

Karnataka". This is what Shri Veerendra Patil also said. Some said that Shri Deve Gowda played the prime role. He was earlier in that party. Now he is a very responsible and senior leader of the opposition. I will quote him in the end. Then *The Indian Express* writes, "Their own doing." So, this is the public opinion. Now, let me quote Shri Madhu Limaye. After all he cannot be partisan. He is a respected leader and a great parliamentarian. You all know about him. At least, you may accept his judgment if not ours. Under the heading 'Guilty', he says about those who destroyed the Janata Dal in Karnataka. He says that Shri Deve Gowda's nominee was promised presidency of the Karnataka Janata Dal. The agreement was not honoured and Shri Deve Gowda left the Dal. So, this is one of the factors that led to this. Then he comes to another leader, a bigger one. He says that Hegde was much embarrassed by the reports of inquiries and investigations under Shri Bommai. Shri Veerendra Patil also referred to the Rao Committee's Report and many other reports. According to Shri Madhu Limaye, Shri Hegde wanted this Government to go. When President's Rule will be installed, all the inquiries undertaken by the Bommai Government will be done by the Centre and then he can shout that the Centre is partisan and that is why it is acting against him so as to settle political issues. This is the conclusion of Shri Limaye and not mine. Accept this at least. Therefore, as Shri Veerendra Patil rightly pointed out, because of selfishness, because of corruption and because of total lack of values on the part of the big leaders, democracy is murdered. Now you are defending the murderers of democracy. This indeed is a very sad moment. This is a party which has collapsed due to its own sins and I would say that what the Governor has done is the right thing.

Let me tell you one more thing to prove your double standards. Earlier there was a wrong story that the Governor was asked to submit his resignation. The story was that the Centre was angry with the Governor because he had accepted the Janata Dal in Karnataka. At that time, i.e. on 13 March, the

then Chief Minister of Karnataka spread this story that the Governor was asked to resign and some one else would be sent as the Governor to destabilise the Government in Karnataka and he was supporting the Governor. The Chief Minister stated that the Governor should not be replaced. But now everybody is angry with the same Governor because under the Constitution he has done his duty. According to his judgment, he has said that the Government in Karnataka has not only lost the majority but if it were allowed even three days more, there would be more horse-trading. Earlier in 1977 also, it was not allowed even for three days. Now, the Governor has come to the conclusion that this matter cannot be tested in the Legislature because in the meanwhile more horse-trading will take place.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is now 4 o'clock. We have to take up discussion under Rule 193. You may continue next time.

SHRI B.R. BHAGAT: Right Sir.

16.00 hrs.

## DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

[English]

### Communal Situation In Various Part of the Country

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we will take up discussion under Rule 193 on the communal situation in various parts of the country. Mr. Ramoowalia.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): What is the time allotted for this?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Two hours.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Will there be any extension for any proclamation?

MR. CHAIRMAN: If the House so desires, there may be

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Parvathipuram): Any more diabolical announcements to be made in the House?

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati): Will this discussion on Karnataka continue tomorrow also?

MR. CHAIRMAN: The house will decide it.

SHRI SURESH KURUP (Kottayam): Will the time for this discussion be extended?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kurup, it can be discussed at 6 o'clock and not now. Yes, Mr. Ramoowalia.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA (Sangrur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we are discussing a matter in this august House which concerns basic concept, ideology and dignity of this country. Communal situation is a challenge to our future. Murder of innocent people at the hands of fanatic communalists, is also a dangerous thing for the country.

Crores of people of India who struggled for the independence of the country and our great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and others who participated in the freedom struggle and fought against the imperialists forces, dreamt that the edifice of modern India would be built on secularism. Secularism, was the basic tenet of our Constitution. We launched our programmes and all regions and religions were given equal status under the Constitution. Our great leaders sacrificed their comforts and lives for it, but it is regrettable that a handful of people are organising themselves in different parts of the country and threatening to destroy that very basis. They have become a challenge for the country. It has been mentioned that

[*English*]

"The trouble makers are more numerous now. They are younger, bolder and highly

motivated and are trained in sabotage and use of arms and explosives and have in their possession modern weapons."

[*Translation*]

Regarding communal disturbances in Kashmir where in number of people were killed I would like to emphasise that when violence takes place any where, it happens due to communal leadership. They are armed with modern weapons and they kill people openly. I will take all these things later in detail. One thing I would like to say is that police and the Government machinery collude with such people at many places. We have to find out today after all who is responsible for the killings at Bidar, Hashimpur, Hazaribagh, Jammu, Delhi, Kanpur Bokaro and other places. This is a matter of serious concern for the entire country. One thing which is very clear now is that there is a foreign hand which wants to destabilise our country.

Religious fanaticism is on the increase in the country today. We have to take these things seriously. After all, we live in a scientific age. We impart patriotic education to our children. We have propagated brotherhood and communal harmony through the media. I will like to know then why such things are increasing? In support of my argument I would like to say that when a handful of people, who believe in fundamentalism get Government or political support, they indulge in riots and communal disturbances.

I am proud that I belong to Akali Dal, a party which has safeguarded the dignity of the country and struggled to preserve it continuously since 1922. It is true that we have many political parties in the country but Akali Dal has a pride of place among them as it has not only raised the flag of secularism but also shed blood in the freedom struggle. Great leaders like Shri Moti Lal Nehru, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Shri Kitchloo, Shri Gidwani and Madan Mohan Malviya have praised the party. I also want to say that small men are indulging in religious fanaticism to get political power. Jarnail Singh

Bhindranwale was a fundamentalist who propagated openly from religious place that people of other religion should be murdered. Similarly, Bal Thackeray stated in Bombay that such and such people should be killed and people of a particular religion should be boycotted. He went to the extent of saying that nothing should be purchased from the people of that particular religion. What I mean to say is that they attack other religions while sitting in a religious place. I will like to ask the Home Minister why such things are happening today. I will request the Home Minister to throw light on these points while replying to the debate. I know that the Government will deny it emphatically and say that we will not let it happen, and deal with such elements strongly. The hon. Home Minister will say that the Government will crush such elements, who spread the fire communal violence in the country in the name of religion, with an iron hand. But inspite of that such elements are surviving and becoming active. Why are both the things going side by side. Lakhs of people have been killed in the last 40 years by these elements who as I said earlier are more organised, bolder, trained in sabotage and use of arms and explosives and have in their possession modern weapons today. First of all, I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister how many people who have spread communal tension and killed number of people have been hanged or jailed during the last 40 years.

Secondly, I would like to know from the Government why does this mischievous element not fear the law anymore? The Government is accountable to the opposition, and the people of this country and we have a right to know. Why do the murderers, mischievous elements, imposters, robbers, and those who kill people in the name of religion, not fear the law anymore?

People in this country are convinced that they will not be punished or penalised for any crime that they may commit and that is why justice is practically coming to an end. I had stated in the beginning that the edifice of our country is built on secularism. What

steps have been taken by us against this mischievous element who challenge our basic concepts and policies. I feel that there is a remedy to religious fanaticism and the elements who indulge in it, but those who make mischief with political aims, and are politically motivated cannot be treated because a particular political party makes mileage out of it or does not have the necessary will and wants these things to continue. We have to check these allegations.

