

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted

15.09 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

[English]

Communal Situation in various parts of the country-Contd

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we will take up further discussion on the communal situation in various parts of the country, raised by Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia on 24th April, 1989. Shri Banatwalla is on his legs.

SHRIG.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I stated yesterday in Hazaribagh too there was increasing tension prior to Ramnavmi but there were no preventive measures taken. Even when violence erupted, what was the attitude of the police over there? We find that the Bar Council President himself has alleged that when he asked the police to fire upon the rioters, the police coldly replied that they had no permission to do so. They remained a silent spectator to the orgy of violence over there. Sir, there are serious allegations that the Bihar Military Police personnel, true to its nature, committed atrocities and even looted people. Many innocent people have been arrested. Doors were broken up and people have been severely beaten. Mohammed Usman Ansari and Mohammed Khalil have died of police beating and atrocities. There are reports of mutilated bodies having been found at a village near Sindoor Panchayat in Hazaribagh district. The villagers informed the newsmen that six bodies had been dumped by the police who came in a truck on 18th April. Five more bodies were dumped

on April 21. Bodies were brought in gunny bags. Sir, there is a shocking explanation that such is the usual procedure to dispose off the unclaimed bodies after post-mortem and is not related to riots. What an uncivilised way to dispose off the bodies and what an unabashed and unashamed manner in which admissions have been made! I strongly urge upon the Government to see that the matter is fully investigated into.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at Kalpi in U.P. miscreants collected a lot of arms and ammunitions and they seemed to have an open General Licence from the Police to go and collect these arms and ammunitions. The Police were informed of these activities and no action was taken. On 17th April, it is shocking that at Mohalla Ram Chabootra, miscreants fired and threw hand grenades under the protective umbrella of the P.A.C. Sir, I may refer to the irresponsible attitude of the Police and the other officers. The District Magistrate at Kalpi was report to have stated that bombs were thrown from a minaret of a mosque. Such was the provocation coming from an authority like the District Magistrate and then the matter was investigated and the SSP himself had to come to the conclusion that such was not the case and the District Magistrate had later on to retrace his statement. This shows the irresponsible attitude with which the Administration has been going on.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is imperative to see the question of communalism in its correct perspective. There is a lot of confusion. Some have raised their fingers against the religion. But the fact is that religions passion is not the same thing as communal passion. They are totally different. Similarly, the traditional concept of communal riots as a mere law and order situation, as representing transient social conflicts, as mere economic rivalry, and as tools of political manoeuvres, are not the whole truth. Today it needs to be recognised that communal tensions stem

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out of the indoctrination of a communal ideology that sets one community at odds with the other. That is the basis of the communal violence and tensions that we have today.

Sir, I must refer to the dispute regarding the 'Babri Masjid'. An attempt has been made to mislead this House in respect of the facts. The fact is that 'Babri Masjid' was there for nearly 450 years. The prayers have been going on. There is no evidence of any temple there before that. It was only during the night, that is, during the night between 22nd and 23rd December 1949, that idols were surreptitiously placed in the Mosque. This fact was admitted even by the Government of U.P. in the Court.

Sir, today those of the Viswa Hindu Parishad, the RSS and allies openly declare that even a judicial decision that may go against them would not be acceptable to them. Even here an hon. Member went to the extent of saying that no power on earth can now stop the puja over there. It is said with all vigour that even judicial decisions will not be accepted. The Government must expedite the process for a Special Bench and judicial decision and the Government must also categorically assure the entire nation that whatever is the judicial decision, it will be strictly enforced and implemented.

Sir, there are open declarations that the Babri Masjid would be demolished and temple built in November 1989 with bricks coming from every village in the country.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): The Government should explain the attitude now.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA: The Government is silent. This silence is criminal and is emboldening the miscreants. Proper steps must be taken, adequate steps must be

taken, effective steps must be taken, stern steps must be taken in time, or otherwise the Government will be wholly and solely responsible for the situation. And this is not the question merely of Babri Masjid. Claims are being made against Sahi Idgah there at Mathura, claims are made against Sahi Masjid there at Varanasi, claims are made against the Hosi Malana Darga at Kalyan in Maharashtra. There are several other claims against a large number of such holy places. I must, therefore, urge upon the Government to come forward with a law protecting the status of places of religious worship as it existed on the 15th August 1947, that is, the Independence day of our country.

Sir, there are no dearth of suggestions with respect to communal situation. What is lacking is the political will. We have had several discussions in this House. After every discussion, firm determination is expressed by the Government and so many assurances have been given to us. I may recall that there is longstanding suggestion for restructuring of the police force with greater participation of the minorities. After the Gujarat riots discussion in this House, the hon. Minister, Shri P. Chidambaram, assured implementation, but the same situation today persists. There is no implementation whatsoever. Similarly, after the discussion of Meerut riots, the hon. Minister, Shri. Buta Singh, assured implementation another longstanding demand that the highest police and civil officials would be personally held responsible for the riots. Sir, let us know from the Government how many times and how many officials have since been so held responsible. Therefore, many suggestions are there, but then the political will is wanted in order to implement the suggestion. Your assurance given to the House has not been implemented. Now, at Hazaribagh, of course some officials have been transferred. Is mere transferring of officials an action within the meaning of this grave situation? Sir, I must emphasise that severe

action must be taken against the officers that are responsible for the dereliction of duties.

The question of police role assumes crucial importance in the case of communal tension and riots. Partisan police role has aggravated the situation. I am not speaking off-hand. The Jitendra Narayan Commission of Jamshedpur observed:

The Jitendra Narain Commission has observed:-

"... the Commission is clearly of the opinion that the administration and the police having failed to give protection to the minority community have allowed the two officers... to distort and confuse the issue with their false and misleading statements. Government should examine their conduct and take suitable action. such dereliction of duty, left unpunished, will result in the loss of confidence in the integrity and sense of justice of the administrative machinery."

Such are the words of Jitendra Narain Commission appointed by the Government with respect to Jamshedpur riots.

Sir, the first Annual Report of the Minorities Commission for the year ending 31st December, 1988 says at page 6:-

"That Commission also expressed the view that the PAC had adopted a partisan attitude against the Muslims."

The Sixth Report of the National Police Commission submitted in March, 1981 states in para 47.11:-

"Several instances have been cited where police officers and men appear to have shown unmistak-

able bias against a particular community while dealing with communal situations..."

How many reports are there? If you give me time, quotations after quotations from these official reports can be placed here. Now, the Government had to address itself to this question seriously and with a sense of urgency.

With respect to immediate measures, I urge upon the Government to send a high level impartial Central team to all these places to investigate into the riots and the police role over there. Severe action must be taken against the officials responsible for dereliction of duties. While severe action is taken against guilty miscreants, the innocents be not harassed. The cases of all those arrested be screened by an impartial Central team. Full compensation in order to rehabilitate the victims be given rather than providing meagre relief.

Sir, respecting your bell asking me to conclude, I shall now conclude by saying that the situation is serious. There is a deep-rooted conspiracy to disturb communal peace. Danger of widespread violence looms large in the days to come. I urge upon the Government not to oscillate any further and to take firm measures. Let our country be one, in which no person to whichever religion, class or caste he may belong, should feel insecure at any moment even for a single second moment. With these words I conclude my remarks.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I have to submit before this House that while we were discussing about the communal problem, we should not forget that it is not only the religious conflict the religious concern, but we have to take into consideration the caste concern and the caste conflicts as well. During the year 1988, we had about

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300 caste conflicts and tensions and 611 communal conflicts and tensions. So, my submission would be that nobody should be disillusioned. Supposing the entire India would have been inhabited by Hindu population or Muslim population would there not have been any conflict. Again, as a matter of fact, when we see Pakistan, every day we hear about ethnic trouble, clashes, conflict and tension although the population were predominantly Muslim. So also, even if Muslims are not here, we will have caste conflicts. Perhaps, I apprehend it will be more in number. Now, as we see it today, everyday we have one caste conflict and atleast two communal conflicts. This is the situation. We have to fight against the forces which are creating trouble. Who does not know it? Everybody knows it. Before we got our independence, when the freedom struggle was going on, it had been very critically analysed and it has always been found that certain sections, certain vested interests instigate, foment and fan out the communal tension.

Who are those vested interests? They are the people having conflicting economic interest; conflicting political interests or conflicting social interests but not the poorer people. It is only the upper middle class of Hindus, Christians and Muslims who indulge in creating communal trouble. Naturally, we should be very very careful about it. One feels ashamed of it—whether there was a question of partition or no-partition or whether there was two-nation theory or one-nation theory. We are almost forgetting those days. But the fact remains, the symptoms are there and we have not been able to eliminate them. This is the greatest tragedy of our political life. I would place before you what was the spirit of the Partition itself. I am quoting Mohammed Ali Jinnah when he was elected president of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He had categorically said:

"You are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or any other places of worship. In the State of Pakistan, you may belong to any religion, or caste or creed, that has nothing to do with the business of the State."

