

क्या हालत हो रही है। मैं अभी राजस्थान गया था, राजस्थान के अन्दर डीजल की कमी के कारण एक-एक किलोमीटर की तो लाइन लगी हुई है, लेकिन एक-एक लीटर पेट्रोल के लिए मोटर साइकिल वालों को और स्कूटर वालों को डी० एम० और ए०डी०एम० के पास परमिट के लिए जाना पड़ता है और आठ-आठ किलोमीटर चलने के बाद एक लीटर पेट्रोल मिलता है। इससे आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि ग्राम आदमी की क्या हालत होगी। ऐसा लगता है कि बड़े और छोटे शहरों में डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन में कहीं डिस्क्रिमिनेशन है। बड़े शहरों में तो सप्लाई में कमी नहीं है, लेकिन कस्बों में पेट्रोल की सप्लाई में कमी है। इससे ग्राम आदमी परेशान है। मैं अभी चार दिन सवाई माधोपुर में रहा। वहाँ पर डी० एम० और ए०डी०एम० से परमिट के लिए जाना पड़ता है। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान)।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Madam, Mr. Madhu Dandavate's matter is there.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jagesh Desai, do not go on repeating, Mr. Madhu Dandavate's matter is there. We will discuss the matter with the Chairman and when he gives the time I will definitely allow you to speak. Now let me go ahead with the Business.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: This is regarding laying of the relevant matters.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Regarding laying of all the relevant matters I shall give the assurance from the Chair let the Chairman decide. When he allows, the Minister will come to the House and explain. Now let us go to the Calling Attention. Yes, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE—COMMUNAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, I call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the communal situation in the country and the action taken by Government in regard thereto.

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री तथा सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय) : महोदया, मैं, हाल ही में देश के कई भागों में हुए कुछ साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के बारे में सदन में व्यक्त की गई चिन्ता से सहमत हूँ। मैं, यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस बात के लिए दृढ़संकल्प है कि पूरे देश में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना का स्थायी वातावरण बने। मुझे जरा भी संदेह नहीं है कि शरारती, साम्प्रदायिक तथा रूढ़ीवादी तत्वों के नापाक इरादों को विफल करने के लिए सभी राजनैतिक दल, सामाजिक संगठन और व्यक्ति सरकार के कृत संकल्प का पूरा समर्थन करेंगे और सुदृढ़ करेंगे।

इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि हर साम्प्रदायिक दंगा भारतीय सांस्कृतिक की चिर परिचित अनेकत्व परम्पराओं को, एक दूसरे की धार्मिक भावनाओं का आदर करने तथा साम्प्रदायिक सौहार्दता के खिलाफ है। हाल में देश के कुछ भागों में जो दंगे हुए हैं और कुछ स्थान जहाँ पर तनाव उत्पन्न होने से अन्दरूनी आक्रोश उत्पन्न हुआ उससे हमारे इस संकल्प को दोहराने की आवश्यकता है कि हम पूरे देश के दृढ़ संकल्प और संयुक्त निश्चय के साथ साम्प्रदायिक खतरे का मुकाबला करने के लिए अपने संकल्प को दोहराते हैं।

साम्प्रदायिक स्थिति चालू वर्ष के दौरान सितम्बर से बिगड़ी जब देश के विभिन्न भागों में 127 साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए, जिसमें 70 व्यक्ति मारे गए और 870 घायल हुए। अक्तूबर में स्थिति पुनः तेजी से बिगड़ी जब साम्प्रदायिक घटनाओं की संख्या बढ़कर 253 हो गई जिसके परिणामस्वरूप 322 व्यक्तियों की मृत्यु हुई और लगभग 1700 व्यक्ति

[श्री सुबोध का त महाय]

घायल हुए। राम जन्म भूमि बाबरी मस्जिद मुद्दे को बढ़ावा देने के परिणामस्वरूप देश में विषम स्थिति पैदा हो गयी; परिणामस्वरूप आपसी सहनशीलता में कमी आई। आन्ध्र प्रदेश, गुजरात, उत्तर प्रदेश, राजस्थान, कर्नाटक और मध्य प्रदेश में साम्प्रदायिक हिंसा में तेजी आई। नवम्बर के माह में साम्प्रदायिक हिंसा की 283 घटनाएँ हुईं जिसके परिणामस्वरूप 166 व्यक्ति मारे गए और 430 व्यक्ति घायल हुए। आन्ध्र प्रदेश के हैदराबाद रंगा रेड्डी और उत्तर प्रदेश के अलीगढ़, कानपुर, खुर्जा, मेरठ और एटा जिलों में, दिसम्बर में गुजरात के अहमदाबाद और मोधरा में गंभीर दंगे हुए। हमारे पास उपलब्ध सूचना के अनुसार, पिछले महीने के दौरान 15 दिसम्बर तक साम्प्रदायिक दंगों में 332 व्यक्ति मारे गए तथा 882 व्यक्ति घायल हुए। उत्तर प्रदेश, गुजरात, और आन्ध्र प्रदेश के अत्यधिक प्रभावित क्षेत्रों में स्थिति अब आमतौर पर सामान्य है तथापि कुछ क्षेत्रों में अभी भी साम्प्रदायिक तनाव बना हुआ है और अलीगढ़ और अहमदाबाद जैसे स्थानों में पिछले कुछ दिनों के दौरान हिंसा की कुछ छुट-पुट घटनाएँ हुईं।

