

after a great deal of struggle, Government has been specifically defined as one consisting of Governor, aided and assisted by the duly elected Government of Jammu and Kashmir State. There is no definition which can be transported into Article 370. And unnecessarily since the matter is pending in the High Court, that is not for the discussion. But kindly ensure that till Governor's rule, nobody tampers with Article 370 and leaves it as it is till. For whosoever like you anyone else becomes an elected Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State or the Legislature of the State comes to deal with it, the way the nation requires to deal with it.

These are my submissions.

16.15 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Communal Situation in the Country

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the wish of the House, now we shall have to take up the discussion on the communal situation.

Before we go in for further discussion on the Ministry of Home Affairs, which will be tomorrow, I call upon the Minister kindly to make a statement on the communal situation, following which the debate will start. It will be initiated by Shri Harish Rawat.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Mr. Chairman, Madam, I have no statement to make. Whatever facts are to be given, I will give in my reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Harish Rawat.

[Translation]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Madam Chairman, we had expected the

Government to pick up the signals from the unfortunate incidents of Mathura and after assessing the gravity of the situation prevailing there it would make a statement in the House in regard thereto. We had expected that by doing so the Government would give a serious warning to the country as a whole and to those elements in particular, who are behind such incidents of communalism, but unfortunately today we have a Government which has failed to realise the gravity of the situation and it is ignoring the signals being given by the recurrence of such incidents time and again.

Madam, the planned manner in which a procession was taken out in Mathura and the way such elements were selected to join the procession from Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, who are completely communal in their attitude is a dangerous situation. The way these elements set afire a mosque without any provocation and tried to defile the Kuran deserves utmost condemnation. As regards the details of the incident, Shri Dinesh Singh, Shri Kalp Nath Rai and others who visited Mathura would present them in the House. I am surprised to observe that secular Indian culture of Ram, Rahim and Mahatma Gandhi which has been unique example of tolerance is giving way to communalism and communal incidents. These incidents, wherever they occur, are a disgrace to the nation and for everyone of us. When at this juncture we expect maximum tolerance, with our enemies on the borders awaiting to test our patience, it is regretful that some of our people without realising the gravity of the situation are falling into their trap. They are not realising the consequences their attempts at dividing the nation on communal lines would have for the country and how it would affect the country's unity, integrity and preparedness.

We are proud of our forces. We are also proud of our political leaders who have created a strong India, which cannot be defeated by any power of the world. If we are even defeated it will be through the enemies within ourselves. Today there is a conspiracy to create strife between two communi-

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ties in the country. This is reflected from the indication which we have received in Gujarat, Kanpur and Mathura. We both have to take hints from them. We have to see as to how to curb these elements who deliberately attempt to destroy communal harmony. I agree that I am proud of my faith but I am also proud of being an Indian. I respect a temple as well as a Mosque, a Church or a Gurudwara. It is regretful that in a country like India which is the meeting point of all religions of the world, such slogans are being raised which are in favour of the majority community. I agree that it is the duty of all of us to maintain communal harmony. However, the majority community has the maximum responsibility for maintaining it. Today some elements of the majority community are attempting to vitiate the atmosphere at several places in the name of chauvanistic politics and protecting the interest of the majority community. The hon. Prime Minister had stated that communal incidents have occurred only in those states, where Congress is in power. I would like to draw your attention towards the statement of the Prime Minister in his interview to the 'Time' Magazine. He clearly stated that incidents of communal riots take place only in the Congress ruled states and the question of their occurrence elsewhere does not arise. But it is regretful today that communal riots broke out in Gujarat because your party, Janata Dal had some difference of opinion with another party which is your supporter at the centre. They wanted someone else to be appointed as the Home Minister. This led to serious tension in the State and several persons lost their lives in the incidents of riot. I am only trying to touch these points in brief because our scholarly Member, Shri Dinesh Singh will present our party's perspective in detail. I would like to urge only this much that many people are indulging in such mischief. Mr. Home Minister, I understand your compulsions. The composition of your Government is such that you have to compromise with such elements with whom you share no similarity of thought but you are compelled to do so for political interests and to protect your seat of power.

We observe everyday that your action is dictated by their will and way of thinking. Sir, when the existence of the country is threatened and its communal harmony is in danger and there is also danger lurking at the borders, it is expected that we would all rise above party politics and think about the interest of the country.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Your party had sent a delegation to Allahabad. Will any member of the Congress Party take part in this discussion? I have come to know that they appreciated the way the state Government deal with the situation.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I am not talking of the state Government. What I am trying to draw attention is about the reasons for the growing number of communal riots taking place in our country. The main reason is that the differences of opinion between your party and BJP are coming to surface and I hope you will admit it.

Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, I would like to urge upon you to rise above the political interests because the same anti-social elements who tried to mount the communal tension in the name of shila poojan, are now forming 'shahee Jatha' in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar which will definitely make a venomous atmosphere in the country. Their intention is to recruit people from all the village and then ask them to march towards Ayodhya so that the situation becomes more communalised and tense, there is no need to name the particular party which is playing the game from behind the curtains and the other crutch of the Government will realise it and they have full knowledge about it.

Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, I would like to invite your kind attention to this matter and suggest that you should take some strict actions to stop all this before it is too late, otherwise once the situation goes out of control, it will very difficult for the entire machinery to control it unfortunately the

local police also supports these communal elements that is the reason why it is always the people belonging to the minorities are killed during these communal riots whether it is a case of Kanpur or Delhi. I am not alone being troubled but every Indian citizen who is a firm believer of the high values of tolerance, goodwill and brotherhood, joins me in asking this question. And all these people have arrived at a conclusion now that the present Government in Delhi is keeping over these only violences to safeguard its paltry self-centred political interests many things have come up into these communal riots. This is my sincere request to you to consider all these suggestions regarding making the police force and administration more alert, imposing heavy penalties on the guilty persons or identifying the affected areas, seriously and implement them at the earliest.

Mr. Chairman Sir, despite all our political and moral slide, we still have a number of political personalities here who are fully dedicated to the cause of upliftment of the nation and who cannot be branded as followers of one or the other order or religion in particular. In the light of the serious threat of war posed by our neighbouring country and theorists' activities in Kashmir valley, the situation is so critical at present that we just cannot afford to get these divisive forces and anti-social elements have their way and allow them to set fire to religious places and insult the holy book. We must deal with strict hand otherwise history will never forgive us. Hon. Minister of Home Affairs, I can openly challenge you that your Government will be quoted as the most incompetent Government in the history. With these works, I would urge upon the House to analyse the implications of the signals received from Mathura in this regard in a broader prospecting of national interests rather than giving high priority to political motives.

SHRI BRIJ BHUSHAN TIWARI (Domariaganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the debate going on today in the House concerns a very serious matter of national importance. Although a debate on communal-situation took

place in the last session also and many suggestions were given but recently I have observed that terrorists and destructive forces are being encouraged to create an atmosphere communal disharmony in the country the incidents of communal riots in Gujarat, Kanpur and Mathura clearly indicate towards the pre-planned conspiracy of some very well organised groups of anti social elements. I would like to say in clear words in the House that the conspirators enjoy full backing of some frustrated political powers and this apprehension of mine is substantiated by the way some senior members of the opposition have tried to create a scene in the House by displaying some torn pages of a holy book. If such happenings inside the House are reported in the newspapers, they will invite severe reaction and criticism from the people. I am against such things and the House should also condemn it. To solve the problem of communalism, we require honest intention and courage. The trend of exploiting every political incident to serve one's own selfish political motive will not only give a set back to our politics but weaken the foundation of our nation and integrity. Therefore I would like to urge upon the present opposition, who were in the power till yesterday and boast of their commitment for the integrity of nation to analyse their deeds and see where they have taken the country? You who are responsible for the riots in Kanpur and Mathura. The fact remains that all the antisocial elements were obliged by the Congress Party. (*Interruptions*) Just now Shri Rawat said that hon. Prime Minister made a statement that communal riots take place mostly in those states where Congress Party is in Power. I agree with hon. Prime Minister on this point. The Chief Ministers of all those states having non. Congress Governments have declared that the terrorists and anti-social elements will be dealt with firmly and this attitude gave positive results. A meeting of National Integration Council was also held. All the political leaders who participate in these meetings follow the principle of preaching something and doing something else. Basically the concept of communalism is dangerous and not the communities be it the minority or the

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majority community. If any one tries to create this impression in the minds of minority that our Government or the administrative machinery is not capable of protecting their wider interests and property, then our country will definitely shatter into pieces and in this way. We would be helping those Britishers who could never cherish the very idea of India being independent and united. One should not attempt to harm the philosophy of our freedom struggle. I personally feel that today our politics is thoughtless and policy less at the same time. There is no sense of duty. It has been reduced to mere game of grabbing power by hook or by crook. My first suggestion is that our Prime Minister has activated National Integration Council which has been lying inactive for so many years and there is a need to further activate it. And any second suggestion is that a coordination committee of all the preceptors of different religions should be formed and hon. Prime Minister should be made its Chairman. Such a committee should be formed on state level also with Chief Minister as its Chairman so that in times of crisis, these committee can visit the sensitive areas to sort out things amicably. We can include in it some independent persons also. There should be free and frank discussion across the table. There should be no secret talk. While talking about secularism we should avoid misdeed. We must at once abandon the practice of saying one thing and doing exactly opposite. I do not want to put blame on any body. What I believe is that dogmatism is a negative force and liberalism is undoubtedly a positive force. Wherever the concept of liberalism was adopted by us in our thoughts and deed, we could succeed in keeping our nation's integrity intact. Therefore, we should make efforts of encourage the concept of liberalism and make it more stronger so that the very identity of this largest democracy remains undamaged, otherwise, it won't take very long for the religious dogmatism and antisocial elements to overpower our democratic system. We all verbally protest against the use of religious places for achieving political motives at the same time strict

measures should be adopted to implement it. In a Persian verse it has been mention that you may resort to drinking, burn religious book, burn Kaba, live in a temple, do all sorts of sins but do not hurt the feelings of others.

In Mahabharata, Bhishma has also said that the greatest religion is 'humanity'. All region are of the same view. But unfortunately, today, religion in its real sense is nowhere to be found. Theocracy is found every where. It should be stopped. All the preceptors should decide to discourage dogmatism and ostcutations.

I would request the Government to put a ban on the misleading and poisonous propaganda made through loudspeakers in temples, mosques and Gurudwaras. Today destructive forces are active on international level also, what to talk of the national level only and they are openly supporting the religious and political organisations for encouraging dogmatism and giving money and threatning publicity material with the sole aim of making the democratic and nationalist forces and traditions more and more weak. The Government will not be able to fight out all above with these destructive elements. When communal riots took place in Noakhali, then Gandhiji alongwith his political workers went to visit that place despite the fact that he was not in the Government and tried to restore peace over there. Similarly hon. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, shri Mulayam Singh Yadav held a meeting of the workers of all the political parties and legislators at that place which is a daring step. What is required most amidst the present circumstances is to create such political atmosphere.

I personally feel that we should not indulge in such dirty games which will in turn destroy our nation and ourselves. If you want to fight, then fight the elections.

Sir, I would like to urge upon the Government to consider my suggestions seriously. At the same time, I would like to make it clear to the leaders of Vishwa Hindu Parishad that if they try to do any mischief during

this period of 4 months which they have given to the government, to find out a solution to the problem, then the Government would not hesitate in taking stern actions against them government has formed committee in this respect, Government will take action if national integrity and communal harmony is disturbed. They are not the sole guardian of religion. Lord Rama belong to all the people of the country. He is our national character and our culture religion and literature in the legacy of Lord Rama. You can never even touch the greatness of Bheeshma who always believed that Humanity is the greatest religion; did you ever think of who will come to Run temple to offer prayers if there is no human being alive. Therefore I would like to request the so called office bearers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad through this House that they should have patience and wait for the decision. No solution can be reached by using muscle power or terrorism. The way hon. Shri Sathe tries to carry on the proceedings of the House by putting pressure is not right, such type of persons need to be set right and people know how to deal with them. With these words I conclude my speech.

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA (Delhi Sadar):- Mr. Chairman Sir, the debate on communalisms is being held in this House for the second time after the formation of new Lok Sabha. Before I start my speech, I would like to say that I feel that there is no difference of opinion in the House on the issue that to keep our nation's integrity intact, we should do away with communalism and pay respect to religious places of all the communities.

Mr. Chairman Sir, it will be possible to abolish communalism from our motherland only when secularism is adopted in the true sense of the word. The fundamental principle of secularism is that every citizen should be equal before law which is not compiled with by us. On the contrary what happens actually is that to prove on self as a great secularist and liberal in the eyes of public, our leaders start abusing Hindus like any thing they start talking about Hindu hating

and Hindu seeting Behaving in this manner is considered as an important symptom of a person being a firm believer in secularism is the most worst thing .

Mr. Chairman Sir, there is no doubt that the incident of destroying a mosque in Mathura is very disgusting, but what was even more disappointing is that stones and bricks were thrown at a quite and peaceful procession and a result a number of people received injured but unfortunately nobody cared to speak or say even a single word of sympathy for there injured people.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I do not mean that I support such type of anti-social activities of destroying a mosque but my point is that more then two hundred and fifty temples were destroyed in Jammu and Kashmir but not a single word was spoken in the House regarding this. I do not understand why such religious cruelties against a particular community always go unnoticed.

SHRI MOHAMMAD SHAFI (Srinagar):
 What do you say, nothing has been said against such incidents. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. VIJAYA KUMAR MALHOTRA:
 During 1986-88 those temples were also destroyed which escaped destruction from Sikander Bathisha 300 years ago. Then the thought of secularism did not come in their mind.

