

- (ix) **Need to extend the copyright of Tagore's works from 50 years to 100 years.**

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch-Bihar): The copyright of Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore's works is due to expire in 1991 when fifty years will be completed after the death of the author. Tagore's works are not only read very widely, but are taught to the students of all categories beginning from primary upto research level. In the event of the expiry of the said copyright, the unscrupulous publishers, those who are bent upon making easy money, are sure to bring out unauthentic and substandard editions of Tagore's works.

Rabindra Sangeet has a special unique position in as much as both its text and tune were framed and composed by Rabindra Nath Tagore himself. To preserve the sanctity of Tagore's writings, extension of copyright is the only answer. Many countries in the world, a number of which are signatories to the Berne Convention have already extended copyright from 50 to 100 years. The principle of equal treatment to all authors should not stand in the way as Tagore's writings stand on quite a separate footing and are unique in character.

Tagore's writings deserve a special treatment also because the beneficiaries in the copyright are not individuals but the Institution Visva Bharati, which is a Central University.

The working groups of UNESCO, on the subject, was unanimous in recognising the two categories of measures which are likely to ensure preservation of intellectual works, safeguard the interest of the public and prevent abusive uses.

Hence, I would like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister who is the Chancellor of Visva Bharati also and the Minister of Human Resource Development to do the needful so that the copyright of Tagore's works could be extended from 50 to 100 years.

[*Translation*]

- (x) **Need to compensate the farmers of Pali, Balotra and Jodhpur districts whose crops have been damaged as a result of polluted water discharged from factories**

SHRI SHANKAR LAL (Pali): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, nothing has been done by the Government so far to provide compensation to the farmers, whose irrigation wells and land measuring thousands of bighas have been damaged by the polluted water discharged from the dyeing and printing factories of Jodhpur, Balotra and Pali in Rajasthan, although the affected farmers had submitted their representation before the collector of Pali on Nehru's birth day, the 14th November, 1988. The Government of India should provide compensation to the affected farmers. Technical assistance should be provided to those factory owners who want to set up treatment plant or who has adopted ways to prevent pollution. Under the law, strict action should be taken against those industrialists who are indifferent towards setting up treatment plants or to solve the problem of pollution. Justifiable decision should be taken to reopen the factories about whom the Pollution Board has already given report to the effect that their pollution has since stopped. It is necessary to take immediate actions to compensate the affected farmers and to stop the pollution in rest of the factories.

12.24 hrs.

DISCUSSIONS UNDER RULE 193

[*English*]

- (i) **Communal Situation in Various Parts of the Country—
Contd.**

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, We will take up further discussion on the communal situation in various parts of the country, raised by Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia on 24th April, 1989. Shri Charanjit Singh Walia.

SHRI CHARANJIT SINGH WALIA (Patiala): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are all discussing a very serious problem facing the country, as we are all concerned about it.

The country is being rocked from length to breadth by the communal incidents and communal clashes whether it is in Bihar Sharif, Hazaribagh, Jammu, Bidar or Aligarh. We cannot count the number of places where these communal flare-ups had taken place in the past.

My friend Mr. Raghunandan Lal Bhatia said sometime back that the Britishers followed the policy of divide and rule; and after the independence of the country, we thought that this policy of divide and rule, whether this division is on the basis of caste or religion, will vanish. But I am sorry to point out that after, say, four decades of independence, we are discussing this menace of communal clashes. Communal divide is increasing day by day. This is going on rather with increased frequency. So, I must say that my hon. Colleagues on the Treasury benches and the Central Government must own this responsibility, because I think that they have got this legacy from the British rulers—this policy of divide and rule—and they are successfully and sincerely following this policy of divide and rule.

Communal violence has claimed so many lives. It has claimed hundreds of crores worth of property; but an end to this communal divide and clashes is not in sight. We practise something, and we preach something else. There cannot be two opinions about the secular character of politics in India. But I must say that the responsibility for maintaining communal harmony lies on the majority community in the country. So many friends—particularly Mr. Indrajit Gupta—have also pointed out that there is no communal divide or clash in Punjab. I am proud of it. We can raise our heads in pride that in spite of the trying situation in Punjab, in spite of the complicated situation in Punjab, the majority community there has been able to maintain communal harmony, and to ward off the menace of communal clashes in Punjab.

I appeal and request to my brothers of the majority community throughout the country that they should learn from the Sikhs how the majority community can work to make communal harmony. We have shown the direction. We are happy that we have not aroused the reaction which we saw; we have not aroused the reaction of the incidents of 1984 communal riots. The Sikhs received everything on the one hand. On the other hand, what was their fault? Their fault was that they were Sikhs. What did they get in Bider? What did they get in Jammu? They did not do anything wrong. Simply they were Sikhs and they had to pay a heavy price for that.

Those Sikhs who did everything for the sake of this country, those Sikhs who fought very bravely and sacrificed their lives so that India should become independent, they suffered. They sacrificed their lives in three wars which India saw after the independence whether it was Chinese aggression: whether these wars were started by Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. They laid down their lives for the independence of this country. But what have we got in return? We spurned all lurement of the Britishers; they were ready to give us a separate Sikh State, a separate country, but we put our lot with the main country, with India. But what did we get? We were viewed with suspicion; we were called traitors to this country. Now the Sikhs feel insecure in this country. This is what we have got by putting our lot in India; this is what we have got in return for laying down our lives for the sake of independence of our country. This is being done by the Press and the Media. We are painted as separatists; we are painted as secessionists.

Our hon. Prime Minister, some days ago, said in Shimla that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, as reported in the Press, was equal to that of the Muslim League Resolution. This is injustice to Sikhs. He fought 1984 election on the basis of this Resolution. He propagated throughout the length and breadth of the country, in every nook and corner of this country that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was a secessionist document which would disintegrate the country.

But when he won the election, he reached an Accord with Longowal and he himself referred this Anandpur Sahib Resolution to the Sarkaria Commission. If it was a document for secessionism, then what was the need for referring it to the Sarkaria Commission? I say that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is not a document to disintegrate this country; this is not a document to secede from India. It seeks more powers for the States. We want a strong India, but we want a strong India not at the cost of States. We want States to be equally strong. So, this is for giving more powers to the States. So, this is for giving a true and practical shape to the federal structure or federal character of the country. So, I would request that we should not follow the policy and politics keeping in view the sectarian and narrow political interests. And this is the job, this is the moral duty of the majority community throughout the country and this is the constitutional responsibility of our Government, of the Central Government and they should win the confidence of the minorities. They should safeguard and protect the rights of the minorities in India. They should protect the rights enshrined in the rules and regulations and the Constitution of the country and there should not be any feeling among some people that they are treated separately, or that the rules are different for the minorities and for the majority community. In 1984 thousands of people, thousands of Sikhs, were killed and butchered not at one place, in so many cities, in the countryside in towns and even in the capital right under the very nose of our Government. Could not the Government stop those killings? It was the responsibility of the Government to stop such killings.

Some people had demanded and I also demanded, that to stop communal clashes, to check the recurrence of communal conflicts the officials of the district administration, the head of the police of the particular district or the district Magistrate, at the place where they happen, should be held responsible and they should immediately be suspended. Strict action should be taken and suitable punishment should be given to them. They should be held personally re-

sponsible for these clashes. They must be taught a lesson. It must be shown that the Government has the will, that it wants to stop and finish these clashes. If you take strict action against those responsible for the clashes or against the administration officials at a particular place it would act as a deterrent.

I would suggest that we politicians and public men also owe certain responsibility in refusing the communal situation I would suggest and I will request my colleagues, whether they are representatives of the people representing people in the legislatures or in the Parliament, if any communal clash takes place in their constituency they must also come out and resign their jobs because they are the persons who are supposed to be responsible to curb the communal tensions in their particular area or constituency.

We are proud that in Punjab the communal clashes do not take place. They occurred in Karnataka, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra but there have been no communal clashes in Punjab, whatever be the situation in the other parts of the country. The example of Punjab should be followed to learn how religious toleration can be taught, and how the majority party or the majority community should behave.

Our Prime Minister says it so many times that politics and religion cannot go side by side.

They should be separated. Mahatma Gandhi never advocated that religion and politics should be separated. Mahatma Gandhi was basically a religious man and he felt if they go side by side, religion can have a sobering effect on politics, which will lead to development of value-based and principle-based politics. Secularism means toleration and respect for other religions. For Sikhs, religion and politics are inseparable. If they are mixed, it can give a right direction to our politics. The Government should come out and take strict action against those responsible for 1984 riots in Delhi and other

[Sh. Charanjit Singh Walia]

parts of the country, who have been indicated and held responsible by the Inquiry Commission. The Government should not drag its feet and it should immediately come out and take strict action and restore the confidence of the minorities in the functioning of the Government. It is their responsibility to protect and safeguard the interests of the minorities and punish the culprits. Because of the confidence of the minorities is shattered, this is a very sad affair for the country.

We all want unity and integrity of the country. But the Government must restore its credibility in the masses by doing practically what they say. The Government should not try to misuse or exploit the media, and a particular community is painted otherwise. So, secularism has to be seen with the positive mind and with the positive outlook. Our Prime Minister has himself admitted in this very House yesterday that the Fifteen point formula envisaged by him is not properly functioning. If it is not functioning properly, who is responsible for it. If it is the responsibility of the Central Government to see that it effectively works and it should also ask the States to implement it in a proper manner.

With these remarks, I conclude my speech.

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the alliance of religion and politics is against the basic spirit of democracy. Yesterday, the Hon. Prime Minister expressed in clear cut terms the feelings of the whole country and said that the existence of only the secular India can remain forever. These are the words of the leader of the nation and certainly they are going to have positive effect on the prevailing conditions.