केन्द्र सरकार राज्य सरकार से सम्पर्क बनाए हुए हैं और उनको आवश्यक सहायता और सहयोग प्रदान कर रही है। सरकार का दृढ़ संकल्प है कि अल्पसंख्यकों को पूरा संरक्षण देने और देश में सब प्रकार की साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना को बढ़ाने का हर संभव प्रयास किया जायेगा। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है कि प्रत्येक नागरिक की जान और माल चाहे वह किसी भी जाति या धर्म का हो, की रक्षा के लिए राज्य प्रशासनों को अपनी संवैधानिक और विधायी जिम्मेदारियों को प्रभावकारी ढंग से निभाने के लिए शीघ्रता से कार्रवाई करके निपटने के लिए निर्देश दिए जाएंगे। साम्प्रदायिकता की बढ़ती हुई स्थिति पर कड़ी नजर रखने के लिए स्थिति का प्रबोधन करने हेतु राज्यों और केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्रालय में दोनों जगह, सर्वोच्च स्तर पर एक प्रभावी तंत्र कार्य कर रहा है। लोक व्यवस्था

बनाए रखना और पुलिस राज्य सरकारों का उत्तरदायित्व है लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार अपनी प्रभावी और कारगर भूमिका निभायेगी।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: (बिहा) उपसभापति महोदया, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ़ ऑर्डर है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order? The Minister is speaking. Let him finish.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: आज तक कभी भी कलिंग अटेंशन के पहले स्टेटमेंट नहीं हुआ। यह स्टेटमेंट में लिखा हुआ है (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति: आप मेरी बात सुनिये। Perhaps you don't know.

रुलज पढ़िये, स्टेटमेंट होता है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: इसमें लिखा हुआ है कि देश में व्याप्त साम्प्रदायिक स्थिति के बारे में श्री गुरुदास दास गुप्त तथा अन्य द्वारा रखे गये ध्यानाकर्षण प्रस्ताव के उत्तर में गृह मंत्री द्वारा राज्य सभा में 2.1.90 को दिया जाने वाला वक्तव्य। हमने तो अभी अपना वक्तव्य रखा ही नहीं है हम तो अपना प्रस्ताव अभी रखेंगे।

उपसभापति: आप बैठिये तो। उत्तर ही है।

He has called the attention of the Minister and in answer to his calling attention the Minister is answering. You go by the rules. This is correct. He is doing everything right. Please sit down.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: पिछले 11 महीनों में क्या यह नियम तोड़े गये थे?

उपसभापति: नियम कुछ नहीं टूटा है। This is according to *nyam*. Mr. Ahluwalia, please read the Rule Book. Unfortunately, we did not have many Calling-Attentions.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: It is the convention of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not the convention. Please sit down.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I will go by convention.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't argue; you don't know. Unfortunately, we did not have many Calling-Attentions. So, the Members have forgotten the procedure for Calling-Attention. When the Member calls the attention of the Minister, the Minister has to reply to that and then everybody has to ask questions. This is the rule—not only the rule but convention, procedure, everything. It is right. If there are more Calling-Attentions we will remember it.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Everybody is not there. Some people from our party...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Whatever names are there before me.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Will you allow all of them?

...(Interruptions)...

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Madam...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish. I will allow you.

श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय : हमारे देश में अधिकांश लोग शांतिपूर्वक रहना चाहते हैं और साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव में विश्वास रखते हैं। मुझे विश्वास है यह सम्माननीय सदन अविश्वास छोड़ने, हिंसा त्यागने और पूरी प्रसन्नता से साम्प्रदायिक सौहार्द और सामान्य हार्मोन बहाल करने के लिए सभी नागरिकों से अपील करने में मेरा साथ देगा।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jacob, do you want to say something?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Madam, since the matter is of very great importance and several Members would like to participate in the discussion on the communal situation in the country, I request you to convert this Calling-Attention into a Short-Duration Discussion. Otherwise, Members will be restrained by the list they have given already and, there also...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I had asked the Members before starting it, and I had mentioned that it was decided in the Business Advisory Committee meeting that the matter about the communal situation will be taken up in the form of a Short Duration Discussion. Later on, the leaders of the various parties and groups agreed to bring it in the form of a Calling-Attention. Now, if the House so agrees, I have no objection to discuss it in any form, so long as it is discussed.

