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Thursday, Oct 5,1990  
Ashvina13, 1990/1917(Saka)

## **LOK SABHA DEBATES**

### **(English Version)**

**Third Session**  
**(Ninth Lok Sabha)**



**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT**  
**NEW DELHI**

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## LOK SABHA DEBATES

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### LOK SABHA

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*Friday, October 5, 1990/Asvina 13,  
1912 (Saka)*

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We deeply mourn the loss of this friend and I am sure the House will join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved family.

The House may now stand in silence for a short while to express its sorrow.

*(The Members then stood in silence  
for a short while.)*

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*The Lok Sabha met at four minutes past Eleven of the Clock*

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

### OBITUARY REFERENCE

**[English]**

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, it is my sad duty to inform the House of the demise of one of our former colleagues, Shri Charanjit Singh, who was a Member of Seventh Lok Sabha During 1980-84 representing South Delhi Constituency. Earlier he had been a Member of New Delhi Municipal Committee during 1975-79 and also its Senior Vice-President during 1976-77.

As a leading industrialist, his valuable contributions in different economic and other circles will always be remembered. He had served on the Board of Directors of the Air-India and Indian Airlines. He was also Member of Telephone Advisory Committee of Delhi in 1975.

A widely travelled person, Shri Singh had a lot of interest in sports.

He passed away yesterday morning at New Delhi following a massive heart attack.

**[Translation]**

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): It is a very serious matter that the administration has got the people killed with the help of the police. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Rawat, please take your seat. I will listen to you later. Mr. Akbar, you also, take your seat.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: BJP and Janata Dal have been doing it jointly. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I would like Shri Dinesh to tell us about the situation in Gonda.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: I will listen to all of you. Mr. Soz, please take your seat. In view of the seriousness of the matter, please take your seat.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: Some time on the basis of caste and sometime on the basis of the country, this Government *(Interruptions)* it cannot be tolerated.

**MR. SPEAKER:** I will listen to your submission. Please take your seat. It is a very important issue. Therefore, I shall request you to take your seats. Yadvendraji, it does not look nice if a veteran member like you stands in that way.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

**SHRI DINESH SINGH** (Pratapgarh): Sir, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the happenings in Gonda District in Colonelganj and the areas surrounding it. It is one of the shocking things that a planned method is being used to build up communal tension around Ayodhya. This is going to create not only tension around Ayodhya or in U.P. but it is creating tension all over the country. It is this unfortunate policy that is being followed by the Janata Dal Government of creating tension whether on the basis of caste or on the basis of religion that is going to divide this country, unless this House takes full notice of it and takes strong action to stop it. What is happening in Colonelganj is not merely a local incident. It is a planned incident of creating communal tension all over. I am sorry to say that some of the parties present in this House are participating in this. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

And Madhuji wants me to name them. It is the BJP and the Janata Dal.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI YADVENDRA DATT** (Jaunpur): This is wrong. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI** (Jhansi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, he may please tell the name of any worker of the Bhartiya Janata Party who has been arrested from the riot torn areas.....(*Interruptions*)....

**MR. SPEAKER:** I shall call you, please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA** (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first he should either tell the names or withdraw his words, I would like to say that the people who have been arrested, were not from BJP. However, there were two people of the Congress among them.....(*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** It is a point of order of Shri Ram Naik. Please take your seat.

**SHRI RAM NAIK** (Bombay North): It is my point of order. As per rules no allegation can be levelled against a party or a person in this House. Inspite of it, they have levelled allegations against B.J.P., I refute it. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** It is no point of order.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** (Midnapore): We have to decide how to discuss this issue. Instead of that, he is just making a statement. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI DINESH SINGH:** We have moved an Adjournment Motion and we would request you that you may kindly admit that Adjournment Motion moved by Shri H.K.L. Bhagat. Why we are pressing for an Adjournment Motion is that it is the responsibility of the Central Government to maintain communal harmony in the country. It is not the question of law and order only. It is a question of communal harmony for which the Central Government has full responsibility. And it is the Home Minister—who is fortunately present here—who is to be actively involved to restore it now so that communal harmony is maintained. (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. I am not allowing any body.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have allowed them but we.....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am not disallowing you.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: What I want to submit is that there is none from the B.J.P. amongst the arrested persons. Since it has been said that the BJP people have been arrested there, I would like to know from the Hon. Member the name of even a single person for the BJP among them. In fact there are the people of the Congress Party and the the Janata Dal who have been arrested. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: All of you, please take your seats.

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): Mr Speaker, Sir, these are the people who are behind these riots but they are blaming us and shouting here. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhagat, please take your seat. I am on my legs. First, you take your seat. I am not allowing you. You, take your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am saying that I have not allowed you, Kalka Dasji, please take your seat. All of you, please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Pandeyji, please take your seat. I am not listening you.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Joshi, it is not good, I am not listening you. I am not allowing you.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Shastriji, please take your seat. I am not listening to you.

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you should give us a hearing.

MR. SPEAKER: Both of you are speaking at the same time. How can I listen? First, let me speak and please take your seats. You will be allowed to speak when there is a discussion on this issue.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: All of you, first please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: First of all, you allow us to seek clarification on this issue.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Ram Naik has already given his clarification in this regard.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Joshiji, you have a loud voice. Therefore, you stand up again and again. I am not allowing you.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): Sir, yesterday, we—four of the MPs—visited the place. (Interruptions) The situation is highly explosive. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I have received your adjournment motion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Sir, village after village, without any provocation, is being attacked. (Interruptions) People are being mercilessly butchered.

(Interruptions) BJP leader is responsible for this.

(Interruptions) Sir, people are being burnt alive.

(*Interruptions*) This happening is very horrifying.

(*Interruptions*) It is being created by the political parties, here. (*Interruptions*) They are responsible for this. (*Interruptions*) They are killers. (*Interruptions*) It is a national problem. (*Interruptions*) The whole country is being destroyed by this. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Tiwary, please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: No, you cannot make your point.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhagat, I am on my legs, please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: The point is this that the entire House is worried about the issue on which you want to have a discussion here. Discussion should be held on it in the House and we are considering it. On this issue some Members do not keep a balance and talk irrelevant and waste the time of the House. The point is as to in what form this issue should be taken up.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. J. AKBAR (Kisanganj): Mr. Speaker, Sir, our villages had not witnessed such riots as they are witnessing today. Today villages are being set on fire.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER: I agree with you. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to have a debate on it. But the point is as to in what form it should be taken up.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. J. AKBAR: Administration is not giving the correct information. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to decide it.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I will listen to you at the time when the issue comes up for discussion and not now.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I have received a notice for 'Adjournment motion'.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): Sir, I want to make a submission. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, what is your submission? But, do not go into the merits of the case.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI (Riva): Mr. Speaker, Sir, notice for Adjournment Motion is not in accordance with the rules.

MR. SPEAKER: I am going to give my ruling on it. Please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: I have heard you.

[*English*]

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: Sir, this morning in your chamber, we had a discussion when we made it clear that by this adjournment motion, we wanted to censure of the Government because the Central Government has responsibility to maintain communal harmony. Especially in this case, two important points have to be noted.

On the one hand, there is the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh while on the other hand is the *Rathyatra* which is taking place. Both have contributed to the situation. (*Interruptions*) Therefore, we are not satisfied with just a discussion. We mean a censure of the Central Government. Therefore, we want and insist that the adjournment motion should be taken up.

Please understand the importance and sensitivity of the subject. Let this House not be deprived of an opportunity to say what it has to say and to censure this Government. Therefore, I request you to please allow this adjournment motion.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This is an extremely serious matter on which the whole House is agitated. No doubt there should be a proper serious discussion on it. If you wish to admit the adjournment motion moved by some of our friends here, I personally have no objection. But I would like it not to be confined only to one communal incident. During the last three or four days, you know what is happening. You know what has happened in Udaipur. Today, news has some from Karnataka, Pratapgarh, Ghazipur all these places. (*Interruptions*) My suggestion is that there should be a discussion. (*Interruptions*) What is the use of shouting at each other now? But I would suggest, we should have a discussion. The Government, that is, the Home Minister, should make a statement. On the basis of whatever information the Government has, let him make a statement and let the discussion follow thereafter. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Please listen to the views of the Members of B.J.P. also. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the recent disturbances, a large number of people were

killed. Charges made by Shri Dinesh Singh against the B.J.P. are totally misleading. (*Interruptions*) I am of the view that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs should find it out as to who were these people who were apprehended and who were the people behind the riots. An inquiry should be instituted to find out whether they were Janata Dal activists or Congress (I) workers. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur): Sir, communalism has started in Tamil Nadu. (*Interruptions*) The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu said in a statement that it was because of the activities of the BJP in Tamil Nadu that communal tension was there. (*Interruptions*) Therefore, I would request you to admit this adjournment motion and allow a discussion. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you want to charges have been levelled against us, our Members should also be given an opportunity to express their viewpoint. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: A discussion will definitely be held on this, but it has to be seen as to under what rule it could be taken up.

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you want to hold a discussion, but do not want to listen to our views. May be that after listening to our views, there may not be any need of holding a discussion.

MR. SPEAKER: What do you want to say?

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, since you have decided to hold a discussion, you should also listen to our viewpoint. It could be that we may give you some good advice.

**MR. SPEAKER:** I did not refuse to listen to your views.

(*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** What I wanted to say is that today is the last day of the session and many more items remain to be discussed. The entire House wants to discuss the Gonda incident. It is to be considered as to under what rule the discussion should be taken up.

**SHRIMATI VIJAYARAJE SCINDIA:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, please also allow our Members to put their viewpoint. You have given an opportunity to all the Members. Charges have been levelled against us, so Members of my party should also be given an opportunity to speak. Please give an opportunity to at least one Member of my party and thereafter you may take your decision.

**MR. SPEAKER:** All right, let the party leaders speak first. Then we shall take up further discussion.

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have a point of procedure. Sir, as it has been stated by Shri Indrajit Gupta just now, it is a very serious matter. The entire House is agitated over it. There is no other way out than to take up an Adjournment Motion in order to reflect the seriousness of the situation. On behalf of the people of this country we level charge that the B.J.P. and the Janata Dal have a hand in these communal riots. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI:** It is a conspiracy of the Congress Party. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the procedure is that....

**MR. SPEAKER:** You cannot raise a procedural point.  
(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** Let me quote the rules Sir. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** I know the rules.  
(*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** No. Take your seat Mr. Rawat. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur):** Sir, there is no doubt that the situation is very serious. We also want a discussion on this grave situation that is prevailing in this country so far as the communal situation is concerned. We want that a discussion should take place. Statutory Resolution is there. Let the Statutory Resolution be taken up. I am sure that there will be no discussion on this; only voting will be there. And immediately thereafter, this discussion may start either under Adjournment Motion or Rule 193. But the discussion should start immediately after the Statutory Resolution is passed. Let us start the discussion on the whole issue and not limited to only a particular incident. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Mrs. Scindia.  
(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRIMATI VIJAYARAJE SCINDIA:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was saying that allegations are being made against us without any basis. I would like to know as to how it is justifiable to make such allegations without any basis. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Hon. Members, I am listening to the views of party leaders. Please take your seats.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRIMATI VIJAYARAJE SCINDIA:** I was saying that wild allegations are being made against us. How

far it is justifiable to level charges without any basis? (Interruptions) It is a conspiracy to defame the Government and our party. I would not like to say anything beyond this. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, why are you standing, please take your seats. I am not calling you.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I would like to say that allegations and counter-allegations should not be made in this way. Just now I have stated that I would like to listen to the views of the leaders. When I am calling the leaders other Members are also getting up. I would like to say that I shall give my ruling after listening to the views of two-three leaders.

[English]

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponmani): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have also given an adjournment motion on the communal riots and the worsening situation. We want a discussion under the adjournment motion. We want to censure this Government. The Government has been so callous that it has not cared to come forward with a *suo motu* statement before the House. When such is the situation, there is no sense in waiting here and asking the Government to make a statement and then to have the discussion. No, Sir. The discussion must be taken up on an adjournment motion. That is the seriousness of the situation.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes, Shri Chitta Basu.

(Interruptions)

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Sir, it is a matter of deep pain and anguish that the entire country is in the grip of unparalleled tension and communal riots. The Central Government cannot escape on the name of law and order because protection of minorities is the responsibility of the Central Government.

There are riots at Banda in Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat, Udaipur and Rajasthan. The entire country is burning and it is the consequence of the Rath Yatra started by Shri Advani. We must be given a chance to discuss the matter in detail. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Sir, I think the Home Minister and the Government would agree that there has been building of communal tension in different parts of the country for various reasons. Therefore, I think that the House should have the opportunity of discussing the communal situation, which is very fast deteriorating, at the earliest opportunity. I have got no objection if in your wisdom you accept the Adjournment Motion moved by many Members but what is needed is to pin-point the great danger which is ahead us. Only a few days after the announcement of Kar Seva on 30th October, some movements are being held and some allegations are being made. There is also counter mobilisation. I am also one of those who feel that there should be mobilisation of people but in the States where there is mobilisation on communal issue, I think the Government should not remain silent and the Government should make a Statement elaborating the whole thing that has taken place all over the country. And this House should have an opportunity of discussing it. We cannot afford to ignore this situation which is developing in the country. Communal situation has to be combated politically and Government should not remain silent on it. I hope you will agree to have a discussion and the Government will make a Statement on it.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the whole country is anguished over the situation that has emerged in Uttar Pradesh during the last few days. All this has been meted out to the people of UP under a planned conspiracy of which they had never expected of or experienced

in the past. (*Interruptions*) I would like to blame the Government of Uttar Pradesh for the situation that has been created in the State and for the present state of disharmony, and would like to hold them solely responsible for the deteriorating situation. (*Interruptions*) The Chief Minister of that State has his hand in these incidents and all the methods being adopted there are his creation only. Every year in Gonda district... (*Interruptions*) If you want to hold a discussion on this topic, you can do that. However it is absolutely wrong that the Communal tension prevailing in the State is being converted into communal riots. The Congress party wants to gain political mileage out of this situation. The Congress party also has a hand in the situation. (*Interruptions*) I would like the Government to come out with a statement in this regard. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Please take your seat. Please do not raise slogans.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please take a decision about the discussions. Otherwise this State of Affairs will continue. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NANI BHATTACHARYA (Berhampore): A discussion could take place on this subject under Rule 193, but it will not be proper to admit the Adjournment Motion. Tension is mounting on account of the communal situation. As such, there should be a discussion on it. Preventive steps should be taken to check such incidents. I would like to request the Minister of Home Affairs to make a statement in this regard and thereafter a discussion could take place on that basis. (*Interruptions*)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Upendra.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: You have called the Parliamentary Affairs Minister. We are from that State.

[*Translation*]

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as regards the notice given by the hon. Members of opposition in connection with the Adjournment Motion, I would like to state that an Adjournment Motion can be brought only under the rules of procedure of the House. (*Interruptions*) I feel that the communal situation in the country has taken a serious turn in the country but it does not warrant an Adjournment Motion. Sub-rule 3 of Rule 58 of the Rules of Procedure of the House provides that the Adjournment Motion shall be restricted to a specific matter of recent occurrence involving responsibility of the Government of India. But it is not the case of that nature. I would, therefore, request you to reject the Adjournment Motion, because it is against the Rules.

MR. SPEAKER: Shastriji, please take your seat. That is enough.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD SHASTRI: I would like to say that you can hold a discussion on this topic within the ambit of the Rules. If they have no confidence in the Government, they can bring a no-confidence motion.

MR. SPEAKER: Whenever you start speaking, you go nonstop.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI (Sitapur): The situation in Karniaganj town of Gonda district has become horrible. It has been ruined totally. When I went there I saw.....

MR. SPEAKER: That is not the question. It is regarding the procedure.

**DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJ-PAI:** A large number of children have been killed there.

**SHRI M. J. AKBAR:** They have been burnt to death.

**DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJ-PAI:** That is why an Adjournment Motion should be admitted in this regard. (Interruptions)

[English]

**MR. SPEAKER:** You also ask for an adjournment motion. Now let us hear the Minister.

(Interruptions)

**THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA):** The Government fully shares the concern of the hon. Members from all sides about certain incidents which have occurred in different States. We are prepared for a full discussion on this; and I suggest, for your consideration that the Home Minister will make a full statement. ..(Interruptions)

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** No. (Interruptions)

**SHRI P. UPENDRA:** We can have a discussion under rule 193....(Interruptions)

**11.52 hrs.** (At this stage, Shri R. N. Rakesh came and sat on the floor near the table).

(Interruptions)

**PROF. P. J. KURJEN:** Sir, I would like you to hear me. Sir. Don't you think it a serious issue for an adjournment motion? Don't you think there is enough reason to censure the Government on this issue? It is the failure of the Central Government. Their own friend is on Rath Yatra, inciting communal passion. Their own Chief Minister.... (Interruptions)

is inciting communal passion. We want to censure this Government. We reiterate our demand for an adjournment motion. Nothing short of an adjournment motion will satisfy us.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Now Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee.

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura)** rose (Interruptions)

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE:** Sir, please ask everybody to be responsible. And let us start the debate. I beseech everybody not to play with fire any more. (Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Please go to your seats. Yes, Mr. Poojary.

**SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Mangalore):** My submission is this: I have given an adjournment motion. The entire House, except BJP and the Janata Dal, agrees for the adjournment motion. (Interruptions) They do not have any objection. It is a very serious matter. The BJP is supporting the National Front Government. Their leader Mr. Advani, who is a Member of this House, is leading the Rath Yatra. (Interruptions)

There is no peace in the country. That is why we want to censure this Government. It is a very serious matter. You allow Adjournment Motion. (Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** I have heard all the hon. Members and also the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. I am not giving consent to the Adjournment Motion.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** I am allowing discussion on the communal situation under Rule 193 after the disposal of the Statutory Resolution.

(Interruptions)

**MR. SPEAKER:** Papers to be laid on the Table—Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan.

11.56 hrs.

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE**

**Review on the working of and Annual Report of the Hooghly Dock and Port Engineers Limited, Calcutta, for 1988-89 and Statement showing reason for delay in taking these papers**

[*English*]

**THE MINISTER OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN):** I beg to lay on the Table:-

(1) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:-

- (i) Review by the Government on the working of the Hooghly Dock and Port Engineers Limited, Calcutta, for the year 1988-89.
- (ii) Annual Report of the Hooghly Dock and Port Engineers Limited, Calcutta, for the year 1988-89 along with Audited Accounts and comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(2) A Statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (i) above.

[*Placed in the Library. See No. LT-1539/90*]

**Review on the working of and Annual Report of the Central Electronics Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1988-89**

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (PROF. M. G. K. MENON):** I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under

sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:-

- (1) Review by the Government on the working of the Central Electronics Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1988-89.
- (2) Annual Report of the Central Electronics Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1988-89 along with Audited Accounts and comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[*Placed in Library. See No. LT-1540/90*]

**Notifications under Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of undertakings) Act, 1970 and 1980 and Statements for delay in laying these papers etc.**

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):** On behalf of Shri Anil Shastri I beg to lay on the Table:-

(1) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (4) of section 19 of the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Act, 1970:-

(i) The Punjab National Bank Officer Employees' (Conduct) Amendment Regulations, 1988 published in the Gazette of India dated the 13th May, 1989.

[*Placed in Library. See No. LT-1541/90*]

(ii) The Allahabad Bank Officer Employees' (Conduct) Amendment Regulations, 1989 published in Notification No. Legal/1/90 in the Gazette of India dated the 17th February, 1990.

[*Placed in Library. See No. LT-1542/90*]

(iii) The Central Bank of India Officer Employees' (Conduct) Amendment Regulations, 1976 published in Notification No. G.S.R. CO-PRS-LEGAL-89/136 in the

Gazette of India dated the 18th February, 1989 together with a corrigendum thereto published in Notification No. CO-PRS-LEGAL: 89: 1360 dated the 30th September, 1989.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1543/90]

(iv) The Syndicate Bank Officer Employees' (Conduct) Amendment Regulations, 1988 published in Gazette of India dated the 24th December, 1988.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1544/90]

(v) The Union Bank of India Officer Employees' (Conduct) Amendment Regulations, 1976 published in Notification No. CO/IRD/ 3942/88 GSR in the Gazette of India dated the 21st May, 1988 together with corrigenda thereto published in the Gazette of India dated the 10th June, 1989 and the 30th September, 1989.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1545/90]

(2) Four Statements (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at items No. (i) and (iii) to (v) of (1) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1541-1545/90]

(3) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (4) of Section 19 of the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Act, 1980:—

(i) The Oriental Bank of Commerce Officer Employees' (Conduct) Amendment Regulations, 1982 published in Notification No. 3903 in the Gazette of India dated the 12th March, 1988 together with a corrigendum thereto published in Notification No. 3907 dated the 15th April, 1989.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1546/90]

(ii) Amendment to Regulation 20 (4) of the Andhra Bank Officer Employees' (Conduct) Regulations, 1982.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1547/90]

(4) Two Statements (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the papers mentioned at (3) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. 1546-1547/90]

(5) A copy of the Appellate Tribunal for Forfeited Property (Procedure) Rules, 1989 (Hindi and English versions) published in the Notification No. S.O. 70(E) in the Gazette of India dated the 22nd January, 1990, under section 77 of the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 together with a corrigendum thereto published in Notification No. S.O. 201(E) dated the 8th March, 1990.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-1548/90]

11.57 hrs.

#### ASSENT TO BILL

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I beg to lay on the Table the Constitution (Sixty Seventh Amendment) Bill, 1990, passed by the Houses of Parliament during the second part of the current Session and assented to since a report was last made to the House on 1st October, 1990.

11.57½ hrs.

#### AMENDMENT TO DIRECTIONS BY THE SPEAKER

[English]

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the amendment to Direction 10A (Hindi and English versions) issued by the Speaker under the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha.

11.58 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE  
OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND  
SCHEDULED TRIBES

Report of Study Tour

[English]

SHRI ISHWAR CHOUDHARY (Gaya): I beg to lay on the Table the Report (Hindi and English versions) on Study Tour of Study Group I of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on its visit to Bhubaneshwar, Koraput, Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad during June, 1990.

11.59 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE-  
APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE  
IN FORCE OF PROCLAMATION  
IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB

[English]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): I beg to move:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987, in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1990."

12.00 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion Moved:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987, in respect of Punjab, issued

under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November, 1990."

(Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: I adjourn the House for twenty minutes. I invite the leaders of all parties to my Chamber.

12.02 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till twenty-five minutes past Twelve of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled at twenty-five minutes past Twelve of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned to meet at 2 p.m.

12.26 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

[Translation]

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Ramchandraji ki jai.

[English]

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga): Is it the last day of Lok Sabha that they are saying so?

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: I could not hear.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, what happened to the issue of granting state-hood to Delhi?

MR. SPEAKER: Can't you check yourself from speaking on Delhi?

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, firing is going on in Delhi. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: If time permits, I will give you an opportunity to speak. Please take your seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is clear from Shri Khurana's way of speaking how eager he is to provide statehood to Delhi. (Interruptions)

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: What they have to do with statehood?

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): The hon. Home Minister has to reply in regard to the incident that took place in Gonda in Uttar Pradesh.

MR. SPEAKER: No, the House is going to hold a discussion on that issue.

[English]

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura West): Sir, why don't you announce?

MR. SPEAKER: We will be taking up the Statutory Resolution and after that we will be discussing about the communal situation in the country under Rule 193. That will be moved by Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat. We will be taking up the discussion under Rule 193 after the disposal of the Statutory Resolution.

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the morning, you had an opportunity to take the sense of the House on the communal issue. You saw how concerned the entire House was. We had moved an Adjournment Motion in the morning to consider this matter. We had advisedly moved the Adjournment Motion because it was not merely a question of law and order of any particular State. It was also not a matter merely for the House to debate it. It was a matter in which the Central Government has a special responsibility and we feel that the Central Government should undertake that responsibility... (Interruptions)

That is why we had moved an Adjournment Motion. However, you were pleased to decide that it will not be taken up as an Adjournment Motion, but as a Motion under Rule 193. As always respecting your decision, we have not raised any objection to it and we abide by your decision.

We shall now discuss this under Rule 193. All our request to you is that the Adjournment Motion moved by Shri H. K. L. Bhagat should be converted into Motion under Rule 193 and which reads as follows:

"to raise a discussion on the communal disturbances in Gonda in Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere in the country."

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA): We have no objection.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Sir, Prof. Madhu Dandavate said yesterday that something will be said today in the House about the Chief Justice's unusual death. What is the decision about that?

MR. SPEAKER: You will know about it after we dispose of the Punjab issue. Let us hear Mr. P. Chidambaram.

14.09 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.  
APPROVAL OF CONTINUANCE  
IN FORCE OF PROCLAMATION  
IN RESPECT OF PUNJAB—*Contd.*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga): Sir, we have a Statutory Resolution on the continuance of President's Rule in Punjab. Yesterday, we restrained ourselves. We did not speak at any of the stages of the Constitution Amendment Bill. We had sought your permission to make some submissions thereafter. But, since yesterday some other issues have come up and we would like to make our submissions today. We supported the Constitution Amendment Bill and we support this consequential Resolution, not because we believe that this Government has a Punjab policy or because this Government will have a Punjab policy. Let me make that very clear. When this Government took over on the 2nd of December, 1989, it was not at the end of a six-monthly period of President's rule but only one month after President's rule had been extended on the 11th of November. Therefore, they had full five months

in which they could have evolved the policy and implemented the policy. Their manifesto was written in very high-sounding terms. They gave the impression that the moment Rajiv Gandhi Government went out of office, the Punjab problem would be solved. I want to remind this House that Punjab situation deteriorated first during Barnala's rule and that deterioration continued. The turning point came in June, 1988 when we had 'Operation Black Thunder'. After that and in a matter of sixteen months after 'Operation Black Thunder' conditions were created where elections could be held in Punjab at least for parliament. It does not lie in the mouth of this Government to say that election was totally vague, or totally unfair or totally not peaceful. If they say that, Mr. Gujral should first resign and then this Government should say that. Mr. Gujral cannot continue as a member of the Council of Ministers if this Government turns out to say that that election was not free or fair. Yes, there were problems in that election, nobody denies that, particularly in the three constituencies which are in the border districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozepur. But conditions were created where elections could be held, elections were held. One of the Members elected from Punjab is a distinguished member of this Government, a distinguished member of this undistinguished government, and the longer he remains as a member of this undistinguished government, I am afraid, he may become an undistinguished member of an undistinguished government ... (*Interruptions*). At 3 O' clock we will know whether he is distinguished or not. We will know at 3 O' clock when he responds on the Kuldip Nayyar issue.

Let me read out some very interesting statement on the recent history of Punjab. Four letters were exchanged between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition and I had made a brief reference to

them on Monday. The third letter was curt, almost impolite, from the Prime Minister to the Leader of the Opposition. He said: "Thank you for your letter". A major English language newspaper said that the Prime Minister has said: "Enough is enough. I will not talk to him". So, we thought, may be the Prime Minister really has a hot line with this Paper and the Prime Minister really thought enough was enough. Seven days later comes another letter. And what does this letter say? It says: "The Government wants to hold elections at the earliest but the BJP and the CPI and the CPI(M) do not want to hold elections." I am surprised that the crutches cannot see the game of this Government. This is a Government which has one motto—pass the buck if that fails, pass the blame. That is the motto of this Government. They want to pass the buck for decision-making to the Opposition, to the supporting parties, to the allies, to the crutches. If somebody fails to rise to the bait, pass the blame. The Leader of the Opposition wrote back saying: "What do you mean by earliest? Is it before 11th of November or after 11th of November? Do you want to have President's rule and then hold elections or do you want to hold elections after revoking President's rule?" This question has not been answered until this day. The Prime Minister studiously avoided answering it despite a demand from this side that the Prime Minister should intervene. And he said—I will speak later, in fact, if I may quote Hindi words, then the Home Minister will decline. He said, 'Baad me'. I suppose "Baad me" means afterwards. (*Interruptions*). He said that on that day. Unfortunately, you have moved out of your complacency and smugness only when we administered shock treatment to you. But on Monday we administered a shock treatment, you came out with the package... With you presiding, Mr. Arun Nehru participating and with Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan participating you brought a package. But

today when we point out "Baad me", "Baad me" is not four days later. "Baad me" means four days later or 40 minutes later. "Baad me" is not four days later only. "Baad me" can also be four years later.

And, Sir, when we asked, 'Can you assure us, can you assure the nation that elections will be free and fair?' there was no answer. In the National Integration Council Meeting the same question was asked: "What do you mean by saying early election?" And then they came out with a startling theory, an almost astounding proposition, that the Government will extend President's Rule for six months, and simultaneously announce the date of election. Sir, never in the history of a democratic Government is there a better example of hunting with the hound and running with the hare. You want to have your cake and eat it too. You want to have President's Rule and hold election. Where is the date for election? Why was it not announced? Sir, this Government has no policy, this Government cannot have a policy. This Government has only one policy and that policy will be implemented in the next few days. This Government will change the Governor. The policy of this Government as far as Punjab is concerned is: Have a Governor for three months and change the Governor. Have another Governor for three months, change the Governor. Last time they found that on the 24th offering, Shri Virendra Varma accepted Governorship. This time, consistent with your 76th Amendment, perhaps you have to offer to 76 persons before anybody accepts Governorship of Punjab. So long as Shri V. P. Singh is Prime Minister, so long as Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed is the Home Minister, nothing will move in Punjab, there will be no policy in Punjab and nothing can be expected of this Government. And what did the Home Minister say? What is he going to do in Punjab?

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

He said: "We have made 130 kilometres of fencing." I thought he should have the courtesy to say that out of these 130 kilometres of fencing, 123 kilometres were laid during the tenure of the previous Government. In 10 months they have laid 7 kilometres of fencing. Except this single achievement of 7 kilometres of fencing, nothing has been done in Punjab.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:  
Subject to correction, it is seven-and-a-half kilometres.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Yes, seven-and-a-half kilometres. Half-a-kilometres was done between Monday and today!

Sir, this is what the distinguished writer says:

"The Prime Minister's dilemma arises from the fact that his allies, both on the Right and the Left are dead set against elections. And whatever be his own perception or that of the party he leads....."

We do not know it because the Janata Dal's leader even on Monday said from Bangalore that the Janata Dal Government wants to hold election even while here the Prime Minister and everybody is moaning the failure of the Constitution (Amendment) Bill.

"... We cannot survive without the support of these allies."

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Who says that?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am telling you, I will give you these three cases. I will see to it that you have these three cases. He says:

"His latest stance is that he would go for another extension, but will fix a date for the poll along with it. Thus, he wants to project the impression that he is going for this course much against his will."

Who says this? This is by Mr. Jagjit Singh Anand. In another statement he says:

"The fact that a Minister of the Central Government during his recent visit to Kapurthala had a secret tete-a-tete with an extremist group and went to pay homage to the Taksal Chief, Baba Thakur Singh openly, only proves the point."

"It has no policy for the Punjab at all. Otherwise, the Prime Minister would not be over-reaching himself to win the goodwill of those dead-set against our integrity and sovereignty and would not be craving for the imaginary opportunity lost after his first Amritsar visit."

Now, Mr. Jagjit Singh Anand, I believe, is a former Member of Rajya Sabha and a Member of the National Council of the CPI.

Sir, here is another document and I think some other Members will be pleased to read this document.

"The terrorist menace which was, till about 6 to 8 months back, that is when the Rajiv Gandhi Government demitted office, confined to certain pockets in

the border areas, has spread to most parts of the State right from Chandigarh to Abohar. In the Jeera tehsil of Ferozpur district, the security forces no longer dare to assert their authority. 'Khalsa-panchayats' have been set up giving the seal and sanction to Khalistan. No political party is allowed to enter these areas."

This is the record of this Government in the last 10 months.

Sir, they had 5 months in that spell of President's rule; they had another 6 months from the 11th of May to 10th of November and in 11 months this Government have not been able to evolve a policy in Punjab and we do not believe it will be able to evolve a policy in Punjab in the next six months. But this Government and this Prime Minister, the problem of them is their self-righteousness. You take cover under a self-righteous position that you are morally, ethically and politically superior to everybody and therefore what you think, what you say, what you do and what you do not do is right and nobody need be consulted in 10 months, the halo has gone; I do not know when the crown will go. It will, perhaps, go courtesy the BJP by the 30th of October. So, the halo will go, the crown will go, but nothing will improve in Punjab. What is the problem? The problem is not only the minority nature of this Government; the problem is the precarious quality of its governance. Everytime an issue comes up, the Janata Dal and the National Front go into a hurdle and everytime you come out of a hurdle, you go into a muddle and if you get out of a muddle, you get into another hurdle. This is what we see. A meeting is held here, a meeting is held in the South Block, a meeting is held in the North Block and a meeting is held in the Home Minister's office. But, what comes out of it? Nothing comes out of it.

Sir, we abstained from the Constitution (Amendment) Bill to prove: (1) the minority character of your Government; (2) the precarious nature of your governance. What you try to do is to project a myth. This Government is a bubble; often enough, this bubble must be pricked to show that this Government has no legitimacy and no moral authority to rule this country. That is why we had abstained. Even yesterday, when the number went up as 380, we had 162 or 161 people of this side leaving only 220 on your side and finally when 353 went up in the second stage, we had 151 on this side and in the last stage, when 432 went up on the board we had 182 on this side.

14.23 hrs. [MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

The point we are trying to make is, with your minority character, with the precarious nature of your Government, with your supporting parties totally opposed to you on the basic issue in Punjab, with no standing and no locus as far as Punjab is concerned, we do not think that you will have a policy ever in Punjab.

