

SHRI BENI SHANKER SHARMA
(Banka) : I support Shri S. M. Banerjee.

SHRI RABI RAY *rose*—

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think the hon. Member is also supporting Shri S. M. Banerjee.

श्री रवि राय : दस तारीख को वे लोग हड़ताल करने वाले हैं। आप सरकार से कल बयान देने के लिए कहिए। यह बहुत गम्भीर मामला है।... (व्यवधान)...

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs will kindly convey it to the hon. Minister of Finance. I hope he will convey the feelings of the Members to the hon. Minister Shri Khadilkar.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : He should make a statement today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot say when he will make a statement.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : You can direct him from the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot direct the hon. Minister as to when he should make the statement.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (A'ipore) : In view of the urgency and seriousness of the matter, because the strike will begin from day after tomorrow, we are pressing that an early statement should be made so that the strike can be averted.

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : मन्त्री महोदय आज ही चार बजे अपना स्टेटमेंट दें।
... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL (Chandigarh) *rose*—

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member is also on the same subject ?

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL : Yes,...

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think it is not necessary.

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL : Kindly permit me also to say a few words.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The subject is the same, and I do not think it is necessary.

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL : But the reasons are different. My reasons are that these field workers provide the lifeline of the LIC. They are the persons who are responsible for the earnings of the entire LIC. They have been agitating and pressing upon the Government for the last one year and they have been trying to find a way out and to have negotiations, but they have failed in their attempt. Therefore, they are resorting to this method.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Minister of Finance is not here, and if he were present he would hear all that hon. Members are saying. But he is not here. So, let not hon. Members repeat the same thing.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : आप मन्त्री महोदय से कहें, वे स्टेटमेंट दे सकते हैं।
... (व्यवधान)...

श्री रवि राय : वे खाडिलकर साहब को बता देगे, वे खड़े होकर कहते नहीं हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have repeated more than once that opinions expressed by several hon. Members belonging to the different parties in the House should be conveyed to the Minister of Finance, and I hope the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has taken note of the seriousness of the situation and he will convey it to the hon. Minister concerned.

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL : Let them try to avert the impending strike.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : Kindly ask the hon. Minister to say something on this.

14.13 hrs.

MOTION RE : STATEMENT ON
COMMUNAL SITUATION IN
THE COUNTRY—*Contd.*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will

[Mr. Chairman]

now take up, further consideration of the motion regarding the communal situation. The debate will continue up to four o'clock, and the hon. Minister will reply at 3.30 p.m.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI : (Kendrapara) : I do not know whether we are doing justice to this very important problem by discussing it in Parliament in the manner we are doing now. I find from the speeches that have been made so far that there has been no objective approach to the problem as such. Everybody appreciates and admits that the problem is so serious. In recent years, it has actually taken such a shape, that unless some drastic measures and immediate steps are taken to remove this poison from the body-politic of this country probably it will ultimately result in the disintegration and disunity of the country as a whole. I do not think that there are two opinions on this question at all as to the causes that lead to such disturbances or communal troubles. Everybody knows how even a small matter here and there can start a disturbance, and how some fanatic persons instigate and create a situation which ultimately may take a violent turn.

Without going into the root of the problem, I would like to ask how it is that even after Independence, even after the country and its Constitution are pledged to secularism, the communal trouble has actually been much more than what it was even during the pre-Independence days. I find from the speeches made so far that the approach to this problem has been more from a political angle rather than that of removing the very cause of this troubles. There are political overtones, communal overtones also.

Some of our friends have raised the question of loyalty. Those who do so specially in regard to this matter are, I think, directly encouraging feelings of communalism, because loyalty must be to some principle, to some objective before us. The only loyalty this country has is loyalty to secularism, and if we find elements who are opposed to this loyalty or who challenge it or act in a manner prejudicial to it that must be put down. They should be shown no mercy whatever.

But you cannot question the loyalty of a

particular community. According to me the slogan of 'loyalty to the country' is a wrong one. We have persons who owe extra-territorial loyalty, who belong to different communities also. If the question of loyalty of a particular community is raised, necessarily it will also apply to persons who have extra-territorial loyalty. Therefore, it is not a question of loyalty. Let nobody carry this impression that we have in this country also some minorities, specially Muslims, who form 6 crores of our population whose loyalty is in question. They belong to this country, they will live here, no power on earth can annihilate that population. It is wrong to say that they should leave this country and go anywhere else. After partition when they pledged their loyalty to this country and opted to remain here, they are like anybody else in this country, part of the country and will continue to enjoy the same facilities and privileges as equal citizens with all the rest of us here.

But it appears to me that even those who are raising this question of loyalty and creating suspicion are not confined to one community; there are elements in both the communities, whom I would characterise fanatic elements, both Hindu and Muslim, who are responsible for such a situation. They are the elements who are to be isolated; they shall have to be located and suitably dealt with.

I was reading the speech of Shri Sulaiman Sait the other day. I was surprised that he did not even mention, let alone protest against, the slogans by some Muslims in a procession in Ahmedabad saying 'Pakistan Zindabad'. When people belonging to the Jan Sangh, some of them, raise this question of loyalty and question the loyalty of Muslims, it is apt and proper on the part of those who do not swear by communalism, who belong to the Muslim community, to also denounce any such feeling or slogans raised by Muslims themselves. Failure to do so creates a doubt in the mind of people that probably there is tacit approval of a large section of leading Muslims of such a conduct.

Secondly, I would ask Government to explain how is it that such incidents all over the country in quick succession come about in the same manner and almost with the same pattern all over. A simple matter

takes a violent turn. A few come on the scene ; they are organised elements which take the upper hand and create an emotional situation in which Government also fails to do anything ; nor is the saner section of the population able to control that sort of situation.

There has been an allegation by no less a person than Shri Jaya Prakash Narain who would not, I think, be accused by any body of having anything to do with communalism. After seeing these things and incidents in different States, after visiting Ahmedabad, he made a categorical statement that some powers, foreign agents, were interested in creating such a situation here Is this true or not ?

Whether there is really a chain which is functioning in this country and instigating such situations I do not know. I have before me horrible stories of what happened in Ahmedabad, there is no doubt about that, but when I heard the speech made by my hon. friend Shri Yajnik here, I was reminded of the communal riot in Rourkela. The pattern is almost the same. The minorities, Muslims, were butchered like anything. There was no mercy. There was then the Congress Government in Orissa also. As it happened in Gujarat, they also failed to send any police. Even section 144 was not promulgated. After more than 2, 000 Muslims were massacred, the whole thing began to move, the military came and the local population represented to the Central Governments etc.

Why are these Governments failing ? It is because here also politics has been brought into the picture. I am not going into that, whether the Gujarat Government failed, we have instances of other Governments also failing. I find that the Governments as such, at the Centre and in the States, are not in a determined mood to really tackle the situation in which any secular Government should do.

It has to be admitted that today this poison has entered into the minds of our people, and even inside the Government machinery. The Government machinery is also polluted to such an extent that I know that when Muslim shops are looted, if a Hindu constable is there, he will keep quiet, connive at it, and after they are burnt and the men run away, he will shout. That is how it is being done. Even in the higher

echelons of the Government machinery, either at the Centre or in the States, whether such things exist or not is the question. Therefore, the Government's mind in this matter is much more important than anything else, because I find all sorts of defence being put up.

Take this question of Ahmedabad. I do not know what difference people are making about a commission of inquiry presided over by a Judge and a judicial inquiry. I think it is all the same. I do not think there is any point now, after the appointment of a commission of inquiry which will lay bare all the facts, in saying that we must have a judicial inquiry. How it will be different I fail to understand.

I am surprised to find in today's papers that the Gujarat Government itself is pleading before the Commission of Inquiry that the inquiry should be private. I do not know why they would like an inquiry of such a nature, which will merely go into the facts—the inquiry is not meant for anything else, not to apportion blame, actually action has to be taken by the Government concerned, they are not concerned with that—to be *in camera*. The whole country is exercised over this.

It surprises me more because here is a statement distributed by the Gujarat Government, in which the only defence that they have put up—and this is the attitude of all Governments—is this. They say :

“Gujarat was perhaps the only State in the country where incidents of communal trouble were reported to be the least as compared to other States.”

A comparison is being made as to which is the State which has the largest number of communal riots. The statement continues :

“Only 29 communal incidents, some of them of a minor nature, had occurred in Gujarat in the six years between 1963 and 1969. Against this in the last five years, 572 incidents took place in Bihar, 598 in Maharashtra, 133 in U. P., 375 in West Bengal and 84 in Andhra Pradesh, between 1964 and 1968.”

It seems that the only defence of the State Government is that because many more such incidents have happened in the other States, it does not matter if thousands or hundreds or even two people are killed

[Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy]

in the course of the communal riot in Gujarat. This is rather surprising.

This shows that we are not taking a serious note of the situation nor the Governments are serious to tackle this problem. Otherwise, shamelessly such a defence would not be put forward by a responsible Government in this matter.

There are two things. Taking the situation as a whole, we in Parliament should accept this responsibility that directly or indirectly, we have encouraged this feeling of animosity between communities to achieve some political purposes. Look at the record of this Congress Government for the last 22 years. See how candidates are selected.

AN HON. MEMBER : On merit.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : If the Muslim community is in a majority in a constituency, they choose a Muslim. That is the merit they take into consideration. It is known to all that the Congress Party was almost treating the Muslims as hostages and telling them, "If you don't vote for the Congress, your life will be in danger and your interests will not be safeguarded." This was the slogan given by separating them and without helping them to integrate themselves with other communities, more and more vested interests were created.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnagar) : On a point of order, Sir. The hon. member has said that Muslims have been held as hostages by the Congress Government. I vehemently oppose this. (Interruptions). It has been absolutely secular.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is enough that you have vehemently contradicted it. There is no point of order.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : The lady protests too much !

I was saying that political parties have tried to exploit this opportunity by fomenting communal feelings amongst the people to achieve political purposes and have thus done a great harm to this problem. I referred to the Congress Party. You will excuse me, Mr. Chairman, if I point out the

role of the communist party in this regard. This is only a reference to what my friend, Prof. Mukerjee said ; this is not an accusation. I was very glad he was outspoken and with all vehemence he expressed himself. Here was an allegation made by a Muslim member that a secret circular was issued by the Central Government not to appoint Muslims in certain posts. The Home Minister repudiated it in the House and said, there is no such circular and there is no question of revising that circular. I am sorry such a responsible member like Mr. Mukerjee again referred to it and said :

"It is no use trying to say that a certain secret circular has not been issued. The fact of the matter remains that our own fellow-countrymen are not happy."

This spirit goes on. Where do we stand ? We have all sympathies for the minority community, but let us not create a situation in which further difficulties are created in the way by what we say.