If we go by the figures, the death toll in communal riots has been going down since

1985-86 but figures alone do not reflect the true situation. Statistics are just like signs appearing on the surface of the sea. It is dangerous for the country as well as for the Government to under estimate the communal feelings which are being spread in the villages and in the streets. Today the people who play politics in the name of communalism, caste, religion and religious places are spread to the village and street level. They are trying to create such a poisonous atmosphere, in which each person will hate the other person. People belonging to one religion will hate the people belonging to another religion and the common man will think that the person belonging to another religion does not respects his religious feelings, his religious places and the people having faith in his religion. The people who practise politics may be a divided lot among themselves. The so called leaders of different religions can be said to be divided among themselves for their selfish interests, but fortunately for India, the common masses have never been seen divided on the basis of religion. For a particular period, those people were successful in instigating the masses, but ultimately the feelings of mutual love and brotherhood for one another came out victorious. But I would like to express my concern to the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs about the atmosphere that is being created by some of the political parties.

The State Government has requested the High Court to set up a separate bench to decide on the question of Ram-Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue in Ayodhya. In a country like, India, where the judiciary has been accepted as the supreme authority, every person, belonging to any religion or any community should have faith in the wisdom of judiciary. But it is a matter of regret that not only the members of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Shiv Sena, Bajrang dal and R.S.S. but even the members of Bhartiya Janta Party are also creating obstruction in it. My friend Shri Janga Reddy is not present here. I have much sympathy for him. He has to face the volley of attacks on his party and look for answers. Although his point of view his conviction and programmes are always

like those of Congress, but it is ironical that he has to face such things. The reality is that the members of the B.J.P. are also saying today that to win over the minorities, the Government has referred this issue to a bench of the High Court. Everyone accepts the fact that there can be no other solution to the problem. The people belonging to the B.J.P. are fully engaged in making such propaganda to instigate the feelings of the people of a particular religion. I would urge the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs to go deep into the matter. This is not the doing of only some political people. Their Pracharaks and activists are also trying to instigate the feelings of the people in such a way that it has become a matter of serious concern. They are telling the people to carry a stone and a brick, get them bathed in Allahabad and donate them for the construction of Ram-Janam Bhoomi temple to be constructed in November. This is not a small thing. They are trying to create a volcano in the country before the elections. They are thinking that those who used to do politics in the name of religion are almost dead. So they are thinking in terms of reviving the spirits of their dead on the basis of this issue. I would request you to ban such political parasites, who thrive on religion by sucking its blood. If you cannot put ban.... Shri Janga Reddy has come. I shall repeat it again.....

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He wanted to apprise you that he has come. That is why he has come from that side.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: This is because of his old alliance with us, Sir. By heart he is a Congressman.

[Translation]

SHRI. C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): It is not so, it will never be.

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA (Vidisha): There is no need.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: He is himself

saying that I was never in your party and will never be.

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA: There is no need.

SHRI. C. JANGA REDDY: It is not that you do not need me.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I would like to urge the Hon. Minister of Home Affairs that it is being demanded by every prudent person and by the cross section of the people for a long time that the Government should take some effective steps to separate religion from politics. Yesterday only the Hon. Prime Minister stated in this House, that some political parties will have to make some amendments in their constitution. I would also request you that after consultation with the Election Commission, all the political parties should be made to undertake that they will not associate themselves with any type of religious activities, religious names and religious institutions directly or indirectly, whatever be the condition and will not try to draw political power from them. Those who try to do so, will be disqualified. I would like to express my gratitude to Shri Indrajit Gupta for stating the facts which are quite touching and that he has appealed to all the political parties which believe in secularism and want to challenge the communal forces that they should not only unite in the House but also work in the field unitedly. The Hon. Prime Minister has welcomed this proposal and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs has been asked to chalk out a plan for negotiations. I welcome the feelings of the Hon. Prime Minister and Shri Indrajit Gupta, and Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker through you, I would like to urge upon all the leftist friends that in the present circumstances in the country, different forces are trying to form a rightist reactionary political alliance irrespective of any issue, point or principle. You can see anywhere that all the rightist reactionary forces—no matter their politics may be based on any religion, caste or regional issues, are trying to form a single front. They do not criticise each other and our leftist friends should understand their game. They may criticise

[Sh. Harish Rawat]

the Congress in order to achieve their political ends but the fact is that there is no other party more secular than the Congress which can maintain unity of the country, which can run the administration while taking people into confidence and which can face those elements which encourage communalism, Shri Hannan Mollah, I would like to warn you against the danger. If you do not restrain yourself from making false allegations against the Congress party and its leadership, neither history nor your conscience would forgive you because it would be a historical fact that leftists worked to strengthen the rightist reactionary forces. History and not we would say this.

[English]

.....(Interruptions) Sir, I have all appreciation for CPI and CPI (M).

[Translation]

I believe that the leaders of CPI and CPI(M) try to follow secularism in politics not only theoretically but also in practice, but at present they are confused. They make alliances sometimes with the political parties like Janata Party and others and share platform with them. Rather they should try to identify them and think over that what sort of combination it is? I need not say anything about the Janata Dal....But you know it very well and the whole House and the country knows it well that the leader of a very important component in the Janata Dal often talks about AJGR. He asserts that component should be made of AJGR—i.e. a combination of Ahirs, Jats, Goojars and Rajputs, because it is a majority component. So my submission is that communalism pose as serious a threat to the nation as casteism. But our communist friends do not understand these things. They are making alliance with Janata Party just for the sake of opposing the Congress.....

[English]

SHRI E. AYYAPU REDDY: In Gujarat,

there is a combination of castes and communities known in the name of "kaum", who invented this and who exploited it for election purposes?

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: It was only the opposition Members who were projecting that they were leading the "KAUM"

[Translation]

We have always been making efforts to provide protection to the minorities, backward classes and Harijans and enabled them to make progress. We are following the same principles even today. We do not bother whether you call it "KAUM" or something else we would continue to support and strengthen these classes.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was talking about the politics of AJGR, which means casteism. Some people are trying to strengthen these elements. You can take the example of Allahabad elections. Shri Arif Mohammad Khan and Shri Shahabuddin are good friends of mine. There was a controversy about inviting Shri Arif Mohd. Khan or Shri Shahabuddin to launch the election campaign in Allahabad election and it appeared in the newspapers and it perplexed the Janata Party itself for many days. Today it has become evident as to who sought the help of Haji Mastan in Allahabad elections. Haji Mastan stated that I was assured that I would get the constant support in the issues of Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid. So I helped these people. But today, Shri V.P. Singh is not supporting me. What is the cause? The very first day when the discussion on this issue was taken up, Shri Thampian Thomas was speaking as a spokesman for the Janata Dal made the allegation that this Government is communal because it is telecasting the serials like 'Mahabharat' and 'Ramayana' on television. It may be that Janata Party had been following this stand. Telecasting of serials like 'Mahabharat' and 'Ramayana' may be communal in the views of the Janata Dal.

[English]

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH: You are utilising his speech to appeal to the Hindus for your benefits. You are misquoting him.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: It is in the record. Mr. Thampan Thomas said so. I do not think that you are the spokesman for the Janata Dal. You are from CPM.

[Translation]

We consider you as an hon. Member of CPI(M) and a man of ideology. Why do you consider yourself as a member of Janata Dal. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I said that it is good if Shri Thampan Thomas and other members of his party deny this. They may criticise it but Shri Thampan Thomas forgets that with whose assistance his party is in power in Haryana. The Deputy Chief Minister was elected from BJP, which constitute the staunch supporters of RSS and the person has got a strong background of RSS.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: In Kerala.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I am talking of Haryana. Shri Mangal Sen was elected because he has a strong background of RSS. But while criticising our Government, Shri Thampan Thomas forgets that his party is sharing the Government of Haryana. I was urging the leftist friends that as the Hon. Prime Minister has stated our party is ready to sacrifice anything in order to fight communal forces. We should comprehend the atmosphere which the rightist reactionary forces are creating and the circumstances in which they are thriving and strengthening their power by sucking blood like parasites and therefore, we should join our hands together to crush the rightists. Because the reality is that there is no alternative for the Congress at present in India. It is also true that Shri Rajiv Gandhi hails from a family which believed in secularism. No one ever suspected Nehruji's firm faith in the secularism. Similarly, everyone has firm faith in the secular feelings of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and his impartiality. Everyone in east or West North

or South, a Hindu or a Muslim has faith in Shri Rajiv Gandhi. So I would like to appeal all the parties to fight against these forces unanimously. People of all castes and religions should understand the situation and come forward to work in this regard.

In the end, I would urge upon the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that the situation is explosive, the fact is quite different to what it appears on the surface. The reality is that the motive of all these forces whether they incite communal feelings among Muslims or Hindus, is same. They have the same intentions of inciting communal feelings among people in rural areas. They are trying to create an explosive situation so that they might gain some strength in the coming elections. In these circumstances, it is essential that the Government should curb the activities of these elements strongly.

With these words, I welcome the discussion initiated by Shri Ramoowalia.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned for lunch till 2 PM

13.01 hrs

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till
Fourteen of the Clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after lunch
at six minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Amar Roypradhan.