That was the statement made by the founder of the Pakistan State. Naturally, the State was completely neutral to the religious worship, personal faith of the citizens. That was the idea which influenced Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Unfortunately subsequently the situation changed and some other people came in and gave a communal colour and Islamic colour to the entire political structure. Now you see Ms. Benazir Bhutto is fighting against it. You know how efforts were made that she herself could not be the Prime Minister. You know, how the previous ruler utilised religion to oppress the people, to deny the legitimate rights of the people. Everybody knows it.

Now, what is our problem and how we have to answer it? We have got one open letter to the Members of Parliament sent by Vishwa Hindu Parishad. This has made a number of allegations. But I do not bother about that. There were a number of allegations about conversion, about procreation, about infiltration and all that. This is the type of vicious propaganda that is going underground and that bound to do some mischief with the people. But we have to go to counter-act. So, we should not ignore it, we should not ignore the idea. Some mischief is being propagated by Hindu Parishad. In another booklet, they have demands, there should be no minority rights, the Constitution should be amended. Nowhere in the Constitution in the world, it has provided the minority rights. My submission would be, the time has come when the secular forces should be united. It minorities think that secularism is the sacred cause, they should also be united to fight against the forces which are opposed to

secularism. In that case only, we will succeed.

I would place before you an analysis done by Mr. Ashar Ali Engineer of the Institute of Islamic Studies in a paper entitled "Hindu-Muslim problem—a cooperative approach." He has categorically analysed and the paper said:

"It disputes the generalisation that Muslims are unwilling to become part of the national mainstream. It argues that the statement is true only in the case of North India and that too concerning urban elite. It is not true in the case of Muslims of the South or the East or even in case of Muslims of the rural North,"

So, this is a thing which we have to take note of. Those Muslims or those Hindus who are working against secularism, we have to counter them. Similarly, the Muslims who form about 30% or 40% and who are unwilling to assimilate with the mainstream are to be persuaded. I can tell you, in Orissa, we have three Muslim MLAs in Congress party and all three have been made Ministers. We have one Sikh MLA. He has been made a Minister. We have a Rajasthani MLA. We have given him ticket to Rajya Sabha. He belongs to Rajasthan. We have no consideration of communalism or casteism. We do not bother about it. But this is the problem of North India.

He cannot fight it only on statute book. You cannot fight it only through the principal instrumentality of police. You have to fight it in the streets. You have to counteract the mischievous propaganda. Some steps should be taken in that direction.

I would tell you that, as a matter of fact, what is happening today is that it is not only the Muslims but we are also confronting the fundamentalist elements in Hindu society. You know a new propaganda has started

that Sati is all right if it is voluntarily done. One of the respectable Vice Presidents of the is openly saying that Sati is all right if it is done voluntarily and Shankaracharya is in support of it. Untouchability is being glorified by Shankaracharya.

I had made a special mention here. Shankaracharya belongs to my constituency. I cannot help it. In the Heaven also, there are demons and devils. Christ was tortured. Buddha was tortured. Mohammed was also tortured by Satans. You can forget about it. There are fanatic elements both in Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities. You have to take note of it. Those who claim that they are the leaders of the minority community should behave in such a manner that their commitment to Indian nationalism will not be suspect. I would tell you one issue.

So far as the Afghan issue is concerned, Rebel Government has received recognition from the Foreign Ministers of Islamic States. Pakistan did not recognise. Iran did not recognise but some friends here and those who project themselves as leaders of the minority community have demanded here that Indian Government should recognise the Afghan rebel government. You imagine its impact secularism is something not only emotional. It is also very much rational.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: They are fighting for the independence of their own country.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY: That is all right. Are we not committed to Geneva agreement? India is committed to Geneva agreement. Pakistan did not extend recognition to the rebel government. Now Iran did not extend recognition. In the Faizabad incident, one local newspaper clarified Satanic Verses. When it was clarified, immediately the police took action and the Muslims' behaviour was restrained. They only held a demonstration. It is a question of restraint on

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both sides. So, that is why we should have to face it with patience. There is another thing. There is pressure on our secular concept itself. Around India, the countries which are practising secularism are slowly and steadily being converted into a theocratic State. So, it has its own pressure. It has its own impact in this country. Therefore, it is very difficult to fight it out. But we can do one thing. Irrespective of our party affiliation, if all the forces which support secularism are united with the minorities, we can save the situation. The minorities must commit themselves to the cause of socialism and secularism. Secularism should be sacred to them. If all these forces are united, then we can successfully fight the communal problem out. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government and all the political leaders who are present, they should issue counter measure to these mischievous propagandas because they are penetrating into the minds of our people. That is done against a particular community. So, there must be some counter measure to deal with this situation. There should be common consensus. We have to fight the wrong and mischievous ideas.

With these words, I conclude.

[*Translation*]

SHRIZAINUL BASHER (Ghazipur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, as regards the communal riots, the situations has been quite encouraging for the last one year but some incidents which occurred last month shocked us. Once again the communal issue is under discussion in this august House. As such several isolated incidents have taken place but the incidents which occurred at Hazaribagh in Bihar and at Makran in Rajasthan were of very serious nature. As per the reports of the incident, at Hazaribagh, 40 or 41 persons were killed while 8 to 10 persons were killed at Makrana. Whenever such incidents, occur, the secular character of our

country is attacked and then, the secular forces in the country come together to deliberate on the issue and to find ways and means to check it.

The reason behind the out-break of riots is not new. Riots break out on petty matters and the minorities are the worst sufferers in terms of life and property during the riots. The police is still playing its age-old role, whether it is the P.A.C. in Uttar Pradesh or B.M.P. in Bihar. It is a common allegation that the police forces deliberately harass the minority community, assault them and commit other forms of torture. The same tale has been repeated at Hazaribagh and at Makrana and about which some hon. Members have already given substantial details and the solution to this problem is also what has been provided in this august House from time to time. As such, the Government has made efforts but they have not achieved complete success so far.

It has been suggested in the National Integration Council and inside and outside this House that the minorities specially the Muslim community should be given a fair representation in all the Police Forces. The Government has also taken necessary action in this direction but not to talk of the States where even in the Central forces such as the C.R.P.F., B.S.F., I.T.B.P. and in Industrial Security Force the Muslims have not been deliberately recruited in adequate numbers. The Muslims constitute the largest minority in the State and consists of 15 to 16 per cent of the population but you will be surprised to know that in the C.R.P.F., though I am not aware of the exact figures but in that service, other minority communities such as the Sikhs, Christians even a small community like the Parsis who are mostly residing in some parts of Bombay and Gujarat have more representation than the Muslim community. The Sikhs, Christians and Parsis have more representation than the Muslims and it is only the Buddhist community which has less representation than the Muslims. The Buddhists also have inadequate representation. I think that the situation in the B.S.F. is also the same ... (*Interruptions*)... I

am not talking about the Police Forces in the States but about the Central Police Services in which connection special assurances have been given repeatedly. The hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs has provided assurances in this august House several times in this regard and he had also given the assurance in a meeting of the Consultative Committee that the figures of the actual representation of various minority communities will be provided to the said committee which you may recall but so far no such action has been taken. In this connection circulars are sent to the State Governments as well but the State Government are even worse in this matter and no initiatives are being taken. I hail from Uttar Pradesh where the Chief Minister has stated that the State Government wants to constitute peace keeping forces and it has requested for Central assistance also in this regard. It has been stated that this will be done as soon as central assistance is provided and making use of the opportunity, I would like to request that the Central Government should give permission for it but keeping in view the prevailing conditions in the Police Forces, how can it be claimed that the role which the Police Forces are playing at present, will change. We get repeated assurance but necessary action is not taken. At times it is stated that there is a dearth of Muslims for such appointments and that a Board has also been constituted with the representation of one Muslim in it, but such representation is at the level of the Inspector or the D.P.C. where he can hardly challenge the decisions and point of views of the D.I.C. who is a non-Muslim. Until the Minority Committee is represented equally in terms of status or rank, whoever is in authority will hold the opinion that Muslim personnel are not available. The most unfortunate fact in regard to the Central Government Police Forces and the State Police is that recruitment is made after taking bribes. The Muslims cannot spare Rs. 10 thousand to give as bribes and the result is that they are not recruited. The Government should pay attention towards it.

As regards the Babri Masjid-Ram Janam

Bhoomi issue, which is under discussion inside and outside the house for a long time, it is a matter of concern that this situation is becoming serious.