Is the Government ready for these two things. Firstly, is the Government ready to have summary trials for those who indulge in mass killings and rioting. Secondly, can it not establish special courts wherein people arrested for these activities, face open trials and they are exposed. These people are deadly monsters who prey on humanity.

Thirdly, I would like to draw your attention to the communal disturbances in Delhi in 1984 in which thousands of innocent sikhs were killed. What is the latest position in this regard. Mishra commission was constituted to bring to book those responsible for rioting and later Jain-Banerjee committee was set up, to file suits against them and accelerate action against the accused. One of the persons went to High Court and the Committee was made defunct since 1987. The Lt. Governor Mr. Ramesh Bhandari has himself said that he is at a loss to know as to what to do. The Committee itself is going to the Supreme Court. That is why I have put forward my suggestion to the Government regarding a summary trial and special court. Until there is a fear of punishment, these people will continue in the same vein.

It has been suggest by one of our colleagues that people who save the lives of innocents should be rewarded. I know of a case of Shri Jagati Ram, a Hindu A.S.I. In 1984 he saved the lives of 25 Sikhs by taking them away from the trouble-spot in his jeep. To do so he had to disregard his superior's orders who had assigned him duty elsewhere. In what way was he rewarded for his efforts? He was suspended. Then some hon. members of both Houses of Parliament

[Sh. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

spoke to the hon. Home Minister and he was later reinstated. His son is unemployed and he is running from pillar to post in search of employment for the past six years. The A.S.I. says that he has performed his duty so well but his son remains jobless. May I know why such people are discouraged?

In the beginning I said that the police remains mere spectator in such incidents but in Hashimpura the police have themselves assaulted the people. I request the hon. Home Minister to tell the House as to the number of officers who have been accused of assisting rioters and what action has been taken against them. I think not even one constable has been suspended. If I am wrong, the hon. Minister may please correct me.

My next point relates to compensation. Marble worth Rs. 200 crores has been destroyed in Makrana in Rajasthan. I had gone to Vijayawada in connection with the death of an M.L.A. in Andhra Pradesh. People over there point accusing fingers at powerful and influential personalities for the M.L.A.'s murder. there was destruction worth crores of rupees in Delhi. I suggest that if the Government make a provision of 100% compensation in case of property destroyed during riots, it will have a psychological effect on the rioters who may think it pointless to burn property as the Government would subsequently pay 100% compensation for it. I urge my hon. colleagues in the House to consider the effect of full compensation on the psychology of those who indulge in violence.

These are some people, like Bal Thackeray of Shiv Sena, who openly use publicity media to instigate one class of people against another. Is there a proposal to enact a special law to take strict action against such elements? Mr. Kuldip Nayyar has written that over Rs. 100 crores is coming into India from abroad everyday. This money is meant for institutions who believe in spreading religious fundamentalism and hatred among people. Will the Government clarify

whether it is a fact that Rs. 100 crores are coming into India? If so, whether the money is being used for constructive or destructive purposes in the country? Is the Government aware of the situation?

Pakistan has a hand in terrorism in Punjab. Does the Government intend to set up a cell in radio, television and press through which we can isolate the handful of people whose misdeeds tarnish the image of the whole community? Such a cell should be set up in the publicity media as a counter-measure against the misinformation being spread by such elements to protect the community from being alienated. This is the reason why there are riots in the country in the name of religion. While condemning these riots and placing extra emphasis on the points I have just mentioned I conclude.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am in complete agreement with hon. Shri Ramoowalia that secularism is the sole philosophy followed in this country and for which our Constitution gives a guarantee. These are comprehensive provisions in our Constitution keeping in mind the sentiments of minority communities. But still we witness communal riots at frequent intervals.

Before Independence it was believed that this was perhaps a fall-out of the British divide-and-rule policy. Regrettably, even after Independence communal riots are becoming more frequent year after year. I think both the Government and some leaders of the Opposition are concerned about this problem. Why are we unable to find a solution to this problem? Why do these communal riots take place? Can we identify the hidden elements who are inciting one community against another? Who are these people who want to tear away the national fabric for their selfish motives? We all must join hands to resist such elements. The public must be made aware of these forces which are weakening the country.

Sir, there are many causes for this. The main cause is fundamentalism. Religious



fundamentalism is its offshoot. It is this fundamentalism, be it regional, language or religion-based, which has created such feelings in the country. Which has led to so many communal riots.

We must find out whether these forces have roots in foreign countries or whether they are from within the country. They may be people who are creating rifts between communities to make political capital out of the resultant situation. The hon. Home Minister, who is a great patriot and is connected with minorities, shall have to identify these forces. The hon. Home Minister should not hesitate in naming these forces as it has become a case of a few people holding the entire nation to ransom. A number of 'Senas' have mushroomed all over the country like the Shiv Sena, Adam Sena, Ali Sena, Bajrang Sena etc. These Senas have grown over the years. There are some old parties like the R.S.S. and Jamaat-i-Islami. Does the Government have any programme to bring people together to take action against these Parties? The hon. Home Minister should hold consultations with the Opposition. I am sure majority of the Opposition would like communal forces to be suppressed. A programme should be chalked out to deal with these Senas and Parties. The opposition leaders should be taken into confidence to stop the mushroom growth of senas and curb the propagation of secessionist ideologies.

The Babri Masjid issue has been pending for a long time. Both the aggrieved parties should be brought together and a solution should be found at the earliest, be it by making it a rational monument or through a court decision. The poison of communalism is seeping into every strata of society leading to riots because of delay in the settlement. Some people are gaining from them. Several Parties have come up who mislead people by presenting the situation from their own point of view. Therefore, solutions should be found to these problems at the earliest.

I feel that the local administration is also

partly responsible wherever communal riots occur. My hon. colleague has given a long list of places where riots have occurred. Riots have occurred in Bidar, Jammu, Aligarh, Muzaffarnagar, Faizabad and Meerut. A national policy should be adopted where in all local people in the area where a riot occurs are fined. The D.C. and the S.S.P. should be transferred so that officials know that they are liable to be transferred if riots occur in the area under their jurisdiction.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: A decision to this effect was taken in this very House several years ago.

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: I am putting emphasis on that only. Wherever communal riots occur, all the people living in that locality should be penalised and fines should be imposed. It will act as a deterrent. Peace committees should be formed wherever riots take place frequently. For example, Meerut has become the centre of frequent riots. The simple and innocent people of that city are unduly exploited. Therefore, such places should be identified where riots take place very often and peace committee set up there. These peace committees should be entrusted with the responsibility of convening a meeting immediately following the occurrence of riots and after the riots have occurred these committees should be consulted and immediate action should be taken to diffuse tension. Steps should be taken to restore confidence of the minorities. For this purposes, they should be recruited in the police force and in other Government services. This country belongs to all whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians. Government should see that they are given proper satisfaction so that they are not exploited by communal forces and incited for riots by saying that they are not getting their due share in this country. Therefore, the Government should pay attention in this direction as well. I would also like to point out that the religious places are being misused. Schemes are chalked out inside the religious places for launching 'Dharam-Yudh' on the plea that their religion is in danger. But their real motive is political. The people who

[Sh. R.L. Bhatia]

have faith the religion are exploited. Therefore, the Government should hold talks with all the political parties to check the misuse of religious places.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Whenever the question of place of worship is raised, all places of worship, whether it is the temple, the mosque or the Gurudwara etc. are mentioned. But we cannot find an instance where there has been any sort of propaganda against some religion or the other inside any mosque. Such things never take place in the mosques. It is wrong to include all the places of worship of all the religions in it.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): Jama Masjid Delhi is an example.