Sir, as far as elections are concerned, our party's position is very clear. When we held elections to Parliament, we raised an expectation among the people that following Parliament elections, elections will be held to the Assembly and I believe that if a firm and forthright policy had been continued in Punjab, we could have held elections to the Assembly. We would like elections to be held at the earliest. But since you are in Government, since you have possession of information from intelligent sources, it is for you to tell the nation—not for us—that you can assure free and fair elections in Punjab. This ques-

[Sh. P. Chidambaram]

tion was not answered by the Prime Minister. This question was not answered in the National Integration Council meeting. This question has not been answered by the Home Minister and I do not know whether the Prime Minister, when he intervenes, will answer this question. When does the Government expect to assure that free and fair elections will be held in Punjab? If you cannot make that assurance say after a period of one month, two months or six months, then you have no moral authority to ask for extension of six months of President's rule. But since you are in Government and we refuse to accept the buck that you have passed to us, you must take the decision and you must take the responsibility. We go along with you unconvinced by your capacity or ability or competence, unconvinced by your intelligence in evolving a policy, unconvinced by anything that you do. We go along only because you cannot assure the country that you can hold free and fair elections in Punjab. Therefore, Sir, we hold this Government squarely responsible for incompetence, inaptitude, and worse, we hold this Government squarely responsible for trying to hide its sins of omissions and commissions behind self-righteousness and smugness and in every opportunity we shall administer shock treatment to you so that you come out of complacency and smugness. We believe that in the next six months things will only get worse and six months later, Parliament will have to meet once again, may be to mourn the demise of this Government, if not sooner.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am informed that the Parties are not fielding their Members to speak. Only two or three Members are likely to speak and then the Resolution will be passed.

Now I call upon Shri Kirpal Singh to speak—not here. Shri Rajdev Singh.

SHRI RAJDEV SINGH (Sangrur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as already

submitted by me on 1st October while participating in the debate regarding Constitution (Amendment) Bill seeking extension of President's rule, the elections are not going to solve the Punjab problems. There is absolutely no point in fixing the date for holding of the elections in Punjab. That will not serve any useful purpose. Let the hon. Prime Minister fix a firm date on which the Government is going to declare the Sikh as separate religion meaning thereby, you are going to make the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act and the Hindu Minorities and Guardianship Act inapplicable to the Sikhs and enacting new enactments for application to the Sikhs.

Further the Government should amend article 25 of the Constitution of India to declare the Sikh religion as one of the religions and the date should be fixed for this purpose. If the date is fixed only for holding of elections, then elections will prove disaster rather than to serve any useful purpose of bringing back normalcy in Punjab.

The Government should take steps to repeal the Act to Prevent Misuse of Religious Place. That Act was enacted by the previous Government with the sole purpose to hurt the feelings of the Sikhs. The religion can never be separated from the politics. Politics and religion in Sikhism are inseparable and will go together. The background of that Act was after the Black Thunder, the Government in order to hurt the sentiments of Sikhs, had brought this enactment. It is for the present Government to repeal that enactment and to restore the confidence among the Sikhs.

Thirdly, the Government should declare Jats amongst backward class and they should be included in the List of Backward Classes because Jats are essentially backward class. So, they must be included in "Other Backward Class."

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Marathas should be included in the backward list.

SHRI RAJDEV SINGH: It is for you to raise this question. I am not concerned at this stage about that matter. It is for you to raise this point.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You must confine yourself to Punjab policy issue.

SHRI RAJDEV SINGH: I am talking about Punjab policy, not about Marathas. It is up to you to discuss about it. (*Interruptions*) Now I am talking only about the decision on Punjab issue. We should view the Punjab problem as a national problem and should appreciate it from that angle. When we are going to discuss about Punjab, you raise the issue of another State and when we are discussing the problem of Haryana, then you raise the issue of Punjab. You should raise the matter that is being discussed in the House. (*Interruptions*)

All the Sikhs who were detained in Punjab on various charges should be released unconditionally as was done in Mizoram and Nagaland at the time of the settlement of the issue. There will be no harm if the name of the present Punjab is changed from Punjab to Khalistan. Khalistan is within the Constitutional framework. The name of the present Punjab can be changed as Khalistan because the names of Nagaland and Mizoram were also given for the sole reason that these States have vast population of Mizo and Nagas. (*Interruptions*) There is no harm in changing the name. Confidence can be restored.

Steps should be taken to introduce the recruitment of Sikhs in the armed forces of India. (*Interruptions*) Now in the Armed Forces of India, the Sikhs are only 2% and their strength should be increased more so that the

Sikhs may have a chance to serve the motherland and to defend the motherland. I want to make it clear that I want every step should be taken within the framework of the Constitution of India and there can be no challenge to the unity and integrity of India from the Sikhs. Sikhs would never like to pose a challenge to the unity and integrity of India.

The extortions and the murders of innocent persons are going on in Punjab. Suppression is continuing. It is continuing on such a large scale that it is difficult to state in accurate words the way in which the full suppression is going on in Punjab. The extortions are being committed both by the anti-social elements as well as by the police. There is need to check it up.

I again request the hon. Prime Minister that he should fix a firm date on which the Sikhs are going to be declared as a separate clan. The Sikhs are full of faith in the Prime Minister of India and the Sikhs have confidence in the hon. Prime Minister. (*Interruptions*)

Again, I want to make it clear that there can be no challenge and nobody can challenge the sovereignty, the unity and integrity of India and the Sikhs will guard the Motherland in case of any attack on Punjab, on India. The Sikhs have full confidence that the hon. Prime Minister of India will take immediate steps to restore the confidence of the Sikhs. We have full faith in the leadership of hon. Prime Minister of India.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my hon. friend Shri Chidambaram has already told the House how this Government cannot itself be depended upon to find a proper solution to this Punjab problem. From what my hon. friend, who hails from Punjab, has just now said, if we have to allow the overflow of this kind of a division amongst ourselves on to the Punjab engineering arena, my fear is that they would vote only for those Khalistanis

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and what is worse, for all those who are demanding self-determination for Punjab. Mr. Mann—not the present one but the other one, their leader I suppose and their senior—who has circulated his memorandum among our Members has left no doubt at all in what he is aiming at. They want self-determination for Punjab. Therefore, they would go to the polls on that demand. What are we going to do? All the different political parties which are represented here, national political parties, the two Communist Parties, the BJB, the Janata Dal and the Congress, what are they going to do? Are we going to fight against each other in the coming elections? I take it that the Prime Minister as well as all those friends who are supporting the Prime Minister and his Group in Parliament, is keen about holding elections in Punjab. During the elections, what will happen? Mr. Mann, who is there outside this House, who refused to come to this House unless his demand has been accepted to hold the sword 3 ft. long, named in a religious manner as *Kirpan*, that gentleman stands by self-determination. He is in league directly or indirectly, openly or secretly with those people who are carrying on terrorism and violence threatening everybody in the whole of Punjab. Are we going to allow him and his colleagues also who stand in the elections, threaten everybody holding the threat of death at every candidate, whosoever cares and has got the courage to stand by their candidate? Are we going to allow him to have his own say in those elections, while we go on fighting among ourselves? This is the challenge which the hon. Prime Minister as well as his colleagues will have to take themselves seriously. We cannot think of extending the President rule any longer than the six months period. Mr. Mufti may be there or may not be there. But six months period is the maximum period. Within this period, you have got to hold elections whatever be your political conveniences and political consequences.

Within six months, you must see to it that democratic forces succeed, that those people who demand for self-determination do not succeed. Punjab people are not only Sikhs. My hon. friend must remember that they would not care because they are carried away by the same kind of fundamentalist madness from which Pakistan had suffered and because of the British alliance and British support, they were able to succeed in having Pakistan. These people would not have it so directly. But, nevertheless, they have got the support of the terrorists and terrorists are holding sway there in Punjab and against the democrats.

So far as democratic forces are concerned, at one time, we might not be prepared to accept these friends from the Communist Party to be as good democrats as the rest of us. But today, they are also democrats. They swear by democracy in whatever land it is, from wherever they were having their inspiration earlier. Whether they derive any inspiration or not is another thing which I leave it to them. Today they are also democrats. We are democrats. Are all the democrats going to raise themselves in some form or the other in a united form in the name of India, in the name of Indian nationalism, Indian democracy? (Interruptions) For God's sake, I am not going to make any controversial speech now. (Interruptions)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): The Communist Party of India was among the first communist parties of the world before even the CPSU could think of it. In 1958, the Communist Party of India decided at Amritsar not through any resolution but by way of the Preamble to the Constitution that CPI would strive for peaceful part of socialism. And if it is established, then there will be full freedom, even freedom of political opposition, to oppose socialism if they abide by the Constitution. CPI was among the fewest parties in the world before any division and

that was in 1958. I request Professor to get himself corrected.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: I am not here to have any kind of controversy with my friend in the Communist Party now. I stand corrected. I have already said that today the communists friends also are democrats. They can be democrats. All of us are democrats excepting these fundamentalists, these self-determination-wallas and those terrorists in Punjab. It is for our friends now to decide. We have been talking of democracy. But the most unfortunate thing is, as my hon. friends have already said, number of times they have not tried to live up to their own profession of doing things, taking decisions on the basis of consensus. At least for the next six months, for the sake of the safety, unity, sovereignty and integrity of India, will they stand up to their professionalism of consensus and try their best, if need be by making sacrifices and also asking other parties to make some sacrifices also? All of them should be brought together and persuaded to set up their candidates in some form of juxtaposition or the other among themselves according to their respective strengths in Punjab, when Punjab is having some semblance of democracy, stand by them, canvass on their behalf, ensure peaceful conditions and assure the country that these self-determination wallahs are not having the confidence of the people, that the masses of Punjab stand by India, swear by Indian democracy and the Indian constitution and agree to be Indians and not Khalistanis.

Let them call themselves anything they like, but not self-determination-wallahs, people who will go to the United Nations, receive support from Pakistan and various other countries and in that way destroy our Indian unity and integrity. Are we ready for it? We may not be ready today: but we are giving an opportunity to these people through this Parliament by passing this amendment yesterday and trying to pass this Resolution today.

Who are we? Are we going to be Indians or not first and last? After that you can divide yourselves into various political parties. This is the appeal I wish to make. My hon. friend Mr. Dass has made a very good suggestion. The Governor is there. There should be a council; there should be advisors also. The council should consist of some Members of this House, also advisors should be chosen from amongst those Punjabis who are genuinely loyal to India, India's unity and India's democracy. Start it that way in a non-political manner, non-partisan manner, non-factional manner and in a genuine Indian manner. Are we going to accept these challenges or not? Are we not going to meet this challenge or not? That is what we have to say to ourselves.

A large number of our Communist friends have died at the altar of India's unity in Punjab. They stood the test of patriotism. They have sacrificed tremendously. Some of our Congress people have also made sacrifices. And I dare say other Parties know the facts as to how many of their own people have made sacrifices. We have to demonstrate to ourselves, to our own conscience that their sacrifices do not go in vain. We should deserve their sacrifices by the kind of sacrifice we are prepared to make. And what sort of sacrifice we have to make today? Two kinds. Firstly we have to hold our own ambition, our political party's ambitions under control and be ready to make necessary adjustments. Secondly we must give sufficient confidence and sufficient strength to our armed forces there, to our para-armed people, to our policemen and to the Governor and others who are now trying to see that there is peace in Punjab.

There is too much of condemnation of the security forces in Punjab. Too much. Take any police man. Has he not got any family? Is he not having any kind of concern about his own family when he goes out of his house in the morning and be ready to

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face bullets and swords and all the other challenges that come from these terrorists? Every day he makes that decision. We knew that they are great patriots. My heart goes out for them and their families. We have to think about them. They are the people who are standing by us; let us stand by them; let us not cavil at any kind of a mistake that they commit. If it is an involuntary mistake, we should be prepared to excuse; if they do not discharge their duties, we should be prepared to punish them. But, Sir, we should hold them to be as patriotic as we ourselves are. If this Prime Minister, like the other Prime Ministers could not find any other jobs for them, then, they have to accept the job of the policemen. But, nevertheless, they are also family men. They have their responsibilities towards their families. They are also discharging their responsibilities towards the country and our Government, by risking their lives every minute. They do not know where from the death is going to stare at them. So, we must give them every possible support to ensure that the elections are free—free not only from our booth-capturing politicians, but it should also be free from the terror of the terrorists, terror of death and challenge of death that is being hurled at them. My hon. friend was telling the other day as to what was happening in Tarn Taran. There is no Government. It is their power. Now, we have to fight against that power. That power is spreading over the whole of Punjab more and more.

Three, four letters were distributed among us. Just like the one Sardar Mann has distributed, some other people have also distributed the other day. All of you must have been the recipients of that. Now, we have to meet that challenge. It is not going to be easy to hold elections in Punjab. Our friends were telling, "hold the elections in a free and honest manner". It should be free from whom? It should not be free from our respective challenges, that we make against

each other. But, it should be free from the bullets of the terrorists. Who are the terrorists? Are they all Sikhs? No. Are they all Hindus? Are they not Pakistanis, disguising as Sikhs and Hindus? They are there. How can you be sure that one is an Indian and the other one is a Pakistani? We do not know. All these challenges are there. Elections cannot be free in Punjab, even if we are all united and put up our own united candidate, unless we make sure that there is peace during the elections and even after the elections. There should be an assurance of safety not only for the candidates, not only for the canvassers, but also for the families of the people who have the courage to go to the polls and vote. That is the kind of atmosphere we have got to create. From what my hon. friend Mr. Chidambaram has said, I cannot say that he is wrong. I do not know whether this Government has got that moral and material strength. Therefore, it is the duty of the rest of us to give the strength to this Government and ensure that whatever Government might be there in Punjab, it would be a national Government from the sense that it will be a national administration. From the national point of view, as a nation, India has got to go to the elections unitedly and see that the terrorists are caught; people who have got the courage to stand up to the terrorists, go to the polling booths and vote, those who stand as candidates and also as the supporters to the voters are safe; they should feel sure of their safety even after the elections are over; and also see that India wins in that elections. Let us then have an opportunity of meeting once again here in Parliament and congratulate ourselves.

[Translation]

S ATINDER PAL SINGH (Patiala): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, a number of doubts are raised, whenever a discussion on Punjab issue in the context of Sikhs is held in this House. I have said it in my maiden speech also that you can only win the confidence of the people of Punjab

when you free yourself from self-interests and prejudices. I would like to ask some questions in brief from the Hon. Prime Minister and from the leaders of all the parties sitting in this House.

*First:* If this country is called Hindustan, no hon. Member sitting in this House raises any objection to it. I would like to ask if Atinder Pal Singh says that Hindustan is an unconstitutional word and that it should be expunged from the proceedings that have taken place till now, he would be levelled as a traitor for taking this constitutional step. Will it be proper? Show me a single sentence in the Constitution where India has been referred to as Hindustan. The name of our country is Bharat. Can't you see communalism and treachery in using the word Hindustan? Is such a thing in the interest of the country? But when I raise any demand in the House, I am levelled as a traitor, even though my demand is constitutional. This House should make it clear whether it is ready to accept us or not?

*Second:* When I have been elected to this House, am I a Member of Parliament or not? And if it is so, why am I looked upon with suspicion? Why don't you free yourself from prejudices? If you can't do so, I also take a pledge today that we will make no effort to free you from your prejudices. Should all the efforts be made from our side only? Has this country no duty towards the people of Punjab? Will this country always look upon the people of Punjab with suspicion? If this is your view, I cannot support it.

*Third:* You must think before you bring the amendment here. Democracy is being murdered there for the last three and half years. The entire nation except Punjab is on one side. As the situation in Punjab is not stable, you can murder the democracy there. At least, you should do some re-thinking. Even God excuses 3 murders, but you have done more than that. Where is the limit? Con-

stitutional limit in this regards is only five years. At any cost, you cannot suspend democracy for more than five years. After 5 years, you have to go to the people for electing a Government. Then why are you side-tracking this issue? Don't you have the courage to face the people? What is the meaning of this democracy, if you and the democracy of this country do not have the courage to face the people?

*Fourth:* I do not want to raise these questions, but I am forced to do so because whenever representatives of Punjab say something, they are looked upon with suspicion. A lot has been said about the police.

15.00 hrs.

What I am telling you is based on facts. I pose this question to the nation. If the car of Atinder Pal Singh was seized and his driver arrested on 17th December by the Batala Police for the simple reason that Atinder Pal Singh visited the houses of the people killed in police encounters, then I want to ask as to what action was taken thereon after the matter was brought to the notice of the Home Minister, I.G., Police and Punjab administration? What is our fault that we are not allowed to move in our own country? When a member belonging to B.J.P. is arrested, the entire House unitedly protests against it but why similar protest is not made in our case? Atinder Pal Singh is threatened by S.S.P., Patiala that if he did not mend his ways, he would get him killed in an encounter! Is the House concerned with the safety of the member of Parliament? How can an S.S.P. have the audacity of refusing meeting a member of Parliament and shutting the door of his office saying that he might go and complain to anybody? My S.P.O. was arrested only because he belonged to Atinder Pal Singh. I brought this matter to the knowledge of the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. At that time, there was no case against the S.P.O. When it was brought to their notice, a twelve bore country made gun was

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put on his shoulders. He was kept under detention for 22 days. The D.C., Batala wrote a letter to the Punjab Home Ministry stating that there was no case registered against that person. The day I brought this fact to the notice of the Home Minister he was charged of possessing a country made 12 bore gun. Is it something that is in the interest of the nation? If it is so, we are not prepared to accept it. We are not willing to co-operate in such an atmosphere. If you are genuinely interested in solving the Punjab problem, you must stop hollow slogans. I want to say in very unambiguous terms that Punjab is totally fed up of these slogans of impeachment. Please give these slogans a practical shape and tell us in clear terms the facilities slated for Punjab. What are your views on Punjab? Do you accept Sikh as Sikhs or not? The maximum punishment under the Act is three years but the Sikh youths in Punjab have been in custody for more than five years. For what fault of theirs is this discriminatory attitude being adopted towards them? On what ground have they been kept in jails for a period extending upto five years without trial. Please tell us as to why the sikhs are being tried in Special Courts and why they are not tried in open courts? And, when we put our demands we are charged with treason! If this is the definition of treason, then I would say that those who have laid down such a definition are the biggest traitor. The House must address itself to the solution of Punjab problem.

The situation cannot improve if we continue to present our views based on politically motivated facts. If you are sincere in finding a solution, then the Prime Minister should make an announcement that all those who have been languishing in jails, without trial will be released. Cases have been registered against more than 250 Sikh women. I urge upon lady Members of Parliament to come forward and help them. What is the fault of those who have not been tried so far?

The Prime Minister should make an announcement for their release today itself.

If you want to win the confidence of Punjab then why does the House not express its regret over what had happened in 1984? If a minor accident takes place and 10-50 persons are killed, then the House expresses its grief but why this House has not conveyed its condolences to the next of kins of those killed in the 1984 riots which were actually engineered? I want the Prime Minister to take an initiative in this matter and bring a resolution to this effect. I would like to make it clear that this should not be termed as demands. The Government is responsible for creating these problems. The Government will have to solve these problems and rectify the blunders they have committed. None but the Government has to do this. If the Government shirks from it, it should not expect the solution of the Punjab problem.

My concluding submission is that solution to any problem cannot be found unless we approach the person responsible for creating the said problem. Why don't you contact those persons who are responsible for creating problems in Punjab. If you really want to find a solution to this problem you will have to approach them and win their confidence. I would like to know the action that you are going to take in this regard?

We have seen what took place in that state during the last six months. Now I would like to know your line of action for the coming six months. In this regard, it is necessary to take the House in to confidence. I would request the nation not to look towards the sikh community with a suspicious eye. As I had referred to in my first speech also, those people who had signed the resolution regarding parallel constitution in the Pakistan Assembly were made Chief Justice, etc. and among those signatories, seventeen were Hindus who agreed to the creation of Pakistan. Among the signatories

there was not a single Sikh. This reveals your patriotism towards the nation. If this is the definition of patriotism, we refuse to accept it. If the fight in Punjab is on this very point, then we cannot go along with you. You must make it clear as to what is your opinion about us, about Punjab and about the Sikh community.

I would like to conclude here with the request that if you really wish to win the confidence of the people of Punjab, then you must descend to the grass-root level and tell the people of the State what you have decided to offer to them.

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We had discussed the amendment to the Constitution which was very relevant to the present issue. In the Speaker's chamber, it was agreed among the leaders of the different parties that we would complete the discussion and voting on this Resolution by 3 O'clock. It was also agreed that Members of all the parties may not speak except two or three. Now, I hope I can call upon the hon. Prime Minister to speak

**DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur):** It was also decided that a chance would be given to our party as also some Members from the Congress(I). That was accepted. We will take one or two minutes each. We want to listen to the hon. Prime Minister's intervention. We are very particular about that.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** All right. I would allow two or three Members from the Congress (I). That would request them, as they have been very ably conveying all their views in very short time, they will do the same thing now also and complete within two or three minutes. I would then request the hon. Prime Minister to reply to the debate.

Now, Dr. Thambi Durai.

**DR. THAMBI DURAI:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we are discussing

the Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister for extending the President's rule in Punjab. I want to convey, through you, to the National Front Government that this kind of continuance of the President's rule in Punjab is not the solution for the Punjab problem. We can solve the problems of the Punjab only by restoring democracy in that State. While speaking one of our Members, who is from Punjab, gave the assurance that he is for the unity of the country. He said that at any cost his Party would not divide the country. Sir, we are very glad to hear him saying that he is going to fight for the unity of the country. Everybody knows that if we do not have a strong nation, we cannot survive and we will not be able to solve our problems.

In his speech he mentioned about the problems which the people living in Punjab are facing. Through you, I would like to convey to the National Front Government that only by restoring the federal set up in the country they can solve the problems of the States, because our country is having different culture and different languages.

Yesterday in his speech the Prime Minister said that he believes in the decentralisation of power. I don't know what steps he has so far taken to decentralise the power which is accumulated in the Centre. The same Janta Government in 1977 brought education from State List to Concurrent List. I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether he would bring any legislation so as to restore the education in the State List. In the name of the federal set up and also in the name of unity they have taken most of the powers from the States to the Centre. Because of this kind of attitude we have so many disturbances in the States. The disturbance is there not only in Punjab but in Kashmir also. Yesterday, the Prime Minister announced that he is going to decentralise power. I am also very happy to know that he announced some package of schemes to

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solve the economic problems of Punjab. I appreciate this announcement but this is not enough. Yesterday also I asked as to when he is going to bring the Right to Work Bill. Today, being the last day of the Session, we are anxiously waiting for this announcement. So, I once again request him to try to keep his words and try to decentralise power and also try to bring the Right to Work Bill as soon as possible.

**SHRIMATI GEEJA MUKHERJEE** (Panskura): Sir, I shall take as little time as possible. I have risen only to put the records straight and to make a very brief appeal. Through you, Sir, I appeal to Smt. Bimal Kaur Khalsa to put the interpretation on.

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA**: I can understand English.

**SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE**: Thank you. Dear sister yesterday accused the two Communist Parties and she said that the CPI and CPI(M) are the parties who are opposing the elections in Punjab. So, to put the records straight I would just read out what Shri Indrajit Gupta yesterday said on this score and I quote:

"My party will, of course, vote for this amendment, i.e. for the letter of this amendment. But we are not in favour of its spirit. If I could vote in spirit, I vote against it. Why? Because, we are convinced that these repeated doses of President's Rule has become a chronic feature now in Punjab; it is not going to help improve the situation if we go on in the old way."

Then he very clearly spoke about our stand and I quote once again:

"These gentlemen of the Press should not be given an impression, as they go on giving, that the left parties particularly the two Communist Parties are absolutely dead set against elec-

tions: they do not want elections under any circumstances like the BJP. And they say that because the BJP and the Left allied are taking a stand like that, therefore, the President has no option but to go in for another spell of President's Rule."

This is not our stand. This is to put the record straight about our stand.

My appeal is, let this House pass a Resolution irrespective of political parties today itself --not to really put our country in difficulty and not to destroy it. Let us all appeal to the people that communal harmony whether in Punjab or elsewhere must be protected. For that I also appeal to BJP to maintain communal harmony. After all, they do not have any more say on Gandhian socialism. But Gandhiji himself had to withdraw Chauri Chaura movement for which we blamed him.

Therefore, I think it is in the spirit of our nation today, to make an appeal like this to the Prime Minister to pass a Resolution to that effect.

[Translation]

**SHRI ARI BAIG** (Betul): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Bhartiya Janta Party, I would like to make it clear before all the hon. Members of this House that our party has always been in favour of the elections. We are not against elections in Punjab provided it is a free and fair election in which one may cast one's vote fearlessly. But in the present circumstances, is a fair and free election possible in Punjab? Is there any one who in view of the present conditions in Punjab feels honestly that an election in the real sense of the term may be conducted there? I would like to say to the Congressmen who repeatedly blame us as having an anti-election view, that they should see it first that no elections have been held for the last 18 years within their own party. Hence a party which has not been able to maintain the spirit of

democracy within its own organisational set up, has no right to advocate the cause of democracy. On the other hand, our party is the only Indian political party which has held its organisational elections regularly.

So, we have been and are in favour of elections.

[English]

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV** (Tripura West): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when the country is suffering from Mandal Commission and Mandir construction, we are here today to discuss the Resolution which has been brought by the hon. Home Minister and most reluctantly all political parties, both in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, have unanimously passed it before it went to the President.

I would not like to repeat those points which have been said by various other Members. Since the hon. Prime Minister is going to intervene in this debate, I would like to request the hon. Prime Minister to kindly tell us about the change in situation after his Press Conference which he held on board the aircraft. He said: we would like that when we ask for extension by six months, we could also give a date for the election. Of course, he kept his door open. He said: we would like to declare. I would like to know from him: what are the difficulties that arose in between, that you have not been able to declare an election date? If you are going to have elections within six months, I would like to know whether your letter to our President, about the views of CPI, CPI(M) and BJP are correct, or what they are saying in the House, and the explanation given by Mrs Geeta Mukherjee and the hon. Members of the BJP are correct. Let us know. (Interruptions)

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:** Our stand is also clear.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:** No: your stand is not clear. What

you said on the floor of the House is clear, but not the letter we have got from the Prime Minister of the country. This Prime Minister is a paying guest Prime Minister. He is at the mercy of the BJP and the Left parties. (Interruptions) One of parties has already given notice, till 30th October. The other is also thinking in such terms. When they speak privately in the lobby, the assessment that we get about this Government is quite different from what they speak in the House.

On Monday, 29th January 1990, nominations were made to the Consultative Committee constituted under the Punjab State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1987. The hon. Speaker nominated some members. Till today, the Home Minister has not had the time to call a meeting of this committee. You, as Prime Minister, said you wanted to have all the political parties together, to create a situation in Punjab so that free and fair elections could be held. It is a very good attitude. But what is the action taken? You yourself have formed the Consultative Committee with the help of the hon Speaker, in January. Today we are in October. From January to October, you have had time to demote Ministers, you have had time to resign, to get other Ministers resign for you; but you have not had time to call a meeting. I think that either you do not know that there is a committee, or you have kept it in abeyance. I do not expect you being the Prime Minister, that will be the situation. During these ten months, not on a single day was there a meeting of this committee.

Unfortunately or fortunately, I was sometime Minister of State for Home, and in that capacity, I went to Punjab. (Interruptions) I want to know this from the Home Minister: Only yesterday, an industrialist from Punjab came and met me. He said: 'Sir, you went to Amritsar when you were a Minister.' We talked about many things, and at the end he said: 'Sir, some people came and asked me

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to pay Rs. 20 lakhs, or otherwise to quit Punjab. I decided to close down the business and walk out of Punjab. My friend said: Go to the police station, talk to the Police. The Police are very active now, and they will take action. I went to the police station. As soon as I entered, I started running away from it. I came to my house running back.' I asked him why. He said: 'The man who came and asked for money, he was sitting in the police station, in the chair. He is the O.C., i.e. the in-charge of that police station. Maybe that is an exception. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

**SHRI KAPIL DEV SHASTRI** (Sonepat): What were they doing in Punjab where they were in power there for so many years? At that time, they always adopted an escapist attitude on Punjab issue... (Interruptions)

[English]

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:** What I am trying to say is this. I agree this is not the position of the entire Police. 80% or 90% of the Police in Punjab are good.

But one or two persons are there who create such a situation; with the result that they create fear in the minds of the members from Punjab. There is a lot of difference between what I have heard today and what I had heard nine months before. This is the achievement of this august House, this Parliament. I am sure, S. Atinder Pal Singh, when he speaks today, he will speak in a different language after having listened to the other members for six months in this House. They have got certain grievances; they have to be removed. But, unfortunately, no one from Punjab, when he speaks, condemns terrorists and their activities in Punjab. They are in connivance with Pakistan. Nobody condemns terrorist activities in Punjab. I expect that, some one from Punjab when he speaks, at least

should condemn these activities in Punjab.

Before I conclude, I would like to request the hon. Prime Minister, when he intervenes, to tell us what actually does he want from the Opposition, that is, the Congress-I. We want to support him; we are supporting him. He was part and parcel of this Opposition when he was Minister. He knows our culture. He knows it very well that in spite of everything, national interest is the main interest. We are totally with you to support you on Punjab or for that matter on any national issue. But for God's sake, don't bring in personal animosity and personal things. You tell us what sort of help do you want from us?

In the past, we had attended some meetings along with other members. Our experience is that whenever anybody spoke, he spoke against the Congress-I. When we are sitting on the same platform, how do you expect cooperation from us? To run government, you have to take decisions. There might be correct decisions, incorrect decisions. Now this is not the time to do mudslinging against each other. This is the eighth time we are extending the President's Rule in Punjab. Let us hope that this will be the last time. This hope and the aspirations of the members will come true only if you and your Home Minister rise above party politics. Extend your helping hand to all the political parties in Punjab—Congress-I, BJP, CPI, CPI(M) and also the Akali Dal and create a situation for holding elections. When we could hold elections in the past, why is it not possible to hold elections again? I think we will be able to hold elections provided all the political parties come together.

I hope, when you reply, at least you will not reply in the way in which you replied in Lucknow, castigating this fellow and that fellow. Kindly rise above party politics and give one speech in this Parliament as the Prime Minister of this country.

[Translation]

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA** (Ropar): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, before coming to power, this Government had made promises in its manifesto that it would solve the Punjab problem on a priority basis. But it did not pay any attention towards this problem even after a period of 10 months in power. I would like to know as to how many more times the President's rule would be extended there and whether the extension of President rule and frequent change of Governors is the only solution to the Punjab problem? During his tenure, Shri Ray Sahib, who was the Governor of Punjab, had stated that there were a handful of terrorists and he would be able to control them completely but while vacating the Governor's office, he had admitted that the Punjab problem could not be solved without dialogue and the bullets might not be its solution. Sir, through you, I would like to ask the Hon. Prime Minister as to what are they doing to bring about peace in Punjab and when the elections will be held there as some of the parties are of the view that the election should not be held there until peace is restored there and its problem is sorted out? I would like to say to the Hon. Prime Minister further that these parties such as the Congress, C.P.I., C.P.I.(M) and the B.J.P. do not want the Punjab problem to be solved...*(Interruptions)...*

AN HON. MEMBER: Until they leave the path of bullets.

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA**: They have been compelled to take up guns in their hands. In fact, it is the Congress which has created this problem, so this party will never co-operate with the present Government in solving the Punjab problem. So, the Government itself will have to be bold enough to take initiative in order to solve this problem. As a first step in this direction, the Government should release all the youths and the religious leaders from the jails at once. I would like to know

the reasons of disturbed conditions in Punjab. In that state, all the bureaucrats right from the Chief Secretary to the level of Tehsildar, are anti-Sikh and anti-Punjab. Therefore, only such officers should be posted in Punjab who have a positive attitude in respect of Sikhs and Punjab. That is why the Punjab problem is becoming complicated day by day. I would like to know as to what this Government has done to start the process of healing in respect of the Sikhs, who had been emotionally hurt on account of Operation Blue Star and the 1984 riots. In this regard, they had great expectations from this Government. What steps have been taken by the Government so far to punish the people who have been held responsible for the 1984 riots.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Bimalji, please conclude.

**SHRIMATI BIMAL KAUR KHALSA**: How many culprits have been arrested and punished so far? It is being said that there is not a conducive atmosphere for elections in Punjab as there is no peace in that State. But I would like to know whether there were any instances of irregularities in Punjab during the last elections, and on the contrary, whether there was no disturbance at Amethi in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Bihar. Then why Punjab alone is being disrupted? So, I do not see any reason as to why there cannot be a fair election in Punjab. I request the Government to take initiative to solve the Punjab problem because the Government alone will be responsible for any deterioration in respect of Punjab problem. So the Government should state as to what steps are being taken by the Government to solve the Punjab problem and by what time the Government proposes to hold elections in that State?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Kirpal Singhji. I had called your name earlier also and you have already spoken on this issue so please conclude your submission within two minutes.

**SHRI KIRPAL SINGH (Amritsar):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, my friends have requested me to recite an Urdu couplet.

Following is the Couplet:—

"Lootate Agar Khizan Mein to  
Kuchh Baat hi Na Thee  
Hamko Yeh Ranj Hai Ki, Loote  
Hain Bahar Mein."

We faced a number of atrocities during the regime of these great persons but nobody expressed his grief and sympathy for the innumerable number of women who had lost their husbands.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You have already said that.

**SHRI KIRPAL SINGH:** An hon. Member, Shri Rangaji has pointed out as to how a dialogue may be initiated with such persons who have approached the U.N.O.? But, have the Government ever thought of the reasons of their approaching that forum? Before blaming them the Government should seriously consider these issues as to why one does not get justice here and one is not round-ed up even after committing a number of murders? Yesterday, I brought it to the notice of the Hon'ble Prime Minister that at least two hundred persons of five villages in Punjab were brutally beaten up by the Police in their search for some terrorists whereas none of those innocent persons was found to be a terrorist. Many persons residing in towns come to us and complain weepingly that the Police had arrested their children but did not let them know the whereabouts of those children or whether they had been released or killed. When they mete out such a crude behaviour to them, why do they expect that they will remain faithful to them? Moreover, they want the Sikhs to remain loyal whereas they themselves give protection to the cul-prits. In fact, in their Secretariat there have been many such officers who traded official secrets for foreign goods and used to keep foreign cur-

rency in their houses. It is not a new thing because even in the houses of some of our earlier Prime Ministers, they used to keep foreign currency. In case now this House gives its clearance to this Bill, it will give them another six months' time. So, in this House at present the Prime Minister will have to state as to how long Punjab will remain in the hands of those hungry wolves...\*...is responsible for the incidents of violence and blood-shed in that State.