[*Translation*]

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Behar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today communalism and regionalism is raising its ugly head in the country. This is not confined to any one place. Riots have taken place even in Hazaribagh and Mathura, where there had been no such disturbances since independence. We should go into the causes behind these disturbances. The seeds of communalism were sown in India at the time of Partition when the country was divided into two parts on communal basis with the result that riots are occurring in our country. Till now no appropriate steps have been taken to deal with these riots. What causes these riots in places like Meerut, Hazaribagh and Mathura? Muslim League or the Vishwa Hindu Parishad is behind these riots and the confrontation between these two suits the convenience of the Government, so they want it to continue. India got the first taste of communalism when the British adopted a policy of divide-and-rule to create a rift between Hindus and Muslims. Forty-two years after Independence, we are the victim of the same bitter pill, courtesy our Government. The Government is not interested in solving this problem as it helps them to stay in power.....(*Interruptions*)

Sir, I shall not go into details, but if the Government really wants to deal with riots in an effective manner, they will have to pay attention to three points. The Government talks of secularism, but are you secular in the heart of your heart? I don't think so. You merely put up a show of paying obeisance to the religious heads and are interested in getting yourself photographed with them. You are not secular from the core of your heart.....(*Interruptions*) Before Independence, Mahatma Gandhi gave a call for secularism and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose went ahead with it and put it into practice. Similarly, Shahnawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon of Indian National Army were men of action when it came to secularism and they urged Hindus, Muslims and Christians to unite. Government's thinking is quite different. It has worked for creating rift between commu-

nities. We have always said that religion should not be mixed with politics. This matter has been discussed in the Lok Sabha several times. May I know the steps taken by the Government in this direction?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY: They have developed cold feet and find it difficult to take any steps.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN: All Muslims offer 'Namaz' and say "La Illaha Illallah Muhammadur-Rasulullah." They proclaim that Muslims should help everyone rather than just fellow Muslims. For the guidance of Christian community, Jesus Christ has said, "I believe in truth." Similarly, for Hindus, Lord Shri Krishna says in the Geeta "Sarvadharmā Paritajya, Mamekam Sharanam Vrajaha." Who is this 'maam'. "Aham brahma, aham Vishnu, shuhang dharma." Expressing the same philosophy in simpler language, Swami Vivekananda says in Bengali "Jeeve daya korijei, seijaan seveechhe ishwar jaan." I shall translate this in English:

[*English*]

"Those who serve the downtrodden serve God. You have forgotten all this and you are far from truth."

[*Translation*]

You have forgotten everything. It seems as if you deliberately want to remain ignorant. We all want the Government to take steps to separate religion from politics. Hindus and Muslims should be allowed to pursue their respective religions. If a Hindu wants to worship "Kali", let him do it. But all religious rituals should be performed by him in his house and not at public places. The hon. Minister might be having a list of countries which are sending money to bodies in India in the name of religion and culture. According to official figures, Rs. 300 crores is sent into India every year in the name of religion and culture. Among the countries who give funds are U.S.A., Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait,

Nepal and even Pakistan. It is no secret as to what is the motive behind sending this money and how it is being spent. This has led to the growth of communalism in the country, be it through the Vishwa Hindu Parishad or the Muslim league. These people are acting against national interest under the cover of religion. They could be Christians too. Has the Government ever tried to investigate this matter? The Government lets the money flow into the country which creates an atmosphere of communalism, an atmosphere which suits the manifestations of Congress (I). I request for a ban on all parties with a communal bias. The Government knows which are these parties but it is not taking any action against them. All religions can co-exist in India. So why communalism is not being banned when it breeds violence. Even 42 years after Independence, the Centre has failed to realise the factors responsible for communal disturbances.

SHRI K.D. SULTANPURI (Simla): Mr Chairman, Sir, the rising communalism in the country is doing great harm to the nation. It seems as if the Opposition is accusing the Government of favouring communalism. Terrorism has caused immeasurable suffering to the people of Punjab and people have suffered on account of communalism. Opposition has lent its support to the demands made by terrorists. They also expressed their support for the Anandpur Sahib Resolution which was framed along the lines of the Resolution passed by the Muslim League. Although a demand for 'Khalistan' has not been specifically made, an independent state has certainly been demanded within the framework of the constitution. What was its objective? Its objective was to create chaos in the country. Some hon. Members of the Opposition belonging to the C.P.I (M) did oppose but some people covertly expressed their support. These are the people who want to break up the country and the Government should take strict action against them. Jammu and Kashmir is also facing communal disturbances. Even though nationalist forces are united, communal elements in India and abroad are creating obstacles in their path. These elements are

bent upon tarnishing the image of the Hon. Prime Minister and the Government. The public extends its full support to the Government in its efforts to deal with such elements. These elements want to weaken the nation. As far as Punjab is concerned, our Government has done its best to restore peace in the State. Still we have not been able to completely root out terrorism from Punjab. Though the people of the State may blame the Centre for this, the reality is that the Centre has made all efforts to check terrorism through the Longowal Accord and other such steps. The decision arrived at in case of Punjab and Haryana was passed through a voice-vote in the House. All the Parties are eager to restore peace in Punjab but there are such anti-national elements in Punjab and Haryana, which are trying to defeat our efforts. The present ruling party in Haryana was earlier called Janata party, its name was later changed to Lok Dal and now it is called Janata Dal. The thinking of that Janata Dal is that the policies and schemes formulated by the Government of India for the poor in our country do not suit that state and people living there do not stand to benefit by them. Himachal Pradesh bordering Punjab and Haryana is also affected by this. The leaders of Janata Dal said that they would first waive all the loans of the poor and the harijans, discourage communalism, make efforts for the upliftment of the minorities and take everyone along in their march towards progress. But what happened in Karnal? Shri Chiranji Lal Sharma told us the other day that 120 harijan families were rendered homeless by the Devi Lal Government by bulldozing their houses. My submission is that those who are concerned about the welfare of harijans, the *adivasis* and minorities etc. are not going to be cowed down by any one, be they Brahmins, rajputs or communalists. All the leaders of the Opposition should extend their support to us in rooting out such elements. If we want to eliminate pernicious communalism from our country, the Government should in the first instance ban the misuse of temples, mosques and gurudwaras for carrying on political activities, as is being done these days. No political meeting should be allowed to be held there. Our experience

[Sh. K.D. Sultanpuri]

is that political speeches are delivered in every gurudwara in Punjab and the religious morality has become extinct there. Rather efforts are made to desecrate our temples, mosques and gurudwaras. The Government should make all efforts to control the situation. If necessary, effective laws should be formulated so that the people spreading communalism may not be able to raise their heads. Today we find that efforts are made to divide people on the basis of caste at places where poor people work in large numbers. Efforts are made to arouse communal feelings in the matter the use of public places, temples, mosques and even for providing drinking water. Today no one remembers God, Allah or Guru Nanak who were the pioneers of these religions. Can any pundit give a cogent reason as to why harijans, or other poor people, who have also inherited life from God, can not be allowed to enter temples or to offer 'Namaz' in a mosque. We should beware of these communal forces, which are bent upon destabilising and disintegrating the country.

We feel that if our country is safe, everything is secure and our politics can keep our country safe and secure. The opposition Members allege that we do not want to end communalism. It is not as if they want to extinguish communalism. They have joined hands to inflame communalism. You can see what is happening in Haryana, where R.S.S. and Janata Dal are alleging that Congress (I) wants to grab power and is not working against communalism. It is absolutely wrong. We do not want to dislodge or grab Government in any State. We are making concerted efforts to fight communalism. I would like to tell the House that foreign money is being received by some organisations in the states where such Governments are in power.

Sir, my submission is that a point has been raised here that there are a number organisations in our country which are receiving foreign money in lakhs of rupees. I would like to submit that this inflow of foreign

money should be banned. The programmes and activities of these organisations should be monitored to find out the source of receipt of money and the purpose for which it is used? Is it being utilised for the benefit of our country and for its progress? If there are institutions in our country, which want to weaken our country and which are inciting communal feeling, they should be banned, their activities should be kept under close watch.

Sir, in the end, I would like to submit that so far as checking communalism is concerned, the state Governments have a major role to play. But we must deal with an iron hand with the Government, which shows communal tendency. The Governments formed by the opposition are encouraging it because people of diverse thinking have come together. These people after defecting from our party become leaders there. They should understand that they have no leadership qualities in them. Keeping all this in view, we must realise that all these forces want to weaken the nation and we should keep strict vigil on their activities. I would like to congratulate our Government for taking all measures to check communalism. I would appeal to the entire House to lend support to Shri Rajiv Gandhi in his efforts to integrate and strengthen the nation.

With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI HAROOBHAI MEHTA (Ahmedabad): Mr. Chairman Sir, communalism is one of the most pernicious of the divisive forces of our country. It is therefore quite appropriate that the house shows its deep concern. I, however, humbly submit that the time has come when we should not be content with mere pious declarations; but effectively take collective measures for curbing the communalism.

The report of the Home Ministry notes with satisfaction that the communal situation received a slight set back towards the middle of the year with unfortunate incidents which

took place in Bidar in Karnataka and in UP in October 1988 mainly on account of tensions generated by the Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid controversy. I may however say that the term 'slight set back' is rather an exercise in understatement. The atmosphere is surcharged everywhere; especially after the brick worship programme announced on the occasion of Kumbh Mela by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad every village in India is likely to be engulfed in communal tension.

Every village is likely to be made the centre of the communal propaganda on the Ram Janambhoomi and Babri masjid. Therefore these under-currents and dangerous potentials may kindly be not overlooked by anybody under a mischief that we are in the comfortable place in the matter of communal situation. There is not one Ram Janambhoomi or Babri Masjid; even Mathura temple is there. About 300 places of worship have been identified by Hindu communal forces as potential places or instruments of their communal propaganda. I am not going into the details because there is not time. The Government must examine the possibility of having a well-knit policy declared as a national policy on the question of disputed places of worship. We must fix a cut-off line i.e. 15th August 1947. The status-quo as obtained on that date should be accepted by all the parties concerned Hindus and Muslims, so that no new dispute can be aroused on that basis. However since a dispute has already arisen. We have to find a solution for Babri Masjid and Ram Janambhoomi. When no mutually acceptable solution is available, the best course would be that the judicial process must be applied and expedited. Here, of course, I must point out that unlocking of the places on 1st February 1986 was a signal of communal propaganda. I do not recall who was in charge of the internal security at that time. The Government must examine whether Mr. Arun Nehru has played a special role in this matter. Unfortunately that point became a trigger point. This is a matter which the Government must examine and the hon. Home Minister may kindly look into it. However, it is good that at least some forces have recognised that judicial process

must be applied in order to resolve the dispute. After all, subjective feelings must not have any priority of preference over objective processes. Fortunately even that section of Babri Masjid Action Committee which was once very vehement on certain points, has accepted that the judicial process is the correct way to solve the problem. Even some respected Hindu leaders have accepted this I am told that Sankaracharya of Dwaraka has accepted the judicial process as the correct process to solve the problem. I think the Government will expedite the judicial process and defeat the game of the Hindu communal elements., like Vishwa Hindu Parishad, R.S.S. and supported by Dr. Patel's party - wittingly or unwittingly they have given support. The places of worship should not be used as instruments of communal violence. Let us try to bring all communities together under the common bond of spiritualism and humanism rather than allowing them to be victims of communal violence.

