

Hon'ble Members have no doubt been following recent developments regarding the Commonwealth Games scheduled to start in Edinburgh from July 24.

2. The Government kept in close touch with the Governments of the Front line States. The Prime Minister was personally in contact with leaders of some of the Frontline States in an effort to work out some formula whereby the Games could be salvaged. The Government's endeavour was to explore every possible avenue so that our athletes, could have the opportunity to compete in the Games. Unfortunately, some of the recent statements of the British Government have left no doubt in our mind that they are not immediately prepared to implement even the minimum measures which all the Commonwealth countries had agreed to at Nassau, in case there was no progress in the direction towards dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.

3. Under the circumstances, the Government decided, with great regret, not to participate in the Games. Our decision is an expression of our solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and with the Frontline States. It is still our hope that concerted action by the Commonwealth to implement necessary economic measures to end apartheid in South Africa will follow soon. Several hon. Members *rose*.

(Interruptions)

16.00 hrs.

SHRI T. BASHEER : This House should congratulate the Government for its bold decision and express our solidarity with the Government and our commitment to the cause of the African people.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : I request the Government to explore along with the boycotting countries the possibility of holding anti-apartheid games in New Delhi.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Yes, the Government should take the initiative.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : If the entire House is of this view, it is really very good. We unanimously approve this thing and applaud it.

[English]

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes, yes.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You gave the notice and we adopted and passed it.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : With one voice.

DISCUSSION RE : COMMUNAL SITUATION IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members, just now the hon. Minister has given the news of a very horrible accident and Professor Saheb has referred to the death of the family members and relatives of one of our hon. Members Shri Ram Bahadur. I am much pained to know about it. We all express our condolences to the bereaved family.

Much has been said in this House earlier also on the problem we are going to discuss today; we have discussed it a number of times in the past also and now the need has arisen to discuss it again. I am constrained to say a few words because I feel the agony which is quite unbearable. Whenever such incidents take place, the soul writhes in pain. Perhaps, the soul of every thoughtful man undergoes this experience. He reflects why and how such ghastly things happen ? Why a brother is after the blood of his own brother ?

The most unfortunate part is that we paid very heavy price for this malaise in 1947. Perhaps none else in the World

[Mr. Speaker]

suffered so heavily as we did. I myself witnessed it. Just possible that someone from you also might have seen it, but many of you might not have been an eye witness to it, being quite far off. Unfortunately, I was quite near to the border where all this was happening and this terror was being let loose. I have seen many things which make soul writhe in pain. I think, Gujarat and many other States are today suffering from this malaise, but my State which had suffered a lot on this account in the past is once again becoming victim of these flames. I would, therefore, like to say that we have to give it due thought and take some concrete steps in this regard. We have to give it deep thought that we are not thinking only for ourselves but also for our country as a whole and for our future generations.

We have not been able to root out this curse even in 38 years. Today this evil is eating into our vitals. All of you should ponder over why all this is happening. Nobody alone would be able to find a solution to it, neither they nor anybody else. This is our common problem and only a common solution can help resolve this issue. You can root out this evil only by your collective efforts. Therefore, it is you who will have to think what steps you want to take in the matter.

It is not a question of any particular party. It is not a question of any differences. It is a question of the country and it is you who have to decide what steps you want to take.

Today, sins are being committed in the name of religion, evil of communalism is thriving in the name of humanity and you will have to see how it is to be eliminated. It is this very communalism which culminated in the partition of the country as a consequence of which lakhs of people lost their lives. We should have given thought to it at that very time. There had been a number of great scholars and patriots who contributed towards the building of this country, but, perhaps, they could not foresee that we could indulge in such

things. They did not eradicate and uproot this evil. Today, all of you are sitting here and you should think over it. It is never too late. As long as you do not divorce religion from politics and separate them, nobody would be able to save you.

Ours is a democratic country and democracy has very many merits, but it has a very big weakness also and that is that we indulge in so many things with an eye on votes. If all of you join together, the fear of losing votes will not be there. If you work jointly, you will not be haunted by the ghost of votes and thereby you will be able to eliminate this evil. Therefore, rise and think for the country. Do not think on party lines. All should join together, sit together, evolve some consensus and destroy this evil, otherwise it will never be eliminated. Propagation of religion should have only one message—'live and let live'. One should not think of oneself only. Our existence is possible only with the existence of others. This is our country. All of us have a right to live in this country as Indians and not as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians. All should stake their claim as Indians and exercise that right. This should be predominant with you. Therefore, I would like to say that the place of worship should be the abode of religion only and whether inside or outside, it should be separated from politics. Thereby you will remain happy and the country will also remain in peace and such disturbances will not take place in future. Enact a legislation to mete out the most stringent punishment to those who commit such sinful acts in the name of religion so that they are not able to raise their ugly heads again. This evil should be eradicated once for all.

Having said this, the only appeal that I want to make is that you should evolve a consensus and act as a symbol of goodwill whereby all of us and the Government may be compelled to root out this evil in a collective manner.

[English]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE
(Rajapur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, while initiating the discussion under Rule 193,

on the communal situation in the country, I will bear in mind the useful guidelines that you have placed before the Members of this House by way of parameters for the discussion. I welcome your suggestion, Sir.

You have reminded us of 1947 when a colossal tragedy took place and we had an unprecedented violence. Since you have reminded us about 1947, I am also reminded about some very significant and sensitive words uttered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after the Partition of the country; when he found that in the post-Independence period there were riots in different parts of the country, once Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said :

[Translation]

“What is regrettable is that first the division of the country took place and thereafter the minds of the people got divided.”

[English]

Sir, we want to evolve some methodology and some policies on the question of communal problems whereby we will be able to assure the people in this country and in other parts of the world that even if the country is divided, the mind of India will not get divided and it will remain as indivisible as ever. That should be the common concern of all. All it is with this perspective that I will try to analyse the communal situation in the country. The subject-matter of discussion is highly sensitive and it is explosive as well. We must not say anything in this House which will rekindle the smouldering fires at places like Ahmedabad and instead of finding a solution to the problem, we might find a remedy which is worse than the disease. I can assure you, Sir, I will not indulge in that experiment. Any display of passion in this House will worsen the communal situation outside and, therefore, we have to be extremely restrained in the expression of our views. Keeping that in mind, I will try to analyse the problem.

As the very outset, through you, Sir,

I appeal to the House : let us try to demarcate the distinction between communal disturbance as a disease and its symptoms. Very often we take cognizance of the symptoms of the problem and superficially try to deal with the symptoms. As a result, for some time the symptoms are erased, but it only hides the potential disease and at some other opportunity again the disease flares up. Therefore, in the consensus that we will try to evolve, we must try to see that we do not confuse the symptoms for the disease and keep that in mind.

I had the opportunity to visit almost all the important places wherever such disturbances had taken place, whether it was Ahmedabad, where I had visited along with my colleagues in the Parliament yesterday, or whether it was Meerut, Moradabad, Bihar Sheriff, Aligarh, Allahabad, Bhiwandi and so many other places. Everytime such a calamity had occurred I tried my best to go to the spot, try to find out what the malady is and try to find out what could be the solution.

It is necessary to go into the roots of the malady. I will just enumerate briefly what are the aspects of the problem of the communal situation that need to be tackled by all possible methods. One important aspect is the physical security. Second is the freedom of religious practices consistent with the spirit of secularism. To clarify what you said, I do not think this House may take a posture that is anti-religion because religion is an institution that provides peace to a number of individuals. Our secularism is not irreligionism; but our secularism means peaceful co-existence of various religions. That is the concept of secularism that men like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru had given to this country. It is in that context we will have to find out.

There are a variety of religious practices and one of the fundamental rights that is enshrined in the Constitution is the freedom not only to profess but also to practice religion. Therefore, there need not be any curb on that. It is not that the religion is coming in the way. I do not think that religion is the basis of riots

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it is the aberration of the so called religion that is coming in the way. Therefore, we must not try to confuse the aberration for the very basic values of religion. That also will have to be borne in mind.

Certain economic roots of the communal problem will have to be analysed. Then, the question of cultural identity. Dr. Zakir Hussain, one of the best and the noblest Indians India had ever seen, one of the best religious men that India had ever witnessed, did not find any conflict between his religious identity and his identity as an Indian. It is within the parameters of finding out the co-existence of these identities that we have to preserve our cultural identity in every sphere of our human life. That also will have to be borne in mind.