[*English*]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Names will not go on record.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI KIRPAL SINGH:** For how long the public of Punjab will be left to the whims of those persons and when will an elected Government hold reins of power in Punjab? Is this House ready to approach the terrorists to persuade them to give up their terrorist approach to create a conducive atmosphere for elections there? If such a step is not taken, atleast we should be meted out justice, otherwise, we stand ruined in all respects.

About half of the crop has been destroyed during this rainy season and the procurement agencies are not coming forward to purchase the produce. This has resulted into a heavy loss. Paddy crop was spoiled and now it is sprouting again. The paddy bags stocked in markets have been washed away and F.C.I. or other agencies are not helping the people involved in rice dealing. There is rampant corruption in F.C.I. A bribe of rupees four thousand per truck load of grains is given to F.C.I. Every type of discrimination is being done in Punjab in the matters of sales tax and income tax. The exporters are not getting proper facilities. No Governor or bureaucracy can solve these problems. They have looted us and we do not know how long they will be looting us. Punjab was in the forefront of freedom struggle and has given very

\*Not recorded.

good soldiers, technicians, farmers etc, to the nation, which is a record. Why they are finishing them? They do not realise that they cannot be finished...\*...used to say that now they are only ten or twenty.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please do not mention names. Names will not go on records.

[Translation]

SHRI KIRPAL SINGH: I would like to say that if you have to finish any one of them, you yourself will also have to struggle for it and fight it. Punjab cannot be finished by the conspiracy being hatched against it. It is necessary to win the confidence of the people of Punjab. The people of Punjab have provided the proofs of safeguarding the freedom of the country. Even then if you want to leave the country in the hands of wolves then it will be injustice and discontentment will also arise. This attitude of administration brings in the talk of UNO. I am thankful to you that you allowed me to speak and I would like to request the Prime Minister to announce the date of holding elections in Punjab.

[English]

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (Calcutta South): If we are supporting the extension of the President's rule in Punjab by six months it is because we feel that it is necessary and unavoidable. But we do this with a certain feeling of sadness. Let me mention this to friends from the Punjab that we are not doing this to deny the people in the Punjab the right of democratic elections but this is because the democratic feelings of the people of the Punjab would not be reflected through elections today because of the way the things are happening in the Punjab today. Had there been a proper and democratic atmosphere in the Punjab we would

have supported the holding of elections now.

At the same time, our request to the Prime Minister is this that this six months period will give him a certain breathing space. And it is very important that this six months is utilised in a way which does not make it necessary for you to postpone the elections again for another six months. We have a feeling that when you began this Government you took the right initiative by going to the Sikh temple, by meeting the people which created a lot of expectations. Unfortunately, that momentum has not been maintained. There were some errors of omission and commission. But I am not going into that. Now the minimum which is required for creating a favourable condition is to implement the conditions of the Accord which was made between Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal. We feel also that the people who were responsible for the riots in 1984 should be punished. When on the 2nd of October there was an ugly demonstration in Delhi, that brought back memories in the minds of many people in Delhi to what happened in 1984 because the same people who were involved in 1984 riots were also involved in the 2nd October disturbances this year. Who were these people? Why were they not punished? (Interruptions) I request you to ensure that the criminals who butchered the Sikhs on the streets of Delhi in 1984, should be brought to justice and they should be punished. And a proper climate should be created for holding the elections in the Punjab.

Let me also respond to the point made by Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev. He wanted to know what the Prime Minister expects the opposition to do.....(Interruptions) I hope they would stay in Punjab and fight the terrorists and not run away from the Punjab. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Did you want time for this?

\*Not recorded.

**DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA:** They are not fighting the terrorists. The important point is to isolate the terrorists. They should be defeated politically. It is true that today they do control a section of the police and bureaucracy. It is also true that they have the coercive power. It is very important for all of us including the Congress to ensure that the terrorists are isolated and the national unity is upheld.

Lastly, in response to the point made by Shri P. Chidambaram that the Prime Minister is taking a self-righteous view of the things, .....

(Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You don't have to respond to him.

(Interruptions)

**DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA:** May I say that Shri Chidambaram himself is guilty of a holier than thou attitude. Can he deny that it was the Congress Party which brought Shri Bhinderwala to politics in order to disrupt the Akali Dal? Can he deny that it was his party, whose Government had attacked the Sikh Temple? Can he deny that it was his party's Government which dismissed the Barnala Government and created the current situation? The present state of affairs in Punjab is a legacy of the misdeeds of the Congress Rule with respect to Punjab. I hope that within next six months conditions conducive to elections would be created with the cooperation of all the parties including the Congress Party and the democratic sentiments of the people of that State would be reflected through elections .....

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

**SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA (Phialaur):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Punjab has been denied democratically elected Government since 11th

May, 1987 and the President's rule has been imposed there against the will of the people of Punjab. We, the people of Punjab do not want the President's rule there but today.....

[English]

**SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dum dum):** They are afraid to the statement that the same set of people who were involved in 1984 were also involved in the 2nd October incident. Does it imply that they were involved in 1984 incident, but not in this case?

**SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Bankura):** The people who organised the Sadbhavana Yatra came and created disturbances in Boat Club.

**SHRI H. K. L. BIHAGAT (East Delhi):** Nobody is blaming us for any incident of October 2. Hon. Member is the first man to mention it. As a matter of fact, the Sadbhavana Yatra which the Congress had in Delhi was welcomed by lakhs of people in the whole historic city of Delhi which has a mixed population, welcomed by all castes and creeds. I hope the hon. Member is not irked by response that Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress Sadbhavana Yatra received from the people of Delhi. As far as his observations on 1984 riots are concerned. I will refer to the subject a little later.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Please take your seat.

I have lost my voice. I hope you will help me. I am not able to match you in talking. Now, do not allow this atmosphere to be disturbed. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You please sit down. Bhajan Lal Ji, you also take your seat. I will call you later on.

**SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA:** I feel sorry for the situation prevailing in Punjab and today the whole country is facing the same situation for which only those people are responsible who created it in Punjab. Yesterday, I was going to Mangolpuri to participate in Maharshi Balmiki Jayanti and there I saw the slogans written on the walls in which people were called upon to come wearing the bullet-belt on their necks and shed their blood for constructing the Ram Mandir at Ram Janambhoomi.....

(Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You please speak on Punjab.

**SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA:** We, therefore, want that the people of Punjab must be given their constitutional rights..... (Interruptions) Today the communal forces in Punjab are raising their heads ... (Interruptions)

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Mr. Lakha, please take your seat. Please be relevant while speaking on these things and do not widen the scope of your speech.

(Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Mr. Lakha, please take your seat. Please be relevant. Please speak on the subject and do not widen the scope of your speech.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

**SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA:** The Home Minister had announced that there will be a welfare committee and all the MP's from Punjab will be its members, but I would like to inform you that not a single meeting of the ten Committees on the welfare of Scheduled Caste, of which I am also Member from Punjab, has been held during the last ten months. They say something and do some-

thing else. Therefore, I would like to request the Home Minister that he should assure us that a meeting of MPs from Punjab will be held with the administrators after every three months so that we are able to involve ourselves in the development works of the State. You have said that you want to remove casteism from this country. The Bahujan Samaj Party has decided to root out caste system from this country. There is no communalism in Punjab. Hence, we will not allow anyone to propagate casteism in this country and we warn them that we do not like this and we will make all-out efforts to abolish this system.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Mr. Lakha, please conclude.

**SHRI HARBHAJAN LAKHA:** I would like to request the Prime Minister to hold elections in Punjab within six months so that the people of Punjab could get some relief and the Punjab like situation does not develop in whole of the country.

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Yes, Bhajan Lal Ji, it should be on Punjab.

[Translation]

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL (Faridabad):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House to a very serious and important matter. Sir, murderous assaults have been made twice on Shri Banarsi Das Gupta had been twice the Chief Minister of Haryana. He was shot at... (Interruptions)

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** It is not on Punjab.

[Translation]

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** He is the Chairman of All India Agrawal Mahasabha. He has been the Chief Minister of Haryana and also a

[Sh. Bhajan Lal]

freedom fighter. The entire country knows, the people of Haryana know .....(Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, it is not on Punjab.

[Translation]

SHRI BHAJAN LAL: There is deep conspiracy behind this attack. I would like to request the Prime Minister that the matter should be inquired into by the CBI so that people could know the culprits behind this conspiracy. (Interruptions)

CH. RAM PRAKASH (Ambala): People from Punjab are coming here after being uprooted. (Interruptions) Secondly, you should not encourage these people sitting here. These people have ruined our country, this is my submission. (Interruptions)

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all, I want to thank the hon. Members and all the parties who have extended their support for this constitution amendment. Some of the members were against it also and I would like to say that we are also not very pleased to bring forward this proclamation before the House. Before proceeding further, I would like to make it clear that—because the question has been raised again and again—our supporting parties, the Bhartiya Janata Party and the Leftist Parties are not against holding elections in Punjab. They are in favour of elections. They have not suggested continuance of President's rule in Punjab. There is nothing like that. They have, of course, said that in the present situation we might be able to manage fair and free election ballot process, but atmosphere in Punjab is not conducive for casting votes freely. So elections could not be held for some time, but during this period Government is not sitting idle. We want to take some political initiative and want to present

certain economic programmes, which will save the people there from the sufferings. Along with that we have to be prepared for the imminent dangers from across our borders and we have to strengthen our position. They said that while doing all these things they have to think of the elections. This is their real position and nobody should frequently doubt their intentions in this regard. It is not that they have cancelled the elections. Clearly speaking whatever is the correct position it should be before us, so I want to make this position clear in the very beginning as to how it was decided and why elections could not be held, because some of our honourable Members from Punjab have asked us in this regard. They should know the real situation. We do not want to keep anything secret just to safeguard this Government or for any other purpose. We believe that at times it so happens that we feel the need to peep into our own conscience. When the problem of Punjab or any national problem is confronted by us and at that time while saying something, we must have a national outlook. I feel not only government but we should also feel our own conscience and there is need to think on national level. Honourable Members have rightly said here, as Shri Atinder Pal Singh said and before him Shri Kirpal Singh also said that there was a hope from the present government, and in this context we definitely say that there is surely some decay in the political capital... I am admitting this thing with a heavy heart. We believe that it is much better to speak the truth regarding these matters in the House. It was a chance that a new government came into existence here. At that time Akali Dal and other friendly parties extended a good support to us. In every field there was a good cooperation and there was no hesitation even to the extent of sharing the same platform. Shri Simranjeet Singh Mann also openly supported the National Front Government that time. We had one platform. Though he never came himself but his colleagues used to come,

and we also attended the meetings. In a way, the sikh brethren had a political faith in their hearts. In addition to the speeches delivered there, we moved down on the road and we also got opportunity to mix with them. We observed their sentiments, we met them and when the people of Punjab opened their hearts before us and expressed their sentiments affectionately, there was no question of hesitation. There and then I said that the trust of these people is my security. It was said only on the basis of coming closer to them and rubbing shoulders with them. But all the same I agree that we got the first jolt when the elections were postponed. It is a fact that there was a judgement that the circumstances are not proper yet, but come what may, I want to admit this fact. I would consider it as the greatest mistake of my life that I could not conduct elections there in the first six months. I admit my mistake because it was a chance which would pave a way for elections, further. To err is human, but I would consider it as my blunder that in the first six months of coming to power this government could not hold elections. I present myself before the House for any punishment for this blunder. These words do not come from my lips alone, but I have a tremendous feeling also. It is the result of that. It was as a consequence to that, that the people who were close to us are distancing themselves from us by and by. And this time the situation is such, I feel, that Akali Dal party is not ready to stand by the National Front government but wants to keep itself away.

16.00 hrs.

So it was a decline in our political asset. It has definitely been lost which is a big capital to solve any problem. It is also a fact that, from the point of view of administration, Pakistan is also busy in its activities across the borders and there is no abatement. We shall have to face

this and we have talk to many people with regard to this. It is not that we have neglected this. All the same, it will be sheer injustice to associate all sikh brethren with this. We have made this thing clear many a time that if we make any lapse in it, it will be an injustice. Therefore I regret to say this. Since President's Rule has been extended for six months period in Punjab many a time, there is some kind of doubt in the minds of the people of Punjab. Whether it is previous government or the present one, is this the same six months period? The previous government extended it nearly five times and the present government i.e., we are extending it for the second time. This way it is difficult to create a faith there whether these are the same six months or some other. Today there is need to create confidence among the people with regard to this.

Shrimati Bimal Khalsa Ji has rightly said that it is the right time to do something practical. We can't go a long way only by declaration of intention. He is not saying that anything is said for the first time. It is not any attempt. We have done so many things, but now we feel that whatever has been done is insufficient. One thing we want to say definitely that the present Front Government and the other supporting parties had created an atmosphere that every sikh is not looked with suspicion, there is some abatement in this. Whether it is within or outside Punjab, we would like to say definitely that the suspicious about Sikhs and the atmosphere of suspicion has definitely changed now. Though it is not complete, but still a headway is being made. But it was definitely an attempt to create an atmosphere not only in Punjab but in the entire country that we do not suspect Sikh brethren, we trust them, they have sacrificed themselves for this country. They have contributed in the making and upliftment of this country. Whether they fought for independence, their blood was also sacrificed along with those of Hindus.

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh] nities fought together without any At the time of war, both the communication. In order to make the country self-sufficient, whether in the field of agriculture or industry the hard working people of Punjab were in the forefront. Their contribution is very big and this is our greatest hope.

I want to put forth all the different arguments which came across during the course of a discussion on settlement in this regard. First, the circumstances are not such as may favour the announcement of elections. If elections are announced there will be terror, and exodus of Hindu brethren and there will be reaction in the entire country. Then the people will participate in the election on gun point and there may be a proposal to secede from the country, afterwards this problem will be internationalised. All this reflects a definite line of action being pursued which makes us apprehensive. On the other hand it no more remains the rule of the centre, or governor's rule if the President's rule already in force for long is frequently extended and in fact it becomes the rule of Police. Police rule is followed by alienation. After another six months our condition becomes from bad to worse, as the people express. You see the first six months, then second six months' period in the previous governments time and our government. So, that path is totally a blind path and such a situation will arise where there would be no control over the situation, people will be out of control. They say why should they suffer from both sides, why not only on one front. If they think that way there won't be any solution which can lead to any solution. All of us are clear in this that frequent extension of President's rule is no solution. Final solution is that the people are to be taken into confidence and unless the responsibility of Punjab is not shifted on to them in a democratic way there won't be any solution to this problem. This is our firm belief and we are going ahead

in this direction. We took various steps which were in the agenda that time to win the confidence of the people. There was 59th constitutional Amendment that in Punjab, the right of life can be snatched away in case of Emergency. This was a big blow to the people there. We removed that immediately after assuming the office. I think all the army deserters excepting a few have been released. Although there is not total success yet our attempt is that these people should also get some source of livelihood. This was not publicised but many people were in prison against whom there was no sufficient proof. The process was started when Mr. Mukherjee was Governor and these people have been released. There are many more cases also, and it is our duty to look after that. I don't want to make any bargaining by counting these. We have to talk of justice, there can't be any bargaining while doing justice. About compensation we talked in Delhi as well as there. This too has been increased and we feel there is no need to increase it further. Our opinion regarding this is that we have to face the people across the borders strongly and there is no question of compromise. But we shall have to definitely feel the sufferings of the people, and if we look at it, now-a-days it is the two thirdly Sikhs and one third Hindus which are being killed. If we look at the figures of Punjab many crimes are also included. The number of normal crimes has gone down.

It appears that several cases of smuggling and dacoities are also being clubbed with the main problem. We had long discussions with our allies and we have arrived at certain decisions. I am grateful to the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Left parties for their valuable advice in the matter. We have also taken some decisions in our own party and I would like to apprise the House of these decisions. There was a proposal to constitute a State Advisory Council. Before discussing the details of this Council, I would like to put

up a proposal before the House. It may not be possible to take up the proposal for consideration in the House today, but it is very necessary to take it into consideration. The point is that, under the provisions of constitution we can have President's Rule. Under this system, there is no other method through which people could be involved in the running of affairs of the State. Secondly, the situation is such that no elections can be held there now. A solution to the problem has to be found out in between these two situations. No wayout has been given in the Constitution also for this. Of course, there is an Advisory Body, but the point is as to who will have a say in this Body I am not going to cite any isolated case. It is not the case of Punjab alone. Such a situation may also emerge in other States. In such cases we will have no reservation to allow the Constitution of Advisory Bodies. But it will be farcical if we take a decision that no ex-Chief Minister should be taken in such Advisory Bodies. Let us think, if such a provision could be made in the Constitution. Not only the question of Advisory Body, but let there be an Advisory Council which could establish a link with the people in between the President's Rule and holding of elections so that bureaucracy could be alienated from the people and degenerated.

I admit that the administration has to function there under a very difficult situation. The officials perform their duties at the risk of their lives. But the people have their own problems. some wayout has to be thought of as to how we can bring them into the mainstream. There is no im nediate solution to this problem in the Constitution. Constitutional experts and scholars will have to be consulted in the matter. A body comprising of the Members of Parliament with more authority could also be constituted. Otherwise, a body could also be constituted comprising of the elected representatives who have been elected in the last elections.

Alternatively, a body could also be constituted in which representatives of the recognised parties in the State could be taken as its members. Whatever might be the composition of the body, it should be connected with the people and also with the President's rule which could provide a link between the people and the administration from time to time. I put it as a proposal before the House whether such a proposition is possible. But under the prevailing circumstances it would be in the fitness of things if an Advisory Council comprising of the hon. M.Ps from Punjab representing the recognised parties in the State could be constituted.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Please do the same for Delhi also.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: One gets encouraged when a proposal mooted receives immediate consent. Had it been so earlier, a body could have been constituted upto now without delay. The body would be empowered to form committees comprising of farmers, traders and ex-servicemen. These committees could be constituted at the district levels and lower levels. I hope, my proposal is acceptable to all.

SHRI M. J. AKBAR: Please do it at the earliest.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: At the same time I would like to state that in order to maintain the credibility of the Government it becomes our duty to enquire into any complaint or incidents of any excesses against the administration. Today, whoever is there in the Government, has to work at the risk of his life. I would never like to underestimate their contribution. If any excesses are committed or any injustice is done to people, justice has to be done so that credibility of the Government is restored and people's morale remains high. There should also be no room for onesided demoralisation. If people get demoralised then there will not be any wayout.

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Then comes to question of involving the youth in self-employment schemes. There is a proposal to employ 10,000 youths from the border areas in the task force. It has also been decided to provide a special grant of Rs. 100 crores for being spent on human resource development facilities. Out of this amount of Rs. 100 crores, Rs. 50 crores will be spent on general education, Rs. 25 crores on technical education and Rs. 25 crores on health and medical education in the three border districts of the State so that the youth could entertain some hopes and choose a right path instead of treading on a wrong path.

There is also a proposal to effectively remove the problem of unemployment by creating more employment avenues. There is a proposal to set up a petro-chemical complex and sugar mills in the State. It has also been decided to set up 4 textile mills there. A decision has also been taken to set up National Institute of Pharmaceutical Education and Research at Mohali. Similarly, Research and Development Institute and Re-rolling Industry will be set up at Gobindgarh. A decision has also been taken to set up Research and Development Institute of Electrical Appliances at Rajpura. A Sugar Technology Institute will be opened in the Guru Nanak Dev University and a Residential Complex for the Guru Nanak Dev University will be set up at Jalandhar. It has been decided to complete the construction of the Thien Dam before schedule. At the same time.....

[English]

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Is this the much trumpeted package? There is neither will nor wisdom.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Just listen please. Your trumpet has since lost its sound. It has

been decided to recruit 10,000 youth in the Army, Para-military Forces and the Police Force. It has been decided to fence 336 kilometres more stretch of the border. A decision has also been taken to extend floodlights arrangement to a further area of 207 kilometres. It has been decided to provide immigration clearance facilities for incoming and outgoing passengers at Amritsar by providing flight services for Delhi and Bombay.

Problem of water is also there. It has been decided to make further efforts to implement the provisions of the Accord with the co-operation of the State Governments concerned.

I would like to add that one aspect that we often forget is that of the farmers. Punjab is primarily a land of the farmers, a farmer-dominated State and we are doing a lot for the farmers. There are a number of programmes which are directly linked with the welfare of Punjab. Just now an hon. Member raised the issue of paddy. In the Rajya Sabha also Mr. Bhupinder Singh of the Bharatiya Kisan Union raised this issue. We are going to take an early decision in this regard to find some wayout to solve this problem. Matters relating to market tax, export tax etc. were also raised. I would not like to give the details in this regard, but I would like to assure that the hardships will be removed.

Shri Rajdev Singh and just now Shri Atinder Pal Singh pointed out that a large number of women have been put behind the bars. These Members also stated that the women lodged in jails did not commit any offence. Shri Rajdev Singh also made a mention of certain laws in this connection. We shall go into the details of such cases and exchange views with others to sort out the problem and see as to what could be done in this regard. We shall make all out efforts to do justice in all matters.

The happenings of 1984 were really sad. Regarding 1984 riots, special courts have been set up to deal with the people responsible for inciting these riots. But the matter is subjudice, hence it would not be proper for me to say something in this regard but justice must be done and the culprits must be punished under the law. We are fully committed to this.

One thing is always said that this problem should be solved. The problem of Punjab can be solved only by tackling the problems of the youth of Punjab and by taking them into confidence. This is the internal problem of our country and it can not be solved without taking the youth of this country into confidence and we shall try our best to win their confidence.

As regards the question of right to work, I would assure the house that we are fully committed to this. We will bring a legislation and mobilise all our resources. The question of right to work would be discussed in a meeting of the National Development Council going to be held on 10-11 October, 1990. The meeting will be attended by all the Chief Ministers and other prominent persons. We will raise this question in National Youth Councils and chalk out a programme to implement it within the existing resources. We are committed to this and will fulfil it. But then do not say that why you have done it suddenly.

[English]

DR. THAMBI DURAI (Karur). When you are bringing this Bill? Are you going to bring it in the winter session?

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Do not blame us that it has been brought suddenly. (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN (Tirunelveli): The cotton growers of Punjab have exported the largest number of bales last year, that is, about five lakh bales in the history of India. The CCI has made huge profit out of it. The former Agriculture Minister had promised that the share of profit would be given to the Punjab growers. Have you done that? Have you got any programme of giving the share of profit, which the Cotton Corporation of India has made, to the cotton growers of Punjab?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Anyway, these are matters of detail. Whatever can be done for the farmers, we shall certainly do. I have made a note of it.

[Translation]

In the end, the honourable members of Congress Party have demanded to declare it a national problem. This is not the problem of any party or of any Government and Congress Party is ready to help in it, we welcome that. We will work together on this matter. We must try to unite all the people in this. We shall not allow any groupism on this problem. As far as as the question of unity and integrity is concerned. I have full faith in the people of Punjab. They are patriotic people.

As regards election in Punjab, I have clarified the attitude of our supporting parties. We feel that President's rule is not a solution, instead it will further complicate the situation. We have to proceed towards holding election. In the meantime, we will have to utilise each available day. We should establish contacts with the people and create confidence among them. We should not create any hindrance if the youths of Punjab want to join the mainstream. You can see the file of Atinder Pal Singhji during the period of last Government and if you see my signatures on it now, then you will send me to

[Sh. Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

jail. But today we are hearing the same person who was once used to be called dreaded terrorist and exchanging views with him. (Interruptions)

**S. ATINDER PAL SINGH:** Mr. Prime Minister, I want to make it clear that Atinder Pal Singh was the only accused in this country who duly filed a writ petition in the court and the case initiated by the Congress Government to prosecute Atinder Pal Singh should not be withdrawn but he should be prosecuted. Though Congress Government filed cases against me, even then it could not run. Police cannot stigmatise Atinder Pal Singh as a terrorist, you will have to prove it. What do you say about SP, Patiala who says that a fake encounter would be concocted. What do you say about him who has seized my car? Please clarify it also.

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** One day Rajdev Singhji came and while introducing all members, he told that nobody among them have remained in jail less than two-three years. There was no need to see records of Punjab otherwise nothing could have been done in this matter. Democracy has a certain process which is evident here. The hon. Members who have come from Punjab have participated in democratic process there and a way can be found out to settle these problems but President's rule is not the only solution. We will have to hold elections. With these words I conclude my speech. (Interruptions)

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** You have not answered my question. (Interruptions)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** We condemn the brutal attack on Shri B.D. Gupta and will contact him and arrange for his treatment. Regarding inquiry by CBI the State Government will have to take action first, only then we

can take up the case. Because to maintain inter-State relations it was decided that the State Government would have to request, only then the Centre can take action. If they will request, we will get it enquired by the CBI. (Interruptions)

**SHRI BHAJAN LAL:** Please get it enquired by the CBI. The Meham case is also pending for the last three months, it should also be enquired soon. (Interruptions)

**SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH:** Judge has been appointed for that and we will pass on your request to the State Government. (Interruptions)

**CH. RAM PRAKASH:** Mr. Prime Minister, I had made a request to you about 20-30 thousand families who have migrated from Punjab due to fear of terrorists. What are you doing for them? They are starving. (Interruptions)

[English]

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I shall now put the Statutory Resolution moved by Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed to the vote of the House.

The question is :

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated the 11th May, 1987, in respect of Punjab, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 11th November, 1990."

*The motion was adopted.*

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Sir, we have to take up yesterday's unfinished business. Yesterday the Finance Minister said that the decision on Mr. Kuldip Nayyar will be announced today. We want to know

what is the decision. The External Affairs Minister is here. Let him announce the decision today. Mr. Deputy Speaker, please call upon the External Affairs Minister. (Interruptions)

— — —  
16.30 hrs.

RE. ATTENTION AND CARE GIVEN BY THE INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION IN LONDON TO LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDIA SHRI SABYASACHI MUKHERJEE DURING HIS ILLNESS --A SITTING JUDGE OF SUPREME/HIGH COURT TO LOOK INTO THE FACTS

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Are you going to make a statement, Mr. Gujral?

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in due deference to this august House and the hon. Members, I have carefully studied the resolution of the Supreme Court Bar Association, which my hon. friend Mr. Chidambaram had placed on the Table of the House yesterday. I have particularly seen its operative part. I have personally met Mr. Venugopal this afternoon. Mr. Venugopal is the President of the Bar Association of the Supreme Court and I have conveyed to him our acceptance of the suggestion made by the Bar Association resolution, viz. that the sitting Judge of the Supreme Court or a senior Judge of the High Court may look into all facts regarding attention and care given by the High Commission to late Justice Mukherjee during his illness and medical care extended to him. Mr. Venugopal, if I may say so, expressed his satisfaction over this and he has agreed that he would be convey-

ing this to the august body of the Supreme Court this afternoon. I have also sought an interview with the hon. Chief Justice this evening and I will convey this to him as well. I may also say so, Sir, that in deference to the respect for late Justice Mukherjee, the Prime Minister himself has spoken to Mrs. Mukherjee and offered her to allot a Government house. Her other wishes are also being ascertained which will be fully met. Thank you very much, Sir. (Interruptions)

#### Submissions

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Sivaganga): Sir, he has no respect for Parliament. We cannot allow this. (Interruptions) What about Mr. Kuldip Nayyar's recall? (Interruptions) What about Parliament's demand? (Interruptions) Sir, let him answer that. (Interruptions) Sir, he said about the demand of the Bar Association, it is very well; he said about the requirements of Mrs. Mukherjee, that is also very well, but what about the Parliament's demand? Yesterday every single person including speakers from your party demanded that Mr. Kuldip Nayyar should be recalled. Shri Indrajit Gupta made a suggestion endorsing the views of Mr. Chandra Shekhar of your party who said that Mr. Kuldip Nayyar be asked to go on leave. You promised that it would receive attention. The Finance Minister in the evening said, "the External Affairs Minister is acting up on the suggestion, it is receiving his attention, allow us to take a decision by tomorrow". Now, you come and do not utter a single word about that demand. We want an answer on that, Sir. Is Mr. Kuldip Nayyar being recalled or not? Or is he being advised to go on leave? The Government must take a decision in one of these two things. (Interruptions) Otherwise, I move my resolution, Sir. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am allowing Mr. Jaswant Singh to speak.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH** (Jodhpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon. Shri Chidambaram has spoken with great feeling and with great vehemence. We had occasion to discuss it earlier with the hon. Speaker in his Chamber, unmindful of the sentiments that he has expressed. I am also mindful of the feelings and sentiments expressed by my friend and colleague hon. Justice Mr. Guzman Mal Lodha. I wish to make only one submission. Parliament, as a collective organisation, is a body whose wishes are not flouted by anyone. Merely because and precisely because its wishes are not flouted by anyone, this body ought to be extremely restrained in the exercise of its powers. The hon. Minister of External Affairs has quite rightly pointed out that a due inquiry as per the wishes of the Supreme Court Bar Association will be instituted into this very unhappy incident. After all, the death of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India is no minor matter. It is a matter of extreme concern and we are all grieved by it. But if we were to, without even waiting until the inquiry that has rightly been instituted by the Minister of External Affairs as per the wishes of the Supreme Court, as a collective body, engage ourselves in passing sentences, then, I think, we would not be fulfilling... *(Interruptions)* I can only exercise. *(Interruptions)* I am sure, other suggestions were made by my friend, hon. Mr. Indrajit Gupta, or the hon. Member from Pratapgarh, Mr. Dinesh Singh. The Minister of External Affairs has exercised his option in such a manner that the dignity of the post of the High Commissioner of India after all is not of a single individual that we are talking of. We are talking about the status of an office. And I am sure that he will let the House restrain itself from passing a sentence or asking the Government do this, that or the other. I am sure, the Government will give due judgment, due punishment. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF** (Bangalore North): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am extremely surprised by what my friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh, just now said. In other words, he has quietly put it while saying that this august House comprising of all the sections of the political parties here, should exercise restraint in expressing opinion. That means all those people who have spoken yesterday are irresponsible, and they will have to admit so because only today some wisdom has come. I am very sorry. Mr. Jaswant Singh is my good friend. He is always a very matured person when he expresses something. He should not try to undermine that yesterday people, who expressed their opinion, were very emotional. It is not emotional. *(Interruptions)* It is not a question of one individual, who is appointed by the Government, discharging his responsibility. After all, Mr. Kuldip Nayyar is a good friend of us. All of us have got personal regards for him. But the question is on a basic issue. Yesterday, in fact, I took exception when some Members were talking on other issues. After all, Parliament is an institution and Supreme Court the Judiciary--is another institution of our country.

Somebody expresses certain things, certain sentiments, something which has happened. After all, what for our missions are meant abroad? Our missions are meant to take care of our people. If the mission fails in its primary responsibility, that too in the case of a leader of another democratic institution of this country, it is a sacred duty of this Government any Government for that matter, whether this Government or that Government. Is it only to protect somebody just because we have appointed somebody? Then, what message are we conveying to the entire judicial system? Are we not here to take care of them? Whether the judicial system can believe that this Parliament will stand up to the

occasion when it comes to the question of something going wrong with them? Would they also believe us? I do not think that my friend Mr. Gujral would take it lightly. It is not anything against an individual. It is an issue. One should go on the basis of an issue and its merits. I do not think that heavens will fall. Yesterday, Mr. Indrajit Gupta gave a very good suggestion. He did not say that he should be called back. He should simply go on leave. He should go on leave. Nothing will happen. And when he has admitted for an inquiry, it is all the more necessary that he should go on leave. We demand that he should go on leave. I do not know why he should make it as a prestige issue. I beg to differ with my hon. friend, Mr. I.K. Gujral. I must accept that the political parties have always tried to accept one another. They are together although they claim to be separate. That is a different issue. But as a Member of Parliament, I say that this House has a duty to respect the sentiments and remove that doubt from another institution of this great country.

