

control and its sensitive location makes any trouble there more than usually dangerous.

For several months there has been simmering discontent regarding the recruitment policy of the State Government and it has finally erupted in the Police firing on Saturday in which a student has been killed. Unless effective steps are taken to sympathetically deal with the genuine grievances of the people of Poonch and to generally redress the longstanding regional imbalances in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, there is every likelihood of the situation deteriorating further.

The State Government will be well-advised to appoint a judicial inquiry into the Poonch incidents and also deal with the deeper problems with sympathy and expedition.

12.34 hrs.]

MOTION RE: SITUATION ARISING OUT OF RECENT COMMUNAL RIOTS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

MR. SPEAKER: Prof. Samar Guha.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA (Contd.):
I beg to move:

"That this House do consider the situation arising out of the recent communal riots in different parts of the country."

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That this House do consider the situation arising out of the recent communal riots in different parts of the country."

Prof. Samar Guha.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the subject that we are going to discuss to-day is a very sensitive one and 8 hours time has been allotted for it. I do not know in what mood our friends on all sides will participate in this debate, whether it will be an acrimonious debate accusing one another, apportioning blame on one another, levelling allegations against the former government or present government or we will approach the problem with a national perspective and constructive attitude so that the problems of communal troubles can be resolved with a national will and not with any desire for having any political gain out of this debate.

With this preliminary observation, Sir, I want to draw your attention that earlier,

by communal troubles or problems, we used to understand that there was some sort of trouble between two religious communities like the Hindus and Muslims.

But, now, Sir, another problem which has assumed rather a serious dimension is the problem of the upper-caste Hindus and the backward caste Hindus. That has also assumed a kind of communal tension—communal problem—in our country. It has, further, been aggravated recently by what you may call 'the caste conflict' by the issue on the reservation of jobs for the scheduled castes and the tribal people.

Sir, before I go into the problems on how to tackle that, let us recapitulate for a few minutes how this problem devolved on us and why this problem assumed the proportion as we find it to-day? It is known to all of us that the communal problem or the conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims is a legacy of the British Imperialism passed on us; it was known to everybody that before 1905, if we go through the history, we did not find anywhere in the record 'communal riot', 'communal conflict' but, at the instigation of the British Imperialism, to pursue their divide and rule, in 1905, to counter the anti-partition agitation of Bengal, the Muslims League was first formed in Dacca by the Nawab of Dacca for which Rs. 6 lakhs of money was given. That is how the communal riots started in the country thereafter.

Sir, I come from Dacca, a place, which is known as a plague spot of communalism. We had the best of relations between the two communities as a whole. But, Sir, we know that when the communal riots used to take place—it is known to all of you—perhaps Dacca was the centre of headquarters. There were two big revolutionary parties of Bengal and, whenever there had been any revolutionary action, some kind of killing or shooting of a district magistrate or some kind of an official took place and, within 12 hours, there were sets of people by whom the communal riots would start. This was the beginning. It was experienced almost monthly, yearly and innumerable. We had experienced this. The communal virus that was injected into our body-politic and how it has assumed and what it has assumed, its role, is all known to us; the worst feature of it, the worst kind of it, we witnessed was, in the days before and after partition. The tragedy of it is that all our national leaders who were crying hoarse against communalism finally succumbed to the ugly pressure of communalism and agreed to the Partition of India on the communal basis, although, afterwards, many guilty persons of partition discovered a new word 'secularism' for it. The word 'secularism' is

[Prof. Samar Guha]

nothing but the admission of the guilty conscience; there is no word as 'secularism'. I do not now want to dilate on it.

But, Sir, that legacy of the British Imperialism is also the legacy of Partition is still continuing. We expected, all our leaders that if we accepted the partition, the problem of communalism will be settled for good. But what has happened. Communalism has taken the shape of an ideological institution in Pakistan. Communalism has become the political/theocratic ideology of the State of Pakistan. After liberation of Bangladesh we thought that at least in one part of our sub-continent the communal problem has been given a burial but, Sir, again that problem has cropped up there.