I will conclude my speech by referring to another speech, which I think Shri Chavan may be knowing about. The Marathi paper *Navsakti* has reported a speech made by Shri Ranadive at Madanpuri in Jula Maidan on 6th November, 1969 in which it has been stated that after independence there has been massacre of Muslim community by Hindus and only the Left Communists would be able to save them from this massacre. This speech has been commented upon by *Navsakti*.

So, even those parties which according to me are secular, even they in their enthusiasm to have some political benefit out of it, make speeches and create situations which create more differences among the communities and thus lead to communal trouble. Therefore, by discussing this and everybody trying to beat each other, by condemning this government or that government, this party or that party, we can never solve this problem.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer) : Your party is doing precisely the same thing.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Recently, he had been on fast. So, perhaps

his mind is not clear. Or, he did not hear me in the beginning.

What I mean to say is that we cannot solve this problem by debating or scoring a debating point over the other. We have to admit that it is a problem of very great magnitude. We have to locate and isolate the fanatics belonging to both communities. We have to take drastic measures mercilessly to deal with this problem. If the Preventive Detention Act or any other Act is necessary, they would be invoked, even on the slightest provocation. I would not mind persons like this being hanged in the public platform in order to create a situation in which this will never be tolerated in this country. The political and educational aspect of the problem is there. But, first of all, there should be the determination. So far as the past records of performance of the Central and State Governments are concerned, I am sorry to say that they have never given the impression that they are really serious and determined to fight this evil or curb this evil for all times to come.

SHRI AHMAD AGA (Baramulla) : Mr. Chairman, there are only few parallels in the world history, like the sacrifice of his life by Mahatma Gandhi for a great cause like communal harmony. After his sacrifice it was expected that communal disharmony will come to an end. But it was not so. It is still persisting. Only the other day, when Shri Morarji Desai was speaking on this subject, he said that before 1857 or before the British came there were no communal riots.

श्री शिवधन्व भ्वा (मधुबनी) : सभापति महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। आपने लिस्ट बनाई होगी बोलने वालों की। कोई कार्यक्रम बनाया होगा। कि कौन किसके बाद बोलेंगा। अब क्या आप इसकी इजाजत देने हैं कि कोई भी आगे के पास जाकर बारगेनिंग करे कि उसे मौका दिया जाए? यदि ऐसी बात है, तो मेरी सबस्टीट्यूट मोशन है। दो इस पर सबस्टीट्यूट मोशन है। एक तो यशपाल सिंह जी की है जो बोल चुके हैं और एक मेरी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि बहस खत्म होने से पहले मुझे भी मौका मिलना चाहिये इसका भी आप खयाल रखें।

SHRI AHMAD AGA : He said that before the British there was no communal discord here and we lived in complete harmony. That is very true. He also said that before the country was partitioned, the two-nation theory was advocated which created Pakistan and even now Pakistan is not happy. If we have a secular democracy here; Pakistan wishes us not to be secular and therefore Provokes communal tension. I agree with him. Therefore those people who are against communal harmony here are playing the game of Pakistan and are, I think, not patriots, because they are doing exactly what Pakistan wants them to do. Therefore I say that those persons or groups, who have created or are supposed to be creating communal trouble here are unpatriotic. To say that the minority communities are unpatriotic or that they should be Indianised is exactly the same thing what Pakistan says. Pakistan said that Muslims have no place in India. That is what they said in 1947. Therefore to repeat the same argument today and say that minorities are unpatriotic is playing the game of Pakistan. It is putting the boot on the other leg.

Shri Morarjibhai also said that in Ahmedabad the slogan, "Islam se takrayega, choor choor ho jayega" was raised. He said that it was in a procession against the burning of Al Aqsa Mosque. If the procession against the burning of Al Aqsa Mosque says a sentence like this, it obviously has no relevance to the majority community of India but has relevance, if any, to Israel. Therefore to say that the majority community has a grievance, is not correct and relevant.

Then he said that he had to take the extreme step of undergoing a fast. I am glad that he did that. But that he undertook the fast, was because the State Government had completely failed and the police was inactive. I appreciate that he undertook that very extreme step. But the fact remains that the state Government completely failed and accusation was there that the police was a spectator, in spite of the fact that the Home Ministry had said that arms and other ammunition were sent to them; but it was not visible there. I cannot understand why it was so. We have the Preventive Detention Act; we have a police force; we have all other rules and regulations and the State Government is supposed to maintain law and order. If there was tension and it was

[Shri Ahmad Aga]

mounting, there was the incident of the Koran and the Ramayana, there was the Al Aqsa procession and so many other things, why was the State Government not vigilant? The State Government should have been vigilant. What is the Preventive Detention Act for?

To say that the entire Indian community is communal is very wrong. They may be communal elements but they are just a handful. To whichever religion they belong, I think, they can certainly be counted on fingers; they are not many. We cannot condemn the entire Indian community and say that they are communal. They certainly are not. We are non-communal. Even in 1931, when we passed the Karachi resolution, we were secular and wanted secularism. Our Directive Principles are there. But the whole point is that the State Government should have failed. The mere fact that the State Government fails means that the State Government must be held responsible. When the State Government is unable to maintain law and order, they should be called to book.

Then, I want to bring to your kind attention the fact that, after Independence, for a long time we did not have many communal troubles. The communal troubles became more frequent after 1965. Let us try to understand why the communal troubles became more frequent after 1965. In 1962, we had war with China; in 1965, we had war with Pakistan. Then, at that time, we had devaluation and we had all other troubles. The net result of that was that we were facing acute economic problems. Again, you will also recall that it was in 1967 that we had the Monopolies Enquiry Commission Report. The intelligentsia of the country came to know what had happened during the last 22 years, that the monopolies had grown and the poor had become poorer and that the weaker sections of the population were in deplorable conditions. All these things happened.

What do you expect the weaker sections of the population to do? What do you expect of the vested interests? The vested interests will, naturally, guard their own interests. What they actually did was to create troubles. It was to divert the attention of the people from class consciousness. Why did the troubles occur at Ranchi, at

Rourkela, at Jamshedpur, at Indore, at Nagpur and at Ahmedabad? They are all industrial areas. Even in Ahmedabad, in the Industrial area where the labourers live, the curfew was imposed a day later than it was imposed in other places. It is because the vested interests wanted to create these troubles.

We had the bank nationalisation. After the bank nationalisation, again, the vested interests started feeling that the things are moving a bit fast. So, the case went to the Supreme Court. They created all these difficulties. I do not exclude that they created the trouble at Ahmedabad in order to delay further a progressive measure which we were about to take. They did not want it to go through like that. Then they introduced the Rabat affair and so many other things just to postpone the going ahead with the socialistic programme. I say, it is a move of the vested interest to create these troubles in order to divert the attention of the people from class-consciousness. If we do not take these steps, if we do not go towards the goal of democratic socialism, what are we going to have? The weaker sections of the people will become Naxalites. Are you going to welcome that?

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may please conclude now.

SHRI AHMAD AGA: I am going to conclude.

We have all been excited about the man's landing on the moon. Man's landing on the moon is a great achievement. Are we going towards civilisation if we cut each other's throat whether we cut it here say at Ahmedabad or in South Vietnam? I want to ask: Is the world going towards civilisation or going backwards?

SHRI BADRUDDUJA (Murshidabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is with a heavy heart that I have taken part in the debates this afternoon. It deepens the gloom in the minds of the Sincerest well-wishers and friends of India that riots after riots should occur all over the country which conclusively prove that the communal virus has poisoned not merely the outlook of a large-section of our countrymen, but has vitiated and corrupted the administration as well.

But, Sir, it is heartening to find that the progressive section of the great majority community is with us; they sympathise with us in our deep distress. The brilliant speeches delivered on Thursday and Friday last by members of the Treasury Benches and some Members in the Opposition have raised hopes in my drooping mind that Muslims are not all alone, but there are millions of Hindu brethren and sisters behind us. There are noble souls in the Congress including the Prime Minister, and in the PSP. The role that they played in 1950 during the riots in Calcutta and the spirited defence my hon. friend, Mr. Barua, gave to the minority community in the wake of the Indo-Pakistan Conflict in 1965 and the role of the two Communist Parties, which not merely condemned in no uncertain terms the inhuman brutalities and the savageries perpetrated on Indian Muslims but took, when in power, as in West Bengal, positive and effective steps to combat, thwart and crush the forces of darkness and destruction let loose upon the land, to uproot and destroy the Muslim minority raise hopes in the minds of the Muslims.

Coming to the question of communal riots I shudder to think of the horrible scenes of carnage and bloodshed that have occurred all over the country during the last 22 years; thousands of riots have taken place during the last 22 years, the last four years alone accounting for more than 1000 riots. I shudder to think of the massacre of innocent Muslims in hundreds of thousands and in hundreds of thousands, the arson, loot and plunder of their properties on a colossal scale and defilement and profanation of their mosques and mausolems, the tearing to pieces of the limbs of children and dragging of men, women and children out of their houses, butchering them and massacring them in the open streets and then throwing them into the fire as have happened in Ahmedabad and other towns in Gujarat. Repression upon repression, tortures upon tortures, tyrannies upon tyrannies, and genocide after genocide have created a deep sense of horror, insecurity and frustration in the minds of Muslims.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this kind of speech, do you think, will create communal

harmony? Are we here to listen to such speeches? I want to know this.

SHRI BADRUDDUJA: I do not yield. In Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Jabalpur and last but not the least in Ahmedabad.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: You play Pakistan's game here in this House.

SHRI BADRUDDUJA: I refuse to yield and repudiate with all the strength at my command the baseless insinuations of Shri Madhok and hurl back the despicable lie in the face of the slander to blacken his face.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: You are playing Pakistan's game in this House.

SHRI BADRUDDUJA: I won't yield.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: It is these kind of people who are behind all these kind of riots. I want to know from the Home Minister. Do you approve of this kind of speeches? It will create havoc on the Indian minds.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister will reply to the debate. If he finds some speeches objectionable, he will make his remarks.

SHRI BADRUDDUJA: Rourkela, Jamshedpur, Jabalpur and last but not the least Ahmedabad stand as a lurid commentary on the inefficiency, complacency and, I should say, at times, the administration's direct and indirect encouragement of the forces of disruption. When State administration after State administration, barring West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Jammu and Kashmir, failed to protect the lives and liberties, honour and properties of Muslims, who constitute an integral part of the Indian nation.

I suggested to the Home Minister the other day that Muslims should be adequately represented in the administration, in the executive, the judiciary and more so in the Police which alone would provide natural protection to the minority. But my approach was treated as a communal one. Sir, we are citizens of India. Millions of Muslims who constitute an integral part of India are entitled to be represented in the services. Mr. Chairman, you will be surprised to learn that out of 7 million gazetted and

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non-gazetted officers (28 lakhs in the Central Administration alone and 40-42 lakhs in the State administrations) may I ask the Home Minister as to how many Muslims are there? An insignificant fraction only and that also must be in Class III and Class IV services. If they are not represented properly, in the administration, they cannot protect themselves against the vandalism, of miscreants and anti-Muslim subversive elements in society. If the Government of India took definite and positive steps to protect the millions of Muslims
(Interruptions)

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : How many Hindus are in the civil services of Pakistan? The Hindus are 10% in Pakistan and Muslims are 10% in India. How many Hindus are there in the civil services of Pakistan? I want to know that. Will the hon. Member give me that figure? How many Muslims have condemned what has been happening in Pakistan; what happened in Jagatdal and Varanasi? They go on talking in Parliament, in this House, maligning the whole country.

