

duce a Bill to provide for the taking over of such religious places as are being misused and banning of schools/universities set up on communal lines."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI H.N. NANJE GOWDA: I introduce the Bill.

15.04 hrs.

**PUBLIC FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
(OBLIGATION AS TO FIDELITY AND  
SECRECY) AMENDMENT BILL. \***

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijaywada): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Public Financial Institutions (Obligation as to Fidelity and Secrecy) Act, 1983 and matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"The leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Public Financial Institutions (Obligation as to Fidelity and Secrecy) Act, 1983 and matters connected therewith or incidental thereto."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: I introduce the Bill.

15.05 hrs.

**PROHIBITION OF USE OF RELIGIOUS,  
COMMUNAL, REGIONAL AND SEC-  
TORAL NOMENCLATURES FOR POLIT-  
ICAL PARTIES AND PREVENTION OF  
MISUSE OF RELIGIOUS PLACES BILL—  
Contd.**

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We will now take up for further consideration the fol-

lowing motion moved by Shrimati Basavarajeswari on the 31st July, 1987, namely:—

"That the Bill to prohibit the use of religious, communal, regional and sectoral names for political parties and to prevent the misuse of religious places, be taken into consideration."

Mr. Sidnal may continue his speech. He is not present now. Yes Mr. Shantaram Naik.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK (Panaji): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, this Bill moved by Shrimati Basavarajeswari to prohibit the use of religious, communal, regional and sectoral names for political parties and to prevent the misuse of religious places, is most welcome. At this juncture, when we are facing the problems related precisely to this aspect, the Bill is all the more welcome than ever before. However, I would like to say that it would have been proper if an amendment to our Election Law were introduced instead of moving an independent Bill of this nature. I say this because ultimately the entire law with respect to registration of political parties is contained within the framework of the Representation of People's Act. Therefore, unless that law, which deals with the subject is amended, what is desired by the mover of the Bill will not be achieved. But in principle, I welcome this Bill because giving nomenclature for certain political parties with overtones of religious fanaticism has to be avoided. It has to be curbed. In this regard. Otherwise, if only one political party takes initiative in this regard, then the other political parties are bound to misuse it. There are certain issues in this country where consensus has to be arrived at and this is one such issue where a unanimous view point is necessary.

When the Bill was introduced, one hon. member of Parliament Shri Banatwalla got up and opposed the Bill tooth and nail. I also recollect that at that time you had given him not less than 10 minutes to

[Shri Shantaram Naik]

speak. Shri Banatwalla had no basis to oppose the Bill at its introductory stage itself because it could not be anybody's contention that a Bill of this nature could not be introduced. Yet, a member of the stature of Shri Banatwalla chose to oppose the Bill tooth and nail, for reasons which we obviously know. It is precisely the political parties like that of Shri Banatwalla which we have to bring within the scope of this Bill. It would have been better if Shri Banatwalla had come forward to say that in spite of the nomenclature of their party, their policies were not on those lines and that they were quite secular. But on the contrary, he only opposed the Bill tooth and nail.

Secondly, we also have to see it from the point of view of certain constitutional rights enshrined in Article 25(1). Article 25(1) says:

"Subject to public order, morality and health and to the provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion."

When any aspect of curtailment of any right comes in, it is this right under which a person who is affected, or who is opposed to a Bill of this nature, which he will be invoking. But even under this Article, this is the time when we should curtail, i.e. come of our own accord and come forward to curtail the fundamental right to religion in the national interest.

There are three restrictions here to the right to religion, viz: public order, morality and health. On any one of these three counts, Government can restrict one's right to religion; but there is no provision which says that in the interests of the nation, in the interests of the security of India, this right can be curtailed. So, this is the time when we should amend even this Article to the effect that we curtail our own right, in the interests of the security of this country.

Secondly, as I said earlier, it would have been better if a law dealing with the registration of political parties was amended, viz. what is known as the Elections (Reservation of Symbols) Order, framed under Representation of the People Act. It is this Elections (Reservation of Symbols) Order, which is a sort of legislation framed under the Act—it is this order which deals with the registration of political parties, which deals with the aspect as to how when a political party splits the proceedings have to be taken, and which group should be recognized as that political party, etc. Therefore, under this Elections (Reservation of Symbols) Order, the wordings used are:

"Any group calling themselves as a political party can approach the Election Commission for registration."

Then the Election Commission requires them to produce a copy of their constitution and many other things. Certain conditions are laid down; but nowhere it is seen that because of the programmes and policies of a given group which comes for registration, that a registration is rejected. In fact, those who are fanatically religious, superstitious and who would like to create turmoil of all sorts and would like to have a political party not of any standard, nor for the benefit of the people but would like to have a party which would like to create chaos, even if that party goes before the Election Commission and applies for registration, I think the Election Commission will not have any objection. They would only see whether the group has applied on a stamped paper, whether it has signed the documents, filed a copy of its constitution etc. Other conditions have been mentioned; what those conditions are, the Commission will not bother. So, this is the loose form of registration which is provided for in the Order framed under the Representation of the People Act.

In such circumstances, where are the restrictions? Therefore, any political party with any aims and objects can today

approach the Election Commission. So, I would say that it would be better if Government accepts the basic principles enunciated in the Bill and comes up with an amendment to the Representation of the People Act, and the concerned Order.

Secondly, as far as the Order is concerned, ultimately you can see that since the registration is provided for in the Order, and not in the Act, it is the Election Commission and not the Government which amends the Order. So, even if some amendments have to be made in that Order, one will have to approach the Election Commission.

Therefore, another suggestion I would like to make is that whatever provisions are contained in the Order or in the form of an order, they should be incorporated in the main Act. Therefore, the concept for the subject matter of registration of parties is directly with the government; government can decide which are the parties to be registered, how they are to be registered, what will happen if the registration takes place, how symbols can be allotted, if they are allowed to be provided for in the order, I don't think much purpose will be achieved.

Today we are having a debate; rather, our Prime Minister has said that there should be a debate with respect to politics and religion.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): I know you have a love for me.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK: It is true that a debate should be held over this aspect. As I said in the last time also, as far as our coverage with respect to religious proceedings, religious functions is concerned, that should be a private affair. We go on saying that we have got several issues throughout the country to be shown, public causes to be shown. If we spend one minute or half a minute in showing this process, which is in fact a private affair of each religious community, it will

make no sense to my mind. Therefore, these are things which we should take up so that the concept initiated by Shrimati Basavarajeswari is ultimately achieved.

[Translation]

SHRI P. NAMGYAL (Ladakh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Bill moved by Shrimati Basavarajeswari seeks to ban those political parties which are using religious institutions for their political ends. While supporting the spirit behind the Bill, I would like to submit some points.

It has especially been noted that there are many such political parties which are using religious institutions for their political ends. Darbar Saheb is the most important religious place of Sikhs, but we are seeing in Punjab these days that disturbances are being created in the name of religion and a feeling of terror is being created among the people and the people do not know as to when the terrorists would throw bombs and shoot innocent and peace-loving citizens. The moderate Sikhs have been almost thrown out of Darbar Saheb and the militants have taken that place under their control.

I have been returned from Kashmir. In the Kashmir valley, there is one Awami Action Committee under the leadership of Maulana Farooq. His political platform has been Jama Masjid, Shrinagar and Idgah only. Iamiat-e-Islami is challenging the accession of Kashmir to India. Their basic political beginning is based on Masjids and other political institutions. Similarly there are great religious places belonging to Hindus or Muslims or to both of them, as there is the issue of Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babari Masjid. This is a political issue which is causing a danger to our principle of secularism. On one pretext or the other, religious institutions are being used for political ends. Therefore, I would like to submit that this Bill would not be sufficient

[Shri P. Namgyal]

and our Government will have to devise ways and means to check misuse of religious institutions for political ends.

I would like to give one more suggestion. There are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains in our country who are allowed to use loudspeakers in their religious institutions. There is need to ban the use of loudspeakers. I am a Buddhist. We have got monastories where we worship. We start our worship early in the morning at 3 A.M. or 4 A.M. and start beating the drum and do not allow people to sleep. This happens in temples and mosques also. Loudspeakers are a menace to the people living in the neighbourhood. This has been going on for the last thousands of years and people have been worshipping from time immemorial. But the modern loudspeakers create disturbance and sometimes become a source of bitterness among various communities. If two communities are residing at the same place, one community start using a loudspeaker, the other community also does the same and this becomes a basis for disputes. I want to suggest that Government after taking all sections and the hon. Members of this House into confidence should come forward with a Bill to provide for banning the use of religious institutions by political parties for their political ends. Many times loudspeakers disturb communal harmony and become a basis for tension between different communities. Therefore, it should be banned.