It is a great challenge to all Indians who believe in Secularism. What should be its solution? All the secular force in the country have a general consensus that the matter should be referred to the court. A special bench of the Allahabad High Court may please be constituted for this purpose and the matter settled at the earliest. The special bench should consist of Judges of proven secular image and whose integrity is not doubtful. I find that the secular forces in the country are gradually arriving at a consensus in this case. The Government should also ensure that the judicial verdict, whether it is by the High Court or the Supreme Court is acceptable to all. The case will constantly go upto the Supreme Court. If the case is not decided through mutual negotiations, what way out is left then? The final way out is to go to the court. But there are certain forces in the country which publicly say that Court verdict is not acceptable to them. At the same time, these forces say that they will construct a beautiful temple at that site. A few days ago a big crowd assembled in the Kumbh Mela and it was announced in the assembly that people would collect bricks and money from every village and construct a temple. It is not the question of collecting money which bother us but the truth is that the poison of communalism will spread to every village. The Government has not so far taken any effective steps in this regard. The more the time of elections approaches near, the more will they accelerate their activities. These forces want to play the card of communalism in a big way before the elections. They want to incite communal riots and make political capital out of it. The Bharatiya Janata Party is ahead of all others in this game. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. JANGAREDDY (Hanamkonda) : It is absolutely wrong. What did your people do; what did you people do in Mizoram? You should spell out these things. You are speaking a white lie. (*Interruptions*) The Congress

[Sh. C. Janga Reddy]
party is inciting riots just to make political capital out of it. You people are responsible for the riots. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: The Bharatiya Janata Party which calls itself a secular party publicly says that the Babri Masjid should be handed over to Hindus. *(Interruptions)* No secular party can say such a thing. All the secular forces have a consensus.

15.48 hrs.

[MR DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

The court verdict will have to be acceptable to all. But you refuse to accept the court verdict. What kind of secular party you are? You want that.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI. C. JANGA REDDY: Please spell out. What happened in Mizoram? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say that the methods and outlook of Bharatiya Janata party is bad and dangerous. They want the communal riots to break out. You should keep a close watch on them. They may create disturbances in the country before the elections. I would like to congratulate my colleagues from the communist party who have accepted this challenge. I want that our Congress party too should accept this challenge. All the secular forces should stand against the communal forces and challenge them. Though you, I would like to make a submission that Muslims are not the targets of these forces. Muslims are a small force which can be crushed at any time. The target of these communal forces are the secular forces in the country. They want to fight these forces in the cover of fighting Muslims. The day they win, the secularism will be wiped out from this country. Then what will be its consequences? The consequences will be that there will be a fierce civil war and horrible unrest and this is exactly what the people of Bharatiya Janata Party want to do.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: The Congressmen want this.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: The Congressmen want securism and they want to see the country united. *(Interruptions)*

[*English*]

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will call you next, I will give you opportunity. You speak next.

[*Translation*]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: This country belongs to the people of different castes and languages. The food habits and way of living of the people differ from one another. Can this country be run on communal lines? Everybody should have the liberty to express his views. Everybody should have the freedom of follow his religion and ways of living. For this, there is no other system than secularism. Those who oppose this, no matter whether they belong to the Bharatiya Janata Party are the enemies of the country. They cannot be friends of the nation. Shri Janga Reddy is a very gentle person and is not able to understand the conspiracy of his party. The day he understands this, it will be clear to him what he wanted to say..... *(Interruptions)*. ... The B.J.P. is the political front of the R.S.S. and Shiv Sena. The B.J.P. is playing this game from the very day it took up the work of organising the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and raise the strength of the Shiv Sena. The R.S.S. and the B.J.P. want to throw the country in the communal fire. The country will burn in the process..... *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Except Shri Zainul Basher's speech nothing will go on record. Don't record.

*(Interruptions)***

[*Translation*]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: I would like to apprise and warn the Government that for

the last 6 months the B.J.P. has been conspiring to incite riots in the whole country on a mass scale. It is the conspiracy of the Bharatiya Janata Party and they are making preparations clandestinely to incite riots all over the country and make political capital in the process. I wonder how our colleagues from the Janta Dal are trying to enter into an alliance with such a dangerous party. If they do so, I shall be suspicious of their intentions also. Is it necessary to defeat the Congress or to put the country in trouble. It is for the Janata Dal to take a decision in the matter. The most heartening thing is that the people of this country are secular and they would not let them fall into the tricks of such elements. The Government should be careful about it and take action accordingly. I would like to draw your attention towards the 15 point programme formulated by the Hon. Prime Minister for the welfare of the minorities. Without going into its details, I would like to say that it is a very good programme, but it is not being implemented properly either by the Central Government or by the States. I appreciate the anxiety of the Prime Minister who wants the programme to be implemented effectively. As such, I want that a machinery should be so set up or a measure should be so taken that the 15 point programme is implemented properly. This will give impetus to strengthening economic and physical security of the minorities.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in this country.....I shall certainly set them right but unfortunately only a Muslim was available to fight them, no other person spoke about it.

SHRI UTTAM RATHOD (Hingoli) : Please do not say so. I have my self condemned them.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI: Discussions were held on a number of occasions on this subject but I am distressed to say that in spite of the discussions at every forum, it has been of no avail. It is altogether a different thing if you want to make it like an

unfruitful journey. Since ours is the largest democracy in the world I want that there should be concrete decision about it and the Government should make all out efforts in this regard. Otherwise discussions would continue to be held on this subject in each session without any result. The matter has become very serious as you know that a policy was adopted for the future and it was stated that riots would be incited in the country. Now you see its consequences. The whole country has come within the grip of riots. When riots take place in a big way, reports about them come in the newspapers. But now-a -days riots are taking place all over the country including villages. but it is not reported in the newspapers. You should yourself think as to what you want to do. If you really want that riots should stop permanently in the country, you should consider the problem seriously. I am very sorry to point out that when a 'Hindu Sammelan' was held in Bombay, Shri Bajpai was a Speaker in that sammelan. It was the same Bombay where Shri Bajpai had spoken in a conference in his capacity as a Minister in the Janata Government.

Over there he had said that he had buried his past. But in a recent speech on the Babri Masjid controversy, he has said that they would force fully demolish the mosque with their own hands and build a temple in its place. Are there no rules and regulations in this country? Why do people talk in this vein? Has anyone in the Government taken notice of it and have any remedial steps been taken? It is surprising that while the Nehru birth centenary is being celebrated the Hedgewar birth centenary is also being celebrated in this country. The former is not being celebrated with as much of fanfare as the latter. A lot of publicity is being given to the R.S.S., its history and what it stands for. What is happening, in this country? If the Government really wants to take some concrete steps, it should implement the suggestion given at the meeting of the National Integration Council it was suggested without meeting that if riots continue for eight days in a state, the Chief Minister be removed from office.

SHRI. VIJOY KUMAR YADAV (Nalanda): Eight days is too long a time. Anything can happen in this period.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAI: This is not my decision. It was decided upon by the leaders including Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I want that this decision should be implemented. It was also decided that if a police officer was unable to control the situation arising from riots, he should be removed from office. But this is not the usual practice. India has one army but it is hard to figure out why several private armies are mushrooming all over the country. I am not well-versed in Hindi language but I fail to see what purpose 25 armies will solve when one army should be enough. Where were these private armies when India was at war with, China and Pakistan? It seems that their stakes had changed at those times becomes none of these so-called strongmen was seen fighting at the nation's borders. But they do attack the poor unarmed Muslims living in this country. What is their objective anyway? Does not the Government know anything? Does this not become the responsibility of the members of the Congress (I) and its Muslim members in particular.

In line with the Congress(I) tradition, the then Finance Minister Shri C.D. Deshmukh had resigned over the issue of Bombay and Maharashtra not being made separate states. Shri. Mahavir Tyagi resigned when the Tashkent Agreement was signed and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri resigned in the wake of a railway accident. Despite the occurrence of riots on large scale the country, no Muslim member of the Congress (I) resigned his Ministerial post. On the contrary they enlorge the nation in their speeches. How long will this go on? How, long will they continue to ignore the call of their conscience? I would say that we have reached the limits of our tolerance? Time and again we hear that the Babri Masjid issue has been referred to the Court. But they are not really interested in it. Which only goes to show how responsible the government is and that it wants to make it an election issue. If the

government does view the situation sympathetically it should immediately be referred to a court in South India. Muslims have been offering prayers in that mosque for the past 500 years. It was said that their claim as to the possession of the masque be referred to a Court presided over by a Judge who was neither a Hindu nor Muslim. At times when there is pressure from various quarters, the Government gives a statement that the matter is being reviewed in Court. But this is mere lip-service on the part of the Government as it is not interested in doing anything. And then it is said that they will not abide by the Court's decision. How is the Government treating those people who have no faith in democracy? Full compensation should be given wherever riots have occurred such as Makrana or Mathura. Muslims should be recruited in the police. In the meeting of Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry, the present Finance Minister who was Home Minister at that time, said that Muslims do not come forward to join the police. I told him that I had sent potential recruits, but a Muslim officer who was recruiting them was immediately transferred Hon. Shri. Chavan asked me to send him all the details which I did. But it was of no avail. The police Report and the Commission's Report clearly state that these people are cruel and high-handed and should be removed. If such elements are not removed the Government's intentions become questionable. The people will decide themselves. The Government takes no action against the guilty. It remained a silent spectator to the communal outrage in Miraj, Maliana and Hakimpura which was reported in the international press. Then in what way can the Government claim that it wants to extinguish the fire of communalism raging in the country?