There are certain social aspects and lastly there are political and administrative aspects of the problem of communalism. They are to be effectively tackled. I will take up in the beginning the law and order problem. It is basically an administrative problem. There are certain human overtones added to the law and order problem. In the Government's approach, by and large—why I am saying Government's approach is that I am not trying to distinguish between one Government and the other—unfortunately, there seems to be the legacy in this country that our approach, to tackling the problem of riots is a fire brigade approach. Only when fire takes place, the fire brigade engines rush to the spot. It extinguishes the fire and then go back to the depot where all those operators of the fire engine take out their uniform and go on playing cards. That is how the fire brigade functions.

No doubt, fire brigade is a very effective agency. But the very ideology and philosophy of a fire brigade approach is that whenever the problem crops up go and try to find out the solution and when a temporary solution is found out, you can go back and relax. That type of destroying communal riots has to be discarded for all the times.

Then, the complacency of police despite previous signals of the riots. At a later stage when I will make a very brief reference to what happened in Ahmedabad I would like to point out to you as to how, when clear signals were there that probably the riots are going to take place when Rath Yatra begins, because adequate measures were not taken how the situation flares. That is the best incident. That is another aspect.

The restructuring of the police and the paramilitary forces in the country. Sir, fortunately this is one aspect on which the entire Parliament has evolved a national consensus through National Integration Council and through its various consultative bodies. After Meerut riots I was the person who drafted a resolution for discussion in the National Integration Council. I made it extremely clear that I am not at all in favour of fixing up the percentages or reservations in Army or Police or para-military forces. That will be a dangerous proposition and it is fraught with dangerous consequences. But taking into account the various situations of communal riots in the country all of us came to the conclusion in the National Integration Council that the entire composition of the police and the paramilitary forces has to be re-structured so that the composition of the police and para-military forces will broadly reflect the cross-section of society with which we function and operate. On that there was total unanimity right from the Prime Minister of the country to the Leaders of the Opposition. Therefore, I would very much plead with the Home Minister that whatever has emerged as the national consensus in the National Integration Council and in various consultative committees there should be no difficulty in implementing this national consensus.

Sir, the situation in Punjab, the situation in Ahmedabad, the situation in Meerut, the situation in Bihar Sharief and the situation in Moradabad all these situations clearly indicate that we are not the only persons who are susceptible to communalism just as because I put on a khadar uniform my communalism is not completely driven away. Similarly if I

put a khaki uniform of a policeman or an Army man in that case the communalism is not completely wiped out. After all just as an ordinary man is susceptible and vulnerable to certain communal influences an ordinary sepoy in a police force is bound to be amenable to the communal forces and atmosphere of communalism and in times of riots he does not hide his communal tendencies. I will come to that at a slightly later stage and tell as to what happened to the CRP and State police when one Muslim family was burnt alive or roasted in one particular locality in Ahmedabad and why it happened. So that aspect is also very important.

Now I come to diversion of police force to monitor VIP movements. Sir, no matter whether the VIP belongs to the non-Congress government or whether he belongs to the Congress government fortunately or unfortunately most of the parties sitting here—both on the ruling side and Opposition side—they are partly a ruling party and partly an Opposition party, therefore, there is no question of one party or another. But I will give a concrete instance. The Ahmedabad situation flared up. Yesterday I happened to meet the Chief Minister of Gujarat State. He being the student of mathematics he has found out a very interesting graph showing right from the first day upto yesterday the killings, arson, looting, etc. In that graph when I looked at it, it appeared as if 12th July was something like a big peak, Himalayan peak, and it just then goes down on both the sides. What was the event of 12th? 12th was a bandh call given on the question of Rath Yatra and judicial inquiry in many provinces. Maximum killing took place and not to criticise anyone but to avoid it in the future I will give a concrete instance. When such an explosive situation was created on 12th July, Sir, at Baroach railway station there was a function to inaugurate a new railway platform. That function could have been changed. In fact the functions in which many of us were to participate during the disturbances had been postponed. I have nothing against the person who inaugurated that platform. For instance, Ahmed Patel inaugurated it. Nobody can attribute to him Hindu communal riot.

SHRI AHMED M. PATEL (Broach) : Sir, no DSP or DM was present in that function. The function was over in ten minutes.

[Translation]

“Bandh” does not mean that all Government offices should be closed and all the programmes and functions of the government come to halt.

[English]

Within ten minutes the function was over. No DSP or DM or police force was there. We rushed to spot immediately.

[Translation]

Had we not been there, it would have been very difficult to call fire-tenders.

[English]

We arranged from Baroda, from ONGC and other places.

SHRI HAROOBHAI MEHTA : Does the hon. Member want that the railways should also respect the bandh call?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : No. No. If you drive it to that having an inaugural function and running the railways are two different issues. Fortunately or unfortunately I was also once a Railway Minister. I know that whenever there was a civil commotion, they have given strict orders. As far as formalities and ceremonial functions are concerned, they should be concerned with them, and our entire forces should be diverted to that area where some commotions have taken place. On this point, I had also talks with the Chief Minister of Gujarat. I am not betraying confidence because about that I have spoken in the press also after I talked with him. Sir, at that time, when this function was going on, no doubt it did not last for long time, but it is a fact that attention was diverted and when the attention is diverted to any ceremonial function, at that time if some anti-social

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elements start looting and burning the houses in the city, in that case, no doubt, difficulty is created for those who are in charge of law and order.

Sir, I had a talk with the Commissioner of Police—with full responsibility, I am saying this—and I had also a talk with the Chief Minister and they said that 'Yes', such a situation should be avoided. I am not saying it only for finding fault. But in an explosive situation like this, for holding even a ceremonial function, I don't say that during the bandh. Railway should be closed, offices should be closed. On the contrary my contention is that the offices should be strengthened, RPF forces should be strengthened, Railway machinery should be strengthened and they should be asked to be more alert about the attack by the anti-social elements on the railway property and near-about the property in the city. So, I am not finding fault whether they join the bandh or not. But regarding having a ceremonial function and having a bandh these are altogether different. So, some such situation arises sometimes and therefore this should be avoided.

Then, Sir, rounding up of anti-social elements is another important point. It is extremely an important point. I will speak with the facts and again it is not in a partisan way. I will give an illustration of a very nice instance that was done during the Congress Government—the first popular Government of Congress which came in the Bombay Presidency. In that Government—Prof. Ranga will recall that—Dr. K.M. Munshi was the Home Minister of the Bombay Government. Prior to the popular Congress Ministry, in the British Rule, under the British regime, in the city of Bombay, in the industrial city of Bombay, whenever a communal riot took place, it would go on for weeks together, sometimes for months together and the Government used to say "what to do, the anti-social elements are trying to take position of the situation." When Dr. K.M. Munshi was put in charge of the Home Ministry, in the Kher Ministry, riot started in Bombay. In the morning,

Dr. K.M. Munshi called the British Commissioner of Police at the headquarters of the Police and Dr. Munshi told him "Mr. Commissioner, within 12 hours I want the list of names of the anti-social elements in this sensitive area. I don't care for whether they are Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs". The Englishman said "within 12 hours how can I produce the list?" Smilingly Dr. Munshi said, "if the Commissioner is not able to produce the list, in that case you will not be the Commissioner of Bombay tomorrow." Sir, you will be surprised to know that in the afternoon, the list was available and in the evening the anti-social elements were rounded up. Now almost all the newspapers wrote in the editorials that Mr. Munshi with popular Congress had shown the way to check the communal riots. This is the way the things are to be handled. Don't tell me: who are the Hindus and who are the Muslims and in this who are the anti-social elements and who should be rounded up? It may be absolutely curtailing the civil liberties, but in order to see that the civil liberties of the entire population is protected, sometimes the liberty of the anti-social elements have to be taken away and therefore round them up and detain them. The moment that was done, within one day of the communal riots, everything completely was checked.

Therefore, I would suggest that whenever there is a signal that communal riots are likely to take place, the educated men, all those who are trade unionists, who are dedicated men to the cause, will never participate in this hooliganism because in practice as one comes across the philosophy of trade-unions, kisan organisations, political parties it is the anti-social elements that will be used as instruments. Therefore, if they are rounded up, you can put a check in the situation and it should always be nipped in the bud.

Then, judicial enquiry. Sometimes there is a case for a judicial enquiry and here again I will take up the very case of Ahmedabad. And the Chief Minister has said that there can be two opinions, but they will weigh that in future.