श्री संयद सिन्हे रजी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मसला है, सारी पार्टियों के लिहाज से सारे मैनबरान इससे कंसर्ड हैं। सारे देश में छटपट दंगे ही नहीं बड़े पैमाने पर दंगे हो रहे हैं। मैंने माननीय मंत्री जी को यह कहते हुए सुना है वह कह रहे हैं कि इसमें बहुत देर लगेगी। आज यह देश का बहुत बड़ा मसला है। मैं दूसरी बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह गम्भीर मसला है, हमारे गृह राज्य मंत्री जी यहां पर मौजूद हैं, अगर प्रधानमंत्री जी आएँ और हमारी बहस को सुनें, हमारे कंसर्न के बारे में जानें तो ज्यादा बेहतर होगा। इस वक्त गृह मंत्रालय का पोर्टफोलियो भी वे अपने पास रखे हुए हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister informs me that the Prime Minister will come and answer...(Interruptions)... One person at a time, please. I had requested, but the House did not agree. I have asked everyone. It is for the House. If the House so agrees...

SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Yes.

SOME HONOURABLE MEMBERS: No...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Many names have been included...(Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sukomal Sen, I have many names. Let us come to an agreement. I do not know I can't even count them. There are two pages full of names. Just a minute, please. In any case, everyone is keen including

[The Deputy Chairman]

you that the discussion should be on the communal situation in the country. All right? I have the names. I will call according to order. If on the other side the Members want to have more discussion want more people to participate and they are giving some names, three, four, five, six names, they may be called. If you want to give two names, I will allow you. If you go according to Short-Duration Discussion, the discussion will be according to the time allotted to every party. Then, not only one person, but two persons can come from your party also if you like. So, that will benefit. More people can participate. But it won't jeopardise Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta to be the first speaker. I am giving an assurance that the first person to speak will be Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Therefore, Madam, if you kindly convert it into a Short-Duration Discussion, many people can participate. A lot of people can speak, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta will open. No difficulty.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश): यह बड़ी मुश्किल है। पहले शार्ट ड्यूरेशन होता है फिर कालिंग अटेंशन होता है फिर शार्ट ड्यूरेशन होता है। यह क्या है? और कालिंग अटेंशन का एक मैथड है कि इसमें सब नहीं बोलते। पार्टीज में एक एक बोलते हैं, एक था दो बोलते हैं। अब आप इसको शार्ट ड्यूरेशन कर दगी तो जो परेशानी है वह यह है कि यह शांति तक चलेगा... (व्यवधान) फिर हमारे भी तीन आदमी बोलने दीजिए।

उपसभापति: माथुर साहब आपकी पार्टी में से दो बोल देंगे।

I will allow two persons from your party also. (Interruptions) Please. He has put the question to the Chair. Let the Chair decide. I will allow from your party two persons, more than one.

श्री शांति यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश): बी. जे. पी. को क्या परेशानी है... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: मुझे एतराज इस बात पर है कि कालिंग अटेंशन इस हाउस में होता ही नहीं। जो मेम्बर का इनीशियेटिव है वह खत्म हो गया है। बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी में सब्जेक्ट तय कर लेते हैं तो इंडिविजुअल मेम्बर का इनीशियेटिव रहा कहां। उस इनीशियेटिव के लिए एक ही गुंजाइश कालिंग अटेंशन है। उसको आप रोक रहे हैं। उसको रोक जा रहा है। कालिंग अटेंशन पद्धति का विघटन कर रहे हैं। उस पद्धति को मत बदलिए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, order, order. This is a serious matter please.

माथुर साहब, आप सुन रहे हैं? मैं आपका ध्यान चेयर की तरफ खींचना चाहूंगी।

The matter is serious. (Interruptions) Just a minute, please. What are you saying. "No, no?" Please sit down. The matter is serious. Whether it is discussed in the form of Calling-Attention or that of Short-Duration Discussion, the matter remains serious. But the Short-Duration Discussion will enable more Members to participate. I hope you should not have any objection to that. Okay, now it is finished.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: मेरा आब्जेक्शन इस बात पर है कि इस सदन में कालिंग अटेंशन की पद्धति खत्म कर दी गयी है।

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: (उत्तर प्रदेश): इनको अपने शैंडो पर भी आब्जेक्शन है।

