mr Subravelu. After the hon. Member, the Prime Minister will intervene.

**\*SHRI SUBRAVELU (Mayuram) :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I refer to the recent communal riots which occurred in the State of Maharashtra, I am proud to state here that the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam which I belong is a secular party and the rabid communalists have no place in our party.

When we look at the periodical recurrence of communal disturbances, we can say without hesitation that the religious fanatics are responsible for this. If one goes through our history, he will find that more than the people who are abused as the atheists the theists who profess to have unflinching faith in religion are responsible for tearing to pieces the fabric of our society. In the olden days of this ancient land, King like Ashok had created historic steps with a view to removing casteism and communalism from the society. Similarly, Akbar, the great Mughal King, was so anxious to do away with the misconceptions prevailing about Islam and Hinduism that he founded a new religion called DEEN-e ILAHI. Today they are dead and gone.

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of Nation, who fought for the freedom of the country, sacrificed his life for the cause of Hindu-Muslim amity. He, who ceaselessly worked for ending the communal disharmony and mutual recrimination among the Hindus and Muslims, was murdered by a Hindu fanatic. He has also become a legend of History now.

At the time of discussion in this House on communal riots at Ahmedabad, the hon. Home Minister stated that the negli-

\*The original speech was delivered in Tamil,

[Shri Subravetu]

gence of the State Government of Gujarat was responsible for those atrocities. I would now ask of the Government whether they would categorically state that the recent communal riots were due mainly to the failure of the State Government of Maharashtra in not taking adequate steps in right time. There were numerous indications in the newspapers about the impending catastrophe. The State Government should have been forewarned by those reports and should have initiated earnest steps to prevent the occurrence of communal disturbances.

These unfortunate and ghastly incidents have taken place because of the inertia on the part of Maharashtra Government which did not take prompt and adequate steps to avert them. Now-a-days, we are able to get the forecast of rainfall even a fortnight in advance. Similarly, the seismologists are able to predict with a certain amount of accuracy about the occurrence of earthquakes. If the Government are unable to unearth the conspiracies of certain anti-social groups, what else can we say except that they are smugly complacent and utterly inept?

The hon. Members who preceded me referred to several incidents that took place in various parts of the country. If you scan through the series of these incidents, which have been recurring in the north with clock-like precision, you will find that when disturbances start at one place, similar incidents occur simultaneously at a number of other places far removed from one another. We can easily infer from this that riots are sequel to a well-thought out plan on the part of a certain group of people. If the hon. Home Minister does not entrust the investigation into the recurring phenomenon of communal riots to suitable senior officers, I do not know what will be the future of our country.

Some years ago, there was a major incident in our country which was also debated thoroughly on the floor of this House. We waste our valuable time and energy in having futile discussions after the events and

in shedding crocodile tears, but we do not take any concrete steps to put a stop to such anti-social activities. Contrary to our constitutional provisions and Gandhian ethics, Shankaracharya of Puri has been making statements from public platform that untouchability will continue to be preached and practised in our country. He has been arguing tenaciously that he is not alone in advocating this and that there are vedic and scriptural sanctions behind this ghoulish practice. The Government have enacted laws under which punitive action can be taken against such persons. We have also spent much of our time in the enactment of such statutes. How can we foster democratic institutions in our country and bequeath them to the posterity, if the Government are hesitant to punish persons preaching untouchability, especially when the laws of the country fully empower them to do so.

Without going into the details of these unsavoury incidents, I would in particular refer to certain facts which my Party has come to know from experience. The hon. Member who preceded me stated that there are no communal riots in the Southern States and that the South is a haven of communal harmony. Even before we transformed ourselves into a political party, and in fact even before we started our movement, our late Chief Minister, Arignar Anna first initiated a movement for social reform, because of his strong conviction that no Government worth the name will be able to deliver goods unless the superstitious beliefs and practices, illiteracy, ignorance and bigotry are rooted out completely from among the people. Till we became a political party, Arignar Anna had ceaselessly and vigorously worked for reforming the caste-ridden and communal-minded society. In recent times, Committees and Commissions have been constituted to find out ways and means to eradicate the evil of casteism and communalism. From the very beginning, our late lamented illustrious leader was himself participating in all the religious functions of the followers of the Prophet with a view to demonstrate his love and admiration for their traditions and conventions. He met with resounding success in his efforts to forge communal harmony in

our State. Likewise, our present Chief Minister, Kalaignar Karunanidhi is following in the footsteps of our great leader and he has eminently succeeded in creating a congenial atmosphere for all the communities to live in amity and peace. Along with our political conferences, we used to have convention on social reforms for the purpose of breaking the caste-barriers, for curbing the communal tendencies in the society and for ushering in an era of democratic resurgence in our country. We did not stop there. Through the powerful media of drama and cinema highlighting the evils of casteism and communalism, we were able to cleanse the society of the communal virus and to win the hearts of all sections of our society. I am proud to say that as a result of our programmes of social reform, the communal riots have never occurred in our State.

I would like to point out that you may have thousands of statutes, but, without bringing in purposeful social reforms, you will not be able to succeed in this stupendous task. Mere laws will not be able to lay down healthy norms for the society. The political leadership of the country should not only encourage social reforms but also promote the Theatre carrying message of social reform and secularism and thus impress upon the people belonging to different communities the imperative need for living in amity and friendship. If you want stories for the Theatre, our Party will only be too willing to supply.

These riots do not appear to be merely the product of religious animosities. They are in fact politically motivated. All of us are aware that when Shiv Sena was formed, some Members of the Government argued glibly that this was a movement organised for securing their legitimate rights. All the progressive parties in the country opposed it. The D. M. K. opposed it; the Communists opposed it. But some other commended this movement. What was happened today? Whatever Shiv Sena has been professing and propagating has now been put into practice. With all the statutory powers in our hands, what are we doing? Politics is inextricably involved in this. A high power Committee should constituted forthwith to investigate into the basic causes

behind these incidents and the people responsible for this kind of reprehensible acts of wanton vandalism must be punished unhesitatingly. Unless this is done, we cannot prevent the recurrence of communal riots in future.

With these words, I conclude.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF FINANCE, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not speaking to score any debating point. I have never before, I think, interrupted any hon. Member during his speech. If I did so on this occasion, it was with a very heavy heart and with a very grave sense of responsibility. I think that the hon. Member has to-day done a great disservice to this country and to the minorities of this country. This is too serious an occasion, too serious a subject to try just to pick on the points which he has made and I have no intention of doing so. As far as figures and other matters related to the riots are concerned, Shri Shukla will reply later on.

Shri Vajpayee has used this occasion to launch and attack on the Muslims in particular and I think on all minorities in general. With his arms upheld, he has announced in the good old way of Hitler. I happened to be there at that time and I know how he spoke and the words he used.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : You took training.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : What training I got, it is for the Indian people to judge and not for you. I do not know what words Shri Vajpayee used, but he has challenged me on something or the other. Let me tell him that I have never backed out of any challenge and I do not back out now. Let us face the Indian people.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Let the Prime Minister not lose her temper.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am not losing my temper. I am only saying something with all the emphasis at my command. I am not in the habit of losing my temper.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am also prepared to take any challenge.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Please do not talk like that. Sir, I am used to see Shri Vajpayee and his party not only attacking me but abusing me in the papers with every possible falsehood—baseless allegation—that can be thought of. But, on this occasion, he has chosen to launch an attack on one of my colleagues, the Home Minister because, the Home Minister spoke frankly and with the sadness that was in his heart. Shri Vajpayee has chosen to try to make something else out of it. He even tried (*Interruptions*). Please, Shri Gupta—I am going to say exactly I want to say regardless of what you say in between and you should know that by now

What has happened in Bhiwandi or what has happened in other riots is equally sad and deplorable. And it is not something for which any of us would like to shirk responsibility. I certainly do not shirk it. But I think we must also face facts. What begins these riots? This was the question asked by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Is it a little body who threw a stone who begins the riot? Is it the person who might do the first killing who begins the riot? Or is it the atmosphere that is spread by speeches of the type which we heard here today? It is this atmosphere which starts all these disturbances.

And this is not a new thing. It is not something that has happened today for the first time. Is it a coincidence that when people who belong to the RSS or the Jan Sangh go somewhere, soon afterwards, there is a riot in or close to that place? It may be that it is a coincidence, I do not know, but to me and to all other people who have watched this situation, it seems a very strange coincidence. I think that hon. Members are well advised to try and

examine this situation and find out why this should happen.

It is very easy to blame somebody. It may be that the situation could have been dealt in a better way. I do not say that it could not have been. I have not studied it, and that is the main reason why I am going there. It is possible that something more could have been done. There is hardly any situation in the world where you could not have taken better precautions or done more. I do not know what advance notice the Government had. But there is no doubt that ever since this particular Party has gained some seats in this House and in the Assemblies, they have been talking more and more in this poisonous strain and more openly. Some hon. Members shouted, when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee was speaking, that his remarks should be expunged. I am glad that the Deputy-Speaker did not expunge them. I would like those remarks to remain on record and be read by future generations and by the people so that they can see, what is really in the mind of the Jan Sangh not the sweet-sounding beautiful Hindi that Shri Vajpayee paraded before us, from time to time, but what is the reality, behind those words. And today, we saw behind those words naked Fascism. This is what Fascism has been.

Much time was spent on speaking on Shivaji. There is nobody in this House. I would say, perhaps there is nobody in the country who does not have respect for Shivaji. But to use his name in order to incite people to communalism is not doing any justice to the memory of Shivaji.

SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY (Cuddalore) : It is a criminal act.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Communalism, whether it is Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or by any other community is deplorable. And it is not true to say that we have not deplored it when it has taken place or that we have not deplored it or spoken about it strongly, when any Muslim organisation or Muslim individual has said something which is capable of inciting people or leading to any kind of outbreak

or outburst. But that does not mean that we can condone what a member of the majority community does. As I have said on a previous occasion, anywhere, where people are in a majority, they have a special responsibility. They are not merely one set of people there; they have a very special responsibility. Anywhere, where some people are stronger, they do have a responsibility towards the weaker section. In our country, in most places, the Hindus are in a majority, and therefore, they do have a responsibility towards the Muslims, the Christians, and towards whoever else may be in a minority. But in those sections where the others are in a majority—it may be that the Sikhs are in a majority in a certain place—they have a responsibility to the other minorities; it may be Hindu or Muslim or something else. Similarly in Kashmir, the Muslims are in a majority; certainly, it is their responsibility to see that the small number of Hindus who live there can live in peace and security. So, these brave sounding words, announcing that the Hindus are not going to stand for this and so on is merely a way of inciting people. This is what has poisoned the atmosphere of this country. Now, we know that some of these thoughts, some of these kinds of thoughts do lurk in people, in the minds of one people, our the people are not perfect and there are such people, but all responsible and right thinking people must see how they can curb this tendency and how they can pacify such an atmosphere like this. If any such incident take place, we must bend all our energies to see how we can help the people who are affected, how we can see that in future such a thing does not happen. But to use this occasion merely to launch attacks on people, to say things that will not only hurt the feelings of minority Communities but will egg on the majority community in other places to try and create some similar incidents is most improper.

18 hrs.

We all know that most of these incidents are very small to start with. Why do they assume such large proportions? I was glad to hear Shri Vajpayee remark that he himself said in Ahmedabad that people should not take the law into their hands,

But to me at least, the rest of his speech appeared as if he himself was encouraging just that. 'We are not going to stand by.' What does it mean? It means 'that we will take the law into our hands, and take action. We have to take action.' What else was it?