The programme of brick-worship has to be seen by the Government with great caution. It has got a great potential of public mischief. I have seen it in Gujarat and elsewhere that interested people are raising communal slogans and shouting around the place. This is creating communal tensions. Therefore communal propaganda should be curbed. However what are we doing? We are allowing the atmosphere to be surcharged. Then we are allowing the ignition to be made. Only when fire takes place, we are doing something. No. This should not be so we must curb communalism. Whether it is 'A' community or 'B' community communal propaganda must be stopped. We must take strict action against them, at the initial stage itself. Otherwise it becomes too late. Therefore, I would wish that the Government should see that the situation is not allowed to deteriorate. First of all, I believe that we could have taken these actions and decisions on Ram Janambhoomi and Babri Masjid even earlier. Coming from a riot-prone city, I may point out that every Hindu and every Muslim is not a communalist. Common Hindu and common Muslim are not interested in fight-

[Sh. Haroobha Mehta]

ing with each other. It is the communal propaganda which makes them mad so as to take up arms against their own brethren. Therefore, we should firmly deal with the communal propaganda. We should see that communal forces are not allowed to divide the people any more. We should now declare that enough of communal violence. India should at least declare itself free from communal violence. We have the respectability in the world to call for a nuclear free and non-violent world as we did through the Delhi Declaration signed between Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Gorbachov.

Sir, a word about Shiv Sena. Prime Minister yesterday referred to the judgement given by Justice Bharucha of Bombay High Court in a case where a Shiv Sena MLA was unseated on the ground of religious appeal resorted to in order to enhance his election prospects. It was not a rough communal propaganda but a very subtle propaganda that India should be a Hindu Rashtra so that Hindus should be organised on the basis of the demand to make India a theological State. On that basis Shiv Sena and other people tried to gather votes. Unfortunately in this country communal propaganda pays political dividends. That is why such forces gain respectability and legitimacy. We have to nip this in the bud. Shiv Sena being an advocate of Hindu militancy with its aggressive anti-Muslim..., anti-Sikh and anti-Dalit forces and militant parochialism it is one of the most pernicious forces working in our country. We should take strong action against such forces.

Sir, we read communal propaganda in the media and elsewhere day in and day out but we hardly have taken any action under Section 153 A of the IPC. It remains a dead letter. Such provisions will be atrophied if the State does not use them vigorously. I would like to know how many such offences have taken place in India, the action taken and prosecutions made. Government owes an answer to the people and Parliament as to what action has been taken by the Govern-

ment curbing communal propaganda or propaganda which creates ill-will in one community against the other. Unfortunately the State media like TV also operates in such a way that one particular religion is projected. whether it is a dance or a drama programme there is pre-dominance of overtones of majority religion. It is highly objectionable. This tendency should be curbed. In our television programmes we should promote scientific temper. At present we are promoting superstitions, obscurantism and conservative religious beliefs through such media rather than secular thought. Public media should be channelised to spread secular thoughts and promote scientific temper. If we fail in the duty of utilising State machinery in order to curb communalism and strengthen secularism posterity will not pardon us.

With these words I also join the voice raised in this House to be more vigilant to take steps to curb communalism. I appeal even to those parties and organisations which are accused of communal approach to shed the narrow outlook and join the mainstream of secular India.

[*Translation*]

*SHRI C. JANGA REDDY (Hanamkonda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, many Hon. Members while participating in the debate have criticised bitterly the role of Bhartiya Janta party. We have much documentary evidence before us to show who really is secular and who is not.

SHRI VIR SEN (Khurja): Everyone will be able to understand if you speak in Hindi.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: If I speak in Hindi, they will try to interrupt me. Therefore, I want to teach them a lesson.....

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla): His principle is "kuch na kare, khuda kare koi". I will not read out the first part of this saying lest you may take offence. I am only narrating the second part.

*Spoke in Telugu.

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: Both the ruling party as well as the Opposition Members are trying to label the B.J.P. as communal. I would like to tell you that in 1952, when neither Jana Sangh nor R.S.S. had been established in the South, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing a mammoth gathering in my constituency Hanamkonda had said that Bhartiya Jana Sangh was a communal party and they should not vote for it. Such statements at a place, where people were unaware of the existence of Bhartiya Jana Sangh, only showed their attempt to divert the attention of the people from their communal bias. Similarly, all the Members of various parties start defaming and scolding us. I would like to quote from the manifesto issued during the last elections held in Mizoram. The Mizo Congress (I) Committee's election manifesto read as under.

[English]

The MCC (I) is committed to establish a Government in tandem with Christian principles.

[Translation]

Under the heading "Secularism" it reads as follows:

[English]

As Christians it is our bounden responsibility to proclaim the gospel.

[Translation]

I know very little English but I would like to tell you what does gospel and all that mean.

[English]

It is but reasonable that the Christians should lend support to the Congress (I). This is the manifesto of the Mizoram Pradesh Congress (i) Committee.

[Translation]

It is not limited to this alone. Now, I tell

you about the Congress socialism.

[English]

God of the Bible is God of the poor. This is Congress socialism.

[Translation]

It further says:

[English]

Under the heading 'Source of fund', it is said 'To explore the ways and means of sending pilgrims to the Holy Land, Jerusalem.' This is the theme of the election manifesto of the Congress (I)

[Translation]

I would like to tell as to what changes Congress wants to bring in education.

[English]

Under 'Education', it is said 'To revise school syllabus on the basis of Mizo culture and Christian principles.' This is the election manifesto of the Congress (I). It is recently published. It is a documentary evidence of secularism of Congress (I). If this is secularism, we are against this. This is communalism.

[Translation]

They rather charge others of being communal and call for a ban on such parties. They have seen the consequences of imposing a ban on the R.S.S. in 1975. What happened in 1977. Try a ban once again and face the consequences. We are with it but I would like to tell you as to who is secular. There was no reaction after 1947 riots when Hindus were killed in large number. But I am sorry to say that communalism is raising its head because of the attitude adopted by you during the past 42 years after independence. We are against it. B.J.P. will be the first to deprecate it. You are trying to make people communal by taking such steps. Apart from this, I would like to tell you how secular

[Sh. C. Janga Reddy]

are the Congress Members.

[English]

This is secularism of Congress (I) in Allahabad election and Udaipur election.

[Translation]

Who did they bring for the propaganda? They carried out their propaganda with the help of the person who played Rama in the T.V. serial Ramayana. It means that they want to incite Hindu sentiments, Christian sentiments in the elections. They formed the Government in Kerala in alliance with the Muslim League. This is the method of their contesting the elections and then they talk of secularism. They indulge in theft and instead of accepting that they are the culprits, they ask the policeman to tell the whereabouts of the thief. It is just like the case of the thief threatening the policeman. This is the policy of the Congress. It is not your policy but a policy, I may tell you, adopted by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1952. At that time, I was a child and studying in class 9 to 10. Shri Nehru had said this very thing about Jana Sangh and the same tradition still continues and it will continue in future as well. You will get the reflection of your image in the following passage which I would like to read out to you:

[English]

"The Congress (I) has openly asked the electorate to vote for it in Mizoram, for the sake of Mizos and Christianity. The style in Mizoram is familiar to those who watched Arun Govil, the star of Television serial, Ramayana, being projected as the real-life Rama by the party in the by-elections in June, 1988." That is your secularism.

[Translation]

Do you call it secularism? Please let me know. You talk tall. Shri Rajiv Gandhi has mentioned about the deliberations that took place in Lahore in 1942—the two nation

theory. Who accepted this two nation theory? The Congress in alliance with the Muslim League accepted this theory. The people who were instrumental in bifurcating the country are present in this august House today also. You have entered into an alliance with the Muslim League. What have you done in these 42 years? In these 42 years you entered into alliance several times and contested the elections. My colleagues, the members of the C.P.M. and Shri Namboodripad accepted Muslim League as a partner in the Coalition Government just to come to power and Shri Mohammed Koya was made the Minister of Education in that Government. He started teaching Arabic in the schools and changed the syllabus. Do you know what else did Shri Namboodripad do? No other Government, not even the Congress Government, has done so. Just to continue in power and continue as the Chief Minister, Shri Namboodripad carved out the district of Malapuram and left it to Muslim domination. It is being called Mufflistan. This is the policy of C.P.M. This is the point on which we have a difference of opinion with them. Riots are taking place between the C.P.M. and the Muslims, and the R.S.S. and the B.J.P. are coming to the rescue of Muslim brethren and protecting them. You should be aware of it. This is the policy of our C.P.M. friends. These three having been untied are always in a move to assault us. They are trying to portray us as communalists. Shri Arun Govil is carrying out the propaganda for them which is in very bad taste. Here is a documentary evidence. An M.L.A. belonging to the Shiv Sena was unseated and they congratulated the hon. Justice for that.....(Interruptions).....

SHRI. AZIZ QURESHI:

"Bak raha hoon, Kinhone
kya kya kuchh,
Kuchh na samjhe, khuda
kare kio"

SHRI. C. JANGA REDDY: You are an Urdu poet. That is why I was thinking of speaking in Telugu. But for your sake and to make you understand I am speaking in Hindi.