SHRI MOHAMMED AFZAL alias MEEM AFZAL (Uttar Pradesh): I think that this matter is not serious for the BJP.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): These who have given names for the Calling-Attention should also be allowed to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not all of them. It is impossible for one hundred

Members to speak now, sixty-four Members. Please sit down. अच्छा आप तशरीफ रखिए। 64 मेम्बर हैं। आप तो बोल ही लेंगे इसलिए आप बैठ जाइये। श्री गुरुदास दास गुप्त।

श्री शांति त्यागी : इसमें पूरा दिन लगाइये। होल डे कीजिए। बी.जे.पी. के माथुर साहब बोल लेंगे, बस एक। बी.जे.पी. वन।

उपसभापति : वह तो बी.जे.पी. को डिसाइड करना चाहिए। आप क्यों डिसाइड कर रहे हैं कि कौन बोलेंगे। कोई भी बोलें। (व्यवधान)

Please, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, do you want to speak or do you not want to speak? Speak.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, I am having a bad throat. Let me be allowed to speak freely.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We can send you some Strepsils.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The point is even if it has been converted into a short duration discussion, we have before us a statement made by the hon. Minister of State for Home. If you go through the statement, you will find, it only reflects that the Government is not totally aware of the dimension of the calamity that has overtaken the country. In the second page of the statement, the Government says: "There is no doubt that new sense of urgency and direction has to be given to the State apparatus to effectively discharge its Constitutional and legal responsibility." It is only a pious desile on the part of the Government, because the Government does not spell out categorically what should be the form of the new responsibility or what should be the method of its implementation. Therefore, I take this statement to be a light-herated statement unworthy of a Government that rules, over the country inhabited by 700 million people

facing the greatest national calamity since its independence. The term communalism does not convey the gravity of the crisis that has overtaken the country. It is almost a civil war that exists in some parts of the country. Only yesterday we had celebrated the 1st of January. The city of Bombay celebrated the New Year by killing people of different communities. To me, it is the greatest national tragedy that has befallen the nation after we had achieved independence because bloodshed is taking place in the name of God. It is the greatest calamity because people are being killed in the name of Allah or Ram. Indian civilisation stands condemned before the entire Comity of Nations, because the controversy regarding the birth-place of a mythological Hero has been allowed to degenerate into acts of savagery. Anarchy has descended over large parts of the country. National production has suffered. Scarcity is developing and prices are increasing on a phenomenal scale. Those who died in the communal clashes are those who belong to the poorest of the poor of the society; those who suffered as a result of the economic disruption belong to the most down-trodden toiling masses. But, on the other hand a group of religious-political leaders seek to exploit the belief in Ram or Allah to consolidate their power base in the country. The political establishment that we have in our country is so infected that it becomes ineffective to maintain law and order even in the State capitals. It is so infected that the State apparatus cannot even control the riots even in places where the capital is situated. In this precarious process, the credibility of the country is so eroded that I must say it is a national shame that an executive of an international bank while speaking about the reasons for the low credit-worthiness of this country has said only recently, and I quote:

"How can we take seriously a country which risks civil war by allowing building of a Mandir?"

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

1.00 P. M.

Madam, there is an allegation hurled. The allegation is, the communalism could spread or take monstrous proportions because of the electoral arrangements or adjustments that were made in the last General Elections which brought about a change of Government. If I go into the statistical survey, it holds out, unfolds a different story. In the last decade between 1980 and 1988, 4000 people were killed. In the same period a very large number of communal incidents had taken place. **In the next year, that is in the year 1989, just within a span of two months when the old Government had ruled the country, there were 50 clashes. It hapened within a period of 62 days. But it is quite true that the communal situation or the communal climate has degenerated dangerously within the last four months. It is true that 10 States of the country have been affected.**

The statement which has been made by the hon. Minister, I submit, Madam, is an understatement. The statement says that the number of people who died during the last four months is around 700. But according to reliable non-official statistics, it is around 1000. Not less than 60 towns and cities of the country are affected. Five State capitals are hit by communal violence. In three State capitals people killed were nearly 200. The holy city of Benaras has incurred a loss of Rs. 100 crores because of communal riots. Even in the State capitals the law and order machinery did not function. Even the calling out of Army automatically did not bring about a change in the law and order situation. One of the interesting features of the recent riots has been that communal riots which was an urban phenomenon had even spread deep into the rural areas. In Gonda district, 32 villages had been burnt to ashes within 48 hours and 42 people have been killed within a span of 7 hours. I call it genocide. Of course, it is genocide. Genocide does not know any community. Genocide knows only

killing of people on a very large scale. The scale of barbarism had surpassed all the previous records. Previously children and women used to be spared but now it is the women and children who have been made the special target of barbaric acts in some parts of the country. A young blooming lady of 19 years was stabbed in the streets of Hyderabad. A girl of 16 years was crushed to death. Three children belonging to the same family were thrown out of a moving train by the co-passengers. In a particular city of Uttar Pradesh, a 14 year old boy had to witness the murder of his own father by his own tutor. The tutor who used to come to his house for teaching was the murderer of his father and the poor boy of 14 years was the witness.