Sir, many people some times felt why on the Floor of the House I was very particular to raise the issues of minorities of Bangladesh and the issues of Bangladesh. I was misunderstood by a few of my friends from the minority community. It is not known to many of you that 20 lakhs of stateless minorities are roaming about in West Bengal, Tripura and Assam. They have been driven out from Bangladesh. It is not known to many of you because the press also does not give any publicity. The minorities are living the life of serfs—they have no political or economic freedom. Horrible things have happened. I do not want to create any sentiment in this House but what I want to say is that because regularly minorities are trekking into India along the borders of West Bengal, Tripura and Assam lakhs of people who are living stateless. Our government does not want to give them citizenship and you do not know that this is a potential kind of threat to communal peace in our country.

Sir, I want to draw your attention only to the fact that although we are trying and we will be trying and it will be our regional duty to see—I do not want to use the word secularism—a true nationalism does not discriminate between any community but if we are really true to our nationalism, then whatever may be the constraints either of the propaganda of theocratic State of Pakistan or the attitude of the Bangladesh Government towards the minorities at present, I am mentioning these two basic aspects because they are the basic potential threat to our Indian nationalism. But knowing even that we have to take bold and courageous steps to see that our concept of nationalism is not in any way violated by any communal consideration or any caste consideration or any kind of divisive consideration.

Sir, with this preliminary observation and again as a second preliminary observation want to draw your attention, as I have

already that I do not want to go into counting or recounting the communal happenings of the past or communal happenings as they are today in our country—some are there—I want to draw your attention that there are two basic aspects to tackle the communal problems in our country—when I say the communal problems it includes also the caste problems not only it is between two religious communities now it has assumed another great importance of between two caste also. There are certain basic issues:

श्रीधरी बलबीर सिंह : (हॉमियारपुर) :

प्रध्वंस महोदय, मेरा प्वाइन्ट आफ़ माइंड है। इस हाउस में बैठकर, प्रलग प्रपनी कमेटी बनाकर क्या प्रलग-प्रलग बातें कर सकते हैं? प्रगर किसी ने बात करनी है तो बाहर जाकर बातें करें।

प्रध्वंस महोदय : आपकी बात ठीक है, मगर यह आप पर भी लागू होती है।

श्रीधरी बलबीर सिंह : इस हाउस में बैठकर इस तरह से बातें करना ठीक नहीं है।

श्री मनीराम बागड़ी : (मथुरा) : कौन लाबीइंग कर रहा है?

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : Sir, as I was telling through you to my hon. friends, there are two basic aspects in regard to the communal incidents in this country which we have to tackle.

Number one, the basic aspect, is the rights of the minorities, the rights of the scheduled Castes and the others.

What are their rights? What are their privileges? What are the things which are being denied to them? How can we tackle them? That is one aspect.

The other aspect, as you find every day in the Press is this. There are communal incidents here and there. There are communal riots or atrocities on the harrisons. We find some kind of atrocities. But very unfortunately, what we find today is this. Has this House, or even anybody outside, or even any political party, gone very seriously into this problem of the minorities, into the basic problems of the minorities? I don't know. Atleast I have not found.

If there are some incidents in Aligarh, if there are some communal incidents somewhere, immediately there is a cry. They are crying hoarse. The Press will be giving wide publicity. The leaders from here and there, from this party or that party, will be rushing to that spot, issuing statement after statement. They will try to go to the Press, go to the Radio, go to the TV, bring issues on the floor of the House and so on. But what is the basic issue? Why should these things happen? They have not gone into them. These issues have not been highlighted. Similar is the case with the Press, in regard to caste conflict, the contradictions or the incidents that are happening. We are very happy with the constitution of the Scheduled Castes Commission, but we have not gone into the basic issues. What is it that is affecting the lives of the scheduled castes and the tribals? That, we have not gone into. But whenever there is one incident of atrocity on a harijan anywhere, immediately thousands of people try to go there. Even some of the big leaders, just getting over elephants, almost rush to that place. (Interruption) It is known to all of you. I don't want to mention. They pose as if their heart is breaking for the harijans and minorities. They cry hoarse. They say their heart is bleeding. They say, they have a bleeding heart.....

SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Chittoor) : How can you say that their heart is not bleeding?