Whenever the issue of Mizoram is raised during the elections, Congress Party attempts to win votes by mentioning in their party's election manifesto that only a Christian Government will be formed there because the Christians are in majority in that state. Education will also be given accordingly Section 370 will continue in Kashmir because Muslims are in majority in that state. When in Kashmir, Muslims talk of going to Pakistan, it is said that when Muslims can live in other parts of India why can't they live in Kashmir, which is also a part of India. Chairman Sir, why it is so that wherever these communities are in majority, we talk in favour of majority, but if they are in minority

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in some states, then all of a sudden we start talking in favour of protecting the interests of the minority. This policy is absolutely wrong that we do not consider the proposal of giving the Hindus some special privileges and rights in state of Kashmir as they belong to minority there. At that time, they post their policies in such a manner that some particular communities always get priority whether they are in minority or majority. I felt it when it was mentioned that why during riots only the people belong to minority community are killed. Mr Chairman, Sir, nothing more can be said in the form of wrong propaganda. Who were killed in Kashmir and Sambal? Actually, the number of victims belonging to both the categories always remains equal but a distorted version of the facts is presented to the outside world.

I would like to ask that if at all it is true that minorities are being ill treated and killed in India, then why is it that refugees from all the neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh come to India and overstay here. They try to become citizen of India. Has anybody ever noticed that the percentage of Hindus in the population of India has come down to only 82.8 percent today as compared to 86 percent in 1951 that is it has decreased by 3.2% and on the other hand the population of Muslims has increased from 8.9 to 12 percent that is by 3 percent. Would these increase in the percentage of a minority group have been possible, if there was any truth in the rumour that people belonging to minority groups are being killed in India on a massive scale. This was the percentage in the year 1961. I am sorry to say that the people belonging to the Muslim League, the National Conference and the Congress Party are making all out efforts to debilitate nationalism for the sake of votes. They are appeasing them. They are indulged in malicious propaganda which creates a wrong image of our country abroad.

The percentage of Hindu population in Pakistan and Bangladesh has been reduced from 22% to 1% and from 30% to 10%

respectively. But no one asks how it all happened. But these leaders of minority community raise their voice in a manner which tarnishes our image in other countries.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that some aspects are required to be discussed freely and frankly without mincing words. As I stated that it is wrong to demolish or to set a mosque ablaze. They have also reiterated it. But why do they not admit that Babar had demolished the temple at the place of Ram Janam Bhoomi. Why do they not condemn it? If demolition of any religious place is wrong, on the same analogy why did they not say that demolition of Ram Janam Bhoomi Mandir was also an equally wrong act committed by Babar? (*Interruptions*)

It is an accepted principle that once a religious place, it will be always a religious place. The case of Sheesh Ganj Guronwara at Lahore was of similar nature. That case went upto Privy Council, While delivering the judgement British judge had said...

SHRI RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH (Jahanabad): Sir, I have a point of order; we are discussing communalism. Such utterances add fuel to the fire and worsen the communal situation. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: The Chief Justice of Lahore High Court had ruled.

[*English*]

Once a Church, is always a Church,

Once a Mosque, is always a Mosque.

[*Translation*]

Once a Temple is always a temple. Therefore, construction of a new temple at the site of demolished temple is only solution to the problem. I would like to affirm that no power can stop construction of Rama Janam bhoomi temple. However, we want to construct the temple peacefully for which har-

monious relations are required to be established. Action is required to be taken against the persons who come in the way of construction of the proposed temple as it will no longer be tolerated. If we want to root out communalism, all of us should come to the national mainstream, whether they are Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs or Christians. Those who are trying to politicise it are enemies of the nation.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MOHAMMAD SHAFI: He is adding fuel to the fire.

(Interruptions)

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Those who are preventing Muslims from coming to national mainstream are the greatest enemy of the Muslims. In the parties like the Congress Party, the National Conference and the Muslim League, there are some people who are preventing Muslims from coming to the national mainstream and are spreading the feeling of separatism among them. Therefore, these people who are trying to vitiate the secular character of the country are the enemies of not only the Muslims but the Nation also, Unless we float or sink in one stream or develop a common feeling of nationalism and treat the country and the people as one, communalism cannot be rooted out from our country.

The 15-point programme launched for providing special facilities to the people belonging for minority community has been instrumental in creating feeling of separatism. These special facilities include loans from the banks also. When a poor Hindu is denied loan from the bank under 15-point programme, this causes resentment. Is it a sin to be born in a Hindu family? Therefore, this discrimination in matter of granting loans on the ground of religion is most improper and it only leads to communalism in the country. This morning it was well said by Shri Akbar Sahib that secularism in India is alive because the Hindus are by nature secular. I would like to say that a feeling is developing

among Hindus that they are being discriminated and injustice is being meted to them. Its responsibility lies on those who think that secularism means abusing Hindu religion. Therefore, if they want to root out communalism and promote the feeling of nationalism, they should desist from the policy of appeasement to the religious minority people for sake of some votes. They should not play the politics of religion. Pakistan was created due to this appeasement-policy. Once again, some people are talking in terms of same appeasement policy to create another Pakistan which may be in the offing if timely and stern action is not taken. Therefore, the need of the hour is to bring them back to national mainstream. The Muslims are our brothers. In order to promote the feeling of nationalism, all the citizens of country should think this country as their own and the honourable members of the House should also act and behave accordingly. Only then unity and integrity of the country can be maintained. I would like to appeal to all sections of the society to lay stress on promotion of national unity and integrity of the country.

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Pratapgarh): Madam Chairman, I would like to submit a few words as to why we focussed attention on the riots that took place at Mathura. It is true that the riots that took place at Mathura were not a major one in terms of casualty. What concerned us was the beginning of a thing like this at a place like Mathura which is a holy place because of its being the birth place of Lord Krishna who gave a great message through his discourse in the 'Gita' which is held in high esteem not only by the Hindus but a great many people all over the world. The people of Mathura have been following this message in that very spirit. Mathura is a religious place. Lakhs of people go there on pilgrimage. I would like to tell you that we got an opportunity to go there in the present context of communal riots, which is a burning problem of the day. Madam, if you go there, you will see that a magnificent mosque stands by the side of an equally magnificent temple. Their walls are adjacent to each other. 'Puja' and 'Namaz' are performed in the temple and the mosque re-

[Sh. Dinesh Singh]

spectively in the usual manner. Therefore, in my view, Mathura is not an ideal place for the Hindus only but it is also a centre of our secular character in the form of the temple and the mosque which stand side-by-side. It represents our secular character. It is said that even today there is an underground passage from the basement of the mosque which leads to the prison where Lord Krishna was born and where a temple was built.

17.03 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

There has been no communal riot in the city in its long history. In 1968, the Hindus and the Muslims reached an agreement under which the mosque and the temple were allowed to remain there. I have already said that Mathura is a mirror of our secularism. Mr. Deputy speaker, Sir, it is highly improper to reopen the issue already settled. We cannot change the History. This is a history that temples were demolished and mosques were built thereon. But we should realise that this history cannot be rectified by demolishing the mosques. Will it promote secularism? Should we promote good-will between the Hindus and the Muslims or sow the seeds of new dissension between them? This country is inhabited by the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and the Sikhs as also people belonging to many other religions. The Constitution of India declares India as a republic and a secular State. All of us sitting here have taken an oath or made an affirmation to abide by the constitution. Therefore, we should do introspection as to whether we are working for preserving our Constitution and secularism. Of course, shortcomings, if any, in the Constitution can be removed. If some one does not accept this Constitution, he should openly say, so. We should make our intentions clear. The great leader of our age under whose leadership and inspiration we fought against a great empire and got our freedom had wished India to be a secular country. As a matter of fact, he was against the division of the coun-

try but somehow or the other it took place though it was wrong. But now this has become a thing of the history and we cannot change it easily. May in future an organisation of entire south Asia come into being and present disputes may disappear. After hundreds of year of dispute, Europe is witnessing this situation, and we too can be successful if we try to work in this direction. Our friends sitting on that side often make a mention of Dr. Lohia. I would like to tell them that in this very House he used to opine that a day would come when India and Pakistan would reunite. He used to talk about a federation of India and Pakistan. If a confederation is not possible, we should go in for an organisation of the countries of South Asia. The entire world is undergoing a fast change towards progress, prosperity and peace, on the other, I am pained to say that instead of taking the nation forward we are moving backward and allowing narrow-mindedness to play upper hand. This instability will put a brake on the rapid economic progress taking place in our country and the hopes and aspiration of commonmen to enjoy a better life would be shattered due to such disputes. This is the greatest problem of Mathura these days. I myself went to Mathura yesterday. I saw there many things I would not like to raise any issue on party line as it is not proper. However, I am sorry to say that our hon. Friend Shri Brij. Bhushan Tiwari raised the issue on party line and Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra raised it to the crescendo. I would not like to enter into any controversy. I think that the country is above any party. We would not be able to progress if we take political mileage out of the problems for our narrow party sake. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I witnessed a very unfortunate thing in Mathura which has always been know for its communal harmony. Some outsiders went there at the night of Saturday and tried to engineer riots there. You can verify it for yourself and I would like hon. Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra to do the same. Every one would tell you that local people were not behind the riot. It was some outsiders who engineered riots in Mathura. Right now, a mention was made about the procession taken out. I would like to submit that it was a

very long procession which passed peacefully through the roads of the city and reached the venue of the meeting. No untoward incident occurred though some very provocative slogans were raised. The meeting started peacefully, but in the meantime some outsiders, came there and indulged in raising highly provocative slogans. I know their identity but I would not like to disclose it here as it would lead to unnecessary controversy, however, if Shri Malhotra is eager to know I will certainly disclose it to him. Later attempts were made to set ablaze a small 'majar'. A jhuggi was also set on fire and a drum full of kerosene which was kept outside a small shop was also set on fire. The door of a small mosque was also set on fire. In that mosque poor people go for offering their Namaj. May I know as to who would be benefited from setting the wooden doors of the mosque ablaze? It is a fact that the Mosque cannot be removed from that place. A small mosque is situated in a lane where there are a number of shops. In that area there was no communal tension. Shops were opened and shopkeepers and the customers were busy in selling and buying goods. Everything was calm there but some people tried to set the small mosque on fire. Incidentally the fire was controlled very soon and only the doors were damaged in the fire. Attempts were made to ravage yet another mosque. I would not like to say anything which may in any way lead to tension and foment communal hatred, but I would certainly like to put a poser as to how we are doing service to the religion by encouraging such acts? Right now my friend Shri Vijay Kumar ji was emphasizing the need for bringing the whole country to a single mainstream. What does he mean by that mainstream? Does it mean that all should follow one religion? Is it good to burn the mosques of Muslims? (*Interruptions*)

I am making a humble submission to all of you that I am not saying anything on party line and if you force me to say on party line, I would reveal many more things. (*Interruptions*)

SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS:

You are free to say all those things. Why are you hesitating?

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I know that you want that I should say all those things which create furore in the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad): Please do not plea the case of mosques alone, You should plea the case of Shivalaya also. I have proof with me. I will tell what happened in Gujarat.

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota): In Gujarat, the Chairman of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad was killed. Where you speak of mosques alone we speak for 'Sarva-dharm-sambhav'.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Joshi ji, if you have something to say, you will be given opportunity but please do not interrupt like this. Let Shri Dinesh Singh ji speak.

SHRI JAG PAL SINGH (Hardwar): Shri Dinesh Singh ji is making his point in a very balanced manner...

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI: In India, everyone takes up the case of Muslims only, no one takes up the case of Hindus.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seats..

(*Interruptions*)

Whatever you have to say, you can say during the course of your speech, but it is not proper to interrupt when some other hon. Member is submitting his views, If you think that he is making any wrong submission, you can refute it in your speech.

[*English*]

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: But, he should not put words into our mouth.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is not

doing that. I am very carefully watching it. It is useless to interrupt. He is not doing that.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa): We hope that the discussion that we are having here, will have an impact on the temperature outside. So, we should not do any-thing that will ignite the fire. We have to take part responsibly in this debate. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please allow him to have his say. If you have any other points of view, you can project them.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I have already said that I am not referring to any particular organisation or person. I fail to understand as to why our hon. friend Shri Vijay Kumar ji is so perturbed. I did not put words into his mouth. I dare not use the words just spoken by him in the House as I lack will to do so. I am referring to a different thing. I simply said that he made a mention of mainstream. I maintain that it is wrong to say that Muslims or Christians or followers of any other religion are not in the national mainstream. It would be a great injustice to them. Whenever the country was invaded, our jawans whether they were Muslims or Hindus or Christians, sacrificed their lives to defend the country. Even then you talk of a national mainstream. What kind of mainstream do you want? What else do you want from them to prove their loyalty to the country? I fail to understand. What sort of mainstream you were referring to?

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You will not do that. I have already warned you. If you want to make any point, you may please get up and do that. But, you cannot interrupt like this.

[*Translation*]

PROF VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Not only I but a number of other members are interrupting.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: O.K. This Applies to one and all.

SHRIDINESH SINGH: Shri Vijay Kumar ji, I did not utter even a single word during your speech.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Malhotra ji, this applies to one and all.

SHRIDINESH SINGH: I was submitting that it is most regretful for us Hindus that certain people like 'Pandas' and pujaris have become minions of our religion. They consider themselves as the self styled upholders of our religion. It is unfortunate for us. Unless we keep these self styled upholders of our religion at bay, true Hinduism cannot be established in the country. This applies to almost all religions of the country as every religion is infested with such drawbacks. If we remove these drawbacks, communal harmony will be maintained in the country.