With these words I support the spirit of the Bill. It is hoped that the Government would bring forward some legislation for banning the use of religious places by political parties and for restricting the use of loudspeakers in religious places.

SHRI YOGESHWAR PRASAD YOGESH (Chatra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Bill brought by Shrimati Basavarajeswari is very important. In the real sense, it will not be in the interest of the unity and integrity of the country to form a political party with a religious base. India is mainly a religious

country as well as a secular state. Many nations in the world have adopted secularism but there is difference between their secularism and ours. In the communist countries the meaning of secularism is negation of religion but it is not so in India. Religion is an important part of our culture and spiritual traditions. Hence, religion occupies an important place in our country. But Sir, I want to quote.

*"Tareekh ki aankhon men jabra  
bhi dekha hai,*

*Lamhon ne khata ki thi, sadiyon  
nen saza payee hai"*

The history of our country tells us that many people sacrificed their lives during our struggle for independence. Our country was, however, partitioned on the basis of religion. Religious fanaticism sometimes takes the shape of linguistic fanaticism and the reaction thereto is a must. Pakistan came into being on the basis of religious but split up into two parts eventually. Therefore, any political party based on any religion or any other kind of prejudice and narrow mindedness is bound to create differences and divisions in the country. The political rights based on religion are bound to give rise to suspicions among the various sections of our society. All our religions, whether it is Hinduism, Islam or any other religion for that matter preach humanism, love and brotherhood but the politics mingles with religions and gives rise to prejudices and narrow mindedness. Therefore, as we have seen in the past that whenever political parties based on religions have been allowed to exist, it has harmed the nation. So in order to protect the secularism which is a fundamental principle of our country, no party based on any religion, whether it is in the shape of R.S.S., Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League, or Jamait-e-Islami, etc., should be allowed to function in the country. All such parties encourage religious fanaticism and worsen the situation in the country. The situation created in Punjab is before us today. Any encouragement to such a fanaticism leads to all types of fanatic-

acism. The situation in Punjab has led to emergence of separatist forces in West Bengal. If such forces are encouraged and protected for political reasons or otherwise allowed to survive then we will lose the spirit of our country and become powerless. Therefore we should look into this matter in the correct perspective. We are aware that in this regard the Congress or any other party committed to secularism has been following a different tradition. The country is above everything and is above religion as well. We should not forget that anybody placing religion above country is the biggest enemy of the country. We should have to remain vigilant about such people. The bill moved by Shrimati Basavarajeswari is important because it reminds us the sacrifices which were made by our countrymen of our generation. Again, fanaticism has taken toll of several innocent lives in our country. This has harmed not only the religion but also has lowered the dignity of many of our important people. Such a fanaticism is bent upon polluting the atmosphere of the country. I think, we should not allow any such party to function in our country that is based on any religion. With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Jadavpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the Bill brought by Shrimati Basavarajeswari. It has been stated in its objectives that:

[English]

"To check the use of religious, communal, regional and sectoral nomenclatures for political parties and to prevent the misuse of religious places..."

[Translation]

Its objective is very clear. Tomorrow we are going to celebrate the 40th anniversary of our independence. Therefore, a day before that I would like to say something about the national integration of the country. When Mahatma Gandhiji, Pandit Jawa-

har Lal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, Rajaji, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhiji had fought the battle to achieve national integration of the country and to end communal attitude, we were not born at that time. But I would like to tell about the sacrifices made by our martyrs for the sake of independence. "*Ae mere watan ke logo, zara aankh mein bhar lo pani, jo shaheed huaae hain unki zara yad karo kurbani*"

India is our mother. Therefore, I would like to quote "*Sare Jahan se achha hindostan hamara*". Whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, India is our country. I support the Bill brought by Shrimati Basavarajeswari. We belong to Bengal but while composing the national song, the World renowned poet Rabindra Nath Tagore did not start it from Bengal. It was not in his view that Bengal should march ahead and Punjab lag behind or Kerala should march ahead and Maharashtra lag behind. It is not so. He had composed this song from his heart and started so: *Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravida, Utkal, Banga*. We know that people speaking different languages live in our country and the culture, traditions and heritage of all States are different. Unity in diversity is our origin. But it is a matter of great distress that there are some political parties, some vested interest persons and some foreign powers also in our country who want that India should be divided into many parts by adopting the policy of divide and rule. For this purpose some of our religious organisations are also trying to come forward. Now what is Khalistan movement? Due to that a feeling has aroused in the minds of some of our innocent sikhs that Khalistan movement is a religious movement. But this conception is not correct. Khalistan movement can never be a religious movement. Religion and politics are two different things. We will have to make our people understand it.

We may follow any religion, but we do worship the land in our own way.

[Kumari Mamta Banerjee]

Hindi speaking people say in Sanskrit:

"NAMO JABAKUSUM SANKAS-  
SANG KASHYAPEYONG  
MAHADUTIM DHANTARING  
SARBAPAPA GHANAT  
PRANATA HASHI  
DIBAKARAM"

The followers of islam say while reading  
Koran:

"LA HI LA HA ILLAHA MUHAM-  
MAD RASUL ULLA."

Those who are Christians say taking  
bible in their hands:

[English]

"There is none but one."

[Translation]

Similarly Punjabi people say:

"Wahe Guru Ji Da Khalsa, Wahe  
Guru Ji Di Fatah."

It is all right that secularism has been given a place in our Constitution, but it does not at all mean that some political agents should indulge in some political manipulations to end secularism and thus destroy the country. That is why while I supporting the Bill, which has been brought forward by Shrimati Basavarajewari in the House, I would like to point out that this Bill is not sufficient and we will have to do something more in this regard. As has been said by some of our colleagues, the Government will have to take a firm stand to meet this situation. We know that there is democracy in our country but the democratic treatment is not upto the mark in our country. It is because of the fact that most of our people are illiterate and they do not even understand the meaning of democracy. By taking advantage of their ignorance, some people somehow or the other manipulate at the time of elections and are able to capture power to rule the country. For example,

today Shri N.T. Rama Rao is the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, but who does not know what he was before elections and coming to power, he was only a film actor and most often used to play the role of God, Lord Krishna, etc. The people of that State thought that God has come, Lord Krishna has come. They do not know that he is neither God nor Lord Krishna. This is what mostly happens in our country. After coming to power he got his photo inscribed on the currency notes and now I have come to learn about a new development. He has got his photo inscribed on the cinema tickets which are being sold. I am, however, not sure about it. When such things happen in our country, I am distressed. We should not take undue advantage of our innocent people by arousing their feelings. It will be wrong if we say that Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs have their separate sectors in India. We may have faith in any religion, but first of all we are Indians. I was very much distressed when I went through the news of riots taking place in Meerut last year and this year also. Not only in Meerut, communal riots also took place in Delhi and Gujarat. My constituency is a Muslim dominated area. When I visited the area on the eve of Id, I was very much distressed to find that they were even afraid to express Id greetings to each other whole-heartedly because of so much distress and shock which they had suffered. A number of people are spreading the rumours in our country that Muslims are not getting good protection in India, Iran tops the list of such rumour mongers. I read this news in a newspaper a few days ago and also heard it over the Iran Radio that the Indian Muslims are not being protected in India. Besides some foreign powers who want to destabilise our country, are indulging in such a propaganda. In Canada communal minded people, especially Sikhs are being encouraged by giving assistance. But we should not forget that we are Indians first. We have no alternative but to follow whatever is given in the Constitution of India. Whosoever lives in India, he will have to sing the national song and bear with the culture, the traditions and the heritage of India. We have to bear

in mind that there should be no politics in such matters. I would urge upon the Members of the opposition that they should not politicise everything. We should not view everything with a political outlook. To-day the Congress is in power and the people in the opposition speak against the Congress. But tomorrow these very things may go against them. Therefore, keeping aside the indulgence of communal forces, we will have to pay attention towards our actual problems. We should solve the problem of unemployment being faced by our youth in the country because these people are sometimes allured by the R.S.S., sometimes by some Hindu organisations and sometimes by some Muslim organisations. Apart from this, sometimes they are allured by foreign forces, who take our unemployed youth for a tour abroad on their own expenses and later leave them here to indulge in smuggling. In this way the foreign powers are helping these people in creating disturbances and instability in the country. I would, therefore, like to urge the Government to take firm steps in this regard

Sir, it is a matter of great distress that when our former Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi used to say that there was a threat to her life and the country, these communal forces used to treat it as a political stunt. Sir, on that day when Indiraji was shot, I was also on a visit to Midnapore along with Shri Rajiv Gandhi. As soon as I heard the news, I was greatly distressed, but a Minister from West Bengal said that it was a sheer political stunt. These people are not prepared to accept the truth as truth. Prior to her death, Indiraji said:

[English]

"I do not care whether I live or die. But every drop of my blood will strengthen our country and keep India united."