Another feature Madam, has been that the police had adopted a most partisan and polarised way in dealing with the communal riots. I am constrained to say that the Provincial Armed Constabulary can only be described as an organised gang of killers in Uttar Pradesh. The question that naturally arises is: has this deterioration in the communal climate taken place spontaneously? Is it a spontaneous development? Or is it the outcome of a meticulous planning or careful calculation? Madam, the nation must know the answer and the country must make a probe. But I must submit very honestly—and I feel that some of the Members of this hon. House will kindly bear with me, if I say that—that the Shila Pooja and the Shila Yatra in 1938 and the Rath Yatra and the Kar Seva and the Hasti Kalasa Yatra and subsequently the cassette campaign with the inflammatory speech of a young lady belonging to the national legislature, must have aroused the feelings, deep feelings, and led to catasrophic incidents in some parts of the State. It is for that party to which that lady belongs to say whether that lady still belongs to that party or that party is ready to throw that person out of the party because it is quite evidently on

record that the cassettes that had been circulated all round the country had led to the flaming of passions, had led to a number of barbaric acts. It is for that party to say whether it is in agreement with the speech that has been made by her in the cassettes. Madam, I believe and I say that hatred breeds hatred, frenzy gives birth to frenzy, and fundamentalism rears fundamentalism of different types. Therefore, I have no hesitation in saying that fundamentalism of different brands have brutalised our dear India. India has been brutalised because fundamentalists of different colours hold the power among the nations. Therefore, Madam, the point is whether the magnitude of the violence and the hatred and divide that exist in the nation should torment India. Do you feel tormented? Do we, as Members of this great House, as Indians, feel ashamed? Do we feel tormented? Do you feel that something has to be done right now and today to bring about an end to all that is happening in the country? Madam, I plead not for acrimony. I plead for unanimity; I plead for unity. I plead for the rousing of the conscience; I plead that the nation must realise that it is on the brink of a disaster, a greater disaster than that the nation has felt when the country was partitioned on 15th August 1947. Therefore, it is a question of unanimity; it is a question of national consensus; it is not a question of acrimony. I feel that the Bharatiya Janta Party has a role to play in bringing about an end to the situation that has developed in the country. I feel that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad must be curbed. I feel that the Bajrang Dal must be held responsible for all that is happening. The person who killed Mahatma Gandhi in 1947 belonged to a particular party, belonged to a particular organisation. And that Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is also again active. I do not cite these instances to expose this or that political party. But I wish only to say that the country must rise as one person to brand who are the people responsible and the country must say that these things must come to an end.

Therefore, Madam, it is a question of political decisiveness. It is a question of political sagacity. It is a question not of the secular parties alone. It is a question of unity of all civilised Indians. It is a question of unity of all nationalist forces. It is a question of unity of all those who love the country. Madam, let me make it very clear. This is a Government we are opposed to. But, on the question of communalism, I offer this Government my unstinted support. I offer this Government all that is possible to be done to put an end to this communal situation. But you stand the test. You must mean business. It is not a question of just saying that you have a firm resolve. Our party stands to support whoever may be in power, who takes effective steps to curb the communal forces of the country. If the nation does not exist, if the nation breaks up, if the exist, if the nation breaks up, if the Muslims and the Hindu kill themselves, if the community is just branded as the community of killers, then what is the future of this nation, what is the future of Leftism, what is the future of radicalism, what is the future of the national progress? Therefore, it is for the sake of national advance that I plead for the strongest action, that I plead for unanimity on the strongest action, that I plead for unanimity on the question of branding who are the people who have connived with the rioters, who are the planned rioters, who are the people who have used religion to bring an end to the tranquility and peaceful climate of the country. Therefore, these people must be branded as such, the enemy must be identified and there must be unanimity on the question of taking the strongest measures. Madam, all is not lost to the country. There are two examples—example of Bihar and example of Uttar Pradesh. In Uttar Pradesh things were worse because the Government lost its credibility, because the administration did not work, because the police force was the worst colluder, because the law and order machinery had broken down. That is why, Uttar Pradesh is the worst victim of the communal situation. But just by the side of Uttar Pradesh, we have the