To day a look at T.V. programmes will explain the meaning of secularism. Some people have said that, the screening of 'Ramayana' is very important. I would say that along with that serial, a film called 'Message' should also be screened. If the Government is unable to do so it should stop screening 'Ramayan'. This sort of a top-sided priority just would not do. In the

present-day India, water is more valuable than the blood of a Muslim. May I know how many people have been actually hanged, and the number of people who have been punished? Rioters go scot-free while those who goes to the police for help is arrested.

In this very House I had told the Hon. Home Minister that in the communal riots in Meerut, the Hindus were let off but the Muslims were kept in custody. If such is the state of affairs, how are we to be convinced that justice would be done? I suggest that a separate Ministry be set-up for the Minorities as you have done in the case of some other sections. This Ministry would look after the problems affecting Minorities.

I would like to repeat that there is a conspiracy to create a climate of communal discord in India. Remedial measures should be taken immediately lest the flames of communalism should engulf the nation. The Government should impose a ban on these 'Senas'. What for are these 'Senas'? What is the use of roaming around in shorts and wielding 'lathis' larger than their size. Let them learn how to fly F-16s and how to drive Patton tanks. Even I am ready to give some cash contribution because it is for the country's defense. But for whom are these knives and lathis? If you have to kill, go to the Pakistan border. Why make unarmed and defenceless people your target?

I hope the Home Minister will give due consideration to my suggestions.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all I would like to express my thanks to Shri Ramoowalia who initiated a discussion on communalism. Perhaps, he has left the House, but he has raised a basic issue which is a matter of grave concern.

Even after 41 years of independence communal and ethnic riots take place and programmes having parochial outlook are still being launched in the country. We should examine the situation seriously in order to find out the reasons behind it.

The politics being practised in the country for last two centuries and the base of some parties are very dangerous. This is the country which propounded the ideas of international friendship and translated these ideas into action. Now, it is the same country where parties are coming up on ethnic, communal, regional and linguistic basis. It is a very dangerous trend. The situation becomes most dangerous when two parties enter into an alliance on the basis of caste and religion. You may see the situation prevailing in Haryana and in this House also you have seen yourself. If casteism and communalism join hands what will be the situation in the country? It is only God, who can save the situation.

They have narrow thinking behind their efforts to capture power in Haryana and other States. Whether it is the Lok Dal 'A' or 'B', it is a party based on casteism. Similarly, narrow thinking of the B.J.P. is also well known and every one knows the way they want to work in the country. After the assassination of Gandhiji.....

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: Gandhiji passed away while uttering 'Ram'.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: How this party has been working with narrow thinkings. I would have welcomed these people had they translated any noble conduct of Ram into action whose name they often take. (*Interruptions*)

I would like to warn those people, the B.J.P. the Hindu Parishad, who have undervalued Lord Ram with their parochial thinkings. If at all they want to govern the country in a democratic way they should take all the people of the country together. The practice of saying this community, that community and this religion and that religion will not do. Now that time is gone. I would therefore, like to warn you to restrain such parties which have a parochial outlook which are based on casteism, communalism and religion. All those 'Senas' and all those parties should be banned. There is a need to be remain more vigilant in the country, whether it is the case

[Sh. Ram Pyare Panika]

of Hazaribagh, Meerut or Aligarh. You have to identify the people who start the riots? Has the B.J.P. taken its contract to do this job? They have no right to do so. Today we have to decide that if we have to keep the country integrated and run the country's administration with that thing in view, then we will have to keep aside the parochial feelings. It is necessary to restrain such parties effectively. If we do not restrain them, the 80 crore people will restrain them. The people have been doing so from time to time. When these people talked of Ram Rajya Parishad, Hindu Mahasabha and parochial feelings in this country, people reduced them to two. That means they have now only two Members. The Jansangh consists of two members only. The communal forces cannot achieve anything in future. I have faith in the people of India. These forces want to create trouble in the country by fanning such parochial feelings. The more the election days are coming closer, more the Shiv Sena is trying to come forward. One of our hon. Members has rightly said that on one hand we are celebrating the Nehru Centenary year and on the other hand the B.J.P. (*Interruptions*) I would not like to utter name of person whose 'Jaysmiti' they are going to observe. What was his conception. Now these people are distorting his theory and restrict them to parochial thinking. It would not do. You go and ask Devi Lal to drop the B.J.P. Ministers from his Ministry. They have no right to continue there.

[English]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I fully support you.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: Thank you.

[Translation]

I would like to tell the hon. Members sitting on the opposition benches that the National Front, they are going to create, does not believe in the unity and the integrity

of the country. I would like to call upon the people of this country to recognise such people. When Shri V.P. Singh is in West Bengal, he says that his party is in alliance with the C.P.M and when he goes to Delhi University, he(*Interruptions*) Ultimately, how do they want to run the administration of the country? We have some hopes from the C.P.I. and C.P.M. Some of their principles are good. We agree with those principles, but it becomes painful when they also join hands with other parties to capture power.

I agree to Shri Ramoowalia's views. I heard his speech from the beginning to end. He categorically stated that by the very name Akali Dal they do not become communal. It is only when.....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. JANGA REDDY: What happens there? There?

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: It happens only when people with parochial ideologies like you who from Vishwa Hindu Sangathan join them.....(*Interruptions*). Everybody knows that "Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah, Sarve Santu Niramaya." I would, therefore, warn the opposition parties who want to incite communal riot in different parts of the country by framing undesirable organisations on the basis of casteism and communalism to capture power that the days of elections are coming nearer and as such they should keep themselves off such organisations for God's sake, for the sake of democracy, for the sake of the country, for the sake of the unity and integrity of the country, otherwise the people of the country will not forgive them. If you want to render service to the country, you can do so otherwise also. For this, it is not necessary that you should come to power or become an M.P. If somebody is in distress, you can provide him relief. For that, it is not at all necessary that you should become an M.P. I call upon you to serve the country from the care of your heart. If you have a feeling that you should capture hearts of the entire world or 80 crore people in the country then why do you want to confine the Hindu religion which conceived the idea of international

friendship, why are you sowing the seeds of ill-will among the people of this country. Today we should recall that Shrimati Indira Gandhi sacrificed her life for the sake of the country. I call upon the hon. Minister of Home Affairs to implement her 15 point programme honestly. There is no doubt about the fact that various Congress Governments took up the work of its implementation, but it is not being done sincerely. There are definite directives in respect of minorities from the Prime Minister with regard to their language, their economic development. Corporations have also been set up for development of Muslims in the States. I am proud to note that our Hon. Prime Minister wants the minorities, the weaker sections to prosper. But there are certain Governments which do not work honestly. I, therefore, request the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that soon after to-day's discussions he should warn the State Governments in writing that the Governments which do not work for the development of the minorities, the weaker sections, the backward classes, have no place in the country, whether they are the Governments of the opposition parties or that the Congress Party. To-day I submit that we are passing through a very critical phase. As such we should think of only Mother India. All the people of the country, irrespective of their religion, community, region, language should take a vow that we will march forward together and we will not injure the feelings of anybody. Then only the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi could be realised. To-day when our Prime Minister visits various places, a feeling is gaining ground in the minds of the people that when the elections come nearer some particular parties take such steps to achieve their selfish ends. But now a time has come when we should, instead of making it an issue for discussion restrain those forces which have narrow ideologies, which create secessionist tendencies, which teach this thing in their schools, hold parades, open the branches of Visva Hindu Parishad at different places, form Senas. We will have to inculcate the feelings of democratic principles and ideologies in the minds of the those people by imparting moral education to them who are interested in the progress of the

country.

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir: communalism is not a new problem in this country. But at this moment-particularly, I should say, during this election year-it appears that considerations of obtaining votes are weighing heavily with many forces, many people and many parties. Of course, everybody is prepared to condemn and denounce communalism in the abstract.