[Translation]

SHRI RAM NAGINA MISHRA: Such activities do not take place inside the temples as well... (Interruptions)

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: My hon. friend has submitted that such things do not take place in the masjids. (Interruptions)...

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: When you are participating in such an important debate, why do you want to suppress the truth for shielding someone? All these things take place in the temples, mosques as well as in the Gurudwaras. Why are you afraid of speaking the truth? I want to reiterate that such propaganda is taking place in the places of worship of all religions. However, it does not mean that it is taking place in every temple, mosque and Gurudwara, but it does take place in certain such centres. (Interruptions).....

SHRI R.L. BHATIA: If this is not so, it is good. But in case it is so, why don't they

come forward to say that it should not be so.... (Interruptions)... A place of worship is meant for the propagation of religion. Then, why are such activities not being condemned? A place of worship is meant for offering prayers and it should not be turned into a political arena. When I was in-charge of Gujarat, I had made an in-depth study of the Ahmedabad riots. Whenever a police officer takes strict action to check illegal activities, they would incite the people for communal riots in order to divert attention and raise demands for the transfer of that police officer on the grounds that he is not capable of tackling the situation. These smugglers are not in favour of such police officers and they would like that only those officers who do not mind toeing their line should be posted in their areas so that they can carry out their operations freely. If the smugglers and bootleggers are not crushed with an iron hand, they will continue to incite the people for riots and harass the law and order authorities. This is so because these elements incite the people under the cover of religion. If the Government is sincerely interested in crushing them, it should arrest all the petty and big smugglers and bootleggers. The Government is equipped with necessary powers for this purpose, it has enforced so many sections of the Indian Penal Code for this purpose, it has received the full support of the House, yet these elements manage to escape the clutches of law and incite the people for riots. The smugglers and bootleggers are behind all the communal flareups in the country. Therefore, in order to check the outbreak of riots, the smugglers and bootleggers should be arrested irrespective of the religion they belong to. Finally, I would like to draw your attention towards the media. The Press should not publish prominently the reports about the communal riots. Allegations should not be levelled on the basis of hearsay. News reports should be published only after due research. In the end, I would request the hon. Home Minister once again to pay attention to the suggestions which I have offered and should particularly consider my suggestion which I have made about holding talks with the opposition parties for solving

the problem of riots. This is a national issue and there should be concerted efforts, irrespective of party affiliations to sit and discuss this matter together so that an effective solution is found. The Government should not support the followers of any religion whether the Sikhs, the Muslim or others as it is only then that a solution can be found to this problem.

[English]

SHRI TARUN KANTI GHOSH (Barasat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, communalism even after 40 years of independence is a slur on our country and I feel that the time has come when, instead of speaking so much, we must take proper and adequate steps to eradicate this virus from the body-politic of our country. I want to emphasise, first of all, when my very learned friend was talking about the media, as you know I am connected with the newspapers, that the vast majority of the newspapers in this country are non-communal. The vast majority of the newspapers in this country are against any type of communalism. But I know there are a small number of papers who indulge in communalism. It is for the Home Minister to take proper action not only through the Government machinery but through Newspaper Associations and Journalist Association and I am sure it could be eradicated from those newspapers. When we try to say that there are some goondas or some anti-social elements who are responsible for communalism, is it true? It is not true. The political parties, the political leaders, for their own advantage, political advantage...

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS (Mavelikara): Is it the Congress-I?

SHRI TARUN KANTI GHOSH: Don'ts say this thing. I am not blaming any party like that. But don't say 'Congress-I Party. Congress-I is the most non-communal political party in this country. So, don't say, it is Congress-I Party. What I am saying is this that these political leaders for their own political and social ends, take advantage of the illiteracy of the masses. What is religion?

Is there one God for Muslims, another for Hindus, another for Sikhs? There is one God. Whether you call it 'Allah', whether you call it 'Krishna', whatever you call it, it is one God. But what do we do? To win the election, to extend the political influence among the masses, we just go on making very heated speeches and when we see clashes between the communities, we come here and say, "what a shame, there is still communalism".

Mr. Shahabuddin is a friend of mine. I was telling him the other day: 'What is the difference between Babri Masjid and Ramjanambhoomi? Whether you are praying to Allah or Rama, you are praying to the same God. Why can't you solve this problem instead of going on and on like this?' I have got respect for him, I am not blaming him for this. But when you go to the masses in the villages, instead of explaining to them that the mandir and masjid are the same thing, their passions are roused in a wrong way. It is woeful.

I will tell you a story. In my own constituency in Deganga Thana there was a masjid where Muslims fitted a loudspeaker for Ajan. Then some people objected to it and the mike was brought down. This was not put back again because there was tension there. I made a speech that Anjan means a call for prayer and prayer to Allah is prayer to God. What is wrong there? That is the society we have created. Religion is for unity, religion is not for disunity. Who are Sikhs? I have great respect for Sikhs, I have seen how religiously the Sikhs go to the Gurdwaras. I used to go to the Gurdwara almost every week to get some *kara prasad*. I loved it. But then some friends told me, 'you are a Congress M.P., you should not go to the Gurdwara because it may create some tension. So, with great regret I did not go. But whenever I pass in a car and wherever I see a masjid or a gurdwara, I salute it, as I have the same respect for every religion.

We all know Mahatma Gandhi gave his life against communalism, we know how Jawaharlal Nehru fought communalism.

[Sh. Tarun Kanti Ghosh]

Can you find out one Prime Minister who can be compared with Nehru? One day Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was going in a car. He saw that one shop was being looted. He got down from the car and rushed before the goondas. His security people were much behind him, but he went there disregarding everything. That is the history of our country. I know how Indira Gandhi fought against communalism, I know how Rajiv Gandhi has the same feeling as Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi against communalism. So, here I would like to tell you that we are the representatives of the people of India. It really makes me so sad to see all this. You know, in my house there was a *darji* who used to make our *Kurtas* and other things. During communal tension one day he left our house and he never came back. He was like a family member. How can I express the feelings that Hindus and Muslims have for centuries when they lived as brothers and family members? The misguided leaders created this communal virus in our country and we the people of India condemn America for their treatment of Negroes. We condemn South Africa for the treatment of Black people. We condemn everybody. But we cannot, even after 40 years of independence, eradicate communalism in our country. It is a shame for us. So, I request everybody should put their heads together to find a solution. It is not a question of Hazaribagh or some other place. This is a question of determined will of the people of India to stand against communalism or against a sort of divisive forces and make our country truly one, make our nation truly one. Our only division should be, we are Indians.

I do not say I am a Bhakta but in my family we believe in Chaitanya Maha Prabhu and Sri Krishna. But that does not mean I have less respect for other religions. I would say, let us unite and do away with this communal virus. I believe, if we all unite, instead of attacking each other and try to accuse who is more communal, we will be able to win this battle and make India much better placed and we can feel proud of it.