I cannot tolerate this kind of thing. (Interruptions.) We will not tolerate this kind of thing—this kind of maligning the whole country. He is maligning the whole country. Such persons are playing the game of Pakistan.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : We cannot allow this kind of an utterance to be used for maligning India.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are not the Parliament of India. I should tell Mr. Bal Raj Madhok that he should not arrogate to himself the right of Parliament.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : I speak for the people of the whole country. I represent the people much more than some people sitting here. (Interruption.)

MR. CHAIRMAN : One minute only. The hon. Member may conclude.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : Do we have a Hitler here, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN : We are discussing a delicate subject. Members may feel strongly on certain matters and have feelings over them; but all the same I will request every Member to use restrained language. We should not at all, in our utterances, try to intensify the feelings or create more difficulties in the country. But at the same time I fail to understand why one Member should take upon himself the responsibility of putting down another Member or other Members in the House. He cannot go on saying 'I will not tolerate it; I will not tolerate it', and decide these things. I have repeatedly requested him not to create disturbances like this and I hope he will not do it afterwards.

SHRI BADRUDDUJA : Coming to Ahmedabad itself...

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry that a lot of time has been taken away...

SHRI BADRUDDUJA : Coming to Ahmedabad itself, fortunately for me, Members in the Treasury Benches and the Opposition Members like Mr. Hiren Mukerjee have spoken and their sympathies have always been with us. They have given an objective assessment of the entire situation with all its implications, significance and repercussions over the course of events that have taken place. There is no denying the statement which has been heard over and over again that the Government of Gujarat have failed miserably. From January, 1969 to 15th September, 1969 when victory celebrations were taken out by this particular party, Mr. Madhok's party, with the slogan: "गद्दर है मुसलमान है उनको भेजो पाकिस्तान..."

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Bhopal) : Our party has nothing to do. That should not go into the proceedings.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : He is making a wrong statement. We repudiate it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will give you an opportunity to repudiate it if that is wrong.

SHRI BADRUDDUJA : This continued

for months together, communal passions and prejudices were roused and tension was allowed to mount up. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with feelings of hatred against the minority community. The incident on the 18th September (the Jagannath Temple incident) served as the spark to set off the conflagration.

If the Gujarat Government had taken definite and positive steps to control the situation, if it did not allow the situation to drift, things would not have taken this turn. Even after riots which occurred on the 19th in the evening, after the hartal had been observed the whole day, for four days from the 19th to 22nd September, the whole city of Ahmedabad and other towns of Gujarat were thrown to the hooligans; there was complete breakdown of the administration; the police did not use any arms or tear-gas, even though 10,000 arms had been supplied by the Central Government. On the 20th September, a newspaper called *Sewak* issued a venomous canard in its evening edition that Hindu women had been molested by Muslims. That set the whole State ablaze. Muslims were butchered and massacred in cold blood: it was a genocide. Particularly in the suburbs, where the Muslims constituted a hopeless minority; they were dragged from their houses, tortured with every refinement of cruelty and barbarous savagery, assassinated, and massacred and thrown into the fire. I have not the time at my disposal to go into these things, and so I shall not discuss those things any further. But as I said earlier, I would appeal to the hon. Members belonging to the Hindu community for protection, for help, for assistance, for sympathy and co-operation in the hour of our greatest need.

I would appeal particularly to the powers that be in the land, and to the hon. Prime Minister of India who with her noble compatriots and followers inspire confidence in me. I appealed to her father in the year 1964 when riots had occurred all over the country, in West Bengal, in Calcutta and the neighbouring districts, in Rourkela, in Jamshedpur etc. to rise to the occasion, to set his foot down upon the forces of darkness and destruction that had raised their heads all over the country and go down to history as a faithful mariner who steered his ship across the raging waves of communal passions and prejudices to a safe and

hospitable shore. Today, I appeal to the distinguished daughter of that illustrious father to take courage in both hands, to crush the forces of destruction, the forces of communalism and smash them to smithereens and usher in a new India, a happier India, a brighter India, a more peaceful and prosperous India, an India in which all classes and communities will be adequately represented, each one contributing according to its own lights and convictions, to the political, social, cultural and economic reconstruction of the Motherland.

Sir, I have often thought that the Prime Minister of India is now called upon to fulfil a mission. Madam Prime Minister, you have to reach the promised land, the desert is yet to be crossed; long long nights of suffering, and travail await you; midnight gloom and darkness threatens the horizon, clouds gather over your head threatening to burst upon your shoulders at any moment. But I would appeal to her, do not lose heart, have courage, forge ahead to an ever-widening horizon of thought and action.

*Khustegan ghaane Khanjare Tasleem Ra
Harzaman Azgayeb June De Garaast.*

Those who suffer, struggle and bleed for the cause of righteousness and justice on earth, those who suffer for the welfare of millions of have-nots, those who struggle for the security and safety of oppressed millions, never die, never perish; they live a surer life, a noble life, a higher life, a sublimer life in the lives of communities and the nation: serve as a sheet anchor in the lives of millions, guiding succeeding generations of men and women for ages. After the holocaust in Gujarat, Mr. Chairman, "much it grieves my heart to think of what man has made of man."

I end my speech with the memorable words of Shelley:

"We look before and after and pine for
what is not,
Our sincerest laughter with some pain is
fraught,
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of
saddest thoughts."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri Amrit Nahata.

SHRI A. S. SAIGAL (Bilaspur): I want to know one thing. I would like to know

[Shri A. S. Saigal]

whether our names have been given by the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs or not. My name has been given since Wednesday last, but I have not been called. This is not proper. If things will go on in this way, I have to decide in my way. I do not want this kind of thing. I must be given my right to speak. I belong to a minority community and I must be given my right to speak. My name is there, but I find that the Whip is sending you slips with other names and you are accepting them. This is not quite correct.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Will the hon. Member take it up with his party whip ?

SHRI A. S. SAIGAL : Those days are gone. I want to take it up with you. I have my right to speak and I must be given my right.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Will the hon. Member please...

SHRI A. S. SAIGAL : This is not the way. I have to decide my own way now. If things go on in this manner, I have to decide in my own way. I am not somebody who is in their pockets all the time.

15.00 hrs.

श्री अमृत नहाटा (बाड़मेर) : सभापति महोदय, साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की जो समस्या है, उसके तीन पहलू हैं - 1. राजनीतिक, 2. कानूनी और तीसरा प्रशासनिक। राजनीतिक और कानूनी पहलू पर इस सदन में काफी विचार-विमर्श हो चुका है, मैं संक्षेप में प्रशासनिक पहलू के सम्बन्ध में कुछ बातें आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

गृह मन्त्रालय ने एक स्टडी-सेल कायम किया है जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की समस्या पर कानूनी अध्ययन करेगा। सभापति जी, इस देश में काफी साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हो चुके हैं और कई समाज शास्त्रियों ने उन दंगों का अध्ययन भी किया है और उन दंगों का अध्ययन करने के बाद कुछ नतीजों पर पहुँच सके हैं। एक नतीजा, जिस पर समाज शास्त्री पहुँचे हैं वह यह है

कि इस देश में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे एक ऐसी चोज है, जिसकी कि भविष्यवाणी की जा सकती है। इट इज ए प्रेडिक्टिव फिनोमिना। इसका आघार क्या है, जिसे हमको समझ लेना चाहिए। सबसे पहली बात तो हमें यह समझ लेनी चाहिए कि देश में जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे होते हैं, वे स्पोन्टेनियस नहीं स्वयं-भूत नहीं हैं, अपने आप भड़कने वाली आग नहीं है, इनके पीछे सुनियोजित और सुसंछिन्न षडयन्त्र होता है, एक सुनियोजित प्रयत्न होता है। मिसाल के तौर पर, सभापति जी, मैं गृह मन्त्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ, देश में आर० एस० एस० की शाखाएँ चलती हैं, कुछ दिन पहले उन शाखाओं में एक बंग-विजय-दिवस मनाया गया और उसके बाद... (अवधान)...

श्री बृज भूषण लाल (बरेली) : बिलकुल गलत कह रहे हैं।

श्री अमृत नहाटा : क्या आप आर० एस० एस० के प्रतिनिधि हैं।

श्री श्रीचन्द्र गोयल (चण्डीगढ़) : आज तक किसी भी जुडीशियल कमीशन ने आर० एस० एस० के विरुद्ध ऐसा नहीं कहा है।

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : Let him substantiate what he says, whether it is from Jabalpur or from Ranchi or from anywhere else. We cannot go on like this. This Parliament cannot be used for this purpose.

श्री अमृत नहाटा : सभापति जी, उसके कुछ दिन बाद आर० एस० एस० ने सारे देश में गुजरात दिवस मनाया।...

श्री बृज भूषण लाल : बिलकुल गलत कह रहे हैं।

श्री श्रीचन्द्र गोयल : गलत बोलते हैं, आपको कुछ जानकारी नहीं है।

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : The RSS organisation has been working for more than 42 years. Nobody can malign it like this. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : It cannot go on like this. (Interruptions) If some statement is made and some Members take strong exception to it...

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : He must make a statement on proved things. At Ranchi there was a committee appointed, and let him say something from that. Why should he make wild charges for nothing? There was a committee appointed for Jabalpur also. Let him quote something from that committee's report. I can understand if he quotes from those reports. But let him not make wild charges for nothing ..

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not concerned with ..

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : We are also capable of making wild accusations and charges...

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not concerned with anything. I am only concerned with the proceedings of the House. When a Member makes a statement, another Member may...

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : We have every right to protest.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has every right to protest. But it is no use getting up every now and then and protesting like this. If he wants to protest against anything, he can do it in the proper way...

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : A flight of imagination only cannot be tolerated. He must quote from some report.

MR. CHAIRMAN : But there can be a regular protest that can be allowed according to the normal procedure. Will the hon. Member please do that ?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : In this connection, I would remind you of one of the rulings given by the Hon. Speaker that while making speeches, we should not refer to the parties by name. If we make any

such references, then there should be some documentary proof...

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : I have not referred to any political party...

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : He cannot make such wild charges in this manner. It is the Lok Sabha here and it is not a public meeting. Here, we are supposed to speak with authority and with facts. One cannot make such wild charges against people in this manner. We expect a member of Parliament when he speaks here to speak responsibly.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : Let him quote from the report about what happened in Ranchi.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : I have not referred to any political party represented in this House. I have requested the hon. Home Minister to find out whether it is not a fact that RSS did celebrate *Bang Vijay* and *Gujarat Vijay* immediately before riots spread out in various parts of the country.