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :** I did not say that.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** This was the meaning, as far as I could make out from speech. If he did not mean this. I hope he will now classify the position and tell people not to do so, and see that his own people do not do so.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :** But Congressmen can do it. Members belonging to the Congress Party can do it.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** As far as I could make out—in between there was considerable noise; I might be mistaken—as far as I could make out from the trend of his speech, he was serving a kind of notice that he and his party would do certain things and; if in the process meant trampling on the rights and lives of the minorities, it was just too bad—they are coming in the way. That is what I understood him to say.

**SHRI MANOHARAN :** The whole difficulty is that Shri Vajpayee is a bachelor.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** Unfortunately, even those in his party who are non bachelors are no better; they are in fact worse.

As I said, Shri Vajpayee did no great justice to the memory of Shivaji, but he did even less justice to our own old philosophy, our traditions and the very great heritage of this country, because our heritage is certainly not one which tramples on the rights of minorities. On the contrary, from time immemorial, India has opened her doors to all those who suffered in their

countries ; whether they belonged to different religions, different languages, different customs, we have opened our doors and given them shelter in the remote past. And even today, we attempt to do it.

So the Hon. Member is giving an entirely erroneous view of India to all the world. This is another great disservice to this country that in front of the world he parades as our philosophy and our tradition, ideas which in effect, are contrary to that tradition. But of course, the Jan Sangh—I hope Shri Vajpayee does not think that I am giving too much importance to him.....

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :**  
Shri Manoharan might complain,

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** I am not criticising his party as a party, but merely two main aspects of it : one, the communal aspect and, second, which is even more dangerous, the deliberate distortion of history, which is being done. Books are being written and published changing our known history, This is extremely dangerous on us.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Indiaisation.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** There is one point to which I have referred before, which concerned the sort of atmosphere created in this House, in the country. Shri Vajpayee declared that the Muslims were starting these riots, he then asked why, and himself answered : because they feel they cannot live in India and, therefore, they might as well die fighting. This is in effect what he said, as far as I could make out.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :**  
One of the reasons.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** All right, one of the reasons.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मैंने कहा था, इसमें कोई गलत बात नहीं है। इस पर आपत्ति की जा रही है।... (व्यवधान)...

**श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी :** कोई आपत्ति नहीं की जा रही है -

I would like to hon. member to read some of the speeches made by members of his party who have said exactly this that the Muslims cannot live in India unless they are Indianised,

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :**  
Now, it is my turn to challenge the Prime Minister. Let her produce a single speech, and I am prepared to take action against that Jana Sangh leader.

**श्री शशि भूषण :** गोलवालकर जी और माननीय बलराज मधोक ने कहा है।

**श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी :** गोलवालकर जी ने कहा है (व्यवधान)

They say that they are distinct from the RSS. We do not think that they are distinct. Certainly not I am told, I am not absolutely sure, that the Members who have joined certain Governments on behalf of the Jana Sangh have been Members of the RSS. I think there are any number of speeches which can be produced on these lines.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** एक भी दिखा बीजिए

**श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी :** एक क्यों, पूरी दिखा देंगे। हमारी नेशनल डेंट्रेशन काउन्सिल में सब प्रायोजी थीं, सब पेश की गई थीं। सब दिखा देंगे।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** प्राप जनसंघ की बात करिये, जनसंघ की।

**श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी :** किस की ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हम आप की बात कर रहे हैं, जमीयते-उल-उलेमा की बात नहीं कर रहे हैं। नहीं तो आप मुश्किल में फँस जायेंगी। जमीयते-उलमा के नेता किस तरह के भाषण दे रहे हैं, आप ने देखे हैं ?

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : कोई भी जो ऐसा भाषण दे हम उस का विरोध करते हैं चाहे वह किसी भी जमीयत के हों या और किसी भी जमात या संस्था के हों। इस में कोई शक की बात नहीं है, और न हम यह कहने से कभी झिझके हैं।

As I said earlier, whenever such a thing has been brought to my notice, I have always spoken about it in private and in public meetings and elsewhere. On no occasion have I mentioned only one party if another Party was also doing similar things.

One small point. The hon. Members opposite call themselves the Old Congress. But on no occasion do they hesitate to dissociate themselves from many of the things which were done when they were with us. (*Interruptions*)

Suchetaji perhaps came late. She does not know what I have said. I have no intention of talking about particular incident.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR (Jhansi) : What is it you mean by saying so ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I do not want you to do it, but you do it. You know yourself. Why should I waste the time of the House ? I merely wanted to draw their attention. I am sure they all know what I am talking about.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : Political speech.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am making a speech, what has everybody else done ? What did Mr. Vajpayee make ? Was it not a political speech ? (*Interruptions*).

I am talking about a situation what I am saying goes much deeper than what happened merely in Bhiwandi or Jalgaon or Ahmedabad. All these things form part of an atmosphere that is created. This is what I am trying to say, and I think it is extremely important that all Members of Parliament, as indeed all Indian citizens, think about these things far more deeply. You will be given all the facts about this. Chavanji has given the facts as known on the first day, and Shuklaji will give you whatever has come to our knowledge since then. But it is time for us not to regard these happenings merely as isolated incidents that take place, incidents which we debate. It is time to realize that it is this kind of communal thinking, these speeches and articles which come out in newspapers which are creating this atmosphere, and it is no use just getting up and saying, "You prove that we did it".

श्री राम सेवक यादव : आप क्या करने जा रही हैं जरा उस पर भी तो रोशनी डालें।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : वहाँ जो स्थिति है उस के मुताबिक जो भी जरूरी होगा वह कार्यवाही जरूर की जायगी।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : आप क्या समझती हैं, यह भी तो सदन जाने।

SHRI PILOO MODY : I appreciate what the Prime Minister is saying, but she goes on saying the same thing. What I would like to know is what her contribution is to the positive aspects of a programme which will depress this communalism and put it underground.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I think Mr. Piloo Mody has entirely missed the point of what I have said. We do not want to put this underground. On the contrary I welcome Mr. Vajpayee's speech because we feel that for the first time he has come overground as far as this question was concerned. We do not want to put it underground. We wanted it to be overground



[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

and we want to fight it with all the strength at our command. We want the Indian people to fight it with all the strength at their command. This is not something which can be solved with a speech ..... (*interruptions.*) Shri Mody knows nothing about the Indian people; I happen to know them much better than him. I do not wish to take the time of the House any more.....(*Interruptions*) I am not yielding now to anybody. Shri Yadav asked what steps would be taken. There are no new steps in that sense. People have suffered and we have to see firstly what relief has to be given immediately and what we can do on a slightly long term basis. There is already an enquiry going on and it will come to its conclusions but I admit that I do not know how much such enquiries help. Any way, it is necessary to have them and I am glad that there is one. Now, apart from the question of relief and so on, we must all get together and see how we can prevent this kind of atmosphere growing, how we can go down to the people, village by village and mohalla by mohalla to create that type of neighbourly feeling which in the last analysis is the only protection. The Police can help in a particular situation but ultimately it is only one's neighbours who can be of real help. It is only the atmosphere in the country that can prevent this kind of rioting and senseless attacks on people. It is not just a question of whether somebody threw a stone, why should not people get angry? That is where you judge the maturity of people. If people had done something wrong, by all means catch the guilty. But you do not catch the guilty. In fact the guilty are the first to get away and it is only the innocent who are looted and murdered.

**SHRI BADRUDDUJA (Murshidabad) :**

I have grown wiser from the observations of some eminent members in this House. I was particularly delighted at the observations of my esteemed friend Mr. Dange. There is nothing new about him. Their party stood by us in the hour of our greatest need in 1964, 65 and 67 when the Muslim's conditions all over India was so dark and gloomy, so hopeless and disappointing, when riots occurred all over the country and in the wake of the Indo-Pakistan conflict thousands of innocent Muslims were put behind

the prison bar though no charges could be framed against them, 90 per cent of them were supporters of the Congress and yet they were thrown behind the prison bars. But the Congress had to pay a heavy price for its sheer indiscretion; Muslims of West Bengal, Kerala and Tamil Nadu contributed their most to the debacle of the Congress in those three States.

Mr. Speaker : I am very much encouraged to find today the Hon. Prime Minister taking a bold and courageous stand, exposing the cause of the Muslim community in India. I am very much beholden to her because she has the courage of her conviction, she has the determination to face the storms and brave the dangers and expose the hollowness of the pretensions of those who have the audacity to declare, Indianise the Muslims. But, who are they? They are a few political babes and sucklings of yesterday. Long before they were born, our great leaders, the All Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Hossain Ahmed Madani, were brushing their shoulders with the leading lights of the Congress, creating a new orientation, developing a new Phase of thought, giving a new direction to Indian genius, mobilising the scattered forces in the country for its emancipation from the foreign yoke.

Sir, I am grateful to the Prime Minister for her brilliant performance this evening. But what has happened during the last 22 years after Independence. Much as would I like not to refer to the unpleasant past, the fact remains that the Congress administration during the last 22 years failed miserably. Will the hon. Prime Minister and her administration take courage to implement the recommendations passed in the Integration Council? All talks of the Integration Council, all conferences, all brave speeches delivered on the floor of the House are meaningless unless they are followed up and implemented in all their implications, in all their bearings, in all their significance, in all their repercussions, on the course of events. I am not prepared to listen to those who talk of Indianising us. We are Indians first, Indians last and Indians always. The late Satyamurthi used to harp on the same strain, but because of his pungent criticism in the House, he did not make any impact in the old Central Assembly. He emphasised that

all Muslims must realise that they are Indians first and Mussalmans next. But I emphasize to day that we are Indians first, Indians last and Indians always, and we are Muslims first, Muslims last and Muslims always. We are Indians because of the country to which we have the honour to belong; Muslims because of the religion we profess, because of the culture we possess, because of our cultural heritage, traditions and outlook on life and life's problems I do not know where 'Indianism' begins and Islam ends; on Islam begins and 'Indianism' ends.

But Mr. Speaker, what is the remedy for all this? One degrading measure after another, riots after riots, genocide after genocide, massacre after massacre of Muslims innocents, have created a deep sense of horror, frustration and insecurity in the minds of Indian Muslims and have conclusively proved that the Muslims are the victims all over India. In the name of secularism, in the name of the Constitution, in the name of constitutional proprieties, in the name of democracy, in the name of democratic values, Muslims have been slaughtered, massacred and butchered, and they have been the victims of all sorts of cruelty and barbarous savagery. But where is the remedy? Where is the practical remedy, active and positive and effective remedy for saving the millions of Muslims from the hooliganism, from the barbarism, from the savagery, from the fanaticism, from the linguistic chauvinism of the rulers? Had the Government the courage, the guts, to rope in those communal leaders belonging to the RSS and Jan Sangh who are masquerading under the false show of nationalism and poisoning the springs of life vitilating and corrupting the whole atmosphere, the day of reckoning might have been postponed.

Sir, 80 millions of Mussalmans, with a great past, a great history, a great culture, and cultural hegemony behind, with their positive contributions to the political and social life of the country—are they not entitled to any recognition? I am grateful to the Hindu community, the sensible sections of the Hindu community, responsible sections of the Hindu community, sympathetic sections of the Hindu community; they are our great assets for having stood by us in the hour of our crisis; I look to the Congress administration, I look to

the noble souls in the Congress, noble souls in the Communist party, the DMK, the Swatantra party, wherever they might be—these Hindu bretherens—who have a noble heart for the welfare of the Muslims, "At this critical juncture one looked up to you for guidance, for sympathy, for co-operation, for help, and assistance.