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

example of Bihar. In Bihar, the monster of communalism could be held in check because the political leadership exerted itself, because the political forces asserted themselves. Therefore, if we compare the example of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, I can safely say that all is not lost with our great country. If we come to the example of West Bengal, it is not to the credit of the Left Front Government that the communal situation has not been allowed to deteriorate, it is also to the credit of other political parties, including the India National Congress. It is because of the united front of all the political forces that the mischief in West Bengal has been so minimal.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: What about Maharashtra?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I know my example only. You give example of your Maharashtra. Therefore, I believe that unity of all the forces, who believe in decency, who believe in civilisation, who are opposed to barbarism, must unite. It is not a question of Left unity, neither it is a question of secular unity. It is a question of uniting the entire decent Indians, civilised Indians of the country. Civilisation against barbarism, civilisation against genocide, civilisation against the monstrous growth of death and destruction that should be the call and this call should be linked to the unity of the entire nation to bring about an end to the pernicious process that is going on. Madam, therefore, I feel, we must realise that we are in peril, we are in a catastrophic situation and since we are in this situation, we must act together. Either we find a negotiated settlement to the problem of Babri Masjid and Ramjanam Bhoomi Mandir or submit to the rule of law. Nobody can be allowed to challenge the established practice of human behaviour with respect to settling of disputes between individuals and communities. Therefore, Madam, either find a negotiated settlement for submit to the rule of law. There cannot be

any person in this country, there cannot be a single soul in this country, who can put himself above the Constitution of India, above the rule of law, above the national institutions that we have built up. Madam, secondly, I suggest, there must be a status quo in all the religious places that existed on 15th August, 1947. The status quo of the religious places, as it existed on 15th August, 1947, cannot be disturbed at all. Thirdly, Madam, the act of partisanship and impropriety on the part of the police personnel and administration must be drastically dealt with. A multi religious anti-riot force must be set up. Once upon a time I had seen a statement appearing in a section of the press that Government was interested in setting up a multi-religious anti-riot force. This is important because the minority community in this country is suspicious of the law-enforcing agencies. Let it not be denied that Provincial Armed Constabulary has been accused of practising mass killings in various parts of the country. In view of that, it is essential that multi-religious anti-riot squads have to be formed and that they should be deployed in consultation with the States in the sensitive areas of the country.

Madam, I wish that all-party committees should be set up in the riot-prone areas to ensure that confidence is restored among the people of all communities. I suggest a national conference not of the political parties only, I suggest a national conference of the political parties along with the religious leaders of all the communities. Let the Government have a dialogue with the political personalities and religious leaders in a national conference and let there be a consensus on the question of separation of religion from politics. Let there be a consensus. I do not know whether we are in a position of having a law banning integration of politics with religion and if that is not possible, let us try for a consensus. Let the consensus be arrived at not at a national conference of the political parties but at a national conference where the religious leaders are also there. I do not believe all the religious leaders, whether belonging to the Muslim community or to the Hindu community, can be branded

'communal'. A line of demarcation must be drawn between religious-mindedness and communal frenzy. A person can be religious-minded. A person can go to a mandir, a person can go to a church, a person can go to mosque, to offer his religious prayers there, but I am not ready to equate him with the communal element. Therefore, a line of demarcation must be drawn between the religiousness of the Indian masses and communal frenzy and to do that it is essential that the Government has an open dialogue with the religious leaders of the country. Madam, I feel, the time has come to openly say that it is not the communalising of the politics only which has brought the country into a disaster, it is also the criminalisation of the political parties which is equally responsible for the disaster. Criminalisation of political parties and communalising of politics these are the two important factors that have created disaster for the country. Therefore, the time has come to have a national dialogue. It is not by taking an approach, a fire-fighting approach, that you can deal with and tackle the problem. It is essential that politics should be separated from religion. It is essential that criminalisation of politics is ended once and for all. It is essential that communalising of politics is also brought to an end and for that I plead for a national consensus. I plead for a national consensus in this House and outside the House. Communalism cannot be fought by raising the slogan of secularism only. Communalism cannot be fought if we remain blind towards the growing economic distress of the people, to the problem of growing unemployment to the problem of growing pauperisation of the masses. Therefore, in order to face the demon of communalism it is essential that a pro-advise, that a programme to fight unemployment, that a programme for national reconstruction, is evolved. Therefore, I plead for national liation to end the strife and national reconstruction to bring the youth out of the present state of frustration. If the youth is not lifted from the state of frustration, the situation that is developing in the country cannot be fought.

Therefore, as a Communist I feel the time has come to take initiative for the process of national reconciliation and at the same time for a programme for national reconstruction.