There is nobody here who will say that he supports or defends communalism obviously; he cannot do it. But what I wish to say is that things in the country are moving in such a way that it is not possible any longer to fight communalism in the abstract. Some members here have said and spoken and I agree with them that ultimately this menace, this danger has to be countered not necessarily inside this House, because I don't think that this House for all the good intentions it expresses, I don't think this House has the capacity to overcome the forces of communalism. You can see from the very appearance of this House when such a life and death matter is being discussed here.

Many members have said that ultimately we have to go out into the streets, into the localities where the people live; and we have to work among them, rouse them, educate them, mobilise them, unite them; without that nothing can be done. There are plenty of laws already existing in this country, but those laws are not respected by many people. If we want to go into the streets and fight against communalism, can it be done simply in the abstract, without identifying anybody? I know people are afraid to identify the enemy now because it may cost us some votes. If I say something which annoys some section of the Hindu community, well, I run the risk of losing some Hindu votes. It is a fact. Same is with the Muslims; same is with the Sikhs. So, sometimes it is considered wise to be discreet not to mention any forces or any community or any organisation by

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name. My party does not subscribe to this view as everything in the world does not depend only on getting votes in an election.

The country is on fire at the moment; and for the last few months, what we are witnessing is this that unless a super human effort is made by all the secular forces in the country, I am afraid, we are going to witness a situation, which never prevailed in this country after independence. Now we are hearing slogans being shouted.

[Translation]

"Garva se kaho ki hum Hindu hein"

(Say it with pride that we are Hindus)

[English]

Somebody may respond by saying

[Translation]

"Grava se kaho ki hum Musalman hein"

(say it with pride that we are Muslims)

[English]

but nobody says

[Translation]

"Garva se kaho hum Bharatiya hein"

(Say it with pride that we are Indians)

(Interruptions)

Sir, not here but it has to be said there.....(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: This is the slogan of our Seva Dal. (Interruptions)

SHRI PRATAP BHANU SHARMA

Vidisha): It is also of the Congress.....(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I want to submit, there are such persons in the Ruling party whose line of thinking does not match with that of the Ruling party and with its declared policy, as far as I know.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: There is no one who is communal in our party. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is the duty of the Ruling party and its leader to check such of its members who help communal forces even though they may not be directly involved in inciting communalism.

[English]

But they are helping the communal forces. They should be pulled up. The Prime Minister should pull them up. I do not want to mention names, but there is a controversy lately in the Press also. (Interruptions) We are being attacked; I am glad for that. (Interruptions) I am glad for that; I am glad that those people that I am referring to are attacking Leftists by open statements. I am happy for that. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

Why do you feel guilty? Who is blaming you.....(Interruptions)

AN HON MEMBER: He is issuing certificates....(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If we are really honest and serious about this, then wherever there are voice, there are people, there are forces, who, for whatever reasons or whatever considerations, want to be soft towards communalism or want to speak and acts in such a way that they will not offend the communalists then I think it is the duty of the party leader to whom they owe an allegiance to pull them up. Otherwise, the credibility of

those parties will also be in doubt.

Now, we have so many times in this House debated some things on which here at least there has never been any controversy. For example, these assurances which have been given: A reference has been made by members on that side also. For example, a reference was made by Mr. Zainul Basher to the fact that many times in this House it has been declared by the Government that whenever a communal riot takes place in a particular area, then the top people of the administration and the police, who failed in their duties in that particular locality should be taken to task, they should be held responsible and if necessary —of course transferring them is a very minimum thing that can be done - action should be taken but they should be taken to task.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: At least promotions should not be given.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Nobody disagrees with it here, I presume. But there are people in this country who disagree with that kind of thing. For example, recently this horrible riot that has taken place in Hazaribagh. The new Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr. Satyendra Narayan Sinha, has issued a public statement from Hazaribagh blaming the police administration for the recent riots in Hazaribagh and the adjoining areas. His statement is on record.

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: He may be brought back here.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Then, as a result of that, the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police of Hazaribagh were transferred. The Government took a decision to transfer and this is the first time that the DC and the SP have been transferred during the riots. The riots were not over, the situation has not returned to normal and the curfew was still in force. I congratulate the Bihar Government, if they really had the courage to take these steps. But some people have objected.

Now, I do not want my friend Mr. Janga Reddy to get excited. But this is on record — you may check it up, — that the President of the Bihar unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party, Mr. Indersingh Namdhari, he has said it. He criticised the State Government's decision to transfer the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police of Hazaribagh, and said that it was an attempt to protect influential people involved in the riots who might have been exposed by the DC and the SP. He, however, agreed that there was an administrative lapse and the District administration failed to control the situation. Even then, they objected to the transfer of these people, the decision of the State Government to replace Mr. Kumar and Mr. Kinny that is, the SP and the DC following reports of their controversial roles in restoring peace in the town. The intelligence reports had given information of the import of arms and explosives from Biharshareef into Hazaribagh as early as on the 5th of April and the number of vehicles used for bringing arms to Hazaribagh and also the identity of the persons involved. After this, no action was taken, no preventive measures were taken and then everybody knows that when the dispute arose, again as it does every year over the route to be followed by the Ramanavami procession, this time the administration succumbed; they surrendered knowingly to those communal elements which were insisting that the route will be, not last year's route, but another route which passes by the Lain Mosque, the Masjid in Hazaribagh town. They agreed to that. But last year it was not agreed to. Last year, all the citizens and parties concerned had seen to it that route was avoided. But this year the administration succumbed and then after that, all these bombs and explosives etc., etc., which the intelligence reports had pointed out were used freely and havoc was created.

There is a planned conspiracy going on. There is no doubt about it, and I have no doubt in my mind that the root of the conspiracy was hatched at Prayag during the Kumbh Mela.

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I am sorry to have to say this. This whole call which has been given from there by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad along with all that big gathering of Sadhus, Sants, and leaders of BJP and other parties that from every village in India, bricks must be consecrated with the holy *Ganga* water and then carried on foot right upto Ayodhya, converging on Ayodhya on the 9th of November, 9 good time, a little before the elections the calculation is, a month or so before the elections. And then those bricks will be used to construct the new temple there. And some people do say that Babri Masjid must be pulled down; some say that it need not be pulled down. That is a different matter. But what will all these people do who pass through all these villages, towns and localities of India on the way to Ayodhya, carrying the consecrated bricks? Will it not have any other purpose than to heighten communal tension and see to it that people's passions are inflamed in the name of religion and clashes will take place even before they reach Ayodhya? Now Sir, I do not know what the Government proposes to do on this matter. They had some meeting with the party leaders, I know it. But all that came out of it was that the whole matter should be sought to be settled judicially, first of all by the Allahabad High Court by a special bench and then, of course, if people go and appeal against that, it will go to the Supreme Court. I am glad that some Muslim friends at least, I do not know whether they represent all Muslims in this country; obviously nobody can claim that. But some prominent Muslim friends of ours, who are here in this house, who have spoken here, said that they are willing to abide by the court's verdict. I asked one of them, who is sitting behind me here, "suppose the court's verdict goes against the Muslims, then what will you do?" He said, "we cannot do anything. We will take it as a defeat. Muslims have been defeated in many respects in this country. Once again we will say, we have been defeated again." But what will happen throughout the country, where different Muslim organisations are working, different Muslim leaders of different view-points are there, I do not know. But at

least they said that. As far as some spokesmen of the Hindu community are concerned, they are openly saying, "if the verdict of the court against us, we will defy it and we are not going to accept it." So, I want to know from the Government what do they propose to do in a situation like this—if thousands of people are going to converge on Ayodhya on the 9th of November carrying consecrated bricks and its leaders of the extremist sections are already publicly declaring from the housetops that they are not going to abide by any decision of the court, which does not recognise their claim. Then, what does the Government propose to do? In this election year, can they use physical force to stop these people? We would not like a situation like that, where they come into open confrontation,—using security forces in order to put down this kind of dangerous demonstration. Would you do that? Would you risk it? Would the ruling party risk it in this election year, I want to know.

Sir we had always stood, as far as Babri Masjid—Ram Janambhoomi dispute is concerned, that every possible effort must be made somehow to settle it peacefully. If it was possible for the two communities to come to a mutual agreement, nothing would have been better. Anything they agreed to, we should support, provided it is a mutual agreement. But apparently, there is no such possibility.

Then, secondly, many alternatives could be suggested. Could not the Government take over that whole area and convert it and declare it as a national monument? For many many years, it was under lock and key, everybody knows.