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : Now, Sir as I said, in this country what we find is this, we don't go into the basic issues, but only certain communal incidents or certain atrocities on Harijans are getting publicity. This is so only about harijans of a particular choice, not all. If there are some harijans, if there is some election potentiality, only those harijans are cared. In this House, when I raised the issue of Dandakaranya, about one lakh harijans who have migrated from Dandakaranya to West Bengal, when I pointed out how thousands of them died of starvation and so on, I could not even evoke a ripple of sympathy in the heart of any one. When I raised the issue of minorities of Bangla Desh,—90% of them being Harijans—I could not evoke any response or any heart of sympathy. Therefore, as I was saying, this feeling has developed, that there is some other motive, not the motive of really resolving the basic problems of either the minorities or of the Harijans, but for some other purpose, these incidents, these conflicts are utilised, or exploited, as we find from the mood of the political parties, of the political leaders and the political elements in this country. Sir, my hon. friend Shri Chavan was defining the word 'political parties' when I mentioned it. I will come to that point.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN (Satara) : I have not said a word yet.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : Your face gave an indication that I have uttered some wrong word.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN : I am speaking after you.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : I am very happy. Now, I want to know one thing about the communal riots. Is Aligarh the only incident? Hundreds and thousands of such incidents have happened earlier also and these are happening now as well. Are the atrocities on Harijans a new thing in our country? It is a social crime which has existed for thousands of years and it is the result of that.

Sir, what I was trying to impress on the hon. Members of this House is that unfortunately the basic issues relating to minorities, relating to Harijans have not been discussed by us in this House. Only the communal happenings or atrocities on Harijans have received the attention of the House in a disproportionate way. I want to draw your attention again to the institution of Minorities Commission. You know, Sir, Mr. Chavan and other hon. Members will also remember, that in 1950 after the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, we had our Minister for Minorities Affairs here and they had their Minister for Minorities Affairs in Pakistan. It is known that not only at the State level or the district level, but they failed everywhere in achieving the desired objectives. Now, we have constituted the Minorities Commission. I am afraid, it will not be of any help, any utility at all. Why? I will come to that later. Similarly, the setting up of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or reservation of seats for them, will not tackle the real problem, nor we will be able to find a solution for the ugly happenings in the country, the tragic happenings in the country that we have today. As I said, it will not solve the basic problem.

We have to differentiate between the basic and other issues. In regard to the basic aspect, we have to welcome the awakening among the minority communities and awakening among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. We have to welcome their agitation and their movements to that extent. Because of the partition, some kind of psychology was developed in our country as if the minority communities were getting alienated or some force was there since the partition to get them alienated from the mainstream of our national life. Some kind of such atmosphere

[Prof. Samar Guha]

was created. We have to welcome such agitation from the minority community, the Muslim community particularly, who have been the worst victims of partition; it is not the Hindus, but the Muslims, who were the worst victims of partition. We have to get rid of that psychosis. Their leaders fled away to Pakistan and they enjoyed all the power and everything, and the others, the poor people, were left here... (Interruptions)

From that standpoint, whenever there are fundamental issues, we must see, how and as early as possible, the political distinction between the minority and majority communities can be sorted out. We can create an atmosphere, a socio-cultural atmosphere and also political atmosphere—why I have used the word 'also', I shall tell that later—to create a feeling in the country of oneness. We are one, we are undivided; we may belong to any community, we belong to India as true sons of India according to the spirit of Indian nationalism. In that perspective, whenever there is an agitation from the side of the minorities, we should welcome it.

About the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, I am reminded of what Swami Vivekananda had said....

SHRI NATHUNI RAM (Nawada) : On a point of order. The hon. Member is speaking at the top of his voice, but what is the strategy being suggested by him in order to eradicate this evil that has been there in our society? How can we get rid of the evil of untouchability and the atrocities being perpetrated on the untouchables?

MR. SPEAKER : There is no point of order.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : I had a talk with the hon. Speaker; the communal situation means both religious communalism and caste communalism.

MR. SPEAKER : Prof. Guha, you have taken already 21 minutes, only five minutes more.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : Usually, the practice is that the Member who initiates the discussion on such a debate gets half an hour.

MR. SPEAKER : All right, I shall give you half an hour.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : I do not want to echo, but I would remind you of what Swami Vivekananda said. He said: 'The upper classes go into oblivion; let

the New India arise from the houses of the tillers, from the houses of washermen, from the houses of low castes and of those whom we dealt with as *shudras*. Therefore, if there is an agitation, even an excess, from the side of the scheduled castes people as the British used to name them—and also tribals and from the side of those underdogs and oppressed and suppressed people who were treated as serfs for thousands of years; we will welcome their agitation—but not for political purposes. All of us will welcome, and the country and all the political parties should welcome the agitation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to assert their basic and economic, political, social and cultural rights.

