

did not want to disclose it purposely because I am still hopeful and I am trying to persuade them. There is a discord still persisting. This "limited accord" is word used to cover disagreement. This is the difficulty. So, I would appeal to the hon Member to withdraw it.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR) : It is a very general and vague Resolution.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : If it is so general, you accept it.

MR CHAIRMAN : There are three amendments in the name of Shri M C Daga. Is he withdrawing them?

SHRI M C DAGA : Yes.

Amendment Nos 1 to 3 were by leave, withdrawn

MR CHAIRMAN : Now, I take up the main Resolution. Is he withdrawing?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They say that this is a very general Resolution, putting forward general things which are not controversial. Let them accept it.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : It is a very vague Resolution. Everything should be in a concrete form. I would beg of him to please withdraw it. Because the ultimate objective is the same. As my colleague explained, we want to be positive.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Out of this debate, I wanted only one assurance that a new industrial relations enactment would be brought before Parliament within a reasonable period of time.

SHRI R K KHADILKAR : I have already said that.

What I said yesterday in the other House, I am repeating here.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I do not know what happened in the other House.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : On this

basis, we will make every effort to bring forward a legislation to improve the industrial relations. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : On the basis of the views of the trade unions?

SHRI R K KHADILKAR : If full accord is not there, I will have to go ahead. I have already said that.

MR CHAIRMAN : Is the hon Member withdrawing his Resolution? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI R K KHADILKAR : I cannot understand what I can say beyond this at the present stage, when I am still hoping that full accord will be reached. Even if that is not possible, as I have said I will go ahead with the limited accord and bring forward a suitable measure.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : No ban on strikes.

SHRI R K KHADILKAR : I would like to repeat it. Neither President nor Prime Minister, and none of us desires that the fundamental right to strike—that is the weapon in the hands of working class—should be taken away. The intention is totally different. Why do you mix them?

MR CHAIRMAN : Is the hon Member withdrawing his Resolution?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Yes, in view of what he says, I am withdrawing.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn

17.37 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE COMMUNAL PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS

SHRI INDER JIT MALHOTRA (Jammu) : Mr Chairman, Sir, with your permission, I move the following Resolution :—

"This House calls upon the Government to take immediate steps to ban communal paramilitary organisations in the country."

While commending my Resolutions to the House, I would like to make a few observations. We are all committed to the secular, democratic way of life. That is the basic foundation of our Republic. We are also making efforts to create a socialistic society in the country, so that there is an end, for ever, to the economic exploitation which is still existing in this country. To achieve these two goals, we have to see that we safeguard the very basis and the foundation of our whole political and economic programme. That is why it becomes very necessary that there should always prevail communal harmony in the country and we should always be vigilant to meet any kind of danger or threat which exists either by such communal para-military organisations or by some other forces which tend to disrupt communal harmony in the country.

This communal violence has been a problem with us for a number of years. Even before independence, there had been occasional communal riots and there was communal violence prevailing in the country. At that time we used to blame the Britishers who were ruling our country as third party that, on the principle of divide and rule they were playing one community against the other for their own benefit. But this problem of communal violence has gained greater importance and significance after the country became free.

Not very long ago, there had been unfortunately communal riots in some parts of this country. We have to apply our mind why even to-day, after 25 years of independence, we have not been able to completely wipe out the communal violence from this country. To my mind, though the country has become free and the third party which was the Britishers who were playing one community against the other for their own benefit, is no longer there, but that role now has been taken over by certain organization which to-day try to create communal hatred in this country and try to disrupt the communal harmony of the country.

My main purpose in moving this resolution is to focus attention of the country. Let us strike at the roots of the basic causes

by which, even to-day, we are confronted with the problem of communal violence in this country. It is beyond doubt that in this country some organizations are functioning which, according to my standards, are both communal and para-military. I will come to these organisations to cite a few examples of these, but, before I do that, I would like to emphasize again that now the time has come when the Government has got to take certain steps, to identify these communal and para-military organisations and then take steps whether they are legislative or executive, to see that they are not allowed to strike at the very roots on which our country stands and on which we are trying to build up this secular and democratic way of life.

I would like to cite only three examples here. One is the Rashtriya Swayam Sēvak Sangh which is better known as RSS. The second is the Jamaat-e-Islami and the third is the Shiv Sena. There may be other organizations too which may be either communal or para-military and the Government must be having a better information than I can have at my command, to know which are these other organizations which can come under this category and which need to be looked into.