**SHRI GUMAN MAL LODHA**  
(Pali): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, after the statement of the hon. Minister, much is not left to be discussed because he has very fairly considered the demand for an inquiry. We want an inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee. But nevertheless, if an inquiry is done by a judge of the Supreme Court, we have no objection absolutely. But the aggrieved person may say that here was a case where the aggrieved person was a judge of the Supreme Court and the inquiry judge was also of the Supreme Court. So, the best principle of natural justice demands that the inquiry committee must not be biased in favour of a particular institution. And therefore, we suggested for a Parliamentary Committee. But the manner in which the hon. Minister has spoken has undermined this great ins-

titution of Parliament by saying that he had a talk with Mr. Venugopal and that Mr. Venugopal has agreed as if Mr. Venugopal is much more important than the Members of this House .. (*Interruptions*)... I take a very serious objection to this ... (*Interruptions*)... The hon. Member from that side had only put the Resolution of the Supreme Court on the Table of the House. Therefore Sir, I would like to say that asking a person to proceed on leave is not a sentence. I have got great respect for my senior friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh. I may tell that, in the Supreme Court, one of the judges is under an inquiry and this very Chief Justice who is now no more before us on account of the negligence in his treatment, had asked him to go on leave. That hon. judge of the Supreme Court is on leave till the matter is decided. The judge of the Bombay High Court was asked to proceed on leave. They are not entrusted with any work till the inquiry is decided. It is an elementary principle of jurisprudence that when a person is facing an inquiry, it is in his interest that he should stay away from that. And we expected that the hon. Minister will manage in such a manner that Mr. Kuldip Nayyar will himself ask for leave so that face is also saved. He is asked to stay away from his place of duty by asking him to go on leave. But we are sorry to say that it is a matter where not only the prestige of an institution like the High Commission is involved but the entire judiciary, the prestige of the Supreme Court is involved. The prestige of the Chief Justice is much more precious than that of the High Commissioner. Sir, the Members of the Lok Sabha who spoke yesterday had unanimously said that the minimum which can be done is to ask him to proceed on leave and then proceed with the inquiry. While welcoming the statement of the hon. Minister for giving financial aid for retaining the house and for setting up an inquiry immediately, I would request him not to take it as a matter of pres-

[Sh. Guman Mal Lodha]

tige. Parliament is above all institutions. It is supreme; it is more sovereign than the Constitution itself. Therefore Sir, the very senior Minister should abide by this unanimous view. And today, it is not required to be discussed any more except this part that he should proceed on leave, an inquiry has to be conducted and then the responsibility should be fixed. The responsibility may be any person. Sir, may I ask one question? We are not asking here as to how we can pass a sentence on a person. May I ask as to why you have sacked a doctor without any inquiry? It is because you are convinced that there was medical negligence in the treatment of the honourable Chief Justice. That is why, a doctor in London has been sacked. Has that been so, the negligence is admitted. It is confessed. Therefore, I request the hon. Minister that the esteemed stature of Parliament, its sovereignty is at stake. Much more than that, we know the position of the Chief Justice of India, the Supreme Court and the judiciary under Articles 143 and 144 of the Constitution. Therefore, may I request that the hon. Minister may also respect the wishes of the House.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** (Midnapore): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, nobody in this House, in my opinion, made any irresponsible statement yesterday. Our statements were based entirely on whatever reports, allegations, testimony of Mrs Mukherjee and other people were available and everybody was disturbed because of that. Nobody here has also disputed the fact that an enquiry is necessary. Obviously, this matter cannot be finally decided without an enquiry. After all, the High Commissioner has also to be given an opportunity somewhere to defend himself against these charges. That can only be done during an enquiry. The enquiry has to be carried out at a sufficiently high level.

When I made my proposal yesterday, the idea was, at least in my mind, and

I think, this is in conformity with the principles of natural justice, when a person is accused rightly or wrongly, whatever it may be, that we will see later on, during the pendency of an enquiry into his omissions or commissions, he should not continue to occupy that office in which he was, not because of anything personal against him. The whole idea is that an enquiry should not appear in any way to have been vitiated or restricted or any way adversely affected because of that person remaining in that office. Therefore, he should step down or step aside, or go on leave, or whatever it is. This enquiry into this matter is not a matter which will go for months and years. Is it an enquiry which will require months and years to complete? It deals with those four-five days when the late Chief Justice was ill and was having treatment there in hospital. Therefore, I think, it is a matter where the enquiry can be completed in a pace of few days. During that period, definitely, the High Commissioner should not be continued in the office in which he was at that time. Whether he has to voluntarily take leave...

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE** (Bolpur): Voluntarily better.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA**: That would be good, or the Government asks him to take leave. I do not know whether the enquiry would be conducted in India or London. It is a different matter and I cannot go into all these things now. In any case, I think, a way can be found out. It is not very difficult that the High Commissioner should not continue to occupy that post while the enquiry is conducted. For that so many ways can be found out. I leave it to the ingenuity of the Foreign Minister also and the good sense of the High Commissioner. He must be aware of what is being discussed in the Parliament here. I think, he should voluntarily offer to step down until the enquiry is completed. That would be the good grace on his part and it would be appropriate to the occasion.

I agree with Shri Lodha that it is only today that we read that the panel doctor has been removed. All this time nobody said anything about it. The doctor on the panel whom the Chief Justice had specially asked to come and see him, delayed a great deal, for several hours he did not come. That seems to have annoyed or irritated him a bit. Now we are told that the panel doctor has been removed from the panel. Why without an enquiry? Obviously, there is *prima facie* evidence that he was negligent in his duty. Similarly, about the High Commissioner. Nobody wants to condemn him without any kind of enquiry, but these are very serious charges and allegations that have come to light. I am sorry, yesterday I referred to something which had been reported to me that the High Commissioner had alleged to have said, spoken to somebody there. I do not insist on that because the sources of that information are not hundred per cent reliable. The person to whom these remarks were made is not available here. This is second hand and third hand information. Therefore, I am not making a big thing out of it.

Anyway, the least that can be done now is that it is all right if a high ranking Judge of the Supreme Court or somebody else holds the enquiry. I would be satisfied. But pending that enquiry, it is easy to find a way out that the short time that would be involved, during that period, the High Commissioner should not continue in that post.

**SHRI K. S. RAO (Machilipatnam):** Sir, yesterday when the discussion was going on this matter, I was extremely happy to see that no Member spoke with the political intention in his mind. Spontaneously every Member expressed his anger, his anguish and unanimously expressed the view that if the Ambassador is not called back at least he should be ask-

ed to proceed on leave. The Prime Minister was there. The learned Finance Minister, Prof. Madhu Dandavate was there. I don't know who is learned and who is not because everybody claims that he is learned.

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANNAVATE):**  
 I am not as learned as you are.

**SHRI K. S. RAO:** I do feel that you are learned and I have all respect for you. I know how many times you have spoken about the democracy and about the value to be given to the wishes expressed by the Members of Parliament. After our conversation which all of our colleagues have had with Mrs. Mukherjee, we felt that a person occupying the highest position - to whom the country in look for some justice or even if some injustice was to be done at the hands of executive or the politician - was subjected to the arrogance or negligence of the High Commissioner or his subordinates. All the Members present in the House expressed the same opinion and all of us unanimously conceded to the suggestion made by Shri Indrajit Gupta that he should be asked to go on leave. If this Government were not to respect the unanimous view of the House then I don't know on whose wishes or decision it will act. I am sorry to say so, but every time the hon. Minister replied, he tried to avoid taking action as per the wishes of the Members of Parliament. So, I request the Government to at least now to convince the people of this country that the Government will not hesitate to take action in this regard. If they do not want to call him back at least they should ask him to go on leave. So, I once again request the Government to accept the suggestion made by Shri Indrajit Gupta.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur):** Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, we are happy that our unanimous demand for an inquiry has been conceded by the Government and that it also satisfies the demand of the

[Sh. Somnath Chatterjee]

Supreme Court Bar Association, as the Hon. Minister has stated and I am personally happy that the Hon. Chief Justice is being requested to nominate a judge for the purpose of holding an inquiry. Sir, the question is whether further action should be taken at this stage. No doubt, Sir, all of us here expressed the view on the basis of what we had, at least I had personally, heard from Mrs. Mukherjee.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is the point in issue.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I had made a submission on the basis of what I heard from Mrs. Mukherjee and *prima facie* I have no reason not to accept her version. The point, therefore, is what should happen thereafter after the inquiry has been conceded by the Government and that too when at the highest level the inquiry should be held. Sir, I also expressed the view that some action has to be taken even *prima facie* so that the inquiry is not vitiated. One of the methods that is adopted is that as justice should not only be done—the principle is well established—it should also appear to have been done. Therefore, if Mr. Nayar, the present incumbent remains in the office during this period, there may be a feeling and may be an impression in the minds of some that the inquiry was not properly allowed to be conducted. Therefore, I think, justice of the case would be met if the present incumbent Mr. Nayar voluntarily goes on leave only for a few days. I am sure he will get the report and he will understand the views that have been expressed here.

I agree with Mr. Jaswant Singh on one thing. I am glad he has raised it. The principle of *audi alterum partem*, that is, nobody should be condemned unheard should be applied in this case also. After all, when the doctor was removed from the panel probably has no defence to make. We do not know what the version of the High Commissioner would be. We have not seen

the report, except what has appeared in the newspapers. Therefore, I think, let it not be treated as a confrontation between this House or any other institution. I think a time limit should be fixed for the inquiry. The hon. Chief Justice may be requested to appoint or nominate a Judge of the Supreme Court and a time limit is fixed so that as expeditiously as possible, this unfortunate episode may be fully inquired into and the report is obtained. And if on the basis of the report, the Government has to take some action, the Government will be bound to take action I am sure. We shall also be insistent on that. But in the meantime, justice of the case would be met by accepting Mr. Indrajit Gupta's suggestion. I believe with this modification. Let him himself go voluntarily on leave. That will not mean any aspersion on him. That will on the other hand enhance his stature. If he accepts the *prima facie* views of the Parliament and he also allows the inquiry to be held properly without even an iota of doubt on anybody's mind, that will enhance his stature.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Mangalore): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, negligence is negligence. The very fact that an inquiry has been ordered shows that there is a *prima facie* case. The report of the President of the Bar Association has been relied upon and also the statement of the wife of the Chief Justice was also relied upon. On the basis of these reports, the inquiry has been ordered now. If you kindly take into consideration the brief which has appeared in today's *Statesman* and if you go into the details we feel that practically there is no defence even for the High Commissioner. My submission would be when there is a defenceless case before the Government, to defend the High Commissioner, because he happens to be the friend of the hon. Minister I do not think that it will be fair on the part of the Government not to ask him to go on leave. Propriety requires, natural justice requires, that he should give up the post and during the

pendency of inquiry, he should not be there. If he does not agree, then it is the duty of the Government to remove him from the place, otherwise, natural justice will be in jeopardy.

**SHRI A. K. ROY** (Dhanbad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, what is the cause or source of our weakness to that High Commissioner? That is the most important thing. I would say that along with this inquiry, this should also be inquired into.

17.00 hrs.

Here, criminal negligence may be a matter of controversy, but the arrogance is obvious, and it is most hurting; and that itself is sufficient for demanding the recall of that type of an Ambassador. I do not know how these Ambassadors are appointed, what are the norms of appointing Ambassadors in this country. But I should say that we should be very cautious, because in a very callous way, in a very hurting way he has expressed his opinion. It has come in the Press. Therefore, I say that the minimum which we should propose is what my senior comrades have suggested, viz. that he should be asked to go on leave. No question of showing courtesy: to be restrained is always good, but there are occasions when man should be angry, and should express his anger. And this is an occasion for that.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER**: Now Prof. Kurien.

**SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKATA** (Andaman and Nicobar Islands): Sir, all the time I am trying. I do not know my fault. I am also a Member of Parliament, elected by the people. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER**: Okay, Mr. Bhakata; you can speak. This is the last day; you can speak as much as you like, but please remember that you are speaking against somebody who is not here in the House.

**SHRI MANORANJAN BHAKATA**: Yesterday, there was a consensus on the suggestion made by Shri Indrajit Gupta. He said that during the pendency of the inquiry, the High Commissioner in London should be asked to go on leave, so that the inquiry can be held in a proper manner, and so that the people can feel: 'Yes, here, the Government really intends to hold the inquiry to find out the amount of negligence, and to see whether there is any connection of the High Commissioner of India, with this controversy.'

When hon. Minister Shri Gujral spoke in the House, he has partially accepted the recommendation providing for certain things. We are thankful to him, but unfortunately we have the arrogance about which Mr. Roy also spoke. He said that it is a glaring example of the Government's arrogance on this issue, and it indicates what type of Ministers we have, when a particular person is not being asked to go on leave. It was known to this House. The point is that when Parliament of India is discussing it, and more or less expressing views in a unanimous manner about a particular person, if the Government wants to shield him, it means that there are some weaknesses between the Government and that High Commissioner, and that is why the Government wants to shield him. If this Government has got any respect for Parliament, for this democratic institution—I request the hon. Minister with folded hands to concede this request and suggestion made by Mr. Indrajit Gupta, and see that the High Commissioner goes on leave. After the inquiry report is available, the Government may take a proper decision.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI PIYUS TIRAKY** (Alipurduars): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is some truth in the news which we have got from newspapers and Mrs. Mukherjee. Government is also aware of this fact due to which they have

[Sh. Piyus Tiraky]

appointed Chief Justice to enquire into this matter. It will be proper for Mr. Nayyar to go on voluntary leave so that the inquiry should not be effected in any way and truth could be found out. If he does not go voluntarily, then Government should compel him to do so. This is necessary for the dignity of this country and this august House. Therefore, I request that Government should ask him to proceed on leave or he should do it voluntarily.

[English]

SHRI AJIT PANJA (Calcutta North East): There had been some serious developments with regard to this issue. Yesterday, we discussed about it for some hours. Today also newspapers carried out what had happened so far as the ex-Chief Justice is concerned. Yesterday I met Mrs. Mukherji. Either some action must be taken against Mr. Kuldip Nayyar he should be called back immediately.

Mrs. Kuldip Nayyar is present in the town. She herself went to Mrs. Mukherji and pressurised the family that if they did not withdraw allegations in writing, there would be serious repercussions. (*Interruptions*) I had been to her. She was in a weeping condition. Today a large number of people went there. A pressure is being built. Therefore, unless the High Commissioner is removed from there and all powers are taken out from him, the inquiry will be a total farce. If some evidence is required by a Judge of the Supreme Court, and if Mr. Nayyar is in power, then he will not only tamper with the evidence but also make use of his powers and may also tamper with the records of the hospital authority. If Mrs. Kuldip Nayyar is present in the town, if she goes to Mrs. Mukherji, who is still in mourning and her religious ceremony is not yet over I was there for one hour; in details she told me what had happened and what is happening still—then it is a case in

which either Mr. Indrajit Gupta's suggestion be accepted or he should be recalled immediately. Otherwise, the inquiry will be totally farce.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): I take a very strong objection to the approach of the Minister of External Affairs where he chose to ignore the unanimous views expressed by this House and preferred to accept what had been recommended by Mr. Venugopal. That report was preferred here only as an evidence. But you please see that the views expressed by this House should be honoured; the views expressed by this House are the views of all the senior members of this House. Therefore, at least, the High Commissioner should be asked to go on leave when the inquiry is conducted. (*Interruptions*)

Secondly, you go through the proceedings of the House. There is almost an assurance from the hon. Finance Minister, Prof. Madhu Dandavate. He said, the Minister of External Affairs is already exercised over the opinions expressed by this House and by tomorrow he will come out with some action. What does that mean?

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): I will repeat what I had said. It was in the Press. I said, the Minister of External Affairs has already announced in the House that Mr. Chandra Shekhar's suggestion is receiving my attention and tomorrow he will come here and clarify the position and make a statement. That is exactly what I had said. (*Interruptions*) You can check it from the records. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. S. RAO: It is a question of language.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am not as learned as you are.

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: When you referred to the views expressed by the House and the Minister is considering them, what should we mean by that? What should we understand by that? We understand by that, that the Minister is considering them for an action. But what happened? You have considered only Mr. Venugopal's suggestion. (*Interruptions*) You have treated this House with scant respect. You should have considered the views expressed by this House, by all sections of this House; and that is the minimum. First we said that the High Commissioner should be called back. Mr. Indrajit Gupta's suggestion was only a compromise. We agreed to that compromise that at least he should go on leave. Therefore, I request this government through the Chair to announce--don't shield him--that the High Commissioner will go on leave. Otherwise, we would like to move a motion, the notice for which I have already given to the Deputy Speaker. Please allow us to move that motion. If he does not do it then we will have to react to it.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Sir, I have a great deal of—not a great deal but supreme—respect for this House and I think I do not have to say it because, most of my life, I have spent in Parliament and if there is one institution which I respect most, that is Parliament. Because Parliament is the House which is the custodian of the collective wisdom and collective sovereignty of the country. Therefore all that my hon. friends might say, always receives my respectful attention. It shall always.

Why I went to Mr. Venugopal is simple. Because, when my friend Mr. Chidambaram raised the issue, he relied a great deal on the document which was given to him in the Supreme Court by Mr. Venugopal himself and also he placed it on the Table of the House. It would have been a disrespect to the House on my part if I had not taken due cognizance of the

document itself. Therefore, I started operating on the basis of the document. After all, all the arguments that were being given in this case, whatever be their connotation or whatever be their tone, they were based on this particular document. That document has two parts. One is the resolution of the Supreme Court Bar Association. And secondly, the statement made by Mrs. Mukherji to Mr. Venugopal. And, Mr. Venugopal also is the President of the Bar Association. So, therefore, Mr. Venugopal became the central figure in the whole situation.

SHRI K. S. RAO: So, many members also spoke here.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: All my hon. members, therefore, relied a great deal on this document.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I have never seen that document.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Personally also, when Mr. Chidambaram spoke—and I have a great respect for Mr. Chidambaram and he is an eminent lawyer, and a man who believes in natural justice—he relied a great deal on this and respected it. (*Interruptions*)

[Translation]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: There may be some difficulty in understanding but there is no harm in listening.

[English]

SHRI K. S. RAO: Several hon. Members who are present here have spoken for hours, and still once again you are going round and saying about Mr. Venugopal.

SHRI AJIT PANJA: If the Minister himself takes up the defence of Mr. Kuldip Nayar, there is no end. What is this unholy friendship? Precious lives are being lost.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Panja, please.....

SHRI AJIT PANJA: We do not understand this, Sir.

SHRI GUMAN MAL LODHA: I heard Mrs. Mukherji's woeful tale, with tears, for two hours which moved me to move this Resolution and it is on that basis. (Interruptions)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: When I discussed this with Mr. Venugopal about this. (Interruptions) Is it for the hon. member to decide what I should say? I have heard him with great respect.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Will you dictate what he has to say?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I have heard them with great respect. I expect at least a listening. He may not agree with me, but at least he should listen to me to what I am saying. The point made in this Resolution of the Bar Association, which was definitely exercised for good reasons, is, that it accuses, or draws attention, if at all to the High Commission. So, therefore, it is the totality of the body.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: What is the difference in it?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Therefore, if we start arguing.....(Interruptions)

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): You ask the High Commissioner to go on leave.

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Do we have to move a motion against him now?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: If you do not want to listen to me, you sit down.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Listen to him please.

SHRI AJIT PANJA: He says, 'High Commission'! What is happening?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Panja, are you not interested in listening to him?

SHRI AJIT PANJA: We must rely on the widow (Mrs. Mukherjee) who is still in town. She has not been treated properly. She is an eye witness to the whole episode.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Panja, well, very strong opinions and very logically and very forcefully have been expressed and.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. CHARLES: Unanimously.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Probably there is a sort of unanimity also and the hon. Minister is replying to it. Please hear him, what he has to say.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Therefore, in difference to the wishes of this House and in difference to the resolution passed by the Bar Association, which also I respect a great deal, I acted. I feel that the Bar Association of the Supreme court is a body of men who are highly respectable in this country and I am second to none in giving due respect to them... (Interruptions)

SHRI K. S. RAO: You are not giving respect to the views of the hon. Members.....(Interruptions)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: My hon. friends may have difference of opinion about the eminence of the Supreme Court members. I do not have (Interruptions)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): Nobody has said that. Do not put words into our mouth.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I am not putting words.....(Interruptions)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: We have only said that you should respect the feelings of the hon. Members.....  
(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He began with that.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I began with that. My hon. friend Prof. Kurien may kindly recall what I have said in the beginning of my statement. As I was interrupted so often, he naturally forgets what I have said in the beginning. What I have said in the very beginning was that the respect on my part for this House is second to none and I stand by it. That is the main point .....(Interruptions)

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Then, accept the suggestion.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: That is why, I am explaining my position here. I am a product of this House. I am responsible to this House. I am trying to say precisely and with respect the essence of the debate yesterday was that this was an incident which definitely needs to be looked into by an eminent person of a high stature. There is nobody better than the Supreme Court Judge in our system. That is why, I have sought a meeting with the hon. Chief Justice. He was gracious enough to give me time. I am going to meet him. If the hon. Chief Justice agrees to appoint either the Chief Justice of a High Court or a Supreme Court Judge, I will abide by that. I will abide by the names that he gives. And if that particular authority, whom he names, thinks that the course of inquiry would be facilitated by a particular person, one or two or three or ten persons, going on leave or being dismissed earlier than that, I will abide by that also. Therefore, let the normal course go through. Please do not give a judgement on hearsay.....(Interruptions)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAD (Chik-kodi): It is very unfair on the part of

the Minister to put his responsibility on the shoulders of the Supreme Court Judge. You have to take a decision. I am very sorry. You are avoiding your responsibility. Why are you putting your responsibility on the shoulders of the Supreme Court Judge? .....(Interruptions)

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Mangalore): As Mr. Kuldip Nayar is his friend, he tries to protect him...  
(Interruptions)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND: He should have taken *suo motu* action against the High Commissioner.....  
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seats.

(Interruptions)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: Please allow me to move the motion.....  
(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I know that the hon. Members in the House have expressed their feelings very clearly, very forcefully and unanimously. I have no doubt that the feelings which have been expressed on the floor of the House have been noted. Then, the institution, judiciary, is also involved in it. The high office of the Chief Justice is also involved in it. Now the hon. Minister has said that inquiry, which was asked for, will be instituted. The hon. Minister also has said that *prima facie* if the person or the persons who are going into it come to the conclusion that somebody has to go on leave, action would be taken.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt me. Do not do like that. Now in view of this, I would appreciate very much that you are

getting as much as you are really asking. Now there is one more aspect involved in it. The life of the Chief Justice was involved. And he would also have taken action against anybody only after *prima facie* evidence. The motion which you have given, well you have given it today.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Tripura West): Yesterday?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I do not think so. At least it has not come to me. Now you have given this motion today.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): We have given two motions.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have no idea.....

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Before giving your ruling kindly check up from the Secretariat.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am not giving any ruling. In the light of this thing, we would have risen to the occasion for defending the wishes of the House as well as the institution of judiciary. And nobody who understands the importance of the House and the judiciary can brush aside what you have expressed on the floor of the House. The only element which is involved in it is the *prima facie* evidence. I hope, you would appreciate this nice intricate judicial point also. I appreciate if you do not press for it.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY: The Minister has failed to discharge his duties. He should resign. He is defending his friend... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: You kindly note that yesterday this motion was given and motion was also allowed by the Chair. But it is then Mr. Dan-

davate intervened and therefore, the motion was postponed. You kindly check up the records. The motion is already there. Even otherwise, we have given the motion now. (*Interruptions*) Please do not stick to the technicalities.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We have to stick to technicalities because they become precedents. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN: Let us check up yesterday's proceedings. (*Interruptions*) Why should he be protected like this? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GUMAN MAL LODHA: We have discussed this matter in a very calm, quiet, congenial and homogenous atmosphere and in a unanimous way. The hon. Minister has also gone to the extent of saying that the Chief Justice would be consulted in the matter as to what is to be done and in what manner. May I request that the hon. Minister may add one more sentence that he would ensure that during the actual enquiry there would be no impediment in the sense that the High Commissioner would not function there. That is enough.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. J. KURIEN (Mavelikara): The Chief Justice of India died due to callous negligence. If the enquiry is conducted and the person continues to be in office, how can there be an impartial enquiry? (*Interruptions*)

Let me read my motion.

SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF (Bangalore North): Sir, it looks as if we are politicising this issue. I must say that we are not politicising it. Mr. Kuldip Nayar is a good friend of ours. We have regard for him. We have nothing against him. But the question is the merit of the issue—one institution that is the Parliament respecting

the sentiments of the other institution, that is the Judiciary. We are not making it a prestige issue. I do not know why the Government want to make it a prestige issue. We want mutual respect by one institution to another institution.....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would ask the Government from this Chair to give all the facilities which can be given to Mrs. Mukherjee.

(Interruptions)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: They will be given. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Gujral has said that house and other facilities, whatever they are, would be given to her.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would ask the Government to complete this investigation as expeditiously as possible. I would ask the Government to see that the investigation is done with utmost caution so that it would not look that there has been any lacuna or any partiality. And I would request hon. Members not to press for this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Mid-napore): I would just add to what you have said and I would request the hon. External Affairs Minister through you to take all the measures which are necessary to facilitate the inquiry so that it appears not only to have been fair and impartial but also an objective inquiry. Everything necessary for that should be done. How it is to be done is left to him.....(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur): Leave the course of inquiry to him, whatever he decides.

SHRI R. GUNDU RAO (Bangalore South): Yesterday, there was discussion on this issue. I felt very happy. Every Member expressed his anguish

spontaneously and politics did not take part in that discussion. All the Members present irrespective of their party affiliations were unanimous in asking the High Commissioner to go on leave, if not recalling him. Hon. Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, the External Affairs Minister speak of values, democracy, respect to the Parliament considerations, and consensus many a time in their speeches. Now, in a situation involving the Chief Justice of India to whom the country looks for justice, if injustice were to be done to him either by the executive or by some politician or by the Government due to arrogance, indifference and negligence by the High Commissioner, London, how can we allow it? If this Government were not to act, then their speeches about the democratic values were only a mockery.

SHRI AJIT PANJA: I personally went to the residence of the ex-Chief Justice and met Mrs. Mukherjee, the widow and the daughter. It is serious to note that Mrs. Kuldip Nayar and some persons belonging to the London Indian High Commission visited Mrs. Mukherjee's residence and pressurized her to make a statement that Indian High Commissioner Mr. Kuldip Nayar took all possible steps regarding the Chief Justice's illness. Mrs. Kuldip Nayar also asked Mrs. Mukherjee to give it in writing, withdrawing her previous statement about the gross negligence of the Indian High Commissioner and the High Commission staff. Therefore to have a free and fair inquiry in the matter, Mr. Kuldip Nayar must be recalled or leave should be granted to him. Otherwise there would be tampering of evidence which will jeopardize a fair inquiry.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us strike a balance please.

SHRI AJIT PANJA: What business Kuldip Nayyar had to go there... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He must take note of what has been said here.....

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Sir, it is unfortunate that a very learned and hon. Member of this House should have brought in the name of the ladies. I wish he had not..... (*Interruptions*) Let me finish now. I have also to finish..... (*Interruptions*) Sir, personally I vouch for..... (*Interruptions*). Let me finish now. Please sit down... .... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI AJIT PANJA: Why should I?.... .... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have lost my voice. Please sit down.....

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please Mr. Panja, I am on my legs. Now, when I am trying to facilitate your Member speaking, you do not please increase my difficulty by speaking. When the Members from here are speaking, I stop them first; now I am stopping you first. Mr. Panja, if what you have said is correct I do not know whether it is correct—that would also be borne in mind. But the practice is that we do not mention the names of the persons in the House who are not here to defend themselves. That is the only thing. But I am not saying that if what you have said is correct, then it is reprehensible. But, at the same time, I would ask the Government to take note of it also. If it is correct, they will see. Let it be investigated properly and in a proper manner. All steps necessary should be taken by the Government to see that justice is done and nobody is pressurised.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES AND MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI DINESH GO-SWAMI): Sir, you have directed the Government to give all facilities to Mrs. Mukherjee. I can inform the House that I have already taken the action that whatever facilities would have been available to Mr. Mukher-

jee, had he retired, be made available. I have records of a past precedent of certain financial grants having been given in the case of Justice Fazal Ali. Taking into account the past precedent, whatever financial grant was given in that case, will be also made available to Mrs. Mukherjee.

A feeling was expressed by the lawyers and the Judges that the person who occupies the highest position of the judiciary, should be given the highest status in terms of protocol. I have also initiated action on that that the Chief Justice of India..... (*Interruptions*). Please listen. The protocol procedure was not laid down by us. Under the protocol procedure that was established, the President, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister are entitled to a particular kind of protocol—the army protocol. The Cabinet Ministers and the Chief Justice is not entitled. I have also written that the person occupying the highest position of the judiciary should also be given the same kind of protocol as the real Executive head. But this is a decision which I cannot take. My view will go to the Cabinet and I hope some decision will be taken. Whatever we could do, we have done within the protocol procedure and I can assure you that all these matters would be settled as early as possible.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have given a notice regarding undermining the dignity of Parliament by certain MPs. I request that I may be allowed to express my views on the matter in the House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No. No. We will now take up discussion under Rule 193.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I may be given some time after the discussion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: All right, you can express your views after that.

**17.35 hrs.**

**DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193**

**Communal Disturbances in Gonda in U.P. and elsewhere in the Country**

**[English]**

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We shall now take up Discussion under Rule 193. Shri H. K. L. Bhagat.

**SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT** (East Delhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was prompted to move today a motion for adjournment which the Chair was pleased not to allow and convert it into a discussion under Rule 193, on the basis of what I along with Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, along with Shri M. J. Akbar, along with Shri Anant Singh, along with Shri N. D. Tiwary, toured in the Gonda district of Uttar Pradesh yesterday, in Colonleganj and the villages round about it. It is really a *tandav* dance of large-scale destruction of houses, burning alive or roasting alive of innocent women, children, young women, young boys, innocent people, absolutely by various forces, various people. I would say, well, I belong to a political party and every political party has an angle.

**17.36 hrs. [DR. THAMBI DURAJ in the Chair]**

I don't expect that anyone would agree to my assessment or my observation or what I say. Therefore, I would do my best to say what I saw, and what I was told first hand by the people present there, and all of us, not me, a number of us, on what has happened there and that points out to a very grave situation which has been existing in this country today. And it is not that I am saying this myself. This is a situation which has been pointed out by almost all the press of the country, on which editorials were written, on which even the parties in this House-- all the parties, I would say that there is no exception, all the parties have pointed out that a very grave situation

exists from the point of view of communal harmony and national integration. Perhaps the national integration or emotional integration of the people or the unity of this country is in peril graver than ever before and when I saw that, when I heard from the innocent people, well, that prompted me to put in this motion for adjournment and later it was converted into a discussion under Rule 193.

Now, Sir, what is happening there? There has been some trouble as the people told us in Colonleganj, there was some confrontation, I cannot go into the details, it is not possible for me to pass any judgment on how it started, how it happened, but what the people have told us is that a confrontation took place and an atmosphere before the riot was there for that kind of confrontation. The Government is all aware, everybody is aware of it--the Central Government is aware of it, all of us are aware of it, the State Government is aware of it that in the whole of Uttar Pradesh, particularly in the region round Ayodhya this atmosphere is developing--atmosphere of confrontation, atmosphere of communal rioting, atmosphere of all that has happened there. Now, something starts in Colonleganj and as a result of that what I could tell, what we were told by the people present there was--it is not only that they are telling us, I have read it in the newspapers a report today--that the Government of Uttar Pradesh has arrested the President of the Janata Dal, their own Janata Dal Party, and they have also arrested some people of the BJP and their close supporters in connection with this incident. And you have a story of burnt houses, charred bodies, weeping and wailing women for no fault of theirs. In Colonleganj there was a bit of confrontation, in villages there was no provocation, innocent people are deliberately not going into the communities of the people who have suffered. I am deliberately avoiding it because I do not want to turn this debate into creating any tension in the country. But the fact of the

[Sh. H. K. L. Bhagat]

matter is that the whole thing is so miserable, so bad and so shocking. We have seen that this country today is on a keg of powder and we all of us plead that we are all innocent and we are not contributing to it and the whole thing is happening in spite of us and despite of us. No, the fact of the matter is that, today the country's emotional integration is in danger and it is because of the dispute on the mosque-temple issue. It is a fact. I cannot help saying it.

The Government's version says that 37 people were killed there and largely the killings took place in the villages, where the villagers have never fought and never did anything; innocent people were killed there. In one village, according to the villagers themselves, 10 villagers were killed and 17 persons are missing. That is the story of one village and the impression in the area is that a large number of villages, perhaps 20 or even more are involved in that. The Government's version says that 37 people are killed. Some other version says that 100 people are killed another version says that 200 or 300 people are killed. Some people have said that it is like Malyana incident. We know about Malyana incident because we were in Government and it was shame to all of us and therefore I thought that this matter should come before this House. We are the highest elected body in this country. We must introspect, we must think and we must rise to the occasion. Advaniji is having his Rath Yatra. He is attracting crowds. He is being put on 'tilaks' by blood and it gives an impression to all the people that he is on a war chariot moving the people of the country. It is creating tremendous communal tension in the country (*Interruptions*). This Gonda incident is not an isolated incident. It is happening all over the country, in Uttar Pradesh, in Madhya Pradesh, in Gujarat and in other places. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not allowing him.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: What I am submitting is that the people there even talk about the nefarious role of the PAC. They even say that guns have been taken from them and they have been asked to have only *dandas*. The Chief Minister is reported to have visited there and passed some orders. Apparently, on the face of it, the orders are not bad, but what is happening is, till the fifth day, no relief has been given. People have nothing to eat; people are crying, wailing and so on and so forth. I am deliberately not giving any break-up of the people killed there. I do not want to give it community-wise. What I am saying is that the whole country is wondering as to what will happen during the next 10 or 20 days. What will happen till the 30th? Where will this country go? Will they stay together or will they be torn asunder? What will happen to the integration of the country? Every newspaper, magazine is writing about it. The National Integration Council passed a resolution. It is most unfortunate and shocking that the BJP instead of putting its viewpoint had boycotted and did not attend the NIC meeting. The resolution was passed. It is the duty of the Government to persuade the BJP to accept that resolution. I do not know whether they have done it. I have absolutely no doubt about my Leftist friends. They do not need any certificate from me. But they should also exercise influence on the Government to do this. That is something common between you and them. You cannot run away from the responsibility. The people have not produced this Government. You have produced this Government. BJP has produced this Government. It is you and they combined together support this Government. I know the views of the BJP. They call for the *bandh* and tell the people....

[Translation]

(*Interruptions*).....They are telling the people that no Government can run by bullet and cruelty. The people,

are asking who is saving this Government and they have said that in case they would not save the Government then Congress will come back to power. Let India continue burning but Congress should not come to power. If they have courage, then let there be elections, who so ever may come to power. Actually they are not in a position to face the people.

[*English*]

I know where you stand. What I am saying is, it is a movement for great introspection.

I have respect for Advani ji. I would appeal to him that he should withdraw his Rath Yatra. He should withdraw it in the interest of the country, in the unity of the country. That is not the way to do. It is totally wrong and it is harming the interest of the country. That is my view. (*Interruptions*)

I believe in religion better than you. I am a more religious person than you. But what you are doing is wrong. I would say one more word also. My view is that the stand taken by Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh ..