SHRI HANNAN MOLLAH (Uluberia):  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing a greater serious national problem today which we have discussed in this august House several times. A lot of speeches were made but the people are asking, what is the result. Today this is the single biggest danger to the country's life, unity and integrity. But the people feel, as if there is no solution to the problem and only they are shedding crocodile tears. Why is it happening? The first question is, what is the origin of this problem? We know since our independence struggle, people unitedly fought against the British and the blood of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh was shed in Jallianwalah Bagh. But today what has happened? The Indian blood has been separated into Hindu blood and Sikh blood. The British successfully divided our people into Hindus and Muslims. But after 40 years of independence, there is Hindu-Sikh division. We could not bridge the gap between Hindu and Muslims; along with that, a new tension has been created between Hindus and Sikhs and Hindus and Christians also and other communities. Every day, in newspapers, we find some such unfortunate happenings where our poor brothers were being killed. One section is being used against other section, whether it is a question of Makarana or some other place where the divisive forces tried to create tension among Muslims over the writings of Rushdie. Sanity prevails over the area for some time. But after some time, an image of some god or some religious leader was found damaged and on the basis of that, some tension created, some people killed, properties worth crores of rupees damaged. We know how the lock industry, a small scale industry in Aligarh on which so many poor people depended was destroyed. I think, most of the industries which were destroyed due to communal tensions were small scale industries. The same way at Makrana the marble industry was damaged. That is destroyed there. We are witnessing this kind of incidents every day. We know how in Uttar Pradesh a new situation is being created. The communal forces are raising slogans. We have to understand why this is happening. This policy of divide and rule is definitely



for the purpose of narrow political interest of the ruling party. The different concepts of national unity and integrity are also there. Some people in our country want a united India but divided people. They want united market to loot the whole country in order to get raw materials from all over the country. Their representatives say from roof tops "We want unity." But they are afraid that if people are united, then they will be divided. They want a united country and a divided people. We want united people and if people are united, country cannot be divided. For example, first Hindus and Muslims were divided. Then Pakistan was created. First, the people are divided. The vested interests will see to it that the people are first divided and ultimately the country will be divided. After 42 years of our independence, we are today facing the same danger. What is happening in Kashmir? We know the Muslim Minority Front has been formed. They are commanding large support because of the wrong way of handling the situation there by the Government. The Government have failed to unite the people and give them security. As Mr. Ramoowalia has mentioned, crores of rupees are coming from outside the country and that is creating destabilisation.

The second question is that some forces traditionally are propagating communalism like the RSS and Jamait-e-Islami. New force have been added like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Shiva Sena Bajrang Dal, etc. These are all internal forces and they are aided by external forces. Whenever such things happen, they all sit together. They are united and they have some connection beyond the borders of our country. Our opinion is that the majority communalism is a major danger to India. It is the biggest danger. Minorities are afraid of the majority because they feel that their security, their jobs and their future is in danger. But, today minority is also becoming aggressive. We see today that as the majority communalism could not be contained, the minority communalism is also becoming a new threat to the unity of our people. They are also aided by foreign forces and they are becoming aggressive, not protective, but aggressive. It is

because we fail to solve the problem. It is endangering the body politic more and more. This is another new challenge before us.

Thirdly, you know some known communal forces like RSS and others have raised some slogans. They raised three slogans. One is that they want to rescue Ayodhya, Mathura and Varanasi and they stood for the rights of Hindus here. They are demanding scrapping of Article 370 of the Constitution and the abolition of the Minority Commission. Recently these slogans are being raised. These things will not help to unify the people. But they will create more problems. The communal forces are using all these slogans. They have raised these slogans. It has been stated that on 10th November of this year, they are going to erect the Shri Ram Temple there. They will bring brick from every village. That will be washed with sacred water. Then, they will carry that in the chariot. At every corner, people will gather and speak. What will happen? After that, the communal passion will be aroused. We do not know what will happen at the end of this year. The opportunistic forces, for their narrow political ends, surrendering and compromising with the divisive and communal forces, create all the troubles. We have to face a new challenge posed by these opportunistic forces. All the secular, non-communal and democratic forces should stand together and face such problems. But the point is that the ruling party cannot absolve of its responsibility. Its narrow interpretation of the concept of secularism is one of the reasons as to why these communal forces are thriving. The ruling party has failed to isolate religion from politics. Separation of religion from politics is being talked every-day and everywhere. All rubbish things are being talked about secularism. Some people talk of such things. The issue of separation of religion from politics is a valid one and separation of religion from politics is true secularism. But to ban all religions is not secularism and also to use all religions for political and is not secularism. Religion has got nothing to do with the day-to-day administrative matter. When religion dominates in administration,

[Sh. Hannan Mollah]

these things happen. When the administration becomes communal and when the police becomes communal, what will happen? We have seen as to what happened in Maliana and Meerut. There, the administration itself was involved in the communal riots. The other fact in Aligarh was Hindu MLAs of one party are heading to Hindu communal riteers and Muslim MLAs of the same party are leading the communal forces of the Muslims. Such things are happening in Bihar Sheriff and everywhere. New, incidents are happening, for example in places like Hazaribagh and Mathura. Never since Independence such things had happened. I would like to say that every religion is supposed to make a man perfect and to teach to love other people. But, what is the reality? This Government requires goondas to protect religion. I cannot understand the meaning of this religion. Religion cannot protect itself and God cannot protect Himself when such things happen and then Government requires goondas to protect God. Why those Gods require goondas for their protection. *(Interruptions)*

Sir, most of the riots are led by the goondas. Goondas are in the forefront. Certain political people and vested interests supply arms and they bail out the goondas from the jails. So, these political forces help them. I cannot understand as to why this situation is continuing even after 42 years of Independence.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is good that you have understood this problem. In your State, communalism has been institutionalised. That is the concept of secularism they are propagating. That is a very wrong concept.

Sir, people read the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata and enjoy a lot while reading those epics. When we show the Ramayan on the Television, people get an idea of Rama and they refresh their memory. But immediately after showing Ramayana, the Ram Janmabhoomi episode starts. On the other hand Rama goes for election

campaign also. When we see Mahabharata, we get an idea of Shri Krishna... *(Interruptions)* When people see Mahabharata and see Shri Krishna, they get the physical appearance of Shri Krishna. But immediately after that, the Mathura incidents are happening. I do not know whether there is any link. Our Television is the biggest propagator of communalism. We cannot allow this idiot box to propagate communalism any longer.

17.00 hrs.

That is another problem. Another question is about the lack of impartiality which is there. The insecurity, unevenness, dissatisfaction and the discrimination against minorities in job opportunities is also a breeding ground which the communal forces use and instigate with ulterior motive. They do not use it for any genuine demands but they use it for communal purpose. This also is one of the major factors which we have to consider. And if we do not repair that damage, we cannot come out of it.