At the end let me appeal to all the political parties to kindly have introspection. It is essential that we review our past, we review our political activities, we review whether any of our activities had compromised our position with communalism. The great party carrying forward the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi, the great party carrying forward the heritage of Jawaharlal Nehru, it is for them to find out whether any of their deeds in the last five years had enabled to create a situation where they may be compromising with fundamentalism. If that was done, that has definitely given a handle to the communal forces. At the same time I appeal to the Bharatiya Janata Party to kindly consider; I feel there are people in the Bharatiya Janata Party who also feel alarmed as we do; otherwise, how could a number of MLAs in Bihar opt to defy the Party Whip and stand for Laloo Prasad Government? This also speaks the existence of different lines of thinking in the Bharatiya Janata Party. I believe all the honest people, whether they are in the Bharatiya Janata Party or the other parties, will unite together to put an end to the disaster that is crippling the country. It is essential, Madam, that the nation wakes up, it is essential that we unite together, to save the nation. Today it is a must, a tomorrow it may be too for us.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I was waiting for an opportunity to express my views on the communal situation. The country has been subjected to such a type of agonising experience that the countrymen do not know to what extent they have to criticise the political parties which are indulging in such reckless acts. At the outset I feel that the communal frenzy has been so unleashed in this country that innocents have been killed. A

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

person like me feels, and my party which has grown under the Nehruvian concept of consensus and secularism feels, hurt when we see that the communal riots have been instigated particularly with political aims. I agree with my friend, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, when he spoke of the role of the Congress Party. The role of the Congress Party is really very important since it is a party of 100 years' existence, 100 years' experience, 105 years. And, Madam, it has firmly believed in the secular character of the nation and it will always stand by the people. It has a firm belief in the secular character of the nation and so, it will always criticise or it will act against what you call arousing communal passions under any political pretext.

Madam, the entire blame, if it is to be laid, is to be laid on the Bharatiya Janata Party which started this, which started the Rath Yatra or whatever it is. It was started by an ex-colleague of mine—I do not want to mention the name—for whom I have got great respect. But I am sorry to mention that when this Rath Yatra was started from Somnath to Ayodhya, the entire nation was thrown into chaos and as my friend has just now explained, the Rath Yatra created an atmosphere in this country which unleashed the communal forces making the Hindus and the Muslims fight each other. I do not think that the sole aim of the Rath Yatra was to help the Vishwa Hindu Parishad or anybody else. It was a political game to win the elections whenever they are held.

Madam, this Rath Yatra has thrown up many issues to which I want to apply my mind. In this country, are we going to have sane and mature politics or not? Madam, I was in New York recently for the UN Session. There I met many Members of Parliament from various countries and we were discussing about the developing countries. One of the Members from the Philippines put a question to me. He asked me: "What is this Ayodhya

and what is this Rath Yatra doing in India?" It was because this news appeared in the "New York Times". I could explain to him economic matters, I could explain to him the relations between India and Pakistan and I could explain to him about our efforts in the Gulf and how our country is playing her role. But on this Rath Yatra issue, I could not give any explanation at all. It is all ridiculous. He said, "What is this issue? What is this Rath Yatra? Whether it is the construction of a temple or something else, how does it affect the entire economic policies of this country, such a great country as India?". Madam, I was very much ashamed and I could not justify this Rath Yatra and the Temple-Masjid issue and all those matters.

Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta mentioned about the role of the Congress (I) Party. It is the achievement of the Congress (I) Party....

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: To bring about the partition of the country on communal lines...(Interruptions)...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No, no. We have not done it...(Interruptions). ...We have never done it...(Interruptions)... We have never done it. But you are doing it; you are doing it now. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: You divided the country on communal lines. The Congress (I) did it...(Interruptions)...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: What about the role of the RSS?...(Interruptions)...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Mathur, we have never done it... (Interruptions)...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Yes, you did it... (Interruptions)...

श्री सुरेन्द्र सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया : नाथूरान गौडसे किसका आदी था ? इनका रिश्तेदार था... (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : आपने जिना का समर्थन क्या था... (व्यवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Madam, I totally deny what Mr. Mathur is saying. I want to say... (Interruptions)... that it is to the credit of the Congress (I) Party that during the Prime Ministership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, it tried to bring the two parties together... (Interruptions)...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: The Congress did it in 1947... (Interruptions)... You did it and it is the Congress which is responsible for it... (Interruptions)...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Madam, he is talking through his hat and it has no relevance at all.