[*Translation*]

DR. SHAILENDRANATH SHRI-VASTAVA (Patna): Mull-Yam Singh Yadav.....(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I request the hon. Members to listen to the speech of the Member who is speaking. If there is anything objection, you can express it when your turn comes to speak. Do not interfere and go on shouting like this.

SHRI RAM NAIK: Let him address to you.

SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT: I look to the Chair. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am looking to you and not towards them.

What I am saying is, basically I and my Party fully agree with the stand taken by Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, Chief Minister of U.P. that nothing could be done by force. Settlement through mutual discussion as Sankaracharya and others have also suggested should be resorted to. If that cannot be done, finally the court verdict should be respected. But nothing should be done by force. That is the basic stand which is correct and we stand by that statement. Whatever mistakes we might have committed in the past, is it necessary that you should commit more mistakes? Is it necessary that you should destroy the process of India's unity, India's emotional integration? You are talking of communalism and casteism and both Janata Dal and BJP both are guilty on this count.

I am looking towards you. I would caution the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh also that what we are to see is that we should not say something or talk something or make speeches which can result in creating excitement. I would caution the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh because I was told by the people that some of the speeches are also worded in a manner which create excitement. He should avoid that. What is needed is that we should be able to create harmony and put the people together, and save each other from confrontation and particularly save the minorities. If I go on making speeches and I go on lionising myself with the minorities, the end-result is bad, whatever is achieved. That is a question which should be considered.

What I am saying is this that my young friend from this side is not here but he said something about October 2nd and 1984 riots. I shall briefly refer to that. He specifically mentioned about October 2nd incident. What has happened on October 2nd?

[Sh. H. K. L. Bhagat]

There were two rallies. One was a rally by the Congress under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi which was the *Sadbhavana Yatra* in the mixed areas of the old historic city of Delhi. This was a rally which according to newspaper reports was welcomed by lakhs of people. It was without any incident, without one single report of any trouble. It was welcomed by lakhs of people, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, forward, backward people, Scheduled Castes and by everybody. There was no complaint, nothing of the kind. That is what the Congress did on October 2nd.

On October 2nd there was another rally organised by some anti-reservationists and some violence occurred.

For the first time today my young friend has said something about our rally. I can only sympathise him for his ignorance. Nobody blamed us for anything on October 2nd. Some people were trying to shift the blame on us. That is, they said that prior to October 2nd, the Congress was highlighting the movement. We said that there should be no immolation. We said that the movement should be done in a democratic, peaceful and non-violent manner. We are not in it. We said that. In spite of that, he goes on blaming us for October 2nd. Are you irked by the response that Shri Rajiv Gandhi is getting? He is doing *Sadbhavana Yatra*. The Leftist parties have always been saying that this is a political movement for harmonising people. If we are doing that, you should welcome and appreciate it. We have some support from the Left parties nowsoever we dislike each other. I believe they are genuine circles, not the B.I.P. I can understand BJP's worry about Congress's influence in Delhi. I can understand what is in store for them.

What I want to say is that when the 1984 riots took place, your Prime Minister was a Member of the Cabi-

net. You were there. I think you were not the Minister. The riots took place. We are not for shielding anybody. It is wrong to say that the Congress did not act. You check up your reports, figures and files. The Government at that time sent more than 2,000 people in Delhi to court for prosecution. Some of them were convicted and some of them were acquitted by court and the Prime Minister said that it was a matter for the court to decide. We showed no mercy. We should prosecute who is guilty according to law and against whom we have sustainable evidence. It may be myself or any one, if you have to do it. We do not grudge it. We do not shirk it. We are not afraid of it. If my blood is required in the solution of the Punjab problem, Mr. Home Minister, Mr. Prime Minister, it is at your disposal. You should do that. We are prepared to help you. The Sikhs are a brave patriotic people who have made India, who have made sacrifices. They were put in the Cellular Jail. The largest number of people who were tortured there were the Sikhs. It is unfortunate that some of us continue to be blamed and perhaps we may continue to be blamed. Ultimately it is in my mind and at an appropriate time I propose to take that action. Ultimately, at any time when I consider the time is appropriate I would like to seek justice at the hands of the Sikh Forum. I have full respect for the *Akal Takht*. I have faith in the Chief Justice of India. The present Chief Justice of India was a Supreme Court Judge who conducted the inquiry specifically on the basis of an affidavit given by the riot victims. He exonerated me and exonerated others. Specific judgement is there. Still, we continue to be persecuted. We do not care. We would certainly face it. Even now, I would say that wherever you have a sustainable case against anybody, take action. But do not indulge in witch hunting at all. We would like the guilty persons punished. Let it be the riots in the past, today or tomorrow. You have to deal with them wherever they take

place in whatever form or shape. But do not go on trying to conceal your sins of omissions and commissions while making allegation against the 1984 riots. If you have any evidence, if you have something, prove it. But do not indulge in witch hunting. That is what I would like to say... (*Interruptions*) Shri Guman Mall Lodha was the former Chief Justice. I know that. Are there rules appreciative of evidence? No. Who is guilty? 'A' called 'B' guilty and 'B' called 'C' guilty and so on and so forth. That is all. The chorus of guiltiness has been carried on. We have suffered quietly. We have suffered a lot. But we have not made any noise about it. We were not at all guilty. After the 1984 riots, I have won two Parliamentary elections with overwhelming majority. I do not consider it is an achievement. But if you count the margin of these four hon. Members together, my margin is more than that of all of them. From my constituency, there are lakhs of Sikh voters. In the 1984 elections, I won with a margin of about 3 lakhs. But they go on chanting me as guilty. That is all. It is because they do not believe in justice... (*Interruptions*) Please do not interrupt me. Sir, he is now looking towards me and I am not looking at him.

*[Translation]*

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): They are describing their misdeeds... (*Interruptions*)... their hands are smeared with blood... (*Interruptions*)

*[English]*

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Mr. Chairman, I would say that India is more important than all of us. India is more important than any political party, any individual and anything else. India's unity and India's emotional integration is more important. Since this Government, supported by these friends, has come into existence, India's emotional integration is in

serious jeopardy. It is not that things were all good before. It is not that there were no troubles before. There were troubles. But we have now reached a very dangerous situation. This is the moment when the Indian Parliament must introspect, stop this holocaust which is in the offing and save this country from disintegration. That is the appeal I would make to all the parties.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next speaker, I want to inform the House that already the hon. Speaker announced that we are taking up discussion under rule 193. Now we are continuing that. Also, we have decided that the House would go up to 8.30 p.m. I would, therefore, request all the Members to be very brief and try to say whatever they want to because I am having a large number of names in the list. Please try to be very brief so that we can continue the discussion. Please cooperate with me.

18.00 hrs.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BRIJ BHUSAN TIWARI (Domariaganj): Mr. Chairman, motion regarding discussion on communal riots in different parts of the country has been moved in the House today. I was listening seriously to a senior honourable Member of the opposition. It is true that the venom of communalism is spreading terribly in our country now-a-days and Uttar Pradesh is the worst affected State. Sir, one thing needs to be noted is that there were no riots in Uttar Pradesh before Dussehra. No doubt there were riots in Kanpur but those were brought under control immediately. Communal riots are continuously taking place after Dussehra.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Mr. Chairman, discussion on such an important subject is going on but it is a matter of great sorrow

[Sh. Ram Naik]

that no Cabinet Minister is present in the House to note the points of the Honourable Members.

[English]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The Minister of State is here.

(*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Till now he was here. And also the Minister of State is here. He will come back. Just for the name sake, asking for the Cabinet Minister is of no use.

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAM NAIK:** But, not a single Cabinet Minister is here. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You would appreciate that the Home Minister was here. He was listening to it. He would come back.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

**SHRI BRIJ BHUSAN TIWARI:** I was saying that certain incidents took place there after 30th September, especially in Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh and at Colonelganj in Gonda district. You know that a Member of our party is elected from Ghazipur. He is a senior Member of this House, viz: Shri Jagdish Singh Kushwaha. There was no reason for provocation, but some people attacked his house after surrounding it. Before attacking these people moved towards one side after abusing. Shri Kushwaha was in his house at that time. It was a crowd of nearly 100-150 people who had come to attack his house. All were familiar faces. It was not a crowd of 20 or 50 thousand people. Shri Kushwaha came out of his house to see when the attacking people moved towards one side of

his house. After that somebody said something to the crowd and the crowd returned back running towards his house and attacked him badly with stones and brickbats. Mr. Kushwaha was seriously injured in this attack. He, somehow saved himself and entered his house, but the mob surrounded his house on all sides. According to his own statement the agitated mob broke into his house and tried to set it on fire. All his belongings were looted. His family including the children were on the roof-top at that time. Some people tried to go there even. The crowd tried to break into that room also where Shri Kushwaha was sitting. There was an attempt on his life, but Shri Kushwaha somehow managed to escape unhurt from the back-door and reached one of his friend's house from where he informed the Police on phone.

The police reached after a lot of delay and after their entire goods and property had been looted or destroyed and after that, First Aid was given to our bleeding colleague, Kushwahji and thereafter, he reached Lucknow. He reached this House and was present in the lobby on the day when voting was scheduled to take place here. I would like to say that the atmosphere which is developing in our country today and specially in Uttar Pradesh, is not good. I am not blaming anyone and it is also not my aim to blame anyone. But I would like to say to the responsible Members of Parliament and political leaders that it should be given serious thought that if such an atmosphere is developed through our conduct, work and words, this country will be divided as you know that foreign powers have an evil eye towards our country. Today selfish elements and vested interests of this society and this country, exploiters and big capitalists who have collected huge amount of funds in the last 40 years, are not reconciling to current change of power. Today, it is their conspiracy to create disturbances and violence on a very large scale even if money has to be

spent very lavishly so that the people of this country may have a feeling that only one particular family can rule this country and no other party is capable to rule this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if it is the view, then I would like to remind you about the position of the country before 1947, how the hatred was being spread widely by creating an atmosphere of communal frenzy and the country was divided. Gandhiji had strongly opposed it and made every effort to stop the division of the country, but all his efforts failed. But you must have observed that Gandhiji had become the victim of this communal frenzy and communal mentality and he was shot dead. Even at that time when Gandhiji advocated that Rs. 450 crores or more should be transferred to Pakistan, Gandhiji was called anti-national. It is a fact that if any risk is undertaken or any such work is done which is aimed at ameliorating the lot of the poor and minorities, some people get angry. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have always opposed the communalism from my student life, and from those days when I learnt the ABC of politics. I am not opposing communalism only today. I am not only saying it just for the sake of saying, but I have struggled for it at each step and risked my life for it. Therefore, I have always opposed communalism whether it is indulged in by minority or by majority community. But I would like to submit to you that the people of the country would have to be explained the qualitative difference between these two types of communalism. If there is a clash between the communalism of majority community and minority community to strengthen the country, then communalism of majority community will be more dangerous in comparison to that of the minority community. I do not want to blame Bhagatji, but I remember that your Government had gave in before the pressure by the male community among the minority, which was a powerful section among them. Whereas on one side, I believe that

the members of minority community are weak in comparison to members of majority community and I advocate the interests of the minority community and the protection of their rights. At the same place, I believe that the rights of the women who are weak in comparison to the man in minority community should be protected, only then the society and the country could be developed and strengthened. You can just think of the atmosphere in which we are living today. The man who is powerful has become so rude that he has no tolerance at all, he has become totally emotionless. What can we do in such a situation. Democracy is being discussed. The basic condition for the survival of democracy is an amicable atmosphere and protection of the rights of the people, and creation of a sense of security among the weaker sections of the society and the members of the minorities. If you look at today's world map, you will find that democracy does not suit in the fanatic countries, democracy exists in the countries which are called secular, where there is secularism and equality for all religions. Therefore, I would like to make a submission with folded hands to those people who dream of a Hindu nation that they should not try to end the very basic fundation of our constitution. There are two basic concepts in our constitution, Democratic Parliamentary System and the Supremacy of Judiciary and alongwith this, the Prime Minister had mentioned in his speech yesterday about equity and a sense of justice. If a feeling is not created among the people through constitution, administration and judiciary that they have got a set up which can provide justice to all and can ensure rights to the people, then this system has got no value, it is not useful. Therefore, I would like to raise this point with great solemnity and seriousness. There may be politics, different parties will come and go and many Government will go on changing, but country is the greatest.

[Sh. Brij Bhushan Tiwari]

I feel very sorry for what a senior Member said in this House. If such thing had been said by a child of 9 years of age or by an illiterate man of a village, then I would not have felt so, but a senior Member of Parliament has said that he is not Mulayam Singh, he is Mulla-yam. You know only this about Shri Mulayam Singh. If you visit Uttar Pradesh and look at the walls, indecent slogans and abuses against Mulayam Singh and Shri V. P. Singh are written on the walls. The people abuse them on roads and on every crossing. What is its reason? Who are these people? It is the mentality of high class people and of those people who believe in casteism and communalism. Is it a sin that a son of a farmer has been appointed Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh? I would request those people with folded hands who talk such things that Shri Mulayam Singh is creating tension, that they should not talk such things. I have attended his rallies many times at many places. He has said three things, any decision should be taken with mutual talks, and he would abide by the decision which will be taken by both the parties. If they do not reach any decision, then whatever is decided by the courts will be accepted. If this is also not possible, then he will accept the direction of the Prime Minister who is our leader. Besides, all the three options, he has also said that if someone wants to have a clash with the judiciary or wants to take law in one's hands or wants to play with the feelings of the people, it is his duty not as Mulavam Singh, but as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh to defend the unity and integrity of the country and maintain law and order in the State. Whether he remains in power or not is not important for him. Country and its unity is more important than power. Today it is not the issue for mere discussion. What is required is that all of us should search our hearts and try to save the country from breaking up and try to create communal harmony. I am not against

the 'Rath Yatras' or 'Sadbhavana Yatras'. If a fear psychosis is developed in the minds of the people specially those belonging to the minorities by the yatra of anyone, it should not be undertaken. Anti-social elements may also get involved in it, frustrated politicians may also indulge in such activities. If these persons or any other elements try to disturb the law and order situation, nobody will tolerate them. I would like to submit that it would be in the national interest, if such 'yatras' are not undertaken and such 'yatras' are banned by the Government itself. These 'yatras' should be organised only when the situation becomes normal and there is healthy atmosphere, only then one should undertake yatra among the people. We should take a resolve to strengthen this country. This country neither belongs to Janata Dal nor to Bhartiya Janata Party or Congress. This country belongs to all. This country belongs to crores of poor people of the country. With these words, I conclude.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla):**  
Hon. Chairman. Sir, before me, two senior Members have expressed their views and explained big principles in their speeches.

**SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKKA-SAR (Bikaner):** But these had no effect at all.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH:** These do have effects, but you do not want to be affected. I have noticed great diversion from the main topic which is being discussed here. The topic for our discussion is the riots which have taken place. But I feel that nobody has spoken on the main topic. The Speakers mostly raised fingers on 'Advaniji's Rath Yatra', 'Religious Yatra', and 'Sadbhavana Yatra'. Hon. Bhagatji and hon. Tiwariji had mainly spoken on this issue. The topic was as to how the riots took place in Gonda on 29th September and what were reasons behind it? Nobody has any answer to these questions. I have

got answer to these questions. I would like to submit that a conventional procession was passing on the occasion of Dushehra on 29th September. After the procession, there was the programme of immersion of Hindu idols. When this procession was passing through a particular place, where there is the office of a political party, there is a mosque as well as an orphanage. It was a narrow lane and at the same place, house of the president of that political party is also situated. I would give the view of Bhartiya Janata Party later on, but I would like to submit as to why the riots took place in such a situation? This newspaper 'Aaj' is not B.J.P. newspaper, it is a very old newspaper of Uttar Pradesh. I want to read out the main points from that newspaper. It has been mentioned in it.

"Due to negligence of administration and uncontrolled activities of few leaders belonging to a particular community of the ruling party, more than 100 people are feared to have been killed and dozen of children are feared to be missing in the incidents of violence and arson in Karnailganj (Gonda)".

The district administration has confirmed 35 deaths so far. More than 70 children in the age group of 12 years to 18 years participating in the Durga idol immersion procession have been missing since the riots took place. The rioters broke 16 idols being taken in the tractor and trucks and 16 tractors were damaged and set vehicles ablaze. Besides, two temples were damaged and incidents of arson took place on a large scale. More than 50 villages including Karnailganj have been affected by it. About one and a half lakh people have been facing the evil consequences of this communal lunacy. Besides Karnailganj, 31 other villages have been handed over to the security forces. Silence of death prevails in these areas and the terrified faces seek only one answer as to who

is responsible for the fire which broke up in the Maja Tarai area of 134 villages living peacefully, the killings of a large number of people and the damage of Durga idols and temples. The Karnailganj Janata Dal president Shri Yawar Hussain alias Munna and Mohammad Khalik are said to have played a significant role in spreading communal violence by attacking the Durga idol immersion procession on September 30. The incidents of stoning the procession and the open use of handgrenades and fire weapons started near orphanage, the mosque and the house of the city Janata Dal president. (Interruptions)

I have related one thing. It has appeared as a main news item and the paper is not run by the B.J.P. It is a major and a very old newspaper of Uttar Pradesh and such learned persons as Shri Kamla-pati Tripathi had been the editor of it. I would like to define as to what communalism is, and who is involved in it. First of all we must decide today as to what communalism means..... (Interruptions) Who were involved in the incidents of riots. Has the involvement of Bhartiya Janata Party been found there or has any B.J.P. leader or worker been apprehended in that regard. Only the leaders of Congress-I. and Janata Dal were arrested. I would like to explain as to why such circumstances and an atmosphere of hatred is being created. Just now Tiwariji spoke a lot in the praise of the Chief Minister, he must do it. But my submission is that I have heard and watched the video cassette of Chief Minister's speech delivered in Aligarh University and also heard the cassettes of other speeches. The riots took place not only on 22nd, but also on 15th of September in Bareilly. The riots took place on the occasion of the rally of Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav in a well planned manner to make the rally a success. After all, why is all this happening?..... (Interruptions)..... I am only referring to the facts. I will provide you proofs for it, Chaudhary Sahib.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY** (Katwa): I had attended the Bareilly meeting. What he has said is not true.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH**: People in large number in various groups joined the rally. I would like to submit that since I am a resident of that particular place, I know the factual position. You must have gone there by aeroplane and by car to the meeting place, you have not moved in the lanes and by lanes.....(Interruptions).....some people were being carried in tractor trolleys, while some misguided youths were opposing them. However these youths did not belong to the BJP nor they were concerned about the Ram Janam Bhoomi or Ram Temple. They wanted to get the issue of jobs and reservation solved. I regret to say that the party-workers and the people of other supporting parties who came to attend the rally of the Chief Minister had brought with them large quantity of stones with which the youths were stoned. The Collector and the SP of that region have accepted this fact. This is the origin of the incident. The riots in Bareilly started in this manner.....

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY**: This is wrong.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH**: I am referring to the facts and that too with full responsibility in this House. I can do the same outside too if required.

**SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAKASAR**: When you are saying it inside the House, is he doing the same outside the House?

**SHRI YUVRAJ**: My point of order is that.....Please listen to me first. No allegation can be made against a person who is not present in the House creating difficulty for him to give the reply. It should be expunged.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH**: Why and where do the riots take place?

When a person holding the responsibility of the whole state says in a meeting that the people of a particular community have got the right to keep the weapons with them.....

**AN HON. MEMBER**: It is totally wrong. (Interruptions)

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI** (Kanpur): It was never said.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH**: It has definitely been said. I have got the newspaper cuttings. I have got the tape of the speeches.....(Interruptions)....I have got the video cassette. My submission is that the reason behind it is.....(Interruptions). I have neither interrupted you, nor anybody else. I have continuously been listening though we were attacked, but now kindly listen to me also. I am not attacking anyone, I am only relating the facts.....(Interruptions).....If we go on delivering provocative speeches and advice the people of a particular community to keep weapons, it will automatically create tension.

Sir, on 29th of the last month, 10 or 11 people were killed, while the dead bodies of about 35 persons have been recovered in Gonda. Today I have received the information that about four hundred people have been killed in Karnailganj of Gonda district ...(Interruptions)...even small children who came to watch the fair there, are reported to be missing and their parents are grief stricken.....(Interruptions).

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI**: It means that Yawar Hussain killed his own people.

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH**: You have received the information about your community through your own sources, I have not received any information in that regard. The persons killed in the incident include Hindus

as well as Muslims. Whenever Communal hatred spreads and the riots take place it hardly matters whether the person being killed is Hindu or a Muslim, whoever comes in the target, is killed. The bullet does not discriminate between a Hindu or a Muslim, it does not recognise a Hindu or a Muslim. My submission is that in the Karnailganj town in Gonda, tension prevailed on the occasion of 'Tazia procession'.....(Interruptions)

SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF (Bangalore North): But the experience shows that the killer knows it .....(Interruptions).....

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: The concerned officials controlled the situation at the time when tension prevailed. Unfortunately the communal activities got the SP of that area transferred somewhere else exactly seven days before the festival of 'Vijay Dashmi' while as per the rule no official is transferred on the occasion of any festival, the collector of that region was transferred immediately after this incident took place. The details are there in the newspaper. The Collector says that he being a new person to the area knew nothing and SP also gives the similar statement. Anyhow Gonda is in flames, it has been destroyed Karnailganj has been destroyed. It won't do merely by making allegations on others. My submission is that at least in this House some of the Members have been under the effect of BJP phobia. Perhaps people have been demoralised or jealous to see the increasing strength of BJP. A rumour is spread about anything that happens that BJP might be there. BJP is held responsible for every mistake. If one does not have any child, BJP is blamed.....(Interruptions)

SHRI SHOPAT SINGH MAK-KASAR: Has this particular work been also undertaken?

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: If need be, this work would also be undertaken. (Interruptions) The Chief

Minister has declared that a judicial enquiry would be conducted into it. He has done a right thing. However through you and this august House I would like to submit to him not to impose his own opinion. On one hand he has ordered an enquiry while on the other he is levelling allegations on others. It would be nothing more than a mere ridicule of the judicial enquiry. Even the judges are being influenced. On one side courts are said to be given full recognition while on the other judges are being influenced. He is holding such a prestigious post of the Chief Minister and he is making the allegation that some particular persons are responsible for those riots. He could have made this statement before ordering an enquiry into it. But after ordering an enquiry, it does not look good on the part of a Chief Minister to level such charges. At this crucial juncture the Chief Minister should act in a very wise, modest and careful manner.....(Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Gonda district has been sealed. Nobody can go there, not even an MP can go to see the situation. Through this august House, I would like to submit to the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs who is present in the House to immediately send a Parliamentary Committee there. Efforts should be made to create an atmosphere of goodwill in Gonda and groundwork in this regard should be carried out immediately.....(Interruptions)

Hon. Bhagatji and Tiwariji have also said that riots in Gonda were preplanned. The S.P. was deliberately transferred from there. All these aspects should be looked into. After all who are the people behind it who want to incite violence. Advaniji's Rath Yatra is being undertaken in Maharashtra, how come riots at Gonda are being attributed to it...(Interruptions). I want to inform the House that people from different communities and faiths including Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians

[Sh. Rajveer Singh]

are joining the Rath Yatra of Advani ji they are greeting and admiring him for it...*(Interruptions)*. The same thing is being repeated in the House. It is yet known that which member has referred to us. I have not yet understood it. *(Interruptions)* which political party has raised the issue of Hindu Nation and what is meant by it? What is Hindu? It has become a fashion of the day to abuse Hindus. The foreigners who came to this country named this country as Hindustan. This name has not been given by us. Those foreign invaders while crossing river Sindhu did not know the difference between "Va" and "tha". Thus they named it Hindu instead of Sindhu.

This nation is called Bharat and as such what is the difference between Bharat & Hindu. He who lives in this country is an Indian. If foreigners after coming to this country, named it Hindustan and called the citizens of this country Hindus then how does it matter?...*(Interruptions)*... Those who have not read history and have no knowledge of it.....*(Interruptions)*.....People lacking knowledge of this country and the sentiments of the 85% people of this country.....*(Interruptions)* I feel that those who support one particular community are termed as secular, and some others who stand for a different community are declared as Nationalist and those who care for the entire society and voice the thought of 85-90% population are termed as communal.....*(Interruptions)*. In such circumstances we shall have to ponder over what exactly is communalism? They should read it's definition.....*(Interruptions)*.....At present the situation of this country is tense. At this hour please do not add fuel to the fire rather try to put it out. Is it the only way to overcome communalism. *(Interruptions)*

My submission is that neither the name of a single B.J.P. Member has figured or any member belonging to

this party has been arrested in the Gonda incident. You go through the newspaper you will find that if at all there is any name it is that of my friend who is the President of Janata Dal and some others belonging to Congress. .....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): The Gonda incidents are the result of connivance between your party and the Janata Dal. Do not drag Congress into it.....*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI C. K. JAFFER SHARIEF (Bangalore North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am happy that the BJP Member who spoke before me has enumerated certain points. If their party claims that they are not for a Hindu nation, I feel, what else can be better than this. It is indeed a matter of pride for an Indian citizen. But unfortunately the language VHP is using and in support of which they are undertaking the Yatra had it been used against Pakistan or against any enemy inside or outside the country then we could have accepted it and could have given due weightage to it.

Mr. Speaker. Sir, I am speaking here as a representative of the people of India and not on behalf of a minority community. Just few days ago in one of the meetings I said that none of us had submitted an application in advance regarding the place where we were willing to take birth nor can any one take the responsibility of one's birth upon himself. Nor can anyone have a choice regarding religion or Nation. But every Indian should be proud of his parentage, his home where he was born, the religion which taught him various things and the soil where he grew up. We are all proud of it. I belong to the Indian soil and I have been given birth by dignified parents. I am also proud of the religion which I inherited since it shows the world the light of humanity. But as I grew and started understanding, I found that every religion in India gives light to the world. No religion leads the world

towards darkness. If all these things are correct then why should there be a tension in this regard. Why are you fighting for a mosque. Why do you want to fight a battle for a temple. Who prevents you from having a temple. Perhaps, the B.J.P. people might not have visited as many temples, mosques and churches as I have done. Our colleagues belonging to left parties may not have faith on it and I have no grudge against them but whenever a person goes to any religious place, he thinks of self improvement and do penance for the sins committed. He makes confession and tries to tread on the right path. Religion never leads anyone towards a wrong path. But it is unfortunate that in this country we claim to be the custodians of religion. V.H.P. have rightly said that no one knows the origin of Hinduism and there is no proof about it. Some anonymous persons called the river Sindhu as Hindu and Hindu Nation and religion came into being. We have not found it mentioned anywhere neither in Rig Veda nor in Bhagvat Gita or Upanishadas but everything goes on here. A person who happened to discover a mosque become its custodian. Why do we create these sort of things. On the contrary we talk of humanity.

I am aware that the U.P. Chief Minister has taken a stand in this regard. In the National Integration Council meeting a ray of hope to improve the future of this country was seen. Not only people belonging to various political parties were present there but people from all walks of life were seen. A ray of hope was seen since no one talked on communal lines. Every one wanted to strengthen the Secular character of the country but the difficulty was that Mulayam Singh spoke about it after coming out of party constraints. Our party President Shri Rajiv Gandhi announced in the N.I.C. meeting that our party will fully support Mulayam Singh Yadav in his crusade against communalism. Today he has gone there only for this pur-

pose with a view to strengthen the Govt. of that place in a bid to strengthen the secular forces. The secular forces in this country have a vital role to play. I felt very happy when just now I heard an Hon. Member from B.J.P. If it is really their intention and if Shri Advani feels that it is a 'Sadbhava Yatra' then it can be carried on but not with the Mandir-Masjid issue in the backdrop or as a custodian of Hindus. If a temple is to be constructed then we too are willing to join it. History stands testimony to this fact and it need not be reiterated in parliament since secularism is an old tradition, it is the history and the culture of this country which has gone deep into its roots. We may belong to any political party but we should not create problems from the mass in a bid to humiliate each other. You may be involved in a conflict with Mulayam Singh Yadav, that is a separate issue. We are also in the politics if power has gone out of our hands we will strive for it but not on this issue. Just see the condition of the impoverished lot. They are encountering a lot of difficulties. As it has been stated that the children are missing and the parents are weeping. I want the people belonging to various parties to go there in person and console the women who have lost their husbands. When you will meet the widows you will come to know of their distress. After looking at the orphans you will realise their misery. We should stop discussing what the previous Govt. did and this happened during your regime. The job of making comparative statement is done by the bureaucrats. They are engrossed in calculations. We have not to do so. Anybody can become victim of it. Tomorrow I may fall in the trap. We should think over it. If we do not care for humanity then I am afraid that India's position in the eyes of the world will steadily denigrate. We will loose that moral strength which we have given to other nations of the world and have achieved through our praise worthy deeds and the struggle that Mahatma Gandhi carried out in

[Sh. C. K. Jaffer Sharief]

Africa. We will have to care for it. I feel a sense of remorse when I say such things. Yesterday our brothers from Kashmir were sitting outside. The security forces have been deployed that to protect the people but the way men and women are being subjected to atrocities and are being made targets to the bullets is a serious matter. It should be looked into. This is not a political issue. Credit should be given to Shri Mulayam Singh for the stand he has taken. And we wish that he may continue with stern initiatives against the reactionary forces. It is not a matter of instigating anyone. It may lead to tension some time. May be he says so to build confidence in them. The minorities have the utmost courage. We should not suppress their voice. If someone delivers provocative speech it should be checked. My B.J.P. friend has raised a very good point. I would like to draw their attention towards Himachal Pradesh. There is tension in the state and curfew has been imposed for last so many days but even then Govt. is functioning and there is peace and tranquility...*(Interruptions)*. I have already expressed my views about Karnataka and whatever I have said is on record of the proceeding of the House. Let there be any party in power whether it is our party or any other party we are mainly concerned with the welfare of the citizens and the poor class whom we represent here in this House. It is not monopoly of any particular political party. In order to reduce the growing tension in the country over this issue all of us will have to work on the line of the National Integration Council. We should find some way out to solve this dangerous problem which is a major threat to the fraternity among the citizens of the country. As such this Yatra will be of little help. only through a joint venture by taking all parties into confidence, we will succeed in our mission and thereby

we shall be able to frustrate the evil designs of those who want to weaken this country.

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI** (Kanpur): Mr. Chairman sir, the issue before the House pertains to a particular place. Unless we look into the background of these riots that took place in Gonda, we shall not be able to understand fully the reasons why riots are occurring these days in several parts of the country. These riots pose a grave danger but it does not mean that there is a threat to the national unity and integrity. The honourable Members who are present in the House are fully aware of this situation. The fabric of our secular culture and society is being ripped up. Unless we try to analyse why these riots are occurring, we will not only be able to check them but also will not be able to suggest a way out to contain them.

It is not an occasion to level charges and counter charges. All of us who are sitting here are perfect in this art because we frequently use this weapon to grab votes during electioneering. That work we have already accomplished. People have sent us here with great expectations. The minimum bare hope now the citizen have is perhaps peace will be restored and the country is saved. It is not a difficult task provided there is will for it and where there is a will there is a way. There is no such issue in the world which could not be solved. I would like to draw your attention to the incidents of the previous year at that time it was being felt that the country will burn it will not be saved, but even at that time an agreement was made on 29 September 1989. I would like to lay the copy of the agreement on the table of the House.\* The agreement was made among the delegates of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and the Hon. leaders of the V.H.P. The

\*As the Speaker subsequently did not accord the necessary permission, the paper was not treated as laid on the Table.

agreement bears the signatures of Shri Singalji, Mahant Abedya Nath, Shri Dau Dayal Khannaji. I would like to read out an extract from this agreement which was a sincere effort in the direction of resolving this issue.

[English]

"The VHP undertakes to abide by the directive of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court given on 14-8-1989 to the effect that the parties to the dispute shall maintain the *status quo* and shall not change the nature of the property in question and ensure that the peace and communal harmony are maintained."

[Translation]

Later on when this controversy was again raised and agitation was launched on Ayodhya issue, a meeting of the committee of the National Integration Council was held to maintain peace and communal harmony. I can never forget the congenial atmosphere that prevailed in the meeting. The meeting was presided over by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpai. I reminded him in the very meeting that you have presented the whole issue in such beautiful words, while addressing a public rally in Varanasi, that I stand nowhere in comparison. Therefore I would like to repeat the same words. Temple should be constructed but while doing so we should be careful that the temple of Mother India should not be damaged. I told him that the country needed such soothing words and sentiments as expressed by him. It is beyond doubt that all the persons present in the meeting were patriots and that was why we were able to reach on a consensus, in the meeting. I was immensely pleased with the cordial atmosphere of the meeting. However, a painful situation was created later on by disclosing the proceedings of the meeting to the press as a result of which Shri Advani and Shri Vajpai could not take part in the next meet-

ing held at Madras. I want to say that we should value the virtues of Lord Rama on whose name this movement is going on. It is said—

"RAGHUKUL RITI SADA  
CHALI AYEE  
PRAN JAYE PAR WACHAN  
NA JAYEE."

So the persons who reached the consensus should abide by their promise without any pressure from anybody. One may see the copy of that consensus, which is available with me. It was decided there that the place for the construction of the temple in Ayodhya should be determinated without hurting the feelings of any other community. Keeping this sentiment in view the atmosphere of the country can be changed. I would like to quote a couplet of Iqabal, a poet of great immense:—

"YUNAN, MISRA, ROMA SAB  
MIT GAYE JAHAN SE.  
KUCHH BAAT HAI KI  
HASTI MIT-TI NAHIN  
HAMARI."