On the 12th call for bandh was given. We totally disagreed with it. All political parties including the Congress party appealed to the people not to resort to that bandh, because that would create further complications. In spite of that there was bandh. I talked to the Chief Minister of Gujarat yesterday and I said that practically he could have used one particular method. Judicial enquiry was demanded into these happenings and through the judicial enquiry, whether injustice was done to Hindus or to Muslims, all would have come out. Whose houses and shops had been looted would have come out, and if there was any organization behind it, that would have come out. To me it was not at all objectionable to institute a judicial enquiry after such a holocaust had taken place and ultimately the Chief Minister did accept the demand for judicial enquiry, but only the next day.

On the 12th there was a bandh. Rather than putting a premium on violence and accepting the demand, if on the previous day on the eve of the bandh on the 12th, judicial enquiry was announced, probably the winds out of the sail of those who wanted a bandh would have been taken and the situation would have been different. The Chief Minister himself told us that the graph of killing, arson and looting suddenly went up on the day of 12th. Therefore, sometimes correct postures are to be taken. You might be proved wrong at a later date, but by way of abundant caution, such postures have to be taken and they were not taken.

I have a concrete suggestion about the sale of properties in sensitive areas. I met a number of Muslims, I met a number of Hindus, I met a number of intellectuals and pressmen; I met members of the Congress Party as also some Ministers. They said that Ahmedabad riots had really built up the case to ban the sale of property in sensitive areas, because that really becomes crux of the problem and a lot of politics gets woven into it. Mostly, I think, a consensus has been evolved in Ahmedabad that in the sensitive areas, which have become explosive, property becomes a central theme, and therefore

the sale of property in the sensitive areas must be avoided.

There are certain economic roots of the problem in almost all communal disturbances; you may go from one end of the country to another. Once when Badshah Khan came to India, at that time Ahmedabad was also in flames. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in one of the meetings in which I was also present said :

[*Translation*]

“The rich people remain in their mansions. The poor Hindus and Muslims kill one another in the streets. The rich Hindus and Muslims, sitting in their palaces, say how mad these Muslims and Hindus are who kill one another. We have no problem and we can live comfortably in our mansions.”

[*English*]

He correctly described the situation in the country. Rich man is never affected by these communal riots. What will you find if you see who are the people who are killed and murdered in these riots ?

[*Translation*]

MR. SPEAKER : The ones who instigate are never killed.

[*English*]

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You are right, Sir. You will find that it is the poor Hindus or the poor Muslims who are killed in the streets. Therefore, there must be something behind it. There must be certain economic roots. Rich express their vicarious satisfaction that poor have died. I will give you concrete example how these riots affect the poor. For example, the problem of riots in Bhiwandi near Bombay where I stay. I visited that place. There was one plot of land on which lots of hutments of poor men were there. Some people were interested in the

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land and through their henchmen they burnt the entire hutments colony and when the hutments colony was burnt and it was done at midnight, old men, women and children were shouting for help, but nobody came and they died in the embers of fire. And when they died, Government took up a correct stand. They decided to rehabilitate relations of those people who were killed on the very same plot by constructing hutments. You will be surprised that the vested interests and the landlord owning that land went to the court of law and their humanity was at such a low ebb that they demanded a stay. They said that those hutments should not be allowed to be built up to rehabilitate those who have survived. They were very sorry that they too were not burnt to death by the fire. They said, "Your Lordship, do not allow those people who have survived, to build the hutments there". They wanted that the Government should be given a stay order. Fortunately, the stay was not given. It makes their intention very clear. Therefore, these economic roots of the communal problems should also be taken note of. In this context, very often in the rural side, we find the eviction of landless labour and that also indirectly takes a communal shape sometimes. Therefore, that problem also must be handled very effectively.

Let me come to the cultural identity. I will be very brief. I have been a teacher for 25 years. And each one of us learnt history in our own way during our school days. The manner in which history is taught in this country for years together, especially under the British rule, does not make us establish our cultural identity, either the individual identity, religious identity or the identity of the nation as a whole. We are taught history with a particular bias-perspective. And therefore, you will find that while learning history in the school, Muslims have one set of heroes and Hindus have another set of heroes. If I have one set of heroes, I see all the bright side of the personality and no darkness. If somebody else considers that as an evil force, he does not see any pious element in that personality.

That was how we were taught. In my own days, the teacher who taught us history, taught it in such a manner as if we were the protagonists of only the religion and the purpose of his history talks was to put into our brain, by brain-washing, a particular perspective of history. Objectivity of history was completely forgotten. How history governs, how economic factors are responsible and how cultural and religious conflicts take place, all these aspects are never taught at all, and history is being taught with a bias. I think, we will have to revise it. I do not say that we have to re-write history. I am not in favour of destroying history and I am not in favour of mutilating history, but history must be taught with a correct and balanced perspective. That is extremely necessary. The unifying role of religion must be taught to students. We should neither teach the students to become atheists, nor should we teach them to become religious bigots. We must try to explain to them the universal character of all the religions. At a later stage they may discard even religion. Even if a man, out of conviction, discards religion, and becomes an atheist, I will have respect for him, rather than for a man who blindly opposes or blindly accepts religion. So, that aspect has to be put into the minds of the students. And here come all these aspects of teaching history and teaching religion. Fostering of a composite culture is extremely necessary. For that, community housing schemes, neighbourhood schemes and neighbourhood schools, will have to be there. Today, when I go to Ahmedabad or when I go to certain streets and by-lanes of Bombay, I find that, from the British days, people have been taught to live in various groups, here will be Muslims, here will be Parsees, here will be Harijans and so on. That is how segregation takes place and I think that this segregation is also at the root of some sort of conflagration, whenever passions are roused. Therefore, community schools, neighbourhood housing schemes and all those schemes will have to be consciously built up and I am sure that something can be done out of this.

There are certain political and administrative steps to be taken. There should be vigilance and there should be composite

and joint efforts. Political forces must try to overwhelm the communal and anti-social elements. I think that it is a blot on all of us sitting here together that in times of communal conflagration, we all have failed, in spite of hundred years of Congress tradition, in spite of the 50 years tradition of the socialist movement, in spite of a long tradition of communist movement. A very strong base for a regional party has been created in Andhra Pradesh. With all the strong bases, which are created, when the volcano of communalism erupts, all of us are thrown helter-skelter and our capacity to contain the monster of communalism is reduced to an absolute nullity.

Today, I remember that golden period of Noakhali when some of the protagonists of Hinduism talked about defending the Hindus in Noakhali, and when that old man called Mahatma Gandhi went to Noakhali, tried to restore peace. Then even to Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten had to write a letter on 26th August 1947 in which he said :

“There are 50,000 soldiers in Punjab, and I have riots on my hands; and our force consists of one man called Mahatma Gandhi; and there is peace in Noakhali.”

That was the greatest tributes given by the mightiest man in this country to a man who was called the Naked Fakir of India. I am waiting for another Gandhi to rise. I am not saying this by way of demagogy. I really wait for the time when the credibility of Indians will grow to such an extent that people will say : ‘Here is a leader. If he is not able to live for us, he will be prepared to die for us.’

They are in search of a Gandhi. They have not found him. But if we know one Gandhi, collectively we can create a second Gandhi; and I think that that is the beauty of democracy.

MR. SPEAKER : He will come some time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Let us try to create a new feeling and a new upsurge in the country, where collectively all of us who stand by secularism will create such a force, that any communal organization which tries to whip up communal frenzy will be isolated, but not the secularist forces. That is the power and strength we are trying to create. And that also is absolutely necessary.

Then about fixation of responsibility for disturbances at a definite district authority—You need not look at the watch, Sir; I will look at mine.

The fixation of responsibility for disturbances at a definite district authority : Some district authority must be told that in that district if the disturbance took place, though he might be having seniority, he would not get promotion. He would leave that place. He must take the responsibility. That type of a feeling will have to grow.

Special Courts for Summary Trials : We might be against different types of Special Court; but I am sure that the entire House will be one in saying that let there be summary trials in the Special Courts, of all those who try to fan communal feelings of the people, and create disturbances. Let there be summary trial.

MR. SPEAKER : Then and there.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Then comes trade and economic opportunities to the minorities. I am not saying this as a fashion. But on a number of occasions, there are genuine grievances among certain sections of minorities. They may be Muslims, Sikhs, neo-Buddhists, Harijans or Adivasis. But if any section has a feeling that it is deprived of certain facilities, then it will be very dangerous.