श्री बृज भूषण लाल : बिलकुल गलत कह रहे हैं। सभापति महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी सदस्य यहाँ पर बैठ कर इस प्रकार के आरोप लगा सकता है ?

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : I know from personal knowledge.

श्री श्रीचन्द्र गोयल : कहां मौका था— बंगाल विजय मनाने का, गुजरात विजय मनाने का ? हमारी कौन सी विजय हुई थी ? यह सब काक-एण्ड-बुल स्टोरीज हैं।... (इयवधान)...

श्री अमृत नहाटा : अगर गोयल साहब चाहें तो मैं इनको ले जा सकता हूँ...

श्री बृज भूषण लाल : सभापति महोदय, मैं व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। क्या कोई सदस्य यहाँ पर मनगढ़न्त कहानियाँ कह सकता है, इस प्रकार के आरोप लगा सकता है...

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : Let him quote something substantial from something. There cannot be wild charges flung about.

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : करोल बाग, दिल्ली में आर० एस० एस० की शाखा है, वहां पर बंग-विजय और गुजरात दिवस मनाया गया...

श्री बृजभूषण लाल : बिल्कुल गलत कह रहे हैं।

श्री श्रीचन्द्र गोयल : झूठ बोल रहे हैं।

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : I do not hold any brief for anybody. But I throw this challenge to Shri Nahata. If he substantiates this charge, I will resign, let him also resign and we will fight it out on this question. I challenge him to accept this. He is making an absolutely false accusation. I expect every hon. member to have some sense of proportion. He is saying something that is absolutely false.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : I have requested the Home Minister to verify the facts.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Our time is very valuable. At every sentence of the speech of a member, he cannot be pulled up like this. A member is making a speech on the basis of the information he has. If any other member does not like his speech...

श्री बृजभूषण लाल : लेकिन ये तो गलत बात बोल रहे हैं...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order. This cannot continue like this. If he does not agree with some of the statements made by him or if some other members do not agree with some of the statements that any other member is making, what is the way out? When those members make their speeches, they can contradict the statements made. They also get opportunities to make their speeches.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : Is it right for me to say : नाहाटा ने डाका मारा है, होम मिनिस्टर साहब एन्कवायरी कर लें। Is that proper ?

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : He is free to say that.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : We are behaving in Parliament.

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : आप यहां क्या करते हैं ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : What is this ? I did not ask him to reply to that.

श्री गुलाम मुहम्मद बखशी (श्रीनगर) : जनाब, जो लोग बोलना चाहते हैं, उनका वक्त जा रहा है। मेहरबानी करके इनको समझा दीजिये कि तरोके से बोलें।

شرعی نظام محمد بخش (سرنگر)۔ جناب اور لوگ بولنا چاہتے ہیں، ان کا وقت جا رہا ہے۔ مہربانی کر کے ان کو سمجھا دیجئے کہ طریقے سے بولیں۔

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let him conclude his speech.

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : सभापति जी, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे एक ऐसी चीज है जो प्रिविक्ट किये जा सकते हैं, इसलिए कि यह स्पॉन्टेनियस चीज नहीं है। अब तक जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए हैं उनका अध्ययन किया जाय तो आप देखेंगे कि यह एक शहरी चीज है और अब तक ये शहरों तक महदूद कर रहे हैं और खास कर उन शहरों में जहां काफी बड़ी संख्या में मुसलमान रहते हैं। खासकर औद्योगिक बस्तियों में या जहां उनका ब्यापार है, कुछ इन्टेस्ट्स हैं, क्योंकि ऐसी ही जगहों पर साम्प्रदायिक दंगे होने की ज्यादा गुंजाइश रहती है।

यह भी देखा गया है कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे या तो कुछ धार्मिक उत्सवों के सिलसिले में होते हैं—चाहे होली का त्यौहार हो, दशहरा हो, मुहर्रम हो, धार्मिक चीजों को लेकर दंगों को भड़काया जाता है। चाहे गीता का प्रश्न हो, रामायण का प्रश्न हो, कुरान का प्रश्न हो या गाय का प्रश्न हो। ये कुछ महत्वपूर्ण घटनायें होती हैं, जिनके आघार पर राजनीतिक पैमाने पर या राष्ट्रीय पैमाने पर, उन घटनाओं

के पहले या उनके बाद में ये दंगे होते हैं। इसी प्रकार से जैसा मेरे साथी आगा भाहब ने बतलाया—देश में जब महत्वपूर्ण प्रगतिशील कदम उठाये जाने वाले हों, जनता का ध्यान उस तरफ में हटाने के लिये ये दंगे किये जाते हैं।

मैं गृह मन्त्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भविष्य में आप जब भी कोई तरक्की-पसन्द कदम उठाने वाले हों तो ऐसा मानकर चलें कि हमारे देश की प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें दंगे करायेगी और आपको उनका सामना करने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए।

एक चीज जिसकी ओर मैं खास तौर से आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ—वह यह है कि लोगों को भड़काने का काम करने वाली चीज होती है—अफवाहें। इलाहाबाद के दंगों में और जहाँ-जहाँ दंगे हुए हैं वहाँ बिल्कुल सुनियोजित और संघटित तरीके से अफवाहें उड़ाई जाती हैं। निराधार अफवाहें उड़ाई जाती हैं। यहाँ तक कि उससे आल इंडिया रेडियो भी बरी नहीं है। अहमदाबाद में रेडियो से यह अफवाह उड़ाई गई कि दूध में जहर मिला हुआ है। सरकारी अधिकारियों की ओर से यह अफवाह उड़ाई गई कि ट्रांजिस्टर रेडियो पकड़े गये और उसका बाद में खंडन भी किया गया। इस तरह की बेबुनियाद अफवाहें उड़ाई गई कि अहमदाबाद में गायों पर तेजाब छिड़क कर जला दिया गया और हिन्दू औरतों के साथ बलात्कार किया गया लेकिन जब वहाँ पर जाकर पूछा गया कि बतानो, कहां पर हुआ तो बताने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं क्योंकि वह हकीकत थी ही नहीं। तो ऐसी अफवाहों से मुकाबला करने के लिए गृह मन्त्रालय को कोई कदम उठाने चाहिए।

एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दंगे हूंगिज न हों अगर पुलिस जिम्मेदारी ले और पुलिस सतर्क रहे। हमारी पुलिस दंगों को रोकने में नाकामयाब रही है। जोशीजी फर्मा रहे थे कि जांच कमीशन की बात करो। मैं गृह मन्त्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि साम्प्र-

दायिक दंगों के सम्बन्ध में जांच कमीशन बिठाने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। इससे दंगे बन्द नहीं होने वाले हैं। यदि आपको दंगे बन्द करने हैं तो आप स्थानीय प्रशासन को जिम्मेदार ठहराइये। जब तक आप स्थानीय प्रशासन को जिम्मेदार नहीं ठहरायेंगे तब तक सफलता नहीं मिलेगी क्योंकि आज हमारा प्रशासन, हमारी पुलिस साम्प्रदायिक है। मैं यहाँ पर एक प्रश्न का उत्तर उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। अनस्टार्टेड वेरेचन नं० 9935 का जवाब देते हुए इस सदन में गृह मन्त्रालय की ओर से कहा गया था कि सेन्ट्रल सेक्रेटेरियट सर्विस के अन्तर्गत मेलेक्शन ग्रंथ में 120 अधिकारियों में केवल एक मुसलमान है, ग्रेड वन में 392 में दो हैं, सैक्शन आफिसर्स ग्रेड में 1599 में केवल 11 हैं और असिस्टेन्ट में 4582 में केवल 19 हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त सेन्ट्रल सेक्रेटेरियट स्टेनोग्राफर्स सर्विस के अन्तर्गत ग्रेड वन में 129 में कोई नहीं और ग्रेड टू में 2089 में केवल 5 मुसलमान हैं।

तो आपके प्रशासन में सेन्ट्रल सेक्रेटेरियट लेबिल पर अगर यह हाल है तो स्टेट लेबिल पर क्या हाल होगा, इसकी आप कल्पना ही कर सकते हैं। तो जब तक पुलिस का स्वरूप नहीं बदला जायेगा और राज्य सरकारों पर जिम्मेदारी नहीं डाली जायेगी तब तक सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हो सकती है। अगर 24 घंटे के अन्दर दंगे खत्म न किये जायें तो राज्य सरकार को इस्तीफा देना चाहिए। स्थानीय प्रशासन को जिम्मेदार ठहराया जाना चाहिए। पुलिस अधिकारियों और कलेक्टर को सजा दी जानी चाहिए। इसमें जांच की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है।

श्री श्रीपति मिश्र (मुल्तानपुर) :
आदरणीय चैयरमैन महोदय, यहाँ पर जब से साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के सम्बन्ध में वाद-विवाद हुआ, मैंने उसको बहुत ध्यान से सुना है। साम्प्रदायिक दंगे, साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के पश्चात् जांच कमीशन और उस जांच कमीशन के बाद उस पर हाउस में वाद विवाद—ये तीनों क्रियाएँ,

[श्री श्रीपति मिश्र]

जब कभी दंगे होते हैं तो उनके पश्चात् होती है और उनके बाद जैसी भी जहां स्थिति होती है वैसी ही रह जाती है। इस वाद-विवाद में भी और दंगों के सम्बन्ध में समाचार-पत्रों और दूसरी जगहों में प्रकाशित होने वाले संवाद को देख कर ऐसा लगता है कि वास्तव में साम्प्रदायिक मदिच्छा बनाने के लिए या साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को दूर करने के लिए समाचार-पत्रों में भी या वाद-विवादों में भी उतना प्रयत्न नहीं होता है जितना कि किसी विशेष पक्ष पर इस बात का आरोप लगाने का होता है कि वे दंग क्यों और कैसे हुए। आप मुझे क्षमा करेंगे जब मैं कहूँ—मेरे लिए यह सदन एक नया स्थान था, मैं पहली बार यहाँ आया हूँ और मैंने यहाँ जो भाषण सुने मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उसमें किसी में बारीकी से और किसी भाषण में स्पष्ट रूप से प्रयास उस बात की तरफ ज्यादा नहीं रहा कि मूलतः ये दंग बन्द हों बल्कि इस बात की तरफ ज्यादा रहा कि इन दंगों में हाथ किसका है और इसको कौन चलाता है। जो स्थिति आज इस देश की इन दंगों को लेकर है, साम्प्रदायिक स्थिति को लेकर है वह हमारी प्रगति के लिए, हमारे किसी भी कार्य के लिए बहुत ही चिन्ताजनक है। प्रारम्भ से ही इस देश के नेताओं का ध्यान इस तरफ रहा है। महात्मा गांधी ने साम्प्रदायिकता और हिन्दुओं में छुप्राछूत या इस तरह की जो बातें थी उनके निवारण को आजादी पाने से अधिक महत्व दिया था। आजादी तो मिली लेकिन उन बातों का निवारण नहीं हुआ। हम लोग जब इस बात पर बहस करते हैं तो कभी कभी ऐसा भी लगता है कि यह बहस किसके लिए कर रहे हैं क्योंकि दंगा या भगड़ा जो होता है उसके पीछे यह भावना उभर काम करती है कि हमारे नेता, हमारे लीडर, जिनके काम का, जिनकी बात का असर और महत्व आम साधारण जनता पर पड़ता है वे किस तरह से अपना कार्य करते हैं। जो भी नेतागण, जो भी लोग इस देश को