But next to everything, I look up to God Almighty for guiding our faltering steps.

قُلْ إِن صَلَّيْتُ لِنَفْسِي مَحَبَّتِي وَمِمَّا يَلَا شَرِيكَ لِي  
كَذَلِكَ أَمَرْتُ أَنَا أَدِلُّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ.

"Say my prayer, my fasting, my life and death, my sufferings and miseries, my trials and tribulations, are all for the Lord of the Worlds."

We submit to Him and Him alone. At the critical juncture the history of Islam, it is not Muslim, but Islam that saved the Muslims. When the hordes of Haku swept over Central Asia, devastated half the world, destroyed the metropolis of Baghdad and threw the treasures of science and philosophy, collected through centuries into the waters of the Tigris massacring millions of Muslims, there was no power, no organisation to stem the tide of aggression of these barbarous savages. But the moments the descendants of Haku the banks of the Tigris uttered the sentence

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ الرَّسُولُ اللَّهُ

from the destroyers of human civilisation, Islamic culture and traditions Islam's glorious heritage they became the preservers of Muslim culture, Muslim civilisation, Muslim traditions, Muslim history from the vandalism of these brutes in the world. We expect the Muslims will have the sympathy, cooperation and assistance of the great leaders of the Hindu community the noble souls in all sections of this House, particularly from those in the administration. Providence has placed you at the helm of affairs. Naturally we look upon you for sympathy and guidance. Often in the stillness of night, in the depth of solitude, in the grim silence of the Heaven, I have pondered over the darksome fate of my community and my

[Shri Boduddaja]

thought has been instinctly drawn to the noble souls in the great Hindu community who is inspired with burning Patriotism and the loftiest idealism, with their nobility, generosity, mental catholicity and sincerity of purpose, alone can ensure a safer securer existence for the Muslims of India.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU** (Diamond Harbour): Sir, communal riots in this country are a British creation for their political and economic gains. This was done to subvert the freedom struggle and mass movements. The communal forces collaborated and were rewarded through concessions. The same administrative machinery is in control. It has been said by no less a person than Shri Jayaprakash Narayan that,

"The Riot Inquiry Commission appointed by Government have not proved effective primarily because of their dependence exclusively on the administrative machinery, which is always not uninvolved, as also because of their procrastinating delays in investigation."

Between the years 1964 and 1968, there were 343 communal riots in this country. Today every 54 hours there is a communal riot in the country. Mr. Chavan, the present Home Minister gets the credit for the highest number of riots under his command as Home Minister. There is under failure on his part and has no right to remain as Home Minister. So is the case with the Chief Minister of Gujarat and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Brutality, perversion, and beastliness went beyond description. Thousands, mostly innocent minorities, were hacked, speared and knifed to death and were also burnt alive. Minority women were raped. All this was perfectly organised and executed by persons who are not worth the name. Children were burnt in the presence of mothers. Mr. Chavan himself admitted it.

The leader article in the *Organiser* from which Mr. Vajpayee quoted extensively, carries the headline :

"Muslim Blitz of Bhiwandi."

What more shameful can be the attitude, Who reaps the harvest from these communal riots? The reactionaries, the exploiters, who believe in dividing and exploiting and those who are opposed to secularism. In Ahmedabad the Government granted freedom to Jansangh and RSS forces in order to get their full support in Shri VV Giri's election. Again, in Ahmedabad although the army was stationed, it was not called to quell the riots. The people were told in Gujarat that the Kutch award was the conspiracy of the Muslims and that the Chief Minister of Gujarat was shot because some Muslims in India gave the timing of his visit to the Pakistan authorities.

In the international sphere the US agencies have drawn dividends by creating confusion in Rabat and also by creating misunderstanding between certain Arab countries and India, which has brought shame on all of us. The CIA-Israeli lobby had a hand in the whole matter of the Ahmedabad riots.

These riots are also used for creating misunderstanding in the working class struggle. When there is communalism it is most difficult to have unified workers' struggle. Yet, the government at the centre and in most of the States which are ruled by the same party generally served the aforesaid classes. So, communalism has grown unchecked and has increased.

During the last 22 years the Muslims, once their traditional voters, have been used in their political chess board and they have been used to serve their purposes. Today they are being treated like pawns.

Look at the Ranchi riots which were engineered to discredit the United Front Government then ruling in Bihar. Even the ex-Chief Minister, Shri K. B. Sahay was involved in it. Then there were riots in Meerut, just 40 miles away, in a State ruled by Congress Party. When the UNCTAD conference was taking place in Delhi, there was trouble in Srinagar about the marriage of a Muslim girl to a Hindu boy. Some mischief mongers spread some news about it

In Meerut. Yet, although there was sufficient intelligence report, the Deputy Commissioner took no action and as a result these riots took place, so many people were butchered and so many houses were burnt. We know that the police have used private shotguns and that is how they have account of what they have done. We have seen them ourselves.

I will give you an instance. There was a municipal election in which the Congress candidate had won. Later on, a victory procession was taken out and it was stated :

न कांग्रेस जीता न एजाज हारा ।  
हिन्दू जीता मुसलमान हारा ॥

This is why riots are taking place so often. When a team of M.Ps. went to Meerut—I am sure, Shri Bakar Ali Mirza will remember that—the Deputy Commissioner told a lie. When we asked him how many persons have been admitted in the hospital he said the number was 56. When we went to the hospital and checked the records we found it was just double, it was 112.

If the government really want to curb the communal forces like RSS, Jansangh, Shiva Sena, and Anand Marg which are penetrating everywhere in the Administration, in the police, defence forces, press and in the field of education, there should be a permanent parliamentary machinery. It is a great pity today that a senior Hindu army officer retired from the army you will find him joining the Jansangh. It is a great pity that this atmosphere has been created by those who are opposed to secularism.

Coming to RSS, I will give a little introduction. I am quoting :

“...Golwalkar himself tells, he was dissatisfied with the national movement because its underlying idea was ‘merely ousting the British’.”

That is the introduction of this RSS gentleman. What is the R. S. S. methodology ? This is mentioned here. I quote :

“This methodology of provoking and organising riots can be analysed into the following aspects :—

(a) Rousing communal feeling in the majority community by the propaganda that the Muslims are disloyal to the nation.

(b) Deepening the fear in majority and playing upon that fear complex.

(c) Infiltrating into administration and inducing the members of the civil, police and army services into adopting communal attitude.

(d) Training young people of the majority community in the use of such weapon as dagger, sword and swear.

(e) Spreading rumours to widen the communal cleavage and giving to any incident or movement a communal colour.

A review of the riots that have occurred in free India would show that this technique has always been at play. Training camps of R. S. S. are held every six months. The administration and the machinery of law and order has been affected. Anti-Muslim propaganda is carried on relentlessly.”

Let me quote now what Mayor of Delhi, Mr. Hansraj Gupta said the other day.

SHRI NARAYAN SWAROOP SHARMA (Domerjaganj) : He cannot quote the Mayor like this. He is not present here to defend himself. (*Interruption*)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : This is what he said the other day that the Communists go to Russia and the Muslims should go to Mecca. That is the attitude of the Mayor of Delhi. He is an RSS man and the Government should take note of it.

Where from the funds come ? Wherefrom the RSS get funds ? The Journal

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

"Panch Janna" is wholly financed by the West Germans. The Ananda Marg and Shiv Sena, everybody knows, are financed by the CIA. The Ananda Marg Chief goes twice a year to Manilla. Who pays for it? Why does he go there? God alone knows. The U.S.A. scholarships are freely distributed to research on old, ancient, tribal rivalries in order to create troubles between communities.

A U.S. scholar, one Mr. Philip Talbot, used to go to Karimganj twice a month. Why nobody knows. Now, the External Affairs Ministry has come to senses and he has been declared *persona non grata* and thrown out.

We have a Member in this House—I will not mention his name—who publishes a journal, a dirty rag, called "Mother India". For publishing some filthy articles recently in that journal, he was punished with three months simple imprisonment which I consider, is much too inadequate for such a grave offence.

During Dharam Vira raj, before the last elections, in Calcutta, some efforts were made to create a riot to give advantage to the local Congress candidate who was once a Hindu Mahasabhaite. During the U.F. regime, we had two riots which were organised by the R.S.S. and which could not be prolonged because they were checked immediately by the U.F. Government there.

Coming to the recent riots in Maharashtra, R.S.S. has been attacking the minorities and the Shiv Sena has been attacking South Indians who are living in Bombay for their livelihood. It is a very serious matter. It will certainly pose a threat to national integration if it is not checked immediately. About the recent riots in Maharashtra, the Government was in possession of the Intelligence report in advance. The newspapers had been repeatedly saying that Shiv Sena was inciting the people. And at the same time, a revolver licence was granted by the Maharashtra Government to the leader of the Shiv Sena Shri Bal Thackarey.

The two Congress MLAs, Mr. Dhamanekar and Mr. Kolantrao repeatedly warned the Government in advance about it. The entire Maharashtra Congress, both parties, and the Government has been giving full support to Shiv Sena for the last many years. They have been supporting Shiv Sena, a sister concern of the R.S.S. Is it true that recently Shri S. K. Patil, a Member of this House, has met R.S.S. leader Golwalkar on two different occasions? They issued order to Bhivandi police to shoot but there were no rifles to use. I do not know why the army was not called there.

Why are you worried so much of what happens in West Bengal? But it seems this does not worry you. What will you do here? We see there are master minds unexposed and the Intelligence Department is not utilised. The reports are not acted upon. Leading operators are not checked. The prosecutions are not launched. The guilty officials are not punished. The National Integration Council decision that 'the local executives should be made responsible' has not been implemented. There is no proper investigating machinery to act upon. We must give thought to fight this evil of communalism through education of the people, through the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and through ensuring a fair share in the jobs, particularly in civil and administrative departments and the Police force. Sir, there should be arrangements for adequate compensation to the victims of these communal riots. Last and the most important thing is that unless the people are made to rise against this barbarism, these things will never succeed.