If we all stand united, we will be able to constitute a strong and self-reliant nation which can contribute to common man's prosperity. We can proceed towards achieving that end after we raise ourselves above the parameters of our ideologies.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, many points have been raised here and I have very intently and patiently listened to them. I do not want to raise any controversy in this regard particularly at this moment because I understand that there is no gain in creating a religious ferment. The number of Hindus left here, increase in Muslim population, exodus of migrants and refugees from our neighbouring countries as also from India etc. are the things in everybody's knowledge and any country that is prosperous, democratic and secular in character should be least bothered about the way and manner in which the people from the surrounding territories

enter it. There is nothing special about India in this regard. There are many countries that check immigration by enforcing immigration laws and quotas and when the need arises. I understand our hon. Home Minister will surely look to it that there is no unchecked entry of the people from the neighbouring countries. At least the subversive and anti social elements should not be allowed to enter into this country. Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra is smiling over all this what I have said here. Mr. Home Minister, Sir, I think he has no faith in you, how can I help it? But before I take my seat, I would like to add that in view of the present situation in this country, it will be better to create a friendly and harmonious atmosphere rather than to altercate over these issues and for this there is no need of any Integration Council. It is the responsibility of each and every Indian. The Council can only give us a direction or a methodology at the most which alone will not suffice unless and until we exercise restraint in the use of our language and try to stand united. It is but natural that the minorities, wherever they are, feel insecure. This does not apply to India alone, but it is a fact in respect of all other countries of the world and it be comes the responsibility of the majority community to assure the minorities of their cooperation, security, self-respect and religious freedom. We shall have to go to that extent. I agree with Shri Vijay Kumar's statement that all are equal before law. This is good and is enshrined in our constitution itself but I and you have to rise above law to assure them that they can live herewith respect and safety.

SHRI JAG PAL SINGH: Something has been said about religious Godfathers. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to think about them also.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): There is also a need to treat the religious fundamentalists like you.

SHRI JAS PAL SINGH: You should also think of handling the political Godfathers who have taken on themselves the respon-

sibility of well-being of all the Hindus of this country.

SHRI HUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV (Sitamarhi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, hon. Shri Dinesh Singh was speaking quite seriously and in a balanced way over certain issues in the House. He is blessed with the experience of being in the treasury benches as also now of setting in the opposition. He has tasted power and also remained out of power. Today, he is undergoing experiences of sitting in the opposition. At the outset one of our friends, Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari had raised certain basic issues and he has developed a unique character because of his participation in the socialist movement and now wherever he goes, he is bound to carry those traits.

I would like to ask him whether while sitting in this House he has seriously pondered over the reasons for ever increasing growth of communalism in this country? However nobody knows it as to which of the villages and houses will fall a prey to it. Today, the whole country seems to be sitting at the crater of a volcano and when and where it shall burst into a fire is not certain. Are we prepared to check it?

The second point I would like to raise here is whether we are ready to go in for rewriting our history we have been teaching to our children since the days of their childhood? While teaching them history in the primary classes, we tell our children about the days of our slavery under the Muslims. In fact, we tell them that Mughals, Pathans and the English also ruled us for centuries. So from the very childhood, we instil into them a sense of having been the slaves of the Muslims, the Pathans and the English for generations together. This inculcates a sense of the rulers and the ruled in the children. This History should be changed into the one that depicts how to distinguish between the Indians and the foreigners. Babar can be termed as a foreigner and Akbar as an Indian, though both of them belonged to the same family. In which family or clan was Bahadur Shah Zafar born? Today, we re-

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member him with great regard. This country saw a long period of Mughal rule but it is there on a page of our great History that Bahadur Shah Zafar was a great warrior who fought for this country and was buried here under the soil of this pious land. His grave would have echoed his voice that a person living in this country is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim and this country belongs to all of them. Our History reveals today that Bahadur Shah Zafar was not buried in India. It says that by laying his corpse to rest in a land other than that of ours, it was India's self-respect that had been buried.

I would like to stress the point whether we will be able to distinguish between the religion and the community? Hon. Shri Dinesh Singh was reminding us of Lord Krishna. I am a bit educated and whatever knowledge I have acquired, I have gained it merely sitting beside Lohiaji and listening to him. It is not a first hand knowledge that one acquires by reading voluminous books but I have received it by listening to the learned men. Lord Krishna has Himself said—

"Sarva Dharman parityajya,
Mamekam sharanam Brajaha."

which means lay down all duties in me, your refuge. Some is the position in regard to a country. "Ekam sadvipra buhuhavadanti." I am not a learned person but I believe that God is one and intellectuals call him by different names.

You talk of secularism. But I would like to ask you if a religion can afford to be indifferent? It cannot afford to be that. One who does not know the essence of religion can dare talk of it. Religion or Dharma is never one-sided. At the time of Mahabharata, the learned and the intellectuals took only one aspect of religion, they saw it as a fragmented entity in the form of Raja dharma, Pita dharma, Putra dharma, Patni dharma, Rashtra dharma, Guru dharma, Shishya dharma etc. These different dharmas are the different spheres of their duty towards differ-

ent people and aspects of life. You can judge or evaluate a personality in its entirety only when one is equally able to perform one's duty in different capacities as a citizen, i.e. as a son, a father or a wife. This is what is called dharma and that is why the learned Rishis have said that a man should free himself from the bonds of dharma as it also leads to a bondage: According to Kabir:-

"Had chale so manava, behad chale so saadh,
Had behad dou taje, take mata agadh."

This connotes that one should ascend the bounds of the limited and the unlimited. I am a human being and of the view that the religion in the real sense of the term will manifest itself the day when every person treats every other person with love and compassion and you can't be a complete human being until you stop to distinguish between man and man on the basis of one's caste and religion. Therefore, every Indian should have an unbiased and fully developed mind. I am uttering these words particularly because when Shri Brijbhushan Tiwari was the President of the Student's Union, Shri Ram Manohar Lohia had written a letter to him from 24, Guradwara Raqab Ganj road. While I was reading that letter only three days ago, I came across certain lines which read "our minds are not mature, they should be complete and unbiased." I reiterate that we and the entire House do have courage and I am sure that the communal elements will no longer stay within the bounds of the country; the day and the moment Indian Parliament passes a unanimous resolution to denounce communalism in India. According to Maharishi Arvind, India faces the threat of three vices i.e. ignorance, fear and falsehood. All such fears and apprehensions such as "will I be able to become an MP or a legislator, or will I be able to win the seat of power or what fate will my son and grandson meet" haunt us. And to be frank enough the people are haunted by such apprehensions, for example, will my posterity bear with my presence and company? So, we should free ourselves from such fears and falsehood. Keeping this thing in view, Kabirji

had uttered the following words:-

"Kahanta to bahuto mila, gahanta mile na koe'

Soyee kahanta bahi janide, jo na gahanta hoe."

But the fact remains that today we are following in the foot steps of the persons who only profess and do not put it into actual practice. There is no real follower of what he professes. One may be a socialist by words and a capitalist by deeds or a democrat by words and an individualistic and dictatorial in approach and practice. We are only following this falsehood and entrapping the whole country in that illusion and conceit. I would, therefore, like to request you to check this trend if you can do it.

I would like to give certain suggestions. My first suggestion is that we should adopt a resolution in our Parliament that status quo with regard to the religious and community concentrations will be maintained without affecting any change in their location and place as they stood here in this land on the day of our independence i.e., the 15th of August, 1947. If we adopt an unanimous resolution to that effect today itself, we can save ourselves from the fire of communalism. Who can say as to what happened at a particular spot or a point of time? Even the great warriors like Karna, at the time of his death in the battlefield of Mahabharata, requests Lord Krishna, the Supreme being, that his dead body be cremated at a place where no other corpse had been cremated before that. Lord Krishna fails to find such place on earth where last rites of not a single dead-body had been performed. Despite his best efforts, he does not find such a piece of land for his cremation. Ultimately he succeeds in finding a spot just enough for the point of an arrow to lit the pyre of Karna. These episodes may add to our knowledge but not to our intellect. Nobody knows whether this land of ours had once been a graveyard, the cremation ground or the bed of streams and rivers or something else.

SHRI RAJMANGAL PANDE (Deoria):

At some particular point of time, there must have been a Sansad or a Parliament here.

SHRIHUKUMDEO NARAYAN YADAV:

You are right and may be that was greater than the present Parliament. Pandeji is a learned man and I of ten steal some of this knowledge by a little provocation. There may once have been a Sansad here but there could have been no Sang-sad, I am sure. Please turn the present Sansad into a Sang-sad. 'Sang' connotes 'sangati' or company or council and 'Sad' implies righteousness, virtue, etiquette and integrity of character. The objective of a Welfare State can be achieved if Sansad is turned into a sang-sad. Otherwise, the present situation cannot be improved.

My second suggestion is that no community should be allowed to raise any structure within the premises of a Government office or on a Government land. Why can it not be checked if a ban is imposed on such activities. ...(*Interruptions*)...

My third suggestion relates to making efforts in the direction of averting an aerial confrontation between 'Allah' and 'Rama' Through 'Azans' from mosques and recitation of 'Sitaram' from temples on loud-speakers. For this there is need to enact appropriate laws to check the use of sound-magnifying mechanisms that compel others to listen reluctantly to one's way of worship because this stands in total contradiction with the directives of a religion or a community. One may adopt a particular way of worship of one's own choice but to impose it on others by mere reciting it loudly on the loud speakers is against the religious norms.

Fourthly, no religious processions should be allowed on the roads without the consent of other communities. A religious or community procession should be taken through the residential areas of the communities only if they have no objection to that. Mahaviri flag procession and Tazia, Ramanavmi or Chehllum processions may be taken out but in accordance with the above mentioned norms. The organisers should be compelled

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to abide by these norms without any religious or other consideration or be ready to face the consequences.

Fifthly, no political party should give protection or party tickets to persons whose speeches or deeds tend to create communal tensions and flareup. Such people should not only be debarred from a party-post but also from the membership of organisations and elected institutions. They should be socially boycotted so that this tendency does not find room for propagation. The party that does not comply with these rules should cease to have political recognition....(*Interruptions*)....

I am not referring to Congress or any other particular party for that matter. A common notion of my native place as so oft-spoken by an hon. leader Shri Raj Narayan is—'Kis kis ka kahan naam, kambali odhe sara gaon'.—

I am not blaming the Congress alone but when I do introspection, I find that my inner conscience says that we are no exception to it. We are also at fault at least 10 percent whereas all others around us are to be blamed for their 100% communal frenzy. The element of communalism be it one percent or 100 percent is equally dangerous for the nation. Communalism can't be evaluated in terms of percentage. The gunpowder will always burst with a bang, may be a little of it or hundred grams or a quintal of it. Therefore, when I go in for introspection, I don't find myself to be perfect and clean. However, how you evaluate yourselves, depends upon you. So kindly look to yourself.

"Darshan karna chahein, to darpan manjat rahiye,
Darpan pe lagi hai kai to darsh kahan se pai."

If one's own face is besmeared in black how can one dare to look at it into a mirror.

Therefore, I would like to say, as Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra has also emphasized, that secularism is not needed as much as there is need for an equal respect for all religions. Total freedom should be guaranteed by the Government to all religious communities for performing their respective rituals and worship so far as these do not tend to meddle with the religious practices of other communities. Such offenders, if any, should be handcuffed. This limitation should not be trespassed. So far as one enjoys the freedom of speech, expression and action such a freedom should not infringe upon the rights and action such a freedom should not infringe upon the rights and freedom of others. Therefore, there is need to observe certain restraint in the exercise of one's freedom and rights. A uniform set of law should govern all the citizens of this country, be it the Hindus, Muslims or Christians. But our minority brethren look upon it only in the light of Islamic laws. Why do we always raise the issue of polygamy? This is because a woman is considered to be nothing more than a consumer item in this country. There are two standards of measuring the extent of development in the world i.e. the basis of sex and the assets. However, their point of view differs greatly. These are the two basic standards and for that matter, a uniform law is needed on that basis. When I say a uniform law, it does not mean that it will be applicable only in case of Hindus and the Muslims. I too am a Hindu by birth. Here the people are facing discrimination and disparities and how many of them are falling prey to it, only God knows. However, it is a something very sad that whenever there is a communal riot claiming the life of 4-5 persons, it invites a debate in the Parliament. Processions are taken out by the C. P. I. candidates every where in Bihar and resort to booth capturing but whenever there is firing on the procession and 5-6 people are killed in it, nobody feels sorry for that. Here you may become emotional in Parliament when Hindus or Muslims die in communal riots but here you never raise your voice in favour of the those people of Bihar who have been dying everyday in a lot of 10 to 15 or 20 while struggling against their poverty, unemployment and social

exploitation. You may take it in different ways.

I would again like to reiterate and urge upon the Government to invite all the religious leaders and demagogues of all schools of religious thoughts and ideologies, the seats and sub-seats thereof of Delhi and tell them that we all have to run this country unitedly. They should be asked to reach at a consensus about the formulation of a code of conduct which will remain inviolable by the parties and observance of all religious norms will be adhered to. They should see whether they can do it that way. It should also be ensured that only the palatable is not accepted and the unpalatable is not rejected. The practice of flattering Shankaracharya at the time of elections to have his blessings for winning votes or bowing in reverence before the Devraha Baba or the Holy Shrine of Qaba should cease to continue because such things give strength to blind faith and beliefs. There should be no politicians' visits to Chandraswami etc. with such intentions or to persons who profess to be what they are not. For instance, Dhirendra Brahmachari, who is a saint on one hand and runs a gun-factory on the other or the instance of some other person who is though called Sadachari by his name but acts as a corrupt person or a man of loose morals.