The poor man as you are in the matter of language, you do not know any other language than Hindi. You are the Hindi fanatic.....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI AZIZ QURESHI: Though my mother tongue is Urdu, I am proud that I know Hindi.....(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: I know that Urdu is not a language, it is only "khari boli.".....(Interruptions). Three days ago,.... the former President of the A.P.C.C. was disqualified for contesting the elections for 6 years by the Supreme Court on the charge of fanning communalism in 1967.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Who?

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: Shri Chenna Reddy, the President of the P.C.C. Shri Chenna Reddy, the symbol of communalism. The Chief Minister of Mizoram is the symbol of communalism. The Allahabad election is the symbol of communalism.....(Interruptions)...What do they do? I would like to tell you that there is no communalism wherever there are non-congress Governments. Communalism is there in Bihar and U.P. Their objective is to remain in power by winning the elections through these gimmicks. They have been in power for the last 42 years barring a two years period. This is the reason why the Congress Party started inciting the people for riots. What did they do in Hazaribagh? On the Ram Navami day, the procession was proceeding day and night. All of a sudden, the light went off. Thereafter a bomb exploded. 350 people were arrested for making bombs. But who were the people who were injured? They did not belong to that village. They had come from other towns. Will you please tell us the community to which they belong? You set up a number of Commissions on communalism. You make the reports of those commissions public. The riots that took place in Ahmedabad were

engineered by people who had come from outside the country. They had come from Pakistan. They are coming without visas. I had put a question in this regard in this august House People come from Saudi Arabia and spread communalism in this country. They are paid for that. You cannot understand this. I would say that you take an oath not to take the help from any communal elements in the elections. Today you say that the C.P.M. people are good and want to know as to why they are entering into an agreement with the Janata Dal . We know who are good and who are bad. You people only want to continue in power. You only want that the rift among the opposition parties should continue, so that you could come to power in the States where your party is out of power. You are making this type of attempts. you say that the C.P.M. are progressive people, but why do they joint hands with the Janta Dal. On the other hand, you say that the people of Janata Dal are good but why are they entering into an alliance with the communal B.J.P. What a strange thing! This is your propaganda but the people are not going to be misled by your propaganda. Some people were misled by your propaganda and the Janata Government was toppled in 1979. The people should learn a lesson from this. If the people's attitude is not changed, nobody will be able to save the country....(Interruptions)...I warn you not to make attempts to divide the opposition parties so as to come to power. Your congress people, wherever they are trying to topple the Government. When there was Janata Government in Karnataka, old Congressmen were there in it. But nobody is going to listen to you in the forthcoming elections. Under no circumstances and for any reasons, the people will vote you to power. Do not try to divide others.

The Ram Janmabhoomi issue was taken up here. Why don't they agree to abide by the verdict of the Supreme Court in this regard? Similarly, the Supreme Court had ruled in the Shah Banu case that she should be provided maintenance. Why was it not implemented? Our party has a poor representation in the House and so many people speak against

[Sh. C. Janga Reddy]

our party. I, therefore, request you to give me at least 5 more minutes. I would like to ask them as to why did they not implement the Supreme Court verdict in Shah Banu's case. You are referring to Ram Janmabhoomi. It was under lock and key for the last 42 years. Who opened it? It was opened in accordance with the orders of the court. Who had gone there to take its possession? Our colleague, Shri Shahbuddin has asked the people to march to Babri Masjid on cycle. The foreign invaders invaded our country and constructed the Babri Masjid on Ram Janmabhoomi. Is there anybody left of Babar dynasty today? Whoever is sitting here was Hindus at one time. All of them were Hindus 4 to 10 to 20 generations ago and were the inhabitants of India. They are in all respects Hindus and belong to Hindu families. Later, some of them were converted as Muslims, some as Christians, some as Jains, some as Vaishnavs and some as Shaivas. I do not know much about the Puranas and the Upanishadas. But I can say this much that these people did not come from Arabistan. They talk of these things just to mislead the people and fetch votes. The riots have declined in Hyderabad because a friend of the Itihadul Musalmin became the Mayor of the city. The elections will again be held and riots will take place again. Where they are in majority riots take place. Riots do not take place in the old city on one bank of river Musi, but on the other bank, where they are in majority, riots take place.

So far as the question of riots is concerned, the people who were involved in the riots in Hazaribagh were not the local people. Riots are engineered by the people coming from other cities. The 350 people who were injured in the riots have no concern with the city. I, therefore, ask you to inquire into the incident and refrain from mud slinging.

I would like to make yet another submission. Shri Inderjit Gupta is my senior colleague and is a respected person. He is pretty senior person and I cannot say anything against him. I am neither so witty, nor

a professor or a knowledgeable person. In spite of that, all that I would like to say is that it has been clearly stated in article 370 that.

[English]

"Temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir"

Now, what is the meaning of temporary?

[Translation]

The article says that it is temporary. Temporary could be for two years, three years. What is happening there? the population of the minority community there was 70,000, which has since been reduced to 20,000. Please let me know how all this happened? Nobody can build a house in Kashmir, not even the President of India. The national flag of Pakistan is being flown in Kashmir on 26th January. When some other team wins there, riots take place and when the Pakistan team wins, sweets are distributed. When the President of Pakistan, General Zia died, riots took place there. What are the reasons for this? Why do riots take place there? There are Pakistani agents in the State. Pakistani elements are active there.

I would like to tell you that the community of Kashmiri Pandits is in minority in the State. They came here and apprised Shri Rajiv Gandhi as to how many temples were demolished. You know that Shri Farooq was not allowed to hoist the national flag there. This sort of activities are taking place there. I therefore, demand abrogation of article 370 in its applicability to that State.

I would like to make a submission about the human rights. You have set up the Minority Commission. Justice Beg has made a recommendation to set up a Human Rights Commission. It is not we, who say so. It is Justice Beg who has said it.

I would like to tell you that Shri Kashi Ram has formed his party. Shri Hazi Mastan is also with him. These people want to seg-

regate the down trodden and the minorities. These people are thinking of Dalitstan. Divisions are being created on this pretext. The backward people are trying to undergo a change for the sake of their rank, for the sake of their rights. Today what type of things do the people do? They talk of spreading regionalism, communalism and casteism. Shri Mohan Ranga Rao, the Congress M.L.A. was killed in Andhra Pradesh. he belonged to the 'Kapur' caste. He was a friend of Shri Shiv Shanker. property worth Rs. 300 crores was destroyed after his death just within three hours. Who was behind it? One of our Cabinet Minister, Shri Vengala Rao inaugurated the 'Virlam Sangam'. A commission should be appointed to hold an enquiry into this. Recently casteism was encouraged in Haryana on the issue of backward class of Gujar. So, I want:

[English]

You please look into this. In your party itself, there is casteism, communalism and every type of 'ism'. Only your party is capable of digesting all these 'isms'. We are not capable to digest all these 'isms'. except nationalism.

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Sir, I would like to congratulate Shri Ramoowalia for raising discussion in the House on an important subject like the communal situation. Sir, I was listening to the speech of Shri Janga Reddy. While hearing his speech one thing struck me. He didn't suggest a single way how to solve the communal problem in our country. It is a matter of great regret.

15.00 hrs.

Those people who talk of communalism, only think in terms of Hinduism, Muslimism and Sikhism. No one thinks of Indianism. We should all realise, whether one is a

Hindu, a muslim, Sikh or a Christian, that we must be Indian in our heart. I would like to quote Shrimati Indira Gandhi:

[English]

"I cannot understand how anyone can be an Indian and not to be proud."

[Translation]

I have very little time. I am Indian. I belong to West Bengal. But it is a matter of great pride for our State that whether he belongs to Congress, C.P.M. or C.P.I. or Forward Block, there is neither religion based politics nor communal killings in our state. Just now, Shri Amar referred to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. I would like to quote a poem of Ravindra Nath Tagore from Gitanjali. I am proud that in this poem Tagore has held the Indian people on a very high pedestal.

[English]

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by there into ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

[Kumari Mamata Banerjee]

[*Translation*]

I don't like to comment on anyone. I welcome the speech delivered by Shri Indrajit Gupta yesterday. He gave many constructive suggestions for tackling the communal situation. But nothing can be achieved by merely making speeches. We will have to go to the field and work for it. I was pained to listen the speech of Shri Janga Reddy in the House, which was very much like an election speech aimed at winning votes but did not talk about the country. We may be members of the Congress Party, but we are proud that we don't practise casteism, we do not believe in casteism. Everyone is equal. Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian, all are equal. India is a secular state. One who worships sun in the temple says "namo javakusum shankay kashaypam mahaditim." One who is a muslim reads Koran "la ilahi illallah, Mohammad Rasulullah". Christian holding the Bible says:

[*English*]

"There is none but one".