The other question is that some immediate steps should be taken to solve these problems. All the earlier speakers mentioned about how, during the last year, major incidents took place at Aurangabad, Paithan, Bikaner, Bahrampur, Bidar, Muzaffarpur, Aligarh, Katauli, Faizabad and so many other places. In the last three or four months, we have seen the riots in Jammu for the first time. There was never a Sikh and Hindu riot in Jammu before. When I visited Jammu, I heard the police force standing there and in front of Police Headquarters, Sikhs were butchered. Why are we having this situation? We have to search our soul to tackle the problem and also to see why the situation was created. This ruling party has to reply before the nation. Immediately some steps are required. Some demands have been made by Ramoowaliaji and I am not going to repeat it. I support those demands. Immediately, certain issues are there. Why is this Government sitting tight and only shedding crocodile tears? Why are they not calling a meeting of the National Integration Council? What stops you from calling a meeting of the

National Integration Council? Why are you allowing this Ram janmabhoomi problem to continue? Once our Minister assured us that they would ask for a Special Bench in the Allahabad High Court to consider the Ram Janmabhoomi issue. But the Uttar Pradesh Government surrendered before the threat of RSS and Vishwa Hindu Parishad and they retreated. Immediately, Allahabad High Court should be asked to set up a Special Bench to decide the issue and they should not surrender before the communal threat.

Another immediate necessity is about the separation of politics from religion. I do not know whether they will do it. But it is a must and true secularism means that. Everybody has got a right to go to his religious place to worship his own God. But nobody has got right to use his God against another religion. Nobody has that right. And high dignitaries should not use the public position to visit the God's place. Let them go privately. Why should they go during official visit, specially during elections? (*Interruptions*) We are ashamed to see many high dignitaries putting their heads under the feet of some illiterate *swamis*. It is unfortunate. This is the situation happening. How can you expect those who are ruling to surrender before communal pressure? Superstition is dominating. If your religion is superstition-oriented, then what is the point? If your religion is communal religion, what is the point. These are the situations where religion should be kept separate from politics. They have been talking about it. I do not know whether they will agree to do that. That is another question. Stern action against communal forces is not taken. Mr. Ramoowalia raised some questions and demanded action against police officers and others. I think the Minister will give the reply. What other stern action do you propose to take? No action. I think there is only inaction for the communal forces. Because compromise with the communal forces gives a lease of life to the powers that be.

Lastly, I will say that not only propagation of ideological struggle is necessary to

defeat the fundamentalist forces but physical intervention is also necessary. It is our experience. We have seen this when many of our friends and comrades die and get killed in the hands of communal forces. When there is a communal flare up, we mobilise the people and intervene. Because we know the rioters are cowards. When you chase them, they run. But people are not intervening because we keep the people mum. We do not rouse them, we do not train them and we do not inspire in them any patriotism, any fellow-feeling and the ideas of integration. That is our biggest failure in these 42 years. Because of this failure our country has reached this point of disintegration in the hands of communal, castiest and divisive forces.

In this situation, I will say that physical intervention should be organised. All honest political forces should unite and intervene, chase the communal forces and rioters. Police should immediately shoot them. Because there is no religion of a rioter. Rioter is a *goonda*. Rioter cannot be a Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Christian. Rioter is a rioter, the enemy of the nation. So, shoot him. You shoot five thousand, ten thousand, one lakh or even a crore rioters so that he country will be saved from their hands. But, alas, you use them for the elections, for narrow political purposes. You cannot kill them.

17.07 hrs.

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

At the same time, intervention of the people only can save them.

I think the hon. Minister will consider these demands and give me information about what action he is going to take specially on the question of Ram Janma Bhoomi and whether the Government is going to call the National Integration Council meeting.

With these words, I condemn the communal situation prevailing in this country.

**[Translation]**

**SHRI AZIZ QURESHI (Satna):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to express by point of view on the resolution moved by hon. Shri Ramoowalia. Whereas the other hon. Members have expressed their concern over the increased communal tension in the country, I would like to submit that if we look into the records of the past 3 years, we will notice that though the occurrence of communal riots have not ceased altogether, the number of such incidents have definitely come down which is a heartening feature.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 764 riots occurred in 1986 in which 418 people died and 5,389 people were injured. In 1987, the number of riots came down to 711, the number of deaths fell to 383 and the number of injured to 3,860. In 1988, the number of riots further went down to 610, the number of deaths to 223 and the number of injured to 3,120. My intention behind giving these figures is not to suggest that the situation is totally under control and there is no cause of concern. As a matter of fact, the communal tension prevailing in this country is of serious concern. However, when we look at the actual figures, it is heartening to note this fact, that at least there has not been any increase in the incidence of riots. The step which the Government has taken by making the District Magistrates and the Police Officers responsible for the riots will definitely contribute in controlling them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we analyse the causes of the communal riots taking place in different parts of the country, we will find mainly 4 factors. Firstly, it is the religious processions. Riots occur on disputes which arise due the route which a procession is going to take and the form it is going to adopt. Riots break out on this account. The second cause of communal flare-ups is the differences over the use of certain musical instruments at some places. This creates tensions and leads to riots.

The third cause of the communal tension is the use of loudspeakers. Generally,

loudspeakers are used at places of worship for performing religious rituals or for other such purposes. This also creates tension between communities.

Fourthly, the performing of religious rituals at places where they are traditionally prohibited from being performed are also responsible for communal riots.

Due to the aforementioned causes, riots have taken place in different parts of the country.

Hon. Shri Hannan Mollah was making allegations against the Congress Governments in the States while making his submission. He held the Congress Government responsible for the communal riots taking place in the country. I would like to know from him as to who was responsible for the riots which took place on 20.6.88 at Burhanpur, in Murshidabad district which claimed 54 lives besides injuring 40 persons. Apart from that, about Rs. 6 lakhs worth of property was damaged? Similarly, I would like to know as to who was responsible for the Bidar riots which occurred on 14.5.88 and in which 40 people were injured and property worth Rs. 50 lakhs was damaged? If we go into the causes of these communal riots and while paying attention to them, if we do not consider the issue honestly and instead look at it from the political point of view, I think we shall never be able to find any solution to it.

I would like that the people who express their points of view here should especially pay attention to the fact that the fundamentalist elements are the root cause of the outbreak of riots in the country. In this connection, I would particularly name Vishwa Hindu Parishad. After every meeting, function or processions etc. of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, riots invariably break out. I cannot understand as to why people do not mention the name of Vishwa Hindu Parishad. I would like that the people here should say that the propaganda made by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad is responsible for the riots in the country.

Similarly, I would say that the speeches



delivered by some B.J.P. leaders in the last few days will also taint our country's history. Our hon \*\*... for whom I have a great regard, had stated in a public meeting in Bombay that no matter in which court the Babri Masjid-Ram Janam Bhoomi issue was settled, the B.J.P. and the Hindu population of this country would not support the judgement. I would like to submit that the world historian \*\*... they mislead the people of this country. The various opposition parties in the country are making efforts to establish a non-Congress Government but none of its leaders have had the courage to publicly condemn such speeches which incite communal feelings and spread the venom of communalism in the country to which there is no cure.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, similarly it is being openly said that one brick each will be fetched from every village to construct the Ram-Janam Bhoomi temple irrespective of what decision the Supreme Court or the High Court may give. It is unfortunate that no restrictions have been imposed on such speeches.

At the same time, I would like to condemn the Muslim communal forces as well. History will never forgive the communalists who are behind the formation of 'Adam Sena' etc. and incite communal feeling in the country.

I would like to submit that if you look into the causes of communalism, you will find that communal forces are created from within. During the Janata Rule, whenever there have been communal flare ups at Jamshedpur, Aligarh and in other cities, the newspapers which are controlled by the fundamentalists such as the 'Dawat' in urdu and 'Radiance' in English published from Delhi would never publish even one word about such incidents, but if there is even a slight tension under the Congress Government, it would be published prominently. Nothing is written against the communal forces. This is an ample proof of the fact that the different communal forces are in collusion from within and have a certain under-

standing and are deliberately operating with some specific motive.