We go to a particular Babaji, have his darshan, take 'Charnamrit' and utter "Jai Baba ke" and request him to bestow his kindness. They day from which the head of the Government would stop visiting Pandits and Maulvis, their following will be diminished and from that very day the fire of communalism which is ravaging the country will be extinguished. We should, therefor, in this august House take pledge and frame such a legislation that those who are in power will never go to these places and would only perform their duties and would not make a public demonstration by bowing before the Maulvis and Pandits. Then only the problem of communalism would be solved. I am a small farmer from a village. I am narrating before you the story of socialism which my guru Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had narrated to me. When Pandit Ram

Nandan Mishra renounced the world, he told me that I should go on repeating these things. He had said that if the laws made by the Parliament imbibe courage, will, self respect and a sense of dedication towards national unity, the feelings of communalism would come to an end. But if we allow communalism to go uncurbed and keen shedding tears then discussion on communalism in parliament would be in vain and the problem of communalism will never be solved.

17.47 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Seventh Report

[English]

SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM (Sa-
 lem): I beg to move:

"That this house do agree with the Seventh Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 23rd April, 1990."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Seventh Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 23rd April, 1990."

The Motion was adopted

17.48 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Communal Situation in the Country -
 CONTD.

[Translation]

SHRI YADVENDRA DATT (Jaunpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was listening to today's discussion with complete concentration. My friend Shri Harish Rawat referred to

[Sh. Yadendra Datt]

Shila Pujan and said that as a result of this, communalism has been encouraged. I want to ask him only one question and that is who created the chaos by throwing bricks, when the route to carry the bricks of Shila Pujan was settled in Hazaribagh. I am astonished to learn that it is being said that it has encouraged communalism. In Uttar Pradesh, we did the same thing but nothing of this sort happened anywhere. Now the question is how did communalism flare up? The country was divided on the basis of religions, whether it was right or wrong I do not want to comment on it. Thereafter you started creating minorities on the basis of religion. As far as I understand, minorities and majorities have an ethnic base. Then how can minorities be based on religion. The fore-fathers of someone may have been Hindus three generations back whereas in the case of some other person it may have been twenty generations and this reveals that it is not ethnic based. You may take for example Germany or France for that matter, you have travelled widely, there are Christians, Protestants, Roman Catholics and also hewzenots. Are there any conflicts between them? The root cause of the prevailing conflicts is the special rights for religious minorities. Are there no Indians in Indonesia or Bali Island. There is no provision of special rights there. There exists no conflict of any kind there why? When you give special rights then the feeling of separation gains ground and based on it comes numerous demands. We talk a lot about secularism, but what is its definition? What is secularism? Is it secularism to abuse the Hindus? Just now, my friend said that it is the special responsibility of the majority to keep the minorities happy.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I did not say that they have to be kept happy, I only said that they should feel secured.

SHRI YADEVENDRA DUTT: I am grateful to him that he has corrected me. What is meant by keeping secure? Would you tell me whether we were instrumental in expelling the Hindus from Kashmir? Are we to be

blamed for the massacre in Pakistan? What is meant by security? The more you try to appease them, the more will be their demand for appeasement and the time will arrive when the minority communities will demand that in the name of secularism, the majority communities should succumb to their wishes. This is not possible anywhere. Both shall have to function simultaneously. I would like to state in very unambiguous terms that it is very wrong to damage any place of worship and it should be condemned to the extent possible. just now you quoted Lord Krishna

*"Sarvaloke na parityajya na bhavet kam
sharanam prati"*

*Sir, why did you forget that he had also
said*

*"Paritranaḥ Sadhunam Vinashaya cha
dushkritam"*

You forget? Things should be seen from all angles and not a part thereof. When you examine an issue from all angles only then you can arrive at a right decision. My friend Shri Malhotra said that we want to bring Muslims in the mainstream. That is correct. He wanted to know what is meant by mainstream? So, I give three examples of mainstream.

*"Gaj raj darat shish par keh rahim kehi
kaj,*

*Jo raj muni patni tari soi dhundhat
gajraj."*

If we have that much love for our land we are in the mainstream. Another mainstream is that "our country is the best of all countries in the world." Who said this? It was said non else but by Iqbal. The mainstream does not mean that trouble shot up in one place and riots took place in Bombay. The mainstream has nothing to do with the result of a cricket match. Winning and losing is part of the game. This amounts to separation and we have to curb this tendency. I am terribly sorry that such a serious issue, which we should discuss with each other.

[English]

Instead of 'taking to each other', we have come to "talking at each other"

Nobody is clear on it.....or if the lady is protesting too much.....

[Translation]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, as a matter of fact we should listen to the views of everyone patiently and such terms should be avoided which provoke violence. It is unfortunate that such terms have been used here. What is this? Are we curbing communalism by doing so. We are not curbing but encouraging it. The words used here are taken in different sense and torn out of context. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today we should examine this aspect also as to why these riots are taking place in the country? What is the root cause of riots in Gujarat, Ahmedabad or in Baroda, Are they smugglers, liquor traders or Pak infiltrators? I do not want to name any country here, you can understand yourself but their intention is to destabilise the Government of this country at the earliest. I am sorry that the hon. Home Minister and our Government raised such a hue and cry in the beginning about humanitarian aspect.

[English]

They sent very weak signals to outside world.

[Translation]

Today we are facing the consequences. There is a limit to human approach. It cannot be unlimited. Humanitarian approach is a relevant term. It cannot be a one sided affair. Therefore, the first and foremost thing is to conduct a high level probe in respect of these riots. you will have to find out how many Pak infiltrators have Sneaked into India and how many are overstaying, another thing to be looked into is that

[English]

Bangladesh is exporting its poverty.

[Translation]

Bangladesh is passing its poverty to our country. Our Raja Saheb said emphatically that in a prosperous nation people do come, but this does not mean that so many foreigners should be allowed to settle down here by treating this country as grazing ground.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I had said that this should be curbed.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: Sir, you blow hot and cold in the same breath. That is why nothing is clear. My submission is that an inquiry into all these things should be held. I charge in very clear terms, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that in all the riots, in smuggling of arms or in espionage activities, Pakistani Nationals or the people who have come from Bangladesh are being used. We shall have to put a check on it. This is wrong and would be a folly to suggest that more riots took place in the regime of the previous Government or present Government. I am expressing my views keeping in mind the national interest and not from the point of view of any specific party. You may feel that they are of some specific party but even if you do so, I have no objection. But you should not take this matter to the extent that no action is taken in this respect. Please do not forget this. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today this issue should be considered very impassionately and it should be considered forgetting party affiliations. We have to examine all aspects and sort out all problems forgetting the politics and see everything from the nation's point of view. I have my apprehensions that behind all these communal riots a conspiracy has been hatched to destabilise the Government. On one hand riots are incited and on the other hand policy of appeasement is suggested. Do not forget this that appeasement will always encourage communalism and provoke riots. One should not forget that. When the tiger tastes the blood he is not satisfied with blood alone, he shall demand flesh as well. In Mathura, I do not know, I shall once again request you to correct yourself that whatever you said in your speech was not clear, therefore, kindly

[Sh. Yadvendra Datt]

make it clear. As far as I remember you said that the birth place of Lord Krishna was beneath some Masjid or Ibadatgah. it is quite possible that I might have not heard properly.

(Interruptions)

SHRI DINESH SINGH: I had stated that the spot which is considered to be the birth place, which was a part of the prison, is still secure in the basement of the mosque and puja is performed there till date.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH (Aonla): You have said one thing more that now there is a temple on it. So, where the basement has gone and how did the temple come over it?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Raja Saheb, you know it very well that there is a basement beneath your house and your house is built over that basement.....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI RAJVEER SINGH: Dear Sir, there may be a house built on a basement but no temple is, generally, built on a basement.

....*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI YADVENDRA DATT (Jaunpur): You may also clarify that when the basement is under the mosque, then how does the temple exist on it.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: You go there any day and see it for your-self. You will come to know everything....*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Yadvendra, will you go on doing discussion among yourselves? Please address the Chair.

SHRI YADVENDRA DATT: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if it is said, as one of our friends has just stated, that some outsider has done it. Can you tell me, who are these outsiders

in India? When there is only one India, so nobody is Kashmiri, Tamilian, Ruhelkhandi or Baghelkhandi and everybody is India. So, where did these outsiders come from? I mean, to assume some one an outsider (though he is a citizen of India) is the root-cause of separatism. This assumption of 'outsiders' for any class of people creates separatism which, later on, takes the form of 'Jay election', 'Jai vote' and 'Jai mazhab' (religion). The difference between the meaning of our profession and practice is the most unfortunate asked for us? Call the people to renounce all such ideas. We must talk about only one India. Sathe Saheb is a friend of mine and we, both, are from Nagpur my wife belongs to Nagpur, we have our bungalows side by side in Nagpur.

SHRI DINESH SINGH: Now, the relationship between you both has been revealed to us.

SHRI YADVENDRA DATT: Not only this, we have many relations with you also about which you may know later on.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is purely an administrative division of the country for its smooth administration and dialect changes after a distance of 10 miles in a country as also the way a language is spoken. I do not follow it. This change generates the feeling of separatism in us, which we have to expel from our minds.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as far as 'Minority Commission' and 'Human Rights' are concerned, when Kashmir's 'Pandits' migrated to Delhi - I am using the word Pandit but not hindu, for if I use the word 'Hindu' there will be uproar in the House and went to the 'commission' to narrate their sorrows and sufferings the commission disappointed them by saying that it was beyond their jurisdiction to listen to their grievances. I ask, what sort of this commission is? By raising the bogie of minority, the country was divided. In my opinion, religion has nothing to do with minority or majority. It is our culture that matters and causes minority and majority and which is ethnic. I urge my Muslim

brethren why they want to be known as 'minorities'? The hollowness of 'minority' and 'majority' will be of no use to them, instead of that they should change their attitudes and viewpoint.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to tell hon. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed that to change one's liturgy does not mean to change of one's ancestors. I want to raise a question in the House that was asked from me in Jakarta (Indonesia). When the story of Lord Rama is told, it is so enchanting that it cannot be described in words. Actually, it spell-bounds the listeners. I was sitting there and when I asked a Muslim fellow, 'being a Muslim, how do you say the prayer of Lord Rama?' He retaliated immediately, 'Does the changed liturgy brings any change one's forefathers?' The change in one's liturgy does not chage one's forefathers or one's country. But, why this evil is going on in our country and the forefathers are changed. Even the country has been changed. This evil is unfortunate for us and should be stopped altogether. We have to educate the people to check this trend while expressing his views on education, one of my friends referred to history and I agree with him that history should contain facts. Any deviation from the historical facts will amount to disloyalty to the country. History should not be written in arbitrary manner. We should learn something from our contemporary history that why again and again such events take place. But everything is being misused today. An hon. Member of this House - I will not mention his name-had said in his speech at Boat Club that the bungalows of the Ministers would be set on fire, their hands and legs will be broken. What action had the Government taken?

[English]

Open challenge and you bowed down.

[Translation]

You encourage them and they abuse others. I request the Government to curb the activities which cause frictions and distur-

bances. With this, I urge the Minister of Home Affairs to discontinue the policy of appeasement, apprehend the infiltrators and expel them to their own countries as they are working for destabilisation of our country. 'human Rights Commission' should be set up and the minorities commission should be wound up. The country should be governed by a common law. The law has nothing to do with liturgy. What is the difference between law and liturgy. I may say one thing more. The people of our country have emotional attachment with the Ram Temple and should be given to Hindus and the temple must be built there.

18.07 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Eighth Report

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Saifuddin Choudhary to present the Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHARY (Katwa): Sir, I bet to present the Eighth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

18.08 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

Communal Situation in the Country - Contd.

[Translation]

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (Murshidabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs are being discussed here whereas communal riots is the subject of discussion all over the country. Today, a discussion on the riots in Mathura is being allowed under

[Sh. Syed Masudal Hossain]

Rule 193. The purpose of the discussion is to arrive at a consensus on how to check the recurrence of such riots. But it is regrettable that while discussing an issue, we should forget that we are elected representatives of the people. And while we are discussing an issue we behave as if we are the caretakers of the religion we belong to. Some speak and act like they are the protectors of temples or mosques. How can I do anything when issues not relevant to the topic of the discussion are raised? If every Member of this House does not have good intentions then I cannot carry a good message when I go outside the House. The incidents in Mathura were discussed. Before speaking on Mathura, I shall briefly touch upon the incidents in Kanpur. So emotionally-charged has man become that the collision of a scooter and a cycle sparked off a communal riot. Way I know if the cycle was Hindu or the scooter was Muslim? Five persons were killed in the riots. The issue of temples and mosques is being raised. Shri Kalp Nath placed a burnt copy of the Quran on the Table of the House. No purpose is served in doing so because temples, mosques, Quran, Gita and the Bible are meant for serving humanity and not the other way round. The security and well-being of man is most important. Yet we give little importance to man and more importance to temples and mosques. Regrettably we see slogans written on walls that Babar was an invader. What could be the reason behind writing these slogans? Even if I agree for a moment that Babar was an invader, who did he attack? History tells us that the first time he fought was with Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. Battles between kings is quite usual. Facts as old as 400-500 years are being dug up to create tension in the country. What is deplorable is that some political parties are making political capital in the name of religion. Anti-social elements are flourishing under political patronage. When I went to Ahmedabad, I came to know that riots over there had been sparked off by a stray incident. This was purely the handiwork of anti-social elements. But when those communal riots were attributed to them the

anti-social elements took refuge under their respective religious groups. Now these anti-social elements are acting as the watchdogs of their respective religions and getting the respect of their religious brethren who in the past condemned them for their anti-social activities. Hindus and Muslims consider these anti-social elements as their protectors and treat them virtually as son-in-laws. People hesitate to condemn anti-social elements. Demolition of temples or mosques, killing of people in the name of religion or politics is the work of anti-social elements but their activities are not condemned. No legal action is taken against them. Our experience over the past 40 years is that each and every riot has been called a communal riot. Numerous commissions were set up but none of them has accused anyone till now. None has been punished. The anti-social elements who are responsible for these riots also want that every riot should be called a communal riot Sir, you have rung the bell.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Sir, I have to ring the bell.