चलाने के जिम्मेदार हैं या न चलाते हुए भी विरोध पक्ष की तरफ से महत्वपूर्ण भूमिकाएँ भदा कर रहे हैं, क्या वे अपने दिल पर हाथ रखकर सोचेंगे कि जितने राजनीतिक चुनाव इस देश में हो रहे हैं, क्या उनके मन अपने उम्मीदवारों को खड़ा करते हुए, अपने उम्मीदवारों को लड़ाते हुए यह भावनाएँ रहती हैं कि हम इस तरह के अपने उम्मीदवार खड़े करें जिनका सम्बन्ध उस क्षेत्र की आवादी में जिम तरह के जैसे लोग हैं, उनसे हो। तो इस तरह हम कहां हिन्दुओं में एकता की बात, हिन्दू मुसलमानों में एकता की बात कर रहे थे और कहां हम वहाँ से खिसकते खिसकते ऐसी जगह पर पहुँच गए हैं जहाँ जातियों में, उप-जातियों में और उप-जातियों की उप-जातियों में भगड़े हैं उनको ध्यान में रखकर राजनीतिक पार्टियों के लोग उम्मीदवारों को खड़ा करके उनके आधार पर लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। तो जो शुरूआत होती है वह हमारे उन लोगों से होती है जिनके हाथ में या तो शासन है, या शासन चुमाने की सत्ता है या ऐसे हैं जिनकी बात का, जिनके कहने सुनने का प्रभाव आम जनता पर पड़ता है। अगर छोटे लोगो में बुरी तरह का भावनाएँ जाग्रत करने की बात हो तो उसका प्रभाव सीमित क्षेत्र पर ही पड़ेगा, उसका असर भयावः नहीं हो सकता है वो कि असर उन लोगों का होगा जिनके कहने और करने का प्रभाव व्यापक क्षेत्र में पड़ता है। तो मैं उन लोगों से और सभी ऐसे लोगों से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि पहले हमको अपने को देखना है कि क्या हम इस दृष्टिकोण से निर्णय लेना छोड़ देंगे जिसमें जानीयता या साम्प्रदायिकता हमारे कामों का आधार बने? सरकार की तरफ से बहुत से कानून, बहुत सी बातें ऐसी बनती और बनाई जाती हैं जिनमें दूसरी कोई बात न लेकर केवल साम्प्रदायिकता उसका आधार होती है। उसको देखते हुए क्या हम यह उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि हम जिस चीज को अपना आधार बनाते हैं,

साधारण लोग उसको अपने विचार का या अपने कार्य का आधार न बनावें।

अब मैं मूल बातों के सम्बन्ध में आपके माध्यम से कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। जब तक हमारा ऐसा जनमानस नहीं बनता है जिसमें हम अच्छी तरह से अपने को किसी दूसरे आधार पर अपने लाभ को न देखकर देश के आधार पर अपने लाभ को देखेंगे वहाँ निश्चय ही इस प्रकार के दंगों को रोकना, उनको बन्द करना क्षणिक उपायों से थोड़ी देर के लिए सम्भव हो सकता है मगर उनमें दृढ़ता नहीं आ सकती और हमेशा के लिए उन्हें बन्द सम्भव नहीं हो सकता है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में हमको और हमारे इन नेताओं का इस दृष्टि से इन बातों पर विचार करना है और किसी भी परिस्थिति में, देश में जो यह भयावह परिस्थिति साम्प्रदायिकता के रूप में आती है, उसको दूर करने के लिए सख्त कदम उठाए।

दंगों के बाद जो जांच हुई दंगों के बाद जो नतीजे निकले उन को भी गौर से देख कर उन में जो कारण हैं जोकि हमारे जांच कमीशनों ने पता लगाए है, क्या सरकार ने यह देखा है कि उन को दूर करने के लिए, उन को हटाने के लिए, उस ने कोई कदम उठाये हैं या नहीं ? (घण्टी)

मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। ऐसी परिस्थिति में केवल अन्त में मैं यह कहूँगा कि बुनियादी किसी देश को सुधारने के लिए, किसी चीज को दुरुस्त करने के लिए, अगर हम उस का सुधार प्रारम्भ करेंगे, तो उस का प्रतिफल अच्छा होगा। और यहाँ पर वाद-विवाद के बाद चुप्पी साध लें तो उस का प्रभाव अच्छा नहीं पड़ेगा और ये दंगे अपनी जगह पर ज्यों के त्यों अपने रूप में चलते रहेंगे।

एक अन्तिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा जैसा कि माननीय राम सेवक यादव जी ने कही थी कि हम लोग बहुत ही रेडीकल बन कर अपनी बातों को कहते हैं लेकिन इस के पश्चात् वे अपना रूप और अपने काम को इस तरह

बनाये रखने की कोशिश करते हैं कि हमारा लाभ साम्प्रदायिक जातियों और जातीय भावनाओं से सिद्ध होता रहे। हमें अपने वाह्यकरण और अन्तःकरण दोनों को सुरक्षित करना होगा और इस तरफ हमें कोई अच्छा कदम उठाना होगा।

श्री अमर सिंह सहगल (बिलासपुर) : सभापति महोदय, देश में साम्प्रदायिक तनाव का जो सवाल पैदा हो गया है, उस पर मैं अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ।

यह तो मानी हुई बात है कि किसी प्रान्त में जब कोई झगड़े होते हैं, तो वहाँ की जो प्रांतीय सरकार होती है, उस की जिम्मेदारी होती है और वहाँ का जो गृह मन्त्रालय है, उसकी जिम्मेदारी होती है। कानून और शान्ति की व्यवस्था रखने के लिए उस की पूर्ण जिम्मेदारी होती है। जैसा कि कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि हमारी भारतीय सरकार के गृह मन्त्रालय की यह जिम्मेदारी है, मैं उस को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ क्योंकि जब इसकी जिम्मेदारी हमने प्रान्तों को दे दी है, तो यह प्रान्तों की जिम्मेदारी हो जानी है। मेरे वयोवृद्ध नेता ने अपने विचार रखते हुए कल बहुत सी बातें कहीं। मैं उन की विचारधारा से बिल्कुल सहमत नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मैं उन से कहता हूँ कि उनकी विचारधारा जो कुछ भी हो, उस के बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है लेकिन बात असल में यह है कि जब तक वे इस तरफ बैठते थे, तब तो वे हमारी विचारधारा को ले कर या उन की विचारधारा को हम ले कर चलते थे, लेकिन आखिर वह कौन सी बात हो गई कि दूसरी तरफ जा कर बैठने के बाद, उन के विचार बदल गये। यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है। इस पर कम से कम हमारे वयोवृद्ध नेता को सोचना चाहिए। वे चाहे जो विचार रखते हों परन्तु हमें तो देखना यह है कि यह दंगे होते क्यों हैं जिनके फलस्वरूप नन्हें-नन्हें बच्चे कराहते हैं, हमारी माताओं और हमारी बहनों की इस तरह की दुर्दशा हो जाती है कि वे कराहते हैं, लोग

[श्री अमर सिंह सहगल]

बेघरबार हो जाते हैं, मनुष्य मनुष्यता खो बैठता है। ऐसा क्यों होता है इस के बारे में मैं आप की इजाजत से Discourses by Meher Baba पर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ और मैं अपने गृह मन्त्रालय के मन्त्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वे अच्छी तरह से इस को देखें और देखने के बाद कृपा करके इस चीज को सरकारी तौर पर अपने यहाँ और सारे प्रान्तों में फैलाने की कोशिश करें। वे कहते हैं :

“Conflict between forces of light and darkness :—The world is witnessing an acute conflict between the forces of light and the forces of Darkness. On the one hand, there are selfish persons who seek their happiness blindly through lust for power, unbridled greed and unrelieved hatred. Ignorant of the real purpose of life, they have sunk down to the lowest level of culture.”

यह उन का कहना है।

स्वार्थपरता की जो बीमारी फैल गई है इस का उपचार करना होगा। इसी जड़ें इतनी गहरी हैं कि इसे बहुत जोर लगा कर खत्म किया जा सकता है।

अवतार मेहर बाबा ने अपनी इस किताब में फिर दूसरी जगह लिखा है :

“Need for cure of selfishness :—Real peace and happiness will dawn spontaneously when there is purging of selfishness. The peace and happiness which come from self-giving love are permanent.”

यह चीज मेहर बाबा कहते हैं और उसे हमें मान्यता देनी चाहिए। इस के साथ ही साथ मैं आप से अर्ज़ करूँ कि महात्मा गांधी हमेशा प्रेम, सत्य और अहिंसा पर जोर देते थे। आत्मत्याग उनका सम्बल था। वे राम राज्य देखना चाहते थे। जहाँ न बैर हो न विरोध। बाबा से जब पूछा गया कि यह कैसे सम्भव हो सकता है तो वे कहते हैं। मैं आप को वह कोटेशन भी दे देता हूँ :

“Man will be sick of wanting, greed and hate :—How will it all end ? It can end only in one way. Mankind will be sick of it all. Men will be sick of wanting and sick of fighting out of hatred. Greed and hatred will reach such intensity that every one will become weary of them. The way out of the deadlock will be found through selfishness. The only alternative which can bring a solution will be to stop hating and to love, to stop wanting and to give, to stop dominating and to serve.”