It will be recorded, with regret, in the history that the people of this country who remembered by heart the stories of American and French revolution and who were carrying the flag of development of this country, have totally surrendered themselves before the communal forces. I am reminded of a noting, which I read somewhere. It was recorded on the file that this person was of communist ideology and therefore, his services should be terminated. On this file, the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked thus:

[English]

"To be a communist is no crime. The real danger to the country is from RSS and not from Communist Party."

[Translation]

Where are those people today who propagated communism and nationalism? Today they have surrendered before the communal forces. Those people are present here who demanded ban on RSS after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and took part in the procession led by Lat Shri Jai Prakash Narayan. Where have those pages of history lost? Later on, they joined hands with the murderers of Mahatma Gandhi to form new Government so that Congress rule could be uprooted. All ideological commitment were set aside. The battle against Communalism cannot be fought if it is not fought against poverty, inequality and exploitation. So long as these things are there in the society, we cannot eliminate communalism. All the people living in this country irrespective of their strength should be made to realise that this country belongs to all of us and it is our common heritage. No individual or party has the right to ask for a proof of loyalty from others and people are very well aware that if anyone does so, he does not have his own standing. Mahatma Gandhi has given the ideology of Sarvodaya to this country. While giving this ideology, Ma-

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\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

Sh. Aziz Qureshi]

hatma Gandhi had in mind the message of Ruskin's Book 'Unto the Last'. Ruskin has written in his book that the weaker section of the society, even if it is in microscopic minority has every right to survive against the biggest and the strongest section of the society. On the basis of these thoughts, Mahatma Gandhi gave us the ideology of Sarvodaya. It is unfortunate that in the end he himself fell to the bullets of a fanatic. The ideology which led to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi is still alive in the country and the people who believe in Gandhism and can face bullets are also there. We have pledged ourselves to fight communalism in every corner of the country and to bury it once for all. (*Interruptions*) The Government should immediately take the Babri Masjid-Ram Janambhoomi dispute to a court and implement the verdict of the court. Only then, peace in the real sense can be restored in the country. In the end, I would like to recite a couplet of urdu poet N.M. Rashid written in the memory of martyrs who lost their lives at the hands of communalists:

"Aaj darwaje khule rakho,  
yad ki aag dahak uthi hai,  
shayad is raat hamare shaheedan aa  
jayen,  
apane darwaje khule rakho".

[*English*]

In English, it means:

"Keep your doors wide open tonight,  
memory's fire is in full blaze,  
Our martyrs may pay us a visit this  
night;  
keep your doors wide open."

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS (Mavelikara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the communal forces in our country seem to be getting strengthened in our national life. The communal disturbances in the recent past and the killings, arson and looting are very much a matter of sorrow for all of us. I think our approach to the whole question needs to

be corrected.

The definition of secularism as mentioned in the Preamble to our Constitution needs to be amply defined. What is the approach of the Government to this question? I have listened to the Prime Minister saying several times that secularism practised in India is different from the secularism practised elsewhere. Here we try to appease all religions and we permit all religions to come up. That is the secularism we believe in. We say that we believe in coexistence of all religions. Enlarging the influence of religions is the secularism that is practised in India. This is very dangerous. When I was studying in lower classes, we used to feel that to associate with religions was not progressive. But today it is not so. Today, you find that even in schools, people practising various religions, wearing distinct dresses and symbols and indulging in various religious rites go even to schools and colleges and influence the youngsters. In fact, this is increasing at present. Youngsters are attracted and they are involving themselves more and more in these religious activities which have nothing to do with the spiritual development of a person. Therefore, it is high time that we resettle our approach. We should have a new approach different from the one practised today. We must see to it that religion is kept separate. If religion were used for the spiritual development of a person's life, I have no objection to it and I do feel and agree that religion has to play a role in the spiritual life of a person. But it should not be allowed in economic and other material activities of life. But I am very sorry to say that in India we have permitted religion to come into economic and other activities. We have to fight against this and it would be better if we put an end to this at the earliest opportunity.

The second point I would like to make is to show how religion is used for purposes of political gains. Recently, there were two elections in Tamil Nadu and Mizoram. I went to Mizoram and I saw Congress (I) wall-posters there proclaiming, "To safeguard Christian Secularism, vote for Congress (I)".

In Tamil Nadu the Congress (I) posters say, "To uphold the principles of Adi Sankaracharya, vote for Congress (I)". What is the meaning of these posters? This is the way we are approaching religion and supporting religion for personal interests. Somehow or the other, we have to put a stop to it. Actually, I feel that the elections in Tamil Nadu and Mizoram should be set aside on the basis of a judgment given by the Bombay High Court recently. If we merely present these posters to the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court will certainly take note of them and will give the same interpretation of the electoral law as was given by the Bombay High Court. The Bombay High Court set aside the election of a Shiv Sena MLA saying that he used religion to influence people and the posters published by him violated the electoral law of the country. Not only the Bombay High Court, the Kerala High Court has also done the same thing. In one of the constituencies-Matanjari, a Muslim candidate indulged in religious propaganda and the Court said that the election must be set aside because the candidate used religion. They also recommended to the President to disqualify him for six years.

The founding fathers of our Constitution, the law makers in this august House and people associated with public life looked at religion and politics from two different angles and tried to keep them separate. But unfortunately, people who are presiding over the Government today and people holding high offices are using religion to appease fundamentalists and to exploit the religious sentiments of people for their own narrow gains. Just see the techniques adopted by them! When there is an election, they visit important temples and churches in that area and thus try to influence votes. I am not against going to the church or temple and praying. If you are a believer in God, you can visit the place of worship and pray. But it should not have anything to do with election. At the time of elections, if the Prime Minister with all his paraphernalia goes to a church or a temple, he does it with a motive. He creates an impression in the mind of the people that he is giving so much importance to religion in

this country. It is high time that religion is delinked from our day to day life. This delinking is very much necessary. You have to keep religion in its place. If we could do that, then our country would be safe. For doing that, there should be a political will. But that political will is not there. Where as whoever is there in power is always using religion for his own purposes. Now it has started recoiling. It has started recoiling in Jammu and Kashmir. It has already recoiled in Punjab. It has recoiled everywhere. We have used religion in Delhi also. So, I would say, it has recoiled in every part of the country. Wherever we have used religion for this mean purpose, it has started recoiling. It is in such a boiling situation that we cannot control it. Now, it is being abetted by foreign hands also. One thing has recently come out in the Press that those people who are connected with religion, who propagate fundamentalism, they are being very well assisted by foreign agencies. In Jammu and Kashmir, it is being done. The Pakistanis are training the youngsters and are then sending them back as volunteers of religion. By doing so, these youngsters are creating trouble for the ordinary people in the country. It is being spread in each and every place.

It was recently reported in the Press that about Rs. 450 crores had come into this country by way of foreign funds for assisting the religious organisations. These countries may be having Gymkhanas or such other institutions which may receive money and they may use it for other political purposes. You might recall what had happened in Kerala about three years ago. At that time, the fundamentalists who were debarred from entering this country came back with huge amount of money. They were given hospitality by a Kerala Minister, who was a partner, along with the Congress (I) Government. They stayed in Bungalows. They took money for disruptive activities in the country. The same thing is happening everywhere in this country. Is not a fact?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT:  
This matter is *sub-judice*.

**SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS:** Okay. These things have happened in the country. It also came up in the Rajya Sabha. It was also replied. One question was put by one of the hon. Members about the inquiries conducted against fundamentalists who were debarred from entering this country for bringing huge amount of money for spending it here. They had no visas but still they entered the country. If such things continue to persist, whatever religion it may be, I oppose it. If such parties only work on the basis of religion, then I would say, they have to be banned. There is no doubt about it. Only secular and democratic parties should be permitted to function in this country and others should be debarred. Those parties which indulge in communalism, they should be banned from contesting the elections. Let them work for spiritual things and not for secular things. You look at the places where communal tensions are taking place. There are certain reasons for it. Inquiries are being ordered. You see, what actions were taken on the basis of those inquiries? Take for example Meerut, where a riot took place. How many cases were registered there? On the spur of the moment, if people demand, the cases are being registered, but, after sometime, they are withdrawn. What happened in Bhiwandi? What happened in Aurangabad? What happened in Delhi? What about the Misra Committee's Report? Most of the cases are being withdrawn after they are filed due to the intervention of the politicians. So, the politicians are safeguarding the goondas or the people who instigate the riots for their own purposes. If an investigation is ordered at any point of time against a goonda, subsequently, he becomes a slave of the politician because he can be saved from the clutches of the Court or the case may also be withdrawn by the Government. So, the non-action on the basis of the reports which were made had created some sort of a dis-belief in the minds of the people. I want to know from the Government whether they are protecting the rioters or they are protecting the victims of the riots. So, everywhere riot is taking place. If you look at, you can very well know why riots take place. There may be people who want to take the

law into their own hands. What happened yesterday in Hazaribagh? There some celebration was going on. Some of our people were alleged to have attacked them. It is because of this reason, they killed many people. It is reported in the Press that about 40 dead bodies were brought only yesterday. It is really a kind of shock to me and to the people of our country. This is the *modus operandi* everywhere.

When some miscreates do something, somebody will instigate some people to attack the innocent people with the result that the innocent people lose their life. How can this be prevented? This can only be prevented by an action with a will. How can this be done? This can be done by promoting a particular area by allowing other communities to stay where one particular community is staying. We should protect them. The Government should take such things into consideration. I am proud to say that while we were studying in a college, there was a cosmopolitan hostel where students of different religions used to be fed together, used to live together; we were trying to bring solidarity. But today people are more interested in staying separately under the cloud of religious protection; and they go there on that basis. Their sentiments are developed in that manner and finally they become fundamentalists. So, the Government should take steps to see that people of different religions are made to live at one place and opportunities are given to them to mix up with each other. I like the art of Ramayana or Mahabharata shown on the T.V. But if your T.V. and Radio are only propagating about religion and all that, if they are creating a sensation in the mind of the people, if they are encouraging the sentimental aspect of the religion, fundamentalism of the region, if it is being done at the cost of the Government, are we not affected? Is the Government also not affected by them? If you show Christianity or Hinduism or Ramayana or Mahabharata, are we not affected? If you allow religious preachers to have the predominance of that and propagate their religions, are we not affected? So, I say that the Government should not interfere in this relig-



ious aspect. They should be free from that; the TV and the Radio should be used for educating the people about their health. The media should be used only to have cultural programmes and not all these things. They should encourage literacy or some such thing instead of using them for religious purposes and all that.

The propaganda which is coming on the TV and the Radio, even the politicians, the people who are in power, they believe that they are in power because of the mercy of Sadhus and astrologers. The people who are in power think that they are in power because they went to some temple; they are in power because they went to some Church; they are in power because they had the blessings of a particular deity. They have no belief in the people; they have no interest in the people; they have no interest to safeguard the interest of the people for whom they are elected. But they are elected for that purpose and they are performing that drama. Therefore, this sort of an influence is coming into their mind. This can go away only if we educate the people in other manner.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Idukki): It is most unfortunate that we have to discuss the communal situation in the country again and again. A number of times this House has discussed the communal situation in the country. I thought this discussion will also be one of high standards and Members will rise above party lines and contribute to the interest of the nation. But I am sorry to find that, at least a few speakers on the other side of the House like my good friend who has just now concluded his speech, Mr. Thampan Thomas and also Mr. Hannan Mollah, they wanted to bring party politics into this discussion. Mr. Thampan Thomas went beyond that. I cannot understand why he is having so much of antipathy or allergy towards Ramayana or Mahabharata. I would like them to note that Ramayana and Mahabharata are not just religious books; they are very precious treasures of this country. Throughout the world, intellectuals and learned men, who matter, admire Ramayana

and Mahabharata. Such books of our country were written thousands of years ago and I am ashamed that an Indian like Mr. Thampan Thomas should be allergic about of seeing the Mahabharata or the Ramayana on the TV. He should not have said that. That is all I want to say.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS: That is not what I have said.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: That is what you said. By seeing the Mahabharata or the Ramayana nobody will become a communalist.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS: Using the media for religious propaganda is not correct. That is the point which I made. If my friend has not understood me, then, I am sorry. I said only about using the media.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (S. BUTA SINGH): They are part of our cultural heritage. Who says that they belong to this religion or that?

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I have to dwell on that point first, even though that is not my main point. The point is that by reading the *Mahabharata* or *Ramayana* nobody will become communalist or a fundamentalist. Was Gandhiji communal? Was Gandhiji a communalist or a fundamentalist? He wanted *Ramarajya* in this country. This country received over thousands of years many people from abroad. Christians came to this country, Muslims came to this country; all were received and accepted by here. Where are *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* preaching communalism or fundamentalism in this country? That is what I object to. It is not correct to say such things. The point is that some people look at it with a communalists' and so they see communalism in everything. Not only that. I would like to say that it is not by being religious that a person becomes communal. Another theory is brought forward. Both Mr. Thampan Thomas and Mr. Hannan Mollah were trying to give a new definition of secularism. They say that secularism defined by Gandhiji, defined by Pan-

[Prof. P. J. Kurien]

diji, and accepted by all the people of this country and also all over the world is not secularism. For them secularism is negation of religion. They say that non-believers should be encouraged and believers in religion should be discouraged. No. Secularism means, in the eye of the State, everybody is equal, no matter whether one is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian; everybody will be treated equally. No special privilege is given to any religion, nor will the Government stop any religion from flourishing. Anybody can believe in any religion. That is the secularism we are practising.

I would like to say something, but Mr. Hannan Moliah is not here. In Soviet Union they tried to suppress religion in the name of secularism. What is happening there now? What has Mr. Gorbachov been doing? What has he been doing?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): What has Mr. Gorbachov to do with it?

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Even the Communist Party of Soviet Union is accepting the definition of secularism as we adopted in India. This is a fact. And closing the eyes to all this and alleging that the Government is encouraging communalism because everyone is equal before the Government—no matter what his religion is—is, I say, the greatest joke of the year. That is all what I have to say about it.

That is not the approach we should adopt. Here the ruling party was blamed—by some speakers—of complacency, of appeasing communalism. Let me ask one question.