[Translation]

After the emergence of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, an incident took place at Rajghat

and also in Sri Lanka. I would like to thank the hon. Minister of Information and Broadcasting that he made the video recording of the assault made on Shri Rajiv Gandhi in Sri Lanka and showed the same to us and the other people here, otherwise, these communal forces would have said that it was a sheer political stunt.

[English]

Amendment should be brought to take some stand to stop these political activities through these religious places.

[Translation]

I shall resume my seat after mentioning one thing. I want that a permanent peace committee should be formed at the Central level as well as at the State level to monitor any communal riots taking place in any State and to take prompt action in such cases. The permanent committee will take immediate action if some communal riots take place involving communal peoples and check this thing. With these words I would like to say that:

*"Mazahab Nahin Sikhata Aapas  
men Bair Rakhana,*

*Hindi Hain Ham, Watan Hain Hin-  
dostan Hamara."*

India is our most valuable wealth. I support the objective of the Bill.

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): I appreciate the intention behind this Bill. But I feel that it deals with the phenomenon of sectionalism in our society whether you call it communalism, regionalism, casteism or linguism or to a certain extent racialism as reflected in various ethnic entities. The approach adopted by the mover is, I am sorry to say, rather superficial and half-baked. We cannot confuse the form with the substance and we cannot cure the evils of society by a simple

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cosmetic approach. Ours is a very diverse society. It is a plural society in many ways. The essence of the problem that we face in our country from the point of view of national integration which nobody can deny, is a national goal and for bringing about communal harmony which is an essential pre requisite for the development and progress of our society, we have to choose between two clear approaches and this was implicit in the history of our freedom movement. One approach leads us towards uniformity and regimentation. The other leads us towards diversity and plurality. We cannot crush over diversities into a monocratic pattern of uniformity. It is simply impossible, beyond the powers of the State, and I would say outside the purpose of the State. In fact, the glory of India lies in its diversity. Also in a country of our dimension there is, of course, a national good which can be defined. But then every region as it is, aspires to be heard, every social group wants recognition, every identity desires to be expressed. How can we crush all these aspirations, all these interests, all these consciousness into some sort of drab uniformity.

Sir, if we take the phenomenon of communalism, the question is not merely that some parties have got a religious affinity or as it says, a religious label and nomenclature. Of course, there are parties which can conceal hideous communalism behind a national title. The phenomenon of communalism is not just superficial, it is complex and deep-rooted and one has to go to the root of the problem. Our social environment is, unfortunately, because of lack of contact, lack of suitable for cross fertilisation is very much fragmented and different sections of our society are isolated from each other. They almost live in watertight compartments. There is hardly any inter action among them. We nurse many illusions, many untruths, many lies about each other and sometimes we are not brave enough to face the reality. We know precious little about each other. It would

not be out of place for me to tell you Mr. Chairman, that many of my non-Muslim friends out of sympathy for me during Ram-zam almost everyone, out of compassion, offered me a drink, a drink of water, a drink of juice. I do not question their motives. But it is unfortunate that muslims should not know enough about the customs and rites of Hindu brothers and a Hindu brothers should not know enough about the customs and rites and social manners of the muslim brothers. I am just giving an illustration.

Sir, apart from the fragmentation and social environment, there is persistent communal propaganda which even my good and well-intentioned friends like Mr Chidambaram, is unable to control. Even the power of the State does not reach out to curb these loath some and poisonous minds. This communal propaganda goes on and on through regular publications, through leaflets, through posters, through words of mouth, through rumours and all the time it is poisoning our minds against each other. This is where communalism breeds. This could have been combated by the education process but unfortunately we have lost 40 long years and we have not been able to evolve a truly secular pattern of education. In fact, many of our history books still misinterpret our history and present it almost as a form of, as a pattern of continuous patricide among various social groups in the country. I know communalism nourishes its root from certain facets of our history. But history has both a positive and negative message. The least we can do is to project a harmonised and balanced view, rather than emphasise the negative aspect at the cost of the positive aspect. It is possible in my opinion, Mr. Chairman, To give you an example, to depict their struggle between Aurangzeb and Shivaji in terms of relationship between a central power and regional power. It is possible to define it in terms of a national urge to consolidate the national territory and the aspiration to protect the interests of a given region inhabited by a particular community or a social group. It is totally wrong as had always been done

by many people to interpret this struggle as a communal struggle, as a struggle between a Muslim king and a Hindu chief. This is the curse that we bear that our history which can be interpreted in a positive, non-denominational manner is so interpreted to our children even at the very formative stages, at a time when they are so impressionable.

15.51 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair.*]

Then, we are living in a society which is progressing, no doubt, but it is not progressing at the pace we like it to.

There is a scarcity of resources. We have a social plurality within an economy of scarcity. This leads obviously to pulls and pressures and every group, every region, wants to have its share, wants to have its due. Obviously, in our society, there are wide disparities, disparities among classes, disparities horizontally among sections, disparities among various regions of India and those who have more than their due are not prepared for a just re-distribution. Everybody who has more wants to keep it. How can you blame those who do not have enough, who do not get their due from asking for more, asking for their due? This is the essence of the political problem that we face. After all, if I am not wrong, politics has been defined as, in terms of, who is going to get what, how, how much. This is the pattern that is going on before our eyes and the democratic system which has been evolved is really a means to achieve a fairer distribution of goods and resources of the society so that there is an even balance, there is a sense of social justice pervading our polity and every social group, every linguistic group, every community, every region feels that justice is being done unto it.

Unfortunately, the roots of sectionalism—I am using a comprehensive term—which covers all the various cleavages which operate within our body politic, is partly the result of history but is also very much

strengthened and fortified by the sort of things that we teach our children, by the scarcity that is there even today, as a fundamental aspect of our economy, and if I may say so, to a certain extent by the democratic process. It is not that I am against democracy. But the fact is that when everybody gets a vote and when power sharing is based on how various groups are going to be represented in the Legislature and when political parties choose their candidates according to the demographic compulsions of a particular constituency, when they keep their eyes on a caste, group or on a community or on a linguistic group or on any given social group, then somehow democracy itself gets distorted and to that extent, that democratic process itself gives rise to and promote sectionalism.

Sir, in our country, I would not be far wrong, if I say, that even in such things like the composition of a judicial bench, like the formation of a cabinet, like even the location of development project, sometimes, at the back of our mind, unconsciously we have the sectional consideration, whether a particular community is going to be over-represented or under represented, whether it is going to be left out, should be left out or should be brought in. All these considerations come into play. Therefore, I make a point that even democracy as we are operating in our society, gives rise or strengthens these sectional impulses.

What is important, in order therefore, to control communalism is to try to build defences in the minds of men. By constant social education, by stopping communal propaganda, by trying to bring about a regime of social justice so that every community, every section, every region not only gets justice which is its due but knows that it has got it. We have to have a highly vigilant and secular administration. Not that I question the secular impulses or secular instincts, of the people who lay down the policies. They are sincere. But between the word and the action, there is a long gap and that gap is filled by people who have

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had indifferent education, who do not have the right training who do not have the right thinking and, it must be the constant endeavour of the State to see to it that all its functionaries are imbued with a secular spirit which permeates our policies. This is a very difficult task.

Shri Chidambaram can hardly control right down the line every an individual under his command. But I still wish that he would make every possible effort that a secular spirit permeates our actions.

I would, therefore, like to say that what is required is to take into account our plurality and diversity and not fight against it. It is not a curse. It is a gift, an advantage. It can be put to very constructive uses. If I may say so, as a philosopher said, while communalism has definitely a negative dimension, communalism or sectionalism also has to positive dimensions. We know that Government's efforts in the field of development are not enough, are not going to lead us to the destination we have in mind and everywhere there ought to be voluntary effort. In the sort of society that we live in, voluntary effort needs a degree of social solidarity which can only come about by harnessing this sectional consciousness, community consciousness, group consciousness everywhere. What is wrong in a community building a school for itself so long as what is taught in that school subserves the national purpose? What is wrong in a community establishing a hospital or undertaking any welfare measure so long as it does not restrict its benefits exclusively to itself, so long as it has the broad-mindedness and generosity to share the benefits with all its compatriots? I see nothing wrong although, technically you might say that this is a sectional approach and, therefore, a communal approach.

Every language in India wants a place under the Sun. Nothing is more important to man than the language in which his

mother has sung Lullaloris when he was a child, in which he has uttered his first words which come out of his mouth, his mother tongue really expresses the soul within and, to that extent, every linguistic group in our country, has a right to have a place under the Sun, a recognition, a right to teach his children, a right to transmit its value to the future generation. What is wrong in it? But within this larger framework, as I said, through this approach of uniformity, we try to kill these very healthy sentiments.