[*Translation*]

The Sikh says "Vahe guru da khalsa, vahe guru de fateh". This is secularism. But it is a matter of regret that some political parties try to exploit it to gain advantage at the hustings. Now-a-days, a systematic conspiracy is going on the destabilise the country in the name of religion. Such parties should be ashamed of themselves. They abused the Congress Party. The person who works is liable to commit a few mistakes. We cannot say that we do not make mistakes. But the one who works, can only commit mistakes. Please tell me the party, which made sacrifices for the country. The Congress Party made sacrifices for the country before as well as after independence. Mahatma Gandhi, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, sacrificed their lives for the country. There is only one party, whose largest number of members made sacrifices for the country. I would like to congratulate the leftist parties,

who are fighting communalism, many of them have laid down their lives for this cause. The Government should pay attention to those who talk of 'Ram' or 'Rahim'. Why does not.....*.....Shri Reddy call for disqualifying the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh? In Bombay, the High Court has disqualified an M.L.A. of Shiv Sena. Why have they done so? I would like to congratulate them for this....(*Interruptions*)..... what these people will do outside when they are creating so much disorder in the House. They will keep alive the communal situation and will encourage communalism. Why I am saying these things? An M.L.A. of Shiv Sena was disqualified by the High Court because he campaigned on the basis of religion. I would like to appeal to Shri Buta Singh that he should bring forward a comprehensive Bill to provide for a ban on communal organisations and guidelines should be issued to the political parties that they cannot fall back upon their religious performances during their election campaign. Just see Shri Rama Rao. He adorned the affair of Lord Krishna and went round in a chariot during the elections. One should be disqualified for carrying on election campaign in this manner. He fought the election by posing himself as God. Shri Rama Rao, changed into**....., so he should be disqualified. Muslim League is doing the same thing as the B.J.P. and R.S.S. are doing.....(*Interruptions*).....B.J.P. is raising the slogan of a Hindu nation. Muslim league will raise the slogan of a Islamic nation and we may give a call for a nation for the women. How can it benefit the country? The Government should issue guide-lines to enforce secularism in the country. Government must take action in this regard. A number of political parties get funds from foreign countries. They utilise this money for inciting religious feelings. These people exploit the religious sentiments of our masses, as they are religious, the Government should exercise a check to identify the countries which are providing funds and how they manage to escape Government's notice. I would like to make some suggestions to curb communalism. Every person in the villages does not see T.V. but he listens to the radio. Therefore, the publicity machinery

**Expunged as ordered by the chair.

of the Government needs to be further strengthened, as all the communal organisations viz. Shiv Sena, muslim League or B.J.P. do not give priority to the country, but to their parties. Whereas the nation should be given the first priority and the political party comes thereafter. On this issue the ruling and the opposition parties do not differ. It is our duty to safeguard the interests of the minorities and to look after them. Everything must be done for the betterment of the common man irrespective of the religion, language and caste affiliations and to prevent the growth of the communal forces in the country.

[English]

Communalism is stronger than any kind of corruption. It is not less than cancer.

[Translation]

Communalism is getting strong, so urgent steps must be taken to curb it. One thing I would like to tell to...**... Reddy(Interruptions)

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: This is unparliamentary.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: Now I am speaking Shri C. Janga Reddy(Interruptions)Although I am grateful to Shri C. Janga Reddy that he has said a nice thing but would like to tell him one thing.....

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: That will be expunged.

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: I would like to appeal to all the hon. Members to fight the communalism and to safeguard the nation unitedly as the Prime Minister accepted the suggestion put forth by Shri Indrajit Gupta. In the end, I would like to say

"Kya Fark Tujhmein Mujhmein Torā

Dard Darde Tanha Hai,
Mera Dard Darde Zamana Hai."

Whatever we have to do, we have to do for the weld being of the nation: As this is the month of Ramzan, I want to recite a couplet.

"Muddai Lakh Bura Chahe to Kya Hota Hai,
Vahi Hota Hai Jo Manjoore Khuda Hota Hai."

Therefore, "Eishwar Allah Tere Nam,
Sabko Sanmati De Bhaqwan."

Let all of us work collectively for the progress of the country.

SHRI UMAKANT MISHRA (Mirzapur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, when in the name of religion, people fight, spread hatred, kill each other and shed blood, then we feel that the ancient period was much better when religion was not in existence. Afterwards, slowly and steadily religions came into being for the betterment and refinement of human beings and not to infuse devilish tendencies, as is clear from the ideologies of the founders of various faiths. Religions inculcate God-like qualities and as well as devilish tendencies at the sametime. So why should we not purge the religions of the things which make the people devil. When we see violence in the name of religion, then we feel society free of religions faiths, as it was in ancient period, is better. Religions were founded by the Rishis, Saints, Mahatmas, Angels to guide the mankind to adopt right path and not to divide them. The fundamentals of all the religions are the same and similarly the aim of all the religions scriptures whether they be Quran Sharief, Gita, Ved, Guru Granth Sahab or Bible are the same. Vyasiji has said:

"Shrayatam Sarvadharmā Sarvasvyam
Shrutwa Chaivadharyatam, Atmanah
Praticoolani Pareham Na Samacharet."

We must try to understand the fundamentals of the religion, there is no difference in them. The main thing is that we should not

**Expunged as ordered by the chair.

[Sh. Umakant Mishra]

behave with others in the manner which we do not like ourselves. However, religion nowadays is being used for narrow selfish ends. If some religion makes a man devil, it would be better if the same is vanished from the world. It would be better to remain without religion instead of such religion. Manu has written:

"Dhriti Kshma Damosteyam Satyam
Shoucham Indriyanigrah,
Dheer Vidya Satyamkrodho Dashkam
Lakshanam."

Tell me which one of these elements viz. patience, forgiveness, tolerance, peace, self-restraint and love is anti-religion. Nobody wants to follow the true religion. However, the religion is being intermingled with politics, 'Dharam' is being understood as religion, it is being linked with power. There is moral degradation. Religion is being openly used as a platform for grabbing power. People are allowed to profess any religion inside their homes and within their families but the constitution of our country is based on secularism. We have equal respect for every religion. This ideology was propagated by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Hon. Prime Minister in his excellent speech emphasised upon the need for secularism as the only option in our country. In our country people can be multi-lingual, multi-religious, they may be of various cultures, of various regions, but cannot be multinational. Our nation is one called Bharat. This is our religion and is the greatest of all the religions. Sir, we respect all the religions and have faith in Guru Nanak, Ram, Krishna, Allah or Khuda, Lord Buddha, but to worship mankind is the greatest religion. Manu has written:

"Na Manushat Shreshthtaram hi kinchit."

Guru Rabindra Nath Tagore has said the same thing as follows:-

"Sabar Uper Manush Satya Tahar Uper Nai."

Man is the greatest truth and is the creator of all the things. Man has founded all the religions, formed empires, set code of ethics and has also decided the path for the mankind to follow, then why the descendants fight. Sir, to my mind if communalism and fundamentalism are not curbed then it will not only be difficult but impossible to run democracy in the country. The unity and integrity of the nation are in danger. Country will break and the democracy will be no more in existence. Therefore, the need of the hour is to adopt a national religion while according due respect to all religion viz. Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Parsis and Christians and say that we are Indian and Indianism is our religion. Neeraj, a Hindi poet said:-

"Ab To Aisa Koi Mazhab Bhi Chalaya
Jai,
Jisme Insaan Ko Insaan Banaya Jai.
Aag Behati Hai Yahan Ganga Mein Aur
Jhelum Mein Bhi,
Koi Batlaya Kahan Jake Nahaya Jai."

For a long time the great ideal of India has been:

"Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah, Sarve Santu
Niramayah,
Sarve Bhadrani Pashyantu, Ma Ka-
shchid Dukhbhagbhavet."

Such national religion should be founded under which Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis may follow their own religious faiths, live happily and peacefully and consider themselves to be the nationals of India. In the end, I would say that I am dead against communalism and serious efforts should be made to understand the true religion, the crux of all the religions and real religion. An effort in the direction was made by Emperor Akbar, by intermingling the tenets of Quran Sharief, Ved, Shastras, Guru Granth Sahab and Guru Nanak Dev's 'Vani'. One may practise his own religion but the national religion should be one. A national religion is must for unity and integrity of the nation, and for safeguarding the democracy, otherwise it will be difficult to safeguard

the nation.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, before I come to communalism, I want to answer to the two points raised by Shri Janga Reddy. He represents BJP and feels concerned about communalism. I want to assure BJP through Shri Janga Reddy and particularly, his teachers, that I denounce communalism from Kashmir to Kanyakumari in whatever shape it takes. Secondly, he talked about Article 370. I want to remind this august House and his teachers, who had prepared him through Sarkaria Commission to say that the article 370 should be abrogated. The position that has been accepted by the Supreme Court of India is that Article 370 of the Constitution of India is an integral part of the Constitution and it cannot be abrogated at all. Now because there is constraint of time, I will say why it cannot be abrogated. And this position has been accepted by the Supreme Court in three judgements. I quote from a book entitled "Development of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir" by author Mr. A S. Anand, who is currently the Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature in Jammu and Kashmir State. I quote from page no. 130.

"The temporary nature of the Articles arises merely because the power to finalise the constitutional relationship between the State and the Union of India had been specifically vested in the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly. The Constitution of India clearly envisaged the convening of a Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir and also provides that whatever modifications, amendments or exceptions that might become necessary either to Article 370 or to any other Articles in the Constitution of India in their application to Jammu and Kashmir State, were subject to the decision of the Assembly. Therefore, the temporary provision does not mean that the Article is capable of

being abrogated, modified or replaced unilaterally....."

That means, it cannot be abrogated unless the people of Jammu and Kashmir State are consulted through a Constituent Assembly. And this is the position that has been accepted by the Supreme Court of India.

Now I come to the topic of communalism. Since BJP is using abrogation of Article 370 as an element of a Hindu card, I was compelled to answer to the BJP propaganda outside the House.

Communalism is a great menace and it has to be rejected from all section of this House and by all the people of India because it will weaken our country. There are some statistics. I will not get down to statistics in detail because so many friends have spoken here. But the figures showing that, between 1981 and 1987, 1822 Muslims were killed; 753 Hindus were killed and 12 policemen were killed through communal riots, is something heart rendering. These figures do not seem to be correct. Actually the figure is on the higher side. I read an article. I am giving you only an outline of what I have to say. The article was written by Mr. Vibuti Narain Rai. He has made a complete study, giving complete figures and quoting Government statistics, and he has come to the conclusion that 75 per cent loss of life and property has been borne by the Muslim community. Here is a question, why do communal riots occur? We seen so many reports in the Library. It is because facts are misrepresented, Disinformation is floated in the country and there is an organised attempt to create misunderstanding by politicians. I agree with Shri Haroobhai Mehta. I always salute his sentiments. He is correct when he say that every Muslim or every Hindu in this country is not communal. I have seen it from my own personal experience. It is politicians who create a situation. I give some credit to the Government of India.