श्री सु० प्र० खाँ (कासगंज) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहाँ तक मेरा खयाल है ये बलवे न तो इत्तफाकिया हैं और न किसी नफरत की बुनियाद पर हैं बल्कि ये बलवे कम्युनल जमातों से प्री-प्लान्ड और स्कीम की तहत होते हैं। आप देखें कि, इन दो तीन सालों में बलवों का एक तरीका रहा है और आप महसूस करेंगे कि ज्यादातर बलवे उन जगहों पर होते हैं जहाँ पर मुसलमानों की आबादी खाती-पीती और

अच्छी जिन्दगी बसर कर रही होती है—चाहे वह चायवासा हो, चाहे भिवंडी हो या अहमदाबाद हो। ये वह जगहें हैं जहाँ पर कि मुसलमान तिजारतपेशा और खुशहाल थे। आप यह भी देखें कि इनमें जो लोग जिबह होते हैं वह तो होते ही हैं और अगर सौ दो सौ कत्ल हो गए तो वहाँ पर पचास हजार से ज्यादा आदमी बेघर हो जाते हैं, रोटियों के लिये मोहताज हो जाते हैं और उनकी यह कैफियत हो जाती है कि काफी अरसे तक—यहाँ पर पाँच साल कहा गया लेकिन मैं तो कहता हूँ कि 50 साल में भी वे सुघर नहीं सकते हैं। इसके अलावा आप यह भी देखें कि पहले कम्युनल बलवे होते थे, बाजे या गाय के नाम पर लेकिन अब उसका ढंग बदल गया है। वहाँ पर खास किस्म का प्रोपेगैंडा किया जाता है। आप यह भी देखेंगे और महसूस करेंगे कि चाहे अहमदाबाद का बलवा हो या भिवंडी और चायवासा का बलवा हो, सभी में कहा गया कि शुरुआत मुसलमानों की तरफ से होती है। सभी जगह कहा गया कि उपद्रव, चाहे वह किसी इबादत-गाह या मजमे पर बम फेंकने के बाद हो या कोई भी हादसा हो, वह मुसलमानों से शुरू होता है। इसमें अलावा अगर आप उसका ट्रेंड देखें तो पायेंगे कि जितनी तबाही होती है वह ज्यादातर करपयू लगाने के बाध ही होती है। यह शिकायत की जाती है कि हर जगह पुलिस बलवाइयों की मदद करती है, पुलिस खड़ी तमाशा देखती है, थानों के करीब भागों लगाई जाती हैं, आदमी गारे जाते हैं और पुलिस खड़ी देखती रहती है। हर बलवे में आपको यही शिकायत मिलेगी। हर जगह आपको मिलेगा कि बिजली घर से रोशनी उड़ा दी गई जिससे अंधेरा हो गया और एक खास किस्म का मसाला इस्तेमाल किया जाता है हर जगह के बलवे में जिससे कि घरों को उड़ाया जाता है, आग लगाई जाती है। हर जगह आपको एक

टाइप का मसाला इस्तेमाल होता हुआ मिलेगा।

दूसरी बात यह है कि वाजपेयी जी ने कई रिपोर्टों का हवाला देते हुए यहाँ पर कहा कि बलवे मुसलमान शुरू करते हैं। मैं हैरान हूँ, समझ नहीं सका कि क्या इस देश के मुसलमान पागल हो गए हैं। उनकी अकल खराब हो गई है कि वे लुटेरों को और मौत को खुद इन्वाइट करते हैं कि आबो हमें मारो, हमारा कत्ल करो, हमारी औरतों की बेइज्जती करो, हमारे घरों को लूटो? यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। एक दफा कहीं कोई बात हो जाये लेकिन क्या रोज ही किसी एक बात को रिपीट किया जायेगा कि मुसलमान ही इसकी शुरुआत करते हैं। जो पिटते हैं, जो लुटते हैं, वही हर मतंवा बलवे की शुरुआत करते हैं, यह काबिले क्यास बात नहीं है। यह सिर्फ एक प्रोपेगैंडा है, चाहे गुजरात हो, महाराष्ट्र हो या मंसूर हो।

जैसा कि माननीय वाजपेयी ने कहा कि मुसलमान ज्यादातर शुरुआत करते हैं, हालाँकि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने उस का जवाब दिया, कि अब मुसलमानों ने तय कर लिया है कि हम लड़ते लड़ते मरेंगे.....

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: यह गलत है। मुझे लगता है कि प्रेस में भी इस तरह की धारणा पैदा हो गयी है। मैंने यह कहा था कि आखिर क्यों शुरू करते हैं? क्या वह यह समझते हैं कि हमारा अब कोई मुस्तकबिल नहीं है इसलिए लड़ते लड़ते मर जायें? या वह समझते हैं कि भाई हमें अलग थलग रहना है इसलिए मुल्ला, मौलवी उन को भड़का कर दंगा कराते हैं, या एक वर्ग ऐसा है जो पाकिस्तान की मदद करना चाहता है। अध्यक्ष महोदय,

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

अगर यह धारणा पैदा हो गयी है तो गलत है। मैंने तीन कारण दिये थे एक एक कर के।

श्री मु० अ० खां : अब आप अपनी बात को सही कर रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप मेरी रिपोर्ट देख लीजिए, मैं सही नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

श्री मु० अ० खां : माननीय वाजपेयी जी ने भिबंडी की मिसाल दी, ज्यादातर इसी केस को ले कर उन्होंने उपरी बातें कहीं। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि अगर मुसलमानों का यह इरादा होता है कि भिबंडी में किसी किस्म की गड़बड़ करना चाहते हैं तो मैं आप को बताता हूँ कि एक हफ्ते कबल महाराष्ट्र के साबिक वजीर श्री मुस्तफा फकी महाराष्ट्र के चीफ मिनिस्टर से मिले और उन को बताया कि देखिये हालात सही नहीं हैं, आप कोई कदम उठायेँ। एक बक्फ होम मिनिस्टर से भी मिला, वहाँ के मुसलमानों ने क्लेक्टर को 10 दिन पहले लिख कर दिया, बराबर ढोल पीटते रहे। आप देखिये कि चीफ मिनिस्टर, होम मिनिस्टर और क्लेक्टर, के पास लोग गये, उस के बाद भी कहा जाता है कि मुसलमान शुरुवात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस इनफार्मेशन मिलने के बाद, अबल तो उन की खुद जिम्मेदारी थी कि जहाँ इस किस्म की आग भड़कने वाली थी वहाँ खुद उन को जानकारी हो सके कि इस तरह की आग भड़क रही है, न कि मुसलमानों ने खुद जा कर इनफार्म किया, एक बक्फ श्री मुस्तफा फकी की सदारत में चीफ मिनिस्टर, होम मिनिस्टर के पास पहुँचा, क्लेक्टर को लिख कर दिया मगर किसी के डिफेंड नहीं किया।

चायबासा को देखिए, प्रोपोगेन्डा किया गया कि बम गिराया गया। कोई भी जगह हो, आप देखेंगे जैसा वाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि मुसलमान रास्ता बदलना चाहते थे। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में हजारों जगहें आज भी ऐसी हैं कि जहाँ मोहर्रम का जलूस हमेशा उठता था लेकिन अब बन्द है, उनको जलूस नहीं उठाने दिया जाता है। मेरे यहाँ सकीट में तीन, चार साल तक मोहर्रम का जलूस नहीं उठाया गया। हजारों जगहें हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी हैं अगर आप चाहें तो मैं फँहरिस्त दे सकता हूँ जहाँ मुसलमानों को मोहर्रम का जलूस उठाने नहीं दिया जाता है इस वजह से अन्देशा है कि बलवा न हो जाय। सकीट की बात मैंने आपको बताई, वहाँ के क्लेक्टर और एस० पी० ने नहीं उठाने दिया। यहाँ एक तरीका है जलूस निकालने का एक रास्ता कायम किया जाता है। हमेशा से यह कायदा है, हर आदमी जनता है, जो पुलिस के रोजनामचे में लिखा जाता है कि फलां फलां जलूस फलां फलां रास्ते से शुरू हो कर फलां रास्ते पर खत्म होगा। और अगर नया रास्ता लेना होता है तो उसके लिए अथोरिटी की इजाजत लेनी पड़ती है। भिबंडी के सिलसिले में भी यही हुआ। जो नया रास्ता बदला गया गवर्नमेंट ने उसकी इजाजत नहीं दी। पुलिस से जबर्दस्ती कर के नये रास्ते में जलूस गया, वहाँ पर जब रोकने की कोशिश की गई तब बलवा हुआ। चायबासा में भी ऐसा हुआ। इसलिए गलत इल्जाम लगाना मेरी राय में मुनासिब नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, बत्वे होते हैं और यहाँ पर मीठी मीठी तकरीरों की जाती हैं। जैसे मुझसे पहले वक्ताओं ने कहा, क्या कोई आदमी संजीदा है इस बात पर सोचने के लिए? क्या कोई आदमी या कोई सदस्य या कोई लीडर इस सबन का इस बात को कहने के लिए तैयार

है कि ये वाक्यात नहीं दौहराये जायेंगे। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि अगर आपकी नीयत साफ है तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि बल्वे न रुकें। इंटिग्रेशन काउंसिल का रेजोलूशन है कि जहाँ बल्वे हों वहाँ के इमिडियेट अफसरान को, कलक्टर को, एस० पी० को उसका जिम्मेदार ठहराया जाए और उनको सस्पेंड किया जाए, उनके खिलाफ ऐक्शन लिया जाये। जहाँ गवर्नमेंट फेल हो दंगे रोकने में वहाँ गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ ऐक्शन लिया जाये। अच्छी अच्छी बातें करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन कहीं पर यह उसूल इंप्लिमेंट नहीं हुआ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : सबसे मीठी बात आपकी प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं।

श्री मु० प्र० खान : एक जगह पर एक शरूब को गोली मारी। गोली उसके पैर में लगी। वहाँ पुलिस खड़ी देखती रही। एक हलवाई आया उसने दो गोळियाँ उसके सीने में दाग दीं, टांग पकड़कर उसको, हनीफ को दुकान में फँक दिया, पुलिस देखती रही। अध्यक्ष महोदय थाने के करीब मस्जिद जलाई गई पुलिस खड़ी देखती रही। आवाज रोज उठाई जाती है कि पुलिस के खिलाफ ऐक्शन लिया जाये इससे बल्वे रुकेंगे, मगर कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया जाता है। क्या आप समझते हैं कि इस तरह की झूठी तकरीर करके समस्या हल होगी। इन्साफ वह है जो दिखाई भी दे। इन्साफ वह है जो दिखाई दे कि इन्साफ हो रहा है। अहमदाबाद के वाद जो बम्बई में हुआ, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि इससे बड़ी ना-उम्मीदी हुई है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बहुत जरूरी सवाल पूछता हूँ कि अगर यह सरकार दिलचस्पी रखती है, संजीदगी से इस रोग को रोकने में तो क्या उनको याद है कि सन् 1948 के अन्दर यू. एन. ओ. में एक कन्वेंशन हुआ था, जिसके अन्दर हिन्दुस्तान भी शरीक था और उसमें कुछ रेज-

लूशन पास हुए। 15 सितम्बर 1965 को फिर दोबारा हुआ और उसमें भी हिन्दुस्तान शरीक था और उसके ऐग्रीमेंट में हिन्दुस्तान के दस्तखत है जिसमें यह तय हुआ था कि इस प्राबलम को सात्व करने के लिए परमेंनेंट ट्राव्यूनल मुकरर किया जाएगा और अगर नहीं किया गया तो इंटरनेशनल ट्राव्यूनल मुकरर किया जायेगा। यह ऐग्रीमेंट आप उस एसेम्बली में, यू० एन० प्रो० में करके प्राये थे जिसके आप खुद मेम्बर थे। क्या आपने आज तक कोई ट्राव्यूनल मुकरर किया ? आज हम देखते हैं कि तकरीरें होती हैं, दस्तखत होते हैं मगर इन 22 सालों में जितना मुमलमानों को तबाह किया गया उसकी मिसाल नहीं मिल सकती। क्या दस्तखत करने के बाद भी आप संजीदा हैं अपने वायदे को पूरा करने के लिए जो आपने एसेम्बली में किया था। चाहे वाजपेयी जी को आज बुरा कहा जाए, मगर वाजपेयी जी ने जो कहा वह सामने तो है। उनका दल जो कहता है, वह मारना ही चाहते हैं, पालना नहीं चाहते, मगर उनके मुतालिक क्या है जो हम से खाली हमदर्दी करना चाहते हैं ? मैं वाजपेयी जी से उनको ज्यादा जिम्मेदार ठहराता हूँ कि जो बावजूद मीठी मीठी बातें करने के भी, इंप्लिमेंट नहीं करना चाहते, कोशिश नहीं करना चाहते। वाजपेयी जी की तस्वीर सामने तो है, मधोक की तस्वीर सामने तो है, गोलबलकर की तस्वीर सामने तो है, मगर जो छुरे पीछे से घोंपे जाते हैं, अध्यक्ष महोदय, उनका मुकाबला कैसे किया जाए।