By whatever name you call a political party, every political party in the final analysis represents not just an ideology. It represents also a social constituency. You may say that different sections may be differently represented within it but, by and large, if I may say so, there is hardly any national party in our country today. Every party has been reduced to a particular region.

SHRI T. BASHEER (Chirayinkil):  
Except Congress.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I know  
We can agree to disagree on that.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC  
GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND  
MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY  
OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAM-  
BARAM): I am speaking as a citizen of this  
country. Apparently, you have not looked  
at the map of India recently or you have not  
travelled to other parts of India. You are  
most welcome to come. We will take you to  
other parts of India.

16.00 hrs.

We will show you how the Congress has  
got roots in every village of India....

(Interruptions)

SHRI T. BASHEER: Even from Kashmir  
to Kanyakumari.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: All right. You can rest happily in the Paradise where you are dwelling. I grant you your Paradise. But I am making a broader point. What I am saying is that...

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum). We have granted to ourselves the Paradise. We don't want your grace for that?

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: You are welcome. So, what I am saying is this that Shakespeare said "Call the Rose by any name, it smells as sweet" With due respect to the soul of Shakespeare may I add: "Call a gutter by any name, it stinks as foul" Therefore, the question is to go behind the scene; behind the facade; behind the proclamations; behind the so called ideology and see the truth and reality I do not wish to name parties. But there are parties which have a very national name but they represent a very very particular section of the national community and much more than that that particular section regards that particular political party as its legitimate and sole spokesman on the national scene. There is a sort of a double-edgedness to it The party poses to be a national party, serves a particular groups and that particular group knows that this party is theirs. They have some sort of a special claim upon it that in the final analysis this party will protect their interests I do not wish to name any party. I am sure, if you place your hand on your heart, you will recognise the present state of affairs in our political system. Therefore, I would beg of you that if the State really wishes and if you really wish to deal with the phenomenon of communalism or regionalism or sectionalism the hon mover has used the word 'sectoral' but I thought what she really meant was 'sectional'—you have to have a regime of social justice. Now you cannot create it overnight. You cannot change the existing pattern of monopoly of power or of economic distribution overnight. But the State must move in that direction.

The Prime Minister has rightly said that after 40 long years we should really know what we mean by secularism. It has been well said that secularism, our secularism does imply the recognition of religion as an institution. It wants to give it its due place. All it says is: The State shall recognise all religions; but shall maintain equi-distance with all and shall be aligned with none. This, to my mind is, secularism as it was propounded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Fathers of our Constitution. This means that whether the social distribution is to be just.

MR CHAIRMAN: Just one minute...

SHRI SHED SHAHABUDDIN: Sir, I will take only two more minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am giving you the time. The point is that we have to extend the time of this Bill because the allotted time is over. Shall we extend the time by one hour?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We can extend the time by two hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: By another two hours? Sir, have you got the speakers? Not enough speakers are here. Please ascertain how many speakers are there....*(Interruptions)* I have no objection to your extending the time. Please ascertain how many speakers are there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us extend, for the present by one hour and then decide.

SHRI T. BASHEER: The point is that you can now extend it by one hour and then let us decide

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Basheer, the problem is if the Chairman will kindly ascertain the number of speakers and then fix the time, then everybody will speak within the time-limit. But if he says that irrespective of the number of speakers he will extend the time, then I am afraid. Mr.

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

Shahabuddin will not yield for another half-an-hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN: For the present, we extend the time by one hour. Then, we consider after one hour.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was emphasising the imperatives of social justice in a pluralistic society we have to recognise various dimensions of the human personality. Man does not always operate on a uni-dimensional plane on not even two-dimensional plane. Human personality is multi-dimensional and the area of that activity and the expression of personality in terms of all incentives, all aspirations and interests is equally multi-dimensional. All we have to see is that when it comes to the inter forces of the same personality, the dividing edge of various dimensions of the same entity, there should not be no conflict, no sharp corners, no fatal edges. The purpose of the society and of the administration is to see to it that such conflicts do not occur and if such conflicts do arise, in that case there should be a mechanism for resolving it and smoothing it over. But we cannot go forward if we try to establish merely social justice merely among individuals. India is too large a State, too complex a phenomenon, so that between the States and the individual you have got to interpose a number of mediatory levels. In federal terms those mediatory levels are the States. In linguistic terms, it is the recognition of all national languages of India as equal. In religious terms, it is this ideology of secularism, and so on. It is on these various planes that we have to build our unity and at the same time given legitimate expression to the plurality. Therefore, I plead that the 'social justice', which is implicit in our Constitution, should not be narrowly understood; it must be understood not only as justice between individuals but as justice between various groups, various regions, various communities, various classes and various sections of our society.

I now come to the second part of the Bill. Clauses 4, 5 and 6 really refer to one single phenomenon—the use of religious place for political purposes. Broadly speaking, one would agree with it. Places of worship are meant for religious purposes; they are not meant for political purposes. But sometimes it is very difficult to draw the line, where religion ends and where non-religion begins. I recall that, during the freedom movement, many a time so many of our national leaders gave us their clarion call from various places of worship. I recall the historic event here in Delhi when Swami Sharadhanand was invited to the pulpit of Jama Masjid to address the people. Now, for example, I recall the famous...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: When was that, Mr. Shahabuddin?

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: It was in 1922-23.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I wish someone like him is invited today. You are talking about 1922-23.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I fully reciprocate your wish. How far have we gone from there?

I recall that Gandhi himself used a religious terminology but when he talked of Ram Rajya he was not feeling or thinking in narrow terms; he was thinking of an ideal society; a just society, but in order to get across to the people, he had to use a certain idioms which people would understand. This is the function that we must give even to our religious consciousness. Our religious consciousness must be harnessed to this national purpose, in order to drive away all those illusions that we have about each other, in order to educate ourselves about each other, in order to inform ourselves of each other, in order that we all understand the larger national purpose in which we all share, in which we must all participate. However, I can make no compromise if a place of worship is used as a sanctuary for criminals. One cannot compromise if it is used as a dumping

place for arms and ammunitions. (*Interruptions*) At least that part of the Bill is absolutely clear. We know what calamities we have faced, we know what situations we have had to face, in our country. Therefore, I completely support this idea that a place of worship should not be a sanctuary for criminals; it should not be a dumping place for arms and ammunitions.

I totally agree with this part. But I am afraid the more essential part here is the other part where, as I said, the approach is rather superficial, which confuses form with substance.

Finally I would like to make my last point. Clause 2 defines the term 'political parties'. I am not aware of any law which defines political parties. In fact, we do not have a law for political parties. To a certain stage, this section is violative of Article 19 of the Constitution. Article 19 gives us freedom of association and this is not subjected to any sectional limits or there is no such exemption or exception. Therefore, to that extent, to say that a group of citizens cannot form, depending upon their common interests, a political association in my view contravenes the provision of Article 19 of the Constitution.

As I said, there is no law for political parties. The political party comes into the arena of law through the back door. The Election Commission, as you know, has got an order for the allotment of symbols. It is there that one speaks of political parties. Otherwise, there is no such thing as registration of political parties.

So, to conclude, while I appreciate, as I said, the intention of the mover in presenting this Bill. I think this Bill is rather misconceived and it does not go to the heart of the problem, the problem of sectionalism communalism or regionalism, in our society that a more deeper and more comprehensive approach is called for if we are to combat this evil of sectionalism. There-

fore, I would request the Hon. Mover to withdraw this Bill and come back with a more comprehensive Bill.

[*Translation*]

\*SHRI G. S. BASAVARAJU (Tumkur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel privileged to support the Bill brought by Smt. Basava Rajeswari. This Bill has very good objectives and they are very relevant in the present day situation. I welcome this Bill and would like to say a few words about the importance of this legislation.

We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of our independence. The father of our nation had dreamt of a Ram Rajya after attaining Swaraj. But I am afraid, Mahatma's dream may not become a reality because today we find so many communal, regional and other disturbances from different corners of the country. Who is responsible for such clashes? Is it political leaders or religious leaders? We have to find out the persons responsible for such disturbances.

Ours is a holy country which has given birth to Shankaracharya, Gautama Buddha, Mahavira, Kabir, Ramakrishna, Parmananda, Swami Vivekananda, Ramanujacharya, Madhava Acharya, Sri Basavewara and others. We have our own rich cultural heritage. History dates back to more than 5000 years.

Our country is called as Hindu Desh. This name is derived from Sindhu river and not from any community or religion. All the people belonging to various religions christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam, Hinduism can live happily in this country. Unfortunately, these days, we find and read in the newspapers about the religious communal and other clashes taking place in different parts of the country.

The incidents of communal clashes at Meerut, Ahmedabad and other places are really shameful. This problem has to be

\*The speech was originally delivered in Kannada.