The Jagmohan Commission had given a report about the 1969 disturbances in Ahmedabad in Gujarat. My friends will recollect it. One of the recommendations was about identifying the sensitive spots

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of Gujarat and trying to re-structure the composition of the Police, and fortifying its strength. That will have to be done.

The Minorities Commission is already there, I am happy about it. Let it be given a statutory status, and let there be an insistence that its recommendations have to be necessarily implemented, without any hesitation.

In the end, I would say this, since only yesterday some of us had gone to Ahmedabad, very briefly within a few minutes and a few seconds—I will not require even that. There were rumours about disturbances in every nook and corner of Ahmedabad. In spite of that, I did not find, unfortunately, sufficient fortification of the Police. Even the Army should be used; it does not matter if its strength is wasted, But it is better to be more cautious by way of abundant caution. No satisfactory Police arrangements were there.

The *Bandh* on the 12th would actually have been weakened to a very great extent if increase in the strength and the announcement of a judicial enquiry had been there.

I have now to conclude. If you ask me : 'Should all the religious processions in India be banned?', I would say I am not in favour of it. Some friends may say Yes. But I have understood the mind of India, though I do not press my opinion very strongly in these matters. But I know. For instance, if the Ganapati celebrations, festivals and processions which Tilak had started in Bombay are stopped, people will not like it. If Muharram is banned, people will not like it. I come from a place in Ahmednagar where Muharram is a big event. The Hindu women seek blessings on that occasion. Hindus and Muslims join the procession. These are the traditions. All of a sudden, because a few hooligans create disturbances if you ban them, it will be bad. There should be a middle-of-the-road path. *Rath Yatra*, Ganapati celebrations,

Muharram, all these are exceptions. You must try to avoid the sensitive spots. Some trouble-mongers are there who have not much faith in religion, but have vested interest in trouble. They want that this procession must necessarily travel through certain sensitive spots. It does not matter to them if they invite attack but they are satisfied if there is trouble. They have no vested interest in peace; they have vested interest in trouble and, therefore, I think, all parties, all institutions, Hindus and Muslims, can sit together and before any particular procession starts, they can decide which will be the favourable route which can avoid these riots. So, a balance between the religious feelings of the people and at the same time the need of maintaining peace and tranquility in the city, if they are balanced, I think a way can be found out.

Then the diversion of police force should always be avoided. Collective will to fight riots must be created. Social consciousness should be created; and if all these steps are taken in a proper manner, I have not the least doubt, it will be possible for all secularists in the country, no matter whatever be our differences, whatever be your differences and our differences, remember, all of us want that the legacy of a man called Gandhiji in this country, that must live and live for centuries together; that is the only legacy in which we have lived. We have got to have a political movement, and therefore, if we are able to retain this legacy of secularism in the country, very few things are left out.

In different parts of Asia and Africa, parliamentary democracies have collapsed. In this tiny island of India, we have preserved democracy. Let us preserve secularism; and with the conscience of all of them sitting on both sides of the House, we are able to create real secular India in which there will be no riots.

We might have killed Mahatma Gandhi, but, at least, we must not be required to curb the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi. Let us address ourselves to that noble task. Thank you.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Shillong) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, for once I find myself in the happy position of not having to differ from my friend, Prof. Madhu Dandavate on any points. I thought he would have brought in the discussion an analysis about the recent riots that have taken place especially in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat. Since he had made a visit to that place only yesterday. He had not done that. On the other hand, he has brought before us a number of concrete suggestions as to what should be done in order to combat the riots that take place in this country from time to time with disturbing frequency. There could be a discussion on each of those points. But I will agree with him just as I will agree with you that in this country we have inherited the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi. He gave his life; he died in order to bring conscience to us, to the different communities in this country after the madness of a partition, and to emphasise that the continuity, the salvation of this country lay in different communities living in peace, in co-existence and in cooperation with one another.

I will agree with him also that India has a lot of things to say about herself in the Comity of nations. It is the one country in the whole of Asia, excepting Japan, that has maintained, nurtured and has grown in democracy; it is the one country among half a dozen or a dozen of the countries in the world where real democracy has prevailed. If you look at it more objectively, the vastness, the size and the diversity, the in-built contradictions that India has in terms of historical legacies in terms of differences in religion, in terms of differences in languages in terms of economic disparities, in terms of everything, there is everything that will tear this country apart. And yet, we have survived ever since independence, and grown from strength to strength in Democracy. We have a lot to say, a lot to be proud about. If we are to analyse the situation, how is it that we have been able to do this? We have been able to do this because, in spite of the differences and lot of conflicts which are inherent anywhere in the world, we have been able to hold together. The different communities in this country, the Hindus, the Mus-

lims, the Christians and the Sikhs have understood this, that in living together, in functioning together there lies the salvation not only of this country, but the salvation, the upliftment of each individual of this country. It is this bond that has held us together. And if there is anything that is going to destroy this country, it will not be external aggression—we have had external aggressions in the past and each time there has been external aggression the country has stood up united as a man; It will not be the machinations of the big powers and the countries inimical to this country, it will not be the international manipulations for geostrategic advantages, it will be the conflicts within the country and if we allow those conflicts, if we are not able to control and contain those conflicts, they will grow into a monster, and eat up and destroy this country. We have to understand this.

And, I am very happy that Mr. Dandavate by bringing this subject before the House has served that purpose. I would like to congratulate him for bringing this spirit of objectivity, for having been constructive in his suggestions. There is hardly anywhere where I can differ with him, when he speaks of the freedom of the different religions to practise their religion. There is freedom given to every one, and of course we have to draw a line. While every religion has the right to practise, has the right to express itself, collectively indoors and outdoors, has a right to take out processions, it should be seen that it does not have a right to flout and to wound the sentiments of the other religions. This is where we should find a way how this thing should be done.

I am saying this with reference to the Ahmedabad riots. They began with a religious procession, the Jaganath Rath Yatra. There are many stories that have come. There are stories that we have as to what has happened. Obviously there have been slogans, posters and other things. The occasion of the religious procession is used not so much for the people to express themselves, but to wound the sentiments of other people. I

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am not accusing this side or that side. That is how it has happened. We have also to analyse the situation. It is not as if it has happened all of a sudden. The reports say that the riots in Ahmedabad have been taking place—all not religious riots—since 1969. Between 1970 and 1980 there have been communal incidents occurring between 20 and 40 a year. Since 1980 the number of communal incidents in Ahmedabad have been ranging between 70 and 80 a year. Only last year there there has been a similar communal riot in the city. We should have been wise about it. It is a case for analysis as to why all these have happened; why we were not able to take precautions; what has gone wrong. I think, it is here I would agree with Mr. Dandavate. In any situation like that—it is not anybody's creation; it is not anybody's fault. When we have been forewarned, we should have been fore-armed in dealing with the situation.

Mr. Dandavate has spoken about the economic root of some of the riots. Gujarat is a coastal State. There have been reports of big smuggling going on into Gujarat. It is only the people who indulge in these kinds of anti-social activities, the smugglers, who will stand to benefit whenever there is an upset of the law and order situation. It is only when there is a break-down of the law and order situation that anti-social elements like that have the freedom to ply their trade. Therefore, this question has to be looked at very carefully.

16.52 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the chair*]

The Smugglers have got the money power. The smugglers have their musclemen. Whenever a little incident takes place here and there it spread like a wild fire. Who are the people who have done this? I am sure, the Government has got the list of these people; it has got the list of all these bad characters in the city. Mr. Dandavate has mentioned about the role played by the former Home Minister of Bombay, just before independence, on the

eve of our freedom, Shri K. M. Munshi, in which the first thing he did was to round up, to catch all the bad character of the city whenever there was a threat of any riot. I thought we could have done a thing like that in Gujarat after having been forewarned. Well, I will agree with him that we have not taken this question of communalism of communal riots, with that seriousness with which we should tackle it. I am not saying this only of the Government, I am saying of the public leaders; I am saying of ourselves in this House; Maybe because we have too many problems in our hands; maybe because from day to day we have been buffeted with all kinds of problems. Something happens; it draws our attention to it. And when that thing does not happen any more, our attention turns round to something else. Therefore, like, in many other areas we seem to adopt, what Prof. Dandavate has said, a fire brigade mentality.

Riots happened in Ahmedabad last year. They stopped. They were brought under control. We forget all about it. They became ancient history. They occurred again on the 9th of July and reached the peak on the 12th of July. All our attention was in Ahmedabad. There will be control and we will forget about it. We rush to it, we attend to the problem only when it has taken place.