And the credit of our survival goes to our civilisation, composite culture and fraternity which make us broad-hearted and tolerant to the faith of others. If the power of tolerance is crumbled, then our own civilisation will get destroyed in the way as the other civilisations of the world have been wiped out and we ourselves will be responsible for it. So there is a great danger before us now. One may wonder over my aggressive speech but this is the time to express one's agony and strife.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, my town is known by the name of Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. Shri Vidyarthi sacrificed his life in 1931 in an effort to prevent Hindu-Muslim riots. After his supreme sacrifice for the cause of communal harmony riots did not occur in Kanpur and in the wake of any grim situation people controlled

[Smt. Subhashini Ali]

themselves by remembering his sacrifice. But now what happens during festivals even. Whenever we celebrate any festival particularly in North India, we depute P.A.C. on the roads.

Today in North India people celebrate their festivals under police protection. In the event of a festival in North India fear grips the minds of the people as to how the coming festival would pass off. They always apprehend new mishap. I would, therefore, like to appeal that keeping in view our sentiment's and the ideology regarding these accords, we should proceed further after arriving at a consensus. If we give up the 19.00 hrs.

efforts and indulge in allegations and counter-allegations, we cannot save the situation and once it goes out of our hands and takes an ugly turn it will not be possible to control it. I am of the view that let the temple be constructed. And, in fact, nobody can prevent the construction of Sri Ram Temple at Ayodhya, when people are so much attached with Maryada Purushottam Ram. No power can stop it. It should not be stopped. Entire country should contribute its might in this cause. But, at the same time, it becomes our duty to protect other faith before it is destroyed in the name of Lord Ram. The mosque which is existing there today is not a beautiful building. It is an ordinary mosque. But today, it has become a symbol of some basic principles of the country. We will have to understand its importance. It has become a symbol of our large heartedness. Though I would not like to make any comment as to what will be the situation in Kashmir and Punjab once Babri Masjid is demolished. What will be its impact on our nationals living in other countries. What will be the plight of our people who are living in deserts and clamouring for a drop of water. When this mosque has become a symbol of secularism and the symbol of mutual trust and

brotherhood, we will have to make the atmosphere congenial in the country. I do not believe that our hon. friends from the Bhartiya Janata Party do not want to make that atmosphere. Bhartiya Janata Party and its members love the country as much as others do. But they should not forget that we have a commitment to the country. We have taken an oath that we would do everything to protect the unity and integrity of the country. In order to realise this, a congenial atmosphere has to be created in the country and it is not a difficult task. For this it is not necessary to make any great sacrifice and give up any of his great ideologies. Nobody is required to shift from any of his beliefs. Only thing they have to say is that they would not boost Lord Sri Ram's honour by hurting others, they would not construct the place of their worship by hurting the feelings of others.

**KUMARI UMA BHARATI:**  
Please make this appeal to the other side also. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI:**  
Please let me make my speech. I am not delivering any discourse to you. I am not at all capable to deliver any sermon. I would also not like to associate myself with people who deliver sermons. But I would definitely remind the words of the great man who is regarded as a great devotee of Lord Ram, which are as follows:—

“Aisi bani boliye.  
Man ka aapa khoy,  
Auran ko sheetal kare.  
Aapahu sheetal hoy.

I would like to submit that I am not disturbed or distressed by anything, but one thing, has deeply pained me. That is a slogan which is being given in this connection. Yesterday, I read from 'Navbharat times' that during the course of his Rath Yatra, Shri Advani made an appeal to people

not to give that slogan. But the slogan continues to be given. If Shri Advani and Shri Vajpayee and all of us want that a congenial atmosphere should be created in the country, we shall have to think about that slogan and nothing else except that slogan...*(Interruptions)* Kalka Das ji, you are a very respectable member. Please do not say so. I read this slogan yesterday only. Of course I have come across many more vulgar slogans than this. I would not like to discuss them here. What I read from yesterday's newspaper is "Eak do, eak do, Babri Masjid ko tod do" It is also a fact that during the course of the Rath Yatra...*(Interruptions)* You feel it proper. It may be your belief but not mine. I also learnt from the newspaper that when Advani ji heard this slogan he requested the people accompanying him not to give the slogan. From the above action of Shri Advani it appeared to me that Shri Advani and Shri Vajpayee still have a soft corner towards the points on which a general consensus was arrived with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad last year. Now I would like to point out the Government that the Resolution which was adopted at Madras has two parts. First part consists of the implementation of those points on which a general consensus was arrived. Along with this there is another aspect also and that is giving weightage to the opinion of the saints. There are a large number of saints, religious leaders and people deeply attached with them. Their words carry much weight and put enormous impact on people's minds. Though we have secular forces to fight any eventuality emerging out of a possible confrontation, but every effort should be made to prevent the confrontation. That will strengthen the secular fabric of our country. If a confrontation of any kind takes place, it may prove beneficial to one party and, raise its vote bank and on the other hand it may prove harmful to the other parties and decrease their vote bank, but nothing is certain. Everybody have his own arithmetic. While one will be gainer, other may be loser. But one thing

is certain that the confrontation will be harmful for the country and disastrous to its unity and integrity. As such in order to implement the second part of the Madras Resolution I would like to urge the Government to invite leaders of various religious groups and request them to find out a solution to this issue. The Government should express its helplessness and handicap to them so that they resolve this dispute and bring peace and prosperity to the country. With these words I conclude.

*[English]*

**SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY**  
(Mangalore): It is the same voice we heard today. It is the voice of the nation. It is also the voice of the Mother India. We appeal to BJP to give up this Rath Yatra.

*[Translation]*

**SHRI MITRA SEN YADAV**  
(Faizabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this session of the House was summoned for a specific purpose. We were passing through a very peculiar situation and there is a specific problem before us. Due to the situation prevailing in Punjab, some special decisions were to be taken. Now the communal problem has also cropping up with the same gravity. Just now I was listening the views expressed by some of the hon. Members. Since I come from Ayodhya and Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh, I would like to convey you the sentiments of the people of Ayodhya and Faizabad. Sir, since the day it was announced that Kar Seva would start at Ayodhya from 30th October, apprehensions and fears have gripped the minds of people, which is quite natural. Why are the people so frightened? Are they going to lose their landed property or there is something else on account of which they are perturbed. It is because of the communal riots involving Hindus and Muslims and bloodshed of innocent people and loss of property worth

[Sh. Mitra Sen Yadav]

crores of rupees. The horror of these riots is haunting in their minds. This is the reason why the people are concerned.

Sir, just now Subhashini ji was giving a vivid description of the situation. We apprehend no threat from Shri Advani's Rath Yatra. But I would like to remind him the manner in which Mahatma Gandhi carried on his Satyagrah. Let us take the instance of Chouri Choura or any other incident which turned violent. Wherever any movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi turned violent he withdrew it. Today, Shri Advani should feel that his Rath Yatra is creating a violent atmosphere in the country and he should stop his Rath Yatra. If he thinks that his Rath Yatra is in the interest of the people, in the interest of 75 per cent people of the country, what are the reasons that these 75 per cent people have apprehensions. Why people are fearing? Why riots are taking place at Baroda, Udaipur, Karnailganj and South India? Is it that our BJP brothers do not know about these riots? He himself admitted that the procession was passing through a very narrow lane. But the factual thing is this that that has never been the rout of procession. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAJVEER SINGH:** Mr. Chairman, it was a Vijayadashami procession. I would like to tell you that it was not at all Ram Janam Bhoomi procession or Ram Jyothi procession. It was a Dussehra procession which was being taken out to immerse idols as per the established traditions.

**SHRI MITRA SEN YADAV:** Sir, I was saying that the procession was never allowed to pass through that narrow lane. It used to pass through a different route. The Administration committed a big mistake by allowing the procession to pass through that narrow lane. The participants of the procession were shouting slogans "Bacha Bacha Ram Ka,

"Janama Bhoomi Ke Kam Ka" and the other people who were standing there were shouting slogans "Bacha Bacha Ram Ka Phir Jhagra Kis Kam Ka". When these slogans were being raised the atmosphere there became tense and you have already explained what happened there after that. Members of minority community in villages were attacked in a pre-planned and organised way. If an inquiry is conducted, you will come to know the motive behind these riots.

Sir, the BJP people cannot deny this fact that the riots are taking place due to incitement of communal feelings. I would like to ask why don't you handover this matter to the local people? Many people from Faizabad are coming to meet Prime Minister and President tomorrow and they want to submit that why this matter is not being left to the people of Faizabad and Ayodhya? They will settle this matter themselves. Why the people from outside are going there. The Hindus and Muslims of Ayodhya are coming here to ask Prime Minister and President that nobody is required to come to Ayodhya. I would like to ask the members of BJP that prayers are being performed in Babri Masjid keeping idols there since 1949. Muslims can see their mosque from a distance of 200 metres only and cannot go near it. Who is inciting Hindu Communal feelings? Mosque is in your possession, you are offering prayers there. You are getting votes and notes both. Even then 'Yatras' are being held. Who is responsible for all this?

Sir, actually you do not want to construct temple and you cannot construct the temple according to the map submitted by you even after demolishing mosque. But as Mrs. Subhashini Ali has said that mosque has become a symbol of our secularism.

Sir, the Britishers incited communal feelings and there were riots in Ayodhya in 1886, but leading personalities of Hindu-Muslim commu-

nities, priests, maulveis sat together and settled that Hindu-Muslim conflict and decided that there will be a 'Ram Chabutra' at one side of the boundary wall and mosque at the other side of that wall. When the leaders of both the communities settled this dispute, they were hanged by the Britishers. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRAKASH KOKO BRAHMBHATT (Baroda): He is MP from Ayodhya, tell us what do the people of Ayodhya want? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALKA DAS: The people of Ayodhya cannot do this. (*Interruptions*)... .

SHRI MITRA SEN YADAV: I am putting the historical facts of 1886. Even today, if you go to Ayodhya you will see a boundary wall there and 'Ram Chabutia' and mosque on each side of that wall. This was settled between Hindus and Muslims in 1886 and they never clashed with each other. Position remains the same even today. The leaders of the communities who solved the dispute were hanged on a tree, but the people started worshipping that tree and that tree was cut down by Britishers. In the history of Ayodhya no communal disharmony has never evoked. This is the greatness of Hindu-Muslim unity. Today also this harmony can be maintained if these people does not incite religious feelings. I ask our friends of BJP, who is responsible for creating these chaos in India? It is immaterial that where is the birthplace of Ram or Krishna. What concerns us is that we have to save our motherland. We have to protect our country. I want to appeal through this august house that let the people of Faizabad and Ayodhya settle their dispute and do not make Faizabad battlefield of politics and religious passion. Therefore, I request the members of BJP, who are sharing the power, that they should fulfil the expectations of lakhs and

crores of people of this country. Truth cannot go unnoticed, it will definitely come out. It is our responsibility that we should not take such actions which may destroy the whole country.

We have great respect for our leader Shri Advani, but we request him to find out some measures to save the country from breaking and communal passions. You say that you will not honour the verdict of the court. You yourself went to the court in February, 1986 for opening the lock. It was unlocked on first of February when SP and DSP, gave undertaking that there will be no riots. Why you honoured court verdict at that time. Advani ji has said that reservation for backward classes should not be implemented pending the verdict of Supreme Court. Why you are adopting double standards. We request you to wait for the verdict of the court and should not resort to any action which may lead to bloodshed. This is the responsibility of all of us. Country cannot progress by constructing Mandir or Masjid. Let us settle this matter amicably, this is what, we want to say to you.

DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI (Sitapur): Mr. Chairman, Sir. Yesterday we visited Karnelganj with our colleagues. Our party president Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Bhagat ji, Akbar Saheb, myself and Tiwari ji, who is the leader of opposition in Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, visited Karnelganj area. There we found huge loss of life and property. Their houses have been burnt and they have suffered heavy losses. We went in the villages also. People have been mercilessly beaten and their houses are burnt. The most dangerous thing that has happened is that the people have been burnt alive. The official figures are not correct. Sometime they say that 35 people have been killed, sometime they say that this figure is 37 and sometime it is 70. Daily the new figures are being given. Today the number is 400.

[Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai]

The figures of riot affected villages are also not correct. They say it is between 20 to 50. Even the officers have not reached there. The previous officers have been transferred and the new officers have not joined their duties. Violent incidents took place there, their houses, mosques were burnt and the children are dying due to hunger. We have come to know that some children are missing. Whereabout of 500 persons is not known. Their family members do not know their whereabouts. In villages everybody known about the number of members of a family. Not a single house is intact there. Even today the houses are burning and smoke is emitting out of them.

The Government has not made any arrangement for the supply of ration and other essential commodities to the affected people. This all happened in the four affected blocks of Karnalganj. Why even after so many years of Independence riots are taking place. Government has been taking steps to stop these riots but now it has been observed that tension has increased to a great extent in Uttar Pradesh and in other states also. While coming back from there I come to know that the riots has taken place in Pratapgarh also and 6 or 8 persons have been killed there. Someone said that 10 persons have died. Ghazipur has also been affected by communal riots. During these months there have been tension in every district of Uttar Pradesh. I am of the opinion that the time has come when we have to discuss in this house that to which direction we want to take our country and what are the forces behind these communal tension in our country.

At the time of framing our constitution we talked about secular India and laid foundation for it. Pakistan and Hindustan were created. Hon. member Atinder Pal Singh is very much right when he says why this country is called Hindustan. Why it

is not called 'Bharat'. In the constitution we have named it 'Bharat' but in every day language it is being called Hindustan. At the time of Independence and framing of Constitution it was decided after much consultations that it will be a secular country and every person regardless of religious and faith will have the right to live here. Everyone will be free to have faith in any religion and Government will not have any interference in it. Therefore, India was considered a secular country but today there are some parties in our country who are raising a slogan of 'Hindu Rashtra' and we are being taught the definition of secularism. We are the representatives of the people and we should say the public that we are secular. We have taken oath of the Constitution and this is ironical that we talk against the Constitution and raise the issue of Hindu Rashtra. Nowhere in our Constitution it has been written that India will be a 'Hindu Rashtra' but today those people are violating the provisions of Constitution by raising the slogan of Hindu Rashtra. The situation is tense for the last three years. Now a new thing has started. They have started 'Rath Yatra'. Previously Vishwa Hindu Parishad was leading BJP. At that time BJP used to say that it is a cultural organisation (*Interruptions*)...and BJP is a political body. Vishwa Hindu Parishad is holding a conference of saints at Allahabad and Haridwar. They collected a huge fund, Shri Vishwabandhu Gupta says that according to an Income Tax officer who was later transferred from the Finance Ministry, they have collected a fund of rupees 500 crore, which was utilised by BJP for fighting elections. I do not want to go in details but I have to say that...

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi): Please give sufficient time to us also so that we can give proper reply. (*Interruptions*)

DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI: VHP have spread communal hatred in the country. Then they

started Mandir-Masjid dispute. History says that Babri Mosque was constructed by Babar four or five hundred years ago. Now they say that it should be demolished. How can you demand for the destruction of Babri Mosque. There are lakhs of mosques in this country, then why they are demanding for the destruction of this mosque only. BJP has come forward for deriving political benefit out of it and to have Hindu votes. In the middle of the elections they ...*(Interruptions)*. Subhashini Ali ji was reading the agreement. We were not able to tell the people about that. But we said that it should be postponed till the verdict of the court comes and it should be acceptable to both the parties. But meanwhile BJP declared 'Shilanyas' and 'Kar Sewa'. Shankracharya ji built four temples in India—namely 'Badrinath Dham', 'Puri Dham', Rameshwaram Temple and Dwarka-dheesh. These all are the symbol of our country's unity. These temples were not constructed by bringing bricks from all over the country or villages of our country. No 'Kar Sewa' was done for these temples. Main reason is that in the villages nobody knows BJP, they have not done any service there. This is the party of urban baniyas. This is a party of rich people. They thought they can arouse the Hindu sentiments and have their votes. They went from village to village and carried 'Ram Shilas' to arouse the religious feelings of Hindus ...*(Interruptions)*... I want to stress on this because yesterday I have seen the results of communal politics of BJP which has spread communal hatred in the country and our Uttar Pradesh is burning due to that. I want to ask whether any temple has been built by such measures. They collected those 'Shilas' at Ayodhya which are now lying there ...*Interruptions*

KUMARI UMA BHARATI (Khajuraho): I have an objection, you are misleading the house...*(Interruptions)*

DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJ-PAI: I have an objection because I am also the follower of Ram and worship Lord Ram. I do not hate pooja but I hate you because you are fraudulent and have dubious character...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Chairman, the best religion is to be a good human. I just want to say that religion should not be linked with politics and today BJP is doing the same by linking religion with politics in the name of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and this is the reason that the whole country is burning due to communal riots. Therefore, today this is the need of the hour to raise this matter through this house that Janata Dal is running its Government with the help of a communal body. They should not take their help. *(Interruptions)*

These communal riots in Uttar Pradesh are likely to continue. The Rath Yatra of Shri Advani should have been stopped in Delhi itself and should not have been allowed because this is bound to create tension in the whole country. *(Interruptions)* This Rath Yatra should be stopped because it will further incite communal feelings and tension.

Therefore, I would like to request the ministry that it should take steps to stop this Rath Yatra to save the lives of thousands of innocent people and save Uttar Pradesh and this country from communal disharmony and riots.

SHRI YUVRAJ (Katihar): Mr. Chairman, this House intends to discuss seriously the situation created by communal riots. It is a matter of great concern for all of us that instead of communal harmony, there is communal bitterness in the society today. We have taken it for granted that whenever there are communal riots, Administration treats it as a law and order problem and political and social organisations feel that their duty is

[Sh. Yuvraj]

fulfilled and they leave the entire responsibility on the administration. As a consequence of this the administration is not able to go into its root causes with the required promptness and efficiency. We have failed in eradicating all these lacunae and in maintaining unity and harmony among the people.

I want to mention that Mr. Jinnah propounded the two nations theory in 1940, and in 1947 this country was divided on communal basis. But still the roots of communalism are very deep. What is the reason therefor? My naive understanding is that when communal people concentrate their feelings only on their own community and think of the upliftment of their own community and always hate the other community, the communal feelings nurture and increase. So I want to say that the need of the hour is to make constant efforts to maintain and strengthen communal harmony. Mrs. Bajpai was just now saying that very recently there were communal riots in Gonda. I was listening to her, but whenever we discuss anything, people of both the sides accuse each other. But accusing each other will not improve the situation because this is continuing for the last so many years. Today we ought to have an introspection and see the hidden elements engaged in escalating communalism. You know, not once, but a dozen times, judicial enquiries were instituted, but with no results. Some findings were given in the judicial enquiries and I want to make a mention of 2-3 enquiries out of them. Enquiry Commissions have found political parties as the real culprits. So far seven enquiry commissions have accepted that political parties have played the role in communal riots. Raghavar Dayal Enquiry Commission said in 1968 that political parties should not incite communal and caste feelings for the fulfilment of their selfish ends. Dutta Commission said in 1970 that political parties should not resort to seek

votes by fanning out religious feelings of some particular community. Similarly, in 1971 Joseph Vithyasis Commission said in 1971 that communalism has crept into the minds of common members of secular democratic parties. This is a harmful tendency which should be stopped.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, what was the result of all the judicial commissions appointed so far? The people who disturb the communal harmony, are not booked under the law, and when time passes, we feel that every thing has ended, but it is not so. On the other hand the attempts of strengthening communal harmony are also stopped. So we want to inform you that it is not the responsibility of administration only to prevent riots whether they are minor or major in nature. Today, political parties are accused, especially the one in power. It is said that the action is politically motivated. When the people of the other group were in power, it was said by these people, and today when there is National Front Government, those people are saying the same thing. Supporting parties are also accused. I don't agree that the allegations made by these people and others are baseless, there can be something somewhere, it is a matter of scrutiny to find out as to whose fault is more and whose fault is less. I want to say that frequent confrontation causes change of psyche in both the communities and the feeling of compassion also is gone. the psyche of all of us and the society is changed by and by and it is because of this reason that we consider other community as alien and vice versa. When some body is killed, we should feel the pain and we should go into its cause and try to eradicate it. We have desisted from it. I want to make a submission to the House through you that communalism either of Hindus or Muslims will have the same consequences. If Hindus are communal, or for that matter any Hindu organisation is communal, and if any organisation of Muslim population is

communal, the results of both will be the same, there is no difference between the two. We have to keep in mind that we are a secular people. But if any minority community tries to disturb the secular atmosphere and society does not take any action in that regard, then the society itself is responsible for extremism. Therefore, the majority community i.e. the Hindus will have to give up their false pride. Minority shall have to join the national mainstream. Besides, we have been accusing each other and are satisfying ourselves by saying one thing or the other. This won't solve any problem.

With these words I thank you very much.

**SHRI RAM NAIK** (Bombay North): Mr. Chairman, Sir, when we joined here as Members of Lok Sabha, we decided to function here according to the religious doctrines, and we took an oath to that effect. Above the Speaker's Chair is written.

[*Sanskrit*]

“DHARMACHAKRAPRAVARTANAY”

[*Translation*]

We have come here to make a change accordingly. So, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am putting across my views on the basis of this very idea.

A discussion on communal situation and the riots is going on here, but instead of speaking on this subject, the Members are speaking something else. In Marathi language, there goes a saying:

“Saap-saap mhanu doreela mara-  
 yche” i.e., call it a snake and kill the rope. Instead of killing the snake, kill the rope and call it a snake. There is no discussion about the riots, instead Shri Advani's rath-yatra which is going on peacefully and smoothly is being discussed and peo-

ple are extending full support to it. No discussion is being made on communal riots.

When there is a discussion about Shri Advani's rath-yatra, we are reminded of some other “yatras” which have started very recently. Our opposition Leader, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has started a 'Sadbhavana yatra' just three days back. One day it was started, but where it went forth is not known to us. Perhaps our friends from the Congress might be knowing the places where it went for the last 3-4 days and what ideas were propagated in it. If these ideas are presented in the House, the people would know the nature of your 'Sadbhavana yatra'.

The Prime Minister was about to undertake a goodwill visit to Punjab. Today we have decided to postpone the elections in Punjab for further six months and no 'yatra' was undertaken. The purpose of this 'yatra' was to meet the people there, and know their view point, and put across our ideas to them. But this 'yatra' did not take place.

Advani Ji had made an announcement that he would begin his 'Rath yatra' on 25th September and it began on that day. He told why he undertook this. We also want to tell you that there were two purposes of it. First, was to awaken the real consciousness of the nation and that real consciousness is associated with Lord Rama. Rama is the 'Rashtra Purush' of this Nation, so the teachings of Rama should be spread everywhere.

Secondly, pseudo-secularism i.e., false secularism is being propagated. This 'yatra' was undertaken by Shri Advani to tell the whole society as to what is 'Sarvadharma Sambhava' and he is telling this wherever he is going. Now the question is as to why this 'yatra' is to start from Somnath Temple? This is the important purpose of this 'yatra'. Somnath temple has a great significance in the history of

[Sh. Ram Naik]

the country. Mohammad Gaznavi invaded the Somnath Temple many a time, dismantled the temple and destroyed its property. You know that after independence, it was decided that temple will be reconstructed. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Prime Minister of the country and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the Home Minister and Babu Rajendra Prasad was the President of the Nation at that time. The then cabinet had decided that Somnath Temple which was turned into ruins should be reconstructed. If Pt. Nehru had reconstructed it, it is not called casteism. If Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had done so as Home Minister or President of the country, Dr. Rajendra Prasad had offered prayer there, they are not called communal. But if Advaniji goes on Yatra... (*Interruptions*) How the reconstruction of Somnath Temple had been started in 1950? Today the meaning of words are being changed. Today if I say that I am a Hindu, I will be called communal and if another one says that he is a Christian, he will be called religious. In fact, being Hindu we feel proud our religion, if we express ourselves in this way we are called communal. In my view it is not real secularism and there is a need to change it. With this in view the idea which was conceived of independent India has not come true even after 40 years and we went astrayed. If the country is to be rebuilt, a feeling which was generated at the time of construction of Somnath Temple, should again be generated. Therefore, this Yatra has been started from Somnath Temple. When Yatra of Shri Advaniji was started some people called him the 'Prophet of doom'. They were of the view that riots would take place... (*Interruptions*). Nothing has taken place in Ahemadabad, Vadodra and Surat and procession passed through the entire Gujarat peacefully. When procession reached Bombay, people again started saying that Bombay is a big city and some untoward inci-

dents will definitely take place there. But people welcomed Advaniji's Rath Yatra. No untoward incident had taken place while passing from Pune, Thane and whole Maharashtra and procession reached in Andhra Pradesh and was given hearty welcome. To say that since Advaniji is undertaking Rath Yatra, untoward incidents will definitely take place is not correct. It is the creation of your mind only. You are calling Advaniji's Yatra as a ghost or snake and are killing the rope. No untoward incident has taken place due to Advaniji's Rath Yatra. The people of all communities have welcomed it. The Muslim priest of a mosque in my area had come to welcome it... (*Interruptions*) It is being welcomed by all. This is the feeling in the entire country that Rama is the 'Maha Purush' (great man) of our country. Only this feeling can bring consciousness in the country.

Riots took place in Uttar Pradesh. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is making repeated inciting statements. Hon. Prime Minister is not present here and I would like to urge the hon. Home Minister to ask Shri Mulayam Singhji to observe restraint. I am quoting his statement appeared in Hindustan Times.

[English]

"The Chief Minister said that those who today speak of Hindu Dharma or Hinduism, actually eat meat, drink liquor and dance in the name of Bajrang Dal".

[Translation]

... (*Interruptions*) You want to create disturbances and you are saying wrong things. If you say such things in connection with Hindu religion, it will not behove you. Such things should not be said in this august House even as a joke. There was peace till 2nd October in Bombay. Mulayam Singhji visited there. A procession of Prophet Mohammad was arranged with great pomp and

show, I have photographs of that procession, thousands of people came here and they listened to the Shri Mulayam Singh. As a result of this speech of Shri Mulayam Singh, people got excited and raised inciting slogans.

I do not want to blame the people for it. This has been done by leaders who had raised such slogans. This should not be done. Following are the slogans. "Jo Hamse Takrayaga, Mitti Me Mil Jayagga, Jo Ayodhya Jayage Lotkar Nahi Aayange." An other slogan was "Babri Masjid to Kaya, Somnath Bhi Lekar Rahangi." Such slogans were raised just after the speech of Shri Mulayam Singhji and stones were thrown. Firing also took place there. It is my submission that talks on maintaining communal harmony should be held. Shrimati Subhashini Ali has stated in her speech in the beginning that she would not like to blame anyone but even then in the end she has said that such slogans were raised in the Advaniji's Rath Yatra—"Ek-Do, Ek-Do, Babri Masjid Ko Todh Do". She should not indulge in such politics. We have full faith in Lord Rama.

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI:** The fact is that an article about Advaniji's Rath Yatra was published in the yesterday's *Nav Bharat Times*. I have said so in his appreciation because when this slogan was raised there, Shri Advaniji himself appealed to the people not to raise such slogans.

**SHRI RAM NAIK:** This is all to give bad name to Shri Advaniji by the people who were present there.

**SHRIMATI SUBHASHINI ALI:** I was not present there. But according to the report which has been published in the news paper, when this slogan was raised there, Shri Advaniji himself requested people not to raise such slogans. I am very hopeful of him when Shri Advaniji has said so. (*Interruptions*) Therefore, I mentioned about it, I have said so in the appreciation of Shri Advaniji.

**SHRI RAM NAIK:** This is the way to defame thousands of people who are with Advaniji. You should not crack such jokes. There is no doubt that Lord Rama is a super-power to unite this country. This power should be used by the whole community. Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi has said that Ram Rajya should be established here. We should follow his sayings and a new direction should be given to the country and efforts should be made to establish communal harmony in the country. If someone takes such steps, Bhartiya Janata Party will give him full support. But country will not forgive those, who will try to give bad name to Rama Temple of Ayodhya in the name of Lord Rama.

With these words, I would like to thank you for giving me time to speak.

20.00 hrs.

[*English*]

**\*SHRI KADAMBUR M. R. JANARDHANAN (Tirunelveli):** Hon. Chairman, Sir, at a time when we discuss the communal situation in the country, it is our utmost duty as hon. Members of Parliament to listen to others speaking here in this august forum with patience and in the spirit of tolerance before we exhort the people outside to develop this quality of religious tolerance.

Sir, I reminded of those historic years when Mahatma Gandhi used to recite 'Raghupati Raghava Rajaram, Paseethapavana Seetharam, Easwara Allah Tere Nam, Sabuko Sanmati De Bhagwan' before he commenced addressing the masses. But even in this year 1990, even after Mahatmaji's attempts at welding the various sections of the society into one by singing that bhajan, we are still fighting on communal lines and we are therefore constrained to discuss communal incidents in this House.

[*English*]

**SHRI A. K. ROY** (Dhanbad): Sir, when the hon. Member is speaking, the Minister should at least listen to it. He is not using his headphone. This shows the scant respect which they are showing to our speeches. It is as if we are doing some ritual here. You kindly understand the speeches made. Use your headphones. Actually the Home Minister should listen. But they are all gossiping. It is a disgrace. Are they understanding the speech? ...(*Interruptions*) ...

**THE MINISTER OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN):** I am listening.

**SHRI A. K. ROY:** I do not know which Minister you are. You are the Minister for Surface Transport. But actually, I want the Home Minister to listen to the speech....(*Interruptions*)...

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):** Even following the speeches is a collective responsibility. He is following the speech.... (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

**\*SHRI K.M.R. JANARDHANAN:** We would not have so easily forgotten the Naokali yatra undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi. When the sub-continent was partitioned into India and Pakistan, Mahatma Gandhi undertook the yatra. Even Mao-Tse-Tung undertook a yatra in China. Since several members here speak in Hindi, I take pride in speaking in my mother tongue Tamil.

Sir, those were the yatras undertaken by men of great stature who wanted to build India. Today, in an era when men are able to land on the moon, in this modern era of science and development, a few people are undertaking yatras for obscurantist objectives. We are sitting here after securing the votes of the poor public. We should, therefore, ponder over twice, thrice and

several times before we undertake such yatras to the detriment of people's benefits. Tell me, what for these yatras? Whom would these benefit?

Sir, the peaceful revolution and non-violent movement of Mahatmaji are still venerated and widely acclaimed by the people all over the world. But, this nation which gave birth to the Mahatma is bleeding. 400 innocent lives have been lost in Uttar Pradesh. Members who spoke before me pointed out this.

Hon. Leader Rajivji is undertaking a yatra. Hon. BJP leader Shri L.K. Advani is leading another yatra. This is the time when several lakhs of Indians are stranded in the gulf. The situation there is explosive and several persons of our ethnicity are literally starving. There is condemnable bloodshed in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. Then what for this yatra? For Ramjanam Bhoomi? Where is Ram? Is He not in our hearts? Allah is in our hearts. Jesus too is in our hearts. One member very eloquently spoke about secularism. He tried to define it in a newer way. I listened to it very carefully. You come to Tamil Nadu. There is a dargah at Nagore. Hindus, Muslims and Christians go to that Dargah to offer prayer. There is also the Velanganni Temple, a Church. Hindus, Christians and Muslims regardless of their religious allegiance go to that church and worship Mary Mata.

**\*\*SHRI GOVINDA CHANDRA MUNDA (Keonjhar):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have a point of order.

[*English*]

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** What is your point of order?

[*Translation*]

**\*\*SHRI GOVINDA CHANDRA MUNDA:** Sir, the Hon. Member is speaking in his mother tongue.

\*Translation of speech originally delivered in Tamil.

\*\*Translation of submission originally made in Oriya.

Tamil. He is able to express his views clearly because he is speaking in his mother tongue. There is no need of giving detailed description or what is happening in the country. If I speak in Oriya, I can also make a speech. Sir, can I be allowed to speak in my mother tongue Oriya?

\*SHRI K.M.R. JANARDHANAN: Sir, we are speaking to the nation from this supreme forum. Shiva is also our principal deity as Ram. Where is Shiva? He is in Kailash. Where is it? Can you go to Kailash to see Shiva? Therefore, the fact is, search your hearts. There you will find Ram, Shiva and all other gods.

I am therefore with utter shame express my disdain over the manner in which we develop internecine quarrels over religious matters. We are yet to develop a nation holding together various religious groups in the spirit of religious tolerance and communal amity.

Sir, we learn from newspapers that the Imam of Delhi and the Kanchi Kamakoti Sankarachari have resolved to end this Ramjanam Bhoomi dispute. We should rise above all party considerations, and welcome their efforts. As politicians, first we must be above religious sentiments and communal passions. If not, this would in no way help to develop this nation rather it would only destroy it.

Hinduism is a social organ. It came out naturally. It cannot be created nor destroyed by men. It is as natural as air and soil. Therefore, no one is needed to defend this Hinduism. Therefore, in the name of defending Hinduism, no one needs to venture out in a Rath yatra.

Sir, more or less these incidents of communal violence are presently confined to the North. But there is a fear that these may erupt in the South also. The Pattali Makkal

Katchi (PMK) leader Dr. Ramdoss has given a call for gheroeing the Congress and AIADMK Members of Parliament and the Tamil Nadu Assembly for having supposedly opposed the Mandal Commission's recommendations. The truth is that we supported and we will support the Mandal Commission's recommendations to the hilt and let there be no doubts about it. This threat of Dr. Ramdoss is sought to be executed with the active connivance of the National Front partner Government in the State under the Chief Ministership of Mr. Karunanidhi for cheap political gains. There is going to be a rally on October 6. They have given a call for the Aryans to quit India. What are the serious implications of this call? They are playing with the sentiment of the people. Tamil Nadu which has been relatively calm all through the years since the days of Congress and since the days of Anna is fast slipping into communal tensions under the leadership of your partner Karunanidhi.

Let me lastly reiterate that I may belong to any political party, while I owe true and faultless allegiance to my political party, I do not have any bounden duty to defend my religion to which I belong. That task is left to the almighty. He would defend the religion. My endeavour would be to patch up the differences between various religions for peaceful coexistence. Only this would ensure communal amity amidst us.