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN: I shall give one or two suggestions without taking up much time. I shall give a suggestion to the hon. Home Minister. I had gone to Ahmedabad and have also given you a report on the situation there on my return Riots have been occurring there for the past several years. Due to these riots, Hindus living in Muslim-dominated areas and Muslims living in Hindu-dominated areas are shifting to other places. This shows a weakness on the part of the Government. The result of all this is that if a Hindu shifts to a Hindu-dominated area, it is the fundamentalists of his community who look after him. The same thing happens to Muslims who shift to Muslim-dominated areas. Over there these migrants are forced to act according to the dictates of the fundamentalists of their respective communities. Such incidents are common wherever riots take place. It is the duty of the Government to ensure that fundamentalists do not enter these areas.

Is it not true that after Hindus shift from

Muslim-dominated areas and Muslims shift from Hindu-dominated areas, their land and houses are sold at throw away prices? People think that if the members of one community flee, they would get the houses that belong to those who will go away. The Government should think in this direction and frame a law for this purpose.

We know what happened in Bhagalpur. People migrated from there and their land and property was taken over by others. The family members of those who have been killed will not be able to return to live in their houses. The Government should think over it.

Lastly, I would like to say that all hon. Members of this House are concerned about the tension in the country. We should all work together towards separating politics from religion. All anti-social elements linked with politics should be brought to book. They should be pushed out of politics. With these words, Sir, I would like to thank you.

[English]

SHRI LOKANATH CHOUDHURY (Jagatsinghpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing today communal riots that have taken place in different parts of the country. Sir, much has been said about the riots by the previous speakers. But it is all philosophical without taking the issue that is at stake.

I strongly feel that in this House when this grave situation is being discussed, we are not ready to speak the truth. And why are we not ready? We are not ready for the same reason for which the communal riots are spreading.

Sir, as my friend has just now said, the Kanpur riots started from a cycle accident. That means, the whole atmosphere is surcharged. When the President addressed the Parliament a few days back, he said that there is some communal harmony there. I strongly feel that the present aggressive posture of the VHP is mostly responsible for

the present communal riots and it is they who, in spite of the understanding, claim — when you are thinking of bringing an amicable settlement, they are saying that the Ram Mandir must be built in place of Babri Masjid. And this is being said here also. So, Sir, I do not know whether the Hindu religion allows to remove the place of worship of another community. So, is it for communal harmony or is it only to rouse the communal passion?

Sir, I agree with others that Pakistan is there, infiltrations of Pakistanis are there, but are we not doing it? You know that in the whole of India today the Vishwa Hindu Parishad has started its aggressive campaign. In Mathura, Varanasi and everywhere they are going to start this. In Kanpur, Sir, the day the incident took place, the Administration is aware that on the same day Dharma Yatra was started in Kanpur by Vishwa Hindu Parishad which shouted provocative slogans against the minority community. It was also apprehended on that day that in Mathura this would also take place. Not only that. You also know that the Government has taken a decision to settle the Babri Masjid issue. But I want to put before this House what Mahant Avaidhyanath, M.P. and Chairman of the Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Sangarsh Samiti said. He said:

"The Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Morcha will stick to its schedule of constructing the temple at Ayodhya unless a war breaks out between India and Pakistan."

He has also said, as quoted in The Times of India today that:

"Hindu Rashtra was created right on the day of the Partition. As far as the Constitutional aspect is concerned, we hope the chances of India being a 'Hindu Rashtra' will brighten up when the BJP comes to power at the Centre."

This is the statement which he made at Bhopal. So, Sir, I think the present communal tensions are very much accompanied by

[Sh. Lokanath Choudhury]

the aspiration of having a Hindu Rashtra and throwing out the present Constitution. This is going on. I ask my BJP friends whether they agree with what Mr. Avaidyanath has said. Do they agree that India will be a Hindu Rashtra? They will have to say it here. They are saying that they accept the Constitution and at the same time, they are trying to break the Constitution. It is a thing that we should take a serious note of. I want to say that this attempt should be stopped if they want to have communal harmony. Unless this is stopped, the communal riots are bound to occur again and again and nobody can help it. Of course, in the past, many political parties have used communal forces. I agree that the Congress Party is a secular party, but they are also using this communalism for their narrow ends. That is why the situation has become so worse. Now, the time has come that they should rise above this. Unless all secular forces, either this side or that side, come together, these communal riots cannot be stopped. So, I request the Home Minister that the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue should be settled immediately. Shri Hukumdeo Narayan Yadav has said that all the temples and masjids which were there on the 15th of August, 1947 should be honoured.

Now, all the parties have agreed that they will agree to an amicable settlement of the Babri Masjid issue. It is also agreed that they will agree to the verdict of the Allahabad High Court. But, I think our BJP friends have not agreed to this though all the political parties have agreed to it. So, if you want to stop the communal tension, if you want India to remain united and integrated and if you want to foil Pakistan's game, it is now time that all the forces should come together. This communal clash is not an isolated incident; it is linked with the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. Unless the campaign against the Constitution is stopped, I think, it will be impossible to bring about communal harmony. Therefore, I appeal to the House that the time has come when the communal forces should be isolated and they should

not be allowed further to take the country in the direction in which they want to take it. With these words, I conclude my speech.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I must bring to the notice of the hon. Members that the time allotted for the discussion on this topic is already over. Generally we are sitting upto 7 o'clock, but it seems that many Members are interested in making their views known to the House and the people outside.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think, if the House agrees, we can sit up to 8 o'clock and we will allow the Members to make the points. But my only request can be, please avoid repeating the points which have already been made on behalf of your Party.

[Translation]

MAHANT ABEDYA NATH (Gorakhpur): My name has been mentioned. So I want to say something.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is your explanation?

MAHANT ABEDYA NATH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, two things are being discussed in the House. One is communal riots that have occurred in certain parts of the country and another is growing communal feelings in the country.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Kindly give your personal explanation. If you have given your name, then you should speak only on your turn. I will call you.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: (Ghosi): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the House is discussing the issue of communalism and the main issue of debate is happenings in Mathura. Many facts have come out during the course of the debate. I agree with the views expressed by Shri Hukumdeo Narayan. Our friend Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari has mentioned some good points but he said certain other things that were not correct.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would suggest that you should address the chair.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: In a democratic country, usually, the Governments are changed. In England and America also the Government is changed by the people, which is good sign for a democratic country. The strengthens the roots of democracy. People opposed to us tell us that we have to face this adverse situation because of the verdict given by the public. They went to the people and urge them to remove the Government, that has been ruling the country for the last 40 years, to bring a change in democratic pattern of the country. The voters of our country gave these people an opportunity in 1977 to govern the country. These people could not rule the country and were thrown out of power. Congress party came to power again at the centre in 1980 and now, people have voted you again to rule the country. A change is good for the health of democracy, so, neither you should be very jubilant nor we should have feeling of any frustration. This is a question of national importance and on such a question, we must have a national consensus. I would like to make an appeal to my friends from communist party of India and Communist Party (M) to pay a visit to Mathura. Shri Chatterjee and Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee both, are well known to me. We shall abide by the verdict of these two leaders after their visiting Mathura. I will not sit over judgement on their verdict. I agree with your views and you may also agree. But there can be difference of opinion as well. Today, there is struggle between two forces in our country. One of them fought for hundred of years against British imperialism for securing independence of our country and forced them to quit India.

They got the country freed from the foreign rule. On the other hand there were forces which helped the British rulers against our struggle for freedom. Those forces were supporting British imperialism. Now please let me know whether those people who took part in the freedom struggle and followed Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle were nationalists or those who stood by the

Britishers were nationalists? It is upto you to answer this question as to whether leaders like Abdul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi and others who fought the freedom struggle were national or those who stood by the Britishers were national? There were people who opposed the freedom struggle launched by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru. On one side there were princely states and big Zamindars and on the other there were teeming millions who were fighting for a common cause under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Then the house of Shri Dinesh used to be a focal point of the freedom struggle. It is a question of communalism, treason verses patriotism. Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari said that as long as the liberal forces remained strong in the country, the country also remained strong. As and when conservative forces gained upper hand, the country became back. I agree to his views. Mahatma Gandhi was a symbol of that liberal tradition. Gandhiji was the product of that liberal tradition propagated by Valmiki and the country became independent under the leadership of Gandhiji.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in this country fighting always took place between the natives and the foreigners. Shri Hukumdeo Narayanji is also of the same view. When Babar attacked India, Ibrahim Lodi was the ruler of India. The battle between the foreigners and the natives took place at Panipat. During the Mughal times Changez Khan and Nadir Shah attacked India. That was also a fight between the natives and the foreigners. Rana Sanga and Rani Lakshmi Bai who had Shri Ghulam Gos as her Chief Commander also fought against the foreigners. As such there has never been dispute between Hindu and Muslim in this country. If somebody raises the bogey of Hindu-Muslim in the country, he is breaking the unity of the country. We, Hindus are against communalism. May I know why did Prime Minister of this country not go to the 'Samadhi' of Mahatma Gandhi after taking oath of his office to pay his respect to the Mahatma. Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now a reference was made to Mathura incident. Let Mr. Malhotra go there and ascertain himself the kind of slogans raised

[Sh. Kalp Nath Rai]

there by some people of our own community. Why did these incidents take place? When these incidents take place, they will have their repercussion all over the country. This will cause widespread destruction in the state as well as in the country as a whole. It is a matter of pride for us that our ideals of nationalism, secularism, socialism and our democratic system are being adopted by the other countries of the world. The democratic socialism enunciated by Pandit Nehru is being adopted by the countries of the world. The world is becoming smaller and smaller due to rapid scientific and technological developments. In such a fast changing world this type of slogans will not strengthen the unity of the country. Religion is a long term politics and politics is a short term religion. Ideology is a long term programme and programme is a short term ideology. Religion and politics are co-related. But we should practise only those things which help in achieving social welfare, the welfare of the country and maintaining unity and integrity of the country. I would not like to blame any individual or any particular party because persons and party in power go on changing from time to time. However, for the sake of unity and sovereignty of the country, everybody should lend his support why Pakistan is so embolden these days? Why is Mrs. Benazir Bhutto talking about fighting a battle for 1000 years? It is because she knows that there is a minority Government at Delhi. I would, therefore, request you not to fan the flame in the country. If there will be disturbances in the country, it will encourage the enemies to attack our country, it will raise their morale and strength. Malhotraji, you should know that ours is a developing nation and it has emerged as an economically strong nation in the world. Major powers in the world are envious of the progress India has made and that is why they want to destabilise our country. It is our country. Both the ruling party and the opposition run this country. The responsibility of running the Government of the country is not on the ruling party only. No democracy can function without a proper co-ordination between the

opposition and the ruling party. I would, therefore, like to request you to shun all differences and ensure that Mathura like incidents do not recur in future, otherwise.

[English]

The country will be on fire.

[Translation]

The whole country will be on fire and the flames will engulf whole country. The external forces are waiting to have an opportunity to fish in troubled water. This fire will spread all over the country with high flames all along and reduce our 42 years achievements to ashes. The country will again become slave to others. I am sure that all the forces having faith in the unity of the country, the leftist forces and other national forces will join hands to strengthen the country.

[English]

SHRI BAL GOPAL MISHRA (Bolangir): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as it has been mentioned earlier, we have been discussing communalism for the second time in this present Parliament. In this country, it is our tradition and culture that all the communities have been living peacefully and amicably for a long time. But the Britishers, before leaving this country, poisoned our country with communal feelings. I don't think that the successive Governments in power, after the Britishers left this country, have tried to close the breaches. Rather, they always tried to enlarge the gaps. For example, the Britishers did not want that the Army should be united. Hence, they created the Bengal Regiment, the Bihar Regiment, the Sikh Regiment, the Maratha Regiment and so on. Their contention was that if the Bengal Regiment rebelled, it would be crushed by the Maratha Regiment; if Sikh Regiment rebelled, it would be crushed by the Madras Regiment. That was their ideology. That was their motto with which they worked and ruled.

We have been talking of national integration since dependence. There was time

when a person living in Madras was treated as Madrasi and a person living in Bombay was called a Bombaywala irrespective of whether he was Oriya, Marathi, Bengali or Tamil. Let us talk of the present State of Karnataka. The state of Karnataka was named after the city of Mysore or the erstwhile State of Mysore. But we made it Karnataka on the basis of language. There was a Madras State. We named it Tamil Nadu a country of Tamils, a land of Tamils. Today a Gujarati feels unsecured there. So, these things also have led to communal disturbances. Most of these things have taken place for petty political interests

We do not believe in casteism and all that. Let us analyse the present situation. Even today, in a constituency, if one party puts up a Muslim candidate, the other party also tries to put a Muslim candidate and that party will not put a Hindu candidate. If in a particular constituency, a Brahmin candidate is there, the other party will try to put a Brahmin candidate there: if there is a Jadav candidate, Jadav candidate is found out by the other party; and if there is a Rajput Candidate, another Rajput Candidate is found out by the other party. And it has been the trend of all the political parties in this country. So, Simply discussing about communalism here or talking about communalism here, will not solve the problem of communalism in this country. Today our country needs a man like Mahatma Gandhi. At least, he was the man who was practising what he was preaching. But we do not do it. Today, we preach something and practice something else. That has been the tradition for quite some time. There are many instances of that some of which have already been mentioned.

I do not want to cast aspersions on the Congress Party. But I like to take this opportunity to cite here the case of Shah Bano. Shah Bano's Bill was introduced by the Congress party. At least, it was appreciated by all persons of my age group whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim or Sikh or of any religion, stating "that the Government of India, the present Congress leadership has

taken a decision to give dignity to Muslim women." The Muslim community also appreciated that. What for that Bill was put down? We have been respecting the fundamentalists' sentiments.