I would suggest or rather I would emphasise what Prof. Dandavate has said that we should tackle this problem of communalism and give it the greatest attention that we can give.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : Priority.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : Yes, the greatest attention that we can give on a day-to-day-basis. This country is a large country. Anything can happen in any part of the country. Any thing can flare up. There should be a monitoring body to tackle this question on a day-to-day basis and to see that religious or communal conflicts do not take place. It should be anticipated and tackled before it takes

place .How is that to be done ? There are many things which can be said, on this Prof. Dandavate has mentioned about the restructuring of the police and security force. Of course, when the riot has taken place, the first thing that we have to look to is the police and the security force. It is their prior duty and very much depends on the way in which they tackle the situation. If the police and the security force is communally tainted, it will worsen the situation. But if the police and the security force is non-communal, is professional, it is in a position to tackle the situation. We have an example of that in this country and that is of the armed forces. Our Army our Navy our Air Force—there is no suggestion of any communalism in them. It is professionalism. When it is a job to be done, it will be done. We would like that kind of a police force, that kind of security force in this country. Of course, it very much depends on the outlook of the people; but, we have also to depend on the mechanics of how to do it and, therefore, if the police or the security force is more representative of the different sections of the people in this country, if the police and the security force have more of representation especially of the minorities—we have to take this into account that in any situation the minorities consider themselves to be in a more vulnerable situation and feel themselves to be more protective—then we have a force more capable to deal with communal problems. We have not been able to evolve a society in this country where the majority community is in a position to ensure the safety and the security of the minorities. We have not been able to do that.

17.09 hrs.

Prof. Dandavate speaks of Mahatma Gandhi. He speaks of the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and he appeals to us that we should ourselves strive to be small little Gandhies in our own way and, if possible, be able to build up another collective spirit of Gandiji in this country. Mahatma Gandhi had always emphasised the protection of minorities and he gave his life in order to protect the

minorities. It is not because he thought that only the minorities were to be protected and not the majority, but because he thought that in the protection by the majority of the minority by communal peace and harmony in this country. Mahatma Gandhi spoke of being a trustee of the people. The Government should be the trustee of the people. The Government is of the majority and therefore, the majority community has to act in a manner that it is the trustee of the minorities.

I don't say that because of that the minorities should behave as they like. It is not possible. In a family, the father has to be the trustee of everything. And the children are expected to accept that position. They will have to accept that position of the father. It does not mean that if the children go on nibbling and needling the father will not take any action against them. It does not mean that. It is the question of generating the right kind of climate. I agree that all the things that Prof. Dandavate mentioned should be discussed. We cannot take any decision on that here. Our duty here is only to go on record, to express our views in this regard. They should be taken note of. I do believe that the Government some day will sit together with the Members of this House, with the Members of the Opposition and evolve a method how to deal with the situation.

Sir, before I sit down, I will draw your attention to another aspect of the danger of communalism. We have had the problem in Punjab, an on-going problem I am not speaking of the difficulty in implementing the Accord I am not speaking of the continuation of terrorism. Fortunately it appears now that the back of terrorism has been broken. But I would like to point out to the attempt by terrorists, anti-nationalists and extremists to communalise the situation in Punjab by attacking the minorities and trying to drive them out of Punjab. It is nothing but an attempt to communalise the situation in Punjab. If communal riots break out between the Hindus and Sikhs, that is where the extremists will prosper. We have had many kinds

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of troubles in U. P. also as a result of the controversy of Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid. In all these incidents fortunately the Government has been able to tackle and defuse the situation but that does not mean that the danger does not exist. And therefore I fully agree with Prof. Dandavate I appreciate what he has said. I appreciate the spirit with which he has said it. Let us take this matter seriously. Let us find out the way of dealing with it, anticipating a situation and taking preemptive precautionary measures from day to day.

SHRI H. A. DORA (Srika ulam) : I don't have much to say except to reiterate what my learned friend Mr. Dandavate has just now stated before the House. I too visited Ahmedabad on the 19th. The incidents took place not only in Ahmedabad; they took place in Baroda, Eharooch Veraval, Kadi and Anand. These are all places in Gujarat. This is a place where Gandhiji worked. Gandhiji professed and propagated the ideals of secularism. Now it is a place where we have been seeing communal riots very often. During 1985 also the State witnessed communal riots. Now it has been witnessing communal riots. I would like to submit the composition of the main city of Ahmedabad.

17.04hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the chair*]

Sir, the total population of this particular city is about 25,07,410 according to the 1981 Census, of which, the Scheduled Castes population is about 2.91 lakhs—i.e. about 3 lakhs. The Scheduled Tribes population is only about 20,000. Muslim population is about 5 lakhs. What I would like to submit is that my learned friend has suggested the means to achieve communal amity in this part of the country. But what is the root cause?

(Interruptions)

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : It is an important issue. What is happening?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Everything is important. Whatever is discussed in Parliament is important. I request all hon. Members to pay equal attention to all matters.

SHRI H. A. DORA : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am at a loss to understand as to what is the root cause for this communal disturbance in this country. We are professing, practising and propagating secularism—all the Parties in our country, either they are national parties or regional parties. But yet the object in this country is not achieved. What are the reasons for it? They have to be probed. I am prepared to submit to this august House, the factual aspect of it through which we can draw certain inferences.

The first incident took place on 9th of this month at about 4.45 p.m. There was a strong procession, a procession of not less than 1½ lakh people, as I gathered from the eye witnesses from that particular place. The procession was going on from Lord Jagannatha Temple through the streets where Muslims are predominantly inhabited. I was told by some of the dispassionate persons whose identity is not to be disclosed that Muslims garlanded the deity; they welcomed the deity and they shared the prasad given by the Purohits who were there on the chariots. This was exactly near the place which is known as Kadia Nakha which is in Dariapur area. I am absolutely convinced that the people whether they belong to the Muslim community or Hindu community are very much secular. Yet, why did the incidence take place? At a place which is 2 furlong away from Kadia Nakha, while the procession was going on, stones were pelted which culminated into this particular riot and it went to Shahapur place which is at a distance of one km. from Kadia Nakha, where Muslims and Hindus are dwelling together and they were equal there. According to my investigation that was made, there was firing both by police as well as private parties. In that firing, about 10 people died on the spot itself. According to official figures, in Ahmedabad, from 9th to 13th of July, 39 people died and 163

people injured. That was the official figure given by the Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad who deals with the law and order situation. The Collector has no power to deal with the law and order situation there. The power is vested in the Commissioner himself and he states that 39 people died and 163 persons have been injured and those who were permanently incapacitated were given by the Government an amount of Rs. 5,000/-. Temporarily incapacitated persons will get only Rs. 1,000/- and Rs. 20,000 have been given to the deceased families, that is the kith and kin of the deceased. My friend Mr. Madhu Dandavate reported about a ghastly incident and I was thinking about a particular aspect of it. He wanted to refer to the matter also but my friend has not referred to that particular aspect. It was about Makhani Nagar and in that Makhani Nagar, we visited that particular place, scene of offence, where six people were burnt alive. I again interviewed some persons in one house. Two persons are still surviving. I interviewed the surviving member of that particular family. I do not want to disclose his name. He is a young chap aged about 26 years and this man stated with tears in his eyes that his wife was burnt alive, his child aged about 2½ years was burnt alive. His mother was also burnt alive and a member of another family who they call, Chacha, who is related to that family, was also burnt alive in the same house. What is the reason for it? I have clearly interviewed that particular gentleman. I took him to a distant place and I asked him as to what exactly happened. He told me that three persons attired in saffron dress led a mob of 300 persons.

DR. G. S. RAJHANS : What is the use of giving this information ?

SHRI H. A. DORA : You please hear. I will tell you the use of it.

They were leading the mob of 300 persons. Armed with darias, stones, sticks and other weapons, they were chanting some mantrams which this fellow did not understand and thereafter there were slogans.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He did not know mantrams.

SHRI H. A. DORA : The persons who chanted the mantrams also may not be knowing what they have been chanting. I have seen the path. This man fled away from that place and there was arson in that particular house and six people were burnt alive. These are the tragic pictures that have been depicted by so many persons in that particular city. What I vehemently submit is that people are very much secular but there are certain unsocial elements who are using the situations only for their personal advantage.

I would like to submit another important aspect which I gathered from this particular place.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have already taken 15 minutes.

SHRI H. A. DORA : I have taken 5 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No, You have taken 15 minutes.

Try to be brief because others want to speak. Some Members are insisting that they want to speak today itself.