Nobody used to enter that place for *puja* or for *namaz*. It was sealed off. There was never any trouble until that lock was opened. Who got that lock opened? Why was it opened? Well, there are so many speculations all over. My friend, Mr. Kalpnath Rai, is smiling in a very meaningful way. Perhaps, he knows the secret. Any way, once the lock was opened, all the trouble began. Now can it be re-converted into a national monu-

ment? No. Perhaps, the Government does not say clearly what is it thinking to do? Can we come to an agreement that every religious shrine in this country, whichever religion it may belong to, the *status quo* of it should be frozen as it was on the 15th of August, 1947? What was a masjid will remain a masjid, what was a gurudwara will remain a gurudwara; what was a mandir will remain a mandir. There may be some cases for which there will be some difficulties because at least between August 1946 and August 1947 we know what was happening in our country and some desecration may have taken place during that period. Some allowance has to be made for some of those cases. But generally speaking, would it not be possible to come to a commonsense agreement that all places of religious worship should remain as they were on the 15th August, 1947 and should not be disturbed subsequently? I am saying for your consideration that there are many alternatives. There may be other suggestions also. I do not say that these are exhaustive. But should we not think of some alternative means of defusing this situation instead of just sitting tight and allowing things to drift? The only thing that they have to show at the moment is the Allahabad High Court decision. I am not against it. But what will be its value when one party to the dispute has declared that they are going to challenge it and defy it?

SHIRI HARISH RAWAT: Even the BJP has said so.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Well, I see a statement by Mr. L.K. Advani made at Malda, in my State in West Bengal, recently on the 29th of April. He was quoted as saying:

"He denied recent newspaper reports that Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee had suggested at a public meeting in Delhi recently that the Babri Masjid should be bulldozed and Ram Temple should be built in its place. According to him, Mr. Vajpayee had said that the place should be handed over to the Hindus for construction of the temple. What should happen to the Masjid, we do

not know. He too - he too means Mr. Advani too shares this view. He thought, it would be an aberration of history, distortion of history if the Hindus were not allowed to do so. He did not think that the court could decide the issue with accuracy."

Who will decide the issue with accuracy, I would like to know. With scientific historical accuracy who is prepared to settle it and how? So these things are being said and propagated widely.

I would say, equally dangerous are the other slogans which have now begun to be popularised. The most dangerous, in my opinion, is that India should be declared as a Hindu Rashtra. Formally it should be declared constitutionally as a Hindu Rashtra. Is India meant only for Hindus and not for anybody else? People professing other relations and other communities are not Indians and do not have any place to live in India? Are we wanting to imitate what somebody does in Pakistan or in Bangladesh? That because they have declared an Islamic Rashtra there, therefore we must imitate them and copy them and make this as a Hindu Rashtra. Is that our ambition? I think, it is the pride of every Indian that our country consists of so many different communities practising different religions, speaking different languages, different cultures and all that.

It is that unity in diversity which we have held up before the whole world as an example. But still this Hindu *Rashtra* theory is being propagated widely and I want to say that if you go on talking about Hindu *Rashtra*, how can you deny our Sikh brothers their Khalistan? By what logic? If you say that because Hindus are in majority here, therefore, this must be declared a Hindu *Rashtra*, then, when the Sikhs say there on our border in Punjab that they must have a separate Khalistan *Rashtra* because they must be in a majority there, with what argument will you counter that? I do not agree to that demand of the Khalistanis and I never will. We will shed out blood rather than agreeing to that. But how will you argue with them? How will

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you argue with the Muslims in Kashmir where very strong communal forces are now working—Muslim United Front and all that - where an argument may be raised that when the Muslims there are in over-whelming majority, then why not that part of the country should be declared a Muslim State, if you want a Hindu Rashtra here? Why not those North-Eastern States on our border where the overwhelming majority of people are Christians by religion, should not be declared as Christian States? So, are we going to go in for this kind of a theory of theocratic Statehood? Excuse my saying so. I do not say that congressmen support these things, but they do not speak out. They are not speaking out against these things and the reason for that is that the elections are coming..... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA: Before you, I also supported it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I do not know whether you represent the whole Congress Party. Do you? Please don't try to play the Hindu card for getting votes.....(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: I am sure that he is speaking on behalf of the Congress Party.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Don't take it so lightly, Mr Rawat. We will all be in serious trouble, you and me, if you go on doing like this. You must speak out. I am quite sure that if we all speak out together, then this menace can be curbed, it can be overcome. People can be rallied and mobilised. Our common people are not communal minded unless they are provoked and instigated by false slogans Just now you see that a large number of writers, artists, poets, film stars and so on, Hindus and Muslims, together organised a march from Lucknow to Ayodhya on this theme of communal harmony and they have received such a tremendous reception and greetings from people all along

the way. Now they are again planning to march from Delhi to Meerut. They got such warm and enthusiastic response from the people. But you must go to the people, you must speak out. Then, it is being said that there is no such thing as minority rights, that why should there be minority rights in this country. Secondly, it is being said that the Minorities Commission should be abolished.... Thirdly, it is being said that article 370 should be abrogated, and so on. So, there is a well-considered and planned move behind this whole thing. It is meant to divide community from community, particularly Hindus from Muslims, and that also leads to an uncontrollable situation where these riots are taking place. It is not only in Hazaribagh and Mathura, in the recent months we have had them in Mathura, Kalpi, Jamshedpur, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Burhampur, Aligarh, Bhopal, Makrana and maybe some other places. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad has made a list. It is circulating a list of 103 places where these types of *Bhoomis* Ram Janam *Bhoomi*, Krishna Janam *Bhoomi* and so many other *Bhoomis*, they have discovered which have to be liberated, and if there happen to be any Masjid or Mosques there, those Mosques have to be uprooted. Those lists are being propagated and distributed among people. The other day I happened to be in Garhwal, in Pauri and I found written on all walls of the village houses. "Mandir tod kar masjid banana gulami ki nishani hai".

It is written everywhere. Who is writing this? It means that this propaganda is being sedulously spread by all possible means. Sir, we had also been asking that the National Integration Council should be called. But I don't have much faith in it except that it may create some healthier atmosphere. But the resolutions and decisions of the National Integration Council are never observed and never implemented. Mr. Buta Singh knows it, I am sure. Any good resolutions adopted in the National Integration Council are not implemented. There was a question of secularising the education. There was a question of looking into the contents of the text-books which are taught to our children nowadays in the schools. These are

very important things from the point of view of fighting communalism. But nothing is done. That is the whole trouble. Now, this month of Ramzan, the biggest religious festival of Muslims, the month of the Muslims, has been particularly selected, it seems, to create incidents in various places, particularly in U.P. and Bihar and to some extent in Madhya Pradesh. So, Sir, I wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Justice Barucha of the Bombay High Court I think not enough appreciation has been voice regarding this courageous judgement which he has given in the case of the M.L.A. belonging to Shiv Sena from Ville Parle, whose election Justice Barucha has set aside because he won the election by pandering openly to religious sentiments alone and he was assisted and helped in that matter by the leader of the Shiv Sena Mr. Bal Thackeray who too, under the law, for this offence should be disqualified from contesting any election. For good many years, he should be disqualified. But the reaction of the Shiv Sena will only be to intensify their communal campaign and to provoke a few more incidents and riots if they can.

Sir, references have already been made to the Security forces. What the P.A.C. did in Maliana, we have not forgotten and nobody can forget that. But now, the reports as I have received just now, I received a telegram from our party Member in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Chaturanan Misra, who is now in Hazaribagh, describes from the reports he has gathered on first hand about the role of the Bihar Military Police and the way they have participated in these riots, mainly concentrating their whole attack on the minority community committing atrocities on them, looting their houses and those unexplained mystery of corpses bodies which have been found by a team of MLAs, who went from Bihar Assembly along with the correspondent of the PTI and found these 16 or 18 decomposed bodies which have been dumped in a particular area of the town and the explanation given by Administration is that this is a place where unclaimed bodies are always dumped, nothing to do with the riots and nobody believes that because everybody has seen how the Bihar Military

Police has been behaving. So, if the security forces of this type are allowed to go on acting with impunity, here we are every time told that some integrated special force is being raised to deal with such type of riot situations and communal situations. How many times have we been told about this long before Mr. Chidambaram became a Minister, here itself? His predecessors told us also that the integrated forces which would have a composition of different communities and people of different religion and which would be specially trained as task force to be used in times of communal trouble would be set up. But nothing has been done till today. So, you want us to believe that the Government is serious about it, has a will to do anything in the matter. So, Sir, these are all very painful things, very very painful to us.

Now in Hazaribagh as well as in Mathura some organisation known as the Bajarangdal has openly been playing a very incendiary role. Everybody knows it, if you talk to the people there, they will tell you. So, I would like to know why the leaders, at least the leaders of these avowed communal parties or organisations 'avowed' means those who are openly preaching this type of communalism, why they should not be arrested. Why are they not arrested? I am not speaking only of Hindu organisations. Wherever this type of avowedly communal organisations, whichever community they belong to, are there, why should they not be proceeded against, why are strong measures or steps not taken against them? I do not know why this leniency is shown to them.