Regarding religious affairs, I say that a Church is managed by the Church people; a Masjid is managed by the Wakf Board; a Gurdwara is managed by the Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee. But when the question of temple comes, there is this Endowment Commission, that is the state. Why is that? These facts also create tension and dissatisfaction.

We are talking of Mathura, Kanpur and Gujarat. Here, I would like to say one thing that in most of these communal riots foreign hand is there. Different espionage agencies of different countries are involved. I do not want to name any country. But in this, the Indian intelligence has failed very badly and miserably. Otherwise a large scale communal riot can never take place. If the intelligence is all right and if the Government is alert it can be curbed right at the bud. But unfortunately it does not take place. We just cry over the dead bodies, but we do not try to prevent the number of casualties.

Lastly I would say that we should think of Punjab. Punjab was the arm to protect this country. It was Punjabis who were fighting there intruders and aggressors right from the old days. But today the same arms of the youth of Punjab is trying to strangle this country. What for? Whether it is for political reasons is for this House to think.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the august House is discussing a very sensitive issue of the country. It is not true that the disastrous situation facing the country these days is a creation of last 4-5 years. It is also not correct to say that the present situation is attributed

[Sh. Harin Pathak]

to Ram Shila Pujan programme. This situation has been continuing for the last 40 to 50 years, i.e. from the time we attained independence. If we are really serious about the unity and the integrity of the country and proud of our glorious history and want to understand the central idea enshrined in the shloka "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam"-the world is one family, we will have to understand the meaning of the shloka "Dharmasya pravartanay" engraved on the wall atop your chair. We will have to understand the difference between religion and sect. What is religion? There is no synonym for the word 'dharma' in Sanskrit. The word "dharayati" has been derived from 'dhri dhatu' in Sanskrit. For last 40 years Hinduism is being identified as sect. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Hinduism is not a sect. It is not a religion also.

[English]

Hinduism is not a religion, Hinduism is a way of life; it is a culture.

[Translation]

It is a philosophy of life. There is not uniform system of worship in Hinduism. Somebody goes to Shiva temple and the other worships shakti. Hinduism includes the Jainism, the Buddhism and the Sikhism. Somebody pays his obeisance to goddess Kali, the other to Lord Shiva and the third to Lord Vishnu. The present situation has been created due to narrowing the sphere of Hinduism. It will not be enough if 2 to 4 instances are cited like the incident that took place in Mathura. It is not the first occasion that a riot has taken place in the country. For the last 40 years riots have been taking place in one or the other parts of the country. Somewhere it is a Mosque which is made target of attack, somewhere it is a Shiva Temple which is first ravaged. It will be a lop-sided view if we confine the scope of our discussion to the incident that took place at Mathura only where a mosque was attacked. It will not also be correct to say that tension escalated due to Ramshila Pujan. This programme has

been running for the last 4-5 years only. But what were the causes of riots that took place in 1946 and 1952? I come from an area which has been reeling under a dangerous and awesome situation for the 40 years. I come from Ahmedabad city of Gujarat. It is not for the first time that a riot has taken place in that city. Riot also outbreaked 15 days ago in the some city. There have also been riots in the city in 1986, 1985 and 1969-70. The riot that took place in the city in 1970 was perhaps the worst one among the riots so far witnessed in Gujarat. There was no Ram shila programme at that time. I would like to make an appeal to all of you not to indulge in politics, because it is not going to resolve any major crisis facing the country. People talk about the problem of minorities. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the course of discussion a reference was made to Indonesia, but I am not going to repeat those points. I had also been there. There is a statue of Lord Ganesh in the national museum of Indonesia. There are shops named after 'Ganesh' in that country. the airlines of the country is called "the Garuda Airlines". The name of the President of that country is a Hindu name. The word Hindu is not communal. At the some time we will not feel happy if a mosque is demolished anywhere. We are also totally against the practice of pelting stones at a procession. But what are the root causes of all these mischiefs? We cannot hold the sessions of the House just to appease a handful of persons who want to create tension in the country. I would like to cite an instant that took place 22 years ago. The wall of the Alksara mosque collapsed and as a sequel to that a crowd of 30,000 people came out on the street of Ahmedabad raising the slogan that whoever might challenge them, he will be crushed. We did not demolish the walls of Alksara mosque. In another instance when the hairs of prophet Mohamad were stolen, people started raising slogans in the streets. On 16 February, 1987, I was going to Kalyan, a suburb of Bombay. A cricket match between India and Pakistan was held a day before. Our beloved Azharuddin had taken the catch of Imran Khan. When I was passing through the streets of the locality, I saw big boards hung with the words

"Down with Azharuddin—Traitor of the community—Azharuddin." If a cricket match is played between India and Pakistan in Ahmedabad and India loses to Pakistan, people fire crackers. So, it is not the question concerning any community. It is an anti-national feeling. Until and unless this feeling is suppressed and forces responsible for this feeling are crushed, the problem arising out of communal tension cannot be solved. Everybody should visit a temple or a mosque and offer his prayers or namaz. Offering namaz is a daily ritual and there is nothing special about it. I have also read "Quran". But there should be no discrimination between followers of two different religions. While one person is being granted a leave to offer his namaz in a mosque, the other is being removed from service for participating in Ram shila puja. Please let me know as to why these feelings are being incited in the country? Should there be a separate law for Shahbano? Should this apex institution change the law for the sake of a single individual? Besides, if the law is not changed in their favour, they take it otherwise and link it with their personal sentiments. Let them be told that the decision of the Supreme Court will be equally binding on them and there can be no discrimination in this regard. I feel that while we should regard the minorities sentiments at the same time we should not hurt the feelings of majority and show disrespect to the age old traditions of the country. It should not be so that if a person puts a 'bindi' on her fore-head or if somebody puts on bangles, she should be denied admission in an educational institution. There should be also be no objection on somebody's breaking a coconut or performing a puja. What a communal country is it. Ours ways of prayers are different but Ram, Krishna and Ganesh are one and the same God.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You should be very brief. Time is very limited.

[Translation]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK: I am just com-

pleting. Four years ago a short story was published in the Sunday edition of a newspaper published from Bangalore. Mohammad was the hero of the story. Only for Mohammad.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have no time for such things.

[English]

You come to the point. You have to be very brief.

[Translation]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK: I am just coming to the point. Riot broke out because one of the characters of the story was named Mohammad and the press establishment was set on fire. As such, if we encourage such force and do not understand the sentiments of the majority community, there can be no improvement in the situation. 56 M.Ps could assemble at the Boat Club and loudly make their point. Effigies of Judges were burnt in protest of the judgement of the court in the Shahbano case and copy of the constitution of the country were burnt and no action was taken against them, but people are being apprehended under MISA if they burn an effigy of price rise. People who burn the effigy of the country and put the country on fire are being honoured and the individuals who fight against price rise are being put behind the bars. This is a policy of appeasement. In order to tide over the present crisis being faced by the country, I would like to make an appeal to all people to sit together, take into account the sentiments of people belonging to different groups and think about this problem. I would also like to request all political parties to stop counting of votes on the deadbodies of people.

With these words, I conclude.

MAHANT ABEDYA NATH (Gorakhpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this sensitive issue should be discussed in the light of ground reality shunning our political differences.

[Mahant Abedya Nath]

There are two aspects of this matter. The first aspect is that it is being alleged that the riots that took place at Mathura and Kanpur are the fallout of the congregation of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad at these places. Sir, I was present in the sammelan and every hon. Member of the House knows about it. The so called secularists held a conference one day earlier the sammelan organised by the VHP. In the said conference they took a decision to fail the sammelan of the VHP at any cost. The sammelan organised by the VHP lasted for 6 hours. About 10,000 participants attended the sammelan. Had there been our intention to foment hatred or engineer communal riots in Mathura, course of happenings would have taken very ugly turn in Mathura because as many as 1000 persons were present. But all that happened in Mathura was pre-planned and it is not at all a hidden fact.

You are aware that people from Kashmir and Punjab are receiving training in Pakistan and after returning to India they create disturbances. In fact, Shrimati Benazir Bhutto has given a call to displace Hindus from Kashmir and the present riots were the outcome of that call. The Pak trained militants are engineering riots in various parts of the country including Mathura. It is wrong to put blame on the V.H.P. for that riot in the city. That was pre-planned.

The riot that took place in Kanpur has nothing to do with the sammelan organised by the VHP. The 'Dharam yatra' started from Ayodhya reached Kanpur via Varanasi, Prayag Chitrakut and several other places. During the course of this yatra through these places, no riot outbreak at any place. The persons participating in it were strictly instructed not to raise any slogan which would hurt the sentiments of other people.

Sir, so far as the question of communal riots is concerned, I would like to recall before the hon. Members of the House of the past history of the country. During the period when the country was under British rule, the

Britishers, in order to strengthen their administration, divided the people of the country on communal line and in the name of minorities they gave preference to Muslims as against the majority Hindus. Due to this diplomacy of the British Government the country was divided into two parts-India and Pakistan. After attaining independence the country should have taken a lesson from the diplomacy of the Britishers and should have framed its constitution in such a way so that the society could not have been divided in the name of caste, creed or religion. There should have been a uniform law for all countrymen whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Parsis and there should have been one civil code for all. No special preference should have been given to a particular community. The society should have been divided on the basis of economic conditions. If somebody is poor he should have been given assistance irrespective of the fact whether he is a Hindu, or a Muslim, or a Christian or a Parsi. People who are making venomous utterances against communalism should make self-retrospection first. They divided the country on the basis of same thinking and enacted a separate civil code and provided separate educational institutions for them. Perhaps you are aware that due to this special provision in matter of setting up separate educational institutions for a particular community, some Hindu organisations like the Ramakrishna Mission approached the court to have their separate identity from the Hindu society. Some other organisations are also going to courts and saying that their institutions are not Hindu institutions. Sir, we are a democracy and these organisations have moved the courts in order to get some facilities. We have a democratic system in the country. The Government says that there is shortage of food and clothes in the country. Population growth has become a national crisis. The Government is spending billions of rupees on family planning to check population growth. While the same Government terms population growth as a national crisis, it is permitting a particular community to have 4 wives at a time which is an utter violation of the policy of the family planning. While the

Government deprives the other communities of these concessions, it encourages that particular community to grow their population. This is the reasons that the Hindus have been reduced to minority and even then they are being dubbed as communals. How Hindus could be called communals? Had they been communals, their population which was one crore in Pakistan at the time of partition of the country would not have now come down to 10 lakhs only. Similarly in East Bengal the Hindu population was 2 crores at the time of partition and now they are 50-60 lakhs only. It is the outcome of communalism only that the Hindus are being caused to runaway from there. They are being converted. At the time of partition the Muslim population in this country was 3 crores only and during these 40 years it has become 15 crores going 4 times up than the earlier figure.

After partition Pakistan could become a Islamic country and likewise Bangladesh also has become an Islamic country. Then why can't India become a Hindu nation. I am fully confident that India also can become a Hindu nation. In fact it became a Hindu nation automatically. No matter if a mention to this effect has not been made in the constitution, but a day will come when India will become a Hindu nation. Besides, till such time the Government changes its dual policy the so called nationalists will be held responsible for inciting communalism in the country.

If all of you wish that communalism should be eradicated from the Country, I would like to suggest that there should be a uniform civil code for all in the country and the educational institutions should follow a uniform procedure in the matter of granting exemption and the law should be equally applicable to all. If a particular community is given preference over the other, it will definitely incite communalism. All these people who are talking against communalism are communals.

KUMARI MAYAWATI (Bijnor): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today communal riots

are taking place in every nook and corner of the country. Of course, it is not a new thing. With reference to discussion on the incidents of communal riots of Mathura and Gujarat, I would like to submit that after the Britishers left the country, there has been rapid increase in the number of communal riots in the country, be it the rule of the Congress Party or that of present National Front. We have to find out the reason for it. After the Britishers left India, people with Brahminical mentality who consider themselves to be the minion of Hindu religion had been instrumental in engineering communal riots in the country. It is the people of this mentality who divided the society into several thousand castes and sub-castes, as result of which communalism in the country has gained ground.

I do not consider it proper to name anyone, however, I would like to submit that India has been declared a secular state under the Constitution. So it is not proper to talk to 'Hindu Rashtra' as it may create a doubt in the minds of the people belonging to other religions. It is those people, who raise slogans like 'Hindu Rashtra' or "Garva se kaho hum Hindu hain" are fomenting communalism in the country. Some hon. Members, particularly belonging to the BJP opined that it was not the Muslims alone but Hindus were also killed in the Hindu-Muslims riots. I do agree with them but they have stated only a half fact. Of course, Hindus are also killed, but only those Hindus who belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes are killed in such riots.

So far as the question of Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid is concerned, I would like to submit that when the National Front Government was formed at the Centre and Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed who belongs to th muslim community was made the Home Minister, I got the point that the Muslims would no longer get Babri Masjid. The National Front Government has been formed not on its own strength. It is a minority Government. It has to depend on support of other parties for its survival. The Govern-

[Kumari Mayawati]

ment appears to be under pressure from the B.J.P. This is evident from the submission of Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra and other leaders of the BJP that Hindus must get possession of the Ram Janambhoomi. Our Party President Shri Kashiramji says that it is a Government with two crutches. Though BJP is supporting the Government from outside but it is influencing the Government's decisions as per its whims and fancies. I would like to tell as to what transpired when Shri V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister of the country. Sir, Shri V.P. Singh is a very wise and clever person. He knew that dispute over Ramjanambhoomi and Babri Masjid would take serious turn. The so called minions of Hindu religion in this country will put pressure on him to give Ramjanambhoomi to Hindus. As the Muslims of the country have also cast their votes in favour of Shri V.P. Singh, they would also ask for justice from him or for that matter from the National Front Government. If he does not give Ramjanambhoomi to the Hindus, they will go against him. In order to save himself from such embarrassment, he appointed a muslim as the Home Minister of the country. In case dispute over Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid assumed serious dimension. Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed would be made a whipping-boy and buck would be passed on him.