SHRI H. A. DORA : What is to be gathered and seen clearly through these tragedies is, that this is wantonly created by some unsocial elements for their own advantage. This is not a riot which has taken place on the spur of the moment. It is a very organised riot. What I would like to submit is that it is an organised riot, a riot behind which there are some elements which are backed by the politicians in that particular locality. Otherwise this would not have continued. That is my clear opinion gathered from so many persons that I interviewed.

That apart, I would like to submit one thing—that there is an absolute failure of the law and order situation there. There were complaints both by the Hindus and

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Muslims that there was a failure of the Police. Actually the riot has taken place in broad daylight in Meghani Nagar between 11 and 11.30 a. m. The Police was there. The Special Armed Force with sten guns were stationed at that particular point of time but though they were informed of this particular riot and through they have been seeing this particular riot, they have not at all intervened in the situation. They simply disappeared from the scene according to the eye-witnesses. Therefore, it requires no logic, it requires no legalistic dexterity to come to a realistic conclusion. It requires no legal skill to come to a realistic conclusion. Here the Police failure is very much there. Therefore, these riots could not have been prevented either on the 9th or 11th or 12th. Therefore, my submission is that the State Government is to be instructed as to the failure of the police and the Police vigilance must be strengthened in that particular town.

SHRI HAROOBHAI MEHTA (Ahmedabad): I am in no position to make a speech exhibiting forensic ability, since my heart is broken. My city is riot torn. Sir, this is the fifth communal riot that Ahmedabad has been experiencing. Before Independence we had two riots in 1941 and 1946. Thereafter there were the 1969 riots which were unprecedented in dimensions. Then in 1985 and now in 1986 we are in the midst of communal riots.

I am proud of this city because it is not a city of mere communal riots. As Prof. Madhu Dandavate has said, it is the city which has obtained the teachings right at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi. It is also a city which produced martyrs in the cause of communal amity. In 1946 riots in the midst of Hindu and Muslim crowds one Hindu, Vasant Hegiste and another Muslim, Rajab Lakhani intervened & tried to persuade the crowds not to take to violence against each other. Unfortunately the crowd did not heed to them and both of them were killed on the spot by the violent crowds. Today the martyrdom of Vasant and Rajab is beckoning

Ahmedabad and I have been invoking their memory in order to appeal to the people.

The present riots started on the 9th July at 5.45 p.m. in Karianakha of Dariapur area, what was the genesis of the riots and what exactly transpired at that time is all a matter of enquiry. There are rival versions. There is a version that some boys who formed part of the procession and were sitting in a truck were shouting provocative and abusive slogans. The slogans were—I may be pardoned and I have got to quote the slogans. The slogans were Muslims Chor and Bibdi chor. (Muslim ladies are thieves). The abuse was against a particular community. It intensified when the procession reached this particular spot. Here, one of the Members said that the procession was passing through a thickly populated Muslim area. The pocket where the trouble is said to have started is not a thickly populated Muslim area. That particular pocket is an area surrounded on three sides by the Hindu population. In that pocket only ten Muslim families resided and out of those, about five had migrated to other places on account of the 1985 riots and only about five Muslim families are staying there at present. The version also says that there were stones in the truck which formed part of the Rathayatra procession. Another version is that some boys from outside the procession pelted stones without any provocation whatsoever. The Chief Minister has ordered a judicial inquiry into the matter. Therefore, I am not going to dwell at length as to which version is correct. The only thing I want to say is that it is not exactly as if some particular community attacked the religious procession and, therefore, the riots spread. But unfortunately the Rathayatra procession came to be disturbed for whatever reason which is going to be inquired into. When there was a disturbance, those who formed part of the procession ran helter skelter; some of them ran with spears and the others with lethal weapons in their hand and made innocent citizens the victims. In Shahapur area and Delhi Chakla area, a number of shops, a number of stalls, a number of houses, came under arson from those

who fell apart from the procession on account of disturbances. But the situation could have been controlled. Here comes the role of the press. The next day's morning newspapers reported this incident as if it was an attack on the religious procession by a certain section of the people. I do not want to quote from the newspapers *in extenso*. But they did describe the incident as an attack on the Rathayatra procession. The *Rath*, the chariot, was safe; in fact, it is learnt that the chariot was left as a destitute by those who formed part of the procession...
(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : Why don't you tell the name of the newspaper. What has been written in "Gujarat Samachar"? I have a copy thereof.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Soz, do not interrupt. Let him speak. You can speak when your turn comes.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : The country must know what is happening. I am only reminding him.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You need not remind him. I am here.

SHRI HAROOBHAI MEHTA : The morning newspapers of 10th July carried a report of the occurrence so as to give an impression that the Rathayatra procession was attacked. I am a witness to the fact that the *Rath* was in fact, it was not defiled. On the contrary with the assistance of the Muslim people, the police put the *Rath* in a safe condition. But the newspapers gave reports to show like this : as soon as there was stone-throwing on the truck which had joined the Rathayatra, there was a commotion. 'Stone-throwing on Rathayatra' was the headline. 'Heinous Attack on the Rathayatra' occurred in report and statements carried by newspapers. What effect would these reports carry except to incite the feelings of a section of the people? So, the riots

could have been controlled but for the very aggressive and very provocative newspaper reports published in the newspapers and this was assisted by rumour-mongering. Rumours were employed as a ploy by some people who think that rumour-mongering is an instrument for inciting Hindu fanaticism in this country; irrational instrumentalities were utilised by those who want to convert this country into a non-secular, theological country. But, as Mahatma Gandhi said, this country does not belong to only the Hindus or, for that matter, to any particular community. He said, if anybody believed that this country was a country of Hindus, they were just indulging in a dream. But there are some forces which have been very active for the last few months; they want that we should have a theological country they want that the Muslims need not be protected in this country; they are raising these slogans; these slogans were raised in Ahmedabad this time :

*Gaddar hai Musalmaan isko bhejo
Pakistan.*

I may be excused for this. The answer given by many Muslims in Ahmedabad was this :

*Hub-ul-wateen Musalmaan, nahin jaaenge
Pakistan, Watan hai uska Hindustan,
bhajna hai to bhejo kabristan.*

This is how those forces are working. They wanted to make this Rathayatra issue a religious issue on the basis of which they could whip up the religious feelings of a section of the people and then perpetrate violence against another section of the people, namely, the minorities.

That is why it was insisted that Rath Yatra should pass through the Jordan Roads also. Last year the Government tried to restrict the Rath Yatra route by prescribing that it should not pass through these sensitive areas; this time also it was more sensitive. But it was insisted that it should pass through Jordan Road also. What was inevitable happened. The violence was perpetrated.

[Shri Haroobhai Mehta]

What I was pointing out was the news papers' role. Even then, all steps were taken to bring the whole matter under control. I must, in this connection express my gratitude to the Prime Minister, who had shown concern for Ahmedabad situation even when he was in Mizoram. I must also thank my good friend Mr. P. Chidambaram who visited Ahmedabad and whose initiative had galvanised law and order machinery and whose personal visit to the camp and personally meeting the inmates lent assurance and consolation to the minorities. I am also grateful to my good friends from the opposition who also did a splendid job in trying to bring Ahmedabad to the condition of normally.

Apart from the newspapers reports and rumor mongering, they called for Gujarat Bandh. Gujarat Bandh was called when Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat were surcharged with violence and communal hatred. The forces that were at work did not spare any instrument for spreading communal hatred throughout Ahmedabad and outside.

Two persons were burnt alive in civil hospital. Civil hospital is supposed to be a place where wounds are healed. But there were two Muslims who thought that they were safe in the hospital—a place for healing wounds. They were on the second floor. They were thrown by a group from the second floor to the ground. In order to ensure that they would not live kerosene was sprinkled on them and they were burnt to ashes. What was the newspapers' role here? What I am pointing out is more shocking. Newspapers reported on the next day that two persons, suspected to have indulged into stabbing were caught by a mob and killed on the spot.

Similarly a person was sought to be lynched in Narayanpur area where I stay. There also one man belonging to minority community was attempted to be lynched; thanks to police, he was saved. But newspapers reported that a person found in suspicious circumstances was caught by a mob and thrashed and with the result, he

was attempted to be killed. Such cruel and gruesome murders—burning of citizens alive or lynching—are sought to be justified or explained away by newspaper reports describing them as persons who were indulged in stabbings. First of all, even if somebody is...

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : If you kindly listen to me.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No, I won't listen to you.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : It was Gujarat Samachar which had created the trouble. It is not all papers.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Prof. Soz, take your seat please.