मैं फिर अपील करूंगा इस सरकार से कि अगर यह संजीद हैं दंगों को रोकने के लिए तो बहुत मजबूती से सामने आये और सोचे कि जब तक पुलिस पर, डिस्ट्रिक्ट ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर सक्ती नहीं की जायेगी उसके खिलाफ कार्रवाई नहीं की जायेगी, चाहे आप इंटिग्रेशन काउंसिल की मीटिंग बुलायें, हर बलवे के बाद सदन में यह



[श्री मु० अ० खां]

कहा गया है कि सब लोग इकट्ठा होकर बैठे और तय कर लें लेकिन आज तक कुछ हुआ नहीं श्री वाजपेयी का प्रपोजल है जिलानी को शामिल करने का, हमीद दलवई को शामिल करने का, अनवर को शामिल करने का। हम इतने बेवकूफ नहीं हैं, हम उनकी हर बात को समझते हैं। हम समझते हैं कि वह इस्लाम की जड़ खोदना चाहते हैं हम जानते हैं कि वह मुसलमान नहीं है। हम उनके किसी डिंसीजन को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। अगर मुसलमानों के लिये उनके कहने पर कोई निर्णय लिया जायेगा तो हम उसको मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं होंगे क्योंकि वह इस्लाम के सब से बड़े दुश्मन हैं।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि श्री चागला मुसलमान नहीं हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है।

श्री मु० अ० खां : माननीय सदस्य मेरी तकरीर को ठीक तरह से सुन नहीं पाये हैं। मैंने यह नहीं कहा।

श्री रवि राय : फिर आप बतलाइए कि आपने क्या कहा।

श्री मु० अ० खां : मैंने कहा था कि श्री वाजपेयी ने जिलानी का नाम लिया, हमीद दलवई का नाम लिया, अनवर का नाम लिया। आप मेरी जवान में अपनी जवान घुसेड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। वह इस किस्म के मुसलमानों को शामिल करना चाहते हैं जो सिर्फ नाम से मुसलमान हैं, वह इस्लाम में बिलीन नहीं करते हैं। मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूँ कि कोई आदमी सिर्फ नाम से हिन्दू या मुसलमान नहीं हो सकता जब तक वह जिस मजहब से ताल्लुक रखता है उसके बेसिक प्रिंसिपल्स पर, उस के बेसिक उद्देश्यों पर बिलीफ न रखता हो। लिहाजा अगर आप इस्लाम का नाम लेकर इन

लोगों को शामिल करना चाहते हैं तो हम इसके लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इतना समय हो चुका है और अभी बहुत से लोग बोलने वाले रहते हैं।

श्री गुलाम मुहम्मद बख्शी (श्रीनगर) : इस पर तो मुझको भी बोलना है।

[شری غلام محمد بخش (سرینگر) اس پر ترجمہ کو بھی بولنا  
[صا۔]

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं आपको मौका दूंगा, आप तशरीफ रखिये। लेकिन थोड़ा सा इंतजार करना पड़ेगा।

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्या इसको आज ही समाप्त होना है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : हाँ, इसको आज ही खत्म होना है। श्री नाथ पाई।

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): We are discussing.....

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: No Cabinet Minister is present here.

AN HON. MEMBER: The Minister of State is here.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI M. R. KRISHNA): The Minister of State is here and he is going to reply.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: I know who a Cabinet Minister is. There must be a Cabinet Minister here.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप क्यों इस तरह से दखल दे रहे हैं ?

SHRI NATH PAI: We are discussing a creeping malady which if not arrested betimes will eat at the very vitals of our

nation and undermine the very basis of our country in the very near future.

I would like to endorse the plea even at this late hour that we should try to approach the issue that we are discussing not from the narrow point of view of the cold war that is going on between the so-called Cong-O and the Cong-I but look at this problem in its true aspect.

There are four points which I would like to stress in the course of my few submissions to you. In the first place, communal violence in this country cannot be completely isolated from the atmosphere of general violence that is obtaining in the country today. Those who are thinking that somehow communal violence can be separated and isolated and met are deceiving themselves. There is the other kind of violence in the country. All this violence basically is the result of the weakened authority of the Centre. I know today the Prime Minister has thundered. I know she spoke with great sincerity. Then she expressed her fear that if certain kinds of philosophies are not challenged, the nation's fabric may be weakened. But we have to bear in mind that all these maladies are flowing from our basic weakness, that of the weakened authority of the Centre of the Union.

We witness a spectacle. When I first came here, I recall Chief Ministers of States queuing up to get an interview with the Prime Minister of India. Times have so changed that even if the Prime Minister asks something of the Chief Ministers, they can hit back saying 'we are too busy to come to Delhi'. There are Chief Ministers who reply, report, to the Prime Minister of India. 'We are too busy to come to Delhi however important the issue may be'. There are Chief Ministers who when invited to Delhi can retort by asking the Prime Minister to go to Calcutta. This is an example of the weakened authority of the Union. This is not the kind of authority that can hold a nation together. The violence in Calcutta is there; the violence in Bihar is of a political nature; the violence in Chalbasa, Jamshepur, Ranchi and now in Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and adjacent parts of Bombay is of a communal type. But basi-

cally, those who want to address themselves to this problem must bear in mind that unless we make up our mind to see that every kind of violence will have to be met seriously, we are not going to meet the challenge only of communal violence. If we are going to pander to political violence. If you are going to put wrong interpretations on the kind of violence practised and perpetrated, we are not going to solve the problem.

The Prime Minister referred to the atmosphere, that communal violence does not spring suddenly, that there is an atmosphere to it. Who is basically, legally and constitutionally responsible for this? With this permissive atmosphere of violence in the country as a whole, if there is political violence, if there is Naxalite violence, if there is violence which parades as revolutionary, this Government cannot stir itself into action, but says that this violence is challenging the very basis of India as a democracy and we are determined to meet and crush it. Once you sit silent with folded hands with regard to one kind of violence, another kind of violence, invariably gets encouragement. It is definitely fed by this kind of attitude on the part of Government.

Having said this about violence in the country, let us try and have a very serious look at this problem called the communal problem. It is a very sad commentary not on any particular party, though one party has to bear the responsibility basically, it being the party which has held the reins of power in its hands.

Basically, perhaps we are all falling. Shri Dange in a very lucid moment of introspection admitted that we are all falling. 23 years after independence, the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity or Hindu-Muslim disunity is with us in all its ugliness, dangers and menace. In all its peril, it is staring us in the face.

How does it happen? We had persuaded ourselves when the nation was divided absolutely on religious basis by a tired

[Shri Nath Pal]

leadership which was frightened at fighting the forces of communalism. We cannot get away from this fact that our nation was divided on religious and communal basis by a leadership which was jaded and tired and could not meet the challenge to its unity. One man, Mahatma Gandhi, stood against it. But the others scuttled their courage and became a party to the division of the country, overnight. I must also mention here Badshah Khan who was against the division of the country. There were a few noble exceptions. Mahatma Gandhi symbolised it. But barring these few noble souls the rest of them accepted the division of the country and thought that the Hindu-Muslim problem was solved. It was the greatest self-It was indulge deception in which a country had absolutely imperative immediately after the partition of the country that this suspicion which had been building up in the Hindu mind and Muslim mind was carefully examined and those fears and mutual hatred were eradicated. Did we ever do it? Which is the major guilty party? I have made an appeal to rise above partisan views. Nonetheless I have to bring this charge. I am quoting Shri Srivastava who was already referred to by Mr. Salve in his submission to the House. He says :

"All political parties without exception choose their party nominees from a caste or community which has the largest number of voters in that particular constituency. The initial mistake was made by the Congress when it started wooing the Muslims and other minorities after partition."

19 hrs.

It was the historic task of the Congress Party, which was holding power throughout the country, to see that the virus which resulted in the division of the country was eradicated. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru talked of understanding the minds of millions of Muslims who had voted for the partition of the country, but what was the attitude of the Congress when it went to the hustings?

It followed in the footsteps of the British who always told the minorities that if the British left India, the minorities would be in danger. This is precisely what the Congress told the Muslims.—"If the Congress goes, you will be in danger."

Mr. S. K. Patil made very cogent submission today; but in 1948, on the morrow of the division of the country, it was the same Mr. Patel who entered into an agreement with an organisation in Bombay which was nothing but the Muslim League, in order to defeat the Socialists. They continued this tradition. We never treated the Muslims as fellow Indians. The Congress never told them that they exist here not by the charity of any particular party, but this land belongs to the Muslims as much as it belongs to the Hindus, this land is theirs as that of any other community. Instead of cultivating this nationalism, what was the Congress appeal to the Muslims? It was, "If we are defeated, you will be in danger." Therefore, the separate identity of the Muslims is kept different from the mainstream of the nation.

It is no use attempting to blame the other parties. It is the Congress approach. What did they try to tell the Muslims of the country?—"You will be in danger, if the Congress is defeated." And this continues even to this day. They were never told, "You are as much the masters as others, choose your party." If the Muslim community supports the Congress because they believe in it, there is nothing wrong. If the Congress goes to the Muslims and says, "Here is our programme for your salvation and the up lift of the mother land", I can understand it, but the Congress never does it. I have seen it, and everybody in the opposition has seen it. The basic appeal is, "If the Congress is defeated, you will be in danger, therefore return the Congress." (*Interruptions*)

I am glad Mr. Badrudduja agrees with me. Where does it lead to? We find the Prime Minister talking about an atmosphere. The tragedy of India is this. I have tried to submit this on another occa-

sion. The real danger to our country is not so much from Pakistan. There is danger, but we often tend to exaggerate it. There is danger from China also, but I am not much bothered about it, not because I believe in the assurances given by the Defence Minister, but because basically I believe in the strength of our people, fellow-Indians. But the biggest danger to India is this. You and I, none of us perhaps, can answer a simple question; if somebody asks how many Indians there are, we cannot answer that question and herein lies the tragedy of India. Herein lies the basis of our weakness. Here is the root-cause from which other weaknesses flow.

If you ask me how many Chinese there are, I know the reply—670 million, if you ask me how many Pakistanis there are, I know the reply—120 million. But if you ask me how many Indians there are, I have no reply to give, I know that the population of India is 52 crores, but I do not know how many Indians there are because the Indian nationalist revolution has not been completed. I know how many Hindus there are, how many Muslims there are, how many Marathis there are, how many Tamils, how many Telugus there are. You and I cannot say that there are so many Indians, and this is the weakness of India.

The nationalist revolution which began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and which was taken ahead by Tilak, Gandhi and Netaji, and also section of the Congress—men like Dada Kripalani—has not been completed, it is no use talking about Indianising only Muslims, Millions of Hindus live out of the mainstream, what you call India. They have not been encouraged, because they have been dispossessed. Mr. Vajpayee, and I of our generation can make a vital mistake if we persuade ourselves that it is only a particular community which needs to be Indianised. Millions and millions of Indians need to be given a stake in this India and of course, naturally, the greatest number happens to be Hindus.