So, I would like to submit that a minority Government in the country can never act on its own thinking. This type of Government can never deliver any good for the country. Due to this reason, today communal riots are constantly increasing in every nook and corner of the country. We have to root out this brahminical mentality. Unless this mentality is changed, no good can be done to the country and communal riots will not be checked.

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

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Wardha): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of happi-

ness that while participating in the discussion on this issue, majority of the members raised basic points concerning the problem. Particularly, I heard Shri Hukum Dev Narayan Yadav and Kumari Mayawati, the lady member who just concluded her speech. We also agree to their views and express our concern over it. When the hon. member from Ahmedabad rose to speak, in the beginning he gave an impression that he was to make some basic points. From where this whole dispute has arisen? The culture, which we have inherited in the country is a thousand years old culture. It speaks for universal 'brotherhood'. It is a culture which propagates: "Aano bhadra kritvo yantu vishvatah" When we enter the Parliament building, we read a sloka written on the wall of the gate:

"Ayam nijah paroveti ganana
laghuchetsaam,
Udarcharitanam to vasudhaiv kutumbakam"

It is most unfortunate that our hon. friend belonging to Sanatam dharma which is an eternal dharma, has defined it in a way most prejudicial to its eternal values. According to him, it is a word derived from the verb root 'dhri' and the meaning of this word is:-

"Dharayati iti dharmah vishvatah,
Karm ityahuh dharmo dharyati prajah."

- This is the definition of dharam. The code of conduct and the way of life which sustain the whole society is dharam. Dharama does not speak for narrowness of mind.

Just now Shri Abedya Nathji referring to Adi Shankaracharya who propagated this 'Sanatam Dharma'. It is unfortunate that he has left the House. When Adi Shankaracharya propagated Sanatam Dharma, a number of cults such as shakti cult, vaishnava cult, shaiva cult and shudras were prevailing in the society. He united them on the philosophy of 'Adaitya' propounded by him. I would humbly like to know whether the present Shankaracharyas believe in the philosophy propounded by him? Just now

the hon. lady member was saying that wherever a particular class tried to become the minion of the religion and divide the society in the name of Brahminical cult, the people rebelled against it. The rebellion of Buddha was against it. The rebellion of Guru Nanak was also against the narrow mindedness. I would like to quote what Adi Shankaracharya said—

"Na jatya brahmanokashchid.
kshatriys vaishya evach,
Na shudro nathawamatenchho,
Bhedita gunkarmbhi!"

Nowhere he referred to birth or caste.

SHRI ANIL BASU: Will you come on Mathura too?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: What is there to discuss on Mathura. If you understand this fundamental points, You will be able to understand Mathura also. There will be no problem. If you do not understand this fundamental, nothing can be gained. This will be like drawing blood from stone.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is our misfortune that our communists friends do not understand anything. They think themselves as supreme.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, they do not believe even in Marx, now they are forgetting him too. Unless we understand the basic concept that the word Hindu is not an Indian word, it is not a word from Indian culture and the said word does not exist anywhere in Mahabharat, Ramayan, Manusmriti, Gita, and for that matter you will not find it anywhere. It is so because of the fact that the distorted pronunciation of the word Sindhu is Hindu and the alphabet "S" in Persian language is pronounced as "H" and when people from outside came to attack India, they called the people living on this side of Sindhu, river as Hindu. In Persia and Afghanistan, the word Hindu is a bad and dirty

one, It is pronounced as Hindus. These people say that you should say it with pride. But what is there to say with pride? It is something like calling a person a hooligan because he himself says that he is a hooligan. This is what is happening. If we take out this word, we will be able to understand the basic tenets of *Sanatana*. Then you see what is the position as per the teachings of Aadi Shankaracharya. "Ekam Sad Viprah Badudhavadanti". How do you worship that does not matter. I would like to tell Shri Malhotra that had christianity existed at the time of Aadi Shankaracharya, that is 2000 years ago, he would have said Khristawtare, Muhammadawtare in the same way he had said Budhawtare and accepted all these religions. Your culture is to assimilate everything, so how does it matter. How does the name by which the worship is performed matter? Further, the way by which the name of that divine power is pronounced does not really make any difference. If that is true, why do you differentiate. You should bring the pervasiveness. It should be as extensive as a sea in which all the rivers merge. This should be your religion, this should be your culture. "Yashsayam nadya sayamdama samudre astam gachchanti namrupat vihaye" and "vidwan nam rupat vimukta puratparam purushmupreti diviyam". This is what was said by one of your sages. Have you forgotten it? Vivekananda and Aravinda also taught us the same. But after forgetting this aspect, to what extent can we afford to be narrow-minded and degraded? Today can you name a single Hindu who has abandoned his caste which he inherited by birth despite the fact that a number of people and saints rebelled against the caste system? You cannot name a single person. That is why Baba Saheb Ambedkar had also said that unless we do away with the system of caste based on birth, we cannot remove untouchability. I would like to ask our friends who make tall claims of Hinduism, if they are prepared to tell about their real culture. Ask all the Shankaracharyas if they are prepared to say that they do not believe in the caste which a person has inherited by birth. Make them say. There will be a revolution, let them only say.

[Sh. Vasant Sathe]

[*English*]

"There is no caste based on work."

Then you will see, there will be a revolution. That is why it is parochialism. To what extent would you fight.

"There is no such things Hindu majority in this country.

[*Translation*]

You may see that there is no word like Hindu.

[*English*]

All these castes are minorities in themselves."

[*Translation*]

You see the concept of majority by having a negative approach towards Muslims. When there is an attack on Harijans, who attacks them, which religion and community do they represent? When there is a conflict between the Thakurs and others, which community comes for attack, today when Babujan Samaj is attacked by people of high cast and a quarrel takes place which caste comes for attack? It will result in a conflict between different castes. Unfortunate part of the story is that whether it is the conflict between Shias and Sunnis or some other communities, our thinking is negative. If you want to get rid of communalism, then change the way of your thinking. I recall their record when they came to power for the first time in 1977. I used to sit on this side. Do you know what they said? They said that during the 19 months of emergency, a lot of atrocities were committed. They used to begin their speeches with "what they did in forty years"? Now whatever good or bad we did in forty years is before you. In how much time would you do it?

AN HON. MEMBER: We want four

month's time.

SHRIVASANT SATHE: So you accomplish it in five years time, but it does not look like that you want to finish it in 40 weeks? What do you want? You please consider it seriously. This communalism has developed on account of narrow mindedness. Those who claim to come from the upper strata of society say in a round about manner that the reality has ultimately come out. After narrating the ethics, don't you quote examples which would provoke bitterness? I want to know the purpose behind comparing something 500 years old with another thing which is 5000 years old. It is a 5000 years old mythology that Rama was born in Ayodhya. I would like to know in which palace Kaushaliya gave birth to Rama since King Dashrath had four wives and the palace must have been very big? We do not require any proof or nothing of the sort. It is only a question of sentiments, not an issue of argument. It is purely a question of sentiments that as on date there are 25 temples in Ayodhya and everyone has different version about the exact birth place of Lord Rama. But can anyone tell exactly in which of these temple he was born? You have added yet another temple to the list and taken the number to 26. What an example of narrow-mindedness would it be if you insist upon demolishing the old structure, especially when you belong to a culture which says 'Ayam nijan proveti' and 'Vasudhev kutumbkam'. Where would this end? I want to ask you that if a mosque is demolished in the name of sentiments, then it would be similar to the story of the lamb and wolf, that is, if you did not hit then your father must have, and therefore, I am going to eat you up. If you demolish a mosque here today then you would have no check on the chain of events and then Krishna Janambhoomi in Mathura, and Banaras will also be the scenes of demolitions. Do you know this? It has been mentioned in a book written by an author named Oak that Taj Mahal was initially a Hindu temple and Qutab Minar was also built after demolishing a Hindu temple. After all, where is the end of all these things? I would like to tell you that since the stability

of your Government depends on the support of other parties, you tend to succumb to their pressure. You must rise above this narrow consideration and think in the interest of the country without always thinking about your chair. Thus, Mufti Saheb, I am referring to the people in your Government who want to make an issue due to their narrow approach and in the name of sentiments they want to create tension. This is a dangerous sign. If you want to ensure welfare of humanity, you must say good bye to this narrow outlook, as in this lies your culture. But our friends are under the misunderstanding, and will continue to remain in this state thinking that the Government has no courage to take any action against them since it is surviving on our crutches, and on the other hand our communist friends are like a small hunch-backed woman, but they also think that they will have the upper hand. Therefore, they are competing to see who influences the Government more....

[English]

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL (Hooghly): We are influencing you more.

[Translation]

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Thus, my friend you have done what you wanted to do to us.

[English]

SHRI RUPCHAND PAL: We have started influencing you.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I would only request the so-called progressive friends to certainly apply their minds and consider this danger. If tomorrow there is a flare up in this country of a big magnitude.

[Translation]

And then they are talking about big magnitude. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today I was very distressed to hear Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra saying in very clear terms that Ram

Janambhoomi Temple would be constructed at any cost. Is he aware of the consequences.....

SHRI VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Who will stop it?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: This is a threat to the Government as well as to the country, if its construction cannot be stopped by anyone, you will get it constructed by all means. Today if Ram Janambhoomi temple is constructed in Ayodhya, tomorrow you will definitely get Krishna Janambhoomi temple constructed and if such a move continues, where would this fire stop? I want to know whether the majority of the members present in this august House agree to the challenge put forth by Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra and support the submissions of Shri Abedya Nath.... (Interruptions)

I want to say that you must take this issue seriously.

PROF VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Everyone understands your game plan. (Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: There is no game in it. (Interruptions)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you see that we have no game in this, everyone knows about it and nothing is hidden. But it is true that if B.J.P. succeeds in its conspiracy to spread the fire of fundamentalism and communalism, then nobody can save this country from disintegration. With this warning, I would like to submit that the Government should take firm action against these elements and at the same time act judiciously and humanly. But it must take steps to curb such dangerous tendencies. With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI PIYARE LAL HANDOO (Anantnag): I thank you for having called me to speak on the subject of communalism, though late in the evening. And the subject is

[Sh. Piyare Lal Handoo]

one which perhaps should have, at the outset been for each one of us an opportunity to be slightly introspective.

There is no doubt that we have among us people who can be called communal, despite our declaration in the Constitution that we are a secular country, and many reasons can be suggested, if we look at it retrospectively. But perhaps no gains will be immediately available by trying to go into the very base of it, but recognise we must that as a secular society, the greatest danger to our country today is of communalism.

It is true that Pakistan is a theocratic State, it is true that Bangladesh is a theocratic state, and it is very rare that you have two theocratic States on your two borders but that must put us on the alert in the interests of our own pledges and the first pledge is that we want to remain secular, that we have chosen to give ourselves voluntarily an edifice which is based on secularism. If you slightly go into the pre-1947 history, you will find communalism has harmed then also. In fact, communalism in a way is the root-cause of partition of the country. But communalism alone cannot be said to be the root-cause of partition because then Pakistan should not have become Pakistan and Bangladesh later. There are facts in our own history which have shown times without number that communal approach to the problems of the country, to the problems which need solution, to the problems of the exploited people, the greatest harm is done to the people by communalism. Right now, while we are discussing communalism, I am reminded of an occasion when my Chief Minister directed me to attend a Sub-Committee of the National Integration Council and the Sub-Committee has been given the task of defining communalism. Great patriot Shri Jagjivan Ram was presiding over the meeting. I was shocked to come to know that the Sub-Committee for defining communalism had remained in existence for a full period of five years, but has not defined communalism. This was in 1983. I do not

know what happened thereafter. But from what little I know as a student of social sciences, I am told, the Sub-Committee has yet to report to the National Integration Council for the ultimate results. We in India today must recognise that we should rise as one man and fight communalism of whatever hue or whatever quality, be it communalism of the majority party, be it communalism of the minority party. A distinction has got to be made there. There are people in the minority community, who are communal. There is no doubt about it. But we should not fail to recognise that there are people in the majority community who are also communal. I, as a student of social science, have learnt one thing. I am a Kashmiri pandit. My communalism cannot harm Kashmir State, whatever the extent of my communalism. I can be provocative; my communalism can be provoking; but it cannot harm my State. Kashmir can be harmed if there is communalism in the majority community. In the Indian context, in my country's context, muslim communalism may not cause my country much harm. It may equally provoke, but what will harm my country is the majority communalism. I, again as a student of social science, can say with a degree of responsibility that it has already harmed my country.

Now we have been discussing communalism since the morning. But not a single Member of any Party has the courage to say which are the communal parties in the country. Whom do you recognise as a party in the body politic which can be characterised as communal? There may be people who take pleasure in saying that there has been communalism or growth of communalism widespread communalism during the Congress rule. But none can say with a sense of responsibility that Congress is a communal party. Hardly anyone may have the courage to say that Janata Dal is a communal party. I cannot take the responsibility of saying that the Communist Party (Marxist) or the Communist Party of India is communal or has been communal at any time. But no one has the courage to say that. Do we have a communal party in the country or not? Do we have a fundamentalist party in the country or

not? Do we have the courage to say that we will not allow a fundamentalist party a free play in the country? How much time have we wasted in the country in debating the need since the days of Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narayan for ensuring that we do not give free play to those who are communalists? But we do not identify them. There is nothing wrong with our laws. None of our laws permits preaching of communalism or behaving as a communal, be it an election law, be it a penal law. But nonetheless if you sit in a shop, you will hear communalism; if you move in a train, you will be told of communalism. My esteemed friend, Shri Malhotra said that two or three hundred temples were burnt in Kashmir. Kashmir has become a whipping boy these days. Every politician in India with the smallest stick that he has, if he wants to use it against anyone in the country, he makes a mention of Kashmir. I request the hon. Members of this House with folded hands that when you talk of Kashmir, talk in a substantive manner: do not treat Kashmir in a casual way. There have been temple burning everywhere, and in Kashmir also way back in 1986, but not more than 21. But the esteemed Member of Parliament says in the context of Mathura incident 200 or 250 temples were burnt. It will have its own recycling effect. Then, it will impinge on the minds of the Muslims in Kashmir.