[Shri G.S. Basavaraju]

looked into by our hon. Home Minister, Prime Minister and by all of us.

In South India we have several parties which have regional sectoral and communal nomenclatures. Some of them are DMK, AIDMK, Telugu Desam, Jharkhand party, Kannada Paksha etc. There are parties like Muslim league, Akali Dal, Hindu Mahasabha etc. The Government employees and many others take pride in saying that they belong to Tamil Nadu, or Andhra Pradesh or Assam or Karnataka etc. They never say that they belong to India. Our national poet Rabindranath Tagore sang his songs to wipe out all fragments and cleavages in the country. Gandhiji inspired us to be united. We have to maintain unity in diversity. The situation in the country at present is different. If Pakistan Cricket team wins a match there will be celebrations in Delhi Hyderabad, Bangalore, and other places. Our primary education should be designed to impart ideas of national unity and integrity. They should respect the nation, its symbol and its national anthem.

Once in Russia we had enquired a Graduate student to tell us something about Bible. The student said that he had not read Bible. In one of the Muslim countries we asked a Post Graduate student about his knowledge about Kuran. He said that he had no knowledge of Kuran. In the above cases, the individuals are concerned about the nation and they are not very particular about the religion. This is a vital lesson which has to be learnt by our people.

There are Universities in the name of region and religion. For example Benares Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University, Karnataka University etc. In Karnataka, November 1, of every year is celebrated with gaity and enthusiasm. But the same spirit is not found among the people while celebrating our Independence Day our Republic Day. This kind of unpatriotic attitude must be curbed. The educa-

tional institutions have to play a vital role in imbining patriotism.

My friend Mr. Shahabuddin who was participating on this Bill is not here at the moment. I wanted to tell him as to what is happening in Karnataka. There the upper caste people have their own party.

During 12th century Shri Basaveswara of Karnataka went a step ahead of Karl Marx in bringing social revolution. He formed classless society by conducting inter caste and inter religious marriages. He preached and practiced the Principle of work is workship. (KAYAKAVE KAILASA). Unfortunately, he died at the age of 38. Religious places cannot be used for political gains. There should be a ban to name a political party on a religion or region or language. We may belong to any party. First of all we have to search our hearts and we have to introspect. Political leaders should not exploit the rural masses who are innocent.

Mir Sadaq was responsible for Tippu Sultan's down fall. Such persons whose objective is their self gain have to be condemned. Nations interest should come first.

I request the hon. Home Minister to bring some amendments to Smt. Basava Rajeswari's Bill and to make it more comprehensive so as to remove casteism, regionalism, communalism, and other maladies from our country.

I hope and trust that the hon. Home Minister will look into all the suggestions that I have made and take firm steps to strengthen our nation's unity and integrity.

Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. With these words I conclude my speech.

SHRI RAMSWAROOP RAM (Gaya):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the spirit of the Bill which has been introduced in the House. According to the preamble of the Constitution of India no political party can

be organised on the basis of any religion, caste or language. There was a time when religion was regarded as a symbol of brotherhood and goodwill. Keeping this and the vastness of the country in view and in order to ensure an atmosphere of brotherhood and goodwill, our forefathers thought it fit to adopt the present system, but now a situation has arisen before the eighty crore people of the country which has struck a serious blow to our democracy and on what our intellectuals had visualised. There was a time when religion was considered to be the symbol of goodwill but today religion, language and caste have become evils. One can see what is going on in the name of religion today. I would like to say that if India is to be kept as one country; if an atmosphere of brotherhood and goodwill is to be maintained, we will have to keep the Geeta the Ramayana the Koran and the Guru Granth Sahib at home for personal use and not to exhibit them at public places. Only the Constitution of India can become our Geeta or Koran. Only this is our sacred book. Like Guru Granth Sahib which is considered sacred by sikhs, the Constitution of India should also be considered as a holy book by all the countrymen. Our Constitution is free from religionism and parochialism. It is a holy book of the 21st century which symbolises the unity and integrity of the country. I would request Shri Banatwala to recite the Koran Sharif at his house. Similarly, Chaudhary Sunder Singh should also recite the Ramayana, the Geeta at his house but we should not indulge in staging a religious demonstration at boat club by taking out religious procession in the name of the Geeta, the Ramayana or the Koran. When Shahabuddin took out a procession at the boat club lawns on the issue of Babri Mosque, I said in this august House the same day that the lawns of the boat club are a public platform and the religious procession should not have been allowed to be taken out and it should have been banned. We should never talk of Hindu communalism or Muslim Communalism. I condemn communalism in one word and we all should condemn it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to say about the Nathdwara temple. There are 25 crore Harijans and Adivasis in this country who have no religion except that they are Indians. They pray for the unity and integrity of the country on the basis of humanity and not on the basis of any religion. They have no Gurudwaras, temples, mosques or Churches. Their number is 25 crore and do not have faith in any Hindu or Muslim caste. They have faith only in secularism and do not go to any temple or mosque. Similarly, all people including Hindus and Muslims should adopt their percept and follow it as a religious command.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, every person wants to take some advantage by inciting regional feelings. Shri N.T. Rama Rao and some political parties are included in this category. I am not against promotion of various regions but the apprehension is that in the name of regionalism, nationalism is not pushed to the background and today the same is happening. The feeling of regionalism has developed so much that the people of Bengal call themselves Bengalis, the people of Kashmir call themselves Kashmiris and the people of Tamil Nadu call themselves Tamilians. Unfortunately even after 36 years of Independence, we have not been able to become Indians. We should first admit that we are Indians, but in our country the reverse is happening due to politics. Of course, we talk of secularism and casteless society in regard to the establishment of which, Dr. Baba Sahib Ambedkar said:

[English]

“Swaraj has got no significance without establishing a casteless society in India.”

[Translation]

Although it has been envisaged in our Constitution, yet in practice we spread hatred in the name of caste....we spread hatred at some places in the name of religion and at some other places in the name

[Shri Ramswaroop Ram]

of regionalism. A serious situation is being developed. A code of conduct should be evolved which should be followed by all the political parties as well as political persons. Unless a code of conduct is evolved we will go on functioning in the name of religion, caste and language and in this way the unity of the country will be jeopardized. You might have noticed that the so called political parties like, the B.J.P. and the Muslim league, incite Hindu and Muslim communalism. They should, therefore, be ashamed of calling themselves political parties. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the Muslim league, the B.J.P., the R.S.S. and the Jamaiat-e-Islami should be banned and they should not be allowed to function as political parties during the coming elections. Therefore, a code of conduct must be evolved. Those people belonging to any religion, who want to enter politics on the basis of any religion, region or a language, should be told that they cannot organise any party on the basis of any religion. Therefore, it is necessary to have a code of conduct for political persons and political parties and for this purpose, if need be, necessary amendments should be made in the Constitution. Otherwise, this malady will go on increasing and will lead to a further division of the country in the name of religion.

[English]

SHRI V SOBHANADREESWARA RAO (Vijayawada): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I would like to congratulate Shrimati Basavarajeswari to bring forward this important Bill to be discussed in this House. Though I do not subscribe to some of the provisions of this Bill, I appreciate her efforts to bring this Bill before this House so that several members can express their views and ultimately, though not immediately, the Government may come with a suitable amending Bill to take care of the suggestions given in the House.

Several senior Members who spoke earlier have gone to the extent of suggesting

banning of regional parties. It is most unfortunate, it is unfair and also undemocratic. Probably, some of the Members may not be aware of the circumstances which have given birth to the emergence of regional parties in some of the States. For example, in Tamil Nadu, DMK and AIADMK are two very strong regional parties. The social, economic and cultural deficiencies of our system were responsible for coming into being first of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam party. You know, the Aryans had pushed the Dravidians to the deep South. And inspite of that, they have retained their ethnic identity, culture and their heritage. Sir, the particular upper caste in Hindu society has dictated that Harijans should not reside in the village proper and they should not take water from the wells of the village; they should not walk with 'chappals' in the main streets of the village; they should not read vedas, etc. All these things resulted in a big section in the society which drifted towards a different thinking. They thought that their interests can be safeguarded only with a separate political party. That is how Dravida Munnetra Khazagam came into being in Tamil Nadu. It is a very great thing that contrary to the original ideology, Late C.M. Annadurai, after Chinese aggression has brought a lot of change in the thinking of the party which further attracted the democratic nationalists people of Tamil Nadu to join and strengthening the Dravid Munnetra Khazagam.