Whenever one goes and sees the embers after the fires have done all their damage,

one sees not only the ashes of the miserable belongings of the poor Hindu or the poor Muslims. In Ahmedabad, in Bhlvandi or in Jalgaon when I look at what is left behind after the mischief had done its worst I see in the ashes not only the remnants of the possessions of that poor Hindu or the poor Muslim; I see that the fire has consumed part of our reputation as a nation. The fire which burnt the house of an innocent Hindu or an innocent Muslim has also consumed part of our honour and a bit perhaps of our freedom also. It is those other things also that go into the fire when mad elements set fire to the houses of innocent people as they did in Maharashtra. I want to ask this very important question. The Prime Minister had said that Mr. Shukla would reply. Technically she might have scored over Mr. Vajpayee but I do not think she had tried to provide an answer to the question, to the problem, to the challenge that is facing us, 20 years after independence a tragedy, something like the one which was witnessed at the time of partition of the country is being witnessed and Mrs. Gandhi had nothing to say about that. She said that Mr. Shukla would try to reply to that. Can Mr. Shukla really give answer to such questions? It is not a question of winning debating points here but a question of finding remedies to the greatest malady which is eating at the vitals of our country. I am sorry to say that what-ever may be the oratorical or rhetorical contents of the Prime Minister's performance so far this basic challenge was concerned she had nothing to say. She referred to an atmosphere being created and I shall refer to that. What happened in Maharashtra? If regional chauvinism has to act as shackles on our tongue we are unworthy of sitting in Parliament. I think we took the oath of being loyal first to India and then only to anything else and therefore regional considerations will have to be brushed aside.

I shall read to you from a daily in Maharashtra called 'Nava Kal' which means New Times. This is a report given by one of the victims of arson and loot and massacre in Bhlvandi to the Revenue Minister in Maharashtra:

अध्वस्त महोदय, यह समाचार मराठी के "नवाकाल" अखबार में प्रकाशित हुआ है. जिस

[श्री नाथ पाई]

का विवरण महाराष्ट्र के रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर के सामने एक विक्टिम ने दिया—

“परा मिरवणूक शुरू होताच थोडयाच बेलात एकदम ते आले, त्यांच्या हातात तलवारी होत्या, चाकू होते, राकेलचे भरलेले डबे होते व आम्हा निशस्त्र। साहेब, कल्लु तोत्या हा गुंड तयचि नेतृत्व करीत होता, दारूचा त्याचा घंदा याची माहिती आमच्या लोकांनी आधी पोलिसांना दिली होती। परा पोलिसानी काहीच केले नाही। हे गुंड आग लावतच बाहेर पडले। आमच्या माणसांची पलायल झाली। माभी म्हातारी (आई) घराला आग लागताच बाहेर पडली पण तिला त्याने पुन्हा घरले व घरित ढकलले व आमच्यासमोर ती जलून मेली।”

जब जुलूस शुरू हो गया तो थोड़ी देर में वे दौड़ कर हमारी तरफ आये। उनके हाथ में तलवार थी। कल्लू तोता उनका लीडर था जो इल्लिसिट डिस्ट्रिक्शन का काम करता है। इस की खबर पहले हमारे लोगों ने पुलिस के सामने पेश की थी, मगर पुलिस की तरफ से कुछ नहीं किया गया। ये गुण्डे बाहर निकले। हम भाग गये। जब घर को आग लगाई गई तो मेरी बूड़ी मां बाहर निकली। मगर गुण्डों ने उसे घेरा और फिर से आग में ढकेल दिया।

“Goondas surrounded my old mother who was screaming for help and pushed her back into the burning hut. My poor mother cried for help and she died. They pulled my two sons from my hands and consigned them to the fire.”

This happened in Bhiwandi; This happened to Innocent Muslims and Hindus; and this happened to Indians. I am surprised that when Indians die we go on making statistical comparison that 30 Hindus died and 30 Muslims died. Even if one innocent Muslim died it would hurt us; even if one

Innocent Hindu died it should hurt us. The major consideration is not a statistical measurement of how many Hindus and how many Muslim died. The major consideration is: how can such things take place today after 23 years of independence? There was an atmosphere of permissive lawlessness in Maharashtra for the past 6 months. I want to ask why was such lawlessness being allowed? The opposition parties tried to bring it to the notice of the Maharashtra Government. I shall refer to this very briefly. On May Day, the 1st of May, there was a rally of all the political parties. On May Day, at the public rally, they appealed to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra: “We are afraid that something may happen here during the next week. Please see that enough police is deployed here and please see that the mischievous elements are under control.” No heed was given. A written memorandum was sent to the Collector of which we have an acknowledgement. No steps were taken. Mr. Nial Ahmed, an MLA from Malegaon, moved a cut motion deploring the inadequacy of police arrangements in the areas near Bhiwandi. No notice was taken. A delegation from both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, informed the Government of Maharashtra. Nothing was done. Now, the Government has the check to tell us that they have deployed 700 policemen. Either these 700 policemen were incompetent, utterly useless, or the Government of Maharashtra is not telling the truth. When all this was being done, the plea of every political party for help was being ignored, can we today turn round and say and make this debate appear as if it is a quarrel between Shri Vajpayee and Shrimati Indira Gandhi?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we hope the Minister will give a reply to this kind of thing. How this thing has happened? After all, we can see that today it is Chaibassa, tomorrow it is Ranchi; and then it is Jamshedpur, and then Indore; then Bhopal, and then Ahmedabad. Now, it is Bhiwandi, Thana, Kalyan, Jalgaon. Every where, the flames are growing.

I will be concluding, Mr. Speaker. Whatever the noble intentions, however sincerely some of them have expressed after the event, basically, I am afraid, it is the

ritualistic approach. It is after the tragedy has taken place that the Prime Minister will think of reconvening the so-called National Integration Council. I happen to be a Member of that Council, a Member of the Sub-Committee for protection of minorities, I recall the Prime Minister's concluding remarks at the meeting we had where we said that the danger spot, the trouble spot, in India likely identified and the elements which are can be to play mischief can be identified too, and something can be done. She ended by saying that we have received some concrete proposals. What happened to the concrete proposals made? Obviously, they are gathering dust in some shelf in some Secretariat. It was suggested to the Government that every-time there is a riot, their only response is this; of course, belatedly, when there is sufficient out cry in the country, when there is a sense of outrage; they appoint a judge and then of course they forget all about it till another riot occurs. After Ahmedabad, after Ranchi, after Jamshedpur, did the Government of India take it seriously that this issue needs to be gone into in depth and try to find out what can be done? Our minds are diseased. When a large number of Hindus, a large number of Muslims suffered from this kind of mutual Suspicion, mutual hostility, mutual fear, did the Government do something to eradicate it, something to rehabilitate their minds? Or, did we try to trade on these fears and those mutual suspicions? The Commission may find that the Jan Sangh is guilty. But basically it is the Government of India which is responsible for seeing that the flag on which we have emblazoned secularism is respected, is upheld. Neither in Bhiwandi nor in any other part of the country has the Government of India succeeded in discharging its responsibilities.

Sir, I know a technical reply will be given. In concluding, may I submit that the Government reply will be two-fold. I have already read about it in the papers. What is it? We will reconvene the National Integration Council. What will the Council do? It will pontificate about the desirability of/feeling of the love towards one another. It will give us sermons about the desirability of the loving one another, the fellow Hindu and fellow Muslim. Once again, somewhere, a riot will catch us unawares unless the

Government of India sees that the State Governments do not fail in their basic obligation. I have no compunction; I have no hesitation; it is my bounden duty to tell the House that the Mahatashtra Government the Maharashtra administration has failed in taking cognizance of the atmosphere of the permissive violence which was going on accumulating in their state. Had the Government not tried to play politics with what was happening, not tried to take a short-sighted view that something, some elements in this State are teaching a lesson,—the so-called leftist party—probably the tragedy of Bhiwandi might have been averted. Bhiwandi is not the last. If we do not rise above petty party considerations, and unless we take a long-term view, it will become more difficult. In this I join all my colleagues. It is possible to blame but basically the blame must be fixed on those who have the reins of power in their hands. Unless we take a fresh review, it is no use. If the debate is meant only to score a debating point against anyone of us, I tell you, within the next session, again Mr. Shukla will have to give a report of another tragedy like the one I read. The whole House should treat it as a challenge. Bhiwandi is not a challenge only to Maharashtra or to Hindus. Jalgaon is not a challenge only to the Muslims. These are grim challenges. They are not a challenges only to the State or to that community. They are a challenge to our very future existence as a free country and as a free democracy. Unless we meet this challenge in this spirit and not try to meet it in a ritualistic way on an *ad hoc* basis, I am afraid the lives which were lost at Ahmedabad—a whole family of 19 died screaming and the police could not rescue them—they will have died in vain. It is possible to turn the sacrifices of our innocent fellow Hindus and Muslims into something more useful and to turn a new chapter, provided all of us will give up the habit of finding faults with one another in a narrow view. but look for a long-term solution for a challenge which is far deeper than the Government of India seem to realise.

SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL (Manjeri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I very much wish that I have got the time to reply to

[Shri M. Muhammad Ismail]

the many points which Mr. Vajpayee referred to in his speech. But the pity of it is that our time is being calculated on mere arithmetical ratios, despite the fact that there are people who represent certain points of view. In the British Parliament, once upon a time, there was only one communist out of 625 members. Yet the Speaker gave sufficient time to him to express his view on the ground that he had a particular point of view and therefore he must be accommodated. But that practice is not current here. Therefore, I have to give up the duty of answering every one of the points raised by Mr. Vajpayee. I do not know whether Mr. Vajpayee knows this fact of census that there are about 600,000 villages, towns and cities in the country. That is the last census count. Almost in every village, there will at least be a single Muslim; in certain villages there will be 5 and in certain other villages 500 Muslims. But there will be no village in our country which does not have a Muslim. I want to ask Mr. Vajpayee and people of his way of thinking whether there is such an amount of misunderstanding and ill-feeling amongst the people in those villages. They live like relatives. They use terms of relationship like *chacha*, *mama*, *mami* etc. amongst themselves. They have got very free and friendly inter-course among them. This is the way they are living even today, in spite of the holocausts and carnage taking place in certain parts of the country. Why all this holocaust and carnage? It is not because of the general mentality of the people of India as a whole, whether Hindu or Muslims. Some of the politicians do not understand the working of the Muslim mind. That is another fact. Minorities are not peculiar to our country. There are minorities of some kind or other in every country of the world today. They form part of the nation with whom they are living. We should think why there should be such a kind of feeling in our country. In our country the minority did not come into existence only recently, as some people think. It is not so, I may tell you that this existed even before Aryans came into India. The first wave of the Aryans was about 3,500 years ago. By the way, I may say that I am the descendant of those people

who were living at that time before the Aryans came into this country. Therefore, my attachment to this country and the attachment of people like me to this country can be imagined. Even at that time, before the Aryan came, there were the majorities and minorities.

SHRI RAGHUVIR SINGH SHASTRI (Baghat): I can challenge him that it is not so.

SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL: I am relating facts of history, the history current for many decades. There were minorities at that time. When the Aryans came there were more minorities of some kind or another. Therefore, minorities are not a new factor. That is what I am trying to tell you.

How do the Muslims think of their country?

*Husnul Vatan Minal Iman* is their maxim. Love of the country is part of their faith, part of their belief in God. The Muslims must do their neighbour's duty. They accordingly keep faith and friendship with the people with whom they are living and whom they have taken as brothers. They must keep this kind of feeling in their hearts.