[*Translation*]

SHRI VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: Is this figure of 21 temples a small one?

SHRI PIYARE LAL HONDOO: I did not say like this. I never diluted the importance. I said, kindly note in the context of Mathura when I talk today, it almost gives an indication that this has happened yesterday or day before or 1st January, 1990. No such thing has happened. But nonetheless, I do not close my eyes to the existence of communal forces. But let us join together and at least take courage once to characterise, to identify fundamentalist forces. Governor Jagmohan has taken courage, identified the fundamentalist parties in Kashmir like

Jamait-e-Islami and banned it. Everybody will say hurrah for this gesture. But can Mufti Mohammad Saheb also take this courage in the context of India today? I am hundred per cent sure, he will not. The Prime Minister will not even identify them.

My esteemed friend said that today the responsibility for growth in communalism in India is on VHP-Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Maybe true or false. But he has the courage of conviction to say so. Does my Home Minister have the courage to say which are the communal parties or which are the parties which are extremist and communal and fundamentalists as well?

I am a Hindu. I would like my friend, who is not here now, to tell me what do I as a Hindu gain if you turn India into a Hindu Rashtra. I am a student of history. Now at what stage of the Indian history had we become Hindu Rashtra? Which particular period of history will you call Hindu Rashtra? Is it before the Muslims came here? Is it before the Christians came here? Is it before the English came here? What is the ideal you are putting before the country? Is it an ideal which somebody should say, is better than the ideal placed by my own Constitution? Can there be a state of society in the country where any Hindu will be proud enough to say: I will not have rule of law, that I will not make everybody equal before law, that I will not give fundamental rights which have been guaranteed now internationally? What is the use of it? But if in the context in which we talk of Hindu Rashtra in the context of formation of Pakistan across the border, in the context of formation of Bangladesh on the other side and in the context of body politic in the country, this slogan become a dangerous slogan, the slogan becomes an exit in order to the minorities. The slogan becomes a slogan of putting a certain section of our society as second class citizens. It is one thing which should abhor a Hindu mind. It is not capable of being accepted by a real good Hindu if a Hindu is to be known as one, as my esteemed friend from Gujarat said, whose approach to life is that of a Hindu, whose method of worship does not determine his

[Sh. Piyare Lal Handoo]

Hinduism. I would tell the hon. Home Minister that we are now so close to the 21st century. Not many years are left now for entering into the 21st century. If we do not say good-bye to communalism within these years and take our plunge into the 21st century with all this talk, we will be ashamed of ourselves. We may not be able to condemn ourselves, but our posterity will condemn us. We will not be giving the 21st Century Indians what we should give to them, what we have failed to give to ourselves during the last 40 years. And in the context of incidents like Mathura, I would only ask the Hon. Home Minister what are we supposed to do according to this 15-Point Programme, 14-Point Programme and 25-Point Programme? There are Programmes in the names of many leaders to tackle communalism. I do not want to give the entire history, but kindly note that in respect of each communal incidents, if you turn the pages of those 15-Point Programme, 20-Point Programme, not a single point is acted upon, either before the riots or after the riots.

There was a time when we used to hear that Collector will be suspended if there is communal riot in his area, but not a single Collector has been suspended at any point of time. We used to hear that S.S.P. would be removed but not a single S.S.P. has so far been removed. We used to hear that there will be quick action. An escape route that we always resort to and so easily and perhaps which has potential danger in it is the fall back upon the flag march by the army and impose curfew. For that you will have to be indebted to Governor Jagmohan who has made it so popular that today if you go to Ahmedabad, if you go to Baroda, if you go to Kanpur, each city has tasted what is meant to be under curfew and on flag march. I would request do not use the army so quickly, do not use army as easily and instead create a feeling of security among the minorities and that should be the responsibility of the majority as well. Immediately, I would make one request that have a delegation of all party Members nominated soon enough to

visit Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Mathura, each of these places, to see how things can be brought back to normalcy and if a delegation of all the parties goes and addresses a public meeting at each of these places, making known views of this hon. House perhaps we will be making a beginning to ensure that we will have far less communalism, till we ultimately say good-bye to it.

[*Translation*]

SHRI R.N. RAKESH (Chail): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we go through the pages of Indian history, we find that communalism is being fanned in the country by taking the shield of certain issues like language and religion. When it is spread in the name of religion, caste also gets involved. I want to ask those people, who are using the language issue as their shield to fan communalism, whether they do not have any vested interest in doing so. I would like to tell the people who make distinction between Hindi and Urdu and are opposed to Urdu that there are a number of Urdu words which have since been adopted in Hindi language, such as, 'Naak' (nose), 'Moonh' (mouth), 'Juban' (tongue) 'baal' (hair), kurta' and 'button' etc. A simple word 'chaaye' (tea) was initially given an Hindi equivalent known as 'parvat patti dughd chini mishrit madak ghol'. If you want to popularise Hindi, you have to refine it and stop opposing any language. Those who create dissension on the basis of language are nothing but selfish people. As far as the religion is concerned, I would like to say that Muslim dynasty ruled India for over 600 years but no incident of communal riots took place during their regime and great poets like Tulsidas, Surdas, Jayasi and Kabeer were the products of that period. Hon. Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra is a senior member of the House. Hon. Abedya Nathji has also said that Muslim population is increasing at a rapid rate in India as compared to Hindu population and that Muslims are begetting more children than Hindus. I want to ask him as to who is responsible for it (*Interruptions*)

I also want to ask those people who talk

of 'Hindu Rashtra', as to what is the definition of 'Hindu'.... (*Interruptions*)

The one who lives in Hindustan (India) is a Hindu. Then who are the Brahmins, Kaishatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras? Why this 'varna vyawashta' (caste system) has been set up in our society? If you want to go deep into it, I would like to tell you that during the 'Round Table Conference' Gandhiji told Churchil that being aliens, they should quit India, to which Churchil replied that all right, they would definitely quit India, but only after the departure of those aliend who came to India first. I ask abedyā Nathji and also those who talk of a 'Hindu Rashtra' to tell me the origin of Aryans. The feelings of Hindu and Muslim divided the country into two parts in 1947. The slogan of nationalism that is being raised now gives a connotation which is counter-productive and which is an open call to the people to raise a demand for country of their own castes i.e. 'Brahmin country', 'Kashatriya country' and so on. So, where are you driving the country to? Why do you talk of a 'Hindu Rashtra'? How many pieces will you treat the country into? So, I request you to give up the desire for a 'Hindu Rashtra' and do not see anybody either as Hindu or Muslim or anything else but an Indian and human being. This is the only key to preserving the secular picture of our country. Only this feeling can protect the integrity of the country, otherwise, your actions are bound to lead to further divisions of India.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, although I want to speak more on certain other important issues, but as the time is very short, I conclude my speech.

SHRI VAMANRAO MAHADIK (Bombay South Central): Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this subject. I fully agree with the opinion that communal riots should not take place. The effective measures that ought to have been suggested by the hon. Members to check the riots are not forthcoming. All that we are hearing is that a bomb blast took place in Rameshwaram and fire broke out in Someshwaram.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we glance through the history of India we will find that all who invaded India, be it Changez Khan, Mohammad Tuglak or Aurangzeb, never loved the Hindus. After the downfall of Mughals, the Britishers stepped into India. They adopted the policy of 'divide and rule' and made Hindus and Muslims quarrel each other. They did not come to India as invaders, but as clever traders. (*Interruptions*) We got our freedom only at the cost of the division of the country which was the handiwork of the Britishers. That partition was also based on communal lines. Muslims were given Pakistan and Hindustan was given to Hindus. At that juncture, Dr. Bheem Rao Ambedkar had suggested that all the Muslim population should move to Pakistan and there should be only Hindu population in Hindustan, so that any further conflict between these two communities could be averted, but nobody accepted his suggestion. The situation today is that Pakistan is not extending cooperation. The intruders from that country are engineering riots in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and elsewhere in the country. The Government must evolve a device to tackle these elements. Let a C.B.I. enquiry be ordered, if necessary. We should find out the reasons behind the riots that took place during the last 40 years and once the involvement is proved, the elements found guilty should be punished irrespective of their religion. Injustice tolerated by Hindus is given the name of secularism, but amazingly any retaliation on their part against injustice is termed as communalism. Such type of explanation is an injustice to Hindus. We have to build up only one society consisting of all the religions, including Muslims. We have been reciting our national songs which include some religious names, but it never created any such situation. Therefore, when the Hindus are oppressed, they should also go to courts because when any injustice was done to the Muslim, they were shown favours.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. member, your time is up. If you do not follow the instructions given by the Chairperson, then we will be very careful.

SHRI VAMANRAO MAHADIK: I will conclude in a minute. When something wrong was done by the Muslims in the country, no criticism was done by Pakistan. If the people have developed any type of hatred in their hearts, both the parties should strive to dispel it.

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer): Sir, I want to say something to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs through you. Today, a number of top leaders delivered flowery speeches in the House and laid stress on policies. Leaders and policies are all right, but their intensions are not good. Due to this, communal riots are taking place again and again in several parts of the country. I am reminded of a verse from Ramayan:

"Jas-jas inka bahas karawa, tas doon sampradayikta roop badhawa."

The communal elements inside the country raise slogans, like 'Hans ke liya hai Pakistan, lad ke lenge Hindustan' (we got Pakistan without resistance, we shall fight and conquer India). Don't our brothers hear these slogans? Let us not think in terms of Hindu and Muslim. India's interests should be uppermost in our minds. The one who dies is an Indian first, irrespective of whether he is Muslim or Hindu. The person indulging in the act of hooliganism, whether he is Muslim or Hindu, must be condemned by all the communities. If we are firm on this attitude, then only we would be able to root out communalism, otherwise there is no hope of removing it. Don't think from Hindu-Muslim point of view. Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel had threaded all the scattered provinces into one string. Today, Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed is occupying the same post. Today, all the disruptive forces are raising their heads in the form of communalism, extremism and terrorism and, thus, doing much harm to the integrity of the nation. I urge Mufti Mohammad Saheb to show firmness and courage which Sardar Patel had once displayed.

20.00 hrs.

Lord Rama is not a destructor. He is a

creator. The favourite hymn of Mahatma Gandhi was—"Ragupati Raghav Raja Ram, Patit pawan seeta Ram." When Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the President of India and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister, Sardar Patel resurrected the Somnath Temple, which was invaded 17 times, and thereby restored the honour and pride of that temple. He undertook this work because this temple had great importance for us from the historical point of view. Therefore, a monument should be built up at the birth-place of Lord Rama, as he was really 'Maryada Purushottam' and well-wisher of all people. That monument will foster love among people and will help in propagating the ideals of Lord Rama. It will teach human beings the lesson of humanity. At this point, this reminds me of our Muslim poet, Raskhan. He said, 'yaa lakuti aru kamariya par rajtinhu pur ko taje aro.' And again how beautifully he described the birth place of Lord Krishna, 'Aathhun siddhi Naunidhi ko sukh, Nand ki gai charay bisarrou." It is regretted that today riots are taking place in the holy city of Lord Krishna. You must find out as to who is behind these communal riots and expose those elements who are strong bombs and other arms and ammunition. These things escape from the sight of our brothers and they unnecessarily raise the bogie of Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Hon. Vasant Sathe said some beautiful things in Sanskrit. I would like to tell him that 'Satyam bruyat Priyam bruyat, na bruyat satyam priyam. Priyanchanretra bruyat, aisha dharma sanatana' Truth that is pleasant should be spoken, but do not tell a lie that is pleasant. 'Sachhai chhup nahin sakati banawat ke usoolon se, khusboo aa nahin sakati kabhi kagaz ke phoolon se' (Artificiality cannot hide the truth and artificial flowers cannot produce any fragrance): So I request the Minister of Home Affairs to think over all these issues in the national interest. He is a freedom-fighter and a native of Kashmir. He also symbolises the unity of India. I would urge the hon. Minister to destroy the forces fanning communalism in the country in whatever form they are and display his firm determination in this regard. The people of the country are with him.

[English]

SHRI A.K. ROY (Dhanbad): Sir, I have got one submission. My submission is that every day we hear about the necessity of a special debate on communalism etc. and those who take the initiative in raising the points, we find at the end of the debate, remain absent. It is a sad thing. If I just now call for quorum today, everything will be finished. My point is that we should not call for a quorum. But is it not the responsibility of these respectable parties to have control over their Members to see that they remain and listen to whatever our Home Minister says? Sir, we don't speak, but we remain present at the end because it is also our duty not only to speak but also listen to the Members. I say that there should be a direction from you and an observation that all the Party leaders should be held responsible if the Members present here constitute less than the quorum. This is my submission.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let the quorum bell be rung. In doing this, you have brought it to my notice. I have no option but

to ring the quorum bell.

SHRI A.K. ROY: No, no. I don't want that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You cannot do like that.

SHRI A.K. ROY: No, no. I am not insisting on the quorum.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have brought it to my notice. Let the bell be rung.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Well, there is no quorum. I will request all the whips also to see that on occasions like this, they ensure there is quorum in the House.

The House stands adjourned to re-assemble tomorrow at 11.00 a.m.

20.12 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, April 25, 1990/ Vaisakha 5, 1912 (Saka)