हमारी आज शिक्षा क्या है कि हम डोमिनेट करें। दूसरे को डोमिनेट न करने दें। यह चीज चन्न नहीं सकती। आप को इस पर विचार करना होगा... (व्यवधान)...। इसी के साथ ही साथ मैं आप से कहूँगा कि वैमनस्य को दूर करने के लिए हमें ऐसे साधन ढूँढने चाहिए जिससे सभी प्रकार की प्रतिस्पर्धा, प्रतिद्वन्द्विता तथा पारस्परिक संघर्ष दूर हो। यत्र तत्र दंगे फिसाद आतंरिक रोग का बाहरी लक्षण है। इसके खिलाफ केवल बोलने से आचार करने से दंगे दूर नहीं होंगे और न तज्जन्य दूर होगा। साम्प्रदायिक तनाव और झगड़ों को दूर करने के लिए झगड़ों के मूल कारण हमें निकालने पड़ेंगे। कलह और गिह के गुप्त कारणों को ढूँढना होगा और उन कारणों के खिलाफ युद्ध छेड़ना होगा। अवतार मेहर बाबा कहते थे कि सभी प्राणियों को एकता का ज्ञान होने पर तथा इस एकता की अनुभूति करने से सहयोगयुक्त, प्रेम-पूर्ण, शान्त एवं समजीवन अनिवाय और स्वाभाविक हो जाता है। इसलिए देश में शान्ति, सद्भावना को स्थापित करने की चिन्तन करने वाले लोगों के सामने मूल कार्य यह है कि मनुष्यों के आध्यात्मिक अज्ञान को दूर करें और यह अज्ञान दूर होगा देवी प्रेम के संचार से। अवतार मेहर बाबा कहते हैं :

“Redemption of humanity through divine love :—Through divine love, the New Humanity will learn the art of cooperative and harmonious life ; it will free

itself from the tyranny of dead forms and release the creative life of spiritual wisdom ; it will enjoy peace and abiding happiness ; it will be initiated to the life of Eternity."

मेरा निवेदन है कि भारत सरकार अवतार मेहर बाबा की जो बहुत सी किताबें लिखी हुई हैं कम से कम उन को लाइब्रेरीज में रखने की कृपा करें ताकि दूसरे लोग उस को पढ़ सकें। हमारे श्री चव्हाण उन को मानने वाले हैं, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने अभी उन को पढ़ा है। अगर गृह मन्त्रालय के लोग भी पढ़ें तो अच्छा होगा। उन की जो विचारधारायें हैं उन को मैं जानता हूँ लेकिन मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि जहाँ सरकार चलाने की बात आती है, वह दूसरी नीति पर चलाई जाती है। उन्होंने जो किताबें लिखी हैं वह हैं :

"Discourses by Meher Baba"; "God Speaks"; "Listen Humanity"; "Life at its Best"; "Beams on the Spiritual Panorama"; "Everything and Nothing."

मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि प्रान्तीय सरकारों को भी ऐसा ही मार्ग अपनाने के लिये प्रोत्साहित करें ताकि आपसी मनमुटाव को दूर कर सभी लोग प्रेम से अपना जीवन व्यतीत करें। मुझे यह कहने में प्रसन्नता है कि गृह मन्त्री श्री चव्हाण ने ग्रहमदावाद जा कर वहाँ की स्थिति का अध्ययन किया जिस से जनता को बहुत सन्तोष एवं शान्ति मिली। यह बहुत बड़ी चीज है। वे तो सब को यही सिखाते हैं कि :

"मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर रखना हिन्दी है हम वतन है हिन्दोस्तां हमारा।"

परन्तु साथ ही मैं शेक्सपियर के इन शब्दों को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि :

"To thy self be true."

SOME HON. MEMBERS rose—

MR. CHAIRMAN : So many hon. Members are getting up. I will explain my difficulty. The House has already taken the decision that we have to close this debate by 4 O'Clock. The hon. Home Minister

wants half an hour for his reply. So, he has to be called just now. Already it is too late. I have got at least 12 names with me. So, there is no question of accommodating any more member. Shri Shiv Chandra Jha has given notice of a substitute motion. So, I will give him one minute.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा (मधुवनी) : सभापति महोदय, मैं सिर्फ एक दो बातें रखना चाहता हूँ। फिर्कापरस्ती की समस्या बड़ी भयानक समस्या है। इस से हम आजादी के पहले से लड़ते रहे हैं और उम्मीद यह की जाती थी कि आजादी के बाद यह समस्या खत्म हो जायेगी। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से यह समस्या हमारे सामने अभी भी है। लेकिन जिस रूप में इस को हैंडल किया जाता है वही एक डिजीज के रूप में है। इस समस्या को थोड़ी देर के लिये हम बड़े सन्दर्भ में देखें कि यह क्यों अभी तक हमारे समाज में है ? हम यह भी देखें कि क्या यह फिर्कापरस्ती की समस्या दुनिया में और कहीं भी है।

हम को चाहिये कि हम जरा निष्पक्ष रूप से देखें क्योंकि मानव समाज एक है, मानव जाति एक है, आज विज्ञान एक है, उस का कानून एक है। अगर मानव समाज ने इस समस्या को हल किया है, विज्ञान ने इस समस्या को हल किया है तो वह यहाँ भी लागू हो सकता है। हम यहाँ भी फिर्कापरस्ती देखते हैं। उसी तरह से दूसरे मुल्कों में भी है। हिटलर के जमाने में हम रेशलिज्म की बात देखते हैं जो कि हिटलर के होते हुए यूहूदियों के साथ बरता गया, इंग्लैंड में भी रेशलिज्म है, अमरीका में काले और गोरे की बात है। जिस तरह से यह समस्यायें हिन्दुस्तान में हैं, बहुत हद तक उसी तरह से इंग्लैंड में, जर्मन में और अमरीका में भी हैं। इस की वजह क्या है ? यह ठीक है कि कम्युनिटी आती है, दोनों जातियाँ आती हैं। लेकिन इस के पीछे एक स्ट्रक्चर होता है, लेकिन वह फिर्कापरस्ती से कंडिशन होता है, उस को रिस्पांस देता है और सोशल स्ट्रक्चर में फिर्कापरस्ती रिफ्लेक्ट होती है। सोशल

[श्री शिवचन्द्र झा]

स्ट्रक्चर बुनियाद होता है फिर्कापरस्ती का। आजादी के पहले यहां साम्राज्यवाद था। उस के बारे में हम लोग बोलते थे। उसके बाद पूंजीवादी आया, जिस की वजह से यह फिजा हमारे बीच में पैदा हुई। आज वह पूंजीवादी फिजा इंग्लैंड में भी है, अमेरिका में भी है। इसी वजह से यह रिप्रेजेंटेशन होते हैं, जजबात होते हैं और आप की फिर्कापरस्ती की बात होती है।

इस फिर्कापरस्ती की समस्या को हल करने के लिये इन्होंने लिप-सर्विस के रूप में यह मोशन रख दिया। चूंकि यहां हल्ला हुआ इस लिये इस बहस को रूख दिया वरना सरकार इस को चाहती नहीं थी कि इस पर बहस हो। अब इस के हल के लिये जो तरीके सुझाये गये उन का मैं आप को एक उदाहरण देता हूँ कि कितना गलत तरीका अख्तियार किया जाता है। सिंडिकेट के पहले वक्ता श्री मोरारजी देसाई थे।

MR. CHAIRMAN : You cannot go on replying to all speeches at this stage.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : मैं उन के पूरे भाषण को तो नहीं सुन सका, लेकिन उन्होंने आखीर में यह बात कही कि अपने बच्चों को सही मजहब की शिक्षा सिखाओ। सही क्या है ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have taken so much time. You will please resume your seat.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : यह बीमारी का इलाज नहीं है, यह बीमारी को बढ़ाने का तरीका है।

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will conclude now. This cannot go on.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : आप देखिये कि आप कल आल इण्डिया रेडियो में क्या आता है, जिस के मुनासिबत यहां लोग इतना बोलने लगे हैं। वहां पर रोज स्पार्ट-लाइट का कार्यक्रम आता

है। लेकिन साथ ही रोज सुबह भक्ति संगीत जो वहां होता है क्या वह एक तरह का कम्यूनलिज्म नहीं चल रहा है ? क्या कभी यह सोचा गया कि आल इण्डिया रेडियो से कुगान की आयतें पढ़ी जायें या दूसरे मजहब की बातें सिखाई जायें। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो दृष्टिकोण है वह बीमारी को घटाने वाला नहीं बल्कि बढ़ाने वाला है। एक बार एक तुर्की नौजवान बोला कि बच्चों का वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिये। ठीक है मैं इस को मानता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is very unfair.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का दृष्टिकोण भी वैज्ञानिक था। वह कहते थे कि शुरू से ही बच्चे का दृष्टिकोण वैज्ञानिक होना चाहिये। लेकिन क्या आप के प्रधान मन्त्री का दृष्टिकोण वैज्ञानिक है ? प्रधान मन्त्री ने जिस प्रधान श्रीधर बिल पर वोट दिया वह इस बात का सबूत है कि उन का दृष्टिकोण वैज्ञानिक नहीं है। इस लिये इस मसले को हल करने के लिये भी उन का दृष्टिकोण वैज्ञानिक नहीं है।... (व्यवधान)... अभी किसी दूसरे ने कहा कि अकबर का दृष्टिकोण भी यही था। इस लिये यदि आप को इस को बन्द करना है तो जहां आप इतने हालिडे करते हैं वहां दस पांच साल के लिये क्या आप इस की हालिडे नहीं कर सकते ? इसी तरह से फिर्कापरस्ती का मसला हल होगा और आप की गाड़ी आगे चलेगी।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Nothing more will go on record.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : **

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Chairman, Sir...

SHRI ABDUL GHANI DAR (Gurgaon) : Sir, I am on a point of order.

AN HON. MEMBER : Under what rule ?

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार : सभापति महोदय, मैं आप की रूलिंग चाहता हूँ। आज तक इस हाउस की परम्परा रही है कि जिस पार्टी को जितना टाइम दिया जाता है अगर वह उस से ज्यादा ले ले तो अलग बात है, लेकिन उतना जरूर मिलता है। मेरी पार्टी का अभी तीन मिनट का टाइम बाकी है। उस के बारे में आप को क्या कहना है ?

[شری عبدالغنی ڈار: سہیلینتی موجود ہے، میں آپ کی رولنگ چاہتا ہوں۔ آج تک اس ہاؤس کی پریمپلر رہی ہے کہ جس پارٹی کو جتنا ٹائم دیا جاتا ہے اگر وہ اس سے زیادہ لے لے تو الگ بات، لیکن اتنا ضرور ملتا ہے یہی پارٹی کا ابھی تین منٹ کا ٹائم باقی ہے۔ اس کے بارے میں آپ کو کیا کہنا ہے۔ ۰۹]

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry. You will excuse me this time. If I open it up again, it will be very difficult.

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार मैं आप की रूलिंग चाहता हूँ।

[شری عبدالغنی ڈار :- میں آپ کی رولنگ چاہتا ہوں۔]

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Mr Chairman Sir, we are discussing this problem of communalism for the last two days. We had occasion to discuss the problem of Ahmedabad on a different occasion and I am very glad indeed that the House took the opportunity not merely to discuss the Ahmedabad problem but the entire problem of communalism as it persists in India today.