Shri Vajpayee was relating so many laboured points because he could not find proper reasons. I am sure the world will know, if only they care to look into his arguments whether his points were laboured and artificial or not. For instance, he said that the Indian Muslim wants to fight and die in despair in this country. Any way the Muslim does not want to run away from here even when his life is in danger. Even though there are so many countries to which he could go he does not want to go there. He wants to remain here because this is his motherland. That is the attachment which he has got for this country. The difficulty is that many people are not able to understand the working of the mind of the Indian Muslims.

Shri Vajpayee alleged point after point in trying to show why the Muslims are doing

It, if any one coolly considers these points one will find that none of them can hold the ground, can bear the light of reasoning. I want to ask him one thing. If he abhors the holocaust and carnage, has he ever advised his followers not to indulge in such things ?

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:** Yes, we have.

**SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL:** Where when and how ? I have not seen it. If he has done it, then well and good. I say that the people in the villages and towns in several places, in most parts of the country, are living as brothers. Even when they know about these holocausts they do not change their relations. Then how does this happen ? Some politicians, not all politicians, take it into their head that they can bring the people of the whole country into one way of thinking. That can never be. Because, as long as human beings, are thinking beings, as long as they have got freedom of expression and freedom of thought, these differences will exist and we as a nation must be able to learn to tolerate each other's points of view. They think that by violence they can do away with these differences. This difference is not like the difference in dress or manners it is a difference in belief. Even in the matter of dress and other things you cannot insist on Uniformity. The other people in the world do not insist upon every body adopting the same kind of hat or same kind of dress or same kind of shoes. They remain different. Then in the matter of beliefs, which is a fundamental part of the human being how can you stereotype and make them into one pattern. If anybody tries it, it will be to the detriment of the people as a whole and of their rights. It will be detrimental to the country to which he belongs, in the measure in which that idea is being supported. I very much hope this idea will not strike its root in this country. It is a national question. Really speaking, the minority question is a national question. Which is the country I want to know that has no minorities ? Here, particularly, this minority has got a unique feature about it. Some friends say it is 6 crores. But my calculation is that there are 8 crores of Muslims. How many countries there are in the world how many nations which are members of the United Nations that have

each a total population of 8 crores. The minorities are in such large numbers here. And Mr. Vajpayees friends think they can be liquidated by such methods of violence as are being adopted in our country. Even then, the Muslims say they will die here if they have to die. Such people cannot be eliminated at all. It will not be to the good of the country to think in that manner.

What happened in the Maharashtra State ? We wanted to discuss about what happened in Maharashtra. Then, the whole question of communal problem has been brought in and so many new questions are being raised. Mr. Nath Pal raised several questions. I would also like to deal with them. But where is the time and where is the opportunity for that ? We have to find time elsewhere, on other platforms, to deal with such questions.

What happened now ? The papers are common to you and to me both. From these papers, we can know the facts, there are people also coming from that side with information. How did it happen ? Not all of a sudden by any emotional up set at the moment. It was prepared for weeks and weeks and an occasion was pitched upon for that. I say, every village has got a Muslim. But here in Maharashtra such a thing happened at a particular time and in a particular place which was all fixed by certain people. This time, they fixed Bhiwandi town which consists of a majority of Muslims. It is a thriving town. There, the people are engaged in cottage industries, small industries and they have got powerlooms. They give employment not only to themselves but also to many other people coming from other parts of the country, more than 30,000 of them. Those people who came there in search of employment were given employment on powerlooms etc. Now, the prosperity of that town perhaps was not to the liking of some people. They wanted to break them and to teach them a lesson. How to do it ? For that, an occasion must be found. All right, there was the Shivaji Jayanti. For the Shivaji Jayanti, procession arrangements were made. The Muslims also agreed to take part in it but on account of their religious principles, they said that did not want certain things, the saffron flag and the gular. The



[Shri Mohammad Ismail]

organisers agreed to that condition also. Certain slogans were also agreed upon. To that both Hindus and Muslims agreed. They agreed that they would confine only to certain particular slogans. That is what was agreed to. And all this was being prepared for weeks. Then, a different slogan, an unauthorised slogan, was shouted, that was the signal for the things to start. Mr. Vajpayee may deny things; but the world knows the truth. They are not even able to find a new strategy. If a stone was thrown, that was to be the beginning of the holocaust. That is what happened and that too at a junction of the road in a very suitable place. It is clear that particular place had been fixed by them in advance. And then the whole thing was broke and hell was let loose and there was carnage. Immediately in various Mohallas there were disturbances and stone-throwings. Even supposing a stone was thrown by a Mussalman, even if a bomb was thrown by a Mussalman, is there not a criminal law in the country for punishing those causing grievous hurt, for punishing murders and for punishing traitors of the country? Some murders, or some crimes are happening in one part or the other of our country everyday. Not in all those places such holocaust and carnages are taking place but only in place fixed for the purpose it is taking place. There the whole thing is let loose. Immediately instruments like acid bulbs, fire balls and catapults, all of a sudden, appear from somewhere. The fire balls go on falling on roof tops. All that has been pre-arranged and this was suspected the good people. As a matter of fact in the Maharashtra Assembly members have been charging the Government that in spite of the warning by the MLAs and MLCs the Government did not take any preventive action. Only two days previous to the incidents a deputation of Muslims waited upon the Home Minister and he promised them that he would see that nothing would happen. In spite of such warnings, the Government did not take necessary steps and even when the outbreak came, what happened? They sent SRP men from Bombay. When they came to Bhiwandi, what did they do? The first thing they did was to go and lash and thrash the terror-stricken men and women. So, the police people

too were partial. There were telegrams that the Police were partial and Central intervention was required. When Bhiwandi was reported quiet and Jalgaon was quiet, the hell spread to Thana and its suburbs. Therefore, help must be sent from the Centre and it must act. That was the cry that has been raised from time to time.

Now this thing must be gone into. Mr. Vajpayee said a few days ago that it was not a mere law and order question. Three days back it was raised in Maharashtra Assembly. I also say that it is not a mere law and order question. But when things happen, law and order is the first casualty. Without law and order you cannot do anything. You cannot take a step forward without law and order. The first thing, the first duty, the primary, elementary and fundamental duty of any Government or any group of normal people or an association is to see that the laws are being acted upon and that is not being done.

Now, as Mr. Nath Pai pointed out, the Centre must be strong. They have got the responsibility to see that the country holds together and on such occasions as these must be quick in taking action. Now they have failed. Warnings were given weeks before and they were not heeded. Therefore, now so far as these poor people are concerned, what is to be done? In the case of Ahmedabad everybody condemned the carnage, the killing and then there were arrangements for compensation. Then they said that house will be built and given to the victims. There was an inquiry. This is all. What has happened—the public do not know. The rehabilitation of the riot victims also is an integral part of the national integration scheme and that is what we have been urging upon all along. Now many of the affected Ahmedabad people those who suffered in that carnage are roving about all over the country as beggars. That reduces not only those people into beggars. That reduces the self respect of the country also. What kind of an image our country will present in the face of these things. These papers which are publishing news are not confined to our country alone? Therefore, what has to be done is this. The Police must be made to act promptly and it

must be seen that they without any partiality. We do not know whether the tension has really ceased, and therefore one must take care of the attitude of the police.

And, then, regarding Compensation. Immediate relief must be given to those who are home less. The homeless people even on the 2nd day of the riots, were stated to be 30,000. The amount of loss of property on that day was given out by one of the News Agencies to be Rs. 2 crores and about the figures of the dead, Government say it is 127 It may be 127 or 500; it is to be seen. But the dead are dead, You are not going to do anything for them. The living but helpless victims have to be taken care of. Their needs must be attended to immediately.

The Police must be made to act promptly and proper compensation must be given to the victims and steps must be taken by the Government—not only the State Government, but by the Central Government—to see that such things do not happen again. It is not mere propaganda that is to be done; but they must maintain law and order, Law and order must be maintained at any cost and that is what is immediately and always required; and law and order must be maintained impartially.

MR. SPEAKER: The time was extended upto 8 O'clock, But there are quite a few Members whose names are still there. Mr. George Fernandes, Shri Kunc, Shri Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Shri Abdul Ghani Dar, Shri Bakur All Mirza etc. I think we may restrict the time to 5 minutes each. This will be over in half-an-hour and after that the Minister may reply.

SHRI GULAM MOHAMMAD BAKSHI: Let it be postponed for tomorrow and we may allot one hour tomorrow.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SUKLA): It must be finished today.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है आप अभी चर्चा स्थगित कर दीजिए और कल लीजिए।

MR. SPEAKER: It was fixed upto 6 O'clock and this was extended upon 8 O'clock. It must be finished today. Otherwise it upsets the whole Agenda.

SHRI GULAM MOHAMMAD BAKSHI: It does not upset any programme of the Government.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कल हो सकता है होम मिनिस्टर साहब स्वयं आ जायें।

MR. SPEAKER: We must finish today because the work is already blocked, It won't take more than 20 minutes or so. Shri Randhir Singh.

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान में चाहे हिन्दू हों, चाहे मुसलमान, चाहे सिख, चाहे ईसाई, चाहे बौद्ध, चाहे जैन, एक एक चप्पा चप्पा जमीन एक एक हिन्दुस्तानी की है और जितनी बिरादरियों, जितने तजह्वों के भाई हैं वह सगे भाई की तरह से हैं। परसों एक आदमी ईराक का मुझे मिला। मुझे उसने ताज्जुब में डाल दिया। उसने बताया कि हिन्दुस्तान में पता नहीं किस किस के आदमी, किस खालात के आदमी हैं? जितने अरब देश में उनमें सब बिरादरियों के भाई हैं, हिन्दू भी हैं, ईसाई भी हैं, मुसलमान भी हैं लेकिन कतअन, कोई बात मजहब के नाम पर, जाति के नाम पर, बिरादरी के नाम पर नहीं होती, कोई सक्त लब्ज भी नहीं निकालता है एक दूसरे के खिलाफ।

19 40 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

यह हमारा बदकिस्मत देश है जहाँ हर तरफ कोई न कोई बलवा, कोई न कोई झगड़ा होता दिखाई देता है, जिस में करोड़ों रुपये की सम्पत्ति बरबाद हो जाती है, हिन्दू

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

और मुसलमान भाइयों का बेशबहा खून गिरता है। अरग हिन्दुस्तान नहीं सम्भला तो यह देश और कौम बरबाद हो जायेगी—

न समझोगे तो मिट जाओगे, ए हिन्दोस्तांवाले, तुम्हारी दास्तां तक भी न होगी दास्तानों में।

यह इकबाल का शेर है मामूली बात नहीं है।

मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर रखना, हिन्दी हैं हम वतन हैं हिन्दोस्तां हमारा।

जबाब में आपकी मारफत अटलबिहारी बाजपेयी जी से कहना चाहता हूँ—

ऐ आबरुज गंगा, बह दिन है याद तुझको, उतरा तेरे किनारे जब कारवां हमारा। यूनानो-मिश्रो-रोमां सब मिट गये जहाँ से, कुछ बात है कि बाकी नामो-निशां हमारा।

इन लाइनों को लिखने वाला शायर एक मुसलमान था। यह सिर्फ आप को ही इजारे-दारी नहीं है कि आप ही इस मुल्क की तारीख, सम्म्यता, तहजीब, तमुद्न को बरकरार रखने वाले हैं, इस मुल्क के जितने बाशिन्दे हैं, सबका उस पर हक है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान का बटवारा होने के बाद हमारे ही कुछ भाई उधर चले गये और जब पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान की लड़ाई हुई तो हरियाणा के मेरे अपने भाई जो उस तरफ चले गये थे, हरियाणा की फौजों के मुकाबले लड़ने के लिए आये। इधर भी हरियाणा की फौज उधर भी हरियाणा की फौज, इधर भी टैंक उधर भी टैंक, इधर भी 303 की गन उधर भी 303 की गन। स्पीकर महोदय, 20 साल पहले तकसीमेवतन की बजह से जो भाई उधर चले गये, उनका खून गिरा, यह कितनी