My grievance is that the Government of India is not trying to understand in simple

[Sh. Saifuddin Soz]

measure what is happening at the grassroot level. Another man, Syed Zuber Ahmed says how communalism grew in Chhota Nagpur. It is a very good article. Chhota Nagpur remained free from all communal violence all these four decades. But why is it that Chhota Nagpur is experiencing communal violence? I would request the hon. Home Minister to kindly institute a cell and assign a job to it to study why do people organise and exhibit communalism. That exercise is not being done at the moment.

We have to take serious note of what the people are speaking and what they are doing at the grassroot level in rural India. In urban India you have pronounced shades of communalism. But our rural India is still pure. An average Hindu is not communal at all whether it is a question of Babri Masjid or any other temple. But why do politicians play the game?

In Hazaribagh, all of a sudden you find corpses in gunny bags. And there is no explanation. There was a great hope that Mr. Sinha and Mr. Jagannath Mishra together will improve the situation in Hazaribagh. I raise a question. Tariq Anwar is a Congress MP. He is a secular and a nationalist. We cannot attribute any motives to him that he is speaking something which is not borne by facts. He issued a statement that Muslims in Bihar praise BSF, Army, para-military forces but they denounce BMP. Somebody will have to look into it how they have imposed curfew and how the Police did the same thing. These games cannot continue. This is what BJP does not understand. You cannot kill 13 crore people of the largest minority community in India. You cannot kill any minority which may be very small like Parsi or Christians. You cannot do away with these minorities through killings.

Now in Mathura the situation is totally communalised because Siva Sena wants to have a branch there. The Prime Minister was kind enough to mention the judgement that was delivered by the Bombay High Court. In

fact, that judge deserves a resolution from this House that he was bold enough to show that man out from the august House of the Assembly of Maharashtra because he had done communal propaganda during election. No Muslim or Hindu should be allowed in India to use religion as a tool for winning the election.

Now Siva Sena has become a menace. I find that this time it is organised. This is what I want to bring to the notice of the hon. Home Minister. This time it has a different formula. The same applies to BJP, Hindu Mahasabha, Bajrang Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad. They are all playing a political game and they want to wrest power from the Congress Party I do not think, they can get it because I still hope that the Congress is the largest party and it will do its duty. I want the Congress Party to study the game they are playing. Why has Atalji, a senior leader, or Advaniji raised so many issues like abrogation of Article 370 and cancelling Minorities Commission? That cannot be done. We want that to become a statutory body. Why do you not do it? They do many things because they want to come to this House in a sizeable number. That game should be frustrated because you are the custodian of the people's right as you are the largest party. You are wedded to socialism and secularism. Why do you not study the game that they are playing?

I read out from the Times of India a small clipping of Mahasabha. It must be read entirely because it is potentially dangerous what Mahasabha is doing. This is the language BJP is speaking, Bal Thackeray is speaking, Vishwa Hindu Parishad is speaking. They have a common manifesto now. They have used Hedgewar centenary celebrations to the hilt to destabilise India because they cannot do away with Muslims.

They cannot do away with Parsis. They are wanting to have political power and, therefore, they want to destabilise Now I quote:

"The Hindu Mahasabha today an-

nounced that it would contest 300 seats in the coming general elections. it also called for a ban on the Congress party from contesting elections as it said, the Congress was a 'communal organisation'.

The president of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha Acharya Balarao Savarkar, claimed that his organisation alone had interpreted the word secularism correctly.

Professing faith in all religions of 'Bharatiya' origin, he said a 'Hindu' was anybody who resided in 'Akhand Bharat' a stretch of land between the Indus river and seas.

Mr. Savarkar said Hinduism did not believe in caste as being linked to birth. 'The varna system (caste system) is based on the profession a person is engaged in and not birth', he said."

Now he says a very important thing

"But by permitting a different personal law for Muslims and through the policy of reservation for Scheduled Castes....."

They are against the reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and they do a propaganda at the grass-root level that the Congress stands for minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, they want to gain urban votes from caste Hindus. Now, here he says:

"But by permitting a different personal law for Muslims and through the policy of reservation for scheduled castes, the Congress government is perpetuating caste division, Mr. Savarkar said."

15.32 hrs.

[SHRI VAKKORN PURUSHOTHAMAN in the Chair]

Then lastly he comes in true colours the report says:

"And, even while Mr. Savarkar espoused secularism, he said if a 'Hindu state' was established, 'anybody by the name Mohammad will have to rechristen himself mahadev or such like names of Bharatiya origin'."

Now, this is the situation at the grass-root level. I will take a couple of minutes more because I know there is a constraint of time. I was just explaining that there is a collusion between totally anti-national parties. I do not doubt their patriotism but this is misplaced because they are preaching communalism and this communalism will ruin the whole country.

What Tariq Anwar has said about Bihar Military Police, must be looked into by the hon. Home Minister. Out of all these places where riots took place, I visited Makrana and I want to bring it to the notice of the hon. Home Minister that in Makrana—I will not give the details—but on one person there was consensus among Hindus and Muslims that it is one Bhanwar Lal Purohit who is involved in twenty-five cases, who is convicted in nine cases, who is a security risk not only for Rajasthan but for the whole of India, who is responsible for Makrana riots. All the high-ups in the administration there said it is very difficult to haul him up unless the Chief Minister decides, unless the Government of India decides to do so. They said that he can concoct a situation against any officer. He can say that such and such officer has committed a rape and put up two women as witnesses. Everybody from Assistant Commissioner, right up to Divisional Commissioner, is shivering and they begged of us that we must also play role. That man wants the Congress ticket. He did not get the ticket and he created this situation. So, he must be arrested, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): He has been arrested.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: He has been arrested but he must go under NSA.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: He is in jail.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: he is in jail, Sir and we could not meet the Chief Minister that time as we were in a hurry. Now we are talking to the real authority, the hon. Home Minister. He must be hauled up under National Security Act for two years and removed from that place.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now you conclude.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: I am concluding, Sir, I am not giving the details. I am briefly saying that radio and television should also do their duty. I am not going to Ramayana and Mahabharata as a serial. Those serials have good points also. But there has to be a balance. We must look into how radio and television are operated. This requires close examination. Some of our Government departments are also playing a communal game. I have objection to that. I will give an example. The National Sample Survey Organisation is a Government organisation. I have got a calendar and in front of it, there was something displaying Jawaharlal Nehru's Centenary celebrations and that was something laudable. When I turned the page, I saw the pictures in the calendar pertaining to Hindu religion. I referred to it. Somebody heard it and it appeared in 'India Today'. How it is that the National Sample Survey Organisation, in the Centenary Celebration Year of Jawaharlal Nehru, can display a particular religion? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a true secularist. He was a nationalist. He wanted that India should be great and united. I raised this objection because it is a Government organisation. Sir, there is a weekly newspaper in Urdu called 'Nayi Duniya'. It has invited our attention through a report that NCERT books for 6th Class and 7th Class are teaching 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharata'. Personally speaking, I read Gita, its translation in verses by Khan Sahib Abul Asar Lucknowvi and since then I have great regard for Lord Krishna because he stood for action. But teaching through, NCERT books to all people, - Parsis, Hindus and Muslims compulsorily is objectionable. How can NCERT do it. The

books are 'Sankshipt Ramayan' and 'Sankshipt Mahabharat'. Earlier my attention was drawn on a telephone call by a journalist saying that there were some derogatory remarks in the 11th Class book. So, somebody will have to look into this. These things cannot be allowed in India.

DR. KRUPASINDHU BHOI: What is your objection?

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: My objection is that we are a secular country.

DR. KRUPASINDHU BHOI: Ramayan teaches secularism.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: Then you balance it. You cannot make it compulsory. You cannot introduce it for the school children. It is prescribed for the whole class.

SHRISYED SHAHABUDDIN: The State funds cannot be used for propagation of any religion.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ: You have to consider it. We must come to some conclusion. Sir, he was referring to Kashmir. Kashmir is a place where 'Rishis' and 'Munis' preached peace and, we know, what Islam gave to us. And the Hindu community there are as safe as our tongue between 32 teeth because Muslims in Kashmir I say - believe in 'Koranic injunction' that every nation of the world got somebody to guide the people there. So, that way Hindus also deserve respects from Muslims. I wish the rest of India could take a lesson from the torch of secularism that has all along been burning in Kashmir Valley. In the other House, somebody painted a bleak picture that there is terrorism and we shall solve it. Sir, there is no question of communalism in Kashmir and we shall not allow that. I request the hon. Home Minister to convene a meeting of Divisional Commissioners and Police Commissioners and explain to them that what Government of India wants to do when there is a communal problem in a particular place. Then, Sir, I want that a Vigilance Squad should be instituted Statewise. Then

awards should be instituted. For instance, in Makrana the Divisional Commissioner, Mr. Thakur, has done a very good job. He saved Makarana from blood-shed he tackled the situation in a better way. That Divisional Commissioner must be awarded and those officers who are working against norms must be punished. In this context, I would like to submit that Justice Barucha should be applauded for his judgement.

Sir, the Prime Minister was kind enough to say that the National Integration Council will be called. I want that proper representation should be given to minorities in the Police and Para Military Forces. Sir, regarding the 15-point Programme, the Congress Party has given a lot of attention to this 15-Point Programme recently and the hon. Prime Minister was kind enough to see that this Programme is implemented in right earnest. Even during Shrimati Indiraji's time, she was more eager to implement it, but some of our friends in the bureaucracy did not allow it to be implemented.

Certainly there may be some bottlenecks. I would request the Government to get this programme implemented properly. I would also wish that we have a standing committee of Parliament for taking notice of communal situation in the country and it moves out of Parliament and visits those places where riots take place and finds a solution.

Finally, Sir, let us resolve to make this country strong and let us work for the unity and integrity of India.