Many Members made references to the problems of Ahmedabad. I do not think there can be two opinions about one thing that what happened in Ahmedabad was a matter of concern to everyone of us. Even those who wanted to give defence of the Government of Gujarat also did not say that what happened there was something which was good or which was justifiable. But I do not want to dwell at length on the problem of Ahmedabad because, as I stated

earlier, in another debate, this matter is under the examination of the enquiry commission and it will be wrong for me if I pass any judgement based on certain appreciation of the facts. One thing is certain that Ahmedabad has raised the attention of the country to the problems and dangers of communalism as it has never done before in the last few years.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH (Khunti) : What about Ranchi ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That also did it. You want credit for getting that significance in Ranchi ?

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : I do. But you are talking about Ahmedabad only.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I will talk about Ranchi also.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : Let me tell you what I want to say.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am replying to the debate. You could have said it earlier if you wanted.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : But the Chair did not allow me ; you do not want to hear me.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is your choice, Sir.

The point is, whether this question of communalism can be considered in isolation or whether it has to be considered as a national problem. Most of the Members who spoke, I think, spoke from this point of view that—naturally, we are concerned and sorry about what happened in a particular case—but, I think, most of the Members who spoke showed a concern about the persistent national malady. Everyone tried to analyse the problem. Everybody tried to find out the causes according to his own point of view and also tried to indicate the solutions in his own way. Some of them tried to put the blame on the administration ; some of them tried to put the blame on the respective State Governments ; some of them tried to put the blame on the Central Government and its policies and some of them tried to put the blame on certain theories of nationalism. If you ask me

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what exactly is the cause for it, I would say, there cannot be any one cause for it. It is a very complex and an old malady of this country. You cannot merely by over-simplification explain away things by giving one single reason. This is, really speaking the reality of the situation. Therefore, the nature of the debate was sort of a search for finding the causes, identifying the causes, and trying to find out the solutions for them. So, I will mainly deal with this aspect of the problem in my reply because I do not propose to reply to every point that was raised here.

As I stated earlier, Ahmedabad is not a case in isolation. If you take the entire problem of communal riots during the last three or four years, it is showing a rising graph. From Ranchi onwards, it has certainly, gone up and up and up the climax has happened in Ahmedabad. I have just tried to take the review of what happened since 1951-52 onwards. There is one very peculiar thing that strikes me, at least from the study of statistics that one can look at, that in the decade of 1950s there was a graph which showed a downward trend of communal incidents in the country. I find the lowest number of incidents that took place was in the year 1960. There were only 26 incidents in the whole of the country. But after 1961 onwards—I think, it started with possibly the big riot in Jabalpur—in the decade of 1960s, the graph started going up. We will have to find out what exactly happened since 1961 onwards when earlier trend reversed. I will try to give my own impression. I won't say that this is the only explanation of what has happened. We have to sit back and think seriously about this problem.

There was a generally accepted theory that the Hindu-Muslim riots took place because there was a third party which played Hindus against the Muslims and the Muslims against the Hindus. It was partly true, but only partly because—I will explain it—if it were completely true then, with the disappearance of the British imperialism, the communal problem ought to have disappeared. But it has not. (*Interruptions*) Therefore, we have to find out what exactly is the basic cause for this communal problem. My own interpretation—I don't say all of

you would accept it straightway—is that even when the Britishers were trying to play one against the other, it was not only the British imperialism, but it was the political interests and it was the politics that created the problem. It is not the attitude of the government, but it is the politics which is responsible for this problem. It is the political attitude of using one community against the other for political purposes. (*Interruptions*) What were the Britishers doing? Our charge is that they were trying to use one religious group against the other. The tendency is that whenever one community is sought to be organized and used for political purposes, then the communal tension builds up. This seems to be the general trend of communal politics in the country. That is what I personally feel.

Upto 1960 there was a tendency to democratise the politics of different communities. All communities were trying to go to 'A' Party, 'B' Party and 'C' Party. Really speaking, there was a sort of rationalisation of politics. Something happened after 1960, I think, when people started again making use of religious groups for their political purposes. I think that also is the reason for the growth of communal political parties. I do not want to name them.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: He says that there were communal political parties. Let him name them.

AN HON. MEMBER: Silence is eloquence.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I won't because I do not want to start trouble and discussions here in this matter.

This is one way of looking at it. I do not expect that you will accept the whole thing. But looking at this problem, I personally have come to feel that certainly there are other reasons. I won't say this is the only explanation of communal problem. But this seems to be one of the explanations for it. We have to find many causes. We have to find many things to explain this. This is the one thing which we have to take note of and I am particularly mentioning this fact in this House because all the political Parties working in the country to-day are represented here. It is a political cause.

Therefore, I thought I should try to emphasize this aspect here.

The other question which I had posed was : what should be done about it and how to deal with this problem because we know communal incidents and riots take place for many reasons. Some people have tried to explain that because one community starts some trouble, so that community is supposed to be responsible for the communal tensions. We tried to make an analysis of this particular problem as well and, as Mr. Nabata explained, there are some peculiar causes for communal riots, like music before a Mosque or slaughter of cows or many other things which really speaking, can be explained as religious practices or observance of certain religious ceremonies etc. But, Sir, the studies that we made in this matter show that many communal riots, or, rather, majority of communal riots, have started possibly for non-communal reasons. It will rather look a mysterious statement when I say, non-communal reasons, that is, not because of the music before the mosque, not because of the cow, or observance of a particular ceremony or religious practice, etc., but some quarrel between a Hindu and a Muslim or some other prejudices working against one group and the other. It may be a social cause, it may be an economic cause, and suddenly that incident develops into some sort of a troublesome affair. So, we have to find out how to deal with these things. Personally, I think, there are two ways, two levels, at which such problems can be tackled. One is the governmental level and the other is the non-governmental level, non-official level, or, if I may call it, a national level. As far as the governmental level is concerned, there are three or four stages. The early stage is that of watching the trend of the situation in known areas. Because there are places which have got a peculiar type of communal history. There are a large number of places where riots have taken place ; they have their own history. As we do in the case of medical case-studies, it is much better to handle communal problems in this way that case-studies are made of the areas which are known for the troubles. In this way the trouble can be certainly located. So, the best thing that can be done is to have a complete and clear intelligence as to what is happening in such areas.

This particular aspect of the problem has been emphasised more than once by the National Integration Conference and I would say, even before that it has been emphasised. It is not something like a wisdom what has suddenly dawned on anybody. But we have found this : wherever the administration has been negligent about getting the proper intelligence as to what is happening, what is the trend of things, etc., they have failed completely. So this is one aspect which we have to emphasise. Central Government has emphasised this again and again. State Governments have accepted the position and it is a question of implementing it. I am sure that wherever there is an effective, efficient, intelligence organisation functioning and wherever they have identified the causes of communal tensions and taken preventive action, things have completely changed. But wherever there was the slightest failure, the slightest negligence, things have gone out of control.

We find that once the communal riot erupts, it erupts with a ferocity and intensity. When there is lack of intelligence, they don't know which the organisation is, what they are organising, which are the sources, who are the leaders, etc. If they had known who were the people who were organising it, fomenting it, encouraging it, instigating it, if they could have taken preventive action against these people there, I have no doubt that the communal riots would have very well stopped. But again, this is a matter of experience. The only time to stop a communal riot is before it starts. That does not mean that when it starts nobody should make any effort to stop it. The interpretation should not be that.

So the administration has to be absolutely alert about these matters. I think in this matter, the State Governments have to make it their responsibility. I know I will be asked 'What is the responsibility of the Central Government in this country?' Naturally I will have to answer that also. But I have no doubt that unless the State Governments make it their responsibility, this matter cannot be tackled. The National Integration Conference has suggested in one of its resolutions that the district authorities must be held responsible for it. We have written to all State Governments about it. They have also accepted in principle that unless we make the district or local authorities responsible, the problem cannot be

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dealt with. If they are made to feel that if there is a communal riot, they will be held responsible, then there will not be any negligence in the matter of keeping intelligence and having some sort of plan for preventive action.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : क्या राज्य सरकारों ने इस सुझाव को मान लिया है ?

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : हां, मान लिया है—इन प्रिम्पिन्स मान लिया है ।

श्री रवि राय : क्या वे इस को कार्यान्वित करेगी ?

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : मैं अभी उस बात पर घाता हूँ ।

श्री इसहाक सम्मली (अमरोहा) : उन्होंने इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं किया । जब आप ने उन को यह इत्तिला दी कि वहाँ पर मुसलमानों के मकान-जायदादों और इबादतगहों का शुमार कराया गया है, उन पर निशान लगाये गये हैं, तो उन्होंने आप के खत का जवाब नहीं दिया ।

[اسحاق سمبلی (امروہ) : انھوں نے اس کا ایمپلیمنٹیشن نہیں کیا۔ جب آپ نے ان کو یہ اطلاع دی کہ وہاں پر مسلمانوں کے مکان جائیدادوں اور عبادت گاہوں کا شمار کرایا گیا ہے۔ ان پر نشان لگائے گئے ہیں تو انھوں نے آپ کے خط کا جواب نہیں دیا۔]

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He has only one particular case in his mind. I am trying to deal with the general problem. This is the difference in our viewing of the problem.

As I was saying, this was one thing where the solution has been identified. What I am trying to say is that the method has been identified. It has not merely been identified, but it has been agreed upon by authorities concerned. I quite agree that wherever there has been a failure in this matter, things have not improved. I will come to that particular aspect later.

After ensuring against failure of intelligence, the most important thing is that there should be absolutely a ruthless suppression of these activities.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : By whom ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I wish I had the power to function in all the States. I am talking of the State authorities.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH : By the Hindus in the States ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, you cannot throw away all the Hindus from the States.

So the point is that once this problem starts, unless the State authorities show a sort of ruthless attitude in this matter, it cannot be nipped in the bud. This has to be done within the first 24 hours. The most important period in a communal riot is the first 24 hours. If absolutely strong action is not taken in these 24 hours, then it is a matter of anybody's guess. It follows its own logic, it reaches its own climax and then dies its own death, naturally. Therefore, if there is failure in the first 24 hours, then it is a failure. There is no doubt about it. I can say this from my own personal experience of administering a State in these matters.

The later part, which was also mentioned in many of the speeches, concerns the problem of prosecutions. I think one or two hon. friends from this side said that prosecutions are not energetically pursued and there are not many convictions in communal riot cases. I tried to find out certain facts about this matter, because generally that is the feeling. From time to time, we have tried to emphasise this matter with the State Governments, particularly so after Ranchi. I wrote to the State Governments immediately after that.

This is not the whole picture of prosecutions that took place in different States, but I have got some sample figures about it. In the case of Nagpur, 58 cases were sent up to courts out of which 27 involving 128 persons ended in convictions. In Aurangabad, 27 cases were sent up to courts out of which 12 involving 43 persons ended in convictions. The State Government have told us that punishment has ranged from life imprisonment in serious cases to rigorous imprisonment for a lesser period and to fines for offences of lesser gravity. What I am trying to point out is that in certain cases convictions up to life imprisonment has also been given.

16.0. hrs.