I want to know one thing: are we really determined to see that these communal incidents and class conflicts are blotted out; are we capable and can we do it? Yes, we can do it, provided all of us—sitting here—do not try to show our fingers there, or they do not try to point their fingers here. We must realise that we are all sinners, either to-day or earlier. There is no qualitative distinction between the sides. Earlier there might have been some sins. To-day we might have committed some sins. But it is a matter of national shame—what we have committed on minority communities shame for all of us. It is a matter of national disgust for all of us. It is most important to see whether we will tackle this problem of the minority communities and also the problem of caste, from a national perspective. If we do so, the first and foremost, crucial point is that we have to take a pledge that we will deal with all the communal issues and all the caste issues—not from the party standpoint, but from the standpoint of our national objectives. (Interruptions) This is the prerequisite, if you really want to solve this problem. If we do so, it will be possible for us to create a national will—not by a microscopic minority either of any community or any caste—against hooliganism or any kind of atrocity whether it comes from this side or from that.

There are only a few criminals and un-social elements taking advantage of certain factors prevailing in our country, and of the situation whenever there is any communal or caste riot. In Aligarh, was it a communal or religious issue which was involved? There were certain conditions there. Taking advantage of those conditions, the criminals and un-social elements acted. What did we do? Immediately, we the politicians tried to take advantage of the position and to exploit the position for party purposes and political purposes. And there is a competition between one another in issuing statements and in going here and there and bringing the issue before Parliament. We just point the finger and say: "They are the criminals",

taking advantage of all those communal happenings and also the atrocities on Harijans. It is the politicians, I should say, who are responsible and we have been the instigators. We have been using the communal situation as vultures and rats. We have turned into political vultures and political rats. The vultures always try to feast on things. When I say "We the politicians", I do not distinguish between myself and other friends. We politicians try to take advantage of every political happening in this country; and like political rats, we try even to spread the communal virus, and even communal conflict between Harijans and others, only for our electoral purposes, and political purposes. We say: "Here, the Harijans are with us; there, the Muslims are with us; and elsewhere the caste Hindus are with us." All these things are done with political motives. If there is any criminal to-day in the country responsible for the communal happenings, it is the political parties as a whole and the political system as a whole. The politicians have created a climate out of which this communal situation has come about.

MR. SPEAKER : Is it the pleasure of the House to sit for five minutes more so that Prof. Guha may be able to finish?

13 hrs.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : If we want to deal with communal happenings or caste conflicts the first pre-requisite is this: can we in this House pledge ourselves that we will not view these communal happenings or caste happenings from party standpoint or political standpoint but from the national standpoint? Thereby we create a national emotion all over the country. (Interrupted) If we take this pledge we shall tackle this issue on a national perspective, it is the duty of the Prime Minister to revive the National Integration Council, not in the old way to make it a debating society, but the National Integration Council should be revived and reconstituted and given a new shape and at lower levels, state committees should be formed and district committees should be formed. We should take a pledge that wherever there is a communal issue or there is a caste conflict, members of the National Integration Council will visit that area and no political party will issue a separate statement, no political leader will issue a separate statement; we shall jointly tackle it and we shall jointly recommend a solution to the problem. In this we have to enlist the cooperation of the Press also. We should try and ask the Press Council that no statement issued by a

political party or a political element should be given publicity by TV or radio or newspaper; only statements issued jointly by the National Integration Council, only that should be given publicity.