And while I conclude, Sir, I want to remind the Congress Party because I feel the Prime Minister is sincerely wanting to solve this problem, I want the Congress Party, since it is the largest party, to do its duty and eradicate the communal menace from the country. Thank you.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for calling me to participate in this debate on a

very important subject like communal situation.

Sir, our Prime Minister while intervening yesterday, has rightly said that if India has to survive, it can survive only as a secular country. This shows the importance he gives to secularism and the concern he has for secularism and also for the nation as a whole. In fact nobody can dispute the secular attitude of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's family. There can be nobody, no person, no family more secular than Pandit Nehru's family not only in India, but I can say, in the whole of the world.

It is unfortunate that a topic like this, the communal situation, is being debated several times on different occasions in this House because we have not been able to create a situation wherein there will be communal harmony prevailing in the country all the time. Of course, today communalism has not been only our concern here, or our problem here; in fact it is a global problem. In different parts of the world, in different countries, there are communal tensions of different nature, of varied degree. Somewhere it is religion versus religion, somewhere inside the religion between different factions like Shia, Sunni and something like that. What is happening in Pakistan? Are they free from communal tension? Are not a number of lives being claimed by the communal situation there? Violence is taking the life there. And also in America and also in Christian countries we come across communal tension and communal riots. And inside also, within Hindu religion we have conflict, sometimes very violent conflicts, between different sections or communities of that one religion. So, we need not over play it. I tell you, sir, that I appreciate the sentiments expressed by Pandit Uma Kant Mishraji. Sir, it is not bad to be religious, but it is bad to be communal and we should condemn communalism. Actually religion has a good role to play in any society, in any country. Gandhiji's popular bhajan was:

"Ishwara Allah Teronam
Sabko Sanmati de Bhagvan"

[Sh. Sriballav Panigrah]

That is the real crux of religion. Every religion has one purpose, one aim and one objective, that is, to better the life standard of man, the human race, to improve the quality of man and to awaken the goodness, humanism inside, in the heart of every man. As you know, in every heart and mind of every person there is a serious conflict going on and constantly that conflict is going on, that war is going on that is the war between the forces of virtues and the forces of vices. That war is going on inside every one, in our hearts and in our minds.

It is the religion, it is the Sastras, good epics the teaching that helps in this struggle that is going on in our minds, in our hearts—the force of virtues to defeat the force of vices. There lies the beauty, there lies the nobility of the religion. The need of the hour is peaceful co-existence between different religions, different castes. How can that be done? There is no harm if we feel proud of our religion, but the first requirement is that we have to be proud of our nation: that we are Indians first, we are Indians second and we are Indians last. At the same time, if we feel proud of our religion, we have no right to undermine any other religion. We can feel proud of the greatness of our religion, but we should not run down other religions; and that is why we should not hate anybody because hatred begets hatred, affection begets affection, courtesy begets courtesy. In that way, we have to shun hatred for mankind. I am reminded of one thing that is being shown on TV every day, this being the birth centenary year of Pandit Nehru. He said, 'all of us, whatever religion we may belong to, are the children of Mother India with equal rights, privileges and obligations.' This is *Amrit Vani*. These are golden words and if we practise them in letter and spirit, there will be no problem of communal riots, communal situation anywhere. The requirement is to have a sense of accommodation, to have a sense of appreciation, a fellow-feeling for other religions, of the culture of the culture of other people, while feeling proud about ourselves. We have no duty—as I said earlier - to

intervene in others' religion. It is a sin to run down others' religion, others' community, others' culture; and in this way, we can bring in improvement in our body politic, and in our social life.

Sir, I look at this problem from two angles. One is how to control communal tension whenever there is one, and the other thing is how we can prevent, how we can create a situation, so that communal tension does not occur for ever. I would say that we have taken up a beautiful Bill last year—I think there was a legislation here, and we have passed that Bill, namely separating politics from religion. I would like to ask the Hon. Home Minister: what is the follow-up action taken in this regard? For all purposes, we have to do it very sincerely. We make some speeches here expressing feelings of communal harmony etc.—many of us. What do we do outside? Communal elements are represented in this House. Communal parties are there. The communal spirit has been reflected in this very debate of this House. We should not be hypocrites. We should have sincerity of purpose. If all the leaders of the country, all political parties, all MPs are unanimous on this issue, who can create communal tension in this country? There will be none. If we practise all these things merely for political gains here and there, there will be no end to this. Naturally, it is a question of heart-searching. Some people have managed to come to this House by resorting to communalism. Here, they also speak so many things against communalism—this policy and that policy. We have to ensure that they will not be able to participate in the elections and see that they have no place in Parliamentary democracy. I would request the Hon. Home Minister to come forward with the necessary legislation in this regard.

Sir, I am summing up. In all these cases, wherever there is communal tension, we know there are particular *goonda* elements, anti-social elements who are out to create trouble, out to create communal tension. Such elements should be isolated. No community, minority or majority should give protection to such elements. If they could be

isolated, then a lot of problems will be over and such elements should also be dealt with very firmly. The criminal cases etc. Against them should be disposed of quickly and if necessary by separate benches or court.

I have also given my views earlier on holding a world conference of religions. It is time that such a conference should be held where different leaders would attend. I have told you about family planning because there are some reservations from some quarters. That also gives rise to communal tension in some areas. There are people who are out to exploit these things. There should be a conference and should all work together to promote peace.

As regards personal law, family code etc., it is time to give serious thought to go for uniformity as far as possible, of course keeping in view the suitability, the requirements of the nation and different religions. There should be an international conference on all religions also to sort out problem.

The other side is, how to prevent it. We can better prevent it if we can cultivate, create and promote an atmosphere wherein right from the school level where the children are going, it should be done. The children are our future generations, our citizens, our future hope of the country. Right from the schools, we have to see that syllabi are prepared in such a way that secularism goes deep into their minds. Therefore, there should be mixed education. At the same time, very relevant suggestions were given by some hon. Members on either side. I can name, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, who mentioned about joint meeting of leaders together. They can have meetings. They can also participate jointly in different festivals, social festivals and religious festivals, As you know, Roza fasting month is going on. We come across news-times about Iftar dinners. Leading people from all religions club together, meet together. Like that, in different festivals in different religious functions also, top leaders, leading people of different religions can mix together and can leading together in the procession etc.

We are the largest democracy in the world. We are a very big country, second highest populous country in the world. We have so many religions. In fact, we have the second largest Mohammedan population in India. There are so many Mohammedan countries in the world. But our population of Mohammedan is for more larger than many such Mohammedan countries themselves. We cannot think, for a moment that we can throw 10 crores of Mohammedans outside India or that number of Christians or this and that. Only India's improvement and prosperity lies in peaceful coexistence of all religions. As Panditji said, we are children of Mother India; whatever religion we may belong to whatever cast we may belong to, whatever community we may belong to, we are all children of Mother India: We are committed to Mother India; we are committed to defend her; we are committed to strengthen the integrity, solidarity of India. If we promote the spirit of brotherhood, it can be done. It is also essence of our culture, "Vasudeva Kutumbakam". That is the essence of our culture. Unity in diversity is also essence of our culture. This we have to keep in mind and we can work in this direction. That can strengthen the country and eliminate all difficulties, all these unpleasant situations, communal riots etc.

We hang our head in shame when we think of these unpleasant situations. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation Indiraji had done so much for the country. They was the symbols of national integration, secularism. But they had fallen victims to the fanatics of bullets.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN (Bahraich): Mr. Chairman, Sir, many, many thanks for giving me an opportunity to participate in the debate on communal situation. Sir, in the violent incidents which took place in various parts of the country, a number of people lost their lives. The newspapers have carried reports about a number of other such inci-

[Sh. Arif Mohammad Khan]

dents of torture, and one of our colleagues just now pointed out that every Indian feels ashamed of such incidents. However, what disturbs me most is that after every incidence or riot, we simply fulfil our duty by expressing concern over them in the House. We discuss the communal situation after communal violence had taken place, figures about the dead as well as those responsible for it are presented and thereafter we forget it. I feel that merely expressing concern or debating over them in the House is not enough. Even if a single person dies in such riots, it is a most serious incident in itself. Why is it so that we should get motivated only when the death toll in a single incident is 40? I am making this submission because unfortunately, at some point we have felt so. I am not blaming the Government alone. Rather the views expressed by both the sides in the House reflect the wishes of the entire country. In spite of the fact that the speakers from all parties stand for communal harmony and communalism is being condemned, what is the reason of our being worried over the increasing communal situation? At times, I feel that the speeches made outside often lead to riots. I am reminded of a couplet here:

"Daman pe koi chheent na khanjar pe
koi daag,
tum katl kare ho ya karamat kare ho."

I do not consider these communal riots as basically communal riots. In order to be so, it is necessary to develop the communal thinking but communal thinking can spread even in the absence of communal riots. What should we be concerned about is the communal thinking and the community which gives birth to communalism. We should be concerned about the mentality which tries to create division and hatred among Indians on the basis of religion. As I submitted earlier also, even if a single innocent person dies in communal riots, it should definitely be a matter of concern. But the subject which deserves even more concern are those actions and thinking which aim at spreading nothing but hatred and creating division

among Indians.

16.00 hrs.

Therefore, first of all it is essential to understand the concept of communal thinking. It is not merely terrorism or communal riots. Then what is communal thinking? Communal thinking is.....

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj): I shall give you an example of communal thinking. In spite of being an important Member of Jan Morcha, Shri Arif was not invited to Allahabad by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh during his by election. This is what communal thinking is. Therefore, it needs to be seen why the leaders of Jan Morcha did not invite a member of their own Party and instead preferred a public apology. Unless such feeling is removed, communal thinking will continue. Therefore, we need a radical change of heart.

[English]

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan, you may continue tomorrow.

16.02 hrs.

[English]

- (ii) Liberalisation of Orders to Improve Representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Communities in Central Government Posts/services.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House shall not take up discussion under Rule 193.

Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia..... not present

Shri. E. Ayyapu Reddy.