First of all, I will take up the RSS. I am glad my hon colleague, Shri Vajpayee, is in the House. I do not know whether he got any connections with the RSS or not, but, later on, indirectly, I may be able to prove that there is some kind of a link existing between the RSS and the political Party which is being presided over by my hon colleague, Shri Vajpayee. What is the composition, character and functions of this RSS? How does it function? It says that RSS is required in this country to safeguard the interests of the Hindus and to promote Hindu culture. Secondly, it also tends to say that whoever be the head of the RSS, his decisions, his wisdom are unchallengeable. To my mind, this philosophy of the RSS tries to promote fascist tendencies in this country. That is No. 1. No. 2-it tries to generate communal hatred in this country when they say that this organization exists only to safeguard the interests of the Hindus and that they want to promote only the Hindus and that they want to promote only the Hindu culture.

How this organization functions is also mysterious. Nobody knows about its total membership—whether it is half a million, 2 million, 3 million or five million.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapuri) : Five million

SHRI INDER J MALHOTRA : Shri Joshi has definitely got a better knowledge regarding R S S than what I can have, because, once in his life, he also belonged to the R S S

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI
Even now I belong to it

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore)
It is no secret, the other day they admitted it here

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI : I will give you all the information.

SHRI INDER J MALHOTRA : I shall be grateful to you. Now, coming to the economic aspect or the economic philosophy which R S S tried to promote in this country, I have one example to cite here. Mr Joshi may correct me if I am wrong. It was probably in 1941 that R S S started functioning in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. At the time there was a popular upsurge against the autocratic rule of the maharaja. The popular movement was headed by the national conference as a political party. What was the role of the R S S people at that time? They were siding with the maharaja. This is their democratic approach and this is their approach to the people's popular movement.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI : I am talking about the 1941 maharaja, not, the 1972 maharajas.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior) : Not Air India Maharaja!

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : I would like to cite here another aspect of the role of the R S S in Jammu and Kashmir State. It is true they relied on the landlords all over the State. Who were the district sanghachalaks and State sanghachalak? They all belonged to landlord class,

monied class. At no time had R S S given any support to the popular movement, to the people's movement, to the economic movement which was going on in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

What happened after the 1947 partition? When the Pakistani forces raided the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it was the privilege of the R S S to organise communal riots, especially in the Jammu area. I have personal knowledge of their important leaders at that time actively being associated to organise communal riots in the Jammu area. Is it this what should have been expected from them, from a nationalist point of view? The role of the R S S at that time should have been to promote communal harmony, as it was done in the Kashmir valley, they should have played a positive role and made a positive contribution to see that there were no communal riots at that time in Jammu region, but their action was on the contrary. After this, at one time, these activities became so harmful that R S S had to be banned in Jammu and Kashmir State. They went underground, but they could not stay underground for very long. They utilised their political front. They created a political organisation known as *Pragya Parishad* at that time, later converted into the Jan Sangh.

Why I am citing all these aspects of the working of the R S S is because to my mind, this kind of activity of the R S S is the greatest danger to the whole concept of our economic development and to our secular development.

Now, Sir, I would like to say only one thing more about the R S S. It is said that the finances of the R S S are collected by their own members at their special functions known as *guru dakshina* or something like that. I don't know much but I think Government may be having more knowledge than myself about the total collection which every year R S S collects.

What is the total expenditure of this organisation? Have they ever made it public? If not, what is the mystery behind it? If they want everything in the open, then the people of this country or at least their own members are entitled to

know the total income of the organisation and also the total expenditure of the organisation.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI : He can become a member and he will know it.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : I want only my hon. friend to have this privilege.

Another aspect to which I made a reference earlier also is the way of functioning of the head of this organisation. It is not a democratic process of due election by which the head of this organisation is elected, but it is nomination by the previous head. The present head will nominate his successor. It is just like one dictator going out and another dictator stepping in but by the nomination of the former dictator. I have covered enough ground to prove my point that the R.S.S. is both a communal as well as a para-military fascist organisation.

There is one last aspect regarding the training which they impart to their members. Only last year, at one of their training camps in Delhi itself, one of the press photographers tried to take pictures of the training that was being given in the use of daggers, but that photographer was beaten and prevented from taking the photographs. I fail to understand why if at these camps it is only physical training which is being given, the people who are not members of the R.S.S. are allowed to witness...