Macerat : 44 cases were registered and after investigation, charge-sheets were filed in 25 cases. So far two cases have ended in conviction, seven in acquittal, others are pending.

Allahabad : out of 203 cases registered, charge sheets could be filed only in 75 cases, seven cases have ended in conviction and 19 have been acquitted; 49 cases are pending still.

Rourkela : charge-sheets were submitted in 330 cases; out of these, 168 cases involving 571 persons ended in conviction. Two persons were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Indore : out of 215 cases registered, charge-sheets have been filed in 48 cases. All the cases are pending.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandi-wash) : What about Ranchi ?

श्री इसहाक सम्भली : लेकिन इतने प्रादमी फसादों में मर गये किसी को फांसी की भी सजा हुई ?

{اسحاق سمبلی - لیکن اتنے آدمی فسادوں میں مر گئے۔ کسی کو پھانسی کی بھی سزا ہوئی ؟}

श्री यशवंत राव चव्हाण : फांसी की सजा देना मेरे हाथ में होता तो अलग बात थी, वह जजेज करते हैं।

I am merely trying to say that this particular aspect, of carrying on the investigation very energetically and pursuing the prosecutions persistently, is being looked after though there is room for improvement. This is the only point I am trying to make. I am not trying to say that all is well. That is not my case.

Some Members certainly did raise the question of employment. Some Members gave certain statistics. I have not got statistics to prove one way or the other. In these matters one can only take care of one aspect of it viz whether at the stage of recruitment there is any prejudice working against any particular community or not, whether there is any discrimination working against one particular group of people or not. There was a feeling expressed on some occasions by Members of Parliament, not only by the representatives of the Muslim minority.

Therefore, his matter has been brought to the notice of every body concerned that there should not be a feeling in anybody's mind that one particular community, either Muslim or any other community, is discriminated against as far as recruitment is concerned. I can only give an assurance that if any cases of discrimination are pointed out, or even if there is a feeling, certainly we can take care to see that such discrimination does not persist. This is all that I can say about the problem of employment.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : Discrimination both in favour and against are bad.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Madhokji has a very special interpretation of the communal problem. I do not want to debate with him.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : I simply say that discrimination is bad both in favour of anybody and against anybody.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you ask me, if a minority community gets a little more, I will be happy about it. This is the way I look at it. Those who happen to be born in the majority community in this country have got a certain responsibility, let us not forget it.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : Who is in a majority ? I am an Arya Samajist, I am two per cent only. You are a Brahmin, you may be two per cent.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not a Brahmin.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : Is it a confession that he is not a Hindu.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He has given me a compliment calling me a Brahmin.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : It is a compliment ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Not in Madras, I know.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : Not in Maharashtra also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not a Brahmin, but I do not mind if anybody calls me a Brahmin.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : That is good, I stand corrected.

Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave. You cannot forget both.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Ultimately we must come to one particular aspect. I say there is the majority community's communalism, there is the minority community's communalism. I do not want to say that it is one way only, it is both ways. But I would like to repeat that in a country like ours the majority community has a special responsibility to demonstrate that their activities are more secular and therefore when some Members criticise this aspect it is in the nature of self-criticism. He should not misunderstand that. No doubt we say that India is an ancient country and we are proud of our ancient culture, but at the same time the present democratic, secular form of Government in which we are functioning is something very new for us. The democratic form which we are working is completely new for us and its basis is completely new for our social life. I have followed Pandit Jagannath Rao Joshi's speech very well. He talked about *advaita*, it was all good metaphysics. The main criticism that is levelled against the Hindus is that they think of high *vedanta* and talk of *advaita* and so on but their whole social structure is based on inequities. We have to accept facts... (*Interruptions.*) When we ask other people to assimilate themselves and this and that, we have to ask ourselves this question also. For thousands of years we have remained divided while preaching philosophies and theories, of *advaita* and *vedanta*. It is no use denying that now. I am saying this as a good Hindu; I like to call myself a Hindu.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : Is it the theory of division? Religion is thousands of years old whereas your party which was 85 years old got divided into Indicate and Syndicate. Why do you blame religion for everything? (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you want me to debate about that further, I would say that the spokesmen belonging to your party justify *varnashram*. How is this?... (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI : I stand on good grounds. If you are for a fuller debate on this, I can quote Mahatma

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : In my humble opinion I do not think Gandhiji or Vinobha Bhave approved of *varnashram*. But even if they did, I respectfully disagree with them. It is a matter of personal convictions.

I was reading Mr. Balraj Madhok's book on nationalism which he sent me... (*Interruptions.*) I wanted to do him justice. I should say that it is a futile exercise in perverting history and nothing more. The way he has tried to read Indian history and interpret Indian nationalism...

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : Can you contravene the facts I have given? I am prepared to change myself if he could contravene any facts. I have quoted chapter and verse; it is not fiction.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You send me a book at the time of this debate so that I should read it. When I speak about it and criticise it you should not get angry.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : I am not angry at all. I am simply saying that I had come to that view or finding based on those facts. You may agree with that view or you may not. But those views are based on certain facts which you cannot contradict.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am a democrat and I give you the right to differ and you must also allow me that right. The theory which is very popularly tried to be put out and rightly condemned by many Members here is about Indianisation... (*Interruptions.*) Mr. Madhok has stated that Hinduness must be the criterion for Indian nationalism. In this country is it psychologically right or even politically wise to say that in order to call oneself a national, one has to prove his Hinduness... (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : To be fair to you and to me, have I used the word 'Hindu' in the religious sense? I have never used that word in the religious sense.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : When I mention the word Hindu used there, you say: I do not use it in the religious sense. That is why I say that

it is a futile exercise in perverting everything... (Interruptions.) If I say that Mr. Madhok is the most fanatical Muslim, would he like that ?

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Why should he go on after Mr. Modhok's theory ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not dealing with personalities. That is on theory that is being put out which is mainly responsible for talk by others also about the Indianisation of Muslims minorities. By doing so we are creating the worst psychology which is mainly responsible for many of our ills.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : I do not agree.

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव (बारामती) : ऐसी पुस्तकों को बैन क्यों नहीं करते हैं ?

श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण : आपने आज तक पूछा क्यों नहीं ?

श्री बलराज मधोक : अभी फासिज्म पूरा कायम नहीं हुआ है ।

श्री अमृत नाहाटा : वह होगा भी नहीं, क्योंकि आप कभी-पावर में नहीं आयेंगे ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So, Sir, according to me, whenever there is a riot, people try to find out and discover some mysterious reasons for it : whether these Pakistani agents or whether there were foreigners, etc., there may be. I will not be surprised if Pakistan is interested in communal riots in this country. I will not be surprised ; looking into Pakistan's role possibly they would do it. But are we fools in this country, are we less patriotic in this country that we should fall political victims to the plans of our neighbouring country in this matter ? And unfortunately, we are helping those plans of other countries and we are creating a psychology— (Interruption .

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not yielding.

श्री अशुलननी डार : वह पाकिस्तान हो, इजराइल हो, अल-अक्सा हो, रशियन हो,

चाहनीज हो, कोई भी हो सकता है, यह तो जजमेंट में आयेगा ।

نتری عبدالغنی ڈار - وہ پاکستان ہو، اسرائیل ہو۔ الاسکا ہو۔
رشیون ہو۔ چائنا ہو۔ کوئی بھی ہو سکتا ہے، یہ تو ججمنٹ میں آئے گا۔

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So, Sir, the point is this. It is very wrong to say that one particular community is less patriotic and another community has got more patriotism or that patriotism is the monopoly of one particular religion, one particular caste, one particular group of people or one particular political party.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : Nor of the traitors.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Nor of traitors.

श्री अमृत प्रकाश त्यागी (मुरादाबाद) : क्या आप इस बात से इंकार कर सकते हैं कि भारतवर्ष में ऐसे लोग हैं जिनकी लायल्टी देश के बाहर है ? ऐसा है या नहीं ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Minister is not yielding, I hope. The hon. Minister should continue his speech.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : My only point is that there may be people who are working against the national interests who may be Hindus, who may be Christians or who may be Muslims also. Therefore, you cannot say that one particular community is less national.

AN HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am glad. You have accepted this, and I am glad your party has accepted this. They came to our conference and there they said "Yes". They have agreed to co-operate with us ; and I am making an appeal to all. (Interruption).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He said repeatedly the other day, "Indianise the Muslims." He said that "I stand by what I have said." (Interruption).

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So, ultimately the point comes to this : what is it that we have to do immediately. It is no use merely thinking of a problem in abstract and talking about it in theory. What is it that we have to do today, just now ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Humanise Mr. Madhok.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : Indianise Mr. Banerjee. *(Interruption)* I am proud that in Delhi my party is in power : in Delhi, they had repeated attempts made to have communal riots. They sent a dead calf in the Ram Lila procession and tried to have a riot. It is the privilege of my party to have prevented such riots. But where you are ruling, what is happening there ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So, in this matter, I think the National Integration Standing Committee met, and ultimately, they called the representatives of all the political parties for a discussion and for considering this problem to study as to what immediate action and programme can be undertaken. Some parties were represented there but some parties unfortunately were not represented there. But those parties who attended it have agreed on one thing : that this is the right time when we have to create a psychological atmosphere in the country by starting a joint campaign. With Governmental action alone we have seen, we have not succeeded. I quite see that there is a share of the Government of India in this failure. I cannot say that the Government of India is free from blame.

Now, one hon. Member has suggested that law and order should be a concurrent subject ; that it should be in the concurrent list. But looking into the realities of political life today, is it ever possible to follow such a proposition in this hon. House ? I do not think it is possible. I know there may be quite an unmanageable voice against it if I come with such a proposition. Naturally, we have to depend upon the goodwill, the co-operation and uprightness of the State Governments in this matter, and given the proper attitude and proper efforts, I do not see why the State Governments would not co-operate in this matter.

We appreciate their difficulties and we

will consider it our duty to go to their help and assist them in this matter. There are two things. One is governmental action. But the much more important thing is to fight the battle and to win the minds of the people of India. There is the most important thing, and in that I would seek the co-operation of this House.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : He has not clarified about the accusation against the Deputy Union Minister. The accusation was by a Minister of Gujarat.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This question was raised and I have publicly replied to it in the other House also. Therefore, I thought it was not necessary to mention it again here.

MR CHAIRMAN : There is a substitute motion by Mr. Yashpal Singh. He is absent. I will put it to the House.

Substitute motion No. 1 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is Mr. Jha withdrawing his substitute motion ?

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : Please take a voice vote on it. I am not withdrawing it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will now put Mr. Jha's substitute motion to the House.

Substitute motion No. 3 was put and negatived.

16.17 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (TWENTY-THIRD AMENDMENT) BILL

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will now take up the Constitution (Twenty-third Amendment) Bill for which 6 hours have been allotted. The proposal is 4 hours may be taken for general discussion and 2 hours for the rest.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH): We have lost one hour today. May I re-