So, what I wish to say now I do not wish to take more time in conclusion is, there was suggestion that once again as we have done earlier some resolution or something saying 'Oh, we are all against communalism, we must all condemn communalism, we must all fight against communalism', some resolution like that should be moved from the Chair and should be unanimously passed by thumping of the desks and the country should be told that the Parliament has unanimously finished off communalism. And nothing will happen. We are to be precise, we are to

[Sh. Indrajit Gupta]

identify the forces which are deliberately, planfully, calculatedly working to destroy the unity of this country, and for that purpose, Sir, such resolutions will not do. The Government should be more concrete and precise in defining what measures it is prepared to take or not prepared to take.

As far as popular forces, the people at large outside are concerned, there is no short cut except to go among them and physical intervention by the secular forces is required. I know this is easier said than done, the Leftist parties are themselves self-critical of the fact that nowadays so many riots take place, but we are failing to intervene physically. We have the intervene physically, it does not matter whether we lose some people in the bargain, but only if some sacrifice is made, then the general people will be encouraged and emboldened to stand up. Otherwise, nowadays nobody has the courage because they are much better armed nowadays, these communal gangsters, than they used to be in the old days. They have got modern sophisticated weapons now. They have to assurance that the security forces will not act against them, but will collude with them. But worse than all these weapons and all that are the slogans, the propaganda, the fundamentalist slogans and propaganda which are being spread like poison. Sir, it is a curious thing, but I am tempted to feel that in Punjab today, of course terrorist activities, killing and shooting and excesses by the police and all that is going on, but you know, the communal aspect of the thing in the Punjab is much less today. We never had a Hindu-Sikh clash on any big scale in Punjab, but today even more you will find that the people who are being killed by the terrorists every day, the majority of them are not Hindus but Sikhs. So, what is happening there is a dreadful thing no doubt for the security of our country, the future of the Punjab and all that, but its purely communal aspect is much less, something is working there. But what is going on now here, what is sought to be spread throughout the country particularly in Northern India is something

which will destroy our whole country, the unity of India will be shattered, the country will be broken into pieces if this thing is allowed to go on the way it is going now, and let nobody forget that when the British came here originally as innocent traders with the flag of the East India Company, it is only when they looked around and were satisfied and assured that most Indians are too busy fighting each other, quarelling with each other, different Rajas, Maharajas, Badshahs and Nawabs and all that with their principalities and that they will never get together, that they very carefully, cunningly and cautiously managed to make their way into different parts of the country and ultimately were able to establish their colonial rule which continued for 200 years.

17.00 hrs

So, people who want to destabilise our country even today are being actively helped in this matter either consciously or unconsciously by these communal forces who want to divide the people and to set them against each other in the form of bloody clashes. Therefore, I hope that everybody all those people who call themselves secular, really secular and feel that the country's unity is in danger today- will get together and speak up not only in this House but why not we are able to go and work together outside atleast on the issue. I want to know. What is the use of thumping? We do not do it in Punjab, we do not do it anywhere. I do not deny it. Different parties may do some work, anti-communal work, but they want to do it separately, they want to show it separately; they do not want to get together. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K.S. RAO (Machilipatnam): We will all come together.

SHRI HARISH RAWAT: We welcome it... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We are prepared. Are you prepared? If you are prepared, please come. Let us have peace marches, let us have public meetings, let us

have joint conventions with different community representatives and let us give a ringing call to the people and go among them and work. If anybody tries to bring about communal clash, we should have our own volunteers who are physically able to intervene in this situation and not rely in these contaminated security forces.

17.03 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

So, on behalf of my party I appeal to all I know that across the floor of this House there are many many truly secular people, but unfortunately we are politically divided because then we are thinking always of elections which are coming and then there is hesitation - do not say or do anything which will annoy the Hindus or the Muslims or the Sikhs. Then you will lose their votes. In my constituency, I will lose the votes of a particular community if I talk against the communalism of that community. So, it is better, safer and more discreet to keep quiet, keep mum, not to say anything, but say we are against communalism which is a very good thing; we are all against communalism and go home and go to sleep; nothing will happen like that. If we are at all to take a resolution, which I was told is likely to be moved by you; I do not know whether that plan is still there or being given up. But, I would request you, Sir, do not agree to move a resolution which is all milk and water like that, no teeth, no meaning and nothing in it. If you want to move a resolution, please call upon all MPs of all parties who consider themselves to be secular, after the session to go to their different constituencies, to the towns and villages, particularly in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and work together physically for rousing and mobilising the people and uniting them against this communal menace.

[*Translation*]

SHRI GIRDHARILAL VYAS (Bhilwara):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, in regard to the communal situation prevailing in the country and the submissions made in this connection, I would

like to submit that best thing would be to ban all the communal parties. The fundamentalist parties today, whether Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal etc belonging to the Hindu community or similar parties belonging to the Muslim community are making preparation to incite communal riots in the country. Therefore, until these political parties are banned, it will not be possible to control the communal situation in the country. Therefore, it is imperative to make definite provisions in this regard. Secondly, all political parties which take assistance from communal institutions such as the Bharatiya Janata Party or the Muslim League should also be banned. If efforts are made by such political parties to make communal propaganda and mislead the people, they should definitely be banned. As it has been submitted in the way of illustration just now that that an M.L.A. belonging to the Shiv Sena was rendered disqualified because he had won the elections by promoting communalism. Therefore, these provisions should be implemented properly. Such feelings are more aroused during the election days in particular. Special efforts are made to incite communal feeling and these efforts are made by only these parties which are either communal or have faith in casteism. Therefore, concrete action has to be taken in regard to such political parties so that they may not be able to incite communal feelings.

In the field of education many wrong things are being introduced these days. Attempts are being made to spread communal feelings in the educational institutions. It is essential to pay attention in this direction. Schools are being opened on the basis of castes and religion to promote communal feelings and mislead the students. The R.S.S. in particular is opening schools called 'Adarsh Vidya Mandir' in big towns and cities and is influencing them with this kind of ideology so that communal feelings may be created in them in due course of time and which is posing a great danger to the integrity of the country. Therefore, such schools should be closed down. My area of Bigod has been included among these areas where communal riots have taken place. In this connection

[Sh. Girdhari Lal Vyas]

I would like to submit that Bigod is located within my constituency. The hon. Members have referred to the riots which occurred there and in which the Muslim Community was attacked. I would like to submit that no doubt, there was a communal flare up in this area after some persons threw colour at each other near a mosque on the occasion of Holi, but strict action was taken against both the groups by the police and the administration and the situation was controlled. Persons belonging to both the communities were apprehended. To say that the mosque was attacked is not a fact and it is most unfortunate to say so. This is wrong. Such allegations are made out of malafide intentions. Therefore, it is essential to look into this matter. Similarly in Makrana, the communal elements made efforts to incite the people of both communities. In that area a statue of a religious leader is installed. Attempts were made to incite communal confrontation by chopping off a finger of that statue and by misbehaving with the people belonging to the minority community. In this way attempts were made to incite both communities which resulted in communal riots. It is true that the way in which the situation controlled in Bigod, the action was not taken with the same promptness here with the result that there was much loss of life and property in this area. The hon. Member have suggested that the District Collector and the S.P. should be held responsible for communal flare-ups in their districts because it is their duty to control riots. If they are unable to do so, necessary action should be taken against them. All the hon. Members are of the view that the people should accord due respect to the people belong to other religious. This kind of feeling should prevail in the whole country. The Hindus should respect the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Buddhists and the followers of other religious. This kindly feeling is being promoted that a 'Hindu Raj' or some other 'Raj' will be established. Our thousand year old history provides a testimony to the fact that such sentiments have never been encouraged as it is being endeavored today. The communal

elements want to create tensions in order to establish their authority in the country. By being a member of the congress party, I want to emphasise that our party believes in secularism. An hon. Member was saying just not that the Congress Members keep quiet because they do not want to lose votes. But I would like to submit that the congress Members have always made efforts to control such situations wherever they have occurred. The congress Members went to Bigod and made efforts to make the people understand the real situation. The administration was advised to take strict action against these persons who engineered the riots. Necessary legal action was also taken in this matter. Today the biggest question is of Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. Several point of views have been expressed in this connection. It is imperative to get this dispute settled through court. The decision of the court should be acceptable to all. Such provision is essential if we want to maintain unity and integrity of the country. It would not only strengthen the nation but also promote secularism in India. Many of the hon. Members have stressed the need of providing protection to the minorities and that they should get their due rights. Our hon. Prime Minister has formulated a 15 point programme for this purpose and this programme should be implemented effectively. The candidates belonging to minorities should be recruited in police and armed forces so that they may gain confidence of their being Indians, enjoy their rights and thus get encouraged to work for strengthening the nation. All the countries including Pakistan and Russia are facing ethnic problems. Ethnic problems can crop anywhere. But the strong determination of the Government can avert this situation. Communal elements should be crushed. Stringent measures should be taken to curb their activities. It is not a matter of getting votes. If our administration is effective and provides equal rights to the people of every caste, religion and community, we shall never lose our votes. Indian voters are quite intelligent. The same voters defeated the Congress Party in the elections held in 1977 because some excesses were committed and again they ousted the Janata

Party in the elections held in 1980. Although majority of the population is uneducated yet the people are intelligent. 66 percent of the total population is uneducated. These people have played a decisive role in setting two important matters. We are fully confident that they would not take a wrong decision. People in our country believe in secularism. They would always take a right decision and maintain the unity and integrity of the nation. I have firm faith in the people. Unity of India depends on the unity of the people. So I would like to urge that all the political parties should create a situation in the country wherein the people of all castes, religions and communities may contribute their concerted efforts to strengthen the nation.