This is not enough. Certain administrative measures have to be taken. Firstly, the office of I.G. has to be created for each state; it should be strengthened by intelligence cells. In each state sensitive areas have to be mapped out; a list of anti social elements, criminals has to be prepared. The anti social elements, the criminals in those places, whenever there are incidents, they magnify it and take full advantage of it. I also suggest that there should be special courts to try expeditiously communal offenders and caste offenders. I will go a step further; even preventive detention for one or two months in the case of communal or caste offender should be reintroduced for that purpose. I am opposed to collective fine; it is a failure of the government and of the political parties. 80 or 90 per cent of the people are peaceful; by this method you apportion the blame on them; imposition of collective fine is absolutely wrong idea. I am not going into the social and cultural and other aspects. In our country culture, art, music are a unifying factor. When you hear Bismillah-Khan or Bade Ghulam Ali Khan or Vilayat Ali Khan's music, do we think that we are hearing the music of Muslims or when Ravi Shankar plays sitar and we hear that music, do we think that we are hearing the music of a Hindu. In India we have developed such a wonderful cultural synthesis, a wonderful synthesis in art. But we have not applied our mind to the basic issue. I will end by saying only one thing. The minorities commission will not do; the Scheduled Castes commission will not do. Even reservation of seats will not do; reservation is taken advantage of by a few vested interests of the oppressed, suppressed and depressed classes. I have no time to explain it now, but it is necessary for the Government to constitute a Backward Classes Commission which will go into the problems of economic backwardness not of the scheduled castes, not of Harijans, but of the minorities also and also go through the social and other constraints that exist. On the basis of that, a Backward Classes Commission should be immediately constituted. We have talked a lot about the development of backward areas. The earlier Government or this Government can point out that these are the areas where Harijans or backward communities are there. But have they taken up socio-economic development programmes for tackling the basic issues and for their upliftment? We have not taken that.

MR. SPEAKER : You have made the point.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA : Yes, I have made the point. I will get some time or reply also. I will again conclude by making an appeal to all the political parties to give up behaving like political vultures or political rats. Only then I will be possible for us to tackle the communal and caste problem in our country.

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned for lunch till 14.05 hrs.

13.07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha resumed after Lunch at ten minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION RE : SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE RECENT COMMUNAL RIOTS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Hon. Members whose substitute motions have been circulated and who desire to move any of them may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the substitute motions that they would like to move. These substitute motions will be treated as moved.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) : I rise to participate in the discussion on the motion moved by Shri Samar Guha on a subject which is at once of a very serious import and importance for the whole country.

The first and foremost point that I would like to make is that communal riots have been taking place in our country because of the chauvinist attitude of the majority community, because one thing that has to be remembered is that communal riots can never take place in any community at the instance of a small minority. In the pre-independence period it was said that this was done at the instance of the British who used the divide and rule theory and provoked, but after independence, if the majority community had adopted a correct approach towards the minorities, there need not have been any recurrence of communal violence in this country. In this context, I want to put the blame squarely at the door of those who have been preaching Hindu chauvinism, Hindu vested interests equating nationalism with religion.

The first test of Fascism is this chauvinism, racial or religious. Hitler told his people that they belonged to the Aryan race, which was superior to all other people and races in the world, and he inculcated that fanaticism into the minds of the young people of Germany. Similarly, Mussolini also started the Fascist movement in Italy, which in its very meaning shows a political party representing a nationalist reaction against socialism and communism. This is the meaning of the word "Fascism". It was started in 1922 by the people who came to power in Italy, the Fascist Party of Italy, by violent means, and it died only in 1943 with the defeat of Fascism, of Italy and Mussolini. So, the basic characteristic of Fascism is chauvinism, narrow sectarian religious fanaticism, which is inculcated in the minds of the people.

The second characteristic is to create a fanatic cadre of people and to give paramilitary training. If you see, the RSS cult was based on the Hindu *sashibada* fanaticism inculcated in the minds of the people who were caught young.....

AN. HON. MEMBER : You have been a member of that.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : I have told you before that. That is why I can say with knowledge. It is to catch them young in the name of sport; they come and they are told all those historical stories, entirely loaded in favour of one religion, one community, against other communities, against Gandhi, against Nehru, against everyone and, then, brain-wash them, make them fanatics with blinkers on.

When such a generation is created, what you see is Navmans in Aligarh. It is not that Balasaheb Deoras or Subramaniam Swamy or somebody has to give an order. What has happened in Aligarh is most unfortunate. Do not go by my report. I reproduce here quotations from the report given by an independent body, of Shri Mukundan C. Menon and Shri Sumanta Banerjee who belong to an organisation which is headed by Shri Gobind Mukhoty who, during the Emergency, was a champion of the Janata Party. So, no one can make an allegation that they are biased. What do they say in their report? Just read that and come to your own conclusions.

On the very first page, they say :

'Even after two weeks of the major events we felt that the situation was still tense. This is because the disturbances of October 5, were not an isolated and spontaneous expression of communal hatred among the common people, but because the causes "that led to the riot are still very much there and are likely to be exploited by the vested political interests in the near future".