Similarly, Andhra Pradesh, a State where the Congress was in power right since independence till 1983 and even at a time when the Northern States have gone against Smt. Indira Gandhi, was a State which gave tremendous support to her. Sir, it was because the successive Governments failed to develop the State and were unable to take care of the interests of the people of Andhra. Deep and rampant corruption and inefficiency discouraged them. People were disgusted with the misrule by Congress. Other national parties could not win the confidence of the large

masses. Then Mr. N.T. Rama Rao entered the arena with his vast film background and his election manifesto to take care of the real sufferings of the poorer sections of the people. People thought that he is the person who can defeat the Congress (I) and that is how the Telugu Desam came into being and it came to power.

SHRI MULLAPPALLY RAMACHANDRAN (Cannanore): That is why Harijans' houses were set on fire.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: In Andhra Pradesh there are only two incidents but in Bihar not a single day passes when atrocities are not committed on Harijans or other weaker sections of the society.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Our Government is taking more care of the Harijans than any other State Government in the country.

Similarly, in Assam, Sir, right from its inception till the other day when the Assam Gana Parishad came into power, there was Congress rule. But since the ruling party could not take into consideration the aspirations, the urges of large majority of the Assamese people and because Congress (I) killed a large number of people without showing any mercy, and also to some extent due to mass killings in farward elections in 1983, AGP came into power.

There are several valid reasons for these regional parties coming into power. I would say there is nothing wrong in the regional parties coming into power in some of the States. I may be forgiven Sir, if I say that the present Rajiv Gandhi Government at the Centre will be the last single party Government at New Delhi. The future trend is a coalition or a front of different political parties.

That is going to be the state of things.

SHRI A. CHARLES: A conglomeration of different parties!

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Yes. There is nothing wrong in it. In your State itself, several parties have joined together to rule. It is the United Front or the Left Democratic Front and not the Congress (I) alone. The same thing is going to be repeated at the national level in the Union Government.

SHRI A. CHARLES: Well, you may live in your own paradise.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: But at least not in fools' paradise!

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Sir, ours is a very big country with a huge population and many different languages. When Freedom was attained, the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi gave an advice not to associate the name of the Congress with any political party so that an organisation which had fought for the Independence of this country and which had made so many sacrifices would not be taken advantage of by some people by simply adopting the same name for their political party in the new set up. He advised that different political parties should start afresh by placing their policies and programmes before the people to win their confidence. But it was not adhered to for some selfish interests. Unfortunately, the name 'Congress' continued to be used by one party and this party continues to take advantage of it. That is how it ruled for several decades both at the Centre and in several States. It was only after the Emergency, after Jayaprakash Narain's Movement, Janata Party came into being. But unfortunately its failure at that crucial period had again created such a situation that today, really speaking, there is no alternative to Congress. One has to accept this fact. At the same time, we should also accept that the Congress (I) which was previously a National Party, is now reduced to a Regional Party of some Hindi heartland.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: What happened in your Mandal Elections? Also, what happened recently in the by elections? What happened in Tadepalligudem?

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Similarly, several other national parties are also reduced to the status of regional parties. Why are people taking more and more to regional parties? The reason is... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Either you have a poor knowledge of history or your memory is very poor!

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: I am not poor in both.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: But his geography is very good. In South they are liquidated. They are coming to North now...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Dandavateji has not visited South recently..

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Regional parties are able to take decisions very quickly on aspects relating to the needs of the people. For example, I may quote the experience of our Party, Telugu Desam. In fact, our party could implement the election promises, such as supply of rice at the rate of only Rs 2 per Kg. At this price, we supplied rice to about one crore families. It costs our government Rs. 190 crores per year. Similarly we could construct *pucca* houses involving an expenditure of Rs. 40 crores for... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr Chairman Sir, I have no objection if he sings the praise of his Government. But is this the forum for my hon. friend to sing the praise of his State Government?

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Well, I am not supposed to sing the praise of your government.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You don't have to praise any party. We have got this private members' Bill here and let us discuss the Bill... *(Interruptions)*

Just a minute please. Let me complete what I want to say. If he wants to praise the State Government, he is most welcome to do so. But he should also be prepared to be criticised on what he says. If he says that his government is issuing rice at Rs. 2 per kilo, I am entitled to stand up and ask what is the issue price of rice from the Central Government stocks to the State Governments. He should say that also. If he says that their party has won everywhere, I am entitled to ask him about their experience in the recent by elections. If he says that they are protecting the Harijans, I am entitled to ask him what happened in Nee-rukonda. My point is, is this the forum for him to sing a praise of his State Government?

SHRI G M BANATWALLA (Ponnani): He has already asked those questions

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Since he has already sung the praise, I have got to ask those questions.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He is entitled to ask as to what happened in two by-elections. We are entitled to ask as to what happened in Haryana.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is only a narrow issue. He is giving a justification for regional parties.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Minister has not understood me fully. What I want to say is...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: His party is on a regional basis. That is why he is saying all these things.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO: Yes. Because, ours is a regional party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He says, as to what

is the justification for the existence of the regional parties?

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
That is what I am saying, Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You followed him correctly but the Minister has not followed him.

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
Ours is a regional party—Telugu Desam. Our Government, Our Party is able to take certain decisions at our Government level itself. In addition to the subsidy which you give on these *dhotis* and *sarees*, we are giving some more subsidy and now we are supplying at half their price to crores of people.

Ours is a regional party and hence we could take a decision to write off the land revenue completely. We also made the electricity tariff as Rs. 50 per horse power, per year. That is how we are able to help the farmers and we are able to.....*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your please conclude. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
They have taken my time. You please give me some more time.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
So this is a new phenomenon. What I would like to say is, in 1983, Telugu Desam Party came into power and it has further entrenched by successively winning in 1984 December, Parliamentary Elections, 1985 Assembly Elections, Mandal Elections, Zila Parishad Elections and cooperative Elections.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
Similarly in Tamil Nadu where originally there was a DMK party and they now split into AIADMK and DMK and that further

strengthened the regional party and not the Congress (I).

MR. CHAIRMAN: You don't go into all these details. You please wind up.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, Telugu Desam's history is presumably so long that I recommend to them to celebrate their centenary there, very soon

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
So, you wish that our Government should live for hundred years. So, we will certainly celebrate it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The way you narrated, it looks as though you have already lived 97 years. So, celebrate it.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. SOBHANADREESWARA RAO:  
This is quite in tune with the Constitution and its federal concept. And with the Union Government strictly following the constitutional provisions, there is nothing wrong and it will further strengthen our national integration.

I want to express my complete unanimity with the mover of this Resolution in regard to the Clauses 4, 5 and 6. It is most unfortunate and I need not repeat all those instances which have taken place in the Golden Temple, the massive collection of arms and the subsequent operations. Even Longowal's life was taken away. He was instrumental to our Punjab Accord. He was also not spared. His life was taken away in that Gurudwara—a worshipping place. So, it is high time that politics and religions should not go together. Certainly, Government should come up with some Act, preventing such type of misuse by some persons, these worshipping places. Some very deterrent provisions should be there so that such things do not take place in future, at least.

With these few words, I thank you very much.

[Translation]

CH. SUNDER SINGH (Phillaur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is a famous couplet of Iqbal:

"Mazhale nahin sikhater a Aapas mein  
bair rakhama  
Hindi hein hum, watan hai Hindustan  
hamara".

Dr. Iqbal belonged to Sialkot district and I also hail from there. He was a very good human being having good views. But ultimately he joined Muslim League. Had he not joined that party, people would have worshipped him in India.

The gurudwaras, temples and mosques are the root cause of all disputes. These places are occupying vast tracts of land whereas the poor have no housing accommodation. Large tracts of land are taken into possession for construction of temples, gurudwaras or mosques, I quote what Swami Vivekanand said:—

[English]

"Where should you seek God? Are not the poor, the miserable and the down-trodden Gods? Worship them first. I do not believe in a God and religion who cannot wipe out the tears from the widow's eyes and cannot bring a morsel of food to the orphan's mouth".

[Translation]

If there is a good Hindu, he is good for a Muslim as well as for a Sikh. If a Muslim is good, he is good for all. There is neither any Muslim, Hindu or Sikh, all are human beings created by God. I think, these places of worship have been constructed to exploit the people. Some people want Khalistan. If they want Khalistan, we also want Hindustan. Our population is 20 crore and that of sikhs is 1.5 crore. They want Khalistan and thousands of our people are sacrificing their lives at the hands of extremists for the sake of the country. In a fight like this, a Hindu dies, a Sikh dies and

every person dies. It is written in the Guru Granth Sahib—"Na bhoya kisi ka det, na bhaya kisi ka man"—Do not terrorise nor should be afraid of anybody. I would like to say that these mosques, temples and gurudwaras in the country would never help us to realise God. They have been constructed to exploit the people. There is a couplet of Iqbal—

"Masjid to bana li pal bhar mein, Iman  
hararat walon ne,  
man aap purana papi barason mein  
namasi ban na saka".