SHRI RAM KRISHAN YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, keeping in view all the circumstances, the makers of our constitution had made provisions in it for democracy, secularism and socialism. After evaluating the whole situation of the country, the framers of constitution of our country had passed certain resolutions to strengthen the democracy, secularism and socialism in the country. As our country is a mixture of different cultures and heritages adding of word,

\*Translation of speech originally delivered in Tamil.

[Sh. Ram Krishan Yadav]

secularism is very essential. But on one side we talk about bringing socialism and strengthening the democracy and secularism in our country, but I regret, on the other side we have doubts about proper functioning of secularism and democracy in our country. Today, I regret to say that the people of our country are discussing in this House as to whether secularism will survive in the country or not what to talk of bringing socialism. I would like to say that it is not possible till democracy, secularism and socialism are strengthened in this country. It is very painful to say that today the political, economic, social and cultural powers have gone into the hands of those people, who have no faith in democracy, secularism and socialism and these people are creating disturbances in the entire country. On the one hand poor farmers of the country, labourers, wage earners are struggling hard to get basic needs like bread, cloth, shelter with respect and honour whereas on the other hand, all these powers are creating an atmosphere in the country to divert the attention of the people from these problems.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, when Parliament has taken a decision about Mandal Commission in order to bring social changes so that backward, poor exploited and suppressed people can be given their due, incidents of self-immolation have started taking place. Agitations are going on and 'Rath Yatras' and 'Sadbhavana Yatras' are being undertaken. It is totally a conspiracy so that poor people, farmers, labourers and employees are not able to know about their moral and social rights and their attention is diverted to other matters. Today, I want to tell you that now political and social awareness is coming up among poor, farmers and labourers in this country.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I come from the area which is adjacent to Ayodhya. Gonda is adjacent to my constituency. I know about the situation there. Ayodhya, Faizabad, Azamgarh are such districts where there is no dis-

pute among people of the different communities. The dispute is being created by outside elements. Such slogans have been written on walls there:—

"Hindu Hindi Hindustan, Kaha  
Se Aye Musalman,

Maro Inki Jan, Nahi To Bhejo  
Pakistan".

It has also been written:—

"Babar Ki Santano Ko Ek Dhakka  
Aur Do"

others slogans are:

"Beti Hai Sardar Ki, Desh Ke  
Gaddar Ki"

Who is writing all this? I would like to say that the people who are struggling here are called terrorists. Our brother Shri Atinder Palji is also called a terrorist. It is being said that the people of Kashmir are working for the disintegration of the country. I can say with challenge that there is no danger to the country from Shri Atinder Pal Singh and the terrorists of Kashmir but country is having more danger from the people who are writing such slogans:

"Hindu Hindi Hindustan, Kaha  
Se Aye Musalman,

Maro Inki Jan, Nahi To Bhejo  
Pakistan" and

"Garv Se Kaho Hum Hindu  
Hain".

I know it and I would also like to challenge them. The Jagatguru Shankaracharya was arrested in my hometown Phoolpur. These people must have been presuming that the arrest of Shankaracharya will create law and order problem, but on the contrary when he was arrested not even a single of his followers accompanied him, even those who were with him also fled away. People of that area have a firm faith in secularism.

The fact that no one followed Shankaracharya at the time of his arrest reveals the secularistic culture of the people.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I consider the 'Rath Yatra' of Shri Advani equal to an 'Ashwamegh Yagya' but this Ashwamegh Yagya will not instigate the people because that land is totally secular. People of Ayodhya, Faizabad, Behriach and Gonda can never be provoked provided there is no outside interference. My submission is that when the need of the hour is to provide food, clothes, shelter and a decent life to the people and to make this country a great nation we should not involve ourselves in futile discussion on religious fanaticism. It would be a matter of great shame for us. Therefore I would like to submit that fanatics in the country are posing a threat to the country. It is true that there is a wide difference between our words and deeds what we say in the Parliament is not followed up outside. The Members of BJP are adopting double standards. They say one thing in the House and other outside. Either they should clearly declare that they are not for a 'Hindu Rashtra' but on the contrary they are raising slogans of Hinduism in various parts of the country. Therefore my submission to the BJP is if they are honest they should stick to their words inside and outside the House. Sheer raising slogans will do not be of any use. It will not benefit the country. They pose as they are the great nationalists but to have a strong nation all the religions and the places of worship whether it is the temple, the mosque, the church should be given due respect. Each citizen has to contribute in building the nation. All those forces—whether in the shape of a political party or an individual—who want to push back secularism, democracy or socialism, are actually traitors and it is our foremost duty to fight against these forces. I therefore urge all the political leaders to unite in order to strengthen the democracy, secularism and socialism, only then the feeling of

oneness will develop in the country. With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI T. BASHEER (Chirayinkil): With great anguish and agony we are discussing the communal situation in the country. My colleagues have already spoken and they have made so many important points here. I do not want to repeat them. This is a very serious subject.

Three days back, you may remember October 2 was the Gandhi Jayanti day and we saw what happened in the Capital of this country on 2nd October, 1990. This is the country of Mahatma Gandhi, an Apostle of Ahimsa. Every day, we are receiving reports on communal tension, arson and other incidents from different parts of the country. As my friends said, when we were celebrating Independence of this country, our Rashtra-pita, Mahatma Gandhi was not here. The frail old man was in Noukhali, travelling barefoot, meeting men and women who bore the scars of communal agony and the people who inflicted the wounds.

We should hang our heads in shame that even after four decades of independence, still these kinds of incidents are happening in our country again and again. Our senior colleagues including Bhagatji described here what happened and what they had witnessed in Gonda District. In this area, the tension is mounting up. I think in India the majority of the communities, both Hindu and Muslim, like communal harmony. They want to live in peace. But a small section of these communities are responsible for this flare up and for this communal tension. We all belong to some responsible political parties and we are all Members of Parliament. When we discuss this matter we should first understand that the political parties have a responsibility. Whenever we discuss these matters in this House I remember that many learned colleagues said about the code of conduct

[Sh. T. Basheer]

for political parties. But it is unfortunate that now some political parties take the initiative to exploit the communal passions and the situation that we have reached now is the creation of their attitude. You know it; I do not want to elaborate it.

We have been discussing in this House and outside about the mixing of politics with religion. But now what is happening is that religion is the only basis for some parties, for their political activity. That becomes a dangerous proposition. I do not think it is only a law and order problem. There should be a people's activity. The political parties should take an initiative for peace and the people should be educated. Whose responsible is this? I think the political parties are responsible for this task. Whenever this happens, everybody knows that the poor people are affected. If you see the incidents of Gonda district or somewhere else, it is the poor people who are affected, not the rich people. The ones who instigate are never affected. They are never affected. So, these people are used by this communal forces for this purpose. I do not want to take more time of the House.

Some hon. friends have expressed concern about the PAC. In all this kind of riots the behaviour of the PAC was criticised. But I should like to say that this Government and the previous Government also, did not seriously look into the matter and the conduct and behaviour of the PAC in such incidents or situations. Inside and also outside the House there has been a talk about the 15-point programme. But now when we discuss this subject in this House today, nobody mentioned it. So, we are conveniently forgetting those points. I would like to plead with the Government that all those steps—mentioned in those points—should be taken and the Government should implement that 15-Point Programme.

Many times in this House we talked about the restructuring of the Police and the para-military forces. I do not want to go into the details. Everybody knows that the composition of Police and para-military forces in this country does not reflect the real character of the society. The representations from various communities, especially minority communities, are insufficient and on this point everybody agreed in the past also whenever we discussed in this House. Our Prime Minister said that the Mandal Commission recommendations are not applicable to Police, Armed Forces and Army. I would urge upon the Government to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations in those Departments also. This is one of the major points of our Fifteen Point Programme.

Sir, many friends from the BJP talked about many things. Please do not shut your eyes. If you open your eyes and see the factual position, then it will be helpful.

**SHRI NANI BHATTACHARYA**  
(Berhampore): Mr. Chairman, I would dilate on those problems which have already been mentioned by the other Members of this House. I would like to give my contention. I would like to contend that the incidents of communal violence has increased so much and it has engulfed several States resulting in killing of innocent persons, destruction of public properties and the little hamlets of the poor persons, causing tremendous loss to the common people. Then, as the communal tensions are alarmingly growing, the entire atmosphere is being vitiated and the divisive forces, fundamentalist forces, are taking advantage of the situation to further aggravate the problems. At the top of it, the immediate problem is, as you know, centres around the Ram Janam Bhoomi—Bahri Masjid problem. What shall we do? That is the main problem. We must take some long range programme and at the same time we must see that this communal problem

does not aggravate further, and this Babri Masjid—Ram Janam Bhoomi issue is settled somehow. Without that, it may be said without any doubt that there will be a further bloodshed in almost all the districts of U.P., in Delhi and also in other Hindi speaking States. So, we must be very cautious about it. We must not do anything which will create problems in the sensitive situation. I had seen the communal riots in Calcutta in 1946 which created or rather contributed to the divisive politics of the British imperialism and the Rightists at the same time the Muslim League and the Congress. I am not going to dilate on those topics, but from this communal violence the country does not gain anything and the country gets disintegrated. I would, therefore, request the hon. Members through you and at the same time to the Government that we must use all media to educate the people that this communal atmosphere is not beneficial to the interest of the common people, to the national integration and allied problems. All sorts of media should be used to the mobilisation of the masses on the basis of secularism, socialism which we postulated in the Constitution. Thanks to Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav that he is holding the mobilisation in different parts of the State against this communal atmosphere.

It should be the task of the people, at least secular minded and democratic minded people, whatever shades of opinion they might have, that the communal, divisive and disruptive forces must be identified and they should be isolated from the people so that the people cannot be misled by their designs. I would also request our friends in Lok Sabha particularly friends from BJP that whatever good the intentions of the hon. Member, Mr. Advani, may be, it cannot be denied that this very Rath Yatra has contributed to aggravate the communal atmosphere throughout the area where the Rath Yatra is being carried on. I know the consequences of Ram Shila puja procession in Bhagalpur which

took lives of hundreds of poor persons. That is why, the intention may be anything not connected with this religious fanaticism but that intention does not work because the people are taking it communally as has been said by Comrade Ali and other comrades how the people are raising the slogans and all these things. I would request the hon. Members from BJP to declare that they have no connections with Vishwa Hindu Parishad or Bajrang Dal or other religious institutions directly or indirectly. They must declare that they are for secular policy and they must behave that way.

With this I conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chitta Basu.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, my submission is that we are 86 members in all and only two of us have spoken. Is there any time limit?

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am giving opportunity to all parties. Already from your party two Members have spoken. First I have to give opportunity to all the parties. After that, I will give opportunity to you also. I am not denying that.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, my submission is that we are 86 people in all and only two of us have spoken. (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not denying you an opportunity. I am calling everyone. Generally in the discussion under Rule 193, we give an opportunity to all parties. That is more important. Two Members from your Party have already spoken. From

Janata Dal two persons spoke. We have to give an opportunity to all parties. Then, afterwards, we will give you also an opportunity, if you are so interested. (*Interruptions*). I am not denying that. (*Interruptions*). It is not like that (*Interruptions*). First, we have to hear even the small parties. Then, afterwards, we will give you an opportunity. First one or two rounds will go like that. Then, afterwards, we will try to accommodate all the other small groups.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):** Sir, I think it is needless at this stage to emphasise upon Parliament today for the need of promoting communal harmony. Communalism today poses the gravest possible threat to the unity, integrity and I would say even to the independence of the country. Therefore, I feel that there should be an in-depth study or an in-depth analysis of the reasons for this growth and spread of the monster of communalism in our country. Time does not permit me to go into deep analysis of the problem. But, certainly, I would like to mention one or two points which I think the House will take into consideration. A process has been started for the erosion of secularism in our country. This process of erosion must be halted here and now. If that process is not arrested, I think the country is bound to be divided and we shall lose the India which we have fought for and which we dream for even today.

Secularism is the basic foundation of the nationhood of India if we really want to attain the nationhood. It is the basic philosophy of our country. It is the basic direction of our history. It is the basic offshoot of our culture. I am very much sorry to say that some people say that this is *Nakli*. I do not know what is really meant by *Nakli Dharm Niripekshata*. Dharm Niripekshata is one. It is defined, it is very clear and it is very candid. I think my BJP friends would be very much glad to hear this. We hear that the greatest danger is the minoritism.

There are some hopes and aspirations, some awareness of the rights for the minorities. Therefore, it is the minoritism of the Government which is responsible for the growth of communal disharmony in our country. They also say that it is the policy of appeasement of the minorities that has given rise to this communal monster. I think it is unthinkable. Minorities are minorities. It is the responsibility of the majority community to provide safety, security and identity to the minorities if we are to remain as the civilised and united India. According to them, when I say in favour of minorities or when I say in favour of secularism, they consider secularism as an instrument of providing all the safeguards to the minorities. It is the most narrowest explanation and it is the narrowest approach. This concept of minoritism or this very concept of appeasement of minority inflames the majority aggressive communalism. That is the grave danger, that is the big danger today which the House should take into consideration.

BJP feels that the secularism is an instrument of protecting the minorities, particularly the Muslims. As I was telling, this is the pervert aspersion of a philosopher. This is not but a narrow understanding of Indian culture. This is not but a sectarian, and if you permit me to say, pernicious theory which will divide our country into several parts. I would appeal to them that if they really wanted India united, a glorious, a prosperous, a strong India, they should also revise their understanding in this respect.

Something has been said about *Rath Yatra*. I quote from Mr. Advani. He is a Right hon. Member of this House. He is a respected Member and particularly myself, I hold him in high esteem. I would quote him so that the House can understand what the object of the *Rath Yatra* is. This is in regard to the dispute of *Ram Janm Bhoomi* and *Babri Masjid*. With your permission, I quote, Sir: "A court of law can

settle issues of title, trespass, possession, etc., but it cannot adjudicate as to whether Babar did actually invade Ayodhya, destroyed the temple and built a mosque in its place." He further goes on to say: "Even where a court does pronounce on such facts, it cannot suggest remedies to undo the vandalism of history. A problem of this kind can be sorted out either by negotiations between the contending parties, or by the Government, or by legislation, but not by litigation." Sir, I have got no time to explain but my comment on the statement is, it is nothing but a futile exercise in self-contradiction. If he feels that it can be settled by mutual negotiations, all right, he accepts it. But the condition is there that it must be handed over to Hindus. Then what is the mutual negotiation? You want that the place should be given to the Hindus. This is a condition precedent for any kind of negotiation. Is it a negotiation? Is it a spirit of negotiation? Therefore, this is nothing but to force a particular community, a segment of our society to accept a position which they feel is necessary or is unavoidable. Therefore, this is one aspect of self-contradiction. He says, the Government may decide. Yes, Somnath was decided by the Government. But they conveniently forget that Ayodhya and Somnath is not the same. It is not the same aspect, same perception of the history. There was no dispute on the issue of Somnath. Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Naik, there is a dispute upon this. I am not saying it is right or it is wrong. On the issue of Somnath, on the issue of the construction of Somnath temple, there was no dispute. Here, fortunately or unfortunately, there is a dispute. If there is a dispute, naturally the question of litigation or the court verdict comes in. Here, everybody agrees in the country that if there is no solution through mutual negotiation, the only course left is to accept the verdict of the court. Here all the Muslim leadership has made it clear that they are prepared to accept the verdict of the court. And your own Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which is only Bajrang Dal,

which is only RSS backed by the BJP, says, "No, judicial pronouncement is not applicable in this." Does it mean that you do not believe that judiciary is one of the ingredients or basic institutions of our Constitutions?

Sir, the last point is about the Government. If the Government is allowed to decide on it, then if the Government is pro-Hindu it may take one decision, but if the Government is pro-Muslim, it may take another decision. Therefore, Sir, the Government cannot decide ultimately an issue of this nature. Therefore, once they say it is through negotiation, again they say by legislation, again they say by the Government, but not by judiciary. Sir, this is an understanding, this is a conception, I feel, which is not rational, which cannot be accepted by democrats, by judicial-minded people and those who really want the unity and integrity of the country. I would appeal to them that they should revise their position and save the country from disintegration.

SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Mr. Chairman, Sir. I stand to participate in the discussion on communal situation with a deep sense of pain and anguish. I shudder to think what would happen to our country. Today I feel that the Indians unfortunately have lost all sense of humaneness. Today the sense of love and sympathy, tolerance and confidence have been completely evaporated and unfortunately they have become worse than animals today. This I say because today not only we indulge in loot and plunder, not only we massacre people, but together with this we lost little children and women in fire and that killed them. This is what has happened in the country. I will tell you that today the minorities have no sense of protection at all. They are all living with fear of humiliation and liquidation and this has been the case not today, but for

[Sh. Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait]

the last 43 years, ever since Independence.

I am not just going to concentrate myself on what has happened yesterday at Gonda, but the tragedy is that the communal riots have been linching this country for the last 43 years. There were worst riots in Nellie; everything faded away. And then with the genocide at Bhagalpur, Nellie also faded away. We speak of secularism, but I ask: Where are those people? Do we have those forces of integrity still alive, that can hold up the hand of aggression and save the integrity of the country and communal harmony of the country? No. There is an agitation, there is Rath Yatra. Why? What is the objective? Understand what is the objective. The objective is very clear. It is to demolish the mosque and construct a temple. Whatever they may say, they may deny it, but that is their objective. They are just indulging like that. They are not prepared to negotiate, they are not prepared to accept judicial verdict. They say, 'Whatever may come'...that is their declaration. 'Come what may', that is their declaration, 'we will demolish the mosque and construct the temple'. They slammed our doors. They say, this construction of the temple is not negotiable. Where are you leading to? The result is destruction. Nothing more than that. You must understand this. If there is some sense left and if some will is there we can sit together and solve the problem amicably. But when one party is adamant on this, where is the way-out? Somebody says that we shout slogans and they are bad. But they say:

"Hindi Hindu Hindustan  
Bago Bago Pakistan"

Let me tell that not one of them, but thousands of them shout that Muslims cannot live here. We are going to live here and die here. It is

our country. We have shed blood for this country. We are not going to Pakistan. You must understand this. The situation in the country is getting worse day-by-day because the communal forces are getting stronger day-by-day. I will not tell you as to which are the forces. They stand isolated today. The Congress friends are here, the Janata Dal friends are here and the Communist friends are here; they are also Hindus. But they are not for the demolition of the mosque and construction of the temple. There are so many religions in our country and people belonging to so many cultures are here. It is a multi-religious country and people speaking so many languages are here and only secularism can prosper here. 'Hindu Rashtra' cannot be established here, because then the country will be divided. This is to be understood by all and the adamant attitude must be given up. I would appeal with folded hands to give up this 'Rath Yatra' for the sake of the country. We have had the experience of such a thing in November last year. Wherever the 'Ram Shila' processions went, communal riots took place. Today, he has started this 'Rath Yatra'. Though they say that nothing has happened, it has happened. They set the country to fire. Gonda is burning today. In Maharashtra also it had already started. What is happening in Karnataka today? What is happening in Gujarat and Rajasthan? All these places have started burning. This yatra would continue upto the 30th of this month. Please understand what would happen in these 25 days. The country will be in flames. I would like to make an appeal to the BJP friends. If you have got patriotism, please save the country and stop this 'Rath Yatra'. Let us all sit together and find a solution. We do not want confrontation. We want to live together with amity and peace. If this Yatra is not stopped, then the Government has got a responsibility to maintain peace and to maintain law and order which

is threatening the minorities here. We, the Muslims, are the targets of these forces. All the writings on the walls are against us. They cannot deny this. It is very clear. We do not want to have confrontation. If this yatra is not stopped, then we must demand the Government to come forward to maintain law and order, to maintain peace and then they must ban this 'Rath Yatra'. That is what has to be done. They are telling that the court verdict is not acceptable. They say that we did not accept Shah Bano case. But I would say that Shah Bano case was on the basis of Shariat. Shariat is part of religious law, Muslim personal law. Here it is a question of civil law. The case which is pending before the Allahabad High Court and is a question of law.

We are not questioning whether Shri Ram Chanderji was born or not. We are not questioning his Avtar. We respect all religions. Therefore, the sanctity must be there. The sanctity of Temple should be there; the sanctity of churches should be there; the sanctity of mosque should be there. Just because it is connected with a religious place of worship, it has become a real issue. But there are political dimensions also. Such an issue is being used for electoral purposes. Such an issue is being used to arouse emotions and then to make electoral gains. That is what is happening. Therefore, it is necessary that our brothers must give up this policy. Our BJP brothers must give up this sort of policy and try to live in peace and tranquility. If it does not work, the Government has to come forward and ban the Rath Yatras so that the country can be saved from disaster and everybody can live peacefully in India.

This is what I have to appeal and I hope the Government would act beforehand. I hope good sense will prevail upon the brothers and they will come to the negotiating table and agree to the settlement.

[Translation]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this Parliament we got an opportunity to hear some very good speeches, on secularism, on democracy and peace but during the long period of past forty three years we have not come across even a single person advocating for peace who had sacrificed his life for the sake of oppressed classes. Every year ritually we come here as one goes for annual 'Urs' or for holy pilgrimage for offering flowers. A period of forty three years has elapsed and no problem has been solved so far. The point is why did the riots start in Karnailganj and spread in the entire country. Communal violence engulfed Andhra Pradesh, Adilabad, Pichora and several other places. Why all this happened. The start of 'Rath Yatra' gave rise to all this trouble. The speech of Shri Advani delivered in the Nizam college ground in Hyderabad became a cause of great uproar in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly. He delivered a provocative speech and the Government itself took note of it and decided that action should be taken against it. It has been alleged that stones were thrown on the processionists can a man of wisdom agree to this statement. There were about one lakh people in the procession and how come few persons belonging to a minority community can take the risk of throwing stone on such a huge procession. Can they dare to

21.00 hrs.

do so is ruin their own family. It is beyond comprehension that the Muslims community which comprises of 12-14 per cent of the entire populations in India can think of fighting. The Britishers patted us to sleep, we are thankful to you that you awakened us made us realise that if the Muslims have to live in India, they will have to take to arms. Now

[Sh. Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi]

our patience has drained out, we have tolerated a lot but we are not ready to suffer any more. Afterall who gave permission for 'Shila-Puja' and now who is allowing this 'Rath Yatra'. You have given the permission then for what purpose we are here, just to hear the speeches? Speeches are being made on secularism and on peace. But the question is what had been happening during the last 43 years, the entire world is aware of it. Therefore I would only submit that if you really have sympathy for the minorities, this 'Rath Yatra' should be stopped immediately. What is the motive of this procession, when is it starting, perhaps it would reach Ayodhya on 28th or 29th and on 30th the breaking of the building will start. Inspite of all this it is being said that this Rath Yatra is for restoring peace. Are you only the wise people? How long these things will continue. They should specify their policy openly. Do you think this kind of talk and behaviour will bring you to the forefront. But this is the policy which has brought about revolt and insurgency in every part of the country, which is evident in the form of Naxalites in Andhra, happenings in Punjab, Nagaland and Kashmir. It is the reaction of the excesses committed on people which forced them to rise. Remember the day the shrine is destroyed the country will be divided.

**SHRI GUMAN MAL LODHA (Pali):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, some of the speeches made here, were aimed at creating communal harmony and some of them were to incite communalism. I would like to say that we should take a lesson from the past history. Today, people are making long speeches and are laying that they were born here and they will die here. We very much wish that one and all should join the main stream of the country with these sentiments, but we cannot forget history that when Gandhiji had said at the Round-Table

Conference as well as at other places that our nation is one, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that he only represented the Hindus of India.

[*English*]

"Mr. Gandhi, you are a Hindu leader. You are mistaken when you say that you represent India or the masses of India".

[*Translation*]

This has been our bad luck. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you may recollect that the country was divided at that time on the plea that two communities were unable to carry on peacefully with each other any more. Today, it is being said how a small percentage of people can manage riots in the country. They were in minority at that time also. We cannot forget those days when bloodshed was caused in Calcutta at the instigation of Sohrawardi and Jinnah spread the fire of hatred in the entire country. As a result, even Mahatma Gandhi, who used to say that he will not let the country divided, even if his body is cut into pieces, had to yield. But I submit that at present the country has become strong and vigilant. Now that weakness is not there in the country. Those who want to play games with the country should know that instead of weakness, this country has now become strong, awakened and organised and it has achieved national unity and integrity. It is being repeatedly said that this issue should be decided through court. I would like to submit only one point. Firstly, I would like to ask from those people, who say that the issue should be solved through court, what behaviour was meted out to Justice Pandey, who ordered opening of the lock of Ram Janam Bhoomi in 1986 after taking affidavit from the S.P. and the Collector posted there, by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav. I would like to

read out here those sentences, of Shri Mulayam Singh. The four Chief Justices of Allahabad High Court, one after the other, including Justice Mukherjee and Justice Agrawal, had recommended promotion of Justice Pandey from the posts of district Judge to the Judge of High Court. But Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav wrote that though Justice Pandey is a judicious, honest and devoted judge, he created communal tension by ordering opening of the lock of Ram Janam Bhoomi in 1986. Therefore, he cannot recommend his name. These were the words of Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to ask the hon. Members from both sides, who were suggesting court's decision, as to who will give an impartial judgement, when such things is written by Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav. Mr. Chairman, Sir, if a judge is punished, only because he has ordered to open the locks of Ram Janam Bhoomi, no other judge would say that this is Ram Janam Bhoomi and once upon a time Babar attacked this place and tried to construct a mosque, but he failed, so there should be no objection in ordering for resurrection of the Ram Janam Bhoomi temple. On the day, the Supreme Court gave its verdict on Shahbano case, which was only related with providing a two square meal to a muslim woman, who burnt the copies of the judgement on the streets of Bombay? They included not only the members of Muslim League, but several Leaders of the Congress Party also went there. Only one person in this House opposed all these things. Today, he is in Janta Dal and sits in this House in the capacity of a Minister. All others opposed the decision of the Supreme Court, burnt the copies of the judgement and effigies of the Supreme Court judges. Today, those very people are saying that we are ready to accept the court-verdict. Mr. Chairman, Sir, when it was decided to open the locks of Ram Janam Bhoomi, who provoked violence in Kashmir, demolished temples and observed the Republic Day as Black Day. Who protested against the decision in the

entire country? Was it the BJP, the RSS or the VHP, who opposed the verdict? Who revolted openly before the Supreme Court? Once, a person filed a writ petition in the Calcutta High Court that there are some objectionable things written in the Quran. But the Calcutta High Court was gheraoed and it was said that no court is competent to pass any judgement on their Quran? Why no court can pass any judgement on Quran? Who had gheraoed the court? Then on what basis do you say that a court can pass judgement on the issue of Janam Bhoomi of Lord Rama. Just now an hon. Member from Calcutta was speaking here about the Eastern Garden Murder case. A person, who was attached to the Deputy Speaker there, was murdered. The Calcutta High Court issued an order to do the post-mortem of the body after digging it out from the grave. The Calcutta High Court was gheraoed and it was said that in their religion, post-mortem cannot be carried out on a dead body after digging it from the grave. No weight is given to the judgement of the court there and here it is said that the verdict given by the court should be accepted.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, not only one, but there are a lot of examples, where disrespect has been shown to the judgement of the court. Recently, the Supreme Court issued a stay-order in regard to the reservation issue. But the comment made by the official spokesman of Janta Dal in Rajya Sabha was.....

[English]

We differ with the wisdom of the Supreme Court.

[Translation]

There you differ with the wisdom of the Supreme Court and here you say that the issue should be decided through the Supreme Court. I would like to know why two contradictory statements are being made. Those, who had never accepted the verdict

[Sh. Gurman Mal Lodha]

of the Supreme Court, today say that the issue should be solved through the Supreme Court.

Sir, just now, our Communist friend was saying that Shri Advani is not accepting the decision of the Supreme Court. I would like to ask him, is it not a fact that Shri Namboodripad had once said that all these courts and the judges are a biased class and Shri Hidayatullah had punched him for contempt of court that he had no faith in the court. Was it not that the decision of the Supreme Court regarding the Bank Nationalisation case and Privy Purse case was openly challenged and it was said that they do not accept this decision as these courts belong to the capitalist society? Do the Congress people today has the courage to say that the decision of the court should be accepted? They promoted Justice Ray to the post of Chief Justice by superseding three judges—Justice Shelat, Justice Grover and Justice Hegde. He gave verdict in favour of the executive. Justice Beg was promoted by superseding Justice Khanna. Justice Khanna had observed that a person born in this country had the right to life. Article 21 and Article 22 may not permit it. He said that he had difference of opinion with the decision given in the case of the Shivkanth that a person's right to life is abrogated during emergency. That is why, justice Khanna was superseded.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, those people who changed the decision of Justice Jagmohan Sinha on the election-petition of Shrimati Indira Gandhi overnight by making a law in the Parliament, ask us today to accept decision of the court. When the verdict of the court is not in their favour, they will show disrespect and burn the copies of the judgement and when it is in their favour, only then they will accept it?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to know whether we can have faith in

a court at any time? In this regard, Shri Maithilisharan Gupta had even said that—

"Ram kya tum manav ho, yadi tum manav ho,  
to main nirishwar hun. Ram tum muzhe khyma karna.  
Kya mein tumhe ishwar samjhta hun"

Are such mythological things, as where and how God, the Christ and the Prophet Mohammad were born, can be decided through courts. What proof can be given about a birth place dating back to one crore and eightyseven lakh years whether any record is going to be found there relating to a corporation, Panchayat or settlement? This is impossible.

Sir, it is recorded in the Guinness Book of World Records that a case filed in the year 1205, regarding the issue that who is eligible to preside over the religious congregations and religious places, was finally decided by a Poona judge in 1966. The case was decided after a period of 761 years and now there will be appeal, revision and review of the judgement also. 40 years have passed since this case of Ram Janam Bhoomi was filed, not a single witness has appeared before the court till now. I myself went to the Lucknow High Court. When not a single witness has appeared before the court in the last 40 years, this case cannot be decided even upto 25th century or for 500-700 years. Is Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, who tell us to accept the decision of the court, will be there for 500 years to see the judgement? Mr. Chairman, Sir, only to deceive the public, it is being said that the issue should be solved through court. They themselves do not have any faith in the courts or has always superseded the judges for their own benefit. The Supreme Court did not uphold prayer of a judge of Karnataka, because he had rejected the writ petition challenging the validity of

Kuldip Singh Commission to favour Hegde. These are the glaring examples. Kuldip Singh Commission found Shri Hegde guilty of misconduct. First, a writ petition was filed that the commission should be quashed. But one of the Chief Justices there rejected the petition. His name came here also and it was given by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court but the present Government refused to accept it. How will they accept the judgement given by a court or how a court will be able to give an impartial verdict? Therefore, I would like to submit that only to mislead the masses, it is being said that the issue should be decided through court. The masses of our country are clearly saying that there is no mosque at the site of Ram Janam Bhoomi. You can come with me and see the place yourself. For centuries, no 'namaz' has been offered there and there is no well for doing 'VAZUH'. There are no signs of a mosque there, but this question is raised just to make it a dispute. When the Hon. Prime Minister asked for four months time, on behalf of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Ram Janam Bhoomi trust, I met him.

Four months' time was given with a view to solve the problem through negotiations. If a settlement can be reached through negotiations, no one will object to it. But what happened after four months? The situation has remained unchanged even after a lapse of four months and another four months have passed since then. There is a feeling of resentment regarding the 'Rath Yatra' undertaken by Advaniji. The Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav is organising rallies at several places. I would like to say one thing. When I was in Bombay, the chariot of Advaniji passed through Cotton exchange and Borivali. Thousands of people gathered to witness it, but no untoward incident was reported from any of the said areas. But after four days, when Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav visited those areas, violence

broke out. Why? What was the reason behind it. The reason is this that Shri Mulayam Singh made provocative speeches and used abusive language. Violence erupted. Advaniji is touring the entire country but no incident of violence has been reported on account of his 'Rath Yatra'. I would like to know from the people who are blaming Advaniji for inciting violence about the elements who were responsible for uprooting lakhs of Hindus from Kashmir. Did Advaniji's rath touched Kashmir? Who were the people who forced lakhs of Hindus to leave Pakistan? Who ruined their families? Who were responsible for turning our mothers widows and our sisters children? Did Advaniji's rath go there? Did Advaniji's rath go to Nauharwali and Chauri Chaura. The people who are protesting against Advaniji's rath are actually doing so out of malice. Any work done with mutual goodwill is always welcome. But by making pretenses and using judiciary as a shield those who want to make sure that the work relating to Ram Janma Bhoomi is not carried out on 30th, I want to tell them that it has been resolved by the entire nation that the renovation and construction work of the temple will be done without fail. If they are opposed to the slogan "Bachcha Bachcha Ram Ka" then I would like to question them whether instead of Ayodhya, a temple of Ram will be built in Mecca & Madina. Whether the temple of Ram should be constructed in Sri Lanka or London? Ayodhya is situated on the bank of river Saryu since thousands and lakhs of years. But I regret to say that it is being said only to divert the attention of the people from the real issue. As such I would like to say in very clear terms that Advaniji's Rath has been wrongly alleged to have incited violence that broke out at a place in Uttar Pradesh and concocted stories have been made in this regard and thus we would like to refute the said allegations. I would further like to state in very unambiguous terms that we are prepared to welcome all those who wish to join

[Sh. Guman Mal Lodha]

the national mainstream. But anti-national elements will not be allowed to raise their ugly heads to spread violence and make Kashmir or any other State for that matter a trouble torn State. The conditions have radically changed since 1947 when there was weakness everywhere. Today the country is in the hands of strong and firm leaders like Sarvashri Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani and Bala Saheb Deoras. No one will tolerate any element causing harm to the nation. The country shall remain integrated and forge ahead with conviction and the image of our country in the international forum will be brighter. The anti national elements who will cause hinderances will be dealt with firmly.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Shri Rakesh.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam): Sir, before his speech, I would like to say something. Just now, we have got some news. There is a virtual revolt in Tihar jail. Nine people were killed and about 130 people have been injured. The doctors are on strike

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, I am not allowing you.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA: Sir, the Home Minister is here and we wanted to know the actual position. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can raise it when you get the opportunity. Not now. Now, Shri Rakesh may speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA: Let him give the information. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI R. N. RAKESH (Chail): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the land of Mahatma Gandhi it is very unfortunate that we have to discuss the issue of communalism. Some people are advocating the cause of masjid whereas some that of mandir while no one is concerned about humanity. We are discussing the incident which took place in Gonda district in the guise of communalism. As per the facts known to us, a *Mushaira* was going on in a public place at Karnalganj on the 29th of last month and some people went to attend the same. Thereafter, on the 30th during the Durga Puja procession it is alleged that some unidentified persons threw a hand bomb from an unknown direction on them and consequently violence broke out in that region. Some people raised provocative slogans. One of the two violence afflicted persons, namely Maulana Jafrur came to inform me how slogans were raised there. In the Durga Puja procession no Bhajans were being sung, no song related to the deity Durga was being sung and the greatness of the Goddess was not being described. The slogans raised on the occasion of Durga Puja were "Kahan Gayi Babar ki Santan, Kya ban gayi Kabristan" and "Suno Suno Ka'ion ki Santan, bhag Jao Pakistan"

SHRI KALKA DAS: You first mention their names of those people who have been arrested by the government. (Interruptions)

SHRI R. N. RAKESH: I am not naming those persons who gave these slogans. (Interruptions) Mr Chairman, Sir, please allow me to say what I want to say.