SHRI HAROOBHAI MEHTA : I have got certain understanding of the rules of the House, therefore, I am not naming any newspaper. (*Interruptions*)

What I was submitting is that such gruesome incidents and ghastly violence is sought to be explained away as if they were dealing with a stabber. First of all, even if there is somebody who is suspected to be a stabber, he has to be handed over to police; he cannot be lynched.

Unfortunately, workers are also not free from communal violence. In one factory in Ahmedabad somebody, suspected to be an outsider was caught by workers of that factory. Police caught hold of that man and workers demanded that that man should be handed over to them. That is the dimension of communal violence which has permeated through the minds of people.

The Meghani Nagar incident also, where five persons were burnt alive did not become, unfortunately, the subject matter of any strong criticism in any of the language newspapers in Ahmedabad.

Sir, my submission is, therefore, that this communal clash of Ahmedabad need not be taken as an isolated event. It is an outcome of communal atmosphere of hatred sought to be engineered by certain revivalist forces in India. They want to disturb the stability of India and create in India conditions where minorities would not feel safe. We are committed to creating a situation where all citizens including minorities should feel fully secured about their life and property.

Sir, my friend has glorified the right of religious freedom. I may point out that right of religious freedom cannot be so abused as to invade the right of life of innocent people. In this country we are sometimes seeing the incidents when religious processions on the occasion of religious festivals are misused or abused in order to generate communal violence. In this connection I may point out that the Central Government itself has issued certain guidelines about the religious processions. In respect of processions the State governments were advised to evolve a general policy for limiting or controlling religious processions during festivals and communally sensitive periods. It was suggested to them that the routes should be properly devised through a mutual agreement and such restrictions imposed as are deemed necessary. Firm and prompt action should be taken against those who violate these restrictions.

The Government of Gujarat tried this in 1985 but the prohibitory orders were forcibly violated. The Jordan Road area was sensitive this time also. It should not have been insisted that Rath Yatra processions should pass through this road. I have got full respect for all religions including Hindu religion to which I belong and, therefore, I am in a position to self-criticise. In the name of religion no steps should be taken which would lead to violence against any section of people. The Central Government has also issued 15-point guidelines, namely, how to deal with communal situations and how to ensure that communal riots do not take place. The late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had issued these guidelines and

the same had been revised in 1985 in the light of the experience. If all the State Governments implement these guidelines faithfully they will be able to better serve the cause of communal amity and prevention of communal riots.

Sir, in 1969 riots had taken place and a commission of inquiry under the Chairmanship of Justice Jagmohan Reddy of Supreme Court was appointed to inquire into the causes of the riots. The Reddy Commission had made certain important suggestions. One of its suggestion is that education itself should be so re-oriented that it would inculcate among the students secular values, broad visions and tolerance. This also has to be implemented. Luckily my State has contributed something which could be appreciated. The Gujarat School Textbooks Board has examined many textbooks with a view to recasting them in such a manner that secular education and secular ideas are built rather than communal hatred and mistrust. The way the history is taught often generates communal hatred. This has to be given proper attention. The Commission also recommended that punitive tax should be resorted to against those localities where communal violence takes place. It should be taken as the responsibility of the people of the locality and, as such, punitive tax should be imposed. Reddy commission has also noted that State functions like inauguration and laying of foundation stone are often undertaken in accordance with the Hindu religious rites. A section of the people would feel whether they are living in a secular society or not. So the Commission suggested that more emphasis should be laid on secular procedures rather than following religious rites of a particular religion. Similarly newspapers should exercise great restraint. In fact, Reddy commission has suggested that there should be pre-censorship at least during the communal disturbances. Many other things are required to be told but the constraint of time limits my speech. Sir, I have to conclude but what I can only submit—what has broken my heart—is this, that is the whole violent incident can be prevented by police. We can prevent the recurrence of such incidents. But so far as my constituency is concerned, when I was elected, I repre-

[Shri Haroobhai Mehta]

sented one city of Ahmedabad. Unfortunately the present situation is that the city is as if divided into two, namely, Hindu Ahmedabad and Muslim Ahmedabad. A partition wall has been raised in this city by communal riots which have been engineered by these people who want to create a carnage between the two communities. This damage cannot be repaired easily. I would therefore appeal to this august House kindly to come and rescue Ahmedabad and Gujarat. Let us work to establish the society where secular values prevail and communal propaganda will always fall. Mahatma Gandhi was physically assassinated on 30th January 1948, but his ideas continue to be assassinated even now daily. It is done by those who indulge in the name of religion.

[Translation]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the present discussion is on a very important matter. First of all, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that about 20,000 riots have broken out since independence of India. We have to think as to who have suffered and died during these riots. It is such an important matter that at the time of discussion, at least hon. Minister and other responsible persons should be present but no minister is present here.

[English]

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) : Sir, the Home Minister is taking part in the debate in the Rajya Sabha which started this morning. He expected that it would be over. But that debate is continuing. He will come here any moment.

[English]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN

OWAISI : Of course, you should speak in this way but keeping in view the seriousness of the problem you must have thought that today whole of the country has been engulfed by it. Therefore, some Cabinet Minister should be present here. After saying this much, I would like to submit that when the situation becomes too serious and critical, we gather to find some solution, varied speeches are made, discussions take place and concrete steps are suggested but they are never taken.

I am not saying all this to malign someone but to emphasise that it may be all right to say that this country is like a bouquet of all kinds of flowers. but many times this bouquet has been destroyed and the flowers crushed. Now the question is whether any recommendations were made any whether any steps work taken in regard thereto. I remember that when riots broke out in Jabalpur, a national committee was set up under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and that committee made some recommendations but none of them have been implemented so far. If those recommendations are not correct, then why do you not say that you do not accept them. And if they are correct then why do you not do something concrete to prevent these riots. One of those recommendations was that if the riots were not stopped within eight days, the Chief Minister of the concerned State should resign. Such type of recommendations were there but all of them are gathering dust.

Today when some disturbances have taken place in Ahmedabad, we do have awoken to the situation but after it, again we shall become inactive. The result will be that the things will continue as usual. In this connection, one concrete suggestion occurring to my mind is that attention should be paid towards the textbooks for children which are full of venom.

It is said that Aurangzeb committed atrocities on the Hindus or on such ruler but why is it not told that Aurangzeb attacked Deccan also, destroyed Qutub-

Shahi and Muslim kingdom of Bijapore also? Why do you not tell these things? You refer to only one aspect of Aurangzeb. Every Government does something to defend itself. We present the situation in such a strange way that it injects poison in children's minds. Gradually, this poison creates tension in the minds of Hindus and Muslims. We should see to all these things.

We swear by secularism today. We say that there is no official religion but the people do have religion. But we see that when some official function is held, cococut is broken and religious ceremonies are observed. It is not secularism, not Governments religion rather it is people's religion. In spite of all these things you harp upon the tune of secularism. The question is as to who will stand witness to secularism. If the minority stands witness to secularism, then only the world will say it is secularism. Merely your saying that you believe in secularism is not going to be accepted by anyone.

Presently people are burnt alive, If something happens in South Africa or for that anywhere in the world, we become restless. It is very strange thing. In India serpents are fed with milk and people are burnt alive. We are witnessing these strange things. I want that we should come out with something concrete.

I do not want to make a mention of any riot but such things should be stopped once for all. The Hon. Speaker has delivered a very good speech stating that these things should be done away with for all times to come. Therefore, you should ponder over these things. Today the position is such that on the one hand this propaganda is being made and on the other, we are being provoked. If you analyse every riot, you will find that first it is the minority that suffers and thereafter innocent people become the victims. P.A.C. also makes the situation worse, P.A.C. Jawans indulge in loot and rape. People are beaten so much that their hands and feet get broken. After all, why is it so? When something happens, it is said that morale of the police should

not fall. It is very strange. We fail to understand as to what is all this? P.A.C. people say that the police people have ample opportunity to get bribe, but they get chance once a while during the riots.

What is happening in Allahabad? I do not want to refer to any riot but I have seen that IAS officers, engineers and advocates have been arrested under the Goonda Act. Now you tell us where we are drifting to? What is all happening?...
(Interruptions)

DR. G. S. RAJHANS : You name any I.A.S. officer who has been arrested under the Goonda Act.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI : I have complete list of this. I can tell the names of each one of them. Who is advocate Subzbari in Meerut? In the earlier riots he had fought the cases in the courts. I am going to present before you a special proposal and telling you about the atrocities being perpetrated. There is one story in Urdu that when once a large-scale theft took place, the Qazi told that he would find out the stolen articles and told the gathering that there would be a straw in the beard of the thief. The thief among them started searching for the straw in his beard. I do not want to say anything but why do you get perturbed (Interruptions) .. Have you shaven your head to show that nothing is going to influence you?