So far as Khalistan is concerned, Longowal undoubtedly, did a very good thing. If a section of the people constituting a population of 1.5 crore demand a plan for themselves, they should not forget that there are many Harijans among them who will have to suffer ultimately and their problems will never be solved. Stringent punishment should be given to those persons who exploit the people in the name of religion.

Shrimati Basavarajeswari has brought forward a very good Bill for which I congratulate her. If you go to any gurudwara, or temple you will find that they carry on propaganda in their own way and do not recite the name of God there. That is why God's name can be recited anywhere. Harijan have no temples, mosques or gurudwaras. I would, therefore, like to say that Harijans are the real citizens of the country. All other people have come from outside and are exploiting 20 crore people. Harijans are less demanding and do not need much space to live in.

[English]

He is a leader of the future.

[Translation]

They take more from society but give nothing in return.

[English]

You are going down. We are going up.

[Translation]

This is a simple thing which I would like to tell. I would advise Harijans to not to worry. They are becoming victims of their misdeeds and ultimately we will come forward. They demand votes in the name of the poor but nothing is done for them. The schemes, which have been formulated, are for the welfare of Hindus, Sikhs, opposition people and other people but no one helps the poor. This thing should end. I would like to say a good Hindu is good for a Sikh and Muslim and a good Muslim is good for all.

[English]

"I prefer to be cheated by others than to cheat others"

[Translation]

Those who cheat others, are themselves cheated by others.

I would also like to say that the population of those who are demanding Khalistan is only 1.5 crore our population is 20 crore and we also want Harijanistan. We belong to India and our loyalty is towards this country You all are outsiders and your loyalty is not towards this country. When outsiders come into the country, they drove away Harijans to the forests and usurped their land This is the crime which you have committed It is natural that you people will be fighting among yourselves The remaining poor people will also support us

This is a very good Bill because it has been brought forward to check the abuse of religion. Those people have no religion who misuse religion. Religion teaches us to serve the poor and the destitutes. Therefore, I would say.

[English]

"Where should you seek God? Are not the poor, the miserbale and the down-trodden God? Worship them first. I do not believe in a God and religion which cannot wipe out the tears from the widow's eyes

and cannot bring a morsel of food to the orphan's mouth".

[Translation]

While not taking much of your time I would only say that it is not proper to exploit the people in the name of religion.

[English]

"Every successful man must have behind him somewhere tremendous integrity and tremendous sincerity. That is a cause of his single success in life. He may not be perfectly unselfish, yet he was tending towards it Had he been perfect in unselfishness, his would be as great a sacrifice as of Buddha and Christ."

The degree of unselfishness makes the degree of success everywhere.

[Translation]

With these words I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

17.00 hrs.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Phulrenu Guha.

Again, the time allotted for this Bill is coming to an end. How long should we continue?

AN HON. MEMBER: One hour.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: There is a Half-an-Hour discussion which has to start at 5.30 p.m.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This will go to next Friday.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: We can extend the time by one hour.

MR. CHAIRMAN: With the leave of the House the time is extended by one hour

Dr. Phulrenu Guha.

[Translation]

\* DR. PHULRENU GUHA (Contai): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the very outset I welcome this resolution which has been brought forth before this House by Smt. Basava Rajeswari. In the present situation that is prevailing in the country, this type of resolution is of the utmost importance. I know that after this discussion is over, the Govt will request Smt. Basava Rajeswari to withdraw her resolution in the usual way and of course she will have to withdraw it. I will therefore very strongly and forcefully urge upon the Govt. that their work should not be over with the withdrawal of the resolution as usual. It is necessary to bring forth another more comprehensive resolution on similar lines and to get it passed during the current session of the Lok Sabha. In view of the situation that is developing in the country today, it is very necessary not only to pass such a resolution but to implement it also fully. Otherwise the situation will become very critical in the coming days. We find today that all the religious places like temples, churches, mosques, gurudwaras etc. which were established for religious purposes are being misused by political parties or groups which are not formally recognised as political parties. In the name of religion they are misleading the poor and illiterate masses who have remained in the darkness of ignorance for ages. Another class of people who failed to establish their economic foundation at other places in straight-forward way, are trying to achieve that in the name of religion by hoodwinking the ignorant people. They are not only trying but they have also succeeded in some places. Therefore, Sir, if we treat this resolution merely as a resolution and talk it out or get it withdrawn in the end, that would be a grave injustice. We must not ignore or deny the importance and seriousness that is inherent in this resolution. I do not wish to mention any particular place but we all know that today in our country many places of worship, be it gurudwara, mosque, church, temple or

namghar, are being grossly misused and in the name of religion they are playing havoc with the lives of the poor innocent and ignorant common people and they are also disintegrating and destroying the country. Therefore, I will say that we should not only pass this resolution but try to implement it also in letter and spirit. To make it effective all the States and all the political parties should be approached for cooperation. If necessary, discussions should be held with all the political parties. The common man should be made to understand that unless this step is taken, the unity of the country and the communal amity will be adversely affected in the days to come. As a result of that the provincialism, the communalism, the sectarianism etc. which are already on the increase will further spread rapidly. Sir, those who really believe in religion and have faith in God, they go to their religious places whether it is mosque or temple or church or gurudwara, only for the purpose of worship. They pray to God according to their different methods of worship and try to find solace therein. But those people who want to wreck and play havoc with the lives of the poor masses, those who want to destroy the country, they indulge in politics and anti-national activities in these very places of worship and religious places. This must be stopped at all cost. Here it has been stated that no political party shall be allowed to misuse these religious places. Although we have broad laws to prevent such activity, they are not being strictly enforced. I feel that the existing laws in this connection are proving inadequate to the task. I will therefore urge upon the hon. Home Minister to enact some stringent legislation whereby the political parties will not be allowed to misuse these religious places for their own ends. Not only that, they should not be allowed to use them in any speech, pamphlet, leaflet or party literature also. Unless that is done, the country will be in grave crisis in the days to come.

Here, I would like to request the Home

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\* The speech was originally delivered in Bengali.

Minister that it is usual to ask the mover to withdraw the Bill and she will be bound to withdraw the Bill. Please remember that this is a very important resolution and we need not only this type of a resolution but in real action also.

We must have some laws or Act to see that the political parties are not allowed to do it. If they do it, then you have to do something very stringent by way of an Act or a resolution. It is the usual course that is followed, is that you may ask her to withdraw the Bill. I do not know what is there in your mind. I never discussed either with her or with you. But, you have to bring a resolution before this session is over, so that all the political parties big or small should abide by that resolution. If necessary, you can have an Act also

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not wish to make a long speech. I only want to say that the poor and illiterate people due to their ignorance fail to understand the machinations of the political parties. Different political parties approach them and in the name of religion incite and misguide them for their self interest.

Another class of people who want power, political or economic, they also exploit the poor masses. Having failed to achieve that on their own merit or through the democratic processes of the country, they misled the people in the name of religion and play havoc with their lives to achieve their own ends. In this process they destroy the whole country. All the political parties, whichever region they may belong to, should come together and jointly fight this evil which is raising its ugly head. All of us must face the evil jointly and will have to undertake a joint campaign all over the country to fight this growing menace. That is my last appeal to all the political parties. All the Members of the House, who belong to different political parties, should work together and fight this menace which the country is facing today.  
[English]

SHRI BHADRESWAR TANTI (Kaliabor):  
I thank the mover of the Bill to prohibit the use of religious, communal, regional and

sectoral names for political parties and to prevent the misuse of religious places. The intention of the Bill is good. If this Bill is enacted, the composition of the House will be different. Such a Bill should have been brought by the Government itself long back. I know why this Government did not feel it proper to bring forward such a Bill. If they had done it, their very purpose of ruling this country would have been defeated.

We know that religion and politics cannot go together. This is an admitted fact. But in our country it is reciprocal to each other. Religion and politics can go together in our country. That is why, we find many politicians are involved in religion and many religious people are also involved in politics

In Delhi, there are some religious leaders who gave call to the nation from their religious place to go on strike and nationwide *bandh* because they do not confine to religion alone. From our experience we find that political parties do take help of religion at the time of elections. And they set up candidates in different segments on the basis of caste, creed and religion. They use the religious place as the political centre. This takes place in almost all parts of the country. I believe, nobody will deny it. Justice is an exception in our country and injustice is the rule. Look at the poor man, the common man, the bidi workers, the industrial workers. Are they getting any taste of the freedom? Our constitution says, ours is a Socialist Secular Democratic Republic. But have the people at the grass-root level found the taste of this Socialist Secular Democratic Republic in the real sense? Has the Government tried to know the vibrations of the heart of the common man? The answer would be 'No'. The Government have not realised even after forty years of Independence. This august House has created a bundle of laws and Acts but we find that the laws, the Acts, the rules made by this House are silent spectators today. You will find that in some places of the country drought has taken

[Shri Bhadreswar Tanti]

place, in some places you will find starvation deaths, in some States there are heavy floods, you will find a grim picture of the human life, but the Government is not at all concerned. The Government fail to rush to the people to console them and to render all possible help to them. It has failed because there are no elections in those places. Had there been any election, they would have gone there.