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI : They are invited. Even the photographer was invited. He jumped from the wall and fell down and he was taken care of.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : I would say just one word more about the R.S.S. and shall leave the rest for my hon. colleague Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee or Shri Jagannathrao Joshi who may enlighten me more as far as the activities of the R.S.S. are concerned.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): He did not mention about Guru Gobindwar.

It is not complete without mentioning him.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : Deliberately, I did not mention his name.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI : There is nothing to hide. So, what is there if he mentions ?

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : Now, I come to the Jamiat-e-Islami.

This is another menace which is existing in our country and which again is posing a very significant threat to communal harmony in this country. When I criticise the R.S.S. I do not want to spare the Jamiat-e-Islami either. The ideology of the Jamiat-e-Islami has been over a number of years to promote the concept of Islam as far as Muslims are concerned. In a secular country I do not know what need is there for one party to promote the Hindu culture or the Hindu concept of religion and for another party to safeguard the Islamic concept of religion. This is a very basic thing. With this type of attempts which are being made in the whole process, communal hatred is generated in this country.

This kind of effort, whether from one side or the other, is always responsible for the communal riots in the country. As far as I am aware, the Jamiat-e-Islami also has various names; it may be called Razakars, volunteers and what not. Their activities are also highly objectionable.

As I talked about the R.S.S. role in Jammu and Kashmir, I would like to say a few words regarding the role of the Jamiat-e-Islami, specially in the Kashmir Valley. It is beyond doubt that this organisation has for a number of years been working on communal lines. But only during the last mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha did it come to the surface, gave itself a political colouration and entered the election arena. I have also information to show that many members of this organisation have in the past been involved in anti-national and subversive activities in the State. There were some members of it who were even connected with organisations like the Al Fatah. There is basically no difference between the Jamiat-e-Islami functioning in the Kashmir Valley and in other parts of the country. I am very much aware of the responsibilities of these who live in Jammu & Kashmir, specially

[Shri Inder J. Malhotra]

of the leadership of the Congress, the Chief Minister and others to fight this menace in the Valley, and I am confident that with the support of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, by and large, and with the concept of secularism gaining more ground in the State, the menace of this organisation will be met with greater force than in the past.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Does he not want it to be banned ?

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : Certainly I do.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN : Are they pro-Pakistan ?

श्री इसहाक सम्भली (अमरोहा) : जमायते इस्लामी मजहबी हुकूमत चाहता है और सैक्यूलरिज्म को शंतानी हुकूमत का नाम देता है। वह मजहबी हुकूमत को हुकूमते इलाहिया का नाम देता है और यहां तक कहता है कि इस्लामी हुकूमत न हो तो हिन्दू मजहबी हुकूमत कायम कर ली जाय।

श्री इन्दजीत सहोबा : मैं आप का बड़ा मजकूर हूँगा अगर आप इसमें हिस्सा लें और यह सारी बातें बताएं।

I would like to say a few words now about the Shiv Sena. I condemn this kind of regional approach, which claiming some respectability by assuming the garb of fighting economic exploitation, tends to create a wedge between the people of one region and another. Just as I condemn the communal type of approach based on religion, I condemn this type of approach also.

In the end, I would say a word about the amendments. I have no objection to accepting amendments Nos. 1 and 2, but as for No. 3...

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : They are yet to be moved. Suppose they

are not moved ?

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : Then I will deal with them in my reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Resolution moved :

"This House calls upon the Government to take immediate steps to ban communal para-military organisations in the country".

SHRI M. C. DAGA (Pali) : I beg to move :

That in the resolution—add at the end—

"provided the activities of the organisations are anti-national" (3)

18 hrs.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: सभापति महोदय, लोक सभा और विधान सभाओं के चुनावों में भारी बहुमत प्राप्त करने के बाद भी सत्ता-खुद दल किसी संगठन को गैर-कानूनी करने की भाषा में बोले तो उसका एक अर्थ स्पष्ट है कि वह इन संगठनों से जनता के स्तर पर नहीं लड़ सकता, उसने अपनी पराजय स्वीकार कर ली है और वह कानून का सहारा लेकर इन संगठनों को दबाना चाहता है। लोकतन्त्र में जनता के स्तर पर किसी भी प्रवृत्ति से लड़ा जा सकता है।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please continue on the next day.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, April 10, 1972 [Chaitra 21, 1894 (Saka)]