SHRI KALKA DAS: The names of those who were arrested are Yawar Hussain and Khaliki.

(Interruptions)

SHRI R. N. RAKESH: Thereafter, the situation worsened. It was followed by the outbreak of violence on the 1st which spread beyond the city to

the villages. The result of this as per the latest report is that 27 villages have been gutted and more than 400 persons lost their lives. Most of the deceased belonged to Karnelganj, Kajipur, Dhanawa, Shahpur, Shasa, Kajemau, Gorianka Purawa, Pandechora etc. Among those killed were women, men, children, youths and even infants who were burnt and more than hundred children are reported missing. More than ten thousand people have fled from the village and those still living in the villages are faced with acute shortage of food, water and medicine. Several women have turned widows and no one knows what sort of difficulties they are encountering. In Kajemau village nine families have been totally wiped out and not even a child among them has survived. The nine families of Kajemau village were burnt like the woods burnt on the occasion of Holi. Mathura, Etawa, Kanpur, Allahabad, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Lucknow, Pratapgarh and Ghazipur districts of Uttar Pradesh have also come in the grip of riots. Riots have also erupted in Basti and Bhairaich. Communal disturbances have also spread in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bihar etc. This is a serious issue before the government.

In this regard, I would like to ask two-three question to the Home Minister and the Government. The first question is this that the F.I.R. pertaining to this riot has come to you. You read the F.I.R. and tell us who are the people who have been accused of inciting riots and who are the people who have been arrested and sent to jail and the party to which they belong? I want to tell you why the number of riots has gone up so much during the last 10 months. For the incidents that took place during the last three years the Congress is alleged to have been responsible therefore because the Shila Puja was done during the regime of Congress. But we cannot deny that during the regime of the present government Rath Yatras are taking

place and slogans of communalism are being raised.

As far as Uttar Pradesh is concerned many great persons have adorned the office of Chief Minister of this State when Chaudhary Charan Singh became the Chief Minister of U.P. not a single incident of riot was reported. There was no outbreak of communal riots and not a single Harijan was killed during the Chief Ministership of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant and Shri S. B. Gupta. Shri H. N. Bhauguna was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for 26 months. There was no communal riots, no harijan was killed. At that time there were 53 districts in Uttar Pradesh out of which 13 D.M. belonged to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 8 D.M. belonged to minorities and 8 S.P.'s also belonged to the minorities. Today, the people of the ruling party are recruiting people of their communities to various posts in the police department. Can this be termed as an expression of secular feelings? I would like to say two things to you. The discussion that has taken place here in which both the ruling party and opposition took part reminds us of the 'Ganiha', of 'Jatak' who was worshipped by the people when they went into her house. But outside her house they called her 'Ganiha'. Today, the slight of everyone is the same whether they belong to the ruling party or Janata Dal or the Bharatiya Janata Party. When I discuss it with people belonging to Left Parties, I discover that they are in no way better. A lady colleague has rightly remarked that the people belonging to the ruling party are instrumental in inciting communal riots and for them they have raised only one slogan which implies that people do not want to change their attitude and believe in worthless talks. What sort of people are running this nation? They do not want to bring reforms in real sense in the country. They are making the people fight with each other and are inciting communalism in the country. You have taken the country in these ten months to

[Sh. R. N. Rakesh]

such a state that on one hand a person is severely punished for petty offences for cutting grass and on the other hand a person who kills Harijans-Muslims goes scot free. The government claims itself to be secular and well wisher of the minorities, harijans. The Bharatiya Janata Party is may call themselves secular but the truth is that they are not secular but communal.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go as record. I am not allowing.

(*Interruptions*)\*

[*Translation*]

S. ATINDER PAL SINGH (Patiala): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a very serious and sensitive issue. I would like to raise only four points. Those points are—the Secularism, the communalism, the country's main-stream. Let us first discuss these three points only. I would request the hon. Minister to consider the word secularism seriously. While talking about secularism in the country, we should think that the framers of our constitution had not mentioned the word 'Secular' with the name of 'Bharatvarsh'. I would like to know from you as to whether by inserting a word 'secular' only in the constitution through an Amendment, the spirit of our constitution becomes secular? If not, what is the justification in inserting such a words in the Constitution which has not been defined clearly. This word should be defined first. We, the minorities are not called secular because we do not adopt ourselves according to the wishes of the majority community and on the other hand one who adapts himself according to them is called secular. If this is the definition of secularism, does this criteria of deciding secularism match with the spirit of our Constitution? Define communalism first before accusing any community

to be communal. The Sikhs in Punjab are called communal whereas the members of other community who after tagging cigarettes on their Lassis raise such slogans, as "KACHH, KARA AUR KIRPAN, BHEJ DENGE PAKISTAN". are called patriots. Are all they communal, who cannot surrender their will to the majority? (*Interruptions*) Mr. Chairman. Sir, I would not take more time. I am raising only three points. (*Interruptions*) Will it be possible to define communalism. Unless and until it is defined one cannot be blamed of being communal. Now I come to the issue of the main-stream. What a dual policy it is that those who use religion for political gains and go on Rath Yatra are considered as the part of the national main-stream and those who oppose such filthy attempts and express their firm faith in the Constitution are considered to be alien to the national main-stream. It should be made clear.

You should determine these things on the basis of Indianisation for the sake of the unity and integrity of India; otherwise, it will be betrayal with the Constitution and with the country.

I would request you to leave the Babri-Masjid issue to the people of Ayodhya. If it is not possible, allot some other piece of land near the Babri-Masjid to both the communities for constructing their religious shrines after declaring the existing Masjid as a national sacred place. Even if it is not acceptable to them, the Government should construct a temple and a Mosque and then should hand over those to both the communities and should preserve the existing mosque as the religious centre of India. It has been demanded that Rath Yatra should be banned. But I would like to request you (*Interruptions*) A demand for Shri Advani Ji's arrest (*Interruptions*). These are politically motivated demands. I would request the Government not to commit the mistake of arresting Shri Advani Saheb as such arrest would

\*Not recorded.

make him Hero of Hindus. Let him go on wherever he goes, we, all the Parliamentarians, should also reach there on 30th of this month, and show our unity.

**SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the communal riots in the country especially those of Karnail Ganj and Gonda. Sir, you might have read in the newspapers that on 29th September, the hand-granades and stones from the roof of a Party's office in Kasaiganj locality, were thrown on the Dushehra procession which was passing with the statues of goddess Durga on its usual route like every year. In this incident hundreds of people lost their lives while 17 children are still missing. The police have arrested Yawar Hussain, Munna and Haliki in this connection. The 18 trucks carrying the statues of Durga were burnt by them. Was it also the Rath Yatra of Advani? Is this issue related to Advani Ji's Rath Yatra any more? Statues were being taken in procession on the occasion of Dushehra. How it is related to Advani Ji's Rath Yatra? But it has become a phobia to relate every incident with Rath Yatra. In Gonda's communal clash, Dushehra procession was attacked by a particular community with leathal weapons killing many persons. But in order to lessen the intensity and seriousness of the offence due to which 35 villages are under the tension, attempts are being made to give it a different turn.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, due to scarcity of time, I am dealing with some points only. There have been no riots at the place from where Advani Ji's Rath Yatra has passed whether it is Gujarat, Karnataka or Maharashtra. His Yatra is for peace, harmony and awakening public conscience. But the Congress-men and others are trying to mislead the people. Advani Ji is appealing the public to dispel their misapprehensions about the issue. He is clarifying the objectives of the Bhar-

tiya Janata Party to the country men and people belonging to all communities and religions are greeting him. His Rath Yatra is in no way related to the communal riots. As Shri Lodha Ji has stated just now that the Supreme Court's decision should be accepted in this regard. But, is it the justice that they will abide by it only when it goes in their favour, otherwise they will neglect it?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, they are trying to mislead the people in order to grab votes. Shri Advani Ji's Rath Yatra is not connected with these riots. My friend Shri Tripathi Ji has said that the communalism of the majorities is dangerous and that of the minorities is not so. But we do not understand it that the majorities' sentiment and views are evil and the minorities' communalism is noble. To maintain peace and order the mass-feelings should be respected in the democratic country. This is the will and decision of the majority that the temple should be constructed there. So, it should be carried on. Who will execute the court's decision if the 85 per cent people of the country refuse to accept it? Some persons are interested in spreading communal tension in the country. The riots are mainly occurring due to bitter language as being used by the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister and not due to Shri Advani Ji's Rath Yatra.

**SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, some forces are spreading communalism in this country. They are trying to harm the unity and integrity of the nation. We should fight against the forces who are shedding blood in this great country. Just now a B.J.P. friend has said that what harm Shri Advani Ji's Rath Yatra is creating? His Rath Yatra is flaming communal sentiments in different parts of the country. Every where in the country there is situation of communal hatred like Gonda district. All of us should make joint efforts to save the unity and integrity of the country. The riot

[Sh. Ramesh Chennithala]

has broken out in all the areas of Bombay. The Army had to be called to control the situation of Udaipur, Chittaurgarh and Pali in Rajasthan. In Gujarat 12 persons were killed. Observing the grim situation of Baroda the curfew was re-imposed there. In Raipur city of Madhya Pradesh, as published in the Newspapers, the A.B.V.P. members were behind the riot. In other provinces of the country, the communal tensions and riots are spreading. The B.J.P. is mainly responsible for this grim situation prevailing in the country. The Government should take effective steps to restore normalcy in the country. Members of all Parties in their speeches have asked to stop Rath Yatra, which has become a threat to the unity of the country. If we go through the traditions and history of our country in regard to the temple and mosque, one can see that these attempts are being made to break those traditions. Our hon. friend said that it is the politics of votes. Please let me know as to who is doing politics of votes. It is not we but they who are doing politics of votes. They are trying to damage our traditions by inciting people about the temple and mosque dispute. Due to hurried implementation of the Mandal Commission casteism is flaring up. Since a discussion to this effect has since been held, I am not going into its details. Everybody should make all out efforts to combat such forces. We have to change this environment. We have to create harmony in the society in order to eliminate these forces. It is necessary to change the present environment in order to maintain the unity and the integrity of the country and all of us should make every effort to oppose these communal forces.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SUBODH KANT SAHAY):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, if we discuss the communal situation prevailing in the country outside the Parliament with the same seriousness as we are dis-

cussing the same in the House, I am fully confident that some or the other solution to the problem would be found. So far as the Government is concerned, not only the National Front Government at the Centre, but also its Governments in the States have implemented in toto the guidelines that were prepared by the previous Government to maintain Communal harmony and stamp out communalism. One can well notice the change by reviewing the situation that prevailed during the times of the previous Government and the situation prevailing now.

**21.51 hrs. [MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]**

The Government of Uttar Pradesh is its example which did not hold the district administration responsible for the lapses, but in accordance with the guidelines issued in this regard effected transfers and suspension of defaulting employees. Today we are concerned about the Gonda incident. Most of the hon. Members have expressed their views in this regard. I would like to give a brief account of that incident. It was a very trivial matter. Some act was being enacted while taking out the Durga procession. At that time some people received minor injuries due to some congestion. Suddenly a rumour spread that the people belonging to other communities had killed a person in the procession. With that stone throwing started. One can see the extent of mutual distrust. It is not a first incident of its kind that took place during the time of the National Front Government. It is the handi work of those vested interests who have been playing this type of games in the country for the last 40 years. It is not only the case of Government but also the Parliament where representatives of various sections of the society sit and it has been decided unanimously in the National Integration Council that communalism would be stamped out. Similarly, I can assure that if a decision is taken by the Parliament to check the present state of

communal situation in the country, the Government would not remain far behind. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA** (Mardhubani): As has been said by the hon. Member, please let us know whether it is a fact that stones were thrown from some party office on the Durga Procession in Gonda. Does the Government know about it or not?

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** Please also state whether any F.I.R. was registered in this connection and if so, the name of the party to which people belong whose names figure in the F.I.R.

**SHRI SUBODH KANT SAHAY:** If the culprit is in the Government, he would not be spared, not to speak of any political party. The culprit throws the first stone and thereafter the entire procession and the entire community resort to stone throwing. It is the responsibility of the society to apprehend the person who threw the first stone. The State Government took immediate action. Ex-gratia payment @ Rs. 1 lakh each to the next of the kin of the people who were killed and @ Rs. 5000 to each injured person and payment @ Rs. 2000 to people who received minor injuries have been sanctioned by the State Government. Some hon. Members alleged that no relief work has been taken up there. It is not so. A sum of Rs. 15 lakhs has been provided as relief. After the National Front Government came into power two three months passed off peacefully, but thereafter some people tried to create instability because they wanted to do their politics. This type of incident's also took place in Gujarat, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka, while only one or two incidents used to take place in Karnataka earlier, now a days they have increased by ten times. In Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh also this type of minor and major incidents are

taking place. Today, we held discussions on Gonda incident and the hon. Members expressed their concern about the overall situation in the country. I can assure that the Government is fully aware of the seriousness of the situation. As I have already said that the Government would not hesitate to take action under the laws against a person, however big he might be, if it is found that he is posing a threat to law and order situation. I would like to assure the house that guidelines in this regard have been decided by the National Integration Council and we shall implement their decision in toto. This type of committees will also be constituted at the State and district levels - and people from all sections of the society will be involved in these committees. Efforts will be made to create an environment in which such incidents could be controlled before they actually take place. If this measure becomes successful, there would be no need to distribute relief or mourn the death of the victims. We are trying to identify the districts where number of such incidents is higher. It is very necessary to find out ways how to stamp out communalism. The Government shall take action with the same seriousness as we have discussed it in the House and take a decision by sitting upto mid night.

**SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA** (Ponnani): No reply has been given to any one of the important points.

[*English*]

Is this the reply?

[*English*]

**SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA:** There is a revolt in the Tihar Jail. (*Interruptions*). A very serious situation is prevailing in Tihar Jail.

[*Translation*]

**SHRI SUBODH KANT SAHAY:** If the hon. Member needs any additional information, I can furnish the same to him later on. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT:** The way a very disappointing reply has been given by the Government...

**MR. SPEAKER:** The House should pass a Resolution which may be able to generate some hope.

**SHRI SUBODH KANT SAHAY:** With the same hope, I have cut short my statement.

[English]

**PROF. P. J. KURIEN:** I cannot but say that we are not satisfied with the reply. Many of the points have not been touched by the Minister.

22.00 hrs.

**PROF. P. J. KURIEN** (Mavelikara): We want to end this discussion with a harmonious note. All of us are equally concerned to what is happening in the country and therefore, I understand...*(Interruptions)*. I am trying to bring to a cordial note, not a discordial note. There is almost a consensus on a Resolution, which is a positive Resolution and which has an operative part also. Hon. Shri Jaswant Singh has shown me that Resolution, which hon. Speaker has also agreed. This idea has been noted and I understand that there is agreement from all sides of the House. From our side, there is full agreement and it will be a good thing that if we unanimously pass that Resolution.

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE  
(PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):** Let us pass it before we disperse.

### RESOLUTION

Commitment to the Ideal of A  
Democratic Secular State

**MR. SPEAKER:** "This House reiterates its commitment to the ideal of a democratic secular state; to harmony in our society and to amity

between all sections of our people. Rising above all other considerations, it is our commitment to harmony and to accord in the Nation, that persuades us to unanimously appeal to the people of our country not to dilute this tenet enshrined in our Constitution. Any and all issues that have a potential for divisive and communal discord amongst our citizens can be resolved through discussion and discourse and not by forcible means or by offending the sentiments of any community."

I hope the House agrees.

**SOME HON. MEMBERS:** Yes, yes.

*The resolution was adopted.*

**MR. SPEAKER:** The statements under Rule 377 of all the Hon. Members who have been permitted to make the statements will be treated as read.

22.02 hrs.

### MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

(i) Need to give clearance to the irrigation projects of Vidarbha region in Maharashtra.

[English]

**SHRI SHANTARAM POTDUKHE** (Chandrapur): Irrigation projects of Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, specially that of Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts are awaiting environmental clearance from the Union Government.

This is due to non-settlement of Zudpi Jungle issue which is in fact a revenue land, used for grazing purposes in Vidarbha. I urge upon the Government of India, Ministry of Environment to clear these projects on the issue of Zudpi Jungle being treated as revenue land to be used for the afforestation programme of Ministry of Environment at the earliest.

**(ii) Need to provide financial assistance to the Government of Karnataka to rehabilitate devadasis**

**SHRI C. P. MUDALA GIRI-YAPPA** (Chitradurga): The incidents of dedication of girls as *devadasis* are taking place in the country even after 43 years of Independence especially in the border areas of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Like the Sati system this is also an inhuman practice.

The Andhra Pradesh Government passed legislation in 1987 banning the practice of *devadasi* system. The Karnataka Government has also taken up several measures to put an end to this evil system. In spite of this, the practice prevails in the country though there is decrease in the number of such incidents. Incidentally almost all these victims are from the downtrodden communities.

The Karnataka State Government had undertaken recently a comprehensive survey in all the taluks of Belgaum district about *devadasis* and the data collected is being processed by computers. Meanwhile, a project report on various measures to be taken up to rehabilitate the victims of *devadasi* practice has been prepared on the basis of a survey and this had been submitted to the Government of India for sanction.

I urge upon the Government of India to sanction the project and to provide substantial financial help to the State Government of Karnataka so that the victims of this system could find a better future.

**(iii) Need to set up T.V. towers in Hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh**

*[Translation]*

**SHRI HARISH RAWAT** (Almora): Mr. Speaker, Sir, under Doordarshan expansion policy it has been mentioned that priority would be given to the

backward hilly and border areas. Unfortunately, the hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh have not been covered under Doordarshan expansion scheme. At present less than 25 per cent people of this region can view T.V. programmes. The Ministry has not set up T.V. Towers even at those places for which approval was already accorded resulting in great resentment among the people of these tribal dominated border areas.

I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister that T.V. Towers should be set up at Tehsil and sub-Tehsil headquarters at Munsyari, Champavat, Didihat, Gangolihat, Bering, Bageshwar, Kapkot, Bhikiyasain, Moulkhali (Ratkhal) of the hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh in this year itself.

**(iv) Need to provide financial assistance to the Government of Uttar Pradesh for construction/repair of National Highways particularly National Highways passing through Mohanlalganj Parliamentary Constituency**

**SHRI SARJU PRASAD SAROJ** (Mohanlalganj): Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards Mohanlalganj Parliamentary Constituency in Uttar Pradesh. Several National Highways are passing through this constituency, but they are in very bad shape. The work of these National Highways has not been completed and at some places they are narrow at some places they are still unmetalled and at some other places only gravels have been laid. In the absence of road light on these Highways many serious road accidents have taken place. The water logging on these roads during rainy season causes great difficulties to the people using these roads.

Sir, I am giving here the details of some of the National Highways such as Lucknow-Hardoi road via Malihabad, Mohan Road from Mohan to Hasanganj, Unnav-Kanpur Road,

[Sh. Sarju Prasad Saroj]

Lucknow—Sultanpur Road via Gosainganj and Lucknow—Varanasi via Rae Bareli. Other connecting roads to these National Highways are also in very bad shape and due to the scarcity of funds the work of these roads could not be completed.

I would, therefore, urge upon the Central Government to provide financial assistance of Rs. 10 crores immediately to the State Government so that the National Highways and other roads connecting with them which could not be repaired for want of funds could be repaired.

**(v) Need to set up a bench of Allahabad High Court at Agra. Uttar Pradesh**

**SHRI RAMJI LAL SUMAN** (Firozabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, under rule 377, I would like to draw the attention of the Government towards setting up of a bench of Allahabad High Court at Agra. Jaswant Singh Commission was constituted by the Government to find out the possibilities of setting up benches of Allahabad High Court which has strongly recommended for setting up of the bench at Agra. Therefore, the Government should set up a bench of Allahabad High Court at Agra without any delay so that the possible agitation in this region could be averted.

**(vi) Need to take action against the persons involved in damaging statues of Dr. Ambedkar**

**SHRI KALKA DAS** (Karol Bagh): The birth centenary of Babsaheb Ambedkar is being celebrated in the country and the Government have declared it the year of social justice. It has been reported that some misguided youth and anti-social elements have damaged the statues of Dr. Ambedkar with the intention to spread violence and to divide our society and country. We still need to take the message of patriotism and social reforms of Dr. Ambedkar to all people of the society.

The Government should apprehend such misguided youth and anti-social elements and take legal action against them.

**(vii) Need to ensure direct purchase of raw jute through Jute Corporation of India and also revise its remunerative price**

[*English*]

**SHRI AJOY MUKHOPADHYAY** (Krishnagar): Jute is one of the two main cash crops in West Bengal. So far as my Constituency in Nadia district is concerned, jute is the main cash crop. Jute products earn a considerable amount of foreign exchange also. But the cultivators/growers are being deprived of remunerative price for their hard-earned produce. As there is no adequate number of purchasing centres of the Jute Corporation of India, the poor cultivators do not get the opportunity to sell their produce to J.C.I. As a result they become victims of the middlemen and are compelled to sell it to them at much lower rates.

I therefore, urge upon the Government to make elaborate arrangements without any further delay for purchasing the total quantity of raw jute directly from the real producers through J.C.I. I would also request the Government to revise the remunerative price as decided earlier and fix it at Rs. 650/- per quintal and for mesta at Rs. 450/- per quintal.

**(viii) Need to ensure purchase of paddy by official agencies in Punjab**

**SHRI RAJDEV SINGH** (Sangrur): After very hard work, the farmers of Punjab have produced good paddy crop. But the paddy is now rotting in mandis of Punjab. This is due to failure of official agencies to purchase paddy arriving in mandis. Huge stocks of paddy have accumulated in mandis of various districts. Heavy rains during the last days have also

considerably damaged paddy. The farmers have been sitting in the mandis for the past 20 days with the produce but the official agencies are not making any purchase. The officials of these agencies go to the market and purchase a few hundred bags and leave the market. The purchase is made just to mark their presence in the mandis. The rice sellers are also not making much purchase as they are awaiting that the farmers would be compelled to make distress sale of their produce. This is a very serious matter. The Government should take immediate steps for the purchase of paddy by official agencies in Punjab.

**(ix) Need to enact legislation for acceptance of human bodies after death for promoting medical research and popularising life-saving organ transplants**

**SHRI GOPI NATH GAJAPATHI** (Berhampur): In ancient India, during the days of Charaka and Susruta, anatomical science had made tremendous advancement. The year 1832 is also significant, when Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher, donated his body for medical research. In India, the first body donor was Panduranga Apte, the Gandhian teacher, in 1952.

Today, pledging of one's body for donation upon death, popularly known as cadaver donations, for organ transplants and medical research, is not an uncommon practice in the West. However, in our country, superstitions and taboos override even the routine practice of postmortem, much less organ and body donations. "Ganadarpan," a Calcutta-based voluntary organisation since 1985, has meritiously been campaigning for donations to popularise organ transplants and promote medical research.

Till now, over 400 individuals have pledged to donate their bodies after

death, through "Ganadarpan". Thus, the need of the hour is to make prompt arrangements, essential in making successful cadaver donations for corneal grafting, kidney and heart transplants, skeletons for medical research etc. The imperative safeguard to be exercised in this regard is the strict banning of illicit-cum-lucrative trade in kidneys. Unrelated donor transplants, leading to gross misuse of its very purpose, should be totally banned while a vigorous campaign for cadaver donations started forthwith.

I would urge the Government of India for passing suitable legislation expeditiously, to allow acceptance of bodies after death for the noble causes of not only popularising life-saving organ transplants, but also promoting vital medical research.

**(x) Need to regularise the services of Extra Departmental Employees**

**SHRI GOVINDA CHANDRA MUNDA** (Keonjhar): Sir, there are thousands of employees working in the Department of Posts & Telegraphs who are called Extra Departmental employees. They have been working at a low rate of wages since long. They do not have service conditions like those of permanent employees of the Department. They are called "Runner" in Orissa. They carry mail bags to and from the Head or Sub-post offices from Branch post offices. They also deliver the letters, Money Orders and Parcels to the addresses. Most of them are either Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. It is unfortunate that the employees who are doing the real work in the rural areas do not have any regular service conditions.

I request that the services of Extra Departmental employees of the Postal Department of Orissa and other States should be regularised. They should also be given other benefits like provident Fund, gratuity and bonus etc.

**(xi) Need to look into the problems faced by Indians living on Indo-Bhutan border**

**SHRI MANIK SANYAL** (Jalpaiguri): The action of Royal Government of Bhutan to tackle the present political upheaval prevailing in that country has caused a serious concern for the Indian citizens living in Indo-Bhutan border regions. The recent firing by Bhutan Military forces which resulted in the death of more than three hundred Bhutani citizens has left a serious impact on the mind of Indian citizen of that region as to their security, peace and tranquillity. This action of the Bhutan Government has not remained confined within its own territory. An unprovoked firing by the Bhutani Military on 23rd September, 1990, adjacent to Chunbhati Tea Estate under Banarhat Police Station of Jalpaiguri District, causing death of two Indian citizens and serious injury to the driver of Additional Superintendent of Police of Jalpaiguri has aggravated the fear psychosis among the Indian people. Further, the Bhutan Government has sealed its border and imposed a bar on the entry of Indian citizens in Bhutan. Besides, Indian pass holders who are employed in cement factory and other establishments in Bhutan are also not allowed to enter in that country. This may ultimately affect the existing friendly relations with the Bhutan Government.

In view of this I urge upon the Central Government to take up the matter with the Bhutan Government so that normalcy is restored and the sense of insecurity among our people is removed expeditiously.

**(xii) Need to take steps for the overall development of North Bihar**

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA** (Madhubani): There seems to be discrimination against the Mithila region of North Bihar and this is the only area in the country where railway facilities have actually de-creas-

ed. Twice duly inaugurated, the budgeted conversion of Samastipur-Darbhanga line to B.G. and extending the same to Jai Nagar and Raxaul has been shelved several times in the past. It is now moving at a snail's pace with no guarantee of early completion. Floods, drought and power crisis have become a permanent feature and no attempt is made to construct multi-purpose high dams over rivers Koshi, Kamla, Bagmati, Mahananda and Mashan which alone can provide durable solution to most of the ills of North Bihar and Tarai region of Nepal besides providing adequate hydel power for several States. The project report for multi-purpose high dam over river Koshi sent to H.M. of Nepal is not being seriously pursued at political level.

Even the existing industries like the Ashoka Paper Mills, Thakur Paper Mills, fruit processing factories of Madhubani, Darbhanga are languishing and the old sugar mills of Raiyann, Lohat and Sakri are not being modernised. The completion of Western Koshi canal is also being delayed.

Even the generating capacity of Darbhanga station of the All India Radio is not being increased in the name of lack of resources. Per capita power consumption is less than one-fifth of that of Bihar which itself is far less than the average national level.

Thus, the people of the area feel utterly frustrated due to continued neglect.

I urge upon the Union Government to take steps for economic development of North Bihar and to ameliorate the condition of the people.

**(xiii) Need to set up a T.V. relay centre either at Virol or Kushe-shwar in Rosera, Bihar**

*[Translation]*

**SHRI DASAI CHOWDHARY** (Rosera): Sir, Rosera Parliamentary

Constituency in Bihar is the most backward area. The villagers in that area are facing difficulty in viewing T.V. programmes because Doordarshan Centres are situated at Darbhanga and Saharsa. People residing in the area falling between these two centres are also keenly interested in viewing T.V. programmes. Virol and Kusheshwar blocks of Darbhanga district are remote rural areas. I have also written a letter to the hon. Minister to set up a T.V. relay centre either at Virol or Kusheshwar block.

I would, therefore, request the Government to set up a T.V. relay centre either at Virol or Kusheshwar block of Darbhanga district.

**(xiv) Need to settle the Jharkhand issue amicably**

*[English]*

**SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad):** A Committee on Jharkhand matters (CJM) was set up by the Government of India in 1989 to "examine and recommend the modalities for meeting the just aspirations of the people of the region within the Constitutional framework", i.e. the area of Chhota-nagpur and Santhal Paraganas of Bihar and the adjoining areas of West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, mostly inhabited by the tribal and other oppressed nationalists. The people there were making movement for the last fifty years for a separate State of Jharkhand.

The Committee, after the in depth study and several meetings with the peoples' representatives including the heads of political parties operating there, submitted its report in May, 1990 to the Union Home Minister in presence of all the MPs of Chhota-nagpur and Santhal Paraganas of Bihar. Though assured action within a month till this date the Report was not placed before the Parliament enabling a meaningful discussion on that nor even made public. This has created a great resentment

amongst the people of Jharkhand region who are now on the path of militant action. A call has already been given for a bandh on 8th October and a week long blockade of all the minerals including coal and Iron crippling the industrial life of the whole country.

When all the areas of the country are in turmoil the effect of disturbances in this industrial heart of the country would be disastrous. So, I request the Government to start meaningful discussion on the basis of the Report and come to an amicable settlement on the Jharkhand issue doing justice to the people there.

**VALEDICTORY REFERENCES**

*[English]*

**MR. SPEAKER:** Hon. Members, we have had a short but very fruitful week. The House resumed its sittings on Monday, the 1st October after it was adjourned *sine-die* on 7th September. We could hold only three sittings because of the intervening holidays. Nonetheless, the House can congratulate itself for passing almost unanimously the Constitution (67th Amendment) Bill, 1990. That only proves—if any proof was necessary—that ours is a vibrant democracy and when it comes to the crunch we take no time to come together. This is what has precisely happened on the Punjab issue.

The House has had very useful debates—most important of them being the discussion on the adjournment motion on the student's agitation against Government's decision on the Mandal Commission Report. I am sure this debate would go a very long way in clearing the air and in assuring the student community that this House is fully conscious of their future—their hopes and aspirations.

The *improtu* discussion on the tragic circumstances in which we lost the head of our judiciary—the Chief

Justice of India—was a reflection of the deep agony and concern of this House and the Government over a very unfortunate incident.

The communal situation in the country has again become a matter of concern and it is only proper that the House has discussed this matter under rule 193 today. I have every hope that the message that shall go out from here today would help in defusing the situation and in restoration of normalcy.

Hon. Members, we in this House have the onerous responsibility of voicing the people's urges and aspirations as well as their anxieties and agonies. We must ever live up to the people's expectations and act as a true mirror to the nation. So, we go back to our constituents with some sense of satisfaction over what we have accomplished in this short week.

Before I conclude, I deem it only proper to thank my colleagues—the Deputy Speaker and members of the panel of Chairmen in assisting me in my task of conducting the proceedings of this House. Needless to say, but for their cooperation, it would just not be possible to shoulder this onerous responsibility. I must also thank the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, his colleagues, the leaders of various parties and groups and indeed each one of you, hon. Members, in co-operating with me and making my task easy.

**THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. UPENDRA):** Sir, I join you in the expression of the sentiments and thanks to all the Members. It was a very short session but sweet, and convened at a very short notice to transact a specific business. That has been done and very smoothly it was done. I sincerely thank all the Parties and their leaders, the entire Opposition particularly, for co-operating in the transaction of the business...*(Interruptions)*.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV:**  
Are you speaking after your dinner?

*[Translation]*

**MR. SPEAKER:** We know that he is hungry. He has not taken anything since morning.

*[English]*

**SHRI P. UPENDRA:** I also thank you, the Deputy Speaker, the Panel of Chairmen and the Secretariat for the excellent cooperation. Under their guidance, we have been able to complete this four-day session very successfully. We have been able to discuss a number of other important issues also, in addition to the scheduled business. Before concluding, I would like to wish all the hon. Members a very happy Diwali. We will meet again in the Winter Session for transaction of more important business...*(Interruptions)*.

**MR. SPEAKER:** I also join him and wish the hon. Members Happy Diwali.

**SHRI IBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT:** Now, Sir, you did enough.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** We have missed the dinner from you.

**SHRI P. UPENDRA:** I am very sorry for that. The agreement was that the Chief Whip of the Opposition...*(Interruption)*.

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):** In protest, we are coming and eating with you.

**SHRI P. UPENDRA:** He was opposed to the same. But I apologise for the inconvenience caused to the hon. Members. Thank you all very much.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The House now stands adjourned *sine die*.

**22.06 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned sine die*