I am, therefore, proposing that all those things which have been written in History during the British rule to create a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims should be re-written. I would like to tell you to think over as to how we should remain one. Today, killings are taking place. We should not see as to who was killed in Ahmedabad, Gujarat or in Punjab. It is Indians who are being killed. If we see only this that if somebody is killed in Ahmedabad, the compensation will be Rs. 5000 and if somebody is killed in Punjab, the amount will be Rs. 20,000, then I would like to ask whether we give this compensation on the basis of the place where a person is killed? Today, it is the man who is being killed, You

[Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi]

tell me why all these things are happening? I want that to stop these things, laws should be framed. All these processions should be banned. Are the processions more important than the lives of the people? All these processions should be banned once for all so that the riots do not occur at all.

People from Ahmedabad had come to me also. They told me that at that place where pe'ting of stones had been alleged, there were only 15 Muslim houses. Ten families had left. Only five families were there in the remaining houses. The procession consisted of 50,000 to 1,00,000 people and about 5 to 10 Muslim families were there. Can they pelt stones? Can any sensible man agree to it? After all, why all these things are happening? I want to know that in spite of so many riots, has any one till date been hanged? Has any one been sent to gallows? Thousands of people have been killed but not a single person has been sentenced to death by our courts. Why? Why does this happen? Because police is hand in glove with the miscreants. Unless the Government acts strictly, this chain of riots will continue. Today, people of Delhi are sitting on 'dharna' at the Home Minister's house. You will see that the bone of contention which is causing riots in the entire country is Babri Masjid. The Government should take immediate steps to solve this problem so that the tension may not spread further. What is Government doing in this connection? After all, what does it intend to do? I would like that all these problems should be solved.

[English]

SHRI H. M. PATEL (Sabarkantha) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to speak on the subject of communal disturbances. Everything that needs to be said has been said by the first two speakers, Prof. Madhu Dandavate and Shri Swell and I entirely endorse what they said. But, what I want to understand is this. Have they given any thought as to

who is going to implement the various suggestions that they have made? When we talk about restructuring of the police, who is going to do it and when is it going to be done? It is well known that there has been a tremendous deterioration in administration, almost to the point of collapse, you can say. The National Police Commission had submitted eight Reports. They show what needs to be done, in order to make our Police force efficient, and capable of coping with the kind of problems that the country has to face today. What has been done with those Reports of the Police Commission? Why are we not taking up this matter more earnestly, more urgently?

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS (Bhilwara) : What did you do during your time?

SHRI H. M. PATEL : I do not wish to answer that question
(Interruptions)

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS : You have not done anything then, Mr. Patel.

SHRI H. M. PATEL : I have only some suggestions to make. I think the hon. Minister sitting there also is fully convinced that this is something which needs to be done. The administrative machinery must be gingered up to see that the very difficult problems that the country has to face can be coped with. I realise that this gingering cannot be done overnight.

These recommendations are sound and basic. For instance, our Police force has not got enough accommodation. Formerly, the Police used to be accommodated in the Police Lines. Now, how are the Police accommodated? The number of Policemen has increased. They live wherever accommodation can be found for them, at times in neighbourhoods which are certainly not such where Police ought to reside. In fact, they mix with elements which are lawless. It is very necessary,

therefore, that very earnest and urgent attention should be paid, not merely to restructuring of the Police force, but also to ensuring that the Police are enable to function in the most efficient manner possible. Their service conditions should be such as would enable them to live and work satisfactorily. They should be housed properly. They should be recruited in a particular manner, keeping in mind the kind of educational level necessary for the problems which the police has to handle.

This is one aspect of the matter. Secondly, it must also be realized that merely multiplying the Police force in terms of numbers is not going to ensure their efficiency. I do not know by how many times the strength of the Police force has increased, compared to what we had when we became independent. Undoubtedly, a certain amount of increase was necessary, but, the increase that has taken place is excessive. We now have several types of Police force, e. g. Central Police Force, Border Security Force, Armed Police Constabulary etc. Their number has multiplied to an enormous extent.

Finance should not be a problem, so far as improving the working conditions of the Police is concerned, and for making that force an efficient one.

Then again, consider this : the second greatest casualty since Independence has been discipline, Indiscipline has really become universal something that has almost set in everywhere. In every field, there is indiscipline.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate suggested that history should be taught in a particular manner, that history textbooks should be recast, and so on. Who is going to teach them? The teachers. Consider the situation among the teachers today. They go on strike times without number. The New Education Policy refers to the fact that there are three most important elements for ensuring good education.

The teachers, the students and the parents. The teachers today are among the most undisciplined section of our people. Now why should that be the case? There may be some justifiable and good reasons. But the point is should they be undisciplined at all? Should discipline not govern them? They are the people who are going to teach our new generation, instil in them the right type of cultural values and so on. The history has to be taught. Do they themselves know history? Do they take the trouble to read widely about our history. So, I think the task of implementing all these good suggestions that are made by Prof. Madhu Dandavate and Shri G. G. Swell; are not going to be easy to give effect to. But I do suggest that the task should be taken in hand, nevertheless, the process should start and it should be seen that this essential task is performed. It is all very well to say change the attitude towards these problems. How do you change these attitudes? Who is going to implement it? Take the new educational policy? What is it designed to achieve there you will find a very interesting chapter on how attitudes should be changed, but how are you going to proceed about it?

When the question of finance which is needed in order to give effect to the new education policy is concerned, it is said that there is not enough; 6 per cent of the GNP should be provided for education and we should find what is required in a fixed period of time. It is the same with the Police force. There are, it is said, not enough resource. But these are items of the highest priority and I suggest that they should be given therefore the highest priority and finance should be provided for these things first before anything else. There will be claims for developmental schemes, industrialisation, etc. but these-education, law and orders, are basic matters and finance for these should not be denied, should not be gruded; the ought to be provided in their amplitude, to the extent that it is required. I suggest with all the earnestness that I possess that both in regard to the implementation of the education policy all that is necessary

[Shri H. M. Patel]

should be done and finance should not be any restriction; and so also in regard to police force. You must handle these basic things first, even though they are long term items; nevertheless, unless you make a beginning, now, you are not going to implement them within the time necessary. Let an effort be made.

Since the House is in a mood to consider the serious suggestions, let me make our mere suggestion, these should be as little political interference as possible in these matters of education policy, that is law and order and administration. This is essential; there is for too much political interference at all levels today. You have to live in a district in order to see how much political interference is there. Merely because you belong to the ruling political party or you happen to hold a certain position; you can do wrong things with impunity, I think it is time that these things are given serious consideration if we wish to avoid graver trouble.

[Translation]

SHRI BALKAVI BAIRAGI (Mandsaur) : Mr. Deputy Speake, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on such a serious matter. More than 50 years ago Allama Iqbal had written—“*Mozhaj nahin sikhata aapas main bair rakhana, Hindi hain hum watan hai Hindustan hamara*”. After that we achieved freedom. Presently in the other House one of my poet friend is sitting. In this connection his following four lines are quite relevant :—

“*Poorab ko maine {pooja, maine aarti sajaai,*

Pashchim ko {kiya sajda, jab jab azaan aai,

*Kabni ban gaya main Hindu kabhi
ban gaya Mustamaan,*

*Main na ban saka hun insaan mujhe
maut kyon na aai”.*

Today, the country is passing through the process of evolution. This House has taken up this subject and we are discussing it in very poignant moments. An eminent thinker like Dr. Bal Ram Jhakar has initiated the debate on this subject and our elder colleague Prof. Dandavate has raised the matter in the House. There are no two opinions about it that communalism, in whatever form it may be, should be crushed, and should not be encouraged in any case. It should be destroyed. The country has paid heavy price for it, I want to remind this scholarly? House that in 52 AD. Christians came to India for the first time and our ancestors allowed them to come and did not object to their way of worship also. Some 1,500 years back Islam entered India. We welcomed it too, we did not stop it. Our ancestors were wiser than us and they had higher stature than that of us.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can continue tomorrow. The discussion will continue tomorrow at 4 P.M.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

18.02 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Tuesday, July 22,
1986/Asadha 31, 1908 (Saka)*