Over the last forty years, communal parties, regional parties, linguistic parties, all emerged in the country. If you say that communalism is one thing and linguistic fanaticism or regionalism is another thing, it is not true. All the three are the same. All are birds of the same feathers. If your mind is developed in a narrow religious or linguistic

mould, if your mind is narrow, to that extent communalism will also easily grow. If we want to come out of all these narrow things, then we should come out of linguistic chauvinism; we should come out of regionalism; and we should come out of communalism. On the one side, you encourage regional parties and linguistic parties and on the same platform you want to fight communal parties. It is not logical and it is not possible also. If you sincerely fight communalism, you must also fight regionalism and linguistic chauvinism. Let me ask my friend, Mr. Thampan Thomas. You are from the south. There are many parties, which the Janata Dal is propagating. Can you become a member of those parties? If my friend Mr. Thampan Thomas ceases to be a member of the Janata Dal, the only party he can join is the Congress party, he cannot join DMK, which is a linguistic and regional party; he cannot join AGP. So, you are supporting and encouraging all such regional parties. (*Interruptions*)

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. CHIDAMBARAM): Unless Janata Dal becomes a regional party... (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Yes, that is going to be. On one platform, you are fighting communalism and you are also supporting regionalism and linguistic fanaticism of such parties. Is it not a contradiction? That is what I have to say.

Here it was said that Congress is appeasing communal parties. I would like to say one thing. Mr. Hannan Moliah has specifically said this. You know what happened in Tamil Nadu elections.

Though the CPM in the State of Kerala criticises and attacks the communal parties and says from the house tops that the Muslim League is a communal party, for the sake of mere 15 Assembly seats in Tamil Nadu, they allied with a faction of the Muslim

League. Where is the honesty in your stand? How can you blame us? I am not apportioning blame on anybody. Since you said that....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY (Katwa): We were not allied with the Muslim League...(*Interruptions*)

S. BUTA SINGH: Who were the partners of the DMK in Tamil Nadu elections? CPM, Muslim League, DMK...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: In Tamil Nadu, because they allied with DMK, they got 15 seats in the Assembly. Here on the floor of this House, they are saying that there was no alliance. I was in Tamil Nadu before the elections...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT (Almora): They allied with DMK and DMK allied with the Muslim League...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let us come back to the subject....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SURESH KURUP: What about your alliance in Kerala?...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum): We are a secular party...(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, please.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: What I am trying to say is that the communal situation in the country is not vitiated because of the ruling party.

My friends on the other side are more responsible for that. Over the last forty years every incident has been communalised. Even petty and frivolous things lead to communal clashes. If you look at the communal clashes that have taken place over the last few years, you will find that the cause of these clashes is petty and frivolous matters. In one case, it was told that a boy teased a girl—the boy happened to be a Muslim and

the girl happened to be a Hindu. In another case, a truck driver while negotiating a curve knocked down a person. The owner of the truck belonged to one religion and the person who was hit down belonged to the other community. What does that indicate? It shows that minor incidents can develop into communal clashes. That way, the communal situation in our country has been vitiated. Who are responsible for all this? The persons responsible for this are mainly on the other side.

An attempt was made here to say that visiting religious places leads to communalism. It is never like that. Any person can believe or visit any religious place. That will never lead to communalism. Mr. Thampan Thomas referred to Prime Minister visiting religious places.

SHRI THAMPAN THOMAS: At the time of elections.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: The people of this country and the whole world know that the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and for that matter the Nehru family is the greatest secular family in this country. I am sure, his leader himself will not question that. We have seen Indira Gandhi sacrificed her life fighting the fundamentalism in the country. So it should not have been said that visiting the temple or the church or the mosque, is encouraging communalism.

For your information I may tell you that it is not that communal clashes have taken place only in Congress (I) ruled States. Last year, in West Bengal 40 people were killed.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Why do you want to divide the dead bodies party-wise?

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: In Karnataka six people died because of communal clashes last year. That means, in the entire country, this menace and this disease is there. Our effort should be to fight it together rising above the party line. What should be done for that? We should all ponder over this thing.

[Prof. P. J. Kurien]

In this connection I have to make one point. We are all party to one mistake and i.e. education. If you look at the communalists and rioters, most of them are youngsters. Young mind becomes more communal than the old one. In the early days, when I was a student, young mind was more progressive. But today, young mind becomes more communal. That is there not only in Punjab but other places also. The point is that there is something wrong with our education. Here credit goes to our Prime Minister that he has identified this disease and formulated a National Education Policy. The most important weapon by which you can fight communalism is education. If that is to be used properly, Central Government should have more control in the affairs of education in the country. (*Interruptions*) You can disagree on that. I have no objection. But I strongly feel so.

It is not the political parties alone which are to be blamed, it is the system of education. The young minds in the schools—in the primary schools, and colleges—are not able to imbibe the spirit of nationalism, and patriotism. Instead, in the young minds, communal feelings are allowed to be grown. This is happening in many of the States. I am not blaming any particular State, we are all responsible for that. The National Education Policy enunciated by the Prime Minister should be strictly implemented, with an emphasis to fight communalism. The young mind which comes out of college or high school, should be free from all communal feelings. This is the task before the nation and for that I request that all political parties should unite together. We should rise above political considerations and support, whether it is a State Government or the Central Government, for implementing this educational programme.

In this connection I have to say that there is an argument to give more powers to States. Giving more powers to States has its implications. This will mean encouraging regional feelings. What is needed at present,

emotional integration of the people. We cannot achieve national integration without emotional integration. Now the whole trouble is that we are speaking about national unity and national integration only. My friend Mr. Hannan Mollah said we are trying to unite the country and divide the people. If that is so, before we talk about national integration, we should think about emotional integration. Why some people are able to divide the people? Because we do not give much attention to the aspect of emotional integration. What is needed is emotional integration. In this connection, I have to touch upon where I started, that is, Ramayana and Mahabharata, are helping emotional integration in the country. I tell you one thing. So many Christian ladies sit at home to see Ramayana... (*Interruptions*) Yes, I am saying about Muslims and Christians both. Ramayana and Mahabharata are contributing so much to emotional integration. In the media, there should be all-round efforts to promote emotional integration. In the educational field also, there should be all-round efforts to promote emotional integration.

Then, Sir, the journalists have a very high responsibility in this country. You take any newspaper and you will see number of reportings about communal killings. Of course, they should report them, but the journalists of this country should play an important role for strengthening emotional integration. (*Interruptions*) Yes, definitely. The Quoran and the Bible also I equally support. The Quoran and The Bible should also be there. I have no objection to that. I am for that. The journalists, while reporting communal killings, should utilise some of their pages for propagating emotional integration. All the instruments of the media all the efforts should be put in to propagate and to strengthen the emotional integration. That is the only way for our citizens to become more patriotic, for them to come out of their communal moulds, to come out of the linguistic mould, for our people to come out of the regional mould. All these go together. It is the responsibility of every patriotic citizen of this country to propagate and promote these noble ideas for which this country



always stood for. With these words, I conclude.

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17.59 1/2 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

[English]

*Seventieth Report*

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-

TARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI H.K.L. BHAGAT): Sir, I beg to present the Seventieth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House now stands adjourned.

18.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, April 25, 1989/ Vaisakha 5, 1911 (Saka)*