दर्दनाक बात है। वह वक्त जरूर आयेगा जब फिर ये दोनों हिस्से एक ही शजर की टहनियां बनेंगी। वहाँ के लोग चाहते हैं लेकिन लीडरान नहीं बनने देते, ये चौधरी नहीं बनने देते, वरना लोगों के दिलों में अब भी मुहम्बत है, बिरादरियों में कोई फर्क नहीं है, सब इसी जमीन पर पैदा हुए हैं, यही पले हैं, यही बड़े हुए हैं। बाबर के साथ मुश्किल से 1200 आदमी आये थे, वे भी खत्म हो गये, मर-खप गये' अब तो जी कुछ है सब इंडीजीनस-माल है, चोटी से लेकर एड़ी तक कोई विदेशी माल नहीं है, सारे का सारा हिन्दुस्तानी माल है। इस किस्म के नारे लगाना जिसमें मुल्क के एक बाशिन्दे को दूसरा समझना, यह कहना कि वह हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं हैं, इससे ज्यादा जुल्म और अन्याय कोई नहीं हो सकता। आज इनको कहते हैं, कल सिलों को कहेंगे, परसों ईसाइयों को कहेंगे, फिर बौद्धों को कहेंगे, उस के बाद हरिजनों का नंबर आयेगा, हरिजनों के बाद बैकवर्ड क्लास और ट्राइब्स का नम्बर आयेगा—हम किस तरफ जा रहे हैं। स्पीकर साहब, यह सब सरमायेदार करा रहा है। आज हम सोशलज्म का नारा लगा रहे हैं, जिस में गरीब आदमी के हाथ में हुकुमत होगी, जिस की वजह से इन के अन्दर खलबली मच गई है। ये लोग जनता की तबज्जह सोशलज्म की तरफ से हटा कर इस तरफ लाना चाहते हैं। आज देश के अन्दर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का प्रोग्रेसिव प्रोग्राम चालू है, उस को खराब करने के लिए ये बलवे शुरू हुए हैं, ताकि इन्दिरा जी कामयाब न हो सकें, देश में सोशलज्म न आये, इन लोगों की मोनोपली कायम रहे। चाहे इन्दौर का बलवा हो, चाहे चायबासा का हो अहमदाबाद का हो, पहले इतने दंगे नहीं हुए, अब क्यों इतने दंगे होने लगे हैं—ये इस बात को जाहिर करते हैं कि ये जानबूझ कर कराये जा रहे हैं।

बाहर के सी० आई० ए० के एजेन्ट, चीन

के एजेन्ट ईजराइल के एजेन्ट, बहुत सारे मसले मुल्क के सामने हैं और फिर ये हिन्दुओं के एजेंट जो देश के दूसरे भाइयों को बाली भेड़ें समझते हैं, यह सब क्या हो रहा है। इस मुल्क की बिरादरी में सब एक हैं। अब वह वक्त आ गया है, जब ऐसी बातें नहीं चलेंगी। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि कागजी कार्यवाही से भी अब काम नहीं चलेगा—नाशिस्तन, गुफतन, बरखास्तन—मीटिंग हुई, बैठे, बातचीत की और चल दिये—अब तो कोई अमली कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। जो ऐसी कम्यूनल बातें करते हैं, उन को पकड़ कर जेल में डालना होगा, इस किस्म की चीजें अब इस देश में नहीं चलेंगी। जो भी इस किस्म के एलीमेन्ट्स देश में पैदा हो गये हैं, उनका ब्रेक-डाउन करना पड़ेगा। आज हर जाह ऐसे एलीमेन्ट्स भरे पड़े हैं, इन को पैसा मिलता है, इस्टीचूगन्ज है घुस गए हैं, गवर्नमेंट की नौकरियों में घुस गये हैं, पोलिटीकल संस्थाओं में घुस गये हैं, यहां तक कि हर बिरादरी और मजहब में घुस गये हैं।

हिन्दुओं, मुसलमानों, सिखों और दूसरों में भी हैं। श्री नाथपाई ने ठीक ही कहा कि हिन्दुस्तानी कोई नहीं समझता, मैं जाट, मैं ब्राह्मण, मैं अहीर मैं बनिया। तो जबतक कौमियत मजबूत नहीं होगी तबतक यह चीज जायेगी नहीं। मैं मुभाव देना चाहता हूँ कि हमें इस देश में यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि कम्यूनल पार्टीज को रखा जाये या न रखा जाये। मैं तो कहूंगा कि जो पार्टियां देश को कमजोर करती हैं, कौमियत को कमजोर करती हैं, भाई भाई में जो गला काटने की बातें करती हैं उनको एक कलम बंद करना पड़ेगा। इसी तरह से जो पेपर्स इस तरह की बातें फैलाते हैं उनको भी बंद करना पड़ेगा।

डिप्टी स्पीकर महोदय, मैंने चार पांच जगहों पर जाकर देखा है, चाहे वह चायबासा

हो, अहमदाबाद हो या मेरठ हो, हर जगह मुझे वही बात देखने को मिली कि उनके पीछे किसी न किसी का हाथ होता है जोकि इन चीजों को कराते है। मुसलमान या हिन्दू करते हैं ऐसी बात नहीं है बल्कि उसके लिए आदमियों को एम्प्लाय किया जाता है। कहीं मंदिर के सामने झगड़ा पैदा करा दिया गया तो कहीं मस्जिद के सामने झगड़ा पैदा करा दिया गया। हमने कई रिपोर्टें दी हैं लेकिन होम मिनिस्ट्री कोई परवाह नहीं करती है, उनपर कोई अमल नहीं करती है। हम कोई बेकार आदमी तो हैं नहीं। हम मोके पर जाते हैं उसके बाद रिपोर्ट लिखते हैं, वह टाइप की जाती है और तब आपको दी जाती है। मैं तो कई हजार की फीस एक मुकदमें में लेने वाला हूँ—मैं कोई बेकार आदमी नहीं हूँ। लेकिन हम जो रिपोर्टें देते हैं उसको आप रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल देते हैं। एक नहीं, तीन तीन रिपोर्टें आपकी मेज पर पड़ी हुई हैं लेकिन आपने क्या किया? हमने यह सिफारिश की थी कि जहां कहीं भी शहरों में स्टेट्स में मुसलमानों की तादाद ज्यादा है वहां पर मुसलमानों को पुलिस में भर्ती करना चाहिए लेकिन आपने क्या किया? तो मेरी पहली सिफारिश यही है कि मुसलमानों की ज्यादा आबादी के इलाकों में मुसलमानों को पुलिस में भर्ती किया जाये। हिन्दुस्तान में जो एक जिस्म का हिस्सा है उसके लिए 25 फीसदी या पचास फीसदी, इस तरह से जो लोग नाप—तौल की बात करते हैं मैं समझता हूँ उनके दिमाग में खराबी है। ... (व्यवधान)...

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इंटेलिजेन्स को आप तगड़ा करें। बाहर की ताकतों का इसमें हाथ रहता है। इसमें हिन्दू मुसलमान की कोई बात नहीं है बल्कि भाड़े के टट्टर इसमें इस्तेमाल किये जाते हैं। हमारा जो सोशलजिज्म का प्रोग्राम है उससे तबज्जह दूर करने के लिए इस तरह की बातें पैदा की

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

जाती हैं। और इन भगड़ों में बड़े बड़े आदमी कोई नहीं मरते हैं बल्कि गांव और शहर के हरिजन और बेकवर्ड तबके के जो लोग होते हैं वही बेचारे मारे जाते हैं। अहमदाबाद में भी मैंने यही बात देखी और दूसरी जगहों पर भी देखी। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि सेंटर और स्टेट की इंटेलिजेंस में कोम्राडिनेशन होना चाहिये। और अगर वहीं की पुलिस ठीक से काम नहीं करती है तो कितना ही बड़ा आई० जी० क्यों न हो उसको सस्पेंड करदो, बाहर निकाल दो। इसी तरह से जो गवर्नमेंट फैल हो उसको भी रगड़ा जाये। उनकी जगह पर भी दूसरे आदमी आयेंगे। सारे कांग्रेसी अच्छे हैं, कोई खराब नहीं है। इस तरह से आप छोटी मछलियों को नहीं बल्कि बड़े बड़े मगरमच्छों को पकड़ो तो गवर्नमेंट मजबूत बनेगी।

तीसरी बात यह है कि एक दफा जो बंबादी हो जाती है उसका मुझे जाती तजुरबा है, मेरी कोठी जल गई तो मेरे जैसे लाइयर की क्या हालत हो गई। इसलिये गवर्नमेंट की मारल, लीगल और कांस्टीट्यूशनल रेस्पॉसिबिलिटी हो जाती है कि वह उनको रिहैबिलिटेड करे। यह नहीं है कि जा कर फोटो खिंचवा दी और खबर में आ गया कि फलां मिनिस्टर, फलां एम० पी० का डेलीगेशन पढ़ूँच गया। उन को नौकरी देने और रिहैबिलिटेड करने की आप की जिम्मेदारी है।

आखिरी बात यह है कि यहां सेंटर में माइनारिटीज के लिये एक मिनिस्ट्री कायम की जाय। यह मैंने पहले भी कहा और इस बार भी गुजारिश की थी कि एक मिनिस्ट्री माइनारिटीज के लिए अलग से कायम की जाय जिस का एक मिनिस्टर इन्चार्ज हो जो अच्छी इंटेलिजेंट वाला और पेंडियाटिक आदमी हो, वह

इस काम को देखे और अगर कहीं भी कोई रायट हो तो उस की गर्दन पकड़ लो। सेंटर में उस का हुक्म चले और इंटेलिजेंस की एक स्पेशल सेल खोली जाय और आपस में कोम्राडिनेशन हो।

एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो इधर इंडियेनाइजेशन की बात की जाती है यह भी एक कास्टिज्म है। मालूम होता है कि कुछ आदमी हिन्दुस्तान के ठेकेदार हैं। इंडियेनाइजेशन का जो नारा लगाते हैं यह सबका हिन्दुओं के गुरुघंटा ल पैदा हो गये हैं कि हम ही हिन्दू हैं और बाकी सब सेकेंड क्लास आदमी हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा नारे लगाने वालों से हम को चीन और पाकिस्तान से भी ज्यादा खतरा है।

मेरी गुजारिश है कि मैंने शुभाव दिए हैं उन पर ध्यान दिया जाय ताकि माइनारिटीज के अन्दर कानफिडेंस आये और वह महसूस करें कि हम जबानी बात नहीं करते हैं, अमल भी करते हैं। आप अमल करके दिखाओ। एक साल से देखा, लेकिन आप कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि माननीय शुक्ला जी जवाब देंगे तो जरूर बतायेंगे कि जस्टिस रघुबर दयाल कमीशन ने जो बात कही, हम ने जो बात कही उस पर आप अमल भी करते हैं कि नहीं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri George Fernandes.

श्री राम सेवक यादव : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन में कोरम नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The bell is being rung—The bell is being rung again. There is no quorum. Under the circumstances, there is nothing to do but to adjourn the House.

19.59 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the May 15, 1970/Vaisakha 25, 1892 (Saka).