17.17 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Last year, the Prime Minister visited Bangladesh when there was some natural calamity and along with him, surprisingly enough, he had taken lot of relief materials. But in our own State people are dying. Then why the Prime Minister is not visiting and why he is not taking relief materials with him?

Now, who are the beneficiaries of our freedom? The beneficiaries of the freedom of this country are the capitalists, the big persons, the high-ups, the Ministers, the M.Ps., the Legislators, the bureaucrats—not the common man. You try to hear the vibrations of the heart of the common man and then only you will realise. Only passing the laws in this august House will not do. My friend says there are lots of down-trodden people in our country. But how many are benefited by these so-called laws? The laws are silent spectators. Go to the industrial workers, to the bidi workers, to the petroleum workers or to the workers of the CPWD. Are they getting any benefits? Are these laws being implemented? No, the laws are not reaching them. Even the courts have failed to give justice to the people. If it is a case of a politician or a capitalist, that case is decided, but if it is a case of a common man, it will not. You will find lot of cases of industrial workers which are pending in the courts. Who will ventilate their grievances? Nobody is there to do that. Are there any ways and means

to give them expeditious justice? You cannot expect a man getting only Rs. ten a day to go to the court, and he cannot wait for a long period of ten years or fifteen years. By that time he will die. This is the position of justice.

Why do you talk about secularism, classless society, equality before law. Where is secularism? Where is classless society? Where is equality before law? Last year we mourned the death of Babu Jagjivan Ram. A member was telling — he was invited to a function. He garlanded a statue. After the function was over Babuji left. Then the statue was washed with gangajal, simply because he was untouchable. This is the attitude of the people. This is *modus operandi* of secularism and the equality before law. Do you get justice before law? Do you get equality before law? A common man at the grass root does not get it.

At the time of election you go to the people and request for vote on the basis of religion. We use religious places as our platform for political gains. Nobody is exception. He may be Sikh, Muslim, Hindu or anybody. A Muslim goes to the Muslim people and says—I am a Muslim, so you vote for me. A Hindu goes and says to Hindu I am a Hindu, you must vote for a Hindu. A Sikh goes to Sikhs and says — you vote for Sikh that is for me because I am a Sikh. This is the position. You may deny for the sake of denying.

We are being governed by the rule of law because law is created by man for the greater interest of Society. You must not forget that the society and the individual has a responsibility towards the State. We should not be blind whosoever he may be — Congress, Janata, C.P.I., C.P.I. (M) — we must not forget that he has got some duty to the society as well as to the country. Do you shoulder any responsibility? No. In Bofors deal, Fairfax, Howitzer deal, who are involved? Common men are not involved. (*Interruptions*)

Do not feel shy. In these arms deal common men are not involved.

Common men do not know the difference between religion and politics. They have the wish to survive with their daily bread. But it is the political parties particularly political party in power, they take advantage out of it and involve the common man and religious man into politics for their cheap gains.

In our country saints like Kabir, Rabin-dranath Thakur, Budha Dev, Shankar Dev, and others were never involved in politics. Now we involve these saints in politics. We go to the saints and bring them to party functions for our own cheap gains. It is high time we forgot all these things. Now we should try to build the nation, build the society for the greater interest of human beings.

Sir, I don't want to take much time of the House. I would humbly request the hon. Minister that although this Bill be frustrated, it is high time you brought forward a Bill of this kind in order to realise the essence of these ideals. If you bring forward a Bill for prohibiting the use of religious places for sectoral names and for political parties and get it passed, it will not at all help. You must try and see that it is implemented after its passage and becomes an Act. Otherwise it is useless to the Society or to the general public and any number of passing such laws, without their being fully implemented, will not at all be useful. Unless you clean your minds and hearts no useful purpose will be served even by bringing forward a hundred Bills before this House.

[Translation]

\* SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI (Deogarh) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I rise to whole-heartedly support the Bill whole-heartedly moved by the hon. Member Smt. Basava Rajeswari. This Bill seeks to prohibit the use of religious, communal, regional and sectoral names for political parties and to prevent the misuse of religious places. This Bill has two main aspects. One aspect of the Bill is that no

political party should be constituted on the basis of regionalism, communalism and on the basis of a religion. No political party should bear sectoral names. The other aspect of the Bill is that no religious place whether it is a temple, church or mosque should be used for any political purpose. I am happy that Shrimati Basavarajeswari has moved this Bill which has facilitated this important discussion. I would have been happier if a Bill with similar objectives would have been brought forward by the Govt. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you are aware that the hon. President addresses the joint session of Parliament on the first day of Budget session. In his address to the both Houses of Parliament, the hon. President was kind enough to say that a Bill seeking to prohibit the use of religious, communal, regional and sectoral names for political parties would be brought forward by the Govt. He had assured the Members in his address that provisions would be made in that Bill to delink politics from religion. We are waiting with great expectation for that Bill to come up and I am grateful to Shrimati Basava Rajeswari that she brought forward her Bill with somewhat similar provisions as assured by the Government. So this is an opportunity given to us to express our views on this important Bill. At the same time I request the hon. Minister to take the views of the hon. Members into consideration and bring forward comprehensive Government Bill as early as possible.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, India is an ancient country with noble traditions. We have our glorious past. It is a multi lingual country. People profess many religions. They wear different kind of dresses and eat different types of dishes. It symbolises unity in diversity and that is the crux of Indian culture. Because of these noble characteristics the Indian culture and traditions have travelled far and wide. Because of its glorious traditions independent views and ancient values India has established its name and fame all over the world.

Sir, as I have said there is a synthesis of many religions in our country. This is the

\* The speech was originally delivered in Oriya.

[Shri Sriballav Panigrahi]

country of Budha, Ashoka, Gandhi and Jawaharlal and they are the symbols of all religions. They have shown equal respect and laid equal emphasis on the preservation of the values of every religion. After our independence when we adopted our foreign policy as well as national policy we adopted democracy and socialism secularism and non-alignment. We do solemnly resolve to establish a sovereign, secular and socialistic democratic Republic "Dharyati Ite Dharma". The things which preserve these ideas and hold them together is our religion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Panigrahi, you will continue next time.

SHRI SRIBALLAV PANIGRAHI: O.K. Sir.

17.30 hrs.

#### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

[English]

#### Sick Industrial Units

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, we will take up Half-an-hour discussion. Dr. Datta Samant.

DR. DATTA SAMANT (Bombay South Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this is a very important subject. For the last 5 to 10 years, we are trying for the industrial development. We want to start industry in backward districts, in all districts to meet the unemployment situation and a lot of loans, assistance and infrastructure are given by the Government and crores of rupees are spent over this. On the one hand, we are going to start industry all over the country. But on the other hand, whatever industries are running for the last about 30-40 years, their employers and the industrialists are gradually closing the same, taking advantage of the new schemes and they are starting new industry. If this trend continues, I do not think, we are going to achieve the

real industrial growth. But the Government is very wise. You have changed the yardstick of measurement. You dropped from the growth measurement textile or jute industry and added electronic and chemical industry. The index would have been 4 points but now you are saying, it is 8 or 9. Anyhow., I am not coming to that point. But if we compare the figures, you will appreciate this. In December, 1983, 491 large units were closed; in December, 1984, 545 were closed; and in December, 1985, 637 were closed. The proportion is increasing as the days are passing. In 1983, the small sick units were 28,363. In 1984, they were 92,384. In December, 1985, there was a sudden rise and they went up to 1,17,783. I have got the figure of December 86 and the Minister may correct it. In December, 1986, the closed industrial units were 1,36,000 all over the country. This is really a shocking state of affairs. The total licences so far given are 8,53,235 and out of that, about 12%, 1,36,000 units are closed at this stage. The proportion is going to increase day by day. Out of the big units closed, 25% are in the cities of Maharashtra and West Bengal—the are the old cities—and are textile mills. This is regarding the big units.

But regarding the small units which have started with Government assistance in Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and all over India just 5 or 6 or 7 years ago, their number is also very large. I really pity for these employers, small people. Such units are also closed to a number of lakhs. You are not going to give me time, but I have got the detailed report about each State, when the unit was started and when closed. If this is the way that every year about 32,000 to 40,000 units are closed, it is high-time that Government should wake up instead of sleeping over the matter and look towards the agony which is going on.

These sick units have taken more than Rs. 5,000 crores from the banks as loan. About 8% of the nationalised banks total quantum of money has already gone into the sick units. Out of this, about Rs. 4,000