Now, what I am saying is that it is the achievement of the Congress (I) Party and the former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, that the VHP and the Babri Masjid Action Committee people were brought together. And agreement was signed that the matter will be referred to the court, and they would abide by it. Who lost the initiative? It was the Vishwanath Pratap Singh Government. We did not lose the initiative. Still the Rajiv Formula says that the court should decide this issue—the Supreme Court or five Judges, etc. But, Madam, what I want to say is that the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal. I am told—and I have read in newspapers here and personally I enquired—subverted the Border Security Force as well as the military establishments in Ayodhya on that day, since the heads of Bajrang Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad are ex-police or army officers. Does it really behove a party whose leaders are

Mr. Advani and Mr. Vajpayee? Really, Madam, I have respect for both these leaders. How Mr. Advani made himself to believe that to take a Rathayatra will not instigate a communal riot, I do not understand? So, Madam, I felt that....

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): It is a misunderstanding.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr Jain, your entire approach to this problem was to play cassettes and not... (Interruptions)

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: This is another example of your misunderstanding.

(Interruptions)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मैं आपत्ति करता हूँ कि श्री कुलकर्णी ने एक सदस्य की ईमानदारी पर यहां आरोप लगाया। मैं समझता हूँ गलत है उनको यह नहीं कहना चाहिए। (व्यवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He asked me, he invited me, to reply to him. Otherwise I would not have... (Interruptions)

श्री एन.के.पी. साबे : (महाराष्ट्र): उन्होंने ईमानदारी पर आक्षेप लगाया आप यह कहते हैं तो क्या आप यह मानते हैं कि कैसेट बेचना बेईमानी है ?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : जी नहीं। मैं ऐसा नहीं कह रहा हूँ। कैसेट बेचना बेईमानी नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : माथुर साहब तक्रारीफ रखिए। मैं इसीलिए कहती हूँ कि जब कोई मंचवर बोल रहा हो तो उनका भाषण होने दीजिए, बीच में इन्टरप्ट न करें। (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: ग्रहलुवालिया जी से लेकर यहां तक सब ऐसा करते हैं...

उपसभापति : फिर शिकायत मत कीजिए ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : ग्रहलुवा-
लिया जी से लेकर यहां तक अगर सब
मान लेते हैं कि कोई इन्टरप्ट नहीं करेगा
... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : अगर इन्टरप्ट करेंगे तो
उलटा जवाब मिलेगा । इसलिए उनको
बोलने दोजिए । मैं सबसे यह रिक्वेस्ट करूंगी
कि जो अपना भाषण कर रहा है उसको
वह भाषण करने दें । जिस पार्टी का
समय आये वह अपना उस समय जवाब
दे । जब इन्टरप्शन होती है तो उसका
नुकसान होता है ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : अगर यह
शराफत और ईमानदारी सब में होती है तो
मुझे मंजूर है लेकिन है नहीं । (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr.
Kulkarni, will you continue after lunch or
do you want to finish?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I will finish
within five minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: For five
minutes more you speak and I will then
adjourn. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Madam, I
will speak after lunch.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The
House is adjourned till 2.30 for lunch.

The House then adjourned for lunch
at thirty-four minutes past one of the
clock.

The House reassembled after lunch
at thirty-two minutes past-two of the
clock. **THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI-
MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN)** in
the Chair.

**Calling Attention to a matter of urgent
Public importance Communal situation
in the country—Contd.**

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: (Pondi-
cherry): Happy New Year, Madam. You

are setting in the Chair for the first time
now.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI
JAYANTHI NATARAJAN):** Now, Shri
Satya Prakash Malaviya to make a state-
ment regarding enhancement of LPG
priority quota.

**SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Raja-
sthan):** Before he starts, I want to know
whether it is a practice to distribute it
before the Minister starts because this
is given to us. I hope we can claim in
future in advance. I just want a clarifi-
cation on this.

**पेंडोलियम और रसायन मंत्री तथा
संसदीय कार्य मंत्री (श्री सत्यप्रकाश
मालवीय) :** अभी तो मैं पढ़ना शुरू करूंगा ।

श्री सन्तोष बागडोडिया: मंत्री महोदय
के आने के पहले ही यह हमारे हाथ
में आ गया है ।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI
JAYANTHI NATARAJAN):** I will find
how it happened.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: If that
is the practice. I don't mind. That
suits us.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is not the
practice.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI
JAYANTHI NATARAJAN):** We will find
out how it happened.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

**Enhancement of LPG Priority quota to
be released on recommendations of Mem-
bers of Parliament**

**पेंडोलियम और रसायन मंत्री तथा
संसदीय कार्य मंत्री (श्री सत्य प्रकाश
मालवीय) :** महोदया, मैं इस सम्माननीय
संसद के माननीय सदस्यों को, संसद सदस्यों
की अनुमति पर दिए जाने वाले एल पी.
जी. के प्राथमिकता-कोटे में वृद्धि करने
के संबंध में लिए गए निर्णय से अवगत
कराना चाहता हूँ ।