[English]

SHRI ATATUR RAHMAN (Barpeta): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a sad subject to speak on. I have to state that whatever I say, that should be with a heavy heart. It was probably Shakespeare who said: "In the sweetest spot, the eating canker dwells." We have a sweet country. But unfortunately in the country itself we have got this canker of communalism. It is a land of composite culture, different forms of worship. We worship the same Almighty but we have imbibed sufficient hatred for each other, unfortunately. We can say that we have got religion to hate others than love others. I have noticed that the communal troubles have increased many-fold. The rate of total communal troubles which occurred prior to Independence is many more times now. It is many more times than what we had during the pre-British times. It is well known that in the Princely States during the British rule, we did not have much communal troubles except here and there. But at that time, some of the Princes had deities and they ran the States in the name of deities. In spite of that we did not have troubles. But unfortunately at the present time, we are having all sorts of troubles despite the assurances given by the Government here in this House. It has been said already that States like Maharashtra the places like Maligaon, Bhiwandi and in Uttar Pradesh places like Meerut, Maliana, Ali-

garh and even Mathura they were never known for communalism.

17.19 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

It was always known for harmony. But even Mathura is showing up where communal troubles have taken place recently. Gujarat, of course, is well known for Vadodara and Ahmedabad. Even in Rajasthan which was a peaceful State, we are having troubles, Orissa was quiet. But even Orissa has come into the picture. What is this? It is because they have found out that the Government is not keen to take action on communalists. So many riots are taking place. Hundreds and thousands of riots are taking place. But no court, up till now, has tried a single case. At least, I am not aware of any court trying any case. All the cases are ultimately compromised and nothing happens.

Now communal troubles have become a national problem for us. And it has to be tackled as a national problem and not as a law and order problem of the State's concerned. When you ask the State, they will say, "we are doing our best." And the Central Government will say, "it is a State problem and they will handle it." But then, they do not cooperate with each other. I had given some suggestions. Here, in this House, the Home Minister had said that there were 82 sensitive areas in India. And in spite of having identified the 82 sensitive areas, Government have not taken any action. How can they take action when they do not have the intention of doing anything? I had suggested that in these 82 sensitive areas, they should at least bring in some sort of computerisation in respect of the names of suspects. If computerisation can be brought in for various other purposes in various Departments, why not in this matter of national importance which has a bearing on communal trouble. I had written a letter to the Home Minister and the Prime Minister and others. But except for the formal receipt of the letter saying, "I have received your letter. Thank you very much,"

[Sh. Ataur Rahman]

nothing has been done. Computerisation has been brought in, in respect of names of various suspects in the case of criminal offences. There are two aspects of the thing. One is a crime and the other is a political suspect. Political crime part is absolutely ignored. And I have said over and over again that names of suspects should be made available to the officer incharge of a police station. Police had been blamed. But before the police officer goes to take action in the field, he has to go through the huge and voluminous reports and cull out the names of criminals of all the different areas. But if you already have a stock of names of criminals of these areas, you can always push the button and get the names. You can have computer terminals in the State headquarters. You can have a terminal of the computer in the Central Government from where you can control it. But I am afraid, no action has been taken. Identification, for example. What is the difficulty in facing rioters? Identification is the main trouble. I had suggested that identification could be brought about by using coloured water. This could be the down to earth method. If one can throw a stone, he can throw a coloured water plastic balloon bulb into the crowd which will burst and colour the people who are there in the unlawful assembly and who are indulging in riots. But this suggestion of mine has not been taken. Even they can use the riot gun with coloured plastic water bottles which on coming into contact with the crowd or even when it comes very near the crowd can burst and spread coloured water so that people can be identified later and can be arrested.

What happens? In a rioting situation they assemble, commit riot and they just disappear. And the police find it very difficult because nobody will come forward to give evidence.

I would suggest another thing which the speakers who spoke before me also suggested. There should be a Parliamentary body which should go into each of the 82 sensitive areas. It may be a State subject but

when a riot takes place in a part of the country, only a higher Government official or the Magistrate makes inquiry and the report is hushed up. Never has there been any occasion when a Parliamentary body has gone and made inquiries.

I would say that mere transfer of a DC or SP and an odd punishment would not help. The fear of law must be put into the heart of the district administration and the State administration that they could be held responsible if something goes wrong and that it is not the State body which will control them; but it is the Centre which is going to control them in that event. If the riots go out of the control of the State Government, then the Central Government must step in. If the Indian Penal Code is an all India Act, why not the Parliament enact an Act which will ensure setting up of special courts, and ensure special trials and which will ensure summary trials to meet communal situations?

I would like very much to know from the Home Minister in how many cases of communal trouble the culprits have been punished. As far as I know nothing has been done upto now. We have the much publicised 15 point programme. But on the one hand this sort of wishy-washy instructions are given that the minority people should be appointed in various police forces and other Central Government enterprises; but in reality no action is taken when minorities are not appointed in the Central Government police forces and public enterprises. What is the use of the 15 point programme when there is no feed back to the Government?

I have known States where they don't even report back to the Central Government and they don't have the scheme of 15 point programme in their States.

Integration is a double edged weapon. If you over-integrate you will have problems like Punjab. As far as I know, the integration should be a balanced integration. Nobody is going to tolerate over-integration.

Action should be taken to publish the

reports of all the commissions that have gone into communal troubles. I would say that minorities are an integral part of India. The Indian minority, the Muslims are the largest minority in the world. You cannot disown them. We have to own them.

17.30 hrs.

RE: HALF-AN-HOUR-DISCUSSION

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now we have to take half-an-hour discussion. Smt. Usha Thakkar. Is she not there? She is not here. We are continuing the discussion on the communal situation, because Shrimati Usha Thakkar is not available.

Now, Ch. Sunder Singh can speak on the communal situation.

17.03 1/2

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

[Translation]

Communal situation in various parts of the country—contd.

CH. SUNDER SINGH (Phillaur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the representatives elected by the people are to be accused for this. When I migrated from Pakistan in 1947, the people of that country wanted to know as to why I was going and asked me to take the gold ornaments with me which they asserted, will stand you in good stead. I gave those ornaments to these Mohammedans and said that I was going for a very short visit and not for permanent abode. They sold those ornaments and sent the money to me.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOOWALIA: Ch. Sahib, you are standing near Shri Buta Singh, he is in the Government. Speak carefully.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Be cautious.

CH. SUNDER SINGH: Mahatma Gandhi has said:

[English]

"Bitter experiences has taught me that all temples are not houses of God. They can be habitations of the devil. These places of worship have no value unless the keeper is a good man of God. Temples, mosques, churches are what man makes them to be."

[Translation]

He stated this in 1927. I would say that the number of temples, mosques etc. is so large in India but people in general do not follow the path shown by them. My submission is that nobody else but he Member who represents the particular area is to be held responsible if communal riots take place in rural areas of his constituency. I would like to quote an old couplet in this regard.

"Masjid to bana lee palbhar mein, Imaan ki hararat walon nein Man apana purana paapi, barson mein naraji ban na sake Iqbal bara upadeshak hai, mun baton se moh leta hai Guphatar ka gazi to yeh bana, kidar ka gazi ban na saka."

My submission is that we are responsible for the communal riots which take place in rural areas. People had elected us to set things right but we pass away time in discussions.

[English]

"For me, God and Truth are convertible terms and if anyone told me that God was of untruth or God was of torture, I would decline to worship him. Therefore, in politics also we have to establish the kingdom of Heaven."

[Translation]